

RECEIVED 413

OMB No. 1051-006

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

FEB 7 1995

# National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

INTERAGENCY RESOURCES DIVISION  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-0900-a). Type all entries.

## A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources of the Hilltop Neighborhood

## B. Associated Historic Contexts

Building Up:	1875-1900
Branching Out:	1900-1930
Filling In:	1930-1950

## C. Geographical Data

This multiple property nomination addresses the geographic area located within the City of Tacoma and bounded on the east by Tacoma Avenue South, on the north by Division Street, on the west by Sprague Avenue, and on the south by the edge of the bluff, which roughly equates to South 27th Street. Where South Wilkeson Street descends the bluff, however, the boundary of the area considered by this nomination is defined by South 27th Street rather than the edge of the bluff.

\_\_\_ See continuation sheet

## D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

*Mary M. Kompor*

1/31/95

Signature of certifying official

Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

*B. H. Ferguson*

2/24/95

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register

Date

72

---

## E. Statement of Historic Contexts

---

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

### Introduction

The first residential neighborhood to develop in Tacoma outside of the downtown core, the Hilltop community encompasses the upper part of the slope rising from Tacoma's city center along Commencement Bay, as well as the plateau which extends westward from the crest of the slope. The residents of the Hilltop during its initial phases of development were almost all immigrants to Tacoma--whether from other countries around the world or other states in the union. A person walking down a typical block of the Hilltop on a warm summer night in 1910 would have heard families conversing in a half-dozen different languages. Hilltop residents helped build the city's businesses and industries and helped found the neighborhood's institutions such as churches, schools, and civic organizations. Over time, the function of the Hilltop as a residential neighborhood providing both housing for Tacoma's workers and the social and commercial services to support its residents has shown remarkable continuity.

This multiple property statement provides a contextual framework for evaluating and nominating to the National Register of Historic Places properties associated with the development of Tacoma's Hilltop neighborhood. This multiple property nomination identifies three chronological contexts which address events and trends influencing the formation of the Hilltop neighborhood. Associated property types are addressed in the following section.

The initial context, **First Expansion: 1875-1900**, considers the early settlement in the Hilltop as development spread up the hill from the waterfront following the Northern Pacific Railroad's decision to locate its terminus on Commencement Bay. As the forest gave way to residences, real estate developers played a key role in platting land and marketing property in the Hilltop. The Hilltop's homes were soon joined by community institutions such as schools, social clubs, and churches. The residents depended on their feet for transportation, so stores and social activities were typically located within easy walking distance from the homes. The construction of a cable car line up the slope in 1891 hastened the pace of the Hilltop's development. Growth in the Hilltop followed the boom and bust cycle of Tacoma's economy, which was itself affected by regional and national trends. This initial expansion concluded when growth dropped off following the national financial panic of the mid 1890s.

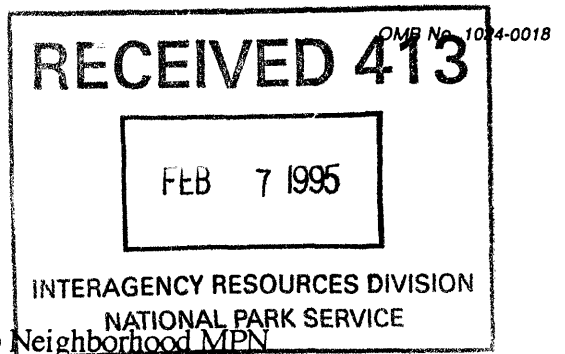
The second context, **Branching Out: 1900-1930**, covers an era of tremendous population growth in Tacoma, as the city's resource and transportation based industries recovered from the economic troubles of the 1890s and new employment opportunities in the region attracted immigrants to Tacoma. The Hilltop absorbed a large share of working class immigrants arriving in Tacoma from throughout the United States--and the world--hoping to benefit from the city's well-publicized economic opportunities. The extension of city-wide trolley lines throughout the Hilltop spurred the construction of homes farther from the areas of first expansion and the commercial and industrial center of Tacoma. The trolleys also contributed to the development of defined commercial districts throughout the community. Numerous apartments appeared in the Hilltop in response to the demand for housing generated by the expanding population. Churches, schools, and civic clubs representing the diverse populations of the Hilltop flourished in the neighborhood.

The third context, **Filling In: 1930-1950**, addresses the continued development of the neighborhood leading up to and through World War II and the immediate post-war years. After the start of World War II, expansion of war-related industries such as ship building carried Tacoma out of the depression. Following World War II, the Hilltop continued to become home to new immigrants, as people who had moved into Tacoma to support the war effort decided to stay permanently. Developers added new homes and apartment buildings on vacant parcels or replaced older structures with newer buildings in response to the community's changing needs.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   1   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  



Following the war, the "K Street" (now Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Way) commercial district flourished; however, emergent trends in commercial development foreshadowed a future where community form would be profoundly altered by widespread private automobile ownership.

### I. First Expansion: 1875-1900

#### *Origins of Tacoma*

Settlements in the Tacoma area by Puyallup peoples historically concentrated along the shoreline of the bay, where residents of a village would have convenient access to the water which was both an important source of food and the principal means of transportation. Villages were typically located near river outlets, or at points where creeks merged into the river systems. Known settlements in the vicinity of the present downtown Tacoma and Hilltop neighborhood included a community near what is presently S. 15th Street and Pacific Avenue, and another near S. 24th Street and Pacific Avenue where a creek entered the bay. At the time of non-native settlement of the area, dense forests covered the area which became the Hilltop.<sup>1</sup> The forests and inland areas played an important role in the life of the Puyallups, providing food, raw materials, and likely housing important religious and ceremonial sites, such as burial grounds. However, the land clearing and grading associated with the Hilltop's initial development eliminated the traces in the Hilltop of any traditional resource use patterns or sites associated with the Puyallup before non-native settlement.

Non-native settlers began staking land claims along Commencement Bay in the 1850s. By the early 1870s, Tacoma, a settlement on the shoreline several miles north of the present downtown, boasted a mill, a small hotel, and a population of about 100 people.<sup>2</sup> In the 1870s, railroad lines were spreading westward across the country, competing for lucrative transcontinental freight business. Along Puget Sound, towns including Bellingham, Seattle, Port Townsend, and Tacoma vied to be the terminus of the Northern Pacific's rail line. Speculators hoping to profit from the railroad's arrival purchased land near the potential terminus sites. In Tacoma, these purchasers included Gen. Morton McCarver, who had come to the area representing a group of Portland investors and begun buying up land from earlier homesteaders. Another coalition of Oregon-based investors buying land in the Tacoma area was the Workingman's Joint Stock Association. The Association consisted primarily of African-American investors. With the leadership of George Putnam Riley, a Boston native who traveled west in 1852 to participate in the California gold rush, members of the Association pooled their resources to invest in land in both Seattle and Tacoma in the 1860s. In Tacoma, the corporation owned a sixty-seven acre tract bounded roughly by S. M Street, Sprague Avenue, S. 9th Street and S. 12th Street.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*, 2-4.

<sup>2</sup>Murray Morgan, *South on the Sound*, 41-44.

<sup>3</sup> Riley moved to Tacoma in 1869, becoming the city's first known African-American citizen. He pursued other business ventures in addition to real estate investment, including founding the Tacoma Mining and Improvement Company, which operated two mines in the coal fields near Issaquah, using the skills of African-American miners hired from mines in Franklin and Newcastle. Over the years, Riley struggled to keep the Workingman's Joint Stock Association together; however, members had to sell their interests in difficult economic times, and squatters impeded development. In some sources, the Association's tract was called the "Nigger Tract"--a designation apparently referring to the race of the owners, rather than the residents. Ownership rights to the addition became bound in litigation as heirs to the original corporation sorted out various

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   2   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

In 1873, the Northern Pacific Railroad decided to build its terminus in Tacoma, and visions of Tacoma's prosperity as the dominant commercial hub on the Puget Sound elated the city's boosters. However, to the surprise of residents of the original townsite, the railroad decided to build its terminal several miles south of the existing settlement. The Northern Pacific selected a site along the shore of Commencement Bay where the railroad had purchased two miles of waterfront and 2700 acres of upland property. This tract of land, platted as "New Tacoma," quickly became the focus of Tacoma's development activity.

The Northern Pacific Railroad's initial land holdings became downtown Tacoma and included the area of first expansion in the Hilltop. The company's holdings came up from the shoreline to a western boundary in the Hilltop. The northwest corner of New Tacoma lay in the vicinity of S. M.L.King Way and S. 7th Street, while the southwest corner was near the intersection of S. M Street and S. 19th Street. The railroad anticipated that real estate sales in New Tacoma would contribute to its profits, and worked to encourage land development. Following a failed initial platting effort by General James Tilton, which resulted in scattered clusters of development rather than the grand urban plan envisioned by the railroad's management, the railroad turned to the nationally-prominent New York City landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted to create a grand plan for the new city.<sup>4</sup> Olmsted's plan featured winding avenues following the natural contours of the land, lots designed to maximize views of Mount Rainier, and abundant public parks and promenades. However, developers considered the irregularly shaped lots Olmsted proposed as unmarketable, and rejected the plan as impractical for a frontier town which was encouraging real estate investment. The local director of the Tacoma Land Company, Charles Wright of Philadelphia, promptly hired lighthouse engineer Isaac William Smith to survey the city and lay out the rectilinear grid pattern of streets and lots.<sup>5</sup>

Smith's plan gave the original sections of the city, including the Hilltop, the overall shape they have today: a pattern of streets creating regular block divisions that would extend west as the city developed. Smith's initial grid roughly paralleled Commencement Bay's shoreline and the slope of the hill rising westward from the water. This alignment was roughly 10° askew from the regular north-south grid. In later developments, located west of the prominent slope and across the flatter hill top, the street grid turned slightly to run north-south, aligning itself with the Federal system of land division. This transition occurred in the vicinity of S. Alaska Street, where a gulch descending toward Center Street provided a logical demarcation between the two grid systems. Smith divided the land into a regular grid of square blocks composed of two tiers of 25' wide and 130' deep lots, divided by a central alley. However, as development moved west and south away from the downtown, intermediate streets were often omitted in favor of longer north/south blocks.

---

claims, and the land was eventually platted by court order in 1903 to conform to the adjacent street grid. See Gary Fuller Reese, *Who We Are: An Informal History of Tacoma's Black Community before WWI*.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas W. Prosch, *McCarver and Tacoma*, p. 184-185.

<sup>5</sup>Prosch, pp. 185-6.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   3   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

Many blocks had 40' wide corner lots, which were more prominent, and therefore more valuable. Alleys divided the centers of the blocks. These alleys created a secondary circulation system which provided service access to rear yards and to back buildings such as stables.

Following the news of the railroad terminus decision, a new town quickly sprouted amidst the stumps of the logged over shoreline of "New Tacoma." By 1878, "New Tacoma" consisted of a few blocks of small homes and businesses perched on the bluff above the bay, inhabited by a few hundred residents. The city grew steadily in anticipation of the railroad's arrival. However, when the Northern Pacific drove the last spike on its transcontinental line in 1883, the railroad's tracks traveled along the southern banks of the Columbia, arriving in Portland, not Tacoma. Consequently, rail cars bound for Tacoma had to be transported by ferry across the Columbia River from Portland to Kalama, Washington, where they were returned to the rails for the trip north to Puget Sound. Nevertheless, Tacoma's population grew steadily after completion of the spur, reaching 17,000 people by 1887. When the Northern Pacific completed rail construction through Stampede Pass in the Cascade mountain range, on July 3, 1887, Tacoma finally enjoyed a direct link to the transcontinental rail network.

Having secured the railroad terminus, Tacoma's boosters turned toward attracting investment. In the 1880s, over seventy-five companies incorporated in Tacoma. These corporations, formed to develop and profit from the region's resources, claimed investment capital of well over ten million dollars. One of the resources these companies intended to profit from was the urban land itself. Development, construction, and real estate companies numbered among the new companies. While the Tacoma Land Company was the most significant of these development corporations, others included the Swedish Real Estate Company, the Union Home Building and Construction Company; the Realty, Loan and Investment Company; and the Central Land Improvement and Investment Company.<sup>6</sup>

Developers utilized the grid established by Smith as they platted their land holdings into lots following the overall city plan. These subdivisions, called "additions," required little preparation prior to sale. Owners would survey the land to establish lot boundaries, and "grub," or clear the streets before marketing the properties to prospective land buyers and home builders. The Hilltop reverberated with the explosion of powder used to clear remaining stumps.<sup>7</sup> Later, as the real estate market became more competitive, and the public's expectations for infrastructure grew, developers increased the level of improvements, adding sidewalks, street lights, water, sewer, and/or gas to their additions.

Initial urban development in Tacoma concentrated in the holdings of the Tacoma Land Company. By the late 1880s, manufacturing and processing concerns, including an iron works, furniture manufacturing company, lumber mill, a salmon cannery, and railroad shops lined the shoreline. The city's workers sought the closest affordable housing to the city's industrial and commercial center as possible, since most would be walking to work. They turned to the bluff overlooking the

---

<sup>6</sup>Polk's City of Tacoma Directory, 1889.

<sup>7</sup>Hunt, Vol. II p. 69.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   4   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

developing city center, where a short walk up the slope brought one to home lots with views of the bay and Mt. Rainier. Soon, small homes lined the rutty dirt streets which ran intermittently between the brambles and stumps of the Hilltop.<sup>8</sup> A similar pattern of housing in proximity to industrial development occurred in the southern part of the Hilltop in the vicinity of Wilkeson Street and S. 25th Street, where Wilkeson Street descended the bluff to the smaller industrial area along the train line near Center Street.

The *Tacoma Daily Ledger* became an important forum for real estate promotion, running advertisements and articles aimed at both a local and national audience. Some real estate advertisements emphasized affordability for homebuilders and the expectation of appreciation for investors. Other ads stressed the positive features of the neighborhood, such as proximity to the downtown and views of Mt. Rainier. Most all shared the theme of opportunity voiced by this typical sales pitch informing would-be Tacomans that "there is money, labor, homes, and prosperity for all intelligent and industrious people who would come here."<sup>9</sup> The *Ledger* provided extensive coverage of real estate affairs, running stories about people whose investments had "nearly doubled [their] money in less than four months"<sup>10</sup> To emphasize the high volume of real estate development activity, the *Ledger* printed itemized lists of all building permit activity for the prior year on each New Year's Day from 1888-1891.<sup>11</sup> The paper's real estate section also featured photographs and descriptions of new homes throughout the city.

As development on the hill lagged behind construction in Tacoma's central business district and lower slopes of the hill, property owners in the Hilltop concluded that a cable car line would hasten the pace of Hilltop development. They turned to the city council, which granted a group of men associated with the railroad a franchise for cable railways in the city in 1889. Later that year, the locally based Tacoma Railway & Motor Company acquired the franchise and announced plans for a line which would climb and descend the hill on S. 13th Street on a double track, then convert from cable to electric operation at M.L.King Way, and run south to 19th Street, where eventually, it would run westward. Construction on a Tacoma Avenue line had started in 1890, and in September 1890, the contract for the cable track on S. 13th Street was awarded to a San Francisco contractor. However, property owners along S. 11th Street and the blocks of M.L.King Way north of S. 13th Street grew concerned that without a trolley on S. 11th Street, their property values would suffer in favor of property along S. 13th Street. They successfully petitioned the council to alter the terms of the franchise, and the trolley company built a single track loop line up S. 11th Street, south on King Way, and back down to A Street via S. 13th Street.<sup>12</sup> The cable car improved access not only to building lots, but also to the community institutions in the Hilltop such as the original Central School at S. 10th and G Streets. In 1891, School Superintendent Gault arranged with the trolley company that school children would be able to purchase forty rides for a

---

<sup>8</sup>"View of the City of Tacoma," prepared by the J. J. Stoner Co. of Madison, Wisconsin, 1884.

<sup>9</sup>*Tacoma Daily Ledger (TDL)*, May 20, 1888.

<sup>10</sup>*TDL*, May 20, 1888.

<sup>11</sup>See also *Tacoma Daily Ledger* July 3, 1886, for a list of all building permits taken in the first six months of 1886.

<sup>12</sup>Hunt, *History of Tacoma*, Vol. II, p. 11-12, 36-37.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   5   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

dollar--a rate half the usual fare.<sup>13</sup> The Tacoma cable car, one of only three in the United States, was not only a practical means of transportation but became a popular tourist attraction as well.

The principal landholders had platted the Hilltop's largest additions by 1891. However, new buildings did not always appear readily on the newly purchased lots. In general, lots were sold to individuals or small contracting outfits rather than large-scale residential developers. Consequently, development leapfrogged up and across the blocks, as owners or contractors assembled the resources to construct homes on their particular lots. The uneven pattern of development was also influenced by the fact that many purchased land solely for speculative purposes, and were therefore not inclined to make substantial improvements.

In the 1880s, development concentrated around S. 9th, S. 11th, S. 15th, and S. 17th Streets, before giving way to woods and squatter settlements again along present day M.L.King Way. Although a few companies constructed several similar structures on adjacent lots at one time, (seldom more than half a dozen) it was far more typical to see varied, individualized building designs. Single family dwellings were the most common building type on the hill. Small one to two story wood frame buildings appeared first, and were soon joined by larger, more elaborate homes. The 25' lot size, part of I.W. Smith's original platting scheme, offered a wide range of options to home builders and resulted in a diverse pattern of building sizes. A two-story home on two lots might adjoin a modest cottage of only a few rooms. Most Hilltop structures in this era were either mostly unadorned gable roofed boxes or featured late-Victorian or Italianate details, expressed in wood, the ubiquitous building material. Even very modest homes featured unique wooden details such as cornice brackets or pattern shingles, reflecting the builder's desire to incorporate stylistic details in an otherwise rudimentary structure. The open space generated by the scattered development pattern of the community provided room for residents to grow fruit and vegetables, and to house chickens and other livestock.

As alternatives to the single-family homes, a few double houses were built on the Hilltop before 1900, as were two blocks of small wooden rowhouses, and several "tenements" (apartment buildings). In this era, multiple unit dwellings were much less prevalent than single dwellings. However, the "single-family" homes were often shared by unrelated individuals, or occupied by extended families. Families typically lived in extended family households, encompassing several generations or related married couples who all would contribute to the household economy. Families would take in boarders to help defray their own housing costs. Many boarding houses were run by single women--often widows who took in boarders in order to earn an income. The boarders were often people without family in Tacoma, transient workers, or newly immigrated. They would live in boarding or lodging houses, or rent rooms in homes, until they could attain their own "stake."

The majority of the buildings in the developing additions tended to follow the regular pattern of the streets, and be spaced at fairly consistent setbacks from the street, with modest front yards and larger rear yards. Not all development, however, followed this pattern. One variation on the

---

<sup>13</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 56.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number     E     Page     6     of     Hilltop Neighborhood MPN    

---

Hilltop, seen in the 600 block of S. J, was the placement of modest first homes at the rear of the lot, as a precursor to larger residences that would sit closer to the street. Where one house reached almost to the front property line, a subsequent builder might place the adjacent house at the rear of the lot to obtain better light and ventilation in side windows. An example of this staggering of setbacks occurs along the eastern side of the 1200 block of S. M Street.

The Hilltop contained several significant variants from the grid ranging from the formality of a park-centered subdivision to the informality of squatters' settlements. C.P. Ferry, in his 1888 addition, divided S. 14th Street and placed a block-long oval park in the center, in which he subsequently installed statuary acquired on a trip to Europe. He then rotated lots on S. 14th Street to face onto the park. Ferry extended the park southward through the center of the block from S. 14th Street to S. 16th Street for the use of its surrounding residents.<sup>14</sup> Ferry's alterations to the established grid reflected his desire to give the development a more sophisticated urban feel. In contrast to Ferry's sense of urban order, squatter developments in the Hilltop emphasized the spontaneity and impermanence of many frontier communities. Absentee owners, litigation, and delays in marketing the Smith & Fife and Alliance Additions provided opportunities for squatters to establish homes in parts of the neighborhood. Often existing just beyond the limits of graded streets, squatters' constructions did not conform to the grid, but were sited randomly without regard for property lines or street rights-of-way. Contemporary accounts indicate that the squatters appropriated not only land, but also building materials. In the Alliance Addition, shanty construction materials included second hand doors, windows, blankets, and oil-cloth tablespreads.<sup>15</sup> Although they lived on the edge of the developing community, squatters in the Smith & Fife Addition were active in community affairs. Many were registered voters, and they organized and fought actively against challenges to their occupancy of the land. These settlements endured until after the turn of the century, when they were removed by the property owners to enable formal subdivision and sale of the land.

Numerous small shops and businesses dotted the Hilltop, providing grocery items and needed services close at hand. Typically located on corners, these structures often had living space for the proprietor and proprietor's family above the ground floor commercial space. Churches and civic institutions also took their place alongside the Hilltop's residential and commercial buildings. Schools in the city faced ever-expanding enrollment. In 1890, overflow classes from school buildings were meeting in four rented store buildings.<sup>16</sup> Tacoma's first public school, Central School, stood at S. G Street and S. 11th Streets. By 1896, students attended classes in the Bryant School at S. 7th Street and Ainsworth Avenue, Irving Public School at S. 20th Street and Hosmer Street, the Lincoln School at 16th and K Streets, and the University Public School at S. I and S. 21st Street. Although Tacoma's first college, Washington College, closed by 1896, the private Visitation Academy educated Catholic students at S. 18th and S. I Street, and the Puget Sound University building contained both classroom and dormitory spaces at S. 9th and S. G Street, until it was converted for use as Tacoma's first high school in the late 1890s.

---

<sup>14</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 22.

<sup>15</sup>TDL, September 3, 1889.

<sup>16</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 54.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   7   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

The city sited public services in the Hilltop to meet the needs of the growing population. For example, the Fire Department's Engine House No. 5 stood in the 1200 block of S. I Street, and Engine House No. 2 was located at S. 27th Street and Yakima Avenue. By 1896, the municipal water system's iron standpipe rose 120 feet in the air at S. J and 20th Streets. This landmark tower was part of an extensive municipal water system which pumped over 4.5 million gallons daily into Tacoma. The city's first two hospitals, Fanny Paddock Memorial Hospital (now Tacoma General) and St. Joseph's Hospital, selected locations at the north and south edge of the Hilltop, respectively. These sites offered the hospital an opportunity to treat patients away from the bustling waterfront and commercial area in a more tranquil setting. Not all services were public however; many social services were considered private sector responsibilities. For example, at a residence at 1214 M.L.King Way, described by a census taker as a "Baby House," a couple and their missionary daughter cared for over twenty abandoned or orphaned children.<sup>17</sup> Other signs of the Hilltop community's growing role in the city was the construction of the city "ball ground," the baseball field in the block between S. 11th and S. 12th Streets and S. L and S. M Streets.

Many settlers in the first wave of immigrants to the northwest came from other parts of the United States, especially the midwest. The first foreign immigration to the Northwest consisted primarily of Scandinavians, Britons, Germans, and Canadians.<sup>18</sup> The churches founded in the Hilltop in the late 1890s suggest that settlement in the Hilltop followed this regional pattern. By 1900, for example, the Hilltop housed five Evangelical Lutheran churches--each supported by a German, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, or English congregation. Members of many other ethnic and racial groups also built churches which indicate their presence in the community. A few of the many religious congregations locating places of worship in the Hilltop during the first expansion were the Temple Beth Israel at S. 10th and I Streets, the Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church at S. 14th and G Streets, and St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at S. 25th and I Streets.

Chinese immigrants are noticeably absent from Tacoma's historic ethnic mix--particularly in comparison to other cities in the region. Recruited in the thousands to complete the Kalama railroad spur from Tacoma to the Columbia Gorge, Chinese settlers remained in Tacoma once their work on the railroad was finished. In the city, the Chinese established thriving mercantile businesses, particularly in the vicinity of S. 17th Street and Broadway. However, during the region's frequent economic downturns, struggling non-Chinese workers resented the presence of this Chinese workforce. In 1885, following a period of intensified harassment, a mob supported by the city government forcibly evicted the Chinese from Tacoma, destroying their homes and businesses. This violent event garnered negative publicity for Tacoma nationally, and created a climate which led future Chinese immigrants to avoid Tacoma.<sup>19</sup>

By the 1890s, the city had spread noticeably beyond its early borders. Industrial development had leapt out to the tide flats. The improved rail access spurred Tacoma's development as people

---

<sup>17</sup>1900 Federal Census.

<sup>18</sup>Carl Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest*, p. 186-7.

<sup>19</sup>Lorraine Hildebrand, *Straw Hats, Sandals, and Steel: The Chinese in Washington State*, p. 49-59.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet

Section number  E  Page  8  of  Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

flocked to jobs in the emerging industries; by 1890, 36,000 people lived in the city.<sup>20</sup> By 1893, Tacoma had become a busy city of 52,000 people. Tacoma was a center for the processing and shipment of the region's many natural resources, including timber from surrounding forests, coal from the valleys near Mt. Rainier, and flour from eastern Washington. Sawmills and flour mills, counted among the nation's most productive, sprang up along the shores of Commencement Bay, along with warehouses, coal bunkers, shipyards, and wharves developed to support the railroad and shipping industries. Tacoma participated in an increasingly international market, shipping lumber to Australia, wheat to France, and flour to Ireland.<sup>21</sup> In 1892, the arrival of the first steamship from Japan portended the coming importance of Tacoma as a Pacific Rim shipping center. Hundred of Tacomans greeted the ship, which brought Japanese immigrants and a cargo of tea, silk, rice, firecrackers, and sugar.<sup>22</sup>

By 1893, the grid of residential settlement pushed out to Sprague Avenue and beyond. Development reached several blocks north of Division Avenue toward Old Tacoma and crept up the hills south of the tide flats. Almost all the land in the Hilltop had been platted and put on the market. Increasingly, Tacoma could point to symbols of urban sophistication to fight an image as a crude frontier community: Wright Park had been laid out and elegantly landscaped and the new brick municipal building stood at the north end of the city center. A grand Richardsonian Romanesque County Court House stood at S. 11th Street and Tacoma Avenue, its tower a prominent landmark at the edge of the Hilltop, and two streets--including Tacoma Avenue--had been "macadamized."

This first era of the Hilltop's development ended as the nation-wide depression of 1893-1897 slowed development. The crash particularly devastated the northwest's wildly speculative real estate markets. The once wealthy turned back to the land to earn a living; real estate moguls became the janitors in their own buildings.<sup>23</sup> Thousands of discouraged fortune seekers pulled up their shallow roots and left Tacoma. Between 1893 and 1900, Tacoma's population fell from 52,000 to 37,000 people, as residents returned to the east, moved south to California, or headed north to seek their fortunes in the Yukon gold fields.<sup>24</sup> The completion of the Great Northern Railroad's transcontinental rail line to Seattle in 1893 compounded Tacoma's economic woes by diminishing the city's importance as Puget Sound's primary shipping and rail hub. Tacoma's fragile rail link to the eastern states was shaken as bitter labor disputes and the bankruptcy proceedings disrupted Northern Pacific Railroad service and raised questions about the future of the line. In Tacoma, the effects of the Panic of 1893 would linger until nearly the turn of the century, when national economic upturn aided by the Spanish-American War and the discovery of gold in the Yukon helped restart Tacoma's economic engines.

---

<sup>20</sup>Morgan, p. 75.

<sup>21</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 69

<sup>22</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 86.

<sup>23</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 112.

<sup>24</sup>Morgan, p. 75.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   9   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

## II. Branching Out: 1900-1930

In the early 1900s, the national economy had improved, and Tacoma's population began to rise again. Between 1900 and 1910, Tacoma's population jumped from 37,000 to 83,000 people. By 1920, the city had 97,000 residents, and 125,000 residents by 1925.<sup>25</sup> Local economic developments such as a major expansion of the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company operations in 1901 provided new job opportunities. Also, events outside the northwest region such as the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire created a demand for Tacoma's cut lumber, as did the rise of war-related industries during World War I. Across the Hilltop, new homes, apartments, churches, community institutions, and businesses sprang up to house, support, and serve the new arrivals. Street cars enabled new construction to spread even farther from Tacoma's primary business centers. While the Hilltop community became even more international and multi-ethnic, it maintained a tradition as a place where residents of all backgrounds mixed together.

After the turn of the century, the city's original cable car running up 11th and down 13th Streets from A to S. K Streets was joined by an extensive network of trolley lines crossing the city and affording far flung residential neighborhoods greater accessibility to the downtown. In the Hilltop, a line ran along S. K Street to S. 23rd Street, where it turned west and ran to Hosmer Street. Tacoma Avenue and Sprague Avenue carried north/south lines, and Sixth Avenue, S. 9th Street, and S. 15th Streets carried lines westward from the Hilltop. The Sprague Avenue line, run by the Pacific Traction Co., continued on to Steilacoom and Gravelly Lake. In 1902, the city's four main street car lines were purchased by a Boston-based corporation and unified as the Tacoma Railway and Power Company of New Jersey. The new owner was able to make badly needed improvements in the lines' infrastructure and organization, improving the quality of service.<sup>26</sup> The street cars continued to have a significant impact on the patterns of community development. The expanded street car network made properties farther from the commercial and industrial core of Tacoma more appealing to homeowners. Real estate ads, recognizing street car access as a key selling point, frequently specified the number of blocks from a property to a street car line.

The Hilltop's frenzied land market had slowed after 1891; no new additions were placed on the market until 1903. However, in that year and in subsequent years, developers responded to the new century of expansion by platting several new additions in the Hilltop and resolving old land disputes. In 1903, the Commonwealth Addition was put on the market. Over 500 lots in the Smith and Fife addition, bounded on the east and west by S. J Street and S. Grant Avenue, and on the north and south by S. 19th Street and S. 27th Street, were put back on the market in 1904 following the resolution of a ten year dispute over the property. Similarly, streets following the city's grid were carved through the Alliance Addition, which was divided by court order and placed on the market in 1906. In 1907, initial platting of the Hilltop was completed as Baker's Second Addition--the final large tract of undeveloped private land--went on the market. Overall, the Hilltop, like Tacoma, began to take on a more settled appearance. Public sewers replaced

---

<sup>25</sup>(Metzker of 1925

<sup>26</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 203.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   10   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

backyard privies, gas and/or electric lights illuminated both homes and streets, and paved streets and sidewalks supplanted the often muddy dirt roads and plank walkways of the first expansion.

The newly-available lots, along with the undeveloped lots in areas platted before 1900, continued to fill with homes. While a few builders developed multi-home speculative projects, overall, an eclectic mix of home types and styles reflecting the design choices of individual builders and owners continued to characterize the community. Although Hilltop residents came from many diverse backgrounds, their housing reflected a range of contemporary styles popularized by pattern books of the time. Use of construction techniques or design elements associated with various ethnic or regional styles are not readily observed in the Hilltop's building stock. As bungalow and craftsman styles became popular, the details associated with the styles were incorporated into the Hilltop's vernacular wooden structures. For larger homes, the shingle style and American foursquare provided inspiration. Houses, most with front porches, continued to orient to the street and typically responded to established setbacks. Alleys provided service access to rear yards. Sheds in the rear yards were often converted for garages to accommodate the arrival of the automobile allowing porches rather than garages to continue to dominate the street scape. While new homes did infill on some lots between older homes, the leap-frog development pattern continued, leaving empty lots between houses which provided open space for vegetable gardens, fruit orchards, and children's games.

After 1900, apartments became an increasingly popular housing alternative for those who did not own or rent homes. The northeastern area of the Hilltop saw the construction of the greatest proportion of the community's apartment buildings. This area, well-served by trolleys and close to the expansive open space of Wright Park, created a transition between the single family neighborhoods and the downtown core. Many of the new apartments were two-story wooden structures containing six to eight units. Architectural features---including the hipped roofs, wooden siding, windows, and porches--resembled those of the surrounding homes, only applied to larger buildings. Developers also constructed larger three to four story brick (occasionally wooden) apartment buildings. With flat roofs and decorative wood or pressed metal cornices, these buildings drew design elements from commercial buildings and apartments found in urban neighborhoods throughout the country. These smaller wooden and brick buildings characterized apartment development in the 1910s; the 1920s saw a trend toward larger apartment structures. Stretching from lot line to lot line, leaving no setbacks from the street, these large brick and concrete structures increased the residential density and created a more urban streetscape than that associated with the smaller multi-family structures.

After the turn of the century, the "K Street" corridor (now M.L.King Way) emerged as the main focus of community business and social activity. This development was spurred by the intersection of the street car and cable care lines at S. 11th and S. K Streets. While a small commercial district comprised of small wooden buildings emerged at the top of the hill in the 1880s, after 1900 brick buildings, distinguished in their form and materials from the surrounding wooden residential structures, began lining the area near the intersection of S. 11th and S. K Streets. This transition to brick structures was hastened by a fire in 1910 which destroyed buildings on the west side of S. K Street between S. 10th Street and S. 11th Street. Along S. K Street, two-story commercial buildings were typically built flush with the sidewalk, similar to the

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number     E     Page     11     of     Hilltop Neighborhood MPN    

---

larger commercial structures in the downtown. Many buildings had office or residential space on the second floor above a ground floor retail space. The stores offered a variety of groceries, produce, baked goods, fresh meat and fish, confections from the Johnson Candy Company, and services such as watch repair or dress making. The "K Street" corridor was an important center of community social life as well as commercial activity. The K Street Theater offered movies after 1924, the Lincoln Theater showed movies in the 1500 block of King, or one could play billiards, dine at a restaurant, or meet friends for beer after work at one of the beer parlors. The district's growth was encouraged in the 1910s by the Kay Street Boosters, a local civic organization. In 1919, the newly formed K Street Business Men's Association (an outgrowth of the Kay Street Boosters) successfully lobbied the city to install ornamental street lights. After the installation of the street lights from Division Avenue to S. 23rd Street, the boosters held a celebratory--and no doubt promotional--street dance on several blocks of S. K Street.

Street cars which linked the Hilltop's various additions with the downtown also concentrated shopping traffic on set routes, thereby aiding the development of neighborhood commercial centers. Businesses concentrated near the intersection of S. 23rd Street and S. K Street where the street car turned from S. K Street and headed east on S. 23rd Street. The cluster of shops provided goods and services to residents from the surrounding streets. People had close at hand stores selling groceries, meat, and baked goods, and offering services including shoe repair, haircuts, and dry cleaning.

After 1910, the influence of the automobile became increasingly felt in the community. Auto-related businesses, such as gas stations, garages, and the dealerships emerged in the Hilltop. In 1914, "jitneys" became an alternative form of public transportation. These private mini-buses, offering nickel rides, challenged the street car as a mode of travel. Because the jitneys were not confined to tracks and traveled at what pedestrians considered a dangerous speed, many considered them a menace. Although city commissioners attempted to limit the speed and control stop locations, they were not successful, and the jitneys continued to carom wildly about, with passengers crammed in the streets and hanging from the running boards.<sup>27</sup> Some individuals even expressed concern that the competition from jitney service would hinder street car expansion--and the development of outlying areas. Little did they imagine that the private auto would impel, not impede, suburban expansion.

During the second phase of the community's growth, people arrived in the Hilltop from countries including Turkey, England, Norway, Ireland, Wales, Italy, Denmark, Russia, Bohemia, Sweden, and Germany, as well as from almost every other state. In response to the needs of these new residents, the Home Missionary Board of the Methodist Church founded the Tacoma Community House, a Hilltop-based settlement house in 1907. Programs at the house expanded throughout the 1910s. Activities included kindergarten, Camp Fire Girls, the Younger Brothers' Club, the Junior and Senior Boy's Club, the Mother's Club, the Mothers' English class, the men's English Class, a junior choir, recreational athletic clubs, and an active home visitation program. In the 1910s, the Community House served a diverse group of neighborhood residents, described as "Italians,

---

<sup>27</sup>Hunt, Vol. II, p. 252.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet

Section number   E   Page   12   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

Jews, Syrian, Hungarian, Poles, Austrians, Germans, French, Welsh, Irish, Scandinavians, and Negroes."<sup>28</sup>

After the turn of the century new waves of immigrants from Italy and Eastern Europe arrived in the Hilltop. As these peoples settled, churches which reflected the religious and cultural traditions of the newcomers soon appeared, and therefore serve as an important indicator of community development patterns. Also, existing populations announced prosperity with the construction of new churches. In 1924, St. Rita's Roman Catholic Church was built just west of Ferry Park in an area with a concentration of Italian residents. In 1925, the Greek community constructed St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox church, a substantial brick building just below the crest of the hill on Yakima Avenue at 1529 S. Street. One block north in the 1400 block of S. Yakima Avenue, the Allen AME Church's new brick structure rose in 1929.

While the neighborhood's various cultural groups tended to concentrate themselves in certain parts of the neighborhood, often near a church which was a spiritual and social center in the community, these areas were loosely defined. A sizable number of Russian or "Volga" Germans arrived in the Hilltop following increased efforts by the Russian State to revoke privileges originally granted to these German settlers in Russia, the Russian Revolution and the outbreak of World War I. Many Volga Germans settled in the southwestern area of the Hilltop. The vicinity of S. 23rd and King Way became known as "Little Russia," because of the presence of stores operated by and catering to these newcomers.<sup>29</sup> These residents also established three small churches within the area between Cushman Street and Sprague Avenue and S. 21st and S. 23rd Streets. These churches were the Evangelical Lutheran (Peace) Church, at 2102 S. Cushman Street, the Evangelical Emmanuel Church at 23rd and Cushman, and the Congregational Church at 23rd and Cushman.<sup>30</sup>

The Italian-American community, while interspersed throughout the Hilltop, was concentrated in the area between S. 14th Street, S. 19th Street, S. K Street, and Sprague Avenue.<sup>31</sup> However, census takers in 1910 and 1920 found a mix of Italian, Swedish, and Norwegian households in the "Italian" area around Ferry Park. A directory of African-Americans in Tacoma and Pierce County, published in 1929, provides information about families living at addresses throughout the Hilltop. Residents listed in the directory with Hilltop addresses lived, for the most part, east of Ainsworth Avenue and at addresses dispersed throughout the Hilltop between Sixth Avenue and S. 23rd Street.<sup>32</sup>

Fraternal organizations played an important role in community life, providing social opportunities and performing charitable work. Two fraternal organizations built prominent social halls on M.L.King Way. In 1906, the Swedish Order of Valhalla built Valhalla Hall, M.L.King Way's

---

<sup>28</sup>"New Building Will Care for Greater Settlement Needs." Tacoma Community House Clipping File, Tacoma Public Library.

<sup>29</sup>*Voices from our Past*, 94-95.

<sup>30</sup>*Voices from Our Past*, p. 94.

<sup>31</sup>*Voices from our Past*, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup>Census and History of Pierce County Negroes, 1929

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet

Section number  E  Page  13  of  Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

largest structure at the time. The hall housed offices and a large meeting hall, with commercial businesses on the first floor. Fifteen years later, the Sons of Norway constructed Normanna Hall a few blocks further south on M.L.King Way. Their large brick hall also featured commercial businesses along King coupled with meeting spaces and large halls above the street. Another community fraternal organization, the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, an African-American fraternal organization, purchased and renovated a hall at 1529 Tacoma Avenue. Other fraternal organizations met in church facilities. For example, the Hibernians--an organization of people of Irish descent--met in St. Leo's parish hall on Yakima Avenue.

Private homes were also an important focus of civic and social activity, particularly for women's organizations. Women's clubs, which were important forums in the early twentieth century for addressing issues ranging from social reform to fine arts, often met at private homes. For example, in 1908, Dr. Nettie Asberry, an influential African-American Hilltop resident, organized the Clover Leaf Art Club, which had as its goals promoting of friendship among its members, developing an interest in needlework and handicraft; providing assistance to the less fortunate, and bringing about the formation of a state Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. The club initially met in the members homes. Eventually, Dr. Asberry saw her vision realized and a Tacoma chapter of the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs was formed. In 1956, the chapter opened a clubhouse in the 2500 block of Yakima Avenue which still stands today.

Whatever the racial, ethnic, or religious background of their families, the Hilltop's many children came together in the neighborhood's public schools. In the 1910s, the community was "the most thickly populated school district in the city."<sup>33</sup> Faced with deteriorated wooden school buildings of Irving, Lincoln, and Bryant Schools, and an ever increasing student population, the school district made substantial investments in three new public schools in the Hilltop. The ultra-modern Central School in the 800 block of Tacoma Avenue South [1913] incorporated a separate educational facility for tubercular students, as well as classroom spaces specially designed for vocational training. Stanley School at S. 19th Street and S. Wilkinson Avenue, and McCarver Intermediate at S. 21st Street and Yakima Avenue South [1925] were also built in this era. Additionally, St. Leo's Roman Catholic High School opened for grammar and high-school aged boys in 1913. All these schools, public and private, were large brick structures, indicated the community's commitment to education.

The region's resource-based economy continued to experience ups and downs, although none was as severe as the crisis of the 1890s. During World War I the shipyard contributed greatly to the city's workforce as it grew to employ 14,500 people. The expansion of Camp Lewis brought even more people to the area. At the end of World War I, however, the shipyards, sawmills, and coal mines in the area scaled back production, and as a result, many jobs were lost. The development of the California oil fields diminished the importance of the local coal fields, and therefore the importance of Tacoma as a coal-shipping port. In spite of these fluctuations, growth continued in most resource-based industries. Inexpensive power rates had attracted numerous manufacturing concerns, many processing timber. Mills--employing over 10,000 people--lined the western shore

---

<sup>33</sup>"Strides Made Last Year Exceed All Former Years," *TDL*, February 19, 1913.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet

Section number  E  Page  14  of  Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

of Commencement Bay, and rail lines criss-crossed the tide flats. By 1925, Tacoma manufactured more forest products than any other city in America.<sup>34</sup> Tacoma's port grew in importance, trading with countries throughout the Pacific Rim, as well as Europe and the east of the United States via the Panama Canal.

In the Hilltop, these developments were reflected in the employment opportunities for the community's residents. Industrial growth saw more men employed as riveters in the shipyard or laborers at the saw mills. The expansion of the city led to jobs for many Hilltop men in the building trades, on city street building crews, or as conductors for the street railways. Population growth increased opportunities for owners of neighborhood service businesses, such as barber shops. Many of the neighborhood's single women (who typically lived with their parents) and many married women without small children worked outside the home, contributing their wages to support the family. Although the traditionally male industrial and building trades jobs were not open to women, women from the Hilltop did find employment as clerks, sales ladies, book keepers, domestics, dressmakers, and proprietors of shops selling groceries or dry goods.

Through the 1920s, home ownership continued to be an attainable goal for working class people in Tacoma. In 1926, 60% of the "laboring class" were homeowners.<sup>35</sup> The Hilltop, with a mix both rental and owner-occupied single family homes, reflected that trend. By 1930, the neighborhood had taken on its basic form: a mix of housing options, and a fairly uninterrupted grid of streets subdivided by transportation corridors such as M.L.King Way, Sixth Avenue, S. 19th Street, and S. 23rd Street which attracted the bulk of the commercial development.

### III. Filling In: 1930-1950

The Great Depression of the 1930s slowed Tacoma's economic expansion. During the 1930s, the Hilltop saw little development activity other than government-funded projects. The slowdown endured until World War II, when war-related production once again brought new jobs and new workers to the city. In the 1940s, World War II expanded the numbers of personnel stationed at Fort Lewis and reinvigorated Tacoma's shipbuilding and lumber industries. Consequently, Tacoma's population began to grow again. In response to the upswing in population, new housing and commercial properties were added in the Hilltop. Development had already reached all corners of the Hilltop; new construction during this phase of the Hilltop's evolution both replaced existing buildings and filled in vacant lots. During this phase of the community's development, automobiles rather than the street car began to have the strongest influence on the patterns of community development.

During the 1930s, the most significant construction in the community was government funded. In 1935, after successful lobbying by the Kay Street Business Men's Association, the city constructed Fire Station 4 on S. 12th Street at Cushman Street. Fire Station 4, one of two stations

---

<sup>34</sup>Tacoma Facts." Metsker's Pocket Map of Tacoma, 1927.

<sup>35</sup>"ibid.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number  E  Page  15  of  Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

built in the city as work relief projects, was designed not only to house fire service for the Hilltop, but also to be used as a training resource for firefighters from throughout the city. In the early 1930s, the city also developed a pump station at the base of the existing water tower on S. J Street to augment the water system. These structures, in addition to being two of the few public buildings constructed during the 1930s in the Hilltop, are also two of the neighborhood's few examples of Art Deco architecture.

After the United States entered World War II, workers streamed into Tacoma to take jobs in the boom of war-related industries. As a result, the housing vacancy rate in the city dropped to less than two percent. In the Hilltop this intense demand did not appear to generate a significant volume of new construction. Instead, existing structures were divided to house additional people. At the close of the war, the community saw increased construction of single-family dwellings, many on the periphery of the neighborhoods. While the single-family homes remained the most common building type, these post-war homes introduced new architectural motifs--particularly those associated with the rambler style. Typically one story, with a low-pitched roof, these homes featured small front stoops instead of porches, and gave increased prominence to the recently-introduced front garage. The expressive wooden details seen on earlier homes in the community were no longer incorporated. Reflecting the growing popularity of the automobile, garages accessed from the street, rather than the alley, became increasingly common. Many earlier buildings were upgraded with concrete foundations to accommodate basement garages accessed from the street.

While some church construction took place in this era, the pace of construction was much slower than in the prior era of community development. Faith Temple, erected in 1942, was one of the few buildings to join the community's extensive stock of church structures between 1930 and 1950. Rather than new church construction, this era saw some congregations shifting to more suburban locations and others relocating to buildings originally constructed for other congregations. Some congregations, while remaining in their original location, changed their names from ones clearly associated with a particular ethnic group to names which placed more significance on religious themes. For example, the German Baptist Church at 2001 S. J Street became Calvary Baptist, and the First Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church became the Messiah Lutheran Church. Through all these changes, religion continued to play a significant role in community life--the Hilltop contained over thirty community churches in 1950.

Many Hilltop businesses weathered the economic pressures of the depression and the upheaval of World War II. While the smaller businesses experienced turnover in owners, overall the commercial area experienced continued growth, even after busses replaced the cable car line in 1938. The "K Street" commercial center offered Hilltop residents an increasing array of entertainment, services, and goods. New businesses appeared following the war, including Hi-Gloss Photography, the Play-Mor bowling lanes, several taverns, and appliance stores. A sign of the area's growing identity as a commercial center, businesses on K Street increasingly used their location, rather than the owner's name to identify themselves. In 1950, the 1100 block of S. K Street had the K Street Deli, the K Street Club Beer Hall, the K Street Barber Shop, and the K Street Theater. In 1940, the Puyallup-based Totem Foods chain constructed a new building at the corner of S. 11th Street and S. K Street. The development of this large grocery store in the

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet

Section number     E     Page   16   of     Hilltop Neighborhood MPN    

---

neighborhood reflected a consumer trend away from small neighborhood stores specializing in produce, meat, or baked goods, or farmers' markets to shopping at larger corporate owned "supermarkets." A week's worth of groceries could now go in the trunk of the car, eliminating the need to shop daily for quantities of food which could be carried home.

Reflecting the trend toward automobile-oriented, single use commercial developments, several businesses established operations on S. K Street in the 1940s on the edges of the commercial district. The Olympic Dairy bottling and distribution facility occupied a full half block at the corner of 9th and S. K Street. The dairy selected the site because it offered good access for its delivery drivers to all parts of town. A large rotating milk bottle mounted on the top of the building provided a well-recognized local landmark. In 1949, long-time Hilltop business Johnson's Candy Company built a new store on S. K Street (where it has been in operation ever since). These commercial businesses all located in single story buildings, in contrast to the earlier two-story buildings developed in the "K Street" commercial corridor. The one-story buildings reflected a trend away from pedestrian-oriented mixed-use commercial buildings with a first floor business and a shop keeper as resident above toward bigger commercial centers with a regional focus and corporate operation oriented toward shoppers in automobiles.

While World War II brought increased opportunities to some Hilltop residents, others experienced extreme upheaval. The Japanese-American community, focused in the area around the Japanese language school at 1715 Tacoma Avenue S., was well-represented in the Hilltop's business community before World War II. In 1941, Japanese-Americans owned seven grocery stores in the eastern part of the Hilltop. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, however, the federal government evicted and interned these Tacomans, shattering their community and withdrawing their significant contributions to the Hilltop neighborhood. With the war's end, few returned to re-establish businesses in the community.

When the war ended, new residents continued to settle in the Hilltop. Many who had migrated to the region to work in the war industries, or who had been at Fort Lewis, McChord, or Camp Murray during the war, decided to stay in the region. These new residents included many African-Americans who had come west from the midwest and southern states to participate in the war effort and escape discrimination and poverty.

While, the expanding suburbs, populated with car commuters, competed with existing city neighborhoods for residents, community organizations held fast in the Hilltop. In 1950, a wide variety of community organizations based on shared ethnic history, political interests, or labor activism shared Normanna Hall. Not only the Sons and Daughters of Norway, but also the Sons and Sisters of Herman, the Sons and Daughters of Italy, the Knights of Columbus, the Gasoline Dealers Association, the International Brotherhood of Pulp and Paper Workers, the Tacoma Civil Service League, and the Pierce County Democratic League met at the hall.<sup>36</sup> At 1529 Tacoma Avenue, the Elks' Lodge continued to house African-American social and benevolent organizations

---

<sup>36</sup>Polk's City of Tacoma Directory, 1951.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

**National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet**

Section number   E   Page   17   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

including Elks, the Free and Accepted Masons, and the Order of the Eastern Star. Valhalla Lodge, at 1216 M.L.King Way, remained the hall for the Swedish Order of Valhalla.

The experience of the Hilltop in the years following the war generally reflected continuity with the patterns established since the neighborhood's initial development. The Hilltop offered a wide range of housing options to the people whose work built Tacoma's many industries. The community also featured a vibrant ethnic mix and a wealth of social and religious organizations, including churches, social, and civic clubs. These institutions, along with the neighborhood commercial districts and the "K Street" corridor, enabled the Hilltop to function as an independent community--but one with close ties to the larger city.

---

## F. Associated Property Types

---

### I. Name of Property Type: Residential Properties of the Hilltop

### II. Description

The historic residential properties of the Hilltop include two basic types: single family dwellings, and multi-family dwellings, which include semi-attached houses and apartment buildings.

**Single dwellings.** People in the hilltop developed a wide range of housing types as a result of the 25' x 130' basic lot width in the Hilltop. Consequently one finds a tremendous diversity in the sizes and style of the single-family houses on the Hilltop. Even on the same block houses might range from tiny workman's cottages to larger homes situated on two or more lots. Houses were built close to the lot lines and to neighboring homes, or spaced with gardens and orchards on the adjoining lots. Architecturally, homes range from common vernacular incorporating stylistic elements popular at the time to larger architect-designed homes. Over time, builders used motifs from numerous popular architectural styles, including late-Victorian, bungalow, Queen Anne, Craftsman, stick, and American foursquare styles. Because development on the Hilltop tended to leapfrog rather than progress uniformly, one often finds homes from different phases of the neighborhood's development sharing the same block. While the Hilltop was developed and settled by people from a wide variety of backgrounds, the residential architecture of the Hilltop reflects adaptation to the local trends and construction techniques more than it expresses the heritages of the initial builders and residents. Architectural styles--or even details which might associated with various ethnic groups--are not readily discerned in the buildings. Most homes featured wood-frame construction with wood siding, shingles, and ornament. Stone foundations are found on some of the earlier homes. Many homes' foundations are either cast stone or a concrete or concrete block replacement for an earlier foundation. Brick was rarely used in the Hilltop for residential construction before the 1950s.

Most of the residential development in the Hilltop consisted of individual houses rather than large multiple-home "tract" construction projects. However, at several locations in the neighborhood one can identify a series houses of built by the same developer. Such developments include the 1900 block of S. G Street, the 700 Block of S. J Street, or the 2500 block of S. Ash Street.

**Multiple Dwellings.** A few multi-unit wood frame apartment dwellings--known historically as tenements--were built in the first phase of the Hilltop's development. One substantially altered property of this type remains at 1301 S. G Street. Double (semi-attached) houses were another housing option. An example of an 1880s double house in the Hilltop stands at 1320 S. I Street. Two groups of six row houses, built at the same time, now substantially altered, frame the 1300 block of S. 7th and S. 8th Streets. Built c. 1890, these homes are the only identified row houses constructed in the Hilltop. After the turn of the century, apartment living became a more widely accepted form of housing, and a significant number of multi-unit properties appeared in the Hilltop. Located primarily in the northeastern part of the Hilltop, close to downtown Tacoma, and along the Sixth Avenue street car route, these buildings created a transition from the commercial downtown to the quieter single family residential districts developing to the west and south. Many of these apartments were two-story wood frame structures, which took their design motifs from single family homes. Extant examples of this type of structure include 1305 and 1317 Sixth Avenue, and 1402 S. 8th Street. Other apartment buildings were three and four story brick boxes, taking designs from more urban commercial properties. The McIlvane Apartments at 920 S. 9th Street, and the McDonnell Apartments at 621 S. Yakima Avenue represent this property type. While the majority of apartments constructed in the Hilltop after 1900 were smaller infill projects, toward the late 1920s large brick and concrete apartment blocks appeared. These brick buildings

X See continuation sheet.

---

X See continuation sheet for additional property types

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number F Page 1 of Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

were typically four story walk-up blocks with rather simple architectural ornament; advertisements emphasized modern amenities such as built-in radios. The buildings tend to have little or no street setback. Apartments of this later type include the Charlesbee Apartments [1928] at 801 S. G Street, the Bolivar Apartments [c.1930] at 821 S. Yakima Avenue and the Granada Apartments [1926] at 1224 S. Yakima Avenue.

### III. Significance

Residential properties in the Hilltop are significant for their association with the development of the Hilltop as a community housing the workforce which sustained Tacoma's economic and commercial development and prominence. The residential buildings document the wide variety of housing options available to Tacomans, and the architectural styles and elements residents and builders selected over time. The structures, both individually and when considered in relation to each other, document the patterns of neighborhood formation. Even individual residential structures which have experienced a loss of historic fabric still make significant contributions to the streetscape and to an understanding of the neighborhood's formation. Associated historic contexts for this property type are: "First Expansion: 1875-1900," "Branching Out: 1900-1930," and "Filling In: 1930-1950."

### IV. Registration Requirements

To be considered for inclusion in this multiple property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, a residential property must meet two requirements. First, the property must be significantly associated with the formation of the Hilltop neighborhood between 1875 and 1950, or be associated with a person or group of people significant in the history of the neighborhood, or it must be a representative example of an architectural form, style, or period found in the Hilltop. Secondly, the property must retain integrity. "Integrity" for residential properties implies retention of basic elements of the original form, siting, and materials. A property which is significant primarily for its associational qualities, rather than its architectural features, may be considered for registration if the dominant and characteristic features of the property are extant, even if some loss of historic fabric has occurred. Many Hilltop residential structures have been altered over time as maintenance and repairs have occurred. These changes should be carefully considered in the evaluation process.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number F Page 2 of Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

**I. Name of Property Type:** Commercial Properties of the Hilltop

**II. Description**

The historic commercial properties of the Hilltop community fall into two general categories: thoroughfare commercial and neighborhood commercial. **Neighborhood Commercial**. Prior to widespread ownership of refrigerators and automobiles, people bought fresh groceries frequently from local vendors. Small neighborhood groceries, often with an apartment for the grocer's family on the second floor, dotted the Hilltop. These wooden structures were typically located on a corner. The structures at 901 S. I Street (1889) and 1602 S. G Street (c. 1895) exemplify this type of structure. Small commercial nodes consisting of groups of shops also developed, usually in relation to a transit line. For example, several commercial structures stood at the intersection of S. 23rd Street and MLKing Way where the trolley turned the corner. Additional commercial nodes exist at S. 23rd Street and Hosmer and in the 700 block of Sixth Avenue. Occasionally, these commercial properties drew on features such as crenelated cornices which refer to larger commercial buildings in the city. **Thoroughfare Commercial**. Commercial properties with a community-wide clientele developed along the Hilltop's more heavily trafficked streets. Most of these structures are located on King Way near 11th Streets, which was historically an important transportation hub. Major Hilltop trolley and street-car routes joined at the intersection of King Way and S. 11th. Early commercial buildings at this crossroads were typically two-story brick buildings built flush with the sidewalk. Many had office or residential space over ground floor retail space. Later structures, such as the Totem Food Company's grocery, were only one story, with a large facade to give an impression of height. The Hilltop's few manufacturing/processing concerns also can be considered thoroughfare commercial structures. Production include the Mattei Bakery [1912], and the Olympic Dairy [1940] (both now substantially altered), as well as the Johnson's Candy Company [1949]. These facilities, all located on streets with excellent access, relied on the Hilltop's central location in Tacoma to facilitate regional distribution of their products. Other thoroughfare commercial structures can be found along through streets such as Sixth Avenue.

**III. Significance**

Commercial properties in the Hilltop are significant for their association with the development of the Hilltop neighborhood between 1875 and 1950. The commercial properties document both the change and continuity of business patterns in the neighborhood over time. These commercial buildings contribute to an understanding of the formation of the Hilltop and the social and historical factors which explain the structure and texture of the community. Extant commercial structures reflect both neighborhood self-sufficiency and the commercial role of the Hilltop within Tacoma. Associated historic contexts for this property type are: "First Expansion: 1875-1900," "Branching Out: 1900-1930," and "Filling In: 1930-1960."

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number F Page 3 of Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

### IV. Registration Requirements

To be considered for inclusion in this multiple property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, commercial properties must meet two requirements. First, the property must be significantly associated with the formation of the Hilltop neighborhood between 1875 and 1950, or a person or group of people significant in the community's history, or it must be a representative example of an significant architectural form, style, or period found in the Hilltop. Secondly, the property must retain integrity. "Integrity" for commercial properties implies retention of basic elements of the original form, significant facades, and the basic character of significant interior spaces. A property which is significant primarily for its associational qualities, rather than its architectural features, may be considered for registration if the dominant and characteristic features of the property are extant, even if some loss of historic fabric has occurred. Many of the Hilltop commercial buildings have been altered to accommodate changing business uses over time; these changes should be considered in the evaluation process.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   F   Page   4   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

**I. Name of Property Type:** Civic and Social Institutions of the Hilltop

**II. Description**

Properties associated with the historic civic and social institutions of the Hilltop fall into three broad categories: government and public services, education, and social and civic organizations. Overall, resources of this type represent a range of architectural styles and forms, reflective of their tremendously varied uses. **Public Services and Infrastructures.** Historically, a number of institutional buildings, sites, and structures in the Hilltop have supported provision of vital public services to the community. Extant examples of this property sub-type include the Washington National Guard Armory [1908], the Carnegie Library [1903], Fire Station No. 4 [1935], Ferry Park [1888], and the Water Tower and Pump Station [1895/1930]. **Educational Buildings.** Three historic schools--Central School [1913], McCarver School [1925], and St. Leo's Roman Catholic High School [1913]--remain to document the history of public and private school development in the Hilltop. **Social and Civic Organizations.** Social and civic organizations, often organized around a shared ethnic or racial heritage, played a significant part in the community life of the Hilltop. Some groups had the resources to build facilities to provide meeting spaces and offices to support their social and activist work. The Sons of Norway's Normanna Hall [1923], the Swedish Order of Valhalla's Valhalla Hall [1906], and the Federation of Colored Women's Clubs Clubhouse [1956] represent this property sub-type.

**III. Significance**

Civic and social institutional properties are significant for their association with the development of the Hilltop between 1875 and 1950. Properties of this type document the delivery of municipal services in the Hilltop neighborhood, and the important historic role of the Hilltop community as a civic, educational, and social center within the City of Tacoma. These buildings, structures, and open spaces contribute to an understanding of the formation of the Hilltop and the social and historical factors which explain the structure and texture of the community. Associated historic contexts for this property type are: "First Expansion: 1875-1900," "Branching Out: 1900-1930," and "Filling In: 1930-1950."

**IV. Registration Requirements**

To be considered for inclusion in this multiple property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, institutional properties must meet two requirements. First, the property must be significantly associated with the formation of the Hilltop neighborhood between 1875 and 1950, or significantly associated with a person or group of people significant in the community's history, or it must be a representative example of a significant architectural form, style, or period found in the Hilltop. Secondly, the property must retain integrity. "Integrity" for institutional properties implies retention of the significant elements of the siting, original form or structure, significant facades, and significant interior spaces. A property which is significant primarily for its associational qualities, rather than its architectural features, may be considered for registration if the dominant and characteristic features of the property are extant, even if some loss of historic fabric has occurred.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   F   Page   5   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

**I. Name of Property Type:** Religious Properties of the Hilltop

**II. Description**

The historic religious properties of the Hilltop include examples of both neighborhood-scale and larger community based churches. Many of the community's religious properties--no matter their size--were prominently located on corner lots. Most of the Hilltop's earlier churches were wood frame structures with a front corner or center steeple. While clearly identified by their scale and form as churches, these properties are often not distinguished by their materials from surrounding residential properties, and typically respect adjacent building setbacks. The German Lutheran Church [1885] at 1307 S. I Street and Shiloh Baptist Church at 1221 S. I Street are examples of pre-1900 wooden churches. The early 1900s saw a wave of church construction, including the Norwegian Free Lutheran Church [1902], and the Zion Evangelical German Lutheran Church [1908]. The second phase of Hilltop development also included the construction of several larger brick churches, including the Swedish Mission Tabernacle at 901 S. 10th [1909], Trinity United Presbyterian [1922], the Pentecostal Tabernacle [1929] and the St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church [1925]. The massing and materials used in these structures set them apart from the surrounding residential structures. The smaller-scale wood frame neighborhood church nevertheless persisted as a style into the late 1920s with the construction of buildings such as St. Rita's Roman Catholic Church [1924], and the Evangelical Lutheran Church [1920].

**III. Significance**

The Hilltop's religious buildings are significant for their association with the religious and social traditions of Hilltop's richly diverse population. The religious structures are prominent markers of the presence of ethnic and religious groups within the community organized around shared cultural and religious traditions--groups which organized themselves to build and sustain houses of worship. These religious properties contribute greatly to an understanding of the formation of the Hilltop and the social and historical factors which explain the structure of the community. Some churches may have significant associations with several religious organizations or ethnic or racial groups, since church structures may have been occupied by a series of different congregations and denominations over time. In addition to being places of worship, the Hilltop's religious structures have significance as important neighborhood social centers. Associated historic contexts for this property type are: "First Expansion: 1875-1900," "Branching Out: 1900-1930," and "Filling In: 1930-1950."

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number F Page 6 of Hilltop Neighborhood MPN

---

### IV. Registration Requirements

To be considered for inclusion in this multiple property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, religious properties must meet two requirements. First, the property must be significantly associated with the formation of the Hilltop neighborhood between 1875 and 1950, or be associated with a person or group of people significant in the community's development, or it must be a representative example of a significant architectural form, style, or period found in the Hilltop. Secondly, the property must retain integrity. "Integrity" for religious properties implies retention of the significant elements of the siting, original form, street facades, and significant interior spaces. A property which is significant primarily for its associational qualities, rather than its architectural features, may be considered for registration if the dominant and characteristic features of the property are extant, even if some loss of historic fabric has occurred. Many of the Hilltop churches have been altered to accommodate the changing needs of the religious organizations they house; these changes should be considered in the evaluation process.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   F   Page   7   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

**I. Name:** Historic Districts of the Hilltop

**II. Description**

Areas in the Hilltop with a concentration of historic structures representing an historic property type or a mix of historic property types may be identified as historic districts. Because the Hilltop historically found commercial, religious, social and civic institutions distributed throughout the residential district, a district may feature a mix of property types. Also, since areas were continuously developed to meet the community's changing needs, an historic district may include properties associated with one or more of the neighborhood's historic contexts. Alternatively, a district might emphasize resources associated with the development of a particular addition (subdivision) within the Hilltop and primarily contain properties from the historic context associated with that addition. Or, a district may primarily emphasize a sub-type of one of the associated property types, such as commercial structures, single dwellings, or multiple dwellings. The existing South J Street National Register district, which recognizes a group of single dwellings, exemplifies a district featuring a specific property sub-type. In delineating historic districts within the community, the relationships of the buildings with each other and their role in creating a continuous streetscape should be noted. Since open space created by undeveloped lots has been an historic aspect of the residential areas of the community, open lots within districts should be evaluated for their historic significance in their particularly settings.

**III: Significance**

Districts within the Hilltop gain significance by documenting the development of the neighborhood to house the many diverse working people who contributed to the growth of the city and its businesses and industries. Districts can document how land availability, corporate real estate development, land speculation, and immigration patterns, changing housing trends, and transportation developments affected the patterns of neighborhood development. Any identified historic districts within the Hilltop would emphasize the formation of the community out of the relationship between the individual structures which together create the overall effect of neighborhood. Historic districts gain significance by association with one or more of the following historic contexts: "First Expansion: 1875-1900," "Branching Out: 1900-1930," and "Filling In: 1930-1950."

**IV. Registration Requirements**

To be considered for inclusion in this multiple property nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, historic districts must meet two requirements. First, the district must be significantly associated with the formation of the Hilltop neighborhood between 1875 and 1950, and contain significant examples of one or more important architectural forms, styles, or periods. Secondly, the district must retain integrity. "Integrity" for historic districts implies that the district conveys a sense of historic and architectural cohesiveness, particularly with regard to the streetscape created by the scale, siting, and setbacks of individual structures. While non-contributing buildings may have been constructed in the district over time, the relationship of these properties to the streetscape should be carefully evaluated. Individual historic buildings within a district may have experienced alterations resulting from their continued use over time; these changes should be carefully evaluated.

---

**G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods**

---

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

This multiple property nomination of historic resources in Tacoma's Hilltop neighborhood is based on a 1993 Cultural Resources Inventory of the Hilltop Community funded by the City of Tacoma and the State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. The inventory, conducted by Eysaman and Company, was undertaken in order to update information collected in a 1981 Cultural Resources Survey and to evaluate extent of alterations to previously identified resources. The survey team compared contemporary and historic maps to identify over 2000 extant buildings thought to have been constructed prior to 1926. In selecting properties from this large group for more detailed study and documentation, the survey team sought structures representing building types which were under-represented in the 1981 inventory. The survey resulted in the documentation of over 260 properties from throughout the study area which reflected the range of property types found in the community, and the preparation of a "Survey Project Report" addressing the historical development of the Hilltop community and the significance of the various identified property types.

In 1994, the City of Tacoma Office of Historic Preservation hired Eysaman and Company to prepare the multiple property nomination and associated individual property nominations. Working under the direction of Valerie Sivinski, City of Tacoma Historic Preservation Officer,

X  See continuation sheet

---

**H. Major Bibliographic References**

---

Bergman, Hans. *History of Scandinavians in Tacoma and Pierce County, with a brief history of Tacoma and early settlement.* Tacoma, Wash: 1926.

*Census and History of Tacoma and Pierce County Negroes* Tacoma: Elk's Rest IBPO of World, 1929.

*History of the Japanese of Tacoma.* Translated from the Japanese by James Wantanabe. Tacoma, Wash.: Pacific Northwest District Council Japanese American Citizen League, c. 1988.

Hildebrand, Lorraine. *Straw Hats, Sandals, and Steel: The Chinese in Washington State.* Tacoma, Wash.: Washington State American Bicentennial Commission, 1977.

Hunt, Herbert. *Tacoma: Its History and Its Builders.* Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1916.

Metsker's Map of the City of Tacoma: 1926.

X  See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

<input type="checkbox"/> State historic preservation office	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Local government
<input type="checkbox"/> Other State agency	<input type="checkbox"/> University
<input type="checkbox"/> Federal agency	<input type="checkbox"/> Other

Specify repository:

---

**I. Form Prepared By**

---

name/title	<u>Cloantha Copass / Gerald K.B. Eysaman</u>	date	<u>August 1994</u>
organization	<u>eysaman + company</u>	telephone	<u>(206) 272-5934</u>
street & number	<u>405 Sixth Avenue, N° 200</u>	state	<u>Washington</u>
city or town	<u>Tacoma</u>	zip code	<u>98402</u>

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

## National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number   G   Page   1   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

Gerald Eysaman, principal, and Cloantha Copass, historic preservation specialist, prepared historic contexts which encompass the development of the Hilltop from its first settlement to the beginning of the post-World War Two era. Property types were categorized to acknowledge and assess the variety of structures which house all activities of community life. The City of Tacoma Office of Historic Preservation intends that this multiple property documentation form will provide a framework for the completion of additional individual property nominations for related resources in the future.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Continuation Sheet

Section number   H   Page   1   of   Hilltop Neighborhood MPN  

---

Morgan, Murray and Rosa. *South on the Sound: An Illustrated History of Tacoma and Pierce County*. Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 1984.

*Polk's Tacoma City Directory*. Kansas City, Mo.: R.L. Polk Co.

Reynolds, Clinton. *Early History of Street Cars in Tacoma*. Tacoma Public Library, 1920

Sanbon Map Company, Tacoma fire insurance maps: for the years 1888, 1896, 1915 (corrected to 1940).

Schwantes, Carlos. *The Pacific Northwest*. University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Smith, Marian W. *The Puyallup-Nisqually*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.  
Reprinted 1969 by AMS Press, New York.

*Spike's Illustrated description of the City of Tacoma*. Tacoma, Wash.: W.D.Spike & Co. 1891.

*Tacoma Daily Ledger*

"Tacoma for Ambitious Men: A Symposium." *Overland Monthly*. December, 1907. 50: 561-80.

*Tacoma House and Building Index, 1883-1919*. Compiled by Brian R. Kamens. Tacoma: Tacoma Public Library, 1989.

Tacoma Public Library Clipping Files

*Tacoma: Then and Now 1883-1903, Twenty Years of Progress*. Tacoma, Wash.: Vaughnan & Morrill, 1903.

*Tacoma: Voices from the Past*. Tacoma, Wash.: Tacoma School District, 1988.

Traver, George W. *Tacoma and Vicinity*. Tacoma, Wash.: Nuhn & Wheeler, 1889.

United States Federal Census for 1900, 1910, 1920

*Who we are: an informal history of Tacoma's Black Community before WWI*. Gary Fuller Reese. Tacoma: Tacoma Public Library, 1992.