REVISED: 11-14-83

The South End

District Study Committee Report

Boston Landmarks Commission

Revised: 11-14-83

Report of the South End Study Committee

on the potential designation of

THE SOUTH END

in part as a Landmark District

and in part as a Protection Area

under Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1977, as amended

THE BOSTON LANDMARKS COMMISSION

Approved Marcia Myers 10/11/83

Executive Director (Date)

Accepted Pauline Chase Harrell 10/11/83

Chairman (Date)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. Location of Proposed Districts

II. Description of Proposed Districts

III. Significance of Proposed Districts

IV. Economic Status

V. Planning Context

VI. Alternative Designation Approaches

VII. Recommendations

VIII. Standards and Criteria

IX. Bibliography

TYPOGRAPHICAL ADDENDUM TO: South End District Study Committee Report

1. Summary Page - "Margaret S. Smith (until 1979)" should follow "Martha Rothman".

2. I Location and Boundaries, pages 3 and 5 - "#80 to #86 Waltham Street" #86 Waltham Street" should read "#80 to #86 Union Park Street" and "#86 Union Park Street", respectively.

INTRODUCTION

The South End Study Committee hereby transmits to the Boston Landmarks Commission its report on the designation of the South End neighborhood as a Landmark District with the Harrison Avenue/Albany Street area as a Protection Area.

The work of this Committee was initiated in 1977 after a petition was submitted by registered voters of the South End neighborhood to the Boston Landmarks Commission asking that the Commission designate the proposed South End neighborhood a Landmark District under the provisions of Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended. The purpose of such a designation is to recognize and to protect the architectural and historical characteristics which make an area unique and worthy of preservation.

As a result of the petition from ten registered voters and at the request of the Boston Landmarks Commission, the Mayor appointed and the City Council confirmed a Study Committee to make recommendations to the Commission on the proposed district.

The South End Study Committee, which consists of members from the Landmarks Commission and the South End Study Area, began its work together in 1978 to evaluate the architectural and historical significance of the area, the potential boundaries, and to propose the standards and criteria that would ensure the protection of the area. The Committee was assisted by Marcia Myers, Executive Director of the Boston Landmarks Commission, Judith McDonough, Survey Director of the Commission, and John Harrell, the Commission's staff architect.

All Study Committee meetings were held in the South End on a regular bi-monthly schedule and were open to the public. After more than two years of work, study and deliberation, a tentative report with suggested guidelines was drawn up. During September, 1981, the Study Committee held two special meetings to which all property owners and interested residents in the Study Area were invited. Additionally, many presentations were given at individual neighborhood association meetings by Committee members and interested persons. The Study Committee's report was reviewed, and opinions and suggestions were solicited from the public. Following these meetings, the Study Committee amended and completed its recommendations for submission to the Boston Landmarks Commission.

SUMMARY

The South End Study Committee has concluded that the South End neighborhood is architecturally significant as a substantially intact area of mid-19th century row houses and notable institutional and civic complexes important for integrity and consistency of design throughout the greater part of the entire district.

Therefore, the Study Committee has recommended that an area bounded, roughly, by the Southwest Corridor right-of-way, Tremont Street, East Berkeley Street, Washington Street, Harrison Avenue, and Northampton/Camden Streets be designated as the South End Landmark District. The Committee has recommended, also, that the area between the designated district and the Southeast Expressway be designated as a Protection Area. (See Section I for exact boundaries of both proposed districts.)

The Committee has recommended, also, that the Standards and Criteria, which have been prepared to guide future physical changes to property and to open space within the proposed districts in order to protect the architectural integrity and character of the area, be adopted.

The Committee has further recommended that a South End District Commission be established in accordance with Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended, that district residents and members of the Boston Landmarks Commission be appointed to the Commission to review exterior changes to property in the districts.

Chapter 772, as amended, stipulates that there be five District Commission members: two members and two alternates from the District and three members and three alternates from the Boston Landmarks Commission. The report recommends that: The pairs of members and alternates from the Landmark District must be residents of the Landmark District for at least three years prior to appointment to the Commission; that at least one member and one alternate be owner occupants within the Landmark District; that no member or alternate may own more than three properties within the Landmark District; that one member and one alternate reside in that part of the Landmark District lying west of Tremont Street; that the other member and other alternate reside in that part of the Landmark District lying east of Tremont Street; and that members and alternates serve staggered three-year terms.

Study Area residents on the Study Committee:

James Alexander
Dorothy Clarke
Philip Degnon
Fernando Domenech
Allan R. Crite
Clark Frazier
Robert Bennett
Charles F. Gandy
Betty Fordham Nolan
Rev. Clyde Miller

Boston Landmarks Commission representatives on the Study Committee:

Pauline Chase Harrell
Henry A. Wood
Susan B. Davis
Martha Rothman (until 1980)

Acknowledgments:

This report would not have been possible without the sustained and extensive assistance of many South End residents. Although it would be impossible to make a complete list, the following people donated many hours of their own time to assist in what seemed like an endless task:

Carolyn Gritter
Ken Gritter
Robert Harkness
Jeanette Hajjar
Arthur Howe
Raymond F. Liston
Joe Rosembloom
Eric Liebman

I Location and Boundaries of the Proposed Districts.

The proposed South End Landmark District and the Harrison Avenue/Albany Street Protection Area are located in the South End section of the City of Boston

The area to be included in the proposed Landmark District of 300 acres includes the property within a line running as follows:

- starting at a point at the intersection of Northampton Street and the southerly property line of the Southwest Corridor right-of-way and running in a northeasterly/easterly direction along said right-of-way to the intersection of Tremont Street;

- thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the easterly curb line of Tremont Street until it intersects with East Berkeley Street;

- thence turning and running in an easterly direction along the southwestern curb line of East Berkeley Street until it intersects with Washington Street;

- thence turning and running northerly for approximately 50 feet along the western curb line of Washington Street;

- thence turning at a right angle and running across Washington Street to its eastern curb line and again turning at a right angle and running in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern curb line of Washington Street until it intersects with the back lot property line of #21 Waltham Street.

- thence turning and running in a southeasterly direction along the back lot lines of #21 to #1 Waltham Street;

- thence running across Harrison Avenue and along the back lot lines of #80 to #86 Waltham Street;

- thence turning and running in a southerly direction along the eastern lot line of #86 Waltham Street;

- thence running in a southeasterly direction across Union Park Street and in a southerly direction along the east lot line of #89 Union Park Street;

- thence turning and running in a westerly direction along the back lot lines of #89 to #81 Union Park Street until it intersects with Harrison Avenue;

thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern curb line of Harrison Avenue until it intersects with East Canton Street;

- thence turning and running in a southeasterly direction along the northeastern curb line of East Canton Street until it intersects with Thorn Street;

- thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern curb line of Thorn Street until it intersects with East Brookline Street;

- thence turning and running in a northwesterly direction along the back lot

lines of #109 to #81 East Brookline Street;

- thence turning at a right angle and running in a northeasterly direction along the eastern lot line of #57 East Brookline Street;

- thence turning at a right angle and running in a northwesterly directon along #57 East Brookline Street until it intersects with Harrison Avenue;

- thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern curb line of Harrison Avenue until it intersects with Northampton Street;

- thence turning and running in a northwesterly direction along the northeastern curb line of Northampton Street until it intersects with Washington Street;

- thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the mid-line of Washington Street until it intersects with Camden Street;

- thence turning and running in a northwesterly direction along the northern curb line of Camden Street to the intersection with Shawmut Avenue, continuing directly across Shawmut Avenue and along the northern curb line of Camden Street until it intersects with Tremont Street;

- thence continuing directly across Tremont Street along the northerly curb line of Camden Street until it intersects with Columbus Avenue, across Columbus Avenue until it intersects with the back lot lines of #607 to #627 Columbus Avenue;

- thence turning and running in a northeasterly direction along said back lot line until it intersects with Northampton Street;

- thence turning and running in a northwesterly direction along the northeastern curb line of Northampton Street until it reaches the starting point.

- The area to be included in this proposed Protection Area of 180 acres includes the property within a line running as follows:

- starting at a point at the intersection of the Southwest Corridor right-of-way at Herald Street and Tremont Street and running in a southwesterly direction along the easterly curb line of Tremont Street until it intersects with East Berkeley Street;

- thence turning and running in an easterly direction along the southwestern curb line of East Berkeley Street until it intersects with Washington Street;

- thence turning and running northerly for approximately 50 feet along the western curb line of Washington Street;

- thence turning at a right angle and running across Washington Street to its eastern curb line and again turning at a right angle and running in a southwesterly direction along the southwestern curb line of Washington Street until it intersects with the back lot property line of #21 Waltham Street;

- thence turning and running in a southeasterly direction along the back lot lines of #21 and #1 Waltham Street;

- thence running across Harrison Avenue and along the back lot lines of #80 to #86 Waltham Street;

- thence turning and running in a southerly direction along the eastern lot line of #86 Waltham Street;

- thence running in a southeasterly direction across Union Park Street and in a southerly direction along the east lot line of #89 Union Park Street;

thence turning and running in a westerly direction along the back lot lines of #89 to #81 Union Park Street until it intersects with Harrison Avenue;

- thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern curb line of Harrison Avenue until it intersects with East Canton Street;

- thence turning and running in a southeasterly direction along the northeastern curb line of East Canton Street until it intersects with Thorn Street;

- thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern curb line of Thorn Street until it intersects with East Brookline Street;

- thence turning and running in a northwesterly direction along the back lot lines of #109 to #81 East Brookline Street;

- thence turning at a right angle and running in a northeasterly direction along the eastern lot line of #57 East Brookline Street;

- thence turning at a right angle and running in a northwesterly direction along #57 East Brookline Street until it intersects with Harrison Avenue;

- thence turning and running in a southwesterly direction along the southeastern curb line of Harrison Avenue until it intersects with Northampton Street;

- thence turning and running in a southeasterly direction along the northeastern curb line of Northampton Street until it intersects with Albany Street;

- thence turning and running in a northeasterly direction along the northwestern curb line of Albany Street until it intersects with Massachusetts Avenue;

- thence turning and running in a southeasterly direction along the northeastern curb line of Massachusetts Avenue until it intersects with Melnea Cass Boulevard;

- thence turning and running in a northeasterly direction along the northwestern edge of Fitzgerald Expressway until it intersects with Herald Street;

- thence turning and running in an easterly direction along the northern edge of Herald Street until it reaches the starting point.

II Description

A significant fact in the development of the South End is that much of the land is man-made. More than half of the area was once mud flats and marshes. The filling-in process was begun in the early 1800's and, by stages, virtually completed by 1870. The result was a table-flat surface with only slight rises on the north-south streets where they bridged the existing railroad tracks. The South End plan is composed of several smaller and three major grids, and on such a surface the buildings - their arrangement, alignment, structure and architecture - are the important and distinctive physical features of the landscape.

The proposed South End Landmark District and the adjoining Harrison Avenue/Albany Street Protection Area are large, well-defined, and densely built up. The major boulevards have long vistas while the shorter, often tree-lined residential cross-streets are slightly curved. The different streets are distinguished by width and direction, by subtle variations in the architectural style and height that vary from one block to another, and by the proximity of open park space or the presence of a fenced-in "English" park found on some of the short residential blocks.

In this century there have been three substantial alterations to the nineteenth century landscape: the major east-west streets have been connected by bridges across the railroad track right-of-way to their counterparts in the Back Bay, ending the nearly total isolation of the South End from that district; much of the Fort Point Channel has been filled in, eliminating the last vestige of harbor shoreline and its related maritime industries; and the building of the Cathedral, Castle Square, and I.B.A. housing developments which radically altered the street patterns and replaced the original buildings in those particular areas.

The residential buildings which predominate the South End are the red brick rowhouses of four or five stories with double basement and mansard roof. Characteristic architectural features include decorative entrance canopies, decorative iron-work and granite or brownstone trim. The most popular styles of houses are the bow front, the flat front, and the angle bay. There are some brownstone buildings, some smaller three-story houses, a few frame houses, and some larger apartments buildings and commercial structures. A major element of the South End is its many distinctive churches and associated structures. Important also are the municipal and civic buildings that, with few modern exceptions, relate in style, materials, and design to the overall framework. On many of the short, residential blocks, the look and feel is much as it was a hundred years ago, and it is the automobile and the T.V. antennae that announce the century.

III A Historical and Topographical Development

In the 17th and 18th centuries, what is now called the South End was a narrow strip of land connecting the Shawmut Peninsula, on which the city of Boston was growing, with the mainland. This isthmus, or Neck Lands, was bounded on the west by the mudflats of the Back Bay and on the east by the South Cove and South Bay.

Soon after the settlement of Boston, a fortification was erected at the narrowest point of the neck near what is now East Berkeley (formerly Dover) Street. By 1784 the only buildings erected outside this fortification were a few stores. Ten years later there were only 18 buildings on the strip of land between Dover Street and the Roxbury line.

As the population in Boston grew, the demand for land resulted in what was to be the first of many land-fill projects. The Mill Pond on the perimeter of the Shawmut Peninsula was the first major fill and was begun in the 18th century. In March, 1800, at a meeting of the Board of Selectmen of Boston, the subject of laying out the Neck lands for development was raised. One year later, Charles Bulfinch, who was chairman of the Board of Selectmen, presented a plan:

> "in which the land was divided into streets and lots, the streets being regular and drawn at right angles; and to introduce variety, a large circular place was left to be ornamented by trees, which the committee said would add to the beauty of the town at large and be particularly advantageous to the inhabitants of that part, the Neck." (Shurtleff)

In the plan the streets were all laid out in relation to Washington Street, already in existence and, until 1786, the only thoroughfare from the mainland to Boston. The "circular place" was an oval grass plot to be called Columbia Square. In 1849, it was divided into Franklin and Blackstone Squares, one on either side of Washington Street. Suffolk Street, now Shawmut Avenue, was shown extending from Columbia Square to the Roxbury Meeting House.

The harmonious streetscape of the South End was to be ensured by city control of building setback, height, width, and building material; all stipulated in deeds after sale by the City. The agreement by owners to build structures within the stated guidelines is an early and extensive instance in Boston of restrictions on real estate in order to promote symmetry and harmony of appearance on a street lined with buildings.

In 1804, the Front Street Company was chartered, "the first important enterprise for enlarging the limits of Boston by making new land". (Woods, p.20) This "enterprise" consisted of building Front Street, later renamed Albany Street, from Beach to Dover Streets. The filling of house lots was left to the individual owners, and as late as 1830 some of the lots still had not been filled.

Also in 1804, the first east/west street was laid out from Washington to Front Streets. In 1834, it was extended and renamed Dover Street.

In 1821 a dam was built on the site of the present Beacon Street, near the

foot of Beacon Hill, under the authority of the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation. This damming of the Back Bay led to some random filling on the western side of the Neck Lands, and, in the 1830's, allowed for the extension of Suffolk Street and Tremont Street all the way to Roxbury. An important factor for the development of the South End was the South Cove Company, founded in 1833 as an auxiliary to the Boston and Worcester Railroad. In the span of six years it purchased and filled 73 acres (for terminal yard facilities) of what is now Chinatown and the garment and leather districts. The activity of this company is considered to have given impetus to the laying out of the cross streets between Dover Street and Massachusetts Avenue. By 1840, Northampton, Concord, Newton, and Brookline Streets, named after Massachusetts towns, had been added at right angles to Washington Street.

The hope and promise of attracting buyers who wished more land around their houses than was available in the older parts of the city never materialized. Only the Deacon House (1848) on Washington Street, the first building in Boston with a mansard roof and other architectural displays of French influence, gave evidence of this campaign which lasted less than a decade. In 1849, in order to stimulate the sale of property in the South End, the City commissioned two engineers, E. S. Chesbrough and William P. Parrott, to re-plan the area for more modest building lots. It had become evident that the Federal Period grid pattern would be unsuitable for rowhouse development, and the unattached estate house seemed no longer to be popular within the city. The Deacon House was to remain an anomaly for many years.

The plan developed by Chesbrough and Parrott placed an additional east/west street in each block. In several instances, a small park or square was added. In 1850, Chester Square and East Chester and West Chester Parks were laid out and the lots sold at auction. A year later, Union Park and Worcester Square were done. Careful attention was given to the architectural unity of the blocks adding to the unique charm of the area. Much of this work was done by architect Nathaniel J. Bradlee.

The larger development of laying out and filling in the grids in the Back Bay, which was started in 1857, anticipated an extension into the yet unfilled portion of the South End. The result was that Warren Avenue, Appleton, Clarendon, and Dartmouth Streets were laid out following the Back Bay grids and askew from the South End pattern. However, the inflexible presence of the railroad tracks inhibited any further intrusion of that design. Columbus Avenue was laid out parallel to the railroad tracks and aligned with the Park Street Church steeple. By 1870, the basic pattern for the South End had been laid out and the filling operations completed.

The opening of the horse-car line from Scollay Square to Roxbury along Washington Street in 1856 facilitated the growth of the new community and helped to establish its importance as a popular residential area. The South End became a fashionable district of large, well-built, often luxurious private homes. There were many thriving churches both Protestant and Catholic. The new English High and Boston Latin Schools added distinction to the South End, as well as the Boston City Hospital which was built in 1864. Two handsome hotels added their elegance to the area, and it was only proper that President Grant stay at one of them, the St. James (now the Franklin Square House), when he visited Boston. In 1870, it would have seemed that the future of the South End as a stable and prosperous district was assured. Yet circumstances were already developing which would prevent the realization

of that prospect from lasting for more than a generation, that is, until the mid 1870's. In 1855, Mayor Smith recommended departure from the policy of restricting the South End to people of wealth (Firey, p.63). The city began selling its lots at auction and more favorable loan terms were established. In addition, the houses built on the mudflats between Tremont Street and the railroad tracks were of cheaper construction than those in the older part of the South End, and many were heavily mortaged.

At about the same time, 1868, the raising of grades between Tremont, Pleasant, Washington, and Dover Streets, meant the demolition of about 150 buildings and the elevation of 600 other on higher foundations. The area had never been one of particular quality, and its proximity to the railroad tracks had a blighting effect not evident in the Church Street district (now Bay Village) on the north side of the tracks. It was not long after the razing of so many buildings that this area became a neighborhood of tenements and lodging houses.

It is possible that the South End could have survived as an affluent district, for the major portion was still attractive and viable. The telling blows were the development of the Back Bay where prices were "high enough to discourage cheap land uses and thus ensure upper class occupancy" (Firey, p.66), and the panic of 1873 which not only saw the ruin of many speculators, but also found many home buyers unable to make their mortgage payments. By 1885, the South End had become home to a large and growing number of lodgers. Of the 53 houses on Union Park, half had become lodging houses. Seven years later, only seven still were maintained as private residences.

It should be noted that the transition from single-family residence to lodging house was given its initial impetus by many of the original property owners. The houses are large and have many rooms, often more than was necessary to accommodate a single family with or without live-in servants. It was not unusual, therefore, for a family to take in one or two "lady/gentleman lodgers" to help defray expenses. The second generation of property owners merely increased the number of lodgers and decreased the family's living space. The interior design of the buildings, quite similar throughout the area, almost lends itself to such an enterprise, and few alterations were necessary to convert a house from completely private residence to total lodging house.

If the population of Boston needed room to expand, so did many other of the elements that go to make up a growing and thriving city. Economics, as always, was a major factor in determining results. Even before the South End was planned, there were small businesses in the area that would be the northernmost part of the district and many industries along the eastern boundary between Washington Street and the Fort Point Channel. As the price of real estate declined in the South End, businesses and industries increased in numbers. Lumber yards, breweries, piano craft factories, and other enterprises flourished. As traffic along the major arteries which ran through the South End increased, the desirability of property along those thoroughfares decreased. The growth in numbers of working-class people who lived here meant a growth in the number of taverns, saloons, and inexpensive eating places. The construction of the Main Line Elevated removed the last vestige of respectability from Washington Street and was considered a direct affront by those residents and institutions who were forced to live under its shadow and listen to its horrendous roar.

The economic decline of the South End began slowly in the 1870's and gradually

gained momentum. The popularity of suburban towns, such as Milton and Brookline, was growing. Enhanced by the availability of public transportation in the decade between 1880 and 1890, the suburbs soon became more attractive than the South End for home owners. Those who still wished to reside in the city, settled in the Back Bay. The decline began in the vicinity of Dover Street and moved southward toward Chester Square.

In 1927 an attempt was made to restore sections of the South End to an approximation of their former elegance. A Dr. Wilson and a number of his friends moved on to Union Park and began repairing and refurbishing their homes. There were many people who believed that the area had greater possibilities than Beacon Hill, also being restored at that time. The Crash of 1929 put an end to these activities in the South End. Less than ten years later, the last of these families moved out of Union Park. Even as the country emerged from the Depression, the South End was considered an undesirable place to live and an unattractive area for investment by the middle class.

In the decade following the end of World War II, many of the working class and immigrant families who lived in the South End joined the great American move to the suburbs. Houses sold for as little as $2000, and buyers were not easy to find. Many houses were abandoned and the city sought buyers for the price of back taxes, some as little as $500. Early "slum clearance" efforts obliterated the New York Streets in the northeast corner of the South End. Bank financing and insurance, already difficult to obtain, dried up completely. As abandoned buildings proliferated, the City adopted a policy of demolition without regard for abutting structures. Following the completion of the West End Urban Renewal Plan, many of the City planners considered the demolition of the South End as the next logical step in removing blighted areas from the city.

In reaction to this policy, many of the residents in the South End, organized in Neighborhood Associations, banded together to force the City to abandon this plan and to assist in efforts to reclaim and to improve the housing stock. They were joined in this struggle by the new, middle class residents who began moving into the South End as early as 1959. Under the guidance of the United South End Settlements (USES), who helped organize and maintain the Neighborhood Associations, both new and long-time residents protested the unnecessary destruction of basically sound buildings and long-established neighborhoods. This marked the beginning of the South End's preservation movement.

In consideration of the criticism that had followed the demolition of an entire community in the West End and in response to the organized protest of the residents of the South End, the City's Boston Redevelopment Authority agreed to preserve as much of the South End as would prove practical. In hundreds of meetings, representatives from the many Neighborhood Organizations, various South End institutions, and the BRA drew up a plan for the entire area that would be the basis for the South End Renewal Project. Federal funds were re-directed from demolishing the South End to salvaging its buildings, repairing its infra-structure, and beautifying its streets. It became the nation's largest urban renewal project, and was authorized in -1965. Federal, local, and private investment resulted in physical improvements, housing rehabilitation, the construction of new housing and new public institutions.

The South End is a neighborhood whose buildings and institutions have been adapted for use by a succession of different populations, but it still fits the description:

> "of symmetrical blocks of high-shouldered, comfortable red brick or brownstone houses, bow-fronted and high-stooped, with mansard roofs, ranged along spacious avenues, intersected by cross streets that occasionally widened into tree-shaded squares and gardens, whose central gardens were enclosed by neat cast-iron fences." (Whitehill, p.122)

Preference for urban living by many of the young, professional middle class and the current economic exigencies place the South End under conflicting pressures. Once again, the row house is being converted into multiple dwellings as developers fill the demand for apartments and condominiums in Boston's inner-city neighborhoods, even as the number of owner occupied-homes is increasing Yet the seeds of regeneration have been firmly planted. Today's South End resident is striving to preserve and to enhance the architectural heritage of our neighborhood. Having stemmed the tide of decay, the South End is proud to be one of Boston's most successful and stable neighborhoods, while remaining its most diverse community.

In the last decades of the 19th century, many German immigrants moved into the South End. They soon were followed by large numbers of Irish, French Canadians, Russian Jews and smaller groups of other nationalities. In the first decades of the 20th century, they were succeeded by new waves of future Americans. The larger communities were formed by Syrians, Lebanese, Greeks, Armenians, Italians, and Lithuanians. A small Chinese community developed from the over-flow out of Chinatown, which abutted the South End. At this time, Blacks also began moving into the South End in growing numbers, joining the small, but well-established community that had been here for more than a generation. Attracted by the proximity of the newly-constructed Back Bay Railway Station, they left their homes on the west side of Beacon Hill where their community had lived since the 18th century. They were to form a large and influential population in the South End. These were the more prominent groups in the first half of this century. The restrictions in the new laws of the 1920's choked off the flow of immigrants to the United States, and the Depression delayed the upward mobility of the newest Americans in the South End and elsewhere.

Between the demise of the South End as a middle/upper-middle class neighborhood in the 1870's and the post-war world of the 1950's, the South End was a vibrant, economically poor but culturally rich, dynamic community. Because it is an urban area and because its people worked hard to fulfill the promise of America, it was always in transition. In every instance, the latest arrivals of any ethnic group moved into their community years after the first-comers had left for middle America and the communities outside of the center city. They established their churches or synagogues as their first concerted effort, usually buying and converting a suitable edifice left vacant by a group of their predecessors. If the congregation was very small, the members would convert the main floor of a residential building to serve their need. There were always members of every group who opened grocery stores, stocking them with the foods, spices, breads, and cooking implements peculiar

to their own culture. Other opened eating places that served their native dishes. Coffee houses for the men, social clubs for families, language schools and marching bands for children were organized within each community.

Other, non-ethnic enterprises, such as drug, hardware, candy, and clothing stores were established either by people living outside of the South End or by residents who had been in the United States long enough to have acquired the necessary amount of English and expertise. As is inevitable in a working-class neighborhood, there were the pawnshop and barroom as well as the neighborhood tavern. There were, also, many non-ethnic lunchrooms and small restaurants that catered mainly to the rooming house population. Many of the newcomers had skills that every one could use, and their clientele was the result of proximity rather than ethnicity. They were the tailor and the baker, the knife-sharpener, the shoemaker, the seamstress, the carpenter, and the butcher - to name a few.

Since the South End had been designed for the well-off, the planners could not have dreamed that there would one day be a need for so many shops and stores within walking distance of the homes. The common solution was to convert the front room on the street floor for the smaller shops and eating places, with living quarters in the rear. The whole floor space was used for larger stores. The first eight feet of front brick wall was removed, a plate glass window was installed with proper lettering, a sign, and you were in business. By 1940, there was a grocery store or shop of some kind on almost every corner in the South End. Washington Street was a potpourri of stores and shops from Castle Street to Dudley Street. Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street managed to retain a few blocks with only one or two converted store-fronts. For much of Shawmut Avenue, only the corner buildings were altered. Very few of the buildings on the small, residential side streets were touched.

The pace of change in the population of the South End slowed in the 1930's because of economic conditions and in the early 1940's because of the war. By the middle of the 40's, the population was close to 60,000, and the South End was the most densely inhabited district in the City of Boston. Soon after the end of World War II, families began to move out of the South End, following the example of their predecessors and emulating city dwellers across the nation. But for the first time in the history of the South End, the movement was in one direction only. There were no groups of immigrants waiting to occupy the houses that often were left vacant and too often remained so. On one block where, in 1940, there were about 80 young people under 20 and half of those under 14, by 1951 there were less than two dozen under 20 and none under 14.

When the South End lost its first population of middle-class homes owners, it lost its reputation in Boston as a desirable place to live. Few of the subsequent home owners considered the South End to be their permanent residence and were, therefore, unwilling to invest their money in anything more than minor repairs. Many could not afford to pay for major repairs. Some, not familiar with this style of house, were unaware of what was needed and were too proud to ask and reveal their poverty. Many, if not most of the buildings, had absentee owners who disdained the South End and saw no need to maintain their property. By the middle of the century, signs of decay and disrepair could be found almost everywhere. As abandoned buildings decayed, they were razed by the City, and unsightly gaps could be found on many blocks of once-solid rowhouses. The long boulevards that had been built to connect downtown Boston with the towns to the south became major arteries for

commuters and a major problem and constant hazard for South Enders. These thoroughfares were the only part of the South End that most outsiders ever saw and, because they contained a less-than-attractive melange of stores, shops, taverns, businesses, lunch-counters, they reinforced the disreputable opinion of the South End that much of Boston held. The South End had almost reached its nadir.

The Black community that had moved to the South End from the West End joined those already there to form the most stable neighborhood in the South End. They were middle/working class families but, because of racial attitudes outside the South End, less mobile than their neighbors. By the 1950's, third generation families in the community were not unusual, although many of the young people who went on to college did not return or settle in the South End after they had graduated. If they were at a disadvantage in Boston because they were Black, they had an advantage in the South End because they were native-born Americans. They grew up knowing what their immigrant neighbors had a hard, somewhat painful time learning: in particular how to survive in the larger society where the rules that were supposed to apply to everyone did not apply to you. In the South End, all the communities combined to form a kaleidoscope of intermingling and overlapping cultures. It was not Black and White, but Greek, Syrian, Irish, Black, Armenian, Lebanese, Chinese, Jewish, Lithuanian, and so on.

The decade following World War II saw many changes, not all of them recorded here. The full employment and higher wages of wartime was a marked improvement from the Depression years, and people were able to save money - often for the first time. Coupled with the increased knowledge and sophistication of their fathers and brothers who returned from service in the Armed Forces, the pent-up ambition to "move out and buy our own home" was realized by many hundreds of families over a much shorter span of time than their predecessors had known. The building boom in the expanding suburbs made it easier for everyone to find, found, or join new communities.

This time,however, there were no immediate buyers or renters for the emptying houses, as there had been in the past. The buildings were 75 to 100 years old now, and few had been well taken care of. Those that were sold, went for very little; some remained vacant; others became total rooming houses; most deteriorated. Many of the people who had occupied the rooming houses, working-class men and women, now more prosperous, moved out for better quarters. With the disruption of their communities and, more important, the loss of their landlord/lady, there was little reason to stay. The void that was left by these departing families and tenants was filled by two different groups that, nevertheless, had much in common.

III. B. Architectural Significance and Style

Planned in 1801 but developed mainly from 1848 through the early 1870's, the South End of Boston is characterized by an unusually high degree of architectural homogeneity and coherence. The houses of this neighborhood represent the "genteel" architectural taste of the Victorian Era - occasionally flamboyant in ornamentation but otherwise conservative in plan and elevation. The South End is, today, the largest essentially intact Victorian rowhouse neighborhood in the United States.

The district is too large for a single focal point; instead, the component neighborhoods focus on "squares" and major public buildings. The "Squares" are more accurately English Parks, and represent a 19th century pattern in Boston urban planning, extending back to Bulfinch's design for the Tontine Crescent, and epitomized by Louisburg Square. The South End "squares" represent the last major neighborhood-wide use of this concept in Boston.

With the exception of Blackstone and Franklin Squares, they are surrounded by four story brick and brownstone rowhouses of uniform setback. The curved ends of the park require unique stepped configurations in the facades of the end houses. The monumentality of the architectural concept, softened by the trees and shrubs of the park, create a setting which is at once dignified and intimate.

The first square to be completed, Union Park (1857-59) was one of Boston's most prestigious addresses for a time. Though large, the houses are generally of a simple and conservative design. In addition, the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, a block to the east, gives the square a noble vista. Architecturally the most cohesive of the South End squares, Worcester Square is also significant in having had the first City Hospital buildings, designed by Gridley J. F. Bryant in 1861-64, laid out on the axis of the square. Prior to renovations, these buildings terminated the view to the east with a central dome. The Allen House, a unique brownstone mansion, is a landmark on one of the western corners.

Chester Park, built between 1850 and the mid-1860's, epitomizes the height of architectural taste in mid-nineteenth century Boston. As a group, these houses are the grandest in size and ornamentation, and display the greatest variety in stylistic influences. Originally designed with an oval park containing a large fountain in the center, this square fell victim to street-widening in the 1950's when Massachusetts Avenue was cut through.

Although completed after Union Park, Blackstone and Franklin Squares were actually the first to be conceived. In 1801, Charles Bulfinch, as chairman of the Selectmen, presented a plan for a "Columbia Square" -- four streets of houses facing a rectangular lawn split by Washington Street. Franklin and Blackstone Squares deviate only slightly from this plan.

Styled after these larger squares, Concord and Rutland Squares were developed during the 1860's. They are linear spaces, little wider than adjacent streets.The houses are typical of the neighborhood -- Italianate, bow-fronted and high basemented. Smaller and less pretentious, they represent the diminishing aspirations of the South End during that period.

Several major buildings deserve mention in this summary, as being distinctive

in both size and architectural design. Holy Cross Cathedral, designed by Patrick C. Keeley and dedicated in 1875, is a Gothic Revival structure in Roxbury puddingstone trimmed with granite. The church is over 360 feet in length, which is comparable to many major European cathedrals. The spires intended for two square towers on Washington Street were, unfortunately, never completed. The church of the Immaculate Conception, designed by the same architect in 1861, is an imposing Italian Renaissance building in granite. Keeley is generally considered to be the first Roman Catholic architect to have achieved national prominence in the United States. The adjacent red-brick structures were the original home of Boston College.

Franklin Square House is one of the two varieties of buildings facing Franklin Square. Built in brick in the Second Empire style, the symmetrical building has a characteristically French mansard roof, a rusticated basement, a prominent central pavillion, and quoins. Completed in 1868 by M.M. Ballou, the St. James Hotel, as the Franklin Square House was originally named, was prestigious enough to attract the patronage of President U.S. Grant. It later became the home of the famed New England Conservatory of Music. Visually prominent among the smaller residential buildings, it defines one entire side of Franklin Square.

Unlike most South End houses which were built on speculation the Allen House was built in 1859 for Aaron Allen, a prominent furniture dealer. The conversion of the house from a single family dwelling to a clubhouse, upon Allen's move to the Back Bay, symbolizes the social changes of that time. Unusual in the homogenous architectural fabric of the South End, the mansion commands an important postition at the entrance to Worcester Square. Designed to appear as a free-standing mansion, it is a symmetrical Italianate palazzo. The brownstone street facades are highly ornamented in motifs more usual to the furniture of the period. An 1894 brick addition occupies the original garden, and covers the original rear wall which faced the square.

The Tremont Street Methodist Church, at 740 Tremont Street, was designed in Gothic Revival Style in Roxbury puddingstone by Hammat Billings and dedicated in 1862. Also on Tremont and West Brookline Streets stand the remains of the Romanesque Revival styled Shawmut Congregational Church.

The Italianate styled People's Baptist Church was constructed of red brick in 1868. It is distinguished by having a Paul Revere Bell in its tower.

The Parker Memorial Church , now recycled into housing and retail stores, stands at the corner of Berkeley and Appleton Streets. Dedicated in 1873, the church was built of red brick and designed in the Victorian Gothic Style.

The Gothic Revival styled Concord Baptist Church, dedicated in 1869, was constructed of red brick and granite. In 1975, a fire at this church on 190 Warren Avenue resulted in the focusing of much energy, and dedication, on the part of the congregation and community for the reconstruction of the historic building.

These are but a sampling of the extensive ecclesiastical architecture in the South End. Other important buildings include the several remaining 19th c. school buildings, (Rice-Bancroft, Bates), the now recycled Cyclorama Building, substantial apartment buildings, hotels, and composed blocks in various styles, as well as commercial, municipal and mill structures such as the

Chickering Piano Factory, the Bristol Street Fire Station, and the Smith Block.

The predominant architectural styles found in the South End are briefly summarized below:

Greek Revival Style

The South End's oldest surviving houses were built in the Greek Revival Style, which introduced classical Greek architectural motifs into the Boston rowhouse tradition. This style is characterized by simple lines, severity in ornamentation and use of columns or pilasters and pediments to frame the doorways. The Greek fret and/or anthemion are often employed as decorative devices in wood, stone or iron work. Most of the South End buildings in this style have flat fronts; many have pitched (gable) roofs. Concentrated along Shawmut Avenue there are significant rows on Bradford, Dwight and Milford Streets.

Renaissance Revival Style

The Renaissance Revival Style, introduced to Boston with the construction of the Boston Athenaeum in 1849, is also referred to as the " Palazzo Mode". The style is based on urban Italian Renaissance architecture, and is characterized by symmetry, cubical massing, and the use of large scale ornaments such as modillion cornices, pedimented windows, quoins and rusticated basements.

The style appears in the South End in a wide range of characteristically brownstone buildings from large public buildings to fairly simple rowhouses where it is most easily distinguished by triangular or curved pediments stop window openings.

Second Empire Style

The second Empire style, named during the reign of Napoleon III (1852 - 1870) the French Emperor who encouraged its use, was introduced to Boston with Old City Hall in 1862. Marked by a quality of cosmopolitan urbanity, the style was used primarily for public buildings. It is characterized by a symmetrical arrangement of wings and pavillions projecting from the main facade; by a 'layer cake' effect achieved by treating each story as a horizontal band of repeating windows framed by pilasters, with each floor separated by heavy string courses, and especially by the mansard roof -- the feature most frequently adopted by South End rowhouse builders.

Mansard Italianate Style

This is by far the most common house style in the South End. It is a mixture, unique to this area, of details from the Second Empire and Italianate styles, applied to the bowfront, which is a carry-over from the Federal period.

The bow or swell front was introduced in Boston at the end of the 18th century, when it was used to contain the elliptically shaped parlors of Federal era mansions on Beacon Hill and elsewhere. It soon was applied as a front parlor bay on Beacon Hill rowhouses, where it had the advantage of increasing the narrow facade area to let in more light. By the time of the South End's development at mid-century, the bowfront had become the acceptable form for the urban rowhouse. It went out of fashion in the late 1860's being

replaced by the canted or semi-octagonal bay which predominates along some blocks of Columbus Avenue, and in the Back Bay.

However, the architectural detailing on the South End bowfront came from more current styles, primarily the Italianate or Italian Villa Style. Based on Italian country architecture, this style emphasized asymmetry and fanciful, inventive detail to create a picturesque effect. One of the primary identifying features of the style is its fondness for brackets -- heavy console brackets to support door hoods, modillion brackets supporting cornices, and brackets porticos, window sills, and balconies.

Add to this a mansard roof -- a high pitched, curved roof enclosing usable floor space, which comes from the Second Empire style -- and the result is the classic South End bowfront.

High Victorian Gothic

The High Victorian Gothic style, also called Ruskinian Gothic after the English designer and author John Ruskin, became popular in Boston after the construction of Harvard's Memorial Hall, beginning in 1870. Of the many late 19th century architectural styles, this is among the most 'Victorian', with its variety, complexity of design, and picturesque effect. It is identified by its use of materials of contrasting color, texture, and pattern in designs freely adapted from European Gothic precedents. Thus ceramic tile, terra cotta, brick, slate and various colors of stone are used -- often all on the same building -- to form pointed-arch windows, colonettes, spires and spirelets, trefoils and quatrefoils, and other Gothic motifs.

The style, though not prevalent in the South End, is found on a handful of churches and apartment buildings and was adapted in diluted form for use on some of the area's later rowhouses.

Examples of High Victorian Gothic structures are the 1872 Union Methodist Church on Columbus Avenue, constructed of Roxbury puddingstone, the Albemarle Apartments, also on Columbus Avenue aand Shawmut Avenue apartment block.

Other Styles

Other Styles appear to a more limited degree among South End buildings, particularly those built in the 1870's along the edges of the district, and individual buildings throughout the area built after its prime era of development. Among those appearing in the last-to-be-developed fringe areas are the Queen Anne and Richardson Romanesque styles. There are also isolated examples of Georgian Revival and Commercial style buildings, built in the early 20th century, mostly along major streets, as commercial, institutional or apartment structures; these structures taken together continue the same set backs, consistent cornice and rooflines, and sense of facade rhythms as their rowhouse counterparts and are an important contribution to their streetscapes.

It is important to note that the physical character of the South End -- its street plan and architecture, helped strengthen the neighborhood's social character and provided its residents with a rare, if not unique, experience in American life.

The vast majority of the people who ever lived in the South End started off at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. The neighborhood's small scale

side streets made ideal clusters for ethnic enclaves, where immigrants were able to solidify their own identities and ease the shock of social transition. Housing in the South End was adaptable to many living patterns and, constructed of durable brick and stone, withstood neglect and change much better than frame would have.

Scatterings of small parks enchanced the neighborhood feeling and the long avenues became thoroughfares, absorbing major commercial growth and providing comercial "centers" for neighborhoods. Groups came together here and learned the commonality of their problems, which re-affirmed their own self worth. As the similarity of their struggles emerged, so did their cooperation in striving to improve their lives and that of their children. The pattern of stoops and little front yards on many streets further encouraged neighborly communication and the groups learned to share, to respect the rights and dignity of others and to withhold judgement where they could not understand. Most important, they learned to see the common humanity that they shared with all their neighbors in spite of the difference in often seemingly strange culture and customs. It was an experience worth preserving.

III C. Social Development

History of Social Significance

The designation of the South End as an historic preservation districts includes more than recognition of its architectural significance as the largest essentially intact Victorian row house neighborhood in the nation. It must of necessity, include recognition of its social significance as one of the most racially, ethnically, and economically integrated communities of its size in the nation. It has been racially integrated for more than one hundred years, and for most of this century there have been more than forty different ethnic groups represented among its people. These two facts, of themselves, are important, but what is unique is that there has never been a major conflict or confrontation between any of the different groups that have lived here.

The South End originally was conceived for middle and upper-middle class home owners, and the cellular pattern of parks, squares, and small side streets provided an elegant and intimate residential world for those first, well-to-do-buyers. It was a series of neighborhoods with no center, no major business or commercial district that could serve as a focal point for the entire community, no one area that dominated all the others. Working-class people lived in the South End from the very beginning. White-collar workers could be found throughout the district, usually as boarders in the private homes of the more affluent residents. In the less desirable tracts, such as that north of Dover and east of Washington Streets or between Columbus Avenue and the railroad tracks, blue-collar, working-class people were among the first dwellers in the more cheaply built houses.

The first boarders were "respectable" young men and women who worked in the downtown business district. In appearance, they were hardly distinguishable from their more prosperous neighbors whose ranks they one day expected to join. The first working-class neighborhoods housed men and women who worked in those industries which eventually lined Harrison Avenue and Albany Street. These areas were on the fringe of the South End and hardly intruded on the more "genteel" communities. Between 1850 and 1870, it can be said the South End lived up to its promise. But even as its reputation as a "good place to live" was being established, the exodus of the affluent had begun.

The transition from private residence to boarding house, from 19th century middle-class to immigrant and working-class took about a generation. By 1885, the South End had become a district of boarding houses occupied, for the most part, by the young, white-collar workers who filled the houses that their employers had vacated. They were a mobile group and gradually moved out to other parts of the city, as the first waves of immigrants moved in. The South End soon developed into a district of small, ethnic enclaves that overlapped and intermingled with one another, and with no group ever large enough to dominate more than a few blocks. Many of these new arrivals bought or rented the houses that now were cheap and showing the first signs of neglect. Often the new owner/proprietor would occupy one room, or one floor if he had a family, and rent out rooms in the rest of the house. Some rented out beds. This pattern was followed by each succeeding group of immigrants to the South End. By the turn of the century, the South End had become an immigrant and rooming-house neighborhood. The staid and sober elegance of its origins had given way to the rich and vibrant mix of cultures that was to be its future. It became "port of entry" to Boston for the thousands of new-comers who crowded into its enduring houses, doubling and tripling the number of people they were intended to hold. For most, its was a way-station, a generation stop for immigrants on their way to middle-class America. For others, and there were always some, the ties of the ethnic community proved too strong to break and a truncated remnant stayed behind until the second generation came of age and left.

In the last decades of the 19th century, many German immigrants moved into the South End. They soon were followed by large numbers of Irish, French Canadians, Russian Jews and smaller groups of other nationalities. In the first decades of the 20th century, they were succeeded by new waves of future Americans. The larger communities were formed by Syrians, Lebanese, Greeks, Armenians, Italians, and Lithuanians. A small Chinese community developed from the over-flow out of Chinatown, which abutted the South End. At this time, Blacks also began moving into the South End in growing numbers, joining the small, but well-established community that had been here for more than a generation. Attracted by the proximity of the newly-constructed Back Bay Railway Station, they left their homes on the west side of Beacon Hill where their community had lived since the 18th century. They were to form a large and influential population in the South End. These were the more prominent groups in the first half of this century. The restrictions in the new laws of the 1920's choked off the flow of immigrants to the United States, and the Depression delayed the upward mobility of the newest Americans in the South End and elsewhere.

Between the demise of the South End as a middle/upper-middle class neighborhood in the 1870's and the post-war world of the 1950's, the South End was a vibrant, economically poor but culturally rich, dynamic community. Because it is an urban area and because its people worked hard to fulfill the promise of America, it was always in transition. In every instance, the latest arrivals of any ethnic group moved into their community years after the first-comers had left for middle America and the communities outside of the center city. They established their churches or synagogues as their first concerted effort, usually buying and converting a suitable edifice left vacant by a group of their predecessors. If the congregation was very small, the members would convert the main floor of a residential building to serve their need. There were always members of every group who opened grocery stores,

stocking them with the foods, spices, breads, and cooking implements peculiar to their own culture. Other opened eating places that served their native dishes. Coffee houses for the men, social clubs for families, language schools and marching bands for children were organized within each community.

Other, non-ethnic enterprises, such as drug, hardware, candy, and clothing stores were established either by people living outside of the South End or by residents who had been in the United States long enough to have acquired the necessary amount of English and expertise. As is inevitable in a working-class neighborhood, there were the pawnshop and barroom as well as the neighborhood tavern. There were, also, many non-ethnic lunchrooms and small restaurants that catered mainly to the rooming house population. Many of the newcomers had skills that every one could use, and their clientele was the result of proximity rather than ethnicity. They were the tailor and the baker, the knife-sharpener, the shoemaker, the seamstress, the carpenter, and the butcher - to name a few.

Since the South End had been designed for the well-off, the planners could not have dreamed that there would one day be a need for so many shops and stores within walking distance of the homes. The common solution was to convert the front room on the street floor for the smaller shops and eating places, with living quarters in the rear. The whole floor space was used for larger stores. The first eight feet of front brick wall was removed, a plate glass window was installed with proper lettering, a sign, and you were in business. By 1940, there was a grocery store or shop of some kind on almost every corner in the South End. Washington Street was a potpourri of stores and shops from Castle Street to Dudley Street. Columbus Avenue and Tremont Street managed to retain a few blocks with only one or two converted store-fronts. For much of Shawmut Avenue, only the corner buildings were altered. Very few of the buildings on the small, residential side streets were touched.

The pace of change in the population of the South End slowed in the 1930's because of economic conditions and in the early 1940's because of the war. By the middle of the 40's, the population was close to 60,000, and the South End was the most densely inhabited district in the City of Boston. Soon after the end of World War II, families began to move out of the South End, following the example of their predecessors and emulating city dwellers across the nation. But for the first time in the history of the South End, the movement was in one direction only. There were no groups of immigrants waiting to occupy the houses that often were left vacant and too often remained so. On one block where, in 1940, there were about 80 young people under 20 and half of those under 14, by 1951 there were less than two dozen under 20 and none under 14.

When the South End lost its first population of middle-class homes owners, it lost its reputation in Boston as a desirable place to live. Few of the subsequent home owners considered the South End to be their permanent residence and were, therefore, unwilling to invest their money in anything more than minor repairs. Many could not afford to pay for major repairs. Some, not familiar with this style of house, were unaware of what was needed and were too proud to ask and reveal their poverty. Many, if not most of the buildings, had absentee owners who disdained the South End and saw no need to maintain their property. By the middle of the century, signs of decay and disrepair could be found almost everywhere. As abandoned buildings decayed, they were razed by the City, and unsightly gaps could be found on many blocks of once-solid rowhouses. The long boulevards that had been built to connect

downtown Boston with the towns to the south became major arteries for commuters and a major problem and constant hazard for South Enders. These thoroughfares were the only part of the South End that most outsiders ever saw and, because they contained a less-than-attractive melange of stores, shops, taverns, businesses, lunch-counters, they reinforced the disreputable opinion of the South End that much of Boston held. The South End had almost reached its nadir.

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native-born Americans. They grew up knowing what their immigrant neighbors had a hard, somewhat painful time learning: in particular how to survive in the larger society where the rules that were supposed to apply to everyone did not apply to you. In the South End, all the communities combined to form a kaleidoscope of intermingling and overlapping cultures. It was not Black and White, but Greek, Syrian, Irish, Black, Armenian, Lebanese, Chinese, Jewish, Lithuanian, and so on.

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This time,however, there were no immediate buyers or renters for the emptying houses, as there had been in the past. The buildings were 75 to 100 years old now, and few had been well taken care of. Those that were sold, went for very little; some remained vacant; others became total rooming houses; most deteriorated. Many of the people who had occupied the rooming houses, working-class men and women, now more prosperous, moved out for better quarters. With the disruption of their communities and, more important, the loss of their landlord/lady, there was little reason to stay. The void that was left by these departing families and tenants was filled by two different groups that, nevertheless, had much in common.

If the South End had been a neighborhood for those on the way up the social and economic ladder, it had always found room for those on the way down. These were the men and women who had fallen through the cracks in the floorboards of our society. They left or were expelled by their families and communities and found their way to the South End. They came for two reasons: cheap housing and the closeness to downtown. There they could find day-work as busboys, floorswabbers, dishwashers, on any one of the dozens of tasks that a busy downtown requires to keep functioning and receives from the people nobody sees. There had always been a few among the rooming house population,

but in the 1950's and 1960's, their numbers increased rapidly. At the same time, the elderly population increased almost dramatically, and for similar reasons. Cheap housing and the growing number of social agencies that came in to the South End to serve the poor, especially in the 1960's. Some had grown old in the South End and stayed on after they were too old to work, because it was familiar and they could afford to live here. Most of the elderly moved in when their Social Security checks became their only source of income, and they needed to cut their expenses. Unfortunately, this shift in tenants resulted in a further decline in the standards of many rooming houses and the continued deterioration of the buildings. For the most part, but not always, it was the absentee owner who took whatever advantage there was in this turn of events.

This influx of transients and elderly slowed the decline in population, but the departure of the families and of the working tenants meant a decline in the buying power of the community. Stores and businesses along the main streets closed their doors and boarded up their windows one by one. Whole blocks of once bustling shopping areas seemed to vanish overnight. Most of the

ethnic stores and businesses departed with their communities. Some opened shops in their new neighborhood areas. Others, grown old behind a counter, worked in their new, suburban gardens, instead. Only a few hardy survivors remained behind to share, eventually, in the new prosperity of the 70's. Schools were closed for lack of students, and all but three of the buildings have disappeared. One by one, the ethnic churches followed their congregations and built new churches out in the suburbs. Even the buildings that housed them are gone, with two exceptions. Holy Trinity, on Shawmut Avenue, which was built by the German community in 1872, has continued to serve successive generations of South End Roman Catholics. St. John's, on Union Park Street, still serves its Greek Orthodox congregation that has long since moved out of the South End, but its members faithfully return each Sunday. It was built as a Congregationalist church, converted to a Jewish synagogue, and has been a Greek Orthodox church for at least fifty years. The Holy Cross Cathedral, of course, has not been considered an Irish church for many, many years. Almost every one of the industries along Albany Street and on Harrison Avenue, that had provided thousands of jobs for South End residents, folded up and moved out. Only a few have been replaced, and much of the space has been taken up by the expanding hospital complexes.

The most unwelcome changes came with the proliferation of barrooms, saloons, liquor stores, "greasy spoons", seedy cafes pawnshops, second-hand stores, "white hunters", and all the parasitic elements that so faithfully follow their clientele-victims. What had been a trickle in the early 40's became a flood in the 50's. Although there remained a sizeable, stable, and active working-class population, there were few among them who had any hope that conditions would improve. By 1960, the population was 35,000 and falling. Too many parts of the South End now merited the reputation that unfairly had tarnished the whole community for decades.

In the post-war world, city planners used the scientific approach to urban blight. Like the farmer who burns an infested crop, or the surgeon who cuts out a cancerous growth, cities eradicated decaying neighborhoods.The South End lost two neighborhoods in the early 1950's, both abutting the north side of Dover Street. The New York Streets, between Washington and Albany Streets, were demolished to make way for light industry. The Compton/Village Streets neighborhood was replaced with the Castle Square Housing Project. In contrast

to much of the rest of the South End, many of the buildings in these areas were, or had been converted into, apartment houses. Most of the families, and all of the single people rented their homes. It is probably true that many, if not most of the people who had lived here, would have moved out sooner or later. What made it difficult were the deadlines, the complete dissolution of a community, the lack of choice, and, for those who wanted to stay in the South End, the scarcity of comparable options; many tears were shed. Dover Street lost all of its buildings between Tremont Street and Shawmut Avenue - as well as its name. It is now called East Berkeley Street.

In the late 1950's, the first rumors of urban renewal were heard, and the first harbingers of the move back to the city appeared. Since "urban renewal" still meant "urban removal" to most people, fear and uncertainty moved through the communities. Since no one could remember when anyone who was middle class and not a social worker or clergyman had moved into the South End, more than one resident stopped to look at his/her neighborhood with new eyes. The result was the South End Urban Renewal Plan, a new lease on life for an old district, and an undecided future.

The 1960's were at least as turbulent in the South End as they were in much of the United States. The number of people leaving, either by choice or by decree, continued to be greater than the number moving in. By 1970, there were less than 23,000 people in the South End.

This last dramatic decline in population was due to three major factors: 1) the fear of changes that urban renewal would bring caused many people to leave; 2) the early demolition of the Urban Renewal Project, that was carried out much more rapidly than had been envisioned and much more extensively than had been planned, forced many people out of the South End; 3) the rise in real estate values led many owners to sell their houses, and the ensuing conversion from rooming house to apartment house meant many fewer tenants in each building.

The social upheaval of the period was further exacerbated by the influx of those who saw the South End as a vast laboratory for social experimenting and by many others who saw the millions of dollars being spent in a relatively small area as a tool to achieve power and/or status. As urban renewal proceeded, forces developing in American society intruded into the South End and prompted changes unforeseen by the residents or the planners. What has been emerging since the completion of the renewal project has been a surprise to almost everyone.

As real estate values continued to escalate in the South End, it became obvious that many of the residents would not be able to afford to live in their newly desirable and much more expensive homes. The result was the inclusion of large blocks of subsidized housing in the area. However, by the time the buildings were completed, the residents for whom they originally had been intended had vanished from view.

It should be noted that the late 1960's and the early 1970's also saw the first new immigrant groups to come into the South End since the Cape Verdians arrived in the late 1930's. The largest of the new communities is the Puerto Rican, and Spanish has become a familiar sound on our streets. Many other smaller groups of Hispanics have come from the Caribbean and Central America. There are Haitians, and French can be heard once again. Chinatown, too

crowded to hold any more, spilled over into the South End, and there are several thousand Chinese in the community where once they numbered in the many dozens. In addition, there are several thousand middle class residents who defy ethnic classification, yet form a definite community with its own culture. Each group contributes a different strand of its culture to the richly-colored fabric that is shared by all who live here.

By the mid-1970's, it was obvious that the South End had entered a new era much different from the one that has been described here. Today it retains much of its old form, but it has adopted a new style, and its substance is still undecided. However there is a new prosperity and a new reputation.

Through all its history, the South End formed a vital and positive part of the larger city. In its earliest years, its residents ran the businesses and industries and helped to make the decisions in the larger city. In the generations that followed, its people worked in the factories, ran its elevators, drove its cabs and trolleys, and performed many hundreds of the tasks that keep a city moving. They sent their children to school and learned along with them. Families that could, sent at least one child to college

to become whatever their desires, abilities, and hard work could achieve. However, it was not all success and upward mobility for those who grew up in the South End. Every society has its "drop-outs", and the South End was no exception. Indeed, the negative forces that living in the South End engendered would have taken an inordinately higher toll than it did were it not for the support and sustenance provided by every community to all its individuals.

There were many institutions in the South End, and they differed in the impact they had on the individual. Churches played the most significant role, for they were the centers of the families' social life as well as the individual's spiritual life. Because the South End was viewed as a poor and "slum" neighborhood by Boston's middle and upper classes, there were many social agencies and institutions whose numbers increased with the perceived need. The most important of these, by far, were the settlement houses. The first one in the City of Boston and the fifth in the nation was the South End House, founded by Robert Woods and his associates in 1904. This was followed by the Harriet Tubman House, the Ellis Memorial House, the Lincoln House, and the South End Bay Union. They were all scenes of bustling activity, and residents of all ages participated in the classes and clubs that their workers organized. They were, perhaps, the only non-ethnic institutions that succeeded in attracting members from all of the different communities, including adults as well as children. Excepting the schools, the settlement houses were the first American institutions with which the immigrants became familiar. For all the South End residents, they laid the first steps that led to integration within the larger society.

Of all the communities that have lived in the South End, it is the Black community that has proven to be the most durable and has provided the greatest continuity for the whole district. Up to the 1950's, all the immigrant communities followed a similar pattern: a stream that swelled and then dwindled and finally ceased. From beginning to end, they usually lasted about two generations, with the late-comers moving in years after the first families had left. The few dozens, or even few hundreds, who remained behind slowly dispersed or died off. This has not happened to the Black community, and it is not due only to their comparative lack of mobility. They put their roots

down in the South End. They not only established their churches and institutions, but they have maintained them through the generations. As many of their young people moved on when they reached adulthood, their numbers were replenished and increased by other Blacks who have moved into Boston from other parts of the country. Over the years, the Black community gradually spread into Roxbury, but the role of the South End community remains significant. The churches that were founded in the early years of this century still attract those members of their congregations whose families moved out many years ago. The organizations they founded have been maintained and strengthened by a constant renewal of members. For example, the National Business Organization, founded by Booker T. Washington in 1913, and the League of Women for Community Service, better known as "558" (Massachusetts Avenue), founded in 1920 by a group of women as an outgrowth of the Soldiers' Comfort Unit (1916), continue to be vital institutions with the community.

III. D. Relationship to Criteria for Landmarks Designation

The proposed South End district meets the criteria for designation as Landmark District, as established in Section 4 of Chapter 772 of Acts of 1975, as amended.

as it is largely included in the National Register of Historic places as provided in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966;

- as its structures, sites and objects, man made or natural, represent an important aspect of the cultural history of the city, serving once as a first home for many Lebanese, Greek, Russian Jewish, German, Irish, Canadian and later immigrants and now continues as a multi-ethnic, multi-racial district where various communities continue to co-exist harmoniously;

- as the largest intact Victorian rowhouse district in the United States, the South End is architecturally and historically significant to the city, the commonwealth, the New England region, and the nation.

The proposed Harrison/Albany Street area meets the criteria for designation as a Protection Area , as established in Section 4 of Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended

- as it is contiguous to and constitutes an essential part of the physical environment the proposed South End Landmark District.

- as its dimensions do not extend more than twelve hundred feet from a boundary of the proposed Landmark District.

- as it is visually related to the proposed Landmark District but as a whole and notwithstanding certain individually significant structures it not of sufficient architectural significance to warrent designation as a landmark district.

IV ECONOMIC STATUS

The South End, since its original development, has been a key element in the economic life of residential Boston. The early assessed values were high for this large, city-sponsored landfill and development program that began in the 1840's These assessments reflected the city's high aspirations for the area as a prosperous middle class neighborhood through the actual cost of the considerable improvements, i.e., landfill, streets, utilities and landscaping. The large influx of immigrants into Boston altered economic potential and type of development of the South End. Building in other areas led to the long slow decline in property values which began in the 1870's. While there were periods of revival and reinvestment, the general decline continued and reached a low point in the 1930's. This level was generally stabilized and maintained during the 1940's and 1950's.

The major change in property values occurred with a dramatic rise in the mid-1960's. It continued through the 1970's and paused in the early 1980's. During this period, values often increased 40 times their value at the lowest level. The rapid turn around resulted from many factors, including the massive urban renewal program which once again improved the basic infrastructure, the low interest homeowners' loan program, and the changing social attitudes toward urban living and energy conservation. Condominium development, which intensified in the mid-1970's, led to additional increased values. (See attached chart for relative growth.)

Assessments have generally failed to keep pace with property values, but they have followed the overall pattern. The current assessments are very uneven, typical of an area with such sudden and uneven growth in property values. The program of reassessment presently in progress will lead to a major change in the overall assessment base and result in large increases for some properties. The following three streets will demonstrate this pattern by comparing the 1968 and the 1980 assessments. These are the Assessments as given the years 1968 and 1980 and have not been adjusted to constant dollars.

1. Lawrence Street (whole street)
   Number of buildings - 49

   1980

Highest Assessment	$ 12,000*	
Lowest Assessment	3,500	
Total Assessment	345,800	(Total Tax bill $87,453)
Average Assessment	7,057	
Average Tax Bill for each bldg.	1,785 **	
No. of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	20***	
% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	41%	

*Not including 5 bldgs assessed as condos for $14,400 to $17,300 each (Average assessment $3,396)
**5 bldgs converted to condos average $4,122 - per bldg)
***Includes 5 bldgs with total of 24 condos.

1968

Highest Assessment	$ 10,000	
Lowest Assessment	2,700	
Total Assessment	210,000	(Total Tax Bill $27,222)
Average Assessment	4,308	
Average Tax Bill	556	
No. of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	1	
% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	2%	

2 West Canton Street (from Tremont to Carleton)
Number of buildings - 87

1980 - Tax Rate - $252.90

Highest Assessment	$ 24,300	
Lowest Assessment	4,000	
Total Assessment	785,900	(Total Tax Bill $198,754)
Average Assessment	9,033	
Average Tax Bill	2,284	
No. of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	21	
% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	24%	

1968 - Tax Rate - $129.20

Highest Assessment	$ 10,000	
Lowest Assessment	4,000	
Total Assessment	429,200	(Total Tax Bill $55,453)
Average Assessment	4,933	
Average Tax Bill	637	
No. of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	2	
% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	2%	

3. Appleton Street (Berkeley to Dartmouth)
Number of buildings - 101

1980 - Tax Rate - $252.90

Highest Assessment	$ 22,400	
Lowest Assessment	4,000	
Total Assessment	831,900	(Total Tax Bill $210,039)
Average Assessment	8,236	
Average Tax Bill	2,083	
No. of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	23	
% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	23%	

1968 - Tax Rate - $129.20

Highest Assessment	$ 13,000	
Lowest Assessment	4,000	
Total Assessment	536,700	(Total Tax Bill $69,342)
Average Assessment	5,314	
Average Tax Bill	687	
No. of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more	4	

% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more 4%

4. Hanson Street (whole street) *

1980 - Tax Rate - $252.90

Number of buildings - 32

Highest Assessment	$ 18,000
Lowest Assessment	5,500
Total Assessment	283,900
Average Assessment	8,871.88
Average Tax Bill	2,188.48 (Total Tax Bill $70,031.64)
Number of bldgs assessed at $10,000 or more	7
% of buildings assessed at $10,000 or more	22%

1968 - Tax Rate - $129.20

Number of buildings - 31

Highest Assessment	$ 15,000
Lowest Assessment	4,500
Total Assessment	161,300
Average Assessment	5,203.22
Average Tax Bill	672.23 (Total Tax Bill $20,839.96)

Number of bldgs assessed at $10,000 or more - 1
% of bldgs assessed at $10,000 or more .03%

* Only counted improved lots (not just land). Also did not count tax-exempt property because prior research appeared not to have.

5. East Springfield Street (whole street)

1980

Number of buildings - 48

Highest Assessment	$ 16,600
Lowest Assessment	3,000
Total Assessment	280,000
Average Assessment	5,833.33 (Total Tax Bill $71,292,51)
Average Tax Bill	1,485.26

Number of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more - 4
% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more - 8%

1968

Number of buildings - 43

Highest Assessment	$ 10,000
Lowest Assessment	3,800
Total Assessment	222,300
Average Assessment	5,169.77
Average Tax Bill	667.93 (Total Bill Tax $28,721.16)

Number of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more - 1
% of bldgs assessed $10,000 or more .02%

Owner occupied dwellings have increased substantially in number from the mid-1950's. The percentage of owners to population has not increased as dramatically because most buildings that are converted from lodging houses continue to include rental units. Most new construction to date has been federally assisted multi-family rental housing. The recent trend towards condominium conversion may eventually increase the percentage of owner occupants.

The South End has undergone enormous changes since its inception in the 1800's. It went from being a neighborhood of single family homes and high assessments to one of rooming houses and small apartments with declining or stable assessments. Then, the 1960's gave the South End a new beginning, ushering in a major period of economic revitalization and reassessment which is very much in evidence today.

V. PLANNING CONTEXT

5.1 Background

For planning purposes, the Boston Redevelopment Authority divided the City into 19 neighborhood planning districts. The entire South End Urban Renewal Area, now two decades old, comprises one of the districts. The proposed South End Landmark District and the related Albany/Harrison Protection Area coincide with the urban renewal area, except the southerly lower Roxbury section (south of Camden Street or Northampton Street).

The South End is divided into residential, industrial and institutional areas with some overlapping commercial uses. The westerly two thirds of the neighborhood, the predominantly residential area, forms the proposed Landmark District. The easterly third of the industrial area, the proposed protection area, is given over almost entirely to industrial or institutional uses. The neighborhood also retains a number of churches. The major streets are bordered by a number of mixed use commercial and residential buildings. Vacant and underutilized buildings predominate along the blighting Washington Street Elevated (used by the MBTA Orange Line.) Major traffic arteries divide the South End in two directions with heavy rush hour concentrations of radial and crosstown traffic through the neighborhood. Because of this traffic, investment along the major streets has never matched that on the quieter side streets.

After nearly twenty years of urban renewal, the South End has a number of upgraded streets, sewers, parks and schools. Housing was built to replace some of the more blighted areas that were demolished. Large and small vacant parcels and vacant buildings remain to be developed under the terms of the urban renewal plan.

5.2 Current Planning Issues

Investment and interest in the South End is still accelerating. Significant developments along the edges of the neighborhood will attract additional conversions of lodging houses to apartments and condominiums. Conversion of existing buildings into condominiums has become the dominating market force in some areas. This is a dramatic transition from an area that was redlined by most banks and insurance companies no more than fifteen years ago. Property values are now high enough to support privately financed new construction in some areas.

The future of subsidized housing units in the South End is not assured. Funding levels for maintenance and repair as well as some operating costs remain inadequate. The entire neighborhood must face the equity question regarding occupancy of the units after the mortgages are paid off or foreclosed and the subsidies end.

Completion of the Southwest Corridor will increase the convenience of downtown access in those areas nearest to the Back Bay where large property value increases have already occurred. But areas along Washington Street may lose easy access to downtown unless replacement service in that corridor is planned and constructed in a timeframe consistent with the removal of the elevated structure.

Neighborhood control of issues such as licensing of bars and entertainement places,and general nuisances such as litter and antisocial behavior are still a problem in many areas. Although the completion of the Tremont Street and Columbus Avenue rebuilding is assured, there is no parallel assurance that city services will be adequate to maintain this and other newly reconstructed infrastructure in a clean and safe condition and is a matter of concern. Installation and repair of utilities and cables in the South End unless carefully executed could disrupt many recently constructed streets and sidewalks which were heavily funded through the Urban Renewal Program.

The BRA closeout of urban renewal has moved very slowly. Some of their vacant parcels and buildings in otherwise developed areas are an impediment to high quality private development. Other BRA parcels, such as those near Washington Street,cannot reasonably be developed until the elevated structure is removed.

Although lagging somewhat behind housing rehabilitation, commercial development is gradually improving the variety of shopping and services available to residents.

5.3 Future Planning Issues

Replacement service on Washington Street will be a strong factor influencing the quality of BRA owned and private development after the elevated is removed. Service with direct subway service to downtown will provide a strong basis for housing investment between Tremont Street and Harrison Avenue.

The industrial area, particularly the older buildings north of Waltham Street will probably develop as loft type housing for artists and others. This trend is already evident. The commercial area at Washington Street and Massachusetts Avenue will probably be the last to develop, but has the greatest potential for new commercial and office space.

There are inherent planning issues surrounding institutional development and expansion, such as the Boston City Hospital South End Technology Square Association (SETSA) and Tent City.

Funding for additional street and sewer construction will be required just to complete the projects planned for urban renewal funding. Although the South End now has better infrastructure than many other neighborhoods, the City lacks the proper tax structure to fund maintenance and future repairs.

Traffic control, particularly the undesirable crosstown flow between Back Bay and the Southeast Expressway, remains a point of contention. Rebuilding the Southeast Expressway ramps, improving the Massachusetts Turnpike frontage road system, better traffic signals, more "traffic flow restriction" devices and most important, more public transportation are all needed to contain traffic and allow residents reasonable use of their streets. Washington Street will attract excesive traffic growth after the elevated is removed unless planning begins now on improvements to Albany Street, the phasing out of Harrison Avenue as a major traffic artery, and replacement service with an exclusive transit median on Washington Street.

5.4 Current Zoning

The South End is zoned primarily for residential use. H-2 or H-3 allows for single-family, two family or multi-family dwellings. Two areas are zoned H-3U; the IBA housing project is located in the larger of these. There is also a small H-5U area and two very small H-2U areas. The "U" indicates an Urban Renewal parcel in which the Boston Redevelopment Authority may approve minor dimensional deviations independent of the Board of Appeal.

Several areas along Columbus Avenue, Tremont, Shawmut and Washington Street are zoned L-2 for local retail and services stores. Along these same streets are B-2 and B-4 zones for retail businesses and offices. Also included in the proposed protection area are an M-1 and M-2 zone for light manufacturing.

The residential area is predominantly in a restricted roof structure district which makes any changes to roof-tops of residential structures (other than for an open deck or a flat roof) subject to approval by the Zoning Board of Appeals.

5.5 Conclusion

The most significant planning issue facing the South End is that, in the future, Boston Redevelopment Authority urban renewal jurisdiction in the South End will be diminished. While private development will continue at a high rate, this development will be under normal governmental review rather than special urban renewal project review.

In preceding years there has been an urban renewal plan with several governmental agencies having review authority. Henceforth, construction in the South End will be controlled by no more than the municipal zoning, health and building codes.

On its boundary with the Back Bay, the South End faces the mixed blessing of Copley Place, a striking gateway to the South End but a possible threat to the area's mixed income nature. Near Dover Street station, commercial/industrial enterprises are showing interest in developing the vacant land and empty buildings. As the rebuilding of Tremont Street and Columbus Avenue nears an end, the underused buildings facing on them become feasible for development. The customary conflicts about use exist, in this case artists' lofts versus industry.

If the high rate of development continues as anticipated, and if the South End community is to participate in and influence this development and its appearance, a mechanism is needed. One such mechanism for community input is landmark designation.

VI. Alternative Designation Approaches

The South End Study Area has been proposed for Boston Landmarks Commission designation as a Landmark District. This level of designation provides the greatest degree of protection and includes review of proposed physical changes, including exterior alteration or repair, demolition and new construction. The edges of the South End Study Area to the north and east that could not be included within the Landmark District are proposed for Boston Landmarks Commission designation as a Protection area. The level of protection is limited to building height, mass, land coverage, and setback so as to maintain a transitional area adjacent to the Landmark District.

Alternative designation categories, provided in the Boston Landmarks Commission legislation, that could have been proposed were Architectural Conservation District or Protection Area. An Architectural Conservation District would not provide the same level of protection as Landmark District and does not require the national or regional significance that the Landmark District requires. A Protection Area provides for controls limited to height,set back, land coverage and demolition without detailed design controls and is intended to protect areas which surround Landmarks Districts or Architectural Conservation Districts. The area protected must be essential to the character of the Landmark or Architectural Conservation District.

The Commission also has the option of not designating.

Most of the South End Study Area is already listed in the National Register of Historic Places and in the recently created State Register of Historic Places. These listings provide, where Federal or state funds are to be used, limited review and protection from inappropriate change. Various Federal income tax incentives for rehabilitation of depreciable property and grants for facade restoration have been available as a result of the National Register Status of the area. This form of designation does not provide for any design review of changes undertaken by private owners at their own expense and not seeking Federal income tax incentives. The buildings facing the Parks and Squares in the South End must have exterior alterations reviewed by the City of Boston Parks Commission for possible adverse effects on the adjacent parkland. Certain parcels in the South End are also under constraints established in 1965 under the South End Urban Renewal Plan. These constraints will expire in the year 2005 and like the original deed restrictions (regarding height and setback) are expected to have little or no enforcement.

As detailed in previous chapters, the South End Study Area is historically important as a large area of intact 19th century urban architecture and city planning, as well as port-of-entry for many ethnic groups. There is no question that the South End Study Area is of National significance. This fact, combined with the degree of protection sought by its residents, suggests designation as a Landmark District to be the appropriate category of protection. The areas to the North and East within the Study Area that have suffered extensive demolition and rebuilding, or that were never of the character of the rest of the Study Area, are proposed to comprise the Protection Area. The importance of building heights and vistas from within the Landmark Area are essential to the character of the district and justifies the Protection Area as the appropriate designation for the parts of the South End Study Area not included within the Landmark District.

VII.a Recommendations

The South End Study Committee makes the following recommendations:

1. that the major portion of the South End Study Area be designated by the Boston Landmarks Commission as a Landmark District and the remaining portion as a Protection Area under Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975; as amended.

2. that the boundaries shown identifying the Landmark District and the Protection Area in Section I of this report be adopted without modification;

3. that the attached Standards & Criteria recommended by the Study Committee for the District and the Protection Area be accepted;

4. that the Boston Landmarks Commission establish a South End District Commission in accordance with Chapter 772 of the Acts 1975 as amended, which stipulates that there be five District Commission members: two members and two alternates from the District and three members from the Boston Landmarks Commission. The Study Committee further recommends the following provisions for the selection of members and alternates from the District:

   i) all members and alternates from the District shall have established residence and lived within the District for at least three years; at least one member and one alternate shall be owner occupants within the District, the other member and alternate may be a renter resident in the District and no member or alternate shall own more than three properties within the District;

   ii) that, to insure representation of the various areas of the South End one member (and alternate) reside in the portion of the South End Landmark District boundary which lies easterly of the mid-line running along Tremont Street and another member (and alternate) reside in the portion of the South End District boundary which lies westerly of the same mid-line.

   iii) all members and alternates from the District shall serve staggered three-year terms, as provided below:

   iv) for the initial appointment of members and alternates from the District, the South End Study Committee shall, by a majority vote, nominate one member and one alternate to serve a term of two years, and shall nominate one member and one alternate to serve a term of three years.

   v) the same procedures as described in (iv) shall be followed for the replacement of a member or alternate who is unable to complete his/her term or who no longer meets the definition of member or alternate as described in (i) or (ii).

   vi) nominations for subsequent members and alternates from the District shall be solicited by the Boston Landmarks Commission from resident, civic, neighborhood, block or tenants organizations that have been established within the South End. In the event that such nominations are not forthcoming within sixty (60) days of written solicitation by the Boston Landmarks Commission, the Boston Landmarks Commission shall make the nominations;

vii) prior to the appointment of members and alternates to the South End District Commission, the Boston Landmarks Commission may assume the powers and responsibilities of the District Commission.

VII.b Boundaries

The proposed boundary for the South End Landmark District and Protection Area was determined after extensive consideration by the Study Committee. Although areas to the south of the Study Area deserved consideration for inclusion with the Landmark District and had resident support, the need to more or less limit the Landmark District to the original Study Area became very important. The large size of the proposed Landmark District and the 3-block separation of the Lower Roxbury area from the main South End Landmark District suggested that a separate study for that area (with a separate sub-commission and guidelines) would be easier to administer, although perhaps more difficult to set up (requiring a separate study.) The area enclosed by the boundary includes the cohesive streetscape, architecturally significant groupings of houses and historic buildings contributing to the importance of the area. For a complete description of the boundaries, see Chapter I and the map.

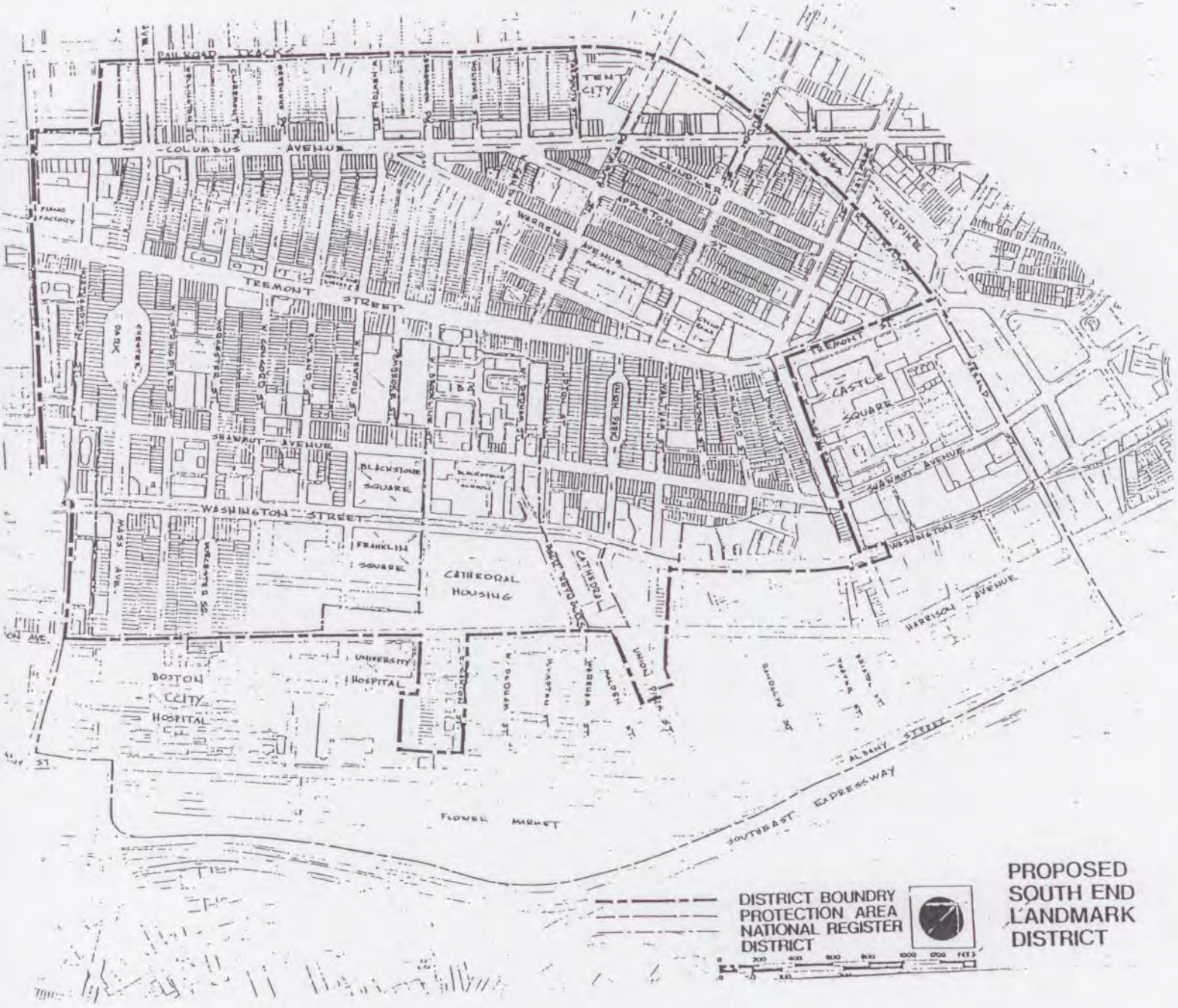
VII.c. Considerations of Economic Hardship

The Study Committee recommends that, as part of by-laws and Regulations to be adopted by the District Commission, a system be developed to recognize cases of economic hardship and allow either for the waiver of the standards and criteria or the obtaining of appropriate financial or other assistance to relieve such hardship.

VII.d. Recommendations - Certain Urban Renewal Parcels

The majority of development parcels identified as part of the South End Urban Renewal Plan, dated November 18, 1965, will be subject to the Standards and Criteria adopted as part of the South End Landmark District and South End Protection Area, and will be subject to the normal design review procedures of the South End District Commission as established by Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended, and by such by-laws and Regulations as the District Commission shall adopt. For the balance of the renewal parcels which are large major freestanding sites and which have not been developed at the time of designation, it is recommended that the Boston Landmarks Commission enter into a cooperative agreement with the Boston Redevelopment Authority setting forth a process for establishing specific design criteria, following wherever possible the applicable district guidelines and a process whereby the South End District Commission will participate in the review of development of those parcels. The parcels to be the subject of the cooperative agreement will be:

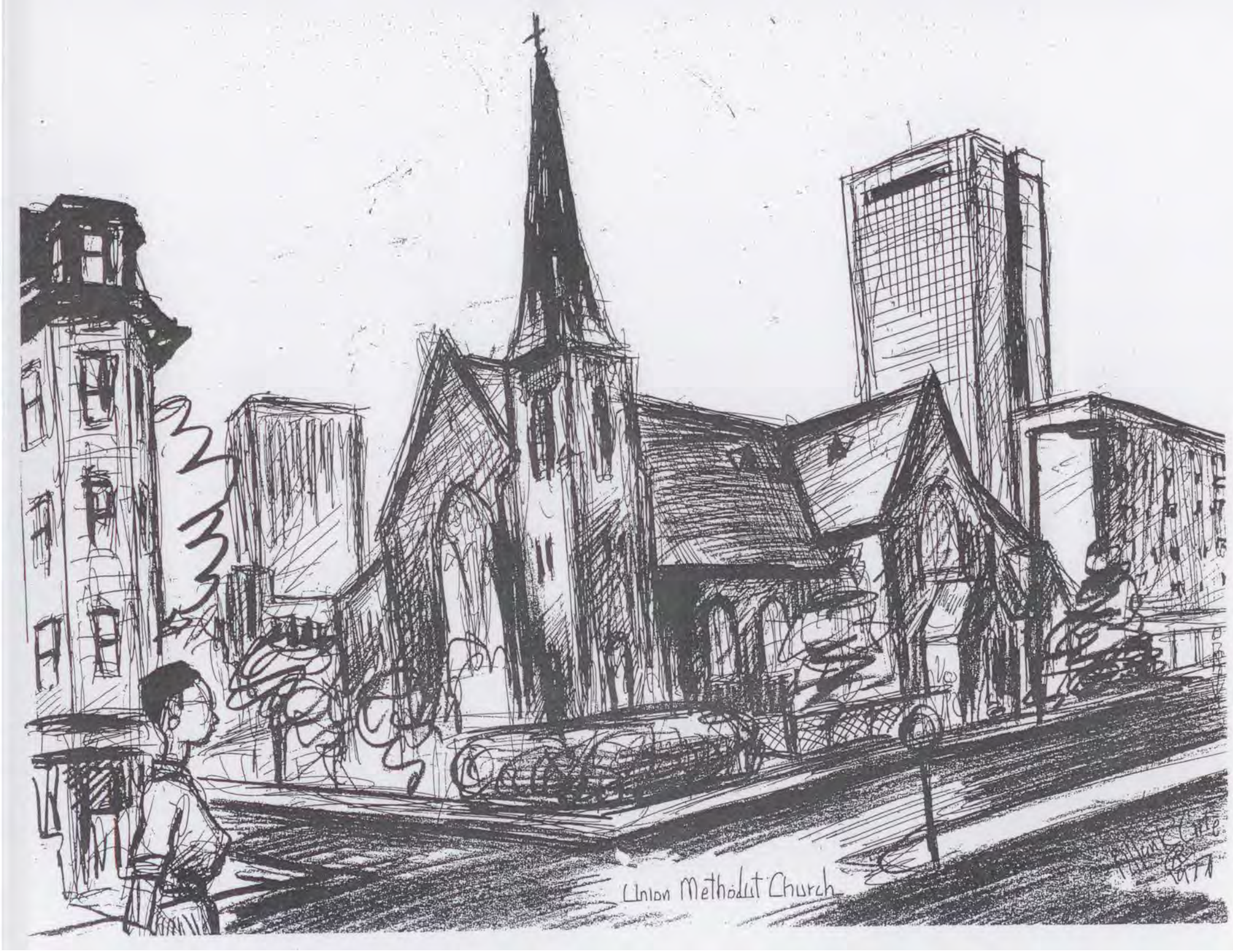
Parcel 4
" 11B
" 29a
" 30
" RC9
" 31 and 31B
" 32C
" 54
" R10
" 46B
" R12 A and B
" 33B
" 49C D E
" 46C


RAILROAD TRACK
TENT CITY
COLUMBUS AVENUE
TREMONT STREET
WARREN AVENUE
APPLETON
TURNPIKE
CASTLE SQUARE
SHAWMUT AVENUE
BLACKSTONE SQUARE
WASHINGTON STREET
FRANKLIN SQUARE
CATHEDRAL HOUSING
CATHEDRAL
HARRISON AVENUE
UNIVERSITY HOSPITAL
BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL
ALBANY STREET
SOUTHEAST EXPRESSWAY
FLOWER MARKET
DISTRICT BOUNDRY
PROTECTION AREA
NATIONAL REGISTER DISTRICT
PROPOSED SOUTH END LANDMARK DISTRICT

View of Columbus Avenue looking
from Massachusetts Avenue

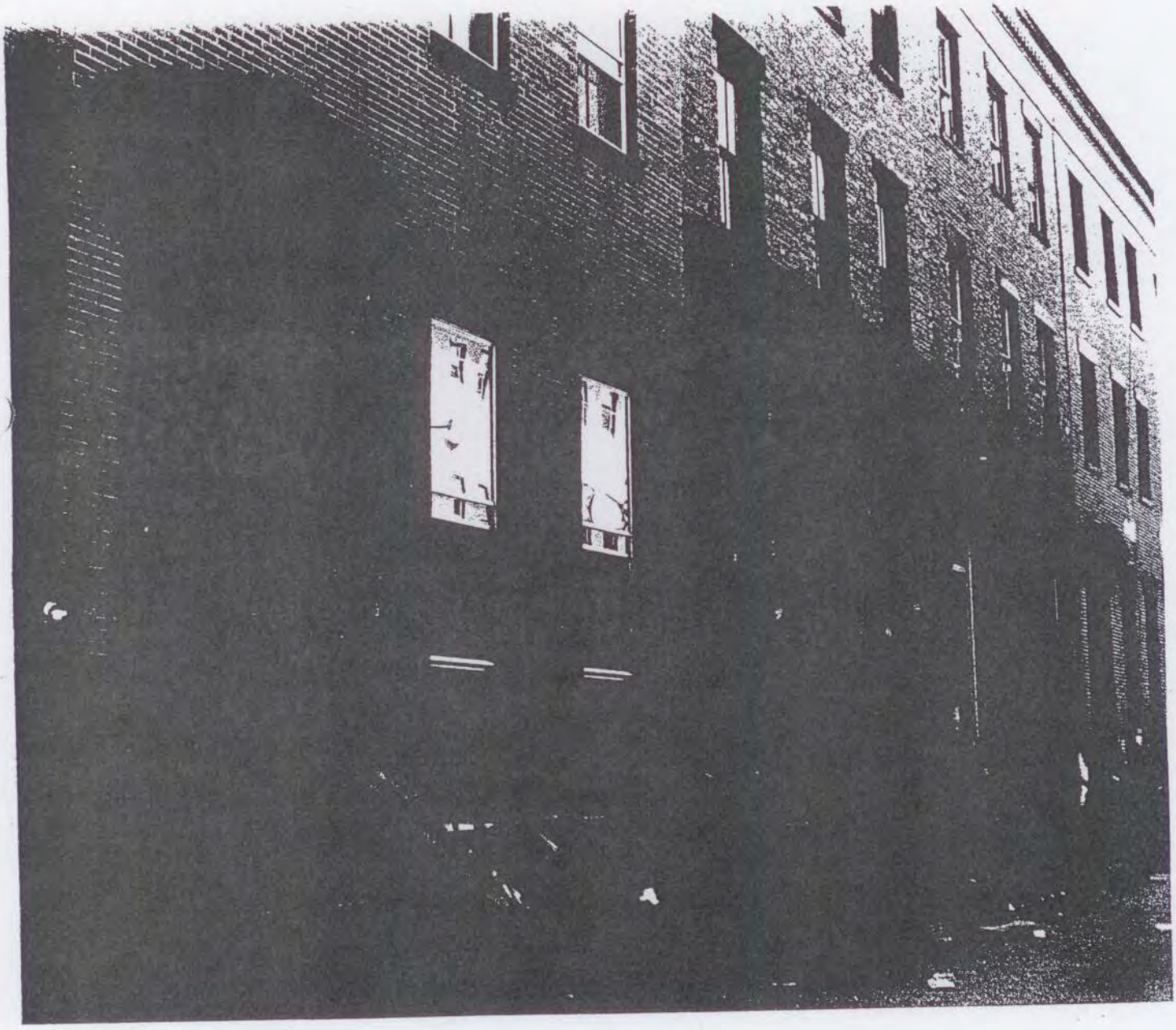
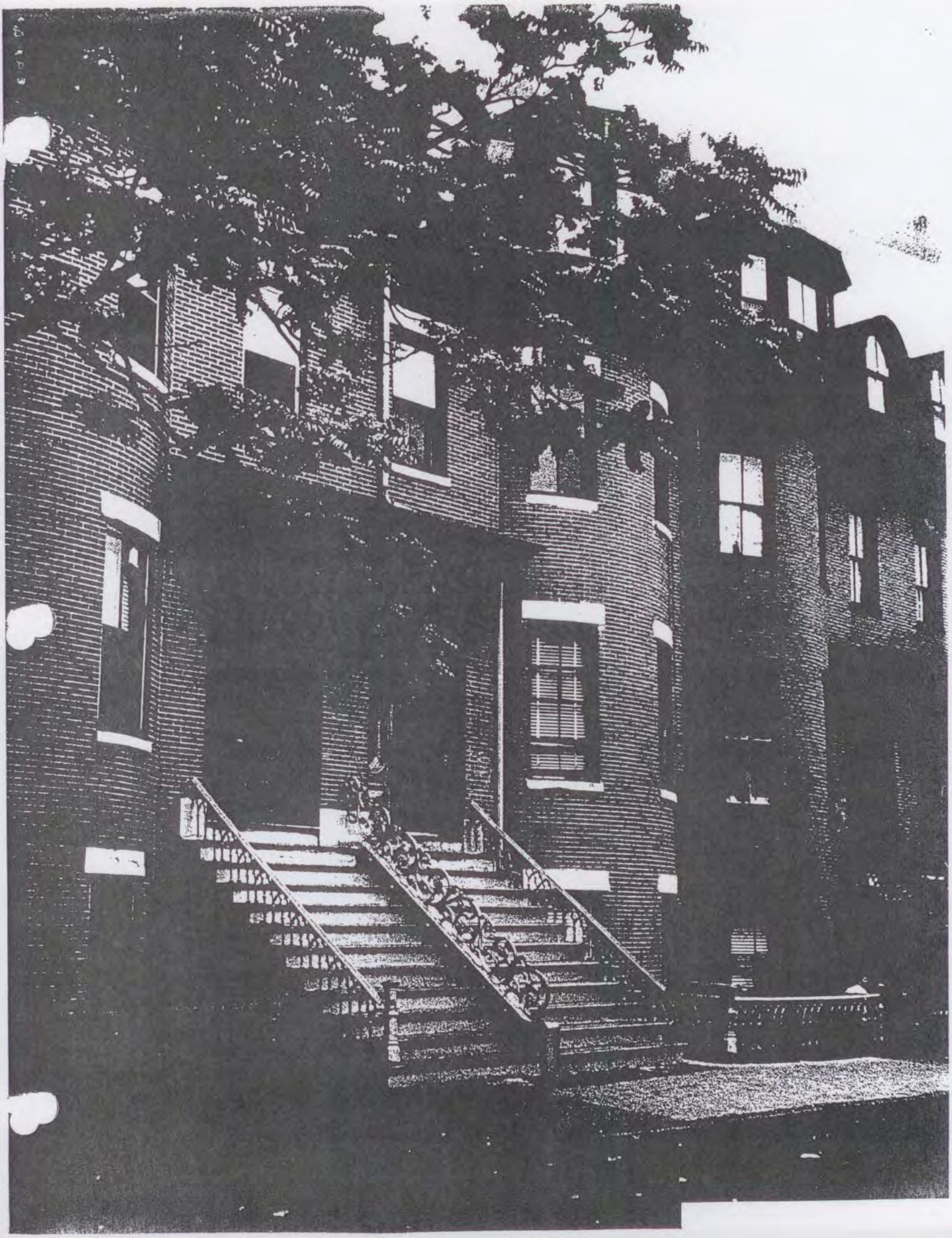
Union Park

558 Massachusetts Ave


Union Methodist Church

Harriet Tubman House
Allan R. Crite 1977

East Brookline Street



Typical flat-fronted South End Row.