Baltimore City separated from Baltimore County in 1851 by an act of the state legislature. By the mid 20th century, this separation set the stage for class and race segregation; competing urban and suburban ideologies.
Baltimore’s population rose from 13,500 in 1790 to almost one million in 1950. This growth helped create two housing patterns:

1. Immigrants and Southern migrants moving into older, once-wealthy neighborhoods; and
2. Builders constructing smaller houses on side streets and “alley streets.”
RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS

Mount Vernon plat example, circa 1860: undivided use by rich and poor

Carriage houses were behind the large town houses of the wealthy.
RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS

Mount Clare plat example, c. 1860: lot sizes (and matching house sizes) displayed occupants’ status to all

Central in this photograph of this plat today are the Carlton Street “Arabber” stables
RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS

South Baltimore had railroads as a limiting factor in the platting of lots: ... the closer to the tracks, the lower the occupants’ status
Defining slums, first try. In 1893 Carroll Wright, Commissioner of Labor, wrote *The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York and Philadelphia*. This report identified the following characteristics or indicators of slums:

- Ethnic Background
- Employment Pattern
- Housing Conditions
- Health
- Rent
- Crime Rate
The first race-based ordinance 1910. Baltimore’s city council passed three separate ordinances that would have segregated race block by block. Each ordinance was struck down in court. In 1917 the U.S. Supreme court declared segregation by city ordinance unconstitutional.
Public Art also expressed the racist structure found in Baltimore’s art and culture. In August 2017, Mayor Pugh removed these four monuments in order to prevent civil unrest. These three were dedicated in the early 20th Century.
After race-based ordinances fail to meet Constitutional test, covenants are reinforced with “red-lining”
1949 Zoning Map of Baltimore

Blue = Light business use
Orange = Heavy business use
Purple = Industrial use

Note how Residential zoning protected some neighborhoods but not others ....
The conclusions of this study confirmed the opinions of the Authority regarding principal causes for concentration of bad housing in Baltimore.

The identified causes were:

- Migrations within the city.
- Great concentrations of dwelling structures obsolete or undesirable for pleasant and convenient modern living.
- System of irredeemable ground rents.
- Concentrations of low-income Negroes who could rarely buy a house and were segregated in rental districts.

Source: Baltimore Low Rent Housing Survey, Housing Authority of Baltimore City, 1941
Housing and mixed-use buildings cleared to make way for public housing – two examples

1140 Druid Hill Avenue

578 West Preston Street
After WWII, HABC constructed several high-rise public housing projects. This created islands of concentrated poverty. In coordination, Federal Housing Policies were subsidizing the creation of thousands of single-family homes outside of urban areas.
Slum Clearance, Public Housing and Urban Renewal Projects

Typical city environment that inspired slum clearance and Urban Renewal, early 1940s:
Baltimore’s Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal Project (no housing), early 1950s

Maryland State Office Building, 1954. Currently known as State Center, this area used to be a mixed-income African American neighborhood.
Urban Renewal by Interstate Highway?

In the early 1960s, Baltimore planned a major interconnection of interstate highways at what is now the eastern edge of the Inner Harbor. Federal Hill and Fells Point were to be cut off from their waterfronts and swaths of condemned vacated houses resulted.
Urban Renewal by Interstate Highway?

I-70 was stopped at the western City line by environmental lawsuit.

This part was built in the 1970s despite its non-connection to the rest of the Interstate system.

- The white area represents the constructed portion of the I-170 corridor. Development of this highway stub required demolition of 20 city blocks, destroying 970 dwelling units.
Back to the future? A return to traditional platting in a few places

4 PUDs were created to re-make the 4 family high-rise Public Housing sites (Murphy, Lexington, Lafayette, and Flag House) after 1995.

This is Lexington Terrace resubdivided. These sites were already cut off from downtown by new high-volume wide roads.