



OLD GOUCHER NEIGHBORHOOD STRENGTHENING A COMMUNITY IDENTITY THROUGH AN EXPLORATION OF THE PAST

**UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING & PRESERVATION
GRADUATE PROGRAM IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION
FALL 2013**

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c. 1895 Union Park at East 25th Street near Guilford Avenue

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1925 Easter Sunday Traffic | Corner of N. Charles Street and 23rd Street looking southwest

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1934 Goucher College Junior-Senior Garden Party | Corner of St. Paul Street and 23rd Street looking northeast

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The Old Goucher neighborhood is a vibrant and diverse community located in the center of Baltimore, Maryland. Situated around North Charles and St. Paul Streets, the main north-south corridors in the city, and just north of North Avenue, one of the main east-west corridors, the neighborhood is in the center of the city and is surrounded by rapidly redeveloping and expanding communities (see Figure 1-1). The Old Goucher Community Association and the Old Goucher Business Alliance, in efforts to get ahead of redevelopment attempts in their community and to ensure their community values and goals are considered in future efforts, began the process of creating a Vision Plan for the Old Goucher neighborhood in 2012. In the spring of 2013, the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at the University of Maryland College Park was invited to contribute a supplemental preservation piece to the developing Vision Plan. Old Goucher resident and recent alumnus of the Urban Planning and Historic Preservation masters programs at the University of Maryland, Philip LaCombe, coordinated with Michele Lamprakos, Assistant Professor in Architecture and Historic Preservation, who agreed to work with the Old Goucher Community Association for the fall 2013 Historic Preservation Studio course. Six historic preservation graduate students with backgrounds in history and rural landscapes, global studies and business management, psychology and education, archaeology, and architecture, worked together on this project to ultimately provide preservation-related recommendations to contribute towards the Old Goucher Vision Plan.

Considering the other efforts that were underway in support of the Old Goucher Vision Plan, the studio group decided the best focus for their contribution would be a historical analysis of the physical and social fabric of the neighborhood to provide historical substance to the neighborhood's present and future identity within greater Baltimore City. The primary research question developed by the preservation studio group was spurred by an initial boundary analysis resulting in conflicting geographical definitions of the Old Goucher neighborhood according to various organizations such as the Old Goucher Community Association and the City of Baltimore (Appendix A: Boundaries). This led to the question of "where is the Old Goucher neighborhood and what distinguishes it, both historically and contemporarily within the context of greater Baltimore?" Subsequent questions the group sought to answer with this project include: (1) Why is the historical identity of a community/neighborhood important and how can you give substance to the historical identity of a place aside from simply creating and promoting a neighborhood 'brand'?" (2) How can understanding the historical identity, development and cultural processes of neighborhoods, better help us to understand the current and potential future condition of neighborhoods? (3) What is the value of incorporating a historical analysis of neighborhoods such as this as a layer into the planning process for neighborhoods, communities, cities and regions?

The results of analyzing the historical development of the neighborhood, both physically and socially, has shown that the Old Goucher neighborhood is historically significant as a

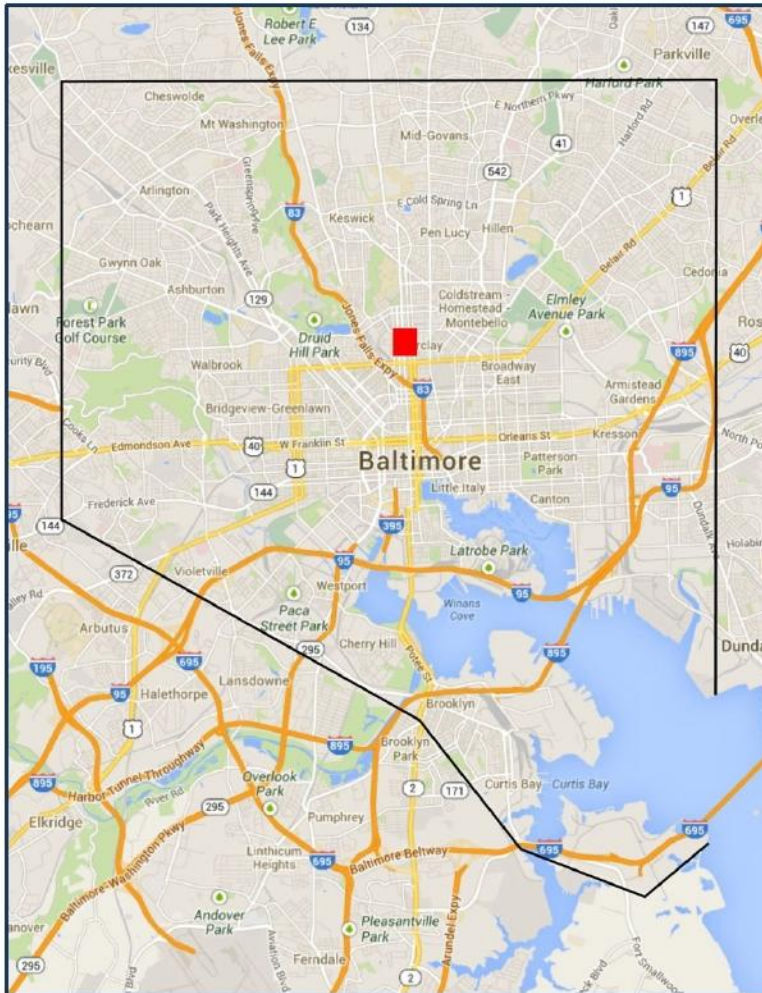


Figure 1-1: The location of the Old Goucher neighborhood within

Baltimore City, indicated by the red square in the center of the map.

relatively uniform architectural character in the neighborhood distinguishing it from other areas surrounding it. In addition, historically the neighborhood has been identified and strengthened by: a strong educational and social legacy; an extremely adaptable and high quality building stock; inter-connected green spaces; socio-economic and racial diversity; and a mixture of residential, commercial, and institutional uses.

Looking immediately outside the neighborhood, the "edges" or boundaries of the community are significant in that they each had a particular character and impact on the neighborhood. To the south, the commercial and transportation corridor of North Avenue historically brought people from all areas of the city through the area and created tension with the residents as commercial uses expanded into the neighborhood from North Avenue. To the east, the historic York Road (Greenmount Avenue) and the associated Barclay community was historically more diverse and working class than the primarily white, middle to upper class, Old Goucher residents, which created racial and economic tension along the eastern border. To the west, the Jones Falls and its railways and industrial complexes historically created tension surrounding land uses and

typical, yet unique early American suburb, which developed on the edge of a great city in the late 19th century. The neighborhood emerged at a moment of rapid urban expansion, and benefited from its location just above North Avenue, the old northern boundary of the city, and its centrality along North Charles Street, the main north-south corridor. The Old Goucher neighborhood has been an identifiable place in Baltimore since the community's foundation, both for the defining edges surrounding it and for the community and institutional nodes within it. The desirability of the area, the speed of development, and the early

investment by institutions, led to a distinct and

pollution as well as racial and socio-economic tensions as more diverse, working class populations lived near the industrial areas on the western border. To the north, the Charles Village neighborhood is physically separated from the Old Goucher neighborhood by a railroad tunnel underneath 26th street as well as the defining commercial corridor of 25th Street. While Old Goucher shifted and changed throughout the 20th century, Charles Village remained primarily residential and tensions increased along this edge as the Old Goucher area became more commercialized and diverse in the 20th century.

Looking within the neighborhood, understanding the importance of community nodes, such as churches, educational, governmental, and social institutions, is significant in understanding the development of the neighborhood. In particular, the former campus of Goucher College, which includes several buildings by nationally renowned architects and a sequence of open green spaces, was once the heart of the area. That heart was lost when Goucher College decided to move to a more isolated property in Baltimore County and the green spaces were gradually paved over for automobile parking. The primary factors that influenced Goucher College's decision to move to a more isolated property in Baltimore County revolved around the neighborhood's urbanization and resulting competition for space, increasing socioeconomic and racial diversity and commercial and mixed-use zoning. These same factors are what are today considered major community strengths along with the fact that most of the original institutional buildings are still in use and continue the educational and social legacy that began in the neighborhood. Understanding the importance of the community nodes and the original vision represented by the monumental node of the College, the original green spaces, and the high quality and adaptability of the architectural fabric, can provide a strong historical basis for the current Vision Plan. These themes will be explored in detail in the following report in the form of an in-depth historical analysis, current contextual analysis, and recommendations for building on the present and historic strengths of the community.

Methodology

The studio group used three interwoven broad processes to approach and complete this project: historical research, data collection, and mapping analysis.

The historical research was divided into five thematic categories: physical development, demographics, circulation, land use, and Goucher College. Research was conducted using primary and secondary sources as well as interviews with community members and leaders. Primary sources included current and historic maps, land records, census data, publications, newspapers, and reports. Secondary published resources were useful for researching Goucher College and the broader historic context of Baltimore City and the State of Maryland. The Special Collections and Digital Library at Goucher College were extremely useful as well as the Maryland Room at the Enoch Pratt Library in Baltimore and the Maryland Room at the University of Maryland in College Park. Johns Hopkins University digital map library was also very useful.

Data collection was necessary in order to map the historic themes researched and overlay them on the neighborhood to gain a better visual understanding of the historic analyses and changes over time. In order to make data collection manageable in the time frame allowed for this project, the studio group chose to define the boundaries of their study area to an area slightly smaller than that defined by the Old Goucher Community Association, yet slightly larger than that defined by the City of Baltimore, and encompassing the majority of the Old Goucher National Register Historic District. The boundaries chosen extend roughly one block outward from the old Goucher College campus. The area delineated by these boundaries includes the blocks roughly contained by 21st Street to the south, Howard Street to the west, 25th Street to the north and Guilford Avenue to the east. Data collection consisted primarily of transcribing, from hard copy to Excel format, three decades of US Federal Census information (1900, 1910, and 1930), for each parcel in the neighborhood. This was used to map the demographics of the neighborhood over time. Historic Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps were extremely useful in determining historic building heights and materials, land use, as well as constructions and demolitions in the neighborhood over time. Data was collected from each series of the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps of which there are four for this area (1901, 1915, 1926 and 1953).

The data collected was mapped over the neighborhood throughout five time periods: Pre-1880; 1880-1900; 1901-1920; 1921-1952; and 1953-present. These time periods were chosen in part due to the date ranges of the data collected and in part due to significant changes occurring between these periods, both on the broader scale and at the neighborhood level. The time periods help delineate the changes over time with the thematic maps that were created. ArcGIS was used to map the census demographic data while Adobe Illustrator was used to transcribe and render new maps for the neighborhood highlighting various historic themes over time.

The group also researched the present context of the neighborhood and Baltimore City. Most of this research was conducted via interviews and meetings with members of the Old Goucher Community Association, Old Goucher Business Alliance, Baltimore Commission for Historic and Architectural Preservation (CHAP), Baltimore Planning Commission, as well as local churches. Neighborhood walking tours were conducted for the studio group led by community association members and planning officials as well as many site visits conducted individually. Recent newspaper articles and planning documents were further used to understand the current context of the neighborhood.

With an understanding of the historic context and identity of the neighborhood alongside the present context of the area and city, the studio group developed a set of short-term and long-term recommendations the Old Goucher Community Association may incorporate into the Old Goucher Vision Plan which will help to highlight the historic strengths of the community and provide resources to build on those in the future.



PART II

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Pre-1880: Urban Expansion and the Beginnings of a Neighborhood

The area that would later become Old Goucher developed just outside the northern edge of Baltimore City in the late 19th century, replacing several country estates and extending the urban character of Baltimore City northward. Prior to the arrival of Europeans and the development of Baltimore City, the area was inhabited primarily by the Native American Tribes of the Susquehannock and Piscataway. When Europeans arrived and claimed the land in the Chesapeake region in the 17th century, they typically settled near fall lines and water sources for access to power, transportation and trade. The Baltimore area was settled early on by Europeans in large part because of a local fall line and convenient access to the Chesapeake

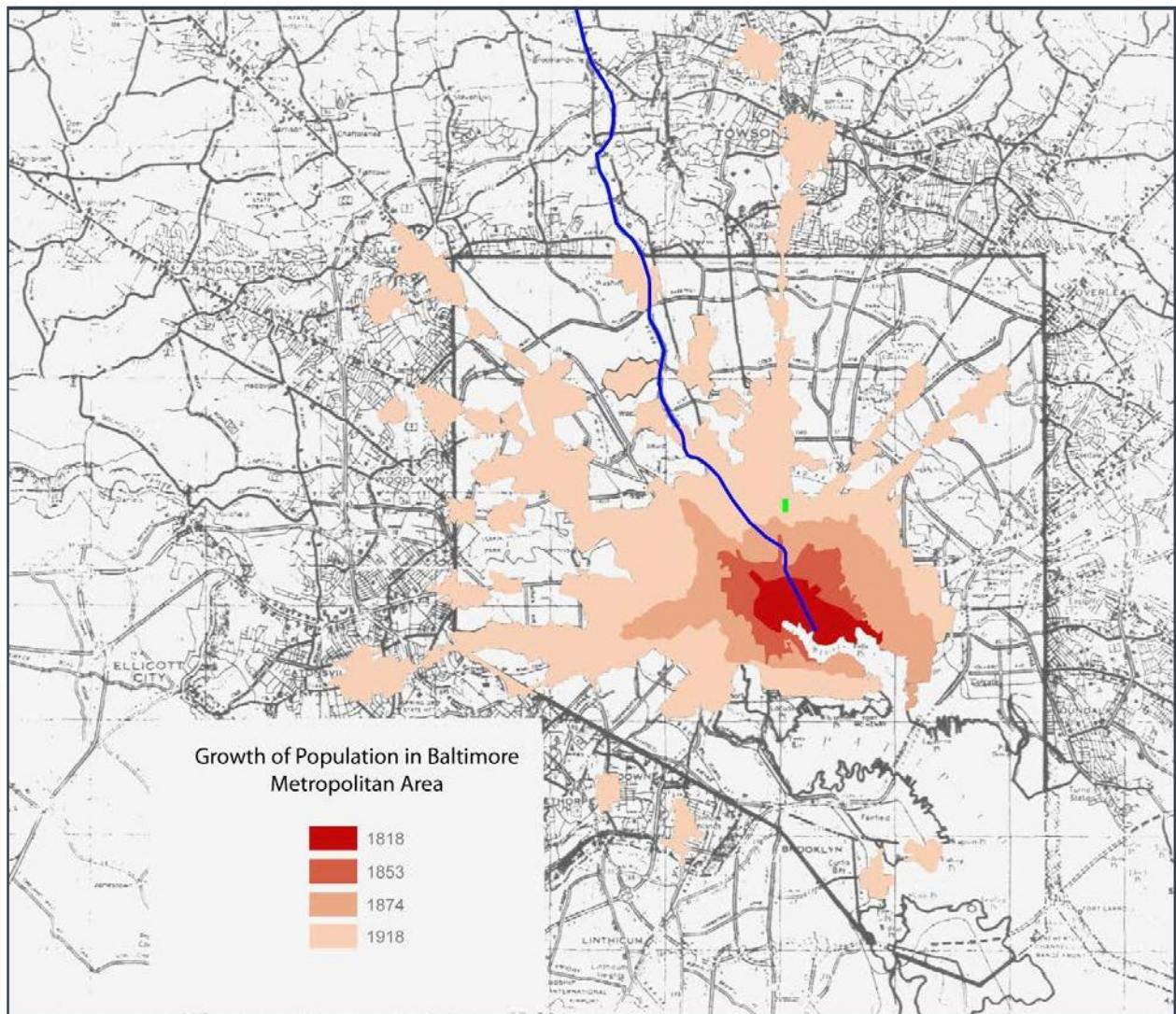


Figure 2-1: Map depicting the growth and spread of population in the Baltimore Metropolitan Area from 1818 to 1918. The Old Goucher neighborhood is indicated by the small green square in the center.

Bay. The fall line in Baltimore, known as the Jones Falls, is a deep ravine and fresh water stream that cuts from the north through the center of the city's topography and empties into Baltimore's inner harbor of the Chesapeake Bay to the south.¹ (Figure 2-2).

The City of Baltimore was chartered in 1729 and grew outward from initial settlements near the inner harbor. During the early years of the city's development expansion occurred primarily east and west from the inner harbor due to the natural barriers of the harbor to the south and the Jones Falls to the north.² The study area, which would become the Old Goucher neighborhood, is located on the plateau just northeast of the northwesterly curve of the Jones Falls. For the first 150 years of Baltimore City's growth, the barrier prevented direct access to

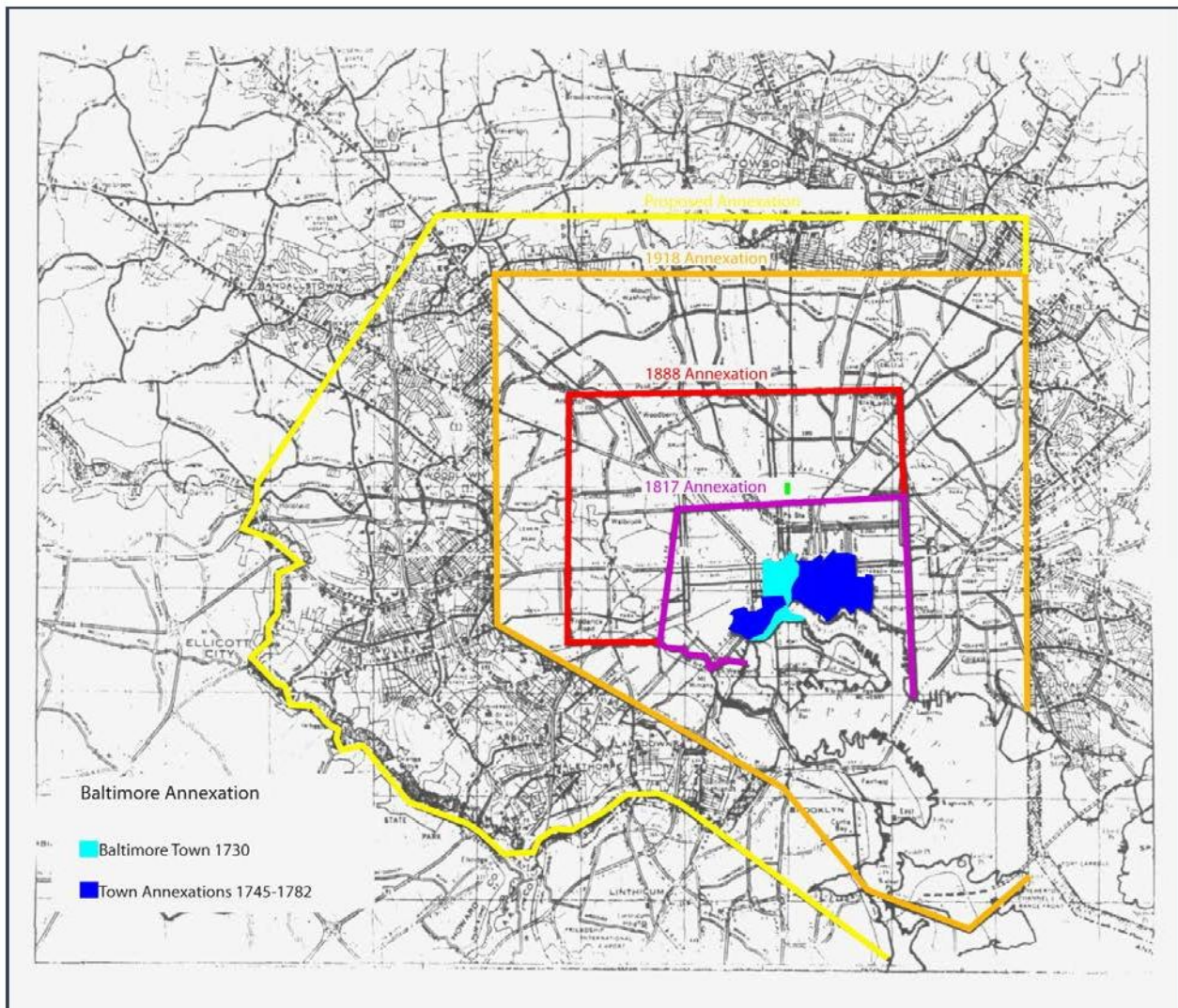


Figure 2-2: Map of Baltimore City's annexation lines in 1730, 1745-1782, 1817, 1888, and 1910 as well as the proposed borough line of 1912, which was never adopted. The Old Goucher neighborhood was a part of the land annexed in 1888 and is represented by the small green square in the center of the map. The northern boundary of the 1817 annexation is present-day North Avenue.

the area from the south, where the nucleus of the city was developing and expanding. Figure 2-1 shows the population growth of Baltimore City from 1818 to 1918, starting close to the inner harbor and expanding outward over time. This map shows that in 1874, Baltimore's population was just beginning to expand into the study area.

The Jones Falls created a major access barrier to North Baltimore prior to the 1880s. Bridges were constructed early in the 19th century by private landowners and developers giving the neighborhood access to public transportation services, but the privately-built bridges were frequently washed away by floods resulting in unreliable and unsafe access routes.³ It was not until the 1870s, following a major flood that destroyed the bridges in 1868, that Baltimore City made plans to construct new bridges connecting the city center with the area developing north of the Jones Falls. Between 1879 and 1883 bridges were constructed on Maryland Avenue, Charles Street, Saint Paul Street, Calvert Street and Guilford Avenue, significantly increasing access to the Old Goucher neighborhood and therefore desirability of the area as well.

Even before the city bridges were built in the 1870s, however, the city grid was extended into what would later become the Old Goucher Neighborhood south of 25th Street. The Poppleton Plan was completed following the 1817 Baltimore City annexation, and planned for extending the existing street grid layout to the new city borders as far as North Avenue, the northern boundary of the city during the period between 1817 and 1888 as shown in Figure 2-2. In the Old Goucher study area, however, the grid was informally extended past the 1817 boundary line well before the area was annexed to the city in 1888. This was done in part in anticipation of the city's continued expansion and in part to provide north-south connections between the northern estates and the city center. This early grid layout encouraged the neighborhood to grow in terms of building urban character while allowing it to remain a residential neighborhood on the northern fringe of the city.

Charles Street was one of the earliest north-south routes running through the study area which connected northern Baltimore County to the city center. In 1854 the road was extended north from North Avenue into the County as a toll road. Also in 1854, 25th Street was laid out as Huntington Avenue, a primary east-west route connecting the industrial areas along the Jones Falls to present-day Greenmount Avenue. Greenmount Avenue, then known as York Road, was another primary transportation route on the far eastern edge of the neighborhood, which ran north out of Baltimore connecting to York, Pennsylvania.⁴ In addition to road construction, the development of a "relatively reliable and cheap transit system" in the early 19th century provided essential connections throughout the city and the study area.⁵ Horse-drawn trolleys began transporting residents throughout Baltimore in 1832 and by the 1860s, the Charles Street trolley line was extended north through the study area to Waverly. Steam-powered trains also connected Baltimore City to distant cities and were constructed primarily along the

Jones Falls in the early 1800s. Figure 2-3 shows the rail lines running through and around the Old Goucher neighborhood in 1873.⁶

By 1873 the present-day streets in the neighborhood had all been laid out over the estates as illustrated in Figure 2-3.⁷ As trolley lines were laid out, street car companies were required to pave the streets the tracks were laid on. Charles Street was therefore one of the earliest paved roads in the area in the 1860s, while the east-west streets remained unpaved until closer to the 20th century.

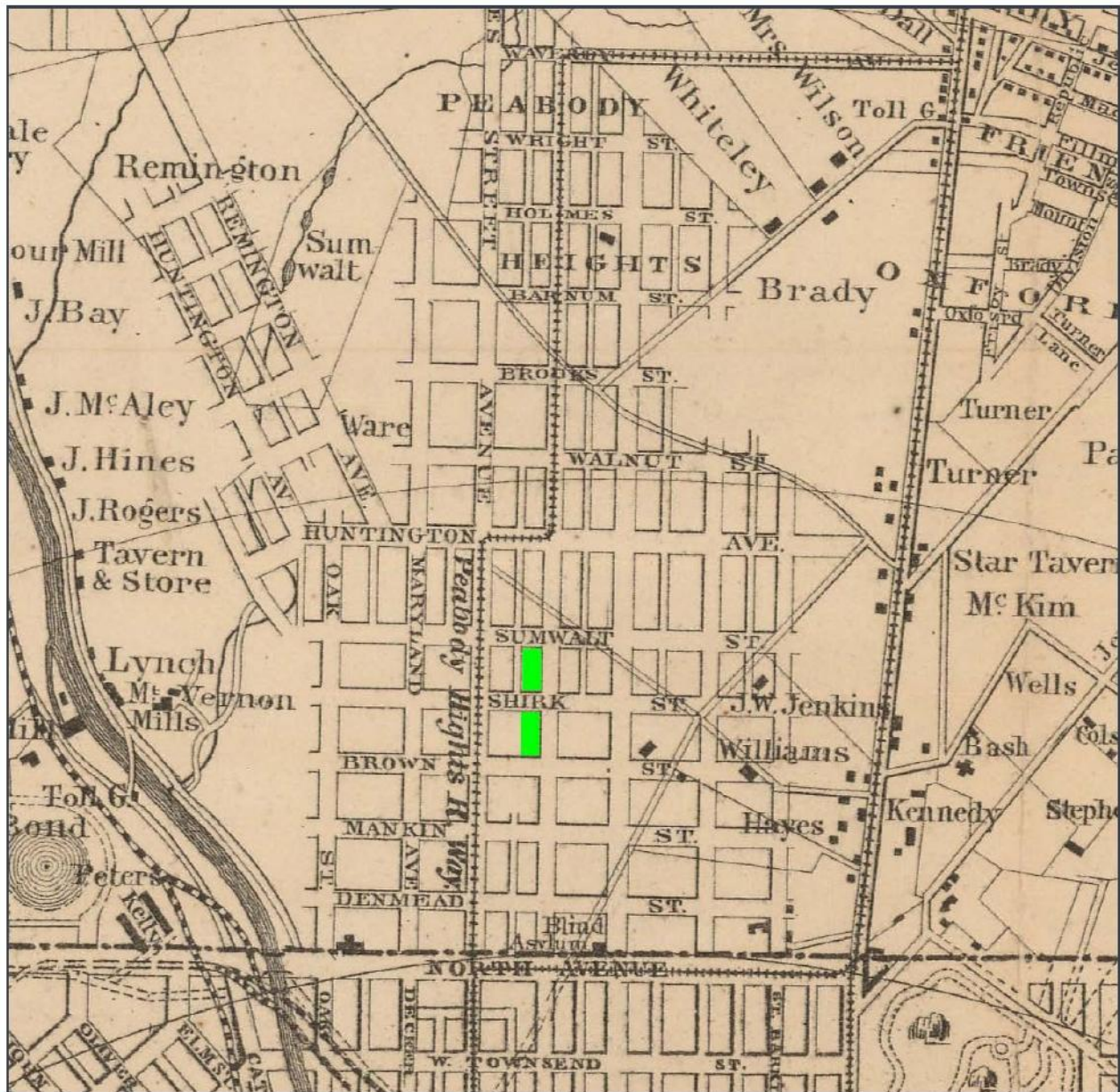


Figure 2-3: 1873 "F. Klemm's Map of Baltimore and Suburbs" close-up of area surrounding Old Goucher neighborhood showing the early extension of the city grid north of North Avenue. Dotted lines indicate horse-drawn rail lines, black and white dashed lines indicate steam-powered rail lines.

By the mid-1800s, overcrowding accompanied by widespread epidemics of both small pox and typhus in the city center encouraged anyone that could afford it, to move out of the city to the newly developing edge suburbs. Old Goucher was a prime location to move to during this time. Directly north of downtown and the inner harbor, the area attracted many upper class white residents, but also African Americans, immigrants, and working class whites that typically either served the neighborhood or worked in the nearby industrial areas along the Jones Falls. The building fabric was high quality and consisted of both elaborate and modest row houses as well as large institutional buildings. The monumental structures of Lovely Lane Methodist Church and Goucher College's main campus buildings on Saint Paul Street were built around 1885 just as the neighborhood was exploding with new residents, churches and other social institutions.

Henry Shirk was one of the large landowners in the area during this time and would develop the largest amount of land in and around the study area during the 19th century. Figure 2-4 shows the pre-1880 parcels and landholders overlaid on the urban street grid of the study area, Henry Shirk among them as owning parcels B and C. As early as 1850, Shirk purchased land in the area to "develop an extensive residential project north of North Avenue, where he planned to

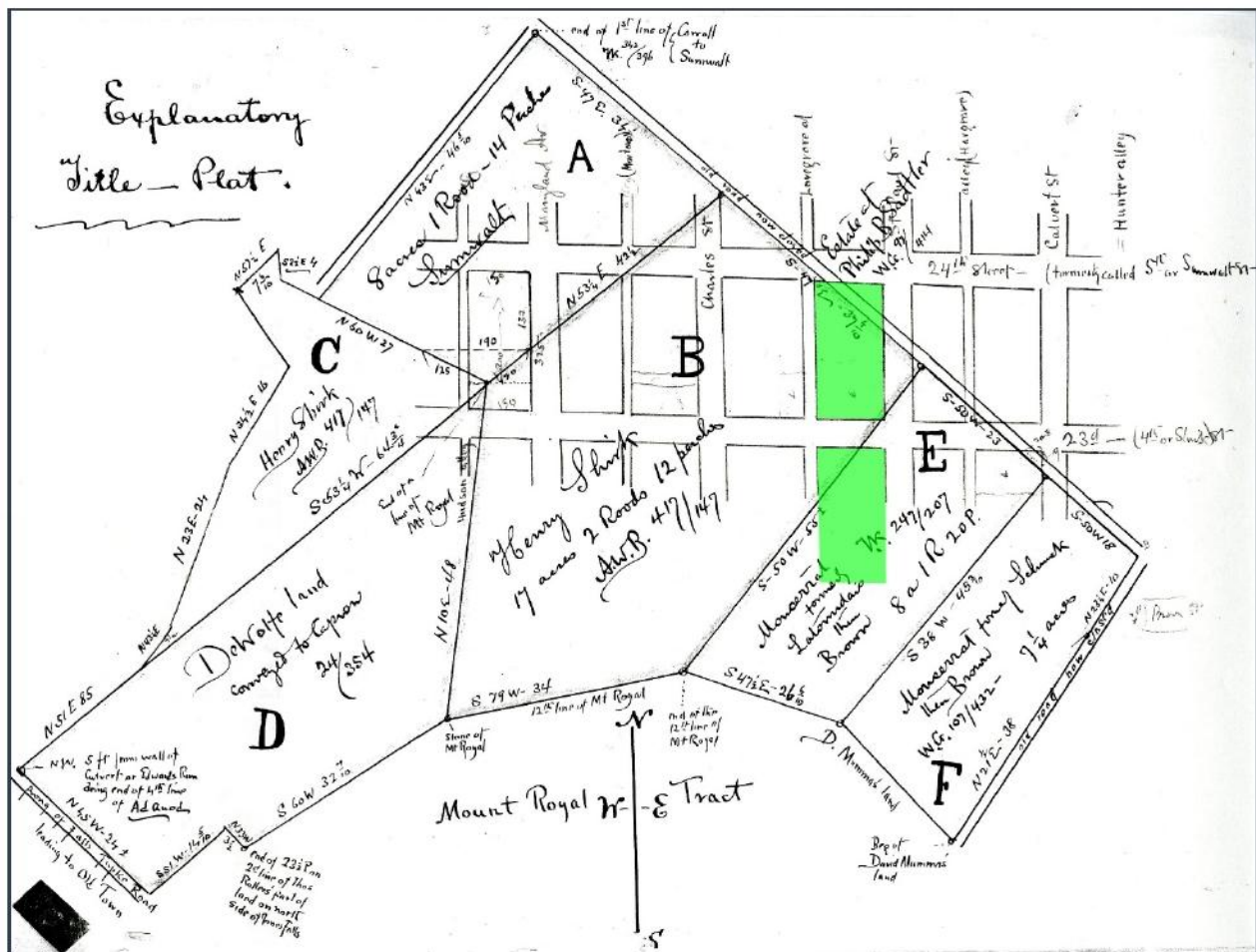


Figure 2-4: 1895 map of urban street grid overlaid on original estate plats. Map shows land roughly between Howard Street on the west, Calvert Street on the east, 25th Street to the north and 21st Street to the south.

feature two or three large houses on a block."⁸ This plan attracted members of Baltimore's upper class, who built large elegant houses in the neighborhood, and by 1876 there were roughly 50 buildings placed around the neighborhood between North Avenue and 25th Street. However, around the mid-1870s and 1880s real estate investors began building and encouraging infill development around the structures and the land in the area was subdivided into smaller parcels to match the scale and density of the city south of North Avenue.⁹

1880-1899: Establishing a Neighborhood

In the short 15-year period between 1880 and 1895, the area became a dense urban extension of Baltimore City, complete with a mix of residential, institutional and commercial uses. The rapid growth of the area was aided by the city's construction of bridges crossing the Jones Falls and public transportation expansion in the years prior to 1880, as well as the city's continued growth as a leading industrial center and immigration port throughout the 19th century.

After the 1888 annexation, the land within the city limits of Baltimore nearly tripled, yet the total population of the city only increased by around 8%.¹⁰ Following the annexation however, real estate transactions doubled, and by 1900, the annexation area's population increased from 8% of the city's total population a decade earlier, to 12%.¹¹ The sudden boom in land development was part of a larger trend that was happening around Baltimore as residents sought to escape the crowded, disease stricken inner city for a cleaner, quieter environment on the edge of the city. In 1882 the last of a series of major smallpox epidemics scourged Baltimore and served to increase existing health concerns related to living in a crowded city lacking a public sanitation system. In addition, by the late 19th century Baltimore had become one of the largest immigration ports in the country, supporting crowds so great that the immigrant piers were often called "the second Ellis Island".¹² These immigrants came to work in the large industrial center that Baltimore had become and the Old Goucher neighborhood welcomed many of them as an edge neighborhood to the industrial region along the Jones Falls. African Americans also moved into the neighborhood early on, occupying houses on Howard Street and alley houses throughout the neighborhood. Many of these African American's, as consistent with the rest of the Baltimore population at the time, were the descendants of former slaves, or children of slaves, who had moved North into urban areas in search of work following the Civil War.¹³ The early demographic diversity of the neighborhood was most likely due to the diversity in housing stock, from very elaborate to relatively modest suiting individuals of all income levels. This is a characteristic similar to many other early urban Baltimore neighborhoods but is less characteristic of neighborhoods to the north of the Old Goucher study area that were developed in the early 20th century.



Figure 2-5: 1901 building construction map based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Baltimore City, 1901. All buildings highlighted in black were constructed prior to 1901.

Residents fleeing the city center during the late 19th century were attracted to the developing edge suburbs such as Old Goucher, in part because these new developments included built-in infrastructural amenities such as electric power and storm sewers, new features that needed to be added to older parts of the city. The Old Goucher neighborhood, as one of these premier edge neighborhoods, was often first to see transportation improvements and expansion during this period of rapid growth.

By the mid-1880s streetcars in the Old Goucher neighborhood were extended to St. Paul Street and Maryland Avenue, in addition to the pre-existing line on Charles Street. A streetcar barn was built on the corner of Howard and 24th Streets around 1885 and one of the city's first

electrified streetcar rails was put in place starting from this car barn, heading north to Lake Roland. This electric rail was only in use until 1889 due to safety concerns regarding the electrified ground rail, however, in that same year the first overhead-electrified rail in the city was installed on North Avenue just south of the neighborhood.

The North Avenue streetcar lines connected the eastern and western neighborhoods of Baltimore City and intersected at the north-south lines leading north into the Old Goucher neighborhood or south into the city center. From the intersection of North Avenue and Charles Street one could transfer to get just about anywhere in the city making it a central node for the greater city as well as the immediate area. Though North Avenue started as a residential street, it soon became commercial. Commerce, along with transit connections, would make it a major commercial center, especially for residents of North Baltimore.¹⁴ In 1899, the various independent streetcar lines were consolidated by the United Railways and Electric Company (UR&E), which proceeded to electrify, modernize and improve services and equipment, often placing the newest cars on lines serving the Old Goucher neighborhood.¹⁵ In 1893 the Baltimore and Ohio (B&O) Railroad also built a beltline rail tunnel underneath 26th Street, which entered the neighborhood from the east and wrapped south around the western edge near the Jones Falls, leading into many of the industrial sites in that area and further south into the city (Appendix C). By 1900, with the combination of streetcar expansion and other nearby rail lines the area had around 400 trains per day running through the neighborhood.

By 1894, the roughly fifty structures that stood in the Old Goucher neighborhood prior to 1876 had been demolished and replaced by a denser more unified neighborhood.¹⁶ Figure 2-5 shows the neighborhood in 1901 as containing more than 800 new buildings and almost completely developed as the neighborhood it is known today.¹⁷ The majority of the structures were well-built, which along with the wealthy residents who moved into the neighborhood, made Old Goucher a well-respected and desirable district in Baltimore City.¹⁸ Just before the 1888 annexation this area of Baltimore was described as the "richest and most populous" district of Baltimore County, and it was mused that no other city could boast newly developing regions "finer than those around Charles Street."¹⁹

A comprehensive zoning code was not developed for Baltimore until 1923, therefore there were no restrictions on land or building use at the time the neighborhood was developed.²⁰ Although much of what was built was for residential use, institutions sought new locations as well and many chose to locate in the Old Goucher area. Notable institutions that moved into the area prior to 1900 include the Christ Church Orphanage, St. Paul's Orphanage, the Home for Incurables, and the Hospital for Crippled Children. There was also a primary school, a public school, a private kindergarten school, and a Girls Latin School.^{21 22} The neighborhood was even home to the Baltimore Oriels' Union Park for nine seasons, from 1891-1899.²³ Figure 2-6

illustrates these various building uses as of 1900 showing the mix of churches and social institutions built amidst single-family residential row houses.

Many churches established an early presence in the Old Goucher area, as city residents moved out of the city during this time, churches often chose to follow their congregations. The Trustees of Lovely Lane Methodist Episcopal (ME) Church began leasing land in the neighborhood in 1885 with plans to build a monumental new church to represent Methodism in Baltimore. Reverend John Goucher, Chair of the Building Committee for the church, began purchasing parcels in the Old Goucher area in 1882 and greatly assisted the Lovely Lane congregation in relocating from the city center to the corner of St. Paul and 22nd Streets.²⁴

In addition to Lovely Lane ME Church, several other existing neighborhood churches moved to, or were formed, in the area as well during the pre-1900 boom period including Mt. Carmel Baptist Church, Ebenezer Baptist Church and Oak Street African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church.²⁵ Oak Street AME Church was one of the first AME churches in Baltimore City and was formed in 1897 on present day Howard Street, then known as Oak Street.^{26 27} Several other churches that formed during this time have since been demolished, including Maryland Avenue Presbyterian Church, Trinity Baptist Church, and the Convent of Our Lady and St. Francis.

Around the same time Rev. Goucher assisted in the relocation of Lovely Lane Church to St. Paul and 22nd Streets he was also involved in negotiations with the Baltimore Conference of the American Methodist Episcopal Church to develop a women's college in Baltimore.^{28 29} Rev. Goucher and Rev. W.J. Hooper were strong advocates for the school to be run under a modern secular educational framework as opposed to a traditional religious seminary or finishing school. They eventually persuaded the Conference to follow this new model and "The Women's College of Baltimore" was subsequently founded in 1885 on the undeveloped cornfield on St. Paul and 23rd Streets. This land was owned by Rev. Goucher who then deeded it to the college for the construction of the first campus buildings.³⁰ Goucher Hall was the first school building constructed on this land. Built directly adjacent to the new Lovely Lane Church, it was completed in 1888. A year later, in 1889, the second school building, Bennett Hall was constructed just north across 23rd Street, creating an impressive row of monumental structures in the new neighborhood (Figure 2-7).³¹

In 1888, after having invested most of the institution's money in the first two school buildings, the Women's College of Baltimore began to run into financial trouble when they were asked by out-of-state student families to build residence halls.³² The College had not originally intended to provide housing due to the assumption that the students would be local commuters, but due to these requests the first dormitory was completed in 1889. As the student population of the women's college continued to grow up to 1900, the college was forced to compete for space with other residential and institutional developments occurring in the neighborhood at the



- Library
- School
- Goucher
- Church
- Store
- Mixed-Use Apartment
- Mixed-Use Single-Family
- Industrial
- Auto-related
- Social/Public Institution
- Park
- Office
- Single-Family Residence
- Multi-Family Residence
- Apartment Residence

Figure 2-6: Building use in 1901, based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Baltimore City, 1901. Buildings highlighted in bold are either present Goucher College buildings as indicated, or future college buildings.

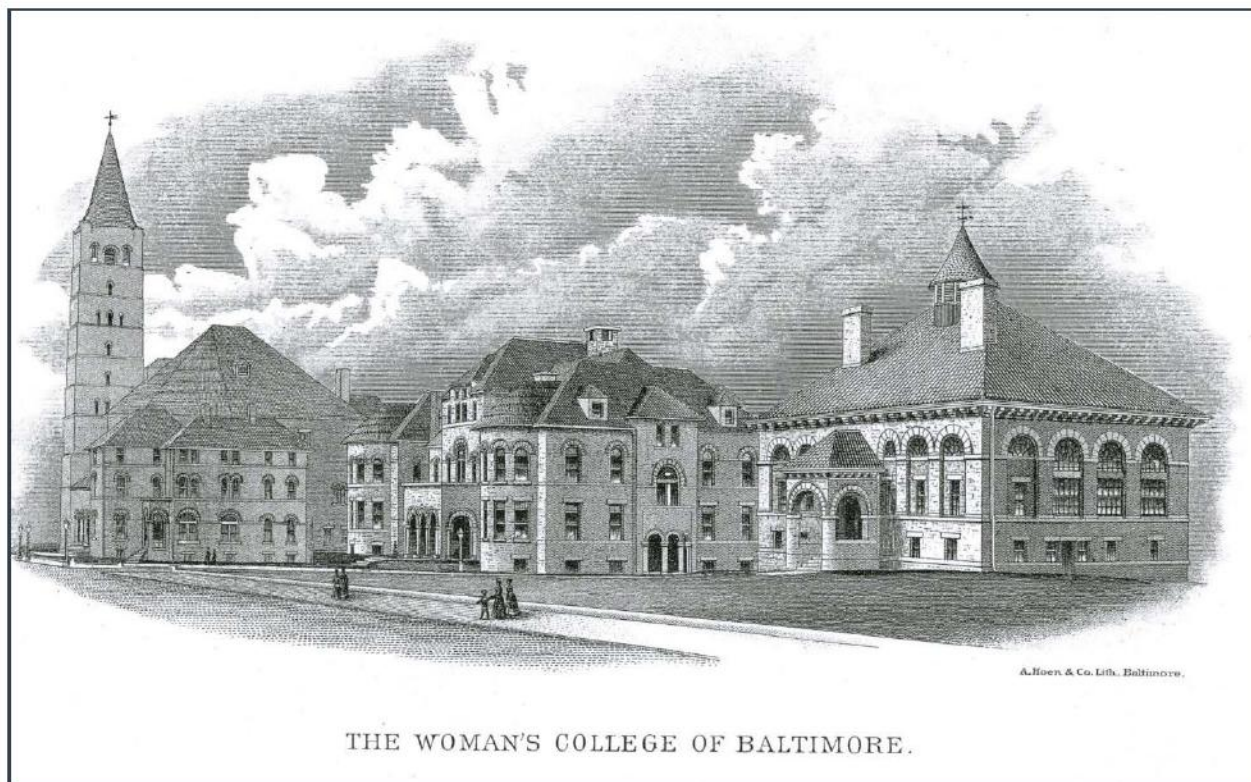


Figure 2-7: 1890 lithograph print of The Women's College of Baltimore, illustrating from left to right, Lovely Lane Church, Goucher Hall and Bennett Hall.

same time. The college managed to continue to expand their land holdings and construct new dormitories and halls, but the rapid growth of the neighborhood around it resulted in a disconnect between the campus buildings, which was only alleviated by loose connections of open areas, residential quads and small communal green spaces between the buildings (Figure 2-8).

Aside from the college and other large institutional buildings, row houses were the main building type constructed in the neighborhood and were built following the typical Baltimore development strategy. On the primary streets three story row houses with ornate detailing were built for predominantly wealthy white professionals (Figure 2-9). On the numbered secondary streets, less detailed, more modest three-story row houses were built for the white middle-class (Figure 2-10). Bisecting each block were north-south alleys that provided service functions for the houses on the main streets and often contained small two-story row houses typically occupied by working class African American residents employed in and around the neighborhood (Figure 2-11).³³

Most houses in the neighborhood was built initially for primarily single-family residential use. By 1900 there were already a few row houses scattered throughout the neighborhood with multiple heads of household, indicating these row houses had been split into multiple living

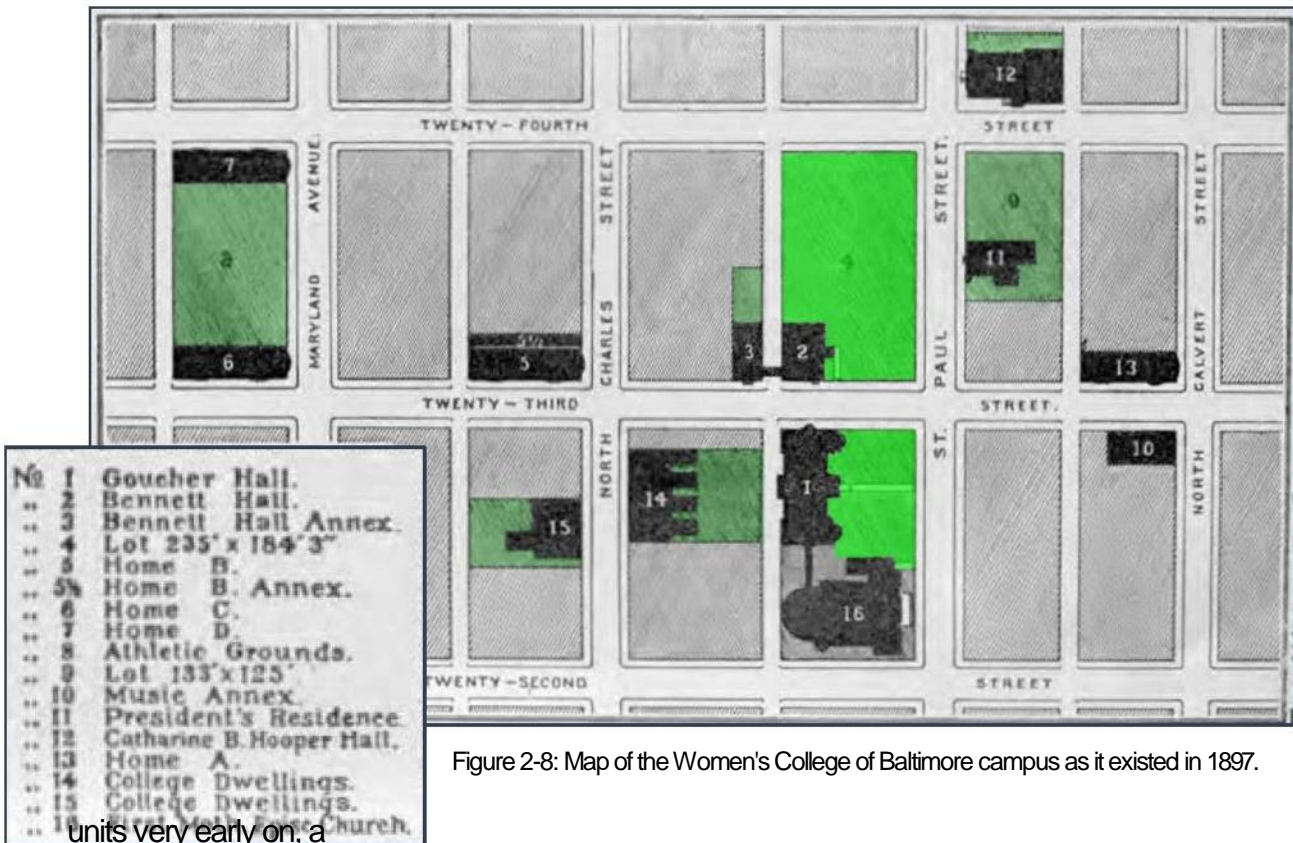


Figure 2-8: Map of the Women's College of Baltimore campus as it existed in 1897.

units very early on, a characteristic that would later become dominant in the neighborhood. Although the area attracted primarily upper class citizens, early on there were far more renter-occupied row houses than owner-occupied. In 1900 there appears to be no real pattern other than in alley houses which were almost always renter-occupied during this time (Figure 2-12). In addition, many residents housed boarders at this time. Although there was generally only one boarder per house, they were located on both primary, secondary and alley streets, indicating there was no income-level trend for those that housed boarders in this area during this time (see Appendix F for additional detailed maps).³⁴

Due to the rapid development of the study area there is a distinct and relatively uniform building fabric throughout the area. All of the buildings, with the exception of church towers, were three-stories or shorter. The most popular architectural style was Italianate, followed by Queen Anne (Appendix D for details on architectural styles). Lovely Lane Church was designed by Stanford White in the bold Romanesque style to architecturally express Methodism's desire for connection with the early Christian church. Charles L. Carson, architect for the first Goucher College building, Goucher Hall, designed the building in the same Romanesque style as Lovely Lane. The second Goucher College building, Bennett Hall was also designed by Stanford White and echoed the earlier two buildings in style and design. Benjamin F. Bennett assisted with the



Figure 2-9: Three-story row house on a primary street



Figure 2-10: Three-story row house on a secondary street



Figure 2-11: Two-story row house on an alley

first two college buildings and took on the primary design for the first four residence halls, choosing a less dramatic Second Empire style for these (Figure 2-8).

Unlike other areas surrounding the Old Goucher neighborhood, the unique mixture of building fabric and social uses gave the neighborhood a harmonious and defined identity as it developed at the end of the 19th century. The start of the 20th century, however, ushered in a new period in the neighborhood's history as it matured from a developing neighborhood to an established area and began dealing with pressures from outside the neighborhood including commercialization and social integration.

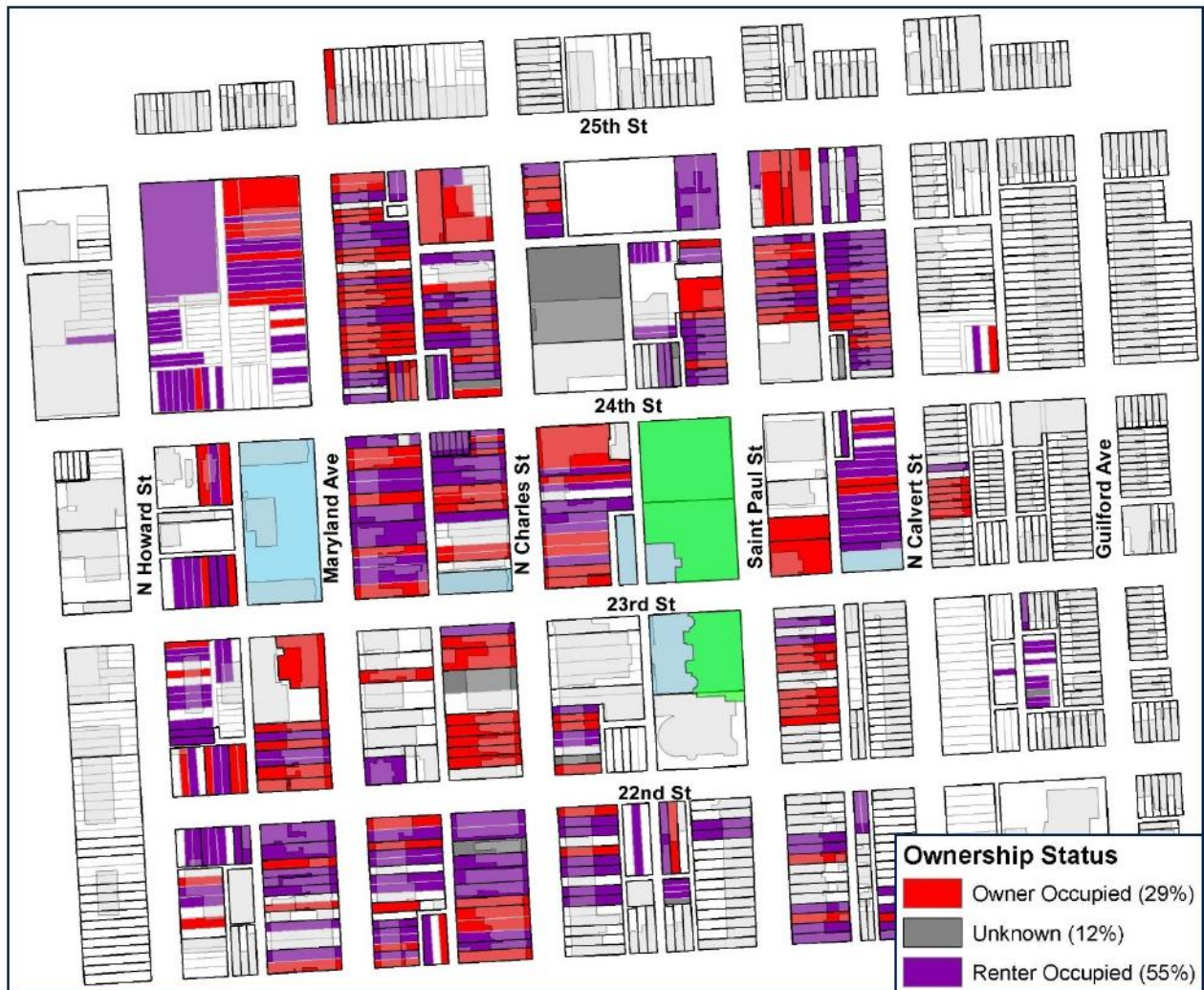


Figure 2-12: 1900 ownership status map based on US Federal Census data.

1900-1920: Stability amidst Looming Change

The early 20th century saw little obvious change to the building fabric and demographics of the Old Goucher neighborhood. Baltimore City as a whole, however, was experiencing major changes including increased industrialization of the city core and major demographic shifts with the continued migration of southern African Americans to northern cities. Increased commercialization of the city and increased traffic due to the availability of the automobile also had an impact on Baltimore and put pressure on the study area to adapt to these urban trends.

Within the Old Goucher neighborhood, tensions were growing around the edges of the community and around the women's college within it. During this time commerce, which had developed along North Avenue, spread north into the neighborhood. Residential development expanded north past 25th Street into newer suburban neighborhoods, and the industrial area to the west of Howard Street continued to attract working-class residents of all races, ethnicities

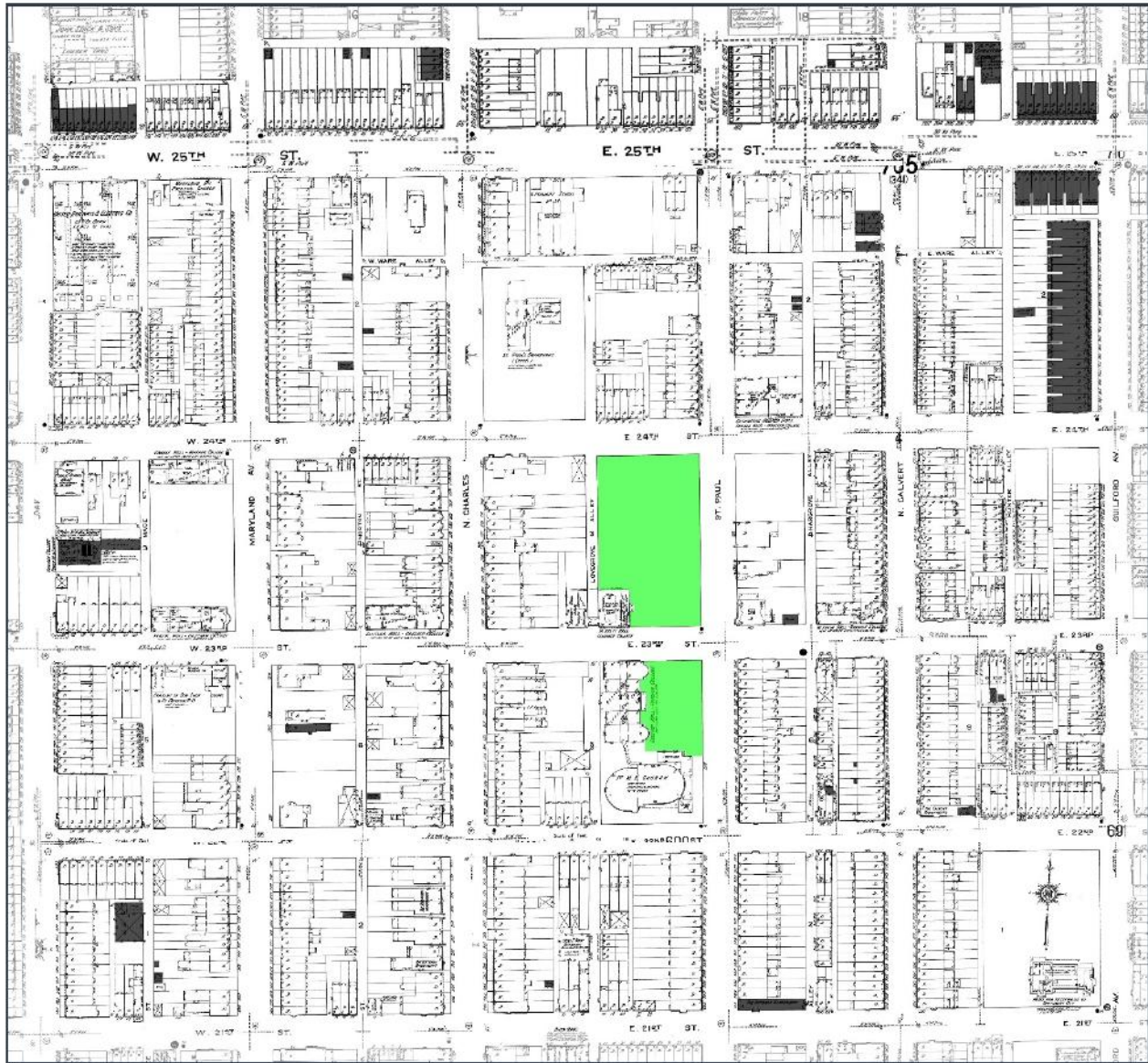


Figure 2-14: 1901 to 1915 building construction map based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Baltimore City, 1915. Buildings highlighted in black were constructed between 1901 and 1915.

sanitary sewer system, built throughout the city between 1907 and 1915. The new sanitary system was constructed as a totally separate system from the existing storm water sewer and buildings were adapted to accommodate this change. As the new sewer system was installed, other utilities including electric and gas lines were relayed and all streets were paved over. As a result of this improvement public health environments in the city improved dramatically.

At the beginning of the 20th century, as the suburbs to the north were rapidly expanding, very few buildings were demolished or built in the study area. ³⁵ Between 1901 and 1920 only ten buildings were demolished, three of which were streetcar barns while the rest were back dependencies (Figure 2-13). The only major exception to this was the demolition of Union Park,

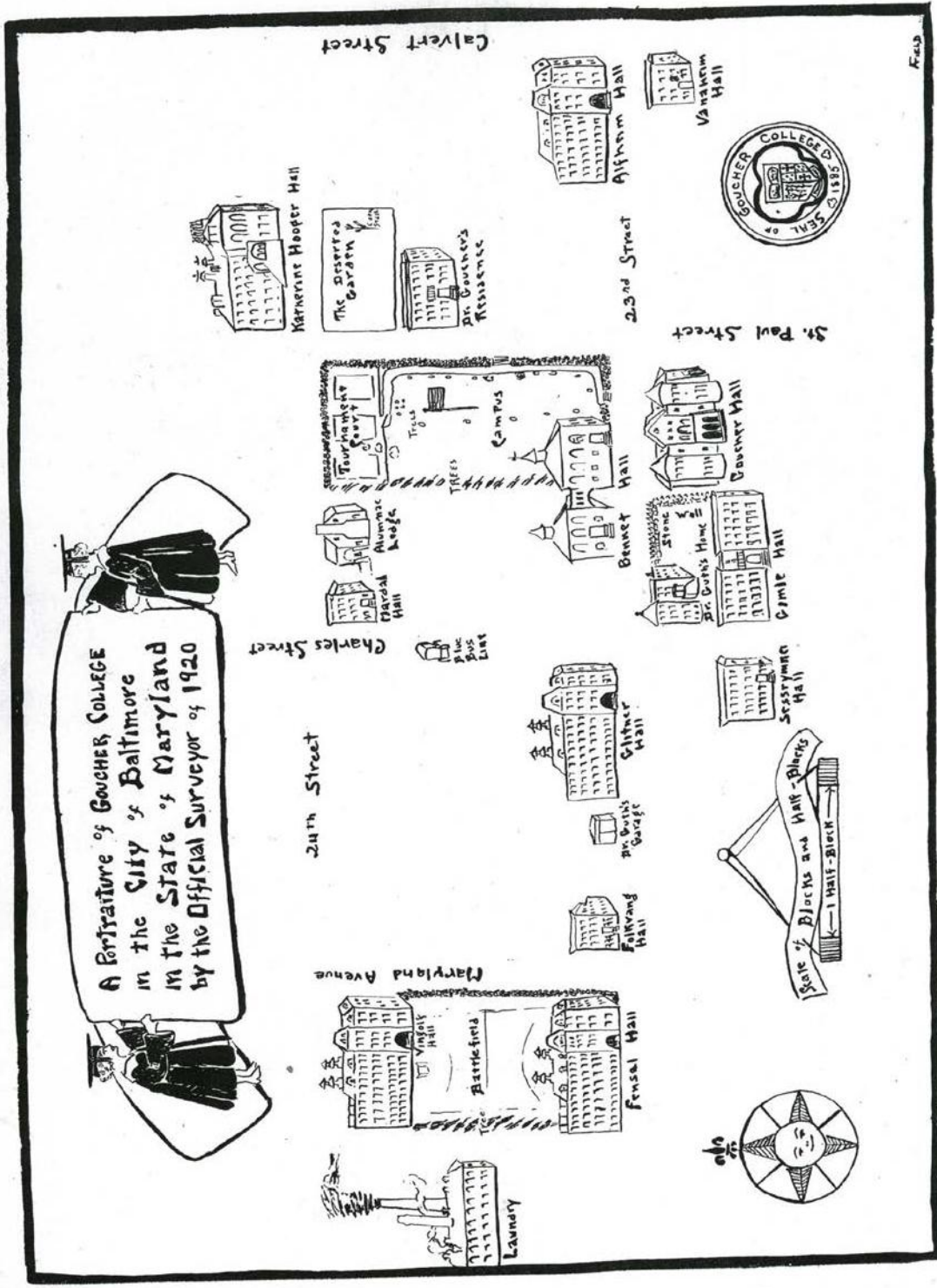


Figure 2-15: A student's hand-drawn map in 1920 illustrates the campus building and property holdings in the time.

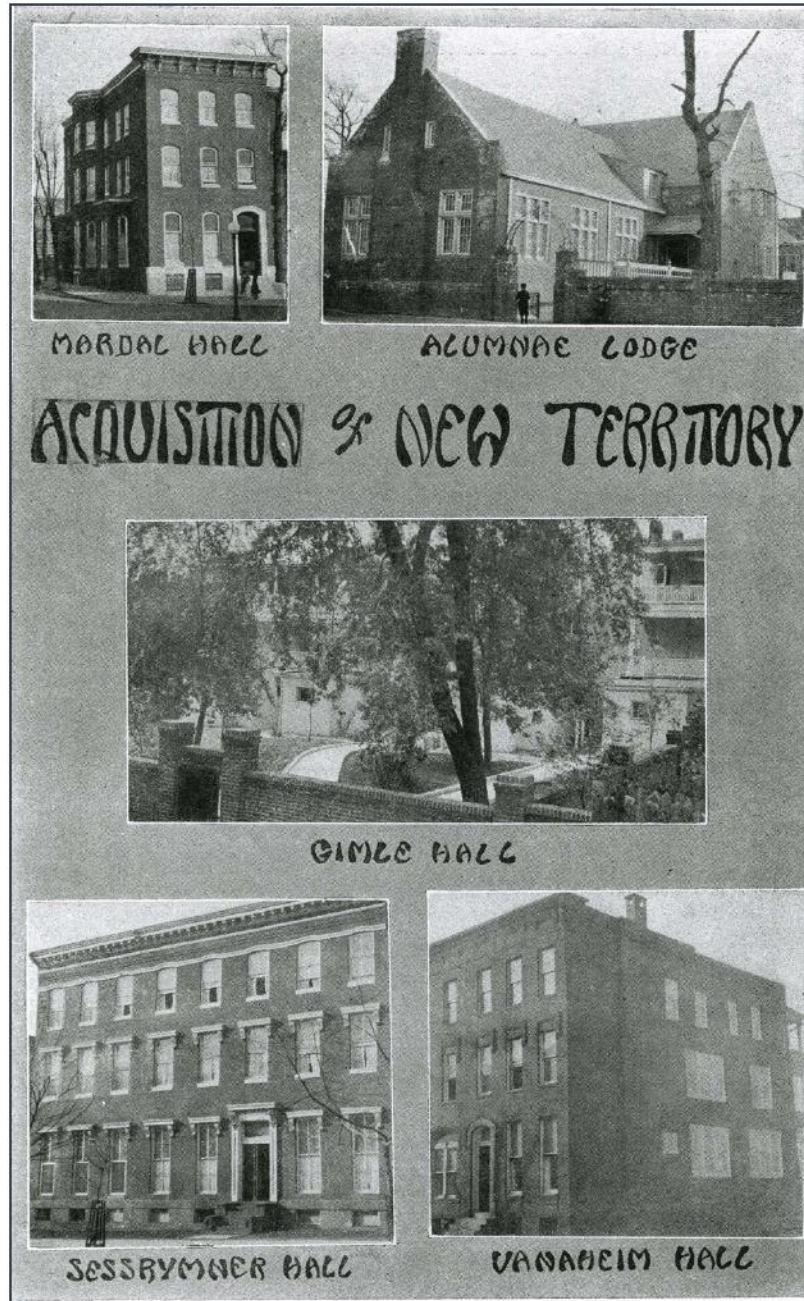


Figure 2-16: 1920 Goucher College yearbook page showing buildings added to the city campus between 1914 and 1920.

which was torn down in 1905. By 1908 the former park land had been cleared, Guilford Avenue was re-connected and the remaining property developed with two-story Colonial Revival row houses.^{36 37} These houses were built in complete rows as part of a large-scale development and were a direct contrast with the early developments in the Old Goucher neighborhood characterized by parcel-by-parcel construction with multiple developers per block.³⁸ In addition, around 40 other new structures were built in the neighborhood between 1900 and

1920 (Figure 2-14). Although these were mostly back buildings, a complete row was constructed on West 25th Street between Howard and Mace Street. Similar to other early developments in the neighborhood, this row was built by multiple developers and builders, creating diverse architectural character within a single block.

Goucher College was continuing to expand enrollment and campus holdings during this time. The construction of a power and laundry house on Howard Street in 1903 allowed the campus to be self-sustaining, yet also allowed it to continue as an isolated, microcosm of the neighborhood. In 1906 Rev. Goucher stepped down as President of the college and a decision was made in 1910 to change the name of the school from the Women's College of Baltimore to Goucher College. The decision was made in part to commemorate the former President and founder and in part to develop a stronger future identity for the institution. As the student population rose however, the school's financial troubles continued to increase and in 1912 the school warned of closure if they were unable to raise \$1 million by the spring of 1913. The college undertook an intense financial campaign to stay open and held several public rallies, inviting prominent, well-connected Baltimore residents and college alumni to the campus. The campaigns were ultimately successful and the neighborhood was spared the loss of its primary institution at this time. Continued fundraising campaigns following the closure threat allowed for necessary expansion of the campus between 1914 and 1920. Five more buildings were added to the campus holdings during this time, primarily adapted from residential row houses to fit the needs of the school and students (Figure 2-15).³⁹ Figure 2-16, when compared with Figure 2-8, shows the piecemeal expansion of the campus during the first two decades of the 20th century and provides a clearer representation of the quads and green spaces that loosely connected the campus.

Although the college remained insulated from the community during this time, the faculty and students were politically active in fighting for such causes as women suffrage and Prohibition.⁴⁰ The intellectual openness of Goucher College's Liberal Arts academic environment always promoted lively discussions on campus about various current events, conflicting ideologies and political views. This meant that the campus was united in the shared effort to openly confront differences as well as similarities, and would often gather in campus open spaces and quads to celebrate important local and national events.⁴¹ Although news articles and college yearbooks show that the direct community was rarely involved in these events, the campus still served as a central node for the neighborhood and greater Baltimore and remained an important asset within the community if nothing else for its presence.

The rest of the area surrounding the campus remained stable in terms of land use during the early decades of the 20th century. Major changes would soon begin to take place in the 1920s due to the implementation of a comprehensive zoning code, but as of 1915 almost all of the row houses in the neighborhood had retained their initial use as single-family residences (see Appendix E: Building Use for detailed map). The 1910 US Federal Census data, however, indicates that there was an increase in the neighborhood in the number of single family houses used by multi-family households. This trend began in the late 19th century, and would further increase in the 20th century. The original churches and institutions also remained an influential presence in the neighborhood during the first two decades. In fact, amidst the pressures and looming changes of the late 1910s, a committee of pastors and boards of the local churches was established in 1914 to protest building proposals on North Avenue that were perceived to be a "detriment to the neighborhood."⁴²



Figure 2-17: 1910 racial distribution map based on US Federal Census data.

The Old Goucher neighborhood remained predominantly white and upper-middle class during the first part of the 20th century despite the fact that by 1920 Baltimore City was home to the fourth largest urban African American population in the United States.⁴³ Immigrants and African Americans also lived throughout the neighborhood during this time, but African Americans were still confined to living in alley houses or on Howard Street which was on the edge of the industrial center in Baltimore. Based on the 1910 census information, it can be seen that the study area followed much of the same segregation patterns that defined many Baltimore neighborhoods at this time (Figure 2-17). European immigrants, on the other hand, lived scattered around the neighborhood on both primary and secondary streets with no noticeable pattern or clusters based on country of origin (see Appendix F: Demographics for detailed maps).⁴⁴

1921-1952: Neighborhood in Transition

The period between 1921 and 1952 was a pivotal turning point in the makeup and use of the Old Goucher neighborhood. Local events and pressures including the new city zoning ordinance in the 1920s, an increased reliance on automobile transit, and Goucher College's decision to move out of the neighborhood, all contributed toward a significant transformation in the Old Goucher neighborhood by the end of the 1940s. Both the College and the community were very active in protesting changes to the neighborhood in the form of commercialization, auto-oriented developments and racial integration but were ultimately unsuccessful in their efforts. At the beginning of this period, the edges of the neighborhood and campus were intensified as long-time residents fought to keep their order of things. By the end of this period, however, the edges would be less pronounced as industry and commerce moved in and the college became less of a presence as it prepared to move to the County.

As automobile transit became widely available in the 1920s with the mass production of inexpensive automobiles, streetcars became less popular and fell into financial trouble. The Great Depression prevented needed expenditures for equipment and maintenance and reduced staffing levels.⁴⁵ As a result, United Railways and Electric Company (UR&E) declared bankruptcy in 1933 and in 1935 was reorganized and reopened as the Baltimore Transit Company (BTC). While World War II resulted in a surge in ridership due to the war effort, it was not enough to make the streetcar system profitable for the city. Beginning as early as 1938, BTC began replacing streetcar service with buses and would continue with this throughout the period, culminating in 1963 with the final track removal. Some of the original streetcar designations were retained on the new bus lines, however many others were consolidated or eliminated all-together, diminishing the City's mass transit system through the rest of the 20th century.^{46 47}

In 1938, the Howard Street Bridge was constructed crossing the Jones Falls as an attempt to solve north-south automobile traffic congestion in the area prior to the construction of the highway system. It had a major effect on this edge of the neighborhood, making way for auto-oriented development such as filling stations and car dealerships.⁴⁸ Significant transformations in the building fabric of the rest of the neighborhood occurred as well during this period. Though it was a relatively small number, close to sixty buildings were demolished throughout the Old Goucher neighborhood during this time period, most of which were back buildings and a few individual row houses (Figures 2-28 and 2-19). A few blocks of alley houses were torn down during this period as well on Lovegrove Alley and Hunter Alley. This trend of removing alley houses would continue in the neighborhood and the rest of Baltimore throughout the next several decades.

While demolition was relatively sparse in the neighborhood between 1921 and 1952, more than 300 new buildings were constructed (Figures 2-20 and 2-21). Most of these buildings were back buildings and secondary buildings, however a few large-scale structures started to transform the architectural fabric and character of the neighborhood. The Federal Land Bank and the Fidelity Storage Company were the first buildings outside of the Goucher campus buildings to be taller than three-stories, and they remain two of the tallest buildings in the neighborhood today.

By 1920, Goucher College's finances had been stabilized and enrollment began to expand. The existing campus, however, was unable to accommodate more students, and the administration's negative perception of the "physical encroachments of the city" ultimately resulted in their decision to move the campus out of the city.⁴⁹ As the area began to transform from a residential enclave to a commercial corridor of North Baltimore the neighborhood, and the campus, became more disrupted by traffic and also crime.⁵⁰ A 1920 Baltimore Sun article discusses "several holdups in the general vicinity" of Goucher College, and appeals to the Police Department to protect the area, stating "the whole section is really, in a sense, college grounds, and... should be freed from the fear caused by the intrusion of criminal elements into the neighborhood."⁵¹

Goucher College made the decision to move out of the city in 1921, only a little more than 30 years after the college was founded in the neighborhood. In that same year 421-acres of land were purchased in Towson, MD for the construction of a new suburban campus.⁵² Construction did not begin for another 20 years due to financial constraints, however, and so the college remained for some time in a community it was not interested in investing in. In 1938, when Goucher College celebrated its 50th anniversary, a Baltimore Sun article was published criticizing

the college for "never [being] closely articulated with the community which encompasses it."⁵³ A few years later however, in 1941, the first building was constructed on the Towson campus. In the very same year, the first city campus building was sold off, and the college gradually continued liquidating their properties in the neighborhood up to their final departure in 1953 (Figure 2-22).^{54,55}

The 1920s marked the beginning of many other changes in the neighborhood surrounding the campus, and in greater Baltimore in general. Around the same time the Trustees of Goucher were making the decision to relocate the campus to Towson, the City of Baltimore was preparing to adopt their first zoning ordinance. This was accomplished in 1923, and in 1931 was amended to include use, height, and area districts based on single-use zoning of



Figure 2-18: 1915 to 1928 building demolition map based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Baltimore City, 1953. Buildings highlighted in red were demolished between 1915 and 1928.

commercial area of North Avenue and the neighborhoods surrounding Penn Station to the south, and ended abruptly at 25th St.

Even prior to the enactment of the zoning ordinance, row houses and institutional buildings in the neighborhood were being adapted for new and varied uses (Figure 2-24). According to U.S. Federal Census data, in 1930 only around two-thirds of the row houses in the neighborhood were still being occupied as single-family residences, the remainder occupied by multiple families. By 1928, what was once a primarily residential neighborhood, contained several commercial businesses in what were previously single-family row houses. North Charles St. and the 2100 block of the neighborhood began the conversion first, and once the zoning ordinance was passed, the commercialization of the area picked up speed relatively quickly.⁵⁸ Commercial



Figure 2-20: 1928 to 1953 building demolition map based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Baltimore City, 1953. Buildings highlighted in red were demolished between 1928 and 1953.

businesses in the area were mainly service-orientated sole proprietorships such as tailors, dressmakers, shoe repairman, dry cleaners, grocers, and later in the period, beauty shops.⁵⁹ There were several row houses that were converted to apartments during this period and many more that were divided up into multi-family residences.

The churches and institutions remained a strong presence in the area during this time, though shifts in population and institutional practices caused some to move out of the neighborhood, others moved in to take their place. The primary institutional changes during this period were the Hospital for Crippled Children, the Home for Incurables, and St. Paul's Orphanage Home. The Hospital for Crippled Children was converted into a commercial store, St. Paul's Orphanage



Figure 2-21: 1928 to 1953 building construction map based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Baltimore City, 1953. Buildings highlighted in black were constructed between 1928 and 1953.

home was demolished and the Home for Incurables was torn down and a new Maryland Department of Motor Vehicles office was built in its place.

While the neighborhood was gradually changing due to outside forces, residents fought the changes that were occurring. The Civic Improvement and Protective Association of North Baltimore was extremely vocal in the neighborhood during this period and opposed almost any new commercial uses entering the area. Just before the zoning ordinance was enacted, a 1921

Table 4 Sale of Goucher Buildings in Baltimore

Building(s)	Sale	Purchaser	Price
Foster House	8/29/41	Building Congress of Baltimore	\$ 7,250
Vanaheim Hall	5/18/42	Dr. Leo Schlenger	9,500
Midgard Hall	5/23/42	Federal Construction Corp.	7,500
Gimle Hall Annex	7/1/42	H. Earle Rose	5,000
Ford Hall	7/9/42	Federal Construction Corp.	14,000
Folkvang Hall, Trudheim Hall, Trudheim Hall Annex, Dunnock Hall	8/26/42	Kenneth Milford Cohen	16,000
Hunnar Hall	1/27/43	Mrs. Dora MacKane	16,000
Mardal Hall	8/2/44	Foster T. Fenton	30,000
Bennett Hall	2/11/45	State of Maryland	50,000
Bennett Hall Annex	2/12/45	State of Maryland	25,000
Fensal and Vingolf Halls	4/29/46	U.S. War Department	134,000
Gimle Hall	5/5/50	Harry Merowitz	60,000
President's House	5/5/50	Harry Merowitz	40,000
Sessrymner Hall	5/5/50	Harry Merowitz	35,000
Power House	9/6/50	Record Realty Co.	20,000
Goucher Hall	11/15/50	American Red Cross	170,000
Alumnae Lodge	12/14/50	Harry B. Cook, Co.	35,000
Alfheim House	2/25/52	City of Baltimore	132,000
Goucher House	4/30/52	United Insurance Co.	120,000
Catherine Hooper Hall	6/10/53	Order of the Eastern Star	175,000
Glitner Hall and Annex	11/10/53	City of Baltimore	175,000
Total			\$1,256,250

Source: Goucher College Archives.

Figure 2-22: Goucher College liquidation chart shows dates the campus buildings in the Old Goucher neighborhood were sold off during the 1940s and 1950s as the college prepared to move to Towson.

Baltimore Sun article discusses the "war to rescue upper Charles street from the invasion of cash registers," and quips "a garage has been barred out of the 2300 block North Charles street, a tailor shop has been spied sneaking up near Goucher College and has been nabbed, and recently they caught a combination apartment house and shoe-shine parlor trying to crawl into the 2400 block by the back way." Public meetings were attended by up to 100 residents in defense of the neighborhood and petitions were signed by "most of the residents of the neighborhood" opposing the commercialization of their neighborhood.⁶⁰

In 1924 the Baltimore Sun again covered the protests regarding changes in the neighborhood, this time discussing proposed commercial zoning in the 2400 block of St. Paul Street. The article described residents of the neighborhood as consisting primarily of older residents who had occupied their homes for years and were firmly opposed to commercialization as well as officials of Goucher College who had concerns for their dormitories and other buildings nearby. Yet, the article stated, there were also some residents who argued the existing stores and businesses in the neighborhood made the change to commercial zoning a logical development, although these residents were fewer in numbers and less vocal than those opposed to the commercial zoning.⁶¹

While residents were successful in slowing some changes, the demographics of the neighborhood also began to shift beginning in the 1920s further upsetting many of the long-time white residents. This was partially due to the Great Migration of rural, southern African Americans into northern cities as well as the recruitment of African Americans to work in Baltimore's industries during the war periods. For example, as many as 25,000 African American workers, mainly men, moved to Baltimore during World War II.⁶²

Whites in Baltimore were becoming very uncomfortable with the great influx of African Americans into the city, calling it the "Negro Invasion".⁶³ Though it was illegal by this time to have a segregation ordinance in Baltimore, powerful private citizens began to implement de facto segregation through the use of fear tactics and mass meetings. Neighborhoods also implemented block covenants that did not allow African Americans to move into homes that had previously been owned by white residents. The first group in Baltimore to form a "Protective Association" to help implement some of these measures actually formed in the Old Goucher neighborhood and consisted of white homeowners living along "upper Calvert Street and the blocks west to Maryland Avenue and Howard Street between 21st and 25th Streets."⁶⁴ By 1930 African American's had moved into the west side of the neighborhood in large numbers and were increasing in population in the neighborhood at the same time the white residents were putting forth efforts to limit non-white access to the rest of the neighborhood (Figure 2-20).

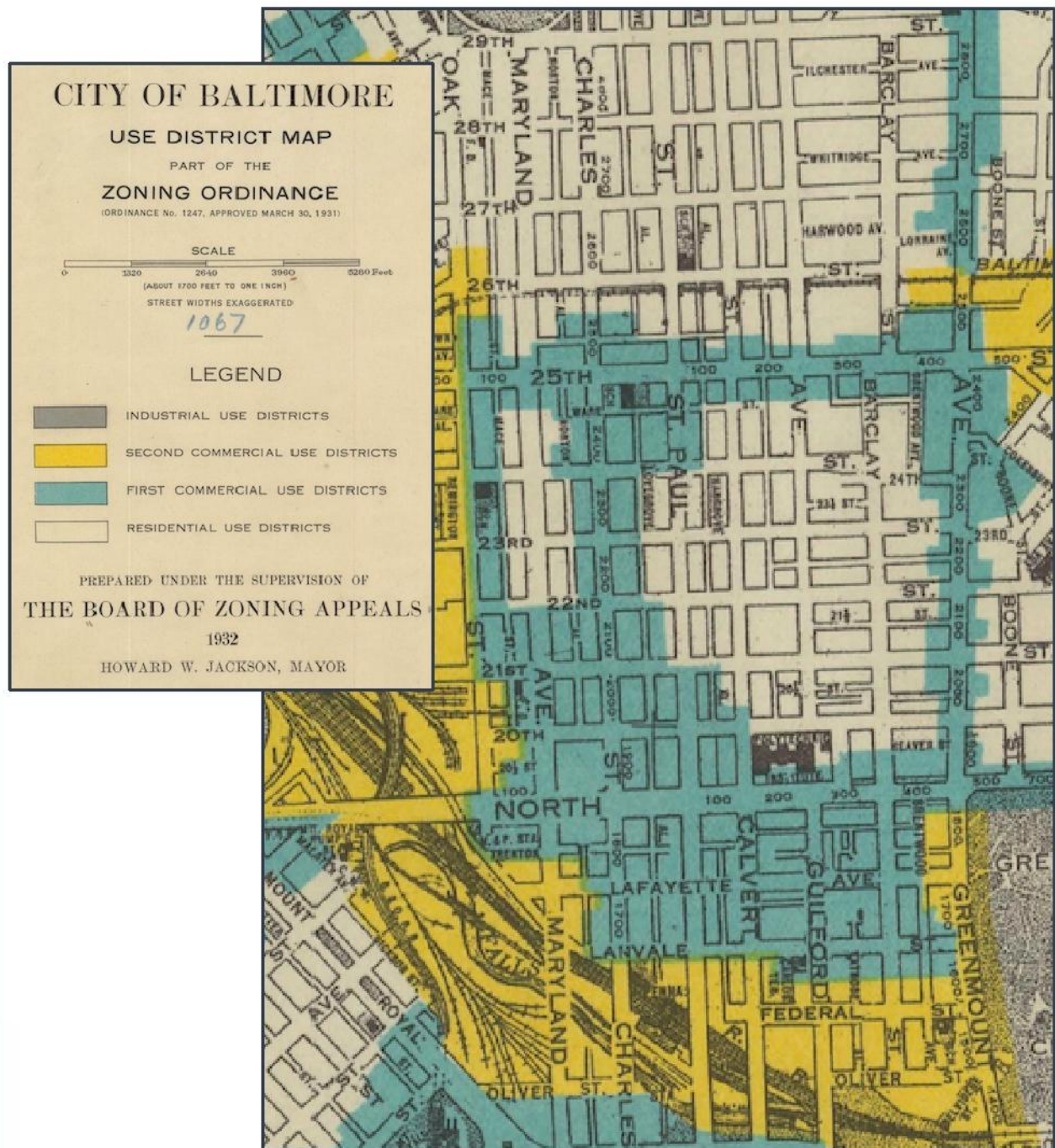


Figure 2-23: City of Baltimore Use District Map, close-up of Old Goucher and surrounding area. The Old Goucher neighborhood is designated with both first commercial (blue) and residential (white) uses.

PART II

Banks and mortgage lenders also frequently used redlining on residential insurance maps during this period to rate areas based on market values and lending risk. These maps served to further promote racial residential segregation and economic discrimination as well as increase white flight to the suburbs. They were generally drawn around racial, cultural, and socio-economic boundaries and labeled much of the diverse inner city as too risky for investment. A



Figure 2-24: 1928 building use based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Baltimore City. Buildings highlighted in bold are Goucher College buildings, and are indicated if currently occupied by Goucher.

1937 redlining map of Baltimore City shows the neighborhoods directly surrounding the core commercial and industrial center of the city as the lowest "fourth grade," red rating, and the area immediately surrounding that as "third grade," yellow rating. The Old Goucher neighborhood is within a "third grade" area and would be effected by this designation as the area transformed during this period and into the second half of the 20th century (Figure 2-25).

As the neighborhood entered the second half of the 20th century, it would experience the most dramatic changes yet in building typology, use and demographics. With the departure of Goucher College the community would be without a central joining point, leaving the blocks disconnected and the neighborhood identity lost for the next 50 years.

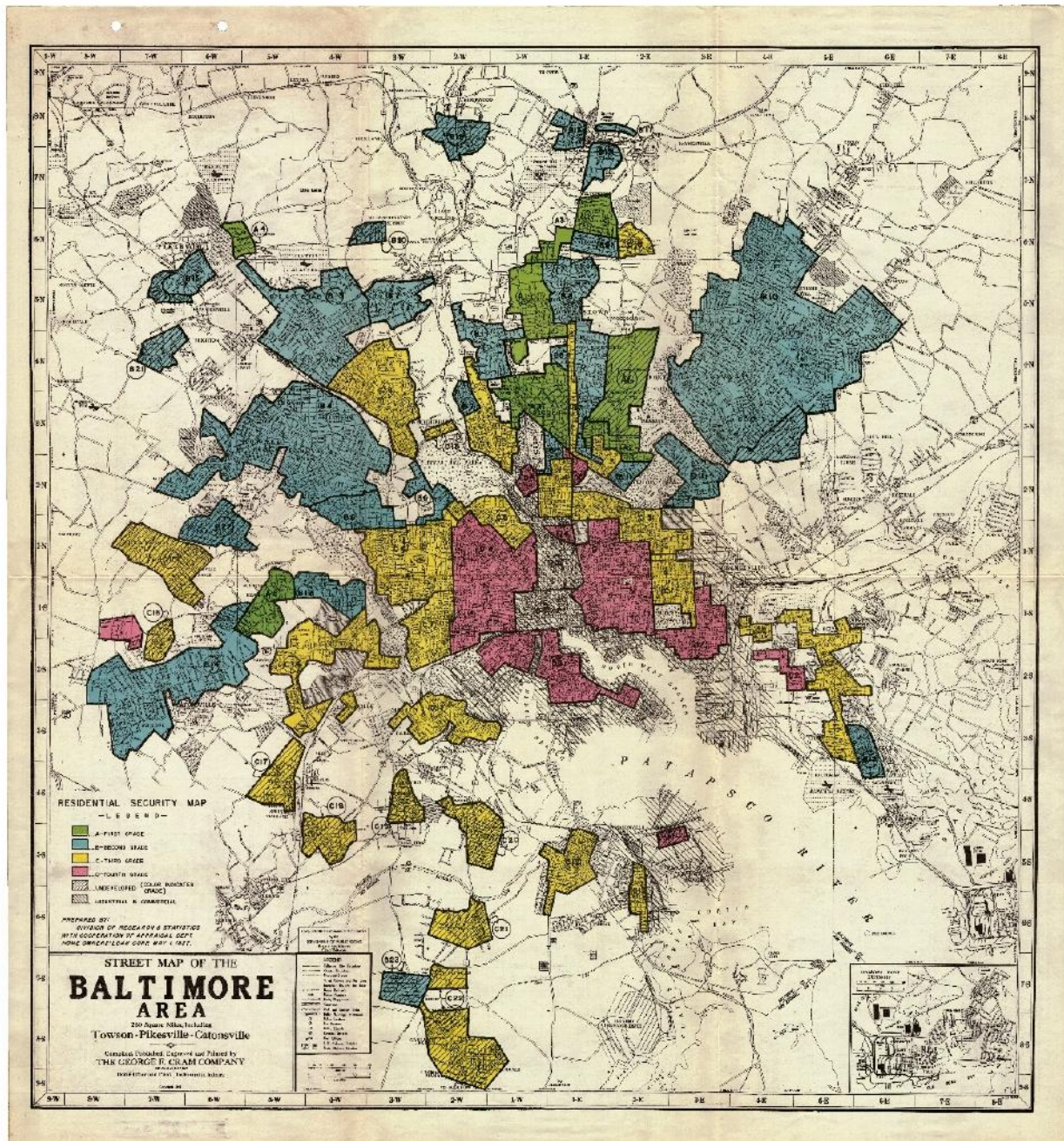


Figure 2-25: Residential insurance map of Baltimore City illustrating mortgage redlining practices.

Post-1953: Neighborhood in Limbo

The second half of the 20th century was transformative to the City of Baltimore and the Old Goucher neighborhood as residents and institutions fled even further from the city to the outer suburbs, de-industrialization caused the loss of major industry in the city, and a reliance on automobile transit transformed the way people traveled through the city and neighborhood. Goucher College, along with other prominent universities at the time including Morgan State, moved from Baltimore City to Baltimore County where there was open land, less crime and lighter traffic. The college's departure from the city neighborhood it began in left the area without a central node and connection between the blocks, encouraging its transformation into a through-way rather than a stopping point. The effect of the college leaving the neighborhood goes well beyond traffic flows however. In the book *A Guide to Baltimore Architecture*, John Dorcey and James D. Dilts posit that, "when... Goucher College decided to leave its campus below 25th Street and migrate to Towson... the city suffered. When the college left, it dealt Baltimore a blow from which it has not yet recovered. The part of town that was its campus remains in limbo." The loss of a major institution such as Goucher College, whether directly involved in its local community or not, had a ripple effect that impacted not only the surrounding neighborhood but also the entire city.

By the 1950s, the tremendous increase in automobile use nationwide meant that most people were no longer reliant on streetcars, passenger railroad service or walking as means of transportation. As these services declined in use, they were eliminated or replaced, and automobile access was given the highest priority, transforming American cities with the construction of interweaving highway systems and parking lots. In the 1960s Baltimore constructed an elevated highway as part of the new national highway system. The Jones Falls Expressway/US Route 83 was constructed above the Jones Falls, the railroad lines, and the Fallsway. With this new highway, the visual impact of the natural power source and boundary in Baltimore City, the Jones Falls, was lost and the city became something one would quickly drive into and out of, not stay in and walk around.

Prior to the 1950s, all of the major North-South streets within the neighborhood allowed two-way traffic, which had the effect of slowing down traffic as it moved through. In the 1950s, the city made many streets one-way, including Maryland Avenue, N Charles Street, St. Paul Street, and North Calvert Street, and coordinated traffic signals to allow for uninterrupted travel from the growing automobiles suburbs to the north into Baltimore's city center, and vice-versa.⁶⁵ These one-way streets had a similar effect as highways, allowing people to quickly drive into and out of the city center without stopping or slowing down in between. This increased the feeling that the Old Goucher neighborhood became an area to pass through instead of visit; an area wedged between city and suburb which had lost its institutional core of Goucher College.



Figure 2-26: 1953 to 2013 building demolition map based on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Baltimore City, 1953. Buildings highlighted in red were demolished between 1953 and 2013.

With the decline in streetcar service, buses gradually replaced each line in Baltimore starting in the 1950s until the last car ran in November 1963. The new bus lines served the Old Goucher neighborhood and connected the area to the city center and northern suburbs, just as the streetcars had, but ridership was low due to reliance on cars.⁶⁶

Demolition of buildings without replacement became a trend throughout the Old Goucher neighborhood during the second half of the 20th century. After 1953, over 470 individual structures were demolished within the neighborhood (Figure 2-26). This is over 400 more

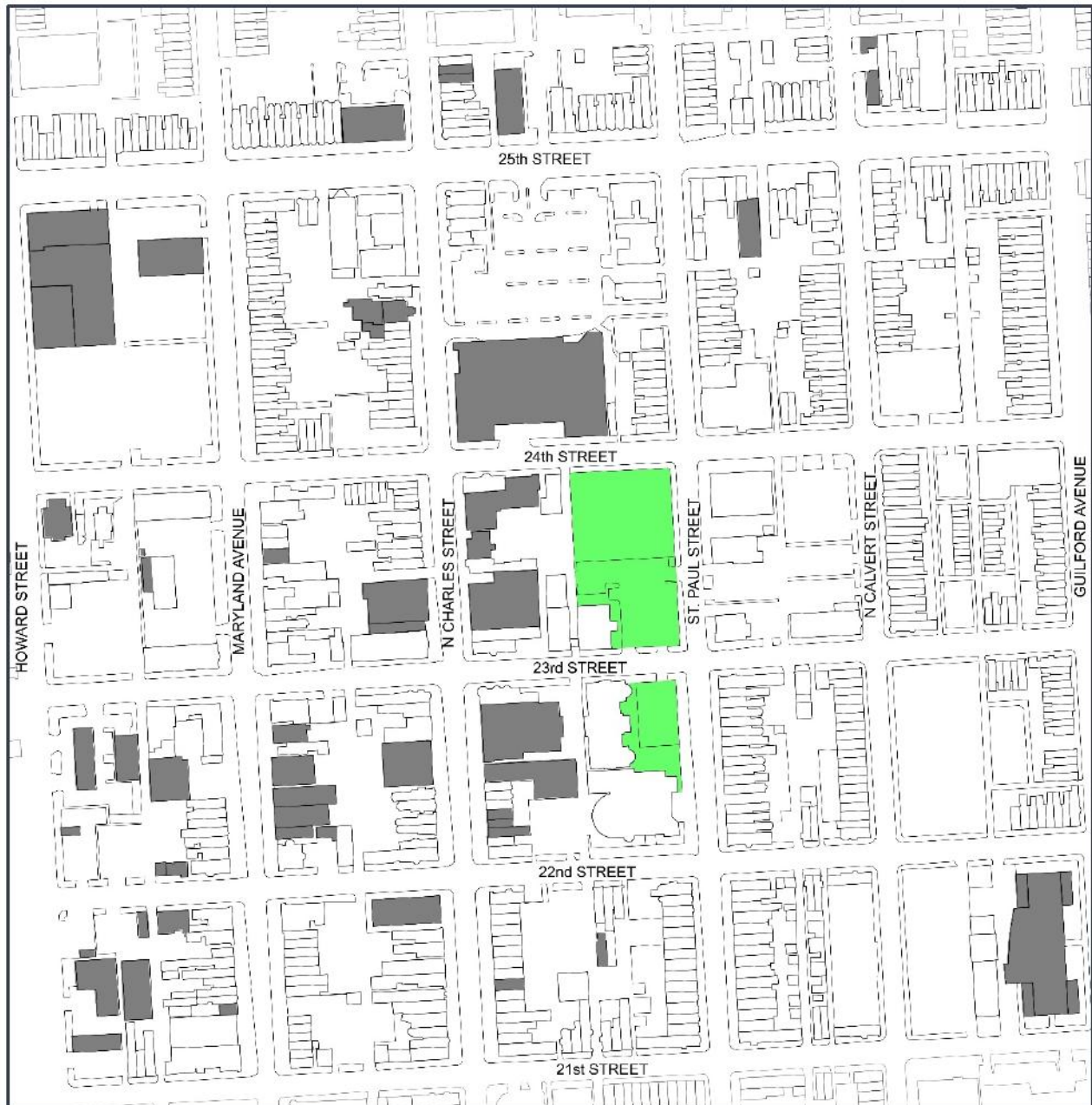


Figure 2-27: 1953 to 2008 building construction map based on 2008 Baltimore City GIS buildings and parcel shape files. Buildings in gray were constructed between 1953 and 2008.

structures than were demolished during the neighborhood's first sixty years. Of those 470 buildings removed, only 48 buildings were added (Figure 2-27). Out of the 48 newly constructed buildings throughout the neighborhood, most were located west of St. Paul Street. Some of them were built on lots left vacant by demolished row houses, while others completely ignored the historic neighborhood fabric, such as the Safeway grocery store. The demolitions left with many parking lots and vacant lots leaving holes throughout the historically dense building fabric.

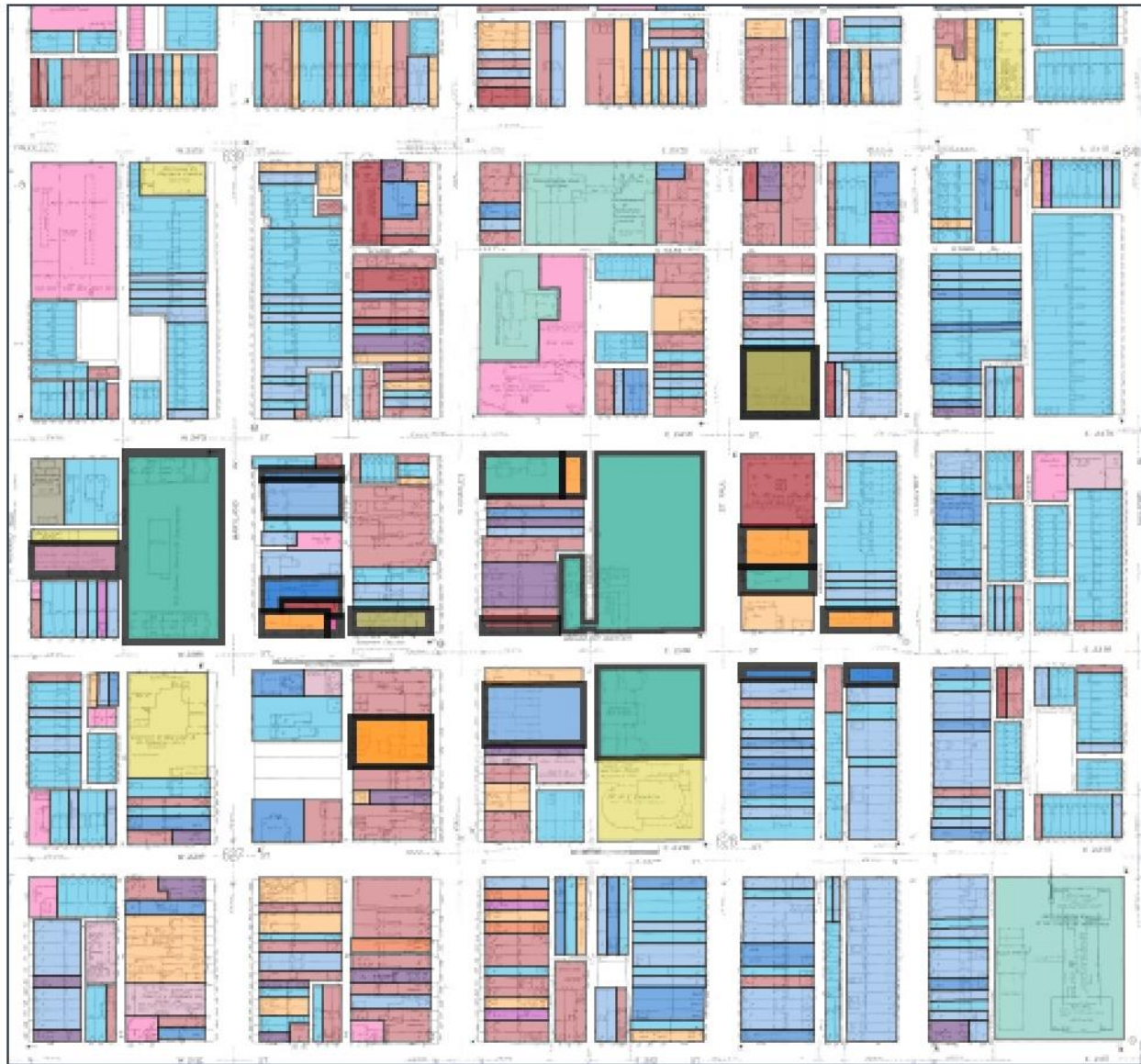
In the 1970s four buildings stood vacant in the 2200 block of North Calvert Street. The buildings were falling apart and their rear walls had partially collapsed.⁶⁷ With further investigation it was determined that an underground stream was causing extensive damage to the buildings foundations.⁶⁸ In 1981, the city demolished the entire block, a total of more than thirty buildings, most of which were original to the neighborhood.⁶⁹ In their place, a park was created. Around this same time, the former green spaces of Goucher College were paved over for parking making the new park on Calvert Street the only open green space left in the neighborhood.

The transformation of the Old Goucher neighborhood was similar to what was taking place across Baltimore and the rest of country. During the 1960s, Baltimore City, like many other large cities in the US, used Urban Renewal ordinances to clear and rebuild "blighted" neighborhoods. In the 1950s, Baltimore removed around 800 houses per year. In the 1960s, the number of demolitions rose to 2600 houses per year.⁷⁰ These houses were removed to make room for expressways, schools and public housing projects. Most of the people that were evicted as part of this effort were poor and nine out of ten were African Americans.⁷¹ The high number of demolitions throughout the city caused a fiscal crisis as many of the cleared properties lied vacant for ten to fifteen years or longer.⁷² To combat this, the city undertook a program to renovate more than fifteen hundred properties through the Model Urban Neighborhood Demonstration (MUND), but this did not greatly help the problem.⁷³

Changes to the building and land use of the Old Goucher neighborhood only reinforced the transformation of the urban fabric in the area. The last Sanborn Fire Insurance map for Baltimore City was completed in 1953 and provides an excellent visual representation of the vast diversity in use of the original residential row houses in the neighborhood (Figure 2-28). The row houses within the Old Goucher neighborhood have proven the extreme adaptability of urban row house units for a variety of uses from residential to commercial to institutional. The illustrated Sanborn map shows that the western portion of the neighborhood transformed to a primarily commercial district, and the residential district in the eastern portion of the neighborhood was primarily multi-family and apartments. Looking at the broader area shows

that the neighborhood to the north of 25th Street, remained more heavily single-family use (Appendix E: Building Use).

By the late 1960s, young, professionals began moving into the area to the north of the former Goucher campus around Johns Hopkins University and the Charles Village neighborhood was soon created. The neighborhood began in 1967 as just a name but quickly became a community



- Library
- School
- Goucher
- Church
- Store
- Mixed-Use Apartment
- Mixed-Use Single-Family
- Industrial
- Auto-related
- Social/Public Institution
- Park
- Office
- Single-Family Residence
- Multi-Family Residence
- Apartment Residence

Figure 2-28: 1953 building use map based on Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Baltimore City, 1953. Buildings highlighted in bold are former Goucher College buildings.

identity focused around home restoration and civic involvement. The Old Goucher neighborhood south of 25th Street was claimed as a part of Charles Village at this time, but it was considered the office and commercial center of the village while the residential part of the village extended north from the Pastel Row of 26th street.⁷⁴

Within the immediate Old Goucher neighborhood, the types of commercial uses prevalent in the area began changing from personal service oriented businesses towards professional offices and stores. During the 1950s and 1960s there were many contractors, engineers, manufacturers and real estate offices in the area.⁷⁵ By the early 1970s, the area attracted an emerging artist network that focused itself around the Charles-St.Paul-25th Street area. 25th Street became home to the new headquarters of what was believed to be America's oldest art club, The Charcoal Club, and there were several artist galleries and studios that were "linked in a village network" of artists according to a 1971 *Baltimore Sun* article. There was a bookstore, a folk center, Baltimore's pioneer art film theater, The Playhouse, and many of the city's major restaurants in the 25th Street corridor between Charles and St. Paul Streets. In the 1970s, the area was well known as a center for professional offices in the areas of "real estate, insurance, advertising, public relations, commercial art, architecture, interior decoration, construction and the automation industry."⁷⁶ By the 1980s, however, the professional businesses began moving out, and the neighborhood would experience a long period of disinvestment, characterized by absentee landlords and vacant and deteriorating properties.

1953 was the final year Goucher College held classes on their city campus. ⁷⁷ Following the spring semester, the College made its final move to the Towson campus and sold off the last remaining property holding in the Old Goucher neighborhood in November 1953. It took just over 30 years for the college to make their move to Towson resulting in 30 years of disinvestment in the original city campus. Despite the disinvestment, most of the college buildings were purchased and occupied by other institutions after Goucher left, such as the US War Department, the American Red Cross, the State of Maryland, and the City of Baltimore.⁷⁸ However, the institutions that took over the campus buildings in the second half of the 20th century were primarily transient with shorter-term ownership in comparison to the College (Figure 2-29). The college buildings have remained in relative constant institutional use over the years, yet without the college tying them all together, the sense of place within the neighborhood that acted as a link for neighborhood residents, students and professors of the college was lost. Because the college left and sold off their buildings individually, the neighborhood lost its anchor institution and along with it the strong pedestrian presence it brought to the neighborhood. The campus buildings were left disconnected, without a consistent steward, and the neighborhood lost its cohesion.

USES OF OLD GOUCHER BUILDINGS, POST-1950

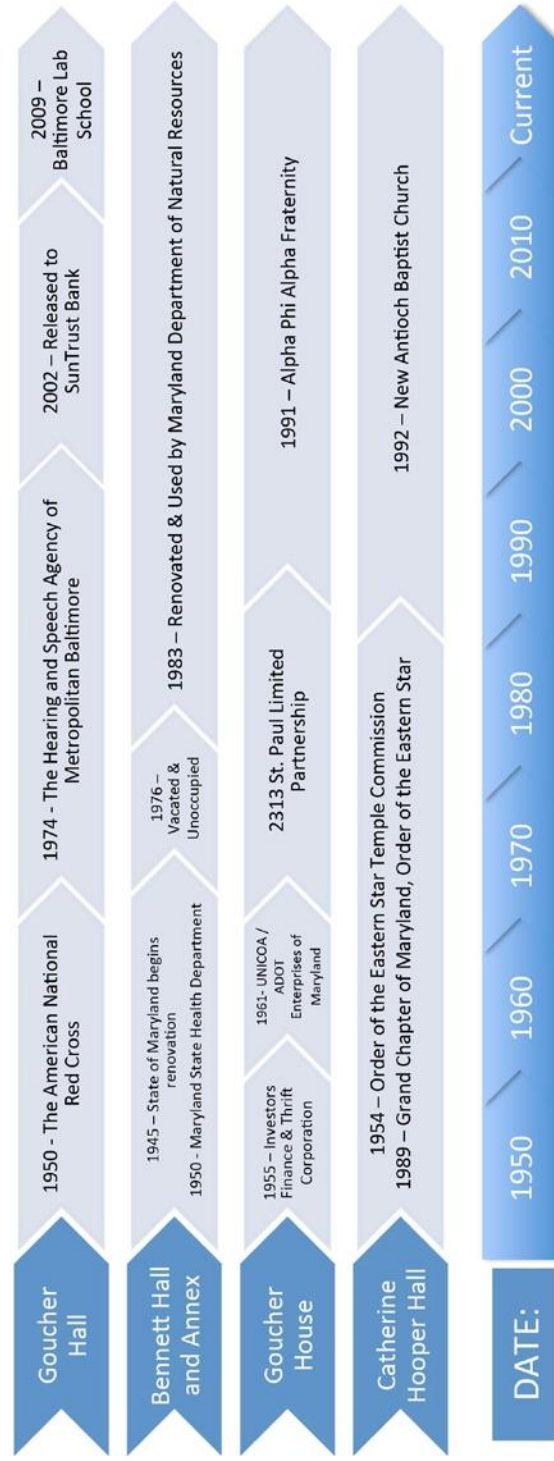


Figure 2-29: Chart showing commercial and institutional uses for a selection of former owned by Goucher College

In 1978, the old campus buildings along with the surrounding neighborhood were successfully nominated as a historic district and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Although this designation recognized the historic character of the campus and the neighborhood around it, the lack of actual protections accompanying the designation were unable to prevent the demolition of a few of the less significant campus buildings. However, most of the original campus buildings do remain in the neighborhood today (Figure 2-30).

Patterns of changes in building and land use were due in large part to the zoning ordinance but were affected by many other factors, like demographic patterns, surrounding neighborhood pressures, and automobile usage. In 1971, after two decades of planning, a revised zoning code was approved by the city of Baltimore (Figure 2-31). The revisions now mandated that the Old Goucher neighborhood was to be entirely commercial businesses and office-residential use, however, studies leading up to the revision showed that in Baltimore City, "25% of the land zoned for commercial use was still residential after 31 years and that excess commercial zoning had attracted marginal and blighting commercial uses into what otherwise had been stable residential neighborhoods."⁷⁹

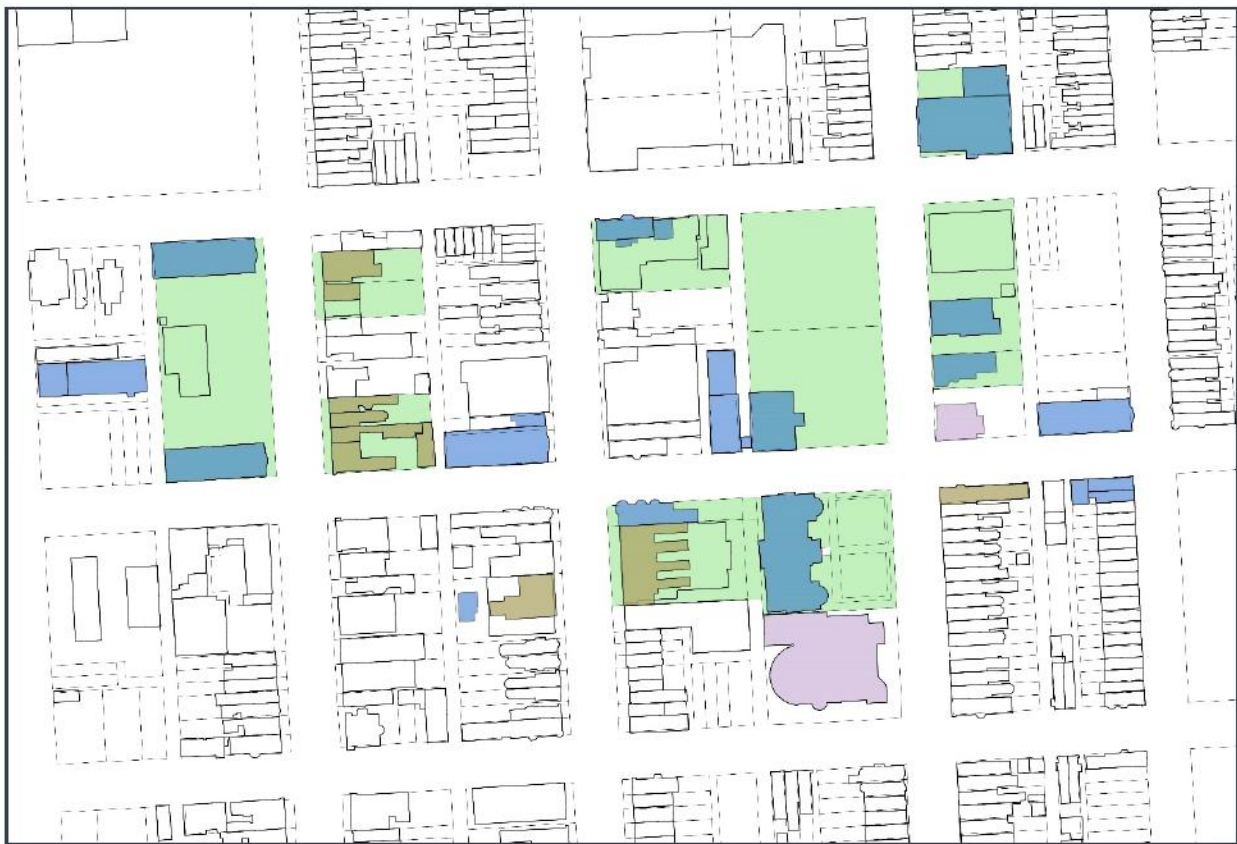


Figure 2-30: Current map of Goucher College campus showing extant buildings in blue and demolished buildings in olive green. Other parcels indicated in green were open spaces and quads for the campus. Map is based on 2008 Baltimore City GIS building and parcel shape files.

Between 1950 and 1970 Baltimore County's population more than doubled with white population's flight to the suburbs, while the African American population in Baltimore County then decreased from 6.6% to 3.2% because African Americans were excluded from the typical suburb.⁸⁰ In 1950 Baltimore City's population peaked, with only slight declines into the 1970s, mainly due to the fact that African Americans were continuing to come into the city from the South and were statistically replacing the white families that were leaving. When the migration stopped in the 1970s, Baltimore City's population shrank.⁸¹ This was only exacerbated by the fact that between 1955 and 1965 the city lost 82 industries, 65 of them moving to Baltimore County making employment in the city that much more difficult.⁸² The greater trends that were happening across Baltimore City were also happening in the Old Goucher neighborhood. Although there was a general decrease in total population, there was an increase in the African American population from 1970 to 2000.

The loss of the primary anchor institution in the neighborhood along with residential flight to the suburbs and changing traffic patterns contributed to a long period of disinvestment in the neighborhood during the second half of the 20th century. Despite this disinvestment, the neighborhood today consists of a diverse, mixed-use building typology, a high quality building stock, and a strong presence of institutions, including churches and social service organizations. Lacking in the neighborhood today are the green spaces created by Goucher College which provided connections between blocks in the neighborhood and defined a sense of place for the community within greater Baltimore. The following section will briefly look at the present conditions in the Old Goucher neighborhood and will follow with recommendations derived from this historical analysis. In this discourse, we will present how the neighborhood's heritage and historical character can inform future planning and zoning decisions.

CITY OF BALTIMORE
 REPRODUCTION OF THE
USE DISTRICT MAP
 AS AMENDED TO JANUARY 1, 1958
 PART OF THE
ZONING ORDINANCE

NO. 1247, APPROVED MARCH 30, 1931, ARTICLE 40, BALTIMORE CITY CODE OF 1950
 AS REVISED BY ORDINANCE 711, APPROVED MAY 21, 1953

SCALE: 1 Inch to 1500 Feet
 STREET WIDTHS EXAGGERATED

—
 LEGEND

	INDUSTRIAL USE DISTRICTS
	SECOND COMMERCIAL USE DISTRICTS
	FIRST COMMERCIAL USE DISTRICTS
	RESIDENTIAL AND OFFICE USE DISTRICTS
	RESIDENTIAL USE DISTRICTS

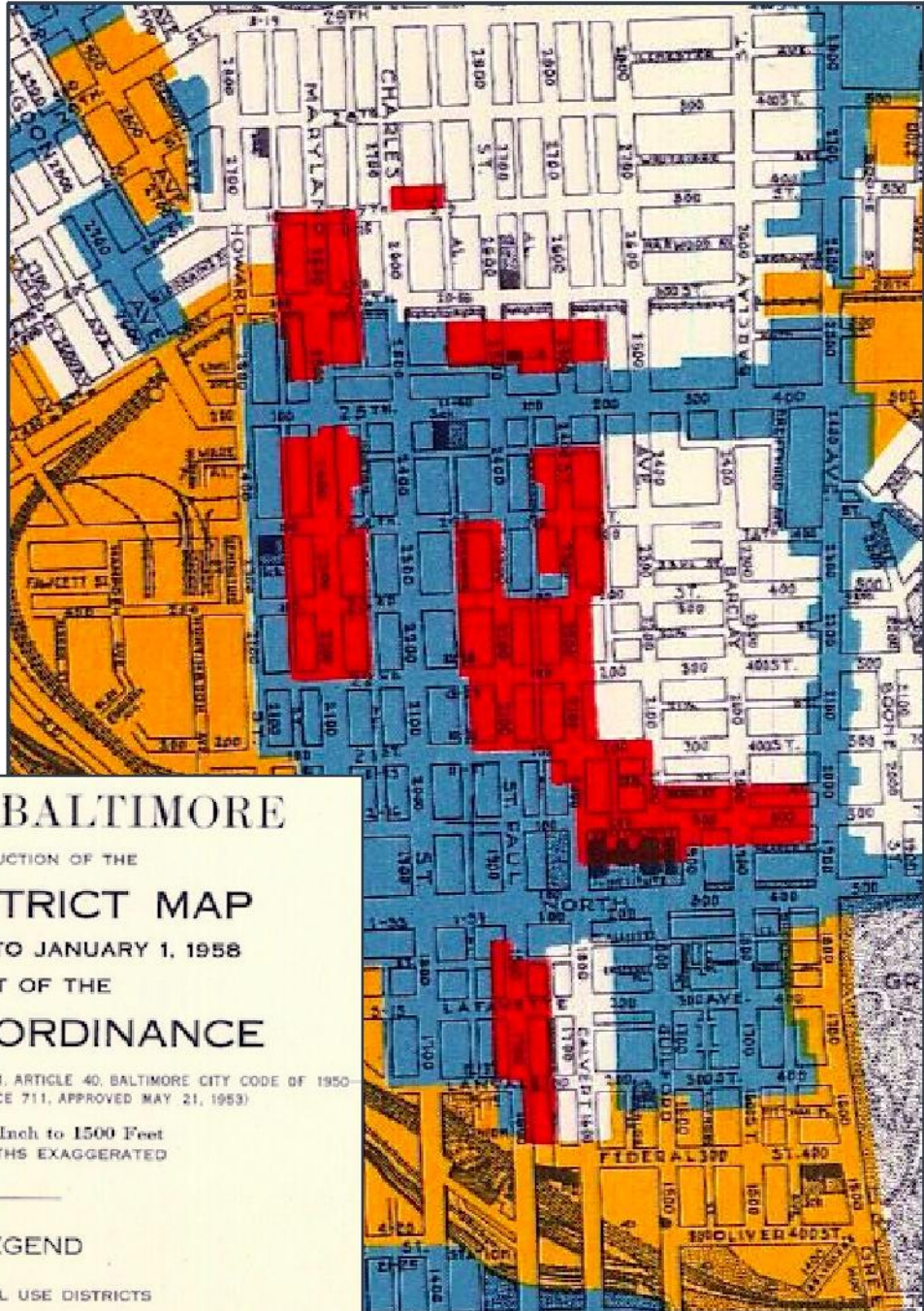


Figure 2-31: 1958 use district map for the city of Baltimore representing ongoing changes to the zoning of the Old Goucher neighborhood, increasingly becoming non-residential.



PART III
PRESENT CONTEXT

Present Context



Throughout its history, Old Goucher has been influenced by development pressures on all sides, from the historical industrial sector to the west, the CSX rail line and Johns Hopkins University' Homewood campus to the north, the residential communities to the north and east, as well as the commercial area on North Avenue to the south. These development pressures created a unique historic fabric and mix of uses, but also created certain challenges. In particular, the Charles Street corridor saw a rise in commercial development, which brought about an increase in automobile traffic in the mid-twentieth century. This in turn led to the street becoming a high-speed thoroughway. Goucher College created a node, but its short life span in the neighborhood and its lack of integration with the community meant that it never served as a destination. The neighborhood today tends to be a place people pass through rather than explore.

The Old Goucher Neighborhood Today

The Old Goucher neighborhood is a vibrant and diverse historic neighborhood. Much of the neighborhood's built environment was developed prior to 1900, and as the National Register nomination states, is a "living text-book of architectural styles" from 1880-1900 (Figure 3-1).¹

Over the neighborhood's history, these buildings have proven highly adaptable undergoing several changes to fit the needs of the community. Today, the numerous row houses and historic buildings house the neighborhood's "strong and diverse core of locally owned businesses with a large number of professional offices as well as numerous restaurants, shops, services, and non-profits" (Figure 3-2).² There area also a large number of social service providers located within the neighborhood (Figure 3-3). In addition, the neighborhood's legacy of providing various types of social services for the Baltimore area has also resulted in attracting the highest concentration of methadone clinics in the entire city.