AUTHENTIC BALTIMORE: DEFINING THE PEOPLE AND PLACES OF AN URBAN ETHNOSCAPE

by

Jennifer M. Talken-Spaulding
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Committee:

Director

Department Chairperson

Dean, College of Humanities and Social Sciences

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Authentic Baltimore: Defining the People and Places of an Urban Ethnoscape

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at George Mason University

By

Jennifer M. Talken-Spaulding
Bachelor of Arts
Western Michigan University, 1995

Director: Rebecca Bryant, Professor
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Spring Semester 2008
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
DEDICATION

This is dedicated to those who wonder about the “real places” of this world and go off in search of them.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my mentors, both of whom have now passed on. Muriel (“Miki”) Crespi, Ph.D., told me to think of myself as an anthropologist, say that I am an anthropologist, and “go get your degree.” Ann Raup, professor and park ranger, showed me a path towards the National Park Service.

My thanks to Brenda Barrett for introducing me to heritage areas many years ago, and for telling me about the “up and coming” Baltimore Heritage Area. Sincere appreciation goes to my committee for their support, guidance, and questions that helped to sharpen this research: Rebecca Bryant, Ph.D.; Mark Schoepfle, Ph.D.; and Linda Seligmann, Ph.D. Portions of Part 2 of this thesis were first conceived during research for an American Folklife course taught by John Michael Vlach, Ph.D. The work has been expanded and included here.

I must acknowledge the people of Southeast Baltimore who shared their time and stories in their coffee shops, hardware stores, bakeries, galleries, storefronts, visitor centers and offices. I appreciate the confidences you have shared and hope you find I have accurately incorporated them into this work.

I also want to acknowledge my family, for every academic effort is supported by those at home. My father first introduced me to the outdoors and the comfort of place. My mother, who also achieved her Master’s degree later in her career, continues to provide encouragement by word and example. And Kirsten, my partner, with whom I have explored many corners of this world. Thanks is too small a word.
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<td>Alliance of National Heritage Areas</td>
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<td>American Visionary Art Museum</td>
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<td>BACVA</td>
<td>Baltimore Area Convention and Visitors Association</td>
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<td>BDC</td>
<td>Baltimore Development Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BHA</td>
<td>Baltimore Heritage Area</td>
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<td>BOPA</td>
<td>Baltimore Office of Promotion &amp; the Arts</td>
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<td>CDC</td>
<td>Community Development Corporation</td>
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<td>CHA</td>
<td>Certified Heritage Area</td>
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<td>CHAP</td>
<td>Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation</td>
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<td>CSBA</td>
<td>Chesapeake Sustainable Business Alliance</td>
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<td>GBHA</td>
<td>Greater Baltimore History Alliance</td>
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<td>MHAA</td>
<td>Maryland Heritage Areas Authority</td>
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<td>NHA</td>
<td>National Heritage Area</td>
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<td>NPS</td>
<td>National Park Service</td>
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<td>SBER</td>
<td>Struever Bros. Eccles and Rouse, Inc.</td>
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<td>TIZ</td>
<td>Target Investment Zone</td>
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ABSTRACT

AUTHENTIC BALTIMORE: DEFINING THE PEOPLE AND PLACES OF AN URBAN ETHNOSCAPE

Jennifer M. Talken-Spaulding, M.A.

George Mason University, 2008

Thesis Director: Rebecca Bryant, Ph.D.

This thesis explores theories of multilocality, place-making, ethnoscape, authenticity and vernacular politics as a means of understanding expressions of place and heritage preservation within a complex urban space. Regarding authenticity, heritage and heritage preservation, this thesis contrasts the perspectives of local residents and business owners with city program managers in three neighborhoods of East Baltimore, Maryland. Baltimore, as a field site, is significant because efforts to preserve local heritage and define authentic places have intensified in the last ten years as the effects of urban revitalization are felt in the city’s neighborhoods. Economic growth and a shift from an industrial to a mixed residential-commercial use in some neighborhoods have brought an influx of new ethnic groups and social classes to historically white, working-class neighborhoods. As a result, the number and scope of authenticity programs has increased since the city’s first historic district was designated in 1969. Authenticity programs
discussed here include historic districts (as designated by the National Register of Historic Places), the Main Street program (as designated by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and managed by city employees), the state-sponsored Baltimore Heritage Area (as designated by the Maryland Heritage Areas Authority and managed by city employees), and the proposed federally-designated Baltimore National Heritage Area (which would be designated by Congress and associated with the National Park Service).

The research was conducted using ethnographic methods of participant observation, face-to-face interview, and study of ethnographic products including artwork, architecture, festivals, food, newspapers, brochures, flyers, websites, promotional and documentary film and other community publications. Research also included a review of related public records, such as legislation, news releases, feasibility studies, management plans, reports, and official websites.

This thesis adds to the growing body of knowledge about the role and impacts of authenticity programs, such as heritage areas, in community development and preservation. It expands the understanding of how ethnographic space is defined and created within an urban setting.
INTRODUCTION

Bank Street was closed to traffic for a city block. At the east end, farmers had assembled themselves in the usual way, with pick-up trucks backed up to sawhorse tables full of produce, apples, and pumpkins. Whole families had come. They sat in folding lawn chairs near the tailgate, talking in the cool October morning.

Directly opposite them on the north side of the street, artists and entrepreneurs of the ARTket had assembled. Individuals had set up tables covered with cloth and their products under portable sun shades of blue, white, and green. They put up signs designed and printed on their computers, posting prices and descriptions. Occasionally, they talked with each other, cups of organic, brewed coffee in their hands from the vendor at the end.

I parked at the west end of the block, near the church on the corner of Conkling. I had come to the Highlandtown Farmers Market/ARTket to gain a sense of this Baltimore community, and to find its painted screens. I walked up to the farmers on the end, bought a few small gourds for my kitchen table, and stepped into fieldwork with the question, “Do you know where I can find some painted screens?”

This research considers how authenticity and heritage resources are defined and preserved in three communities in East Baltimore, Maryland (called Southeast by locals). Where place (and authenticity) is defined by those outside a community, the social
science literature informs us that those definitions impact community identity. To this perspective, I apply Margaret Rodman’s theory of multiloca\-lity because, as she says, “It is time to recognize that places, like voices, are local and multiple.” By understanding place more broadly (as it has been well described by Setha Low, Denise Lawrence and others), I feel we can come to understand urban space as something more than a container of culture. It is place that is constantly shaped by people within and outside of the community.

I have found that in urban neighborhoods, different senses of place shape different understandings of what constitutes authenticity, heritage, and appropriate methods of heritage preservation. Because of these varied senses of place, some within the neighborhoods easily adopt outside definitions of authenticity, while others do not. By viewing authenticity through the lens of multilocality, I believe we gain a new perspective on urban place making. This research will show that the effects of authenticity and heritage preservation programs, in the multilocal urban space of Southeast Baltimore, are not felt in the same way between the neighborhoods, or even within a single neighborhood. For example, some benefit from outside designations of authenticity, while others are unaware of, or excluded from, these programs. I found that this sometimes leads to confusion or conflict within and between neighborhoods, and

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between neighborhoods and city program managers. Each group then employs different place-making techniques to protect and perpetuate their sense of place, authenticity, and heritage.⁵

This research is significant because it allows room for equally weighted difference, i.e. by understanding multilocality, city program managers may see the variety of perspectives on heritage that exist within urban neighborhoods. Applying multilocality in an urban setting helps us understand the ways in which designations of heritage and authenticity create new political dynamics and contribute to or change people’s “partly imagined” lives.⁶ My research will show that heritage preservation programs may more accurately reflect local representations of heritage if they can incorporate these various perspectives, even when they appear at odds. Applied as a case study, this research has the potential to help preservation program managers to understand the effects of heritage designations on urban neighborhoods.

This research is relevant to the field of cultural anthropology as studies of place are shifting in focus from place as the static geographical background to life, to place as an active cultural construction. With its focus on the definition and designation of “authentic” places, particularly in designated heritage areas, this research contributes to

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the growing body of knowledge on heritage development and preservation. My research adds an urban perspective to this field.

Locally, this research may help residents and business owners to see the diversity of authenticity and heritage preservation programs that exist. In turn, they may then engage these various programs as they feel appropriate. Specifically related to the Baltimore Heritage Area, this research documents a critical point in time when the state heritage area exists, a national heritage area designation has been introduced into Congress, the neighborhoods are facing changes in demographics, and there is active urban revitalization within some neighborhoods. In this way, it may provide a baseline for future research on topics of community identity in Southeast Baltimore.

Conversely, this work provides a new angle on research done on East Baltimore’s painted screens in the 1970s-1980s. I conclude that the tradition continues and has evolved from its ethnic folk origins to become a key identifier of the Highlandtown and Canton communities. The remaining screens, architecture, and practices surrounding this tradition stand as ethnographic resources traditionally associated with these neighborhoods.

This research reveals the contrast between the local and managerial senses of place. The local sense of place is defined by business owners and residents of the neighborhoods in which I conducted research: Highlandtown, Canton, and Fell’s Point.

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(sometimes seen as Fells Point). The managerial sense of place is defined by heritage preservation program managers employed by or associated with the City of Baltimore. In some cases, the program managers are also residents of the neighborhood, yet their sense of place often differs from that of long-term residents and business owners.

“Authentic,” as discussed here, is defined in two contrasting ways in Southeast Baltimore. Long-term business owners and residents of Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point define authenticity in terms that are relational, lineal, and within certain boundaries. Authenticity is relational and lineal in the sense that business owners express their connections to other businesses that have always been a part of the neighborhood. Residents describe historical events and associate them with certain places and structures. Though the expressions differ between Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point, residents express a personal cognitive map that stretches over generations and binds them to their neighbors and neighborhood. Authentic places are known and described within the bounds of their neighborhoods and in relation to other neighborhoods or places within Baltimore.

The program managers employed by or associated with the City of Baltimore define authenticity in programmatic terms as understood in the historic preservation community. For heritage preservation program managers, authentic places in Baltimore are tied to historical events that are represented in remaining historic architecture and places that are defined in terms of boundaries, districts or neighborhoods. Authenticity has integrity (as seen in intact historic materials, objects, and structures) and is
recognized through official designations. Authenticity is thematic in that it supports larger historical themes of the city and is publically interpreted.

These contrasting definitions of authenticity influence different senses of place and heritage and thus different methods of heritage preservation. Within the neighborhoods, heritage is defined relationally. In Highlandtown and Canton, the relationship to other long-term businesses and traditional ethnic residents (Italian, Polish, German, Greek and Eastern European) provides a sense of heritage. Heritage preservation occurs when long-term businesses still exist and the neighborhood still holds the architecture, traditions and descendants of those people that their grandparents and parents knew. In Fell’s Point, heritage entails knowledge of historical events that took place within the neighborhood, and preservation requires the visible protection and use of historic buildings, homes, waterfront and streetscapes.

For city preservation program managers, heritage is described in terms of history, connection to the neighborhoods, integrity, and potential. Preservation includes restoration, rehabilitation, and marketing of historical buildings and places, and the readiness of communities publically to interpret their heritage. Heritage preservation includes boundary-making, which is tied to official designations and economic support. Specifically, the designations considered in this research are the federally-listed historic districts of Fell’s Point, Canton and Highlandtown/Patterson Park; the state-certified Baltimore Heritage Area and its Authentic Baltimore program; the proposed federally-designated Baltimore National Heritage Area (which would be authorized by Congress and receive technical assistance from the National Park Service); and the city-supported
Baltimore Main Streets program (which is a program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and, in Southeast Baltimore, includes the Fell’s Point and Highlandtown Main Streets).

The contrast between definitions of authenticity and differing senses of place are a source of subtle angst. Within Southeast Baltimore, the interaction between residents within the neighborhood, between neighborhoods, and between neighborhoods and program managers has produced some unintended consequences. These include confusion or unawareness of authenticity designations and programs; the inclusion of Fell’s Point and Canton in the Baltimore Heritage Area and the exclusion of Highlandtown; differential access to heritage preservation funds and large-scale rehabilitation efforts; and a reaction to the changing demographics of the neighborhoods, particularly through gentrification and a growing Latino population.

Part 1 provides an anthropological background on the study of space and place and centers it in the context of Southeast Baltimore. It builds the theoretical frame for the research and discussion to follow.

Part 2 introduces the neighborhoods of Highlandtown and Canton, including definitions of place by both locals and program managers. It presents how residents and business owners express what is authentic about their community and how that heritage is preserved. Authenticity is described in terms that are relational; heritage exists in memory, old businesses that survive, the architecture of rowhouses and the tradition of painted screens.
Part 3 introduces the neighborhood of Fell’s Point, including definitions of place by both locals and program managers. It describes how residents and business owners express what is authentic about their community and how that heritage is preserved. Authenticity is described lineally; heritage exists in historical architecture, known and shared historical stories and official designations of historical place.

Part 4 describes how heritage program managers express what is authentic about these Southeast Baltimore communities and how they seek to preserve it. Authenticity is described through historical connection, interpretation, and readiness. Heritage is preserved through designations, community development, product development, and funding assistance for architectural improvements and cultural tourism. This section contrasts the perspective of the program manager with the local sense of authenticity, heritage and heritage preservation.

Part 5 explores what I found to be the results of interaction between these different senses of authenticity and heritage preservation including confusion or unawareness of designations and programs; inclusion and exclusion from the Baltimore Heritage Area; differential access to economic support for the neighborhoods; and a reaction to changing neighborhood demographics as a result of revitalization of historic space.

The conclusion summarizes my findings and the appendices include supporting discussions and contextual information. I took all of the photographs during my fieldwork, from October 2007- March 2008. The sources of other illustrations are cited.
Since the anthropologist is both researcher and research tool, we are taught to be aware of our biases and how they may reflect in, or shape, our work. In this research, I am in a unique position. I have worked for the National Park Service (NPS) for nearly 14 years, and have undertaken this research independently as part of my graduate education. As an employee of the NPS, I have been exposed to the varying perspectives other NPS employees at different levels feel towards and about heritage areas. As part of my professional training, I have been given first-hand experience with national heritage areas through employee development sessions and through the early stages of a feasibility process for a potential heritage area.

I was first introduced to the idea of heritage areas in 2003 at the Essex National Heritage Area in Massachusetts. It was February and ice coated nearly everything. We drove through a historic part of town where residents were restoring their houses to reflect their 19th century origins. We went to a place on the water where a family of ship builders still made ships by hand, using wood bent with the mighty power of steam, restraint and time. We saw a demonstration. We talked to craftsmen building a new sloop. We ate in a local restaurant across the street. At the time, I was struck by the “realness” of the place and the people.

At home on Maui, where I worked for the National Park Service, I became a participant and an observer of an effort to create a national heritage area in a rural part of the island. I attended community meetings with my Superintendent and local residents—the majority of whom were Native Hawaiian, many tracing their families back multiple generations to the same places in which they now lived. They were considering
developing a national heritage area but wondered how to draw visitors, gain something economically, and yet preserve their privacy. They wanted to tell their stories, instead of the stories they heard being told from the open windows of small tour busses on the road. I attended several meetings where residents talked about the history of their community and the impacts of tourism. They wondered how their relationship would develop with the national park. When I told them about the Essex National Heritage Area, they nodded politely, looked at the brochure, and asked, “But how would it look here?”

When I came to Washington, D.C., to continue my work for the National Park Service, I also began classes towards my Master’s degree. I knew I wanted to study the topic that had pulled at my mind and heart for many years. I contacted the person who first introduced me to the national heritage areas- then National Heritage Area Coordinator for the National Park Service, Brenda Barrett. I told her I would like to look at how heritage areas and community identity relate. I asked her about any heritage areas that would be good fieldwork sites. She listed several “up and coming” heritage areas, and Baltimore stuck out in the queue. Here was a city looking to preserve places of heritage through both a state-designated heritage area and a proposed national heritage area (NHA). They had already done their feasibility study. They had a management plan. They had support for the NHA in the National Park Service, and in Congress. A bill was expected to be introduced soon for authorization. So, what, I wondered, did it mean to designate a heritage area in a complex urban setting such as Baltimore?

When I discovered Elaine Eff’s 1984 doctoral dissertation that first identified the painted screens of Highlandtown as a unique urban folk tradition, and then learned that
Highlandtown was not part of the Baltimore Heritage Area, I was hooked. I went to Southeast Baltimore to see if the painted screens still existed, and if, in the twenty-four years since Eff’s dissertation, one could still see evidence of this tradition within the community. I walked away after that first day of fieldwork with pages of notes from conversations with people who either personally or publicly preserved painted screens, and with over sixty photos of screens still displayed on the rowhouses of East Baltimore. The questions then remained—since the tradition continues, does it not reflect a sense of heritage? How is heritage determined and how were the boundaries of the heritage area chosen?

So, I set off with a map of the heritage area and began to talk with long-time business owners and residents of Highlandtown and the neighboring communities of Canton and Fell’s Point, which are included in the heritage area. During my research, I did not hide the fact that I work for the NPS, but was always careful to explain that I do not work for the national heritage area program, nor was I undertaking this research in an official capacity- a fact that was included in the consent forms that research participants received.

All of this is to say that I find myself filtering the data with two simultaneous perspectives. One is my professional perspective as a career “Park Service” employee that understands the importance of designation, heritage preservation and public interpretation. The other is my anthropological perspective of the participant-observer who spent six months on research and fieldtrips, listening to the locals and coming to

\[9\] Ibid.: 166.
understand their perspective. This is not an exhaustive account. There is more that needs to be studied (particularly the relationships between long time residents and the Latino residents and “yuppies” of the neighborhoods). As a reflection of this moment in time, in this place, where people are all at once remembering a past, living in the present, and trying to figure out what the changing urban environment holds for their community, I hope the reader will find this research a valuable contribution.
PART 1: SPACE & PLACE- THE THEORETICAL FRAME

Baltimore is a city with a long history as an American seaport town, with industrial, working class, immigrant neighborhoods and a dramatic role during the War of 1812. Current efforts in urban revitalization attempt to maintain that sense of historical and social space while trying to grow the city’s economy and visibility, making it an appropriate field site to study place making and urban identity.

“Space” and “place” have been defined in many ways. Philosopher Edward S. Casey describes a common naturalistic viewpoint. Space is a “neutral, pre-given medium” onto which culture inscribes meaning. Place is the slate on which the “particularities of culture and history come to be inscribed, with place as the presumed result.” In this frame, space (and all it encompasses) comes to have meaning when people give it meaning. Inscribed spaces are active and constantly evolving. In the designed and developed urban setting of Baltimore, this definition of place is apt.

The historical and cultural places within Baltimore have been described by others in the traditional geographic sense—as backdrop to life and historical events. The 2006 Feasibility Study for a Baltimore National Heritage Area notes, “The cityscape of Baltimore was the stage for pivotal conflicts that forged our national identity.”

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major port of entry second only to New York, Baltimore hosted a huge immigrant population in the 19th century. Some of those immigrants went on to settle across the continent while others remained to build Baltimore’s industrial and manufacturing economy. On a city-scale, Baltimore has documented and quantified its historical space. There are 24 National Historic Landmarks, 52 National Historic Districts, with 53,000 historic buildings listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and 30 local historic districts with 8,000 historic buildings.

In Southeast Baltimore, urban space is mapped. The boundaries of Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point are drawn by city officials. Residents verbally relate boundaries in terms of cognitive connections. Both use streets to define the urban space, but the boundaries vary. Both acknowledge the role of the neighborhood in the larger urban identity by describing Baltimore as a “city of neighborhoods,” and one or another neighborhood as “quintessentially Baltimore.”

But this geographical description of Baltimore’s urban space does not get to the heart of the lived cultural places of the neighborhoods. To do this, I draw on an anthropological technique from the study of space and place- looking at place as foreground to people’s lives, defined by their everyday experiences and personal histories. As anthropologists Setha Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga describe, “foregrounding spatial dimensions of culture rather than treating them as background so that the notion that all behavior is located in and constructed of space has taken on new

12 Ibid.: 3.
13 Ibid.: 2.
Rather than looking at places as pure, static, containers of culture, this perspective considers how places are continuously created through the interactions of many people and events.

Through this frame, mapped and bounded urban space becomes inscribed space, which refers to the fundamental relationships between humans and the environment they occupy. The term implies that humans “write” their presence on their surroundings. But it is more than simply attaching meaning; it is also what Low and Lawrence call “recognition and cultural elaboration of perceived properties of environment in mutually constituting ways through narratives and praxis,” i.e., the neighborhoods are described as both home and as quintessential examples of the larger Baltimore identity.

Understanding the neighborhoods as inscribed spaces involves understanding them as locales of cultural expression. Anthropologist Ulf Hannerz notes that, “for three quarters of a century or so, much of the analytical effort of anthropologists has gone into showing how cultures hang together, how particular beliefs and practices make sense only as parts of cultural wholes.” There has been a tendency in anthropology to associate one place with one people. The anthropological study of place is in part a continuation of this practice- how to identify a cultural connection to place and root that in a specific locale. Baltimore is often described by city managers as a “city of neighborhoods,” a constructed cultural whole. However, I feel a more useful perspective is not necessarily to look at how the residents and neighborhoods make up the “whole” of

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Baltimore, but how they stand alone. Thus, I consider the multiple influences on the construction of place within the neighborhoods. When studies of place move beyond a perspective of place as a container ("one place, one people"), to one that looks at how place is understood and expressed in a dynamic, multi-layered way, we begin to understand how multiple groups of people may construct a different sense of place out of the same piece of land.

To make this move, I ask, “how are authentic places identified and by whom?” The answer reveals a layered sense of place that is reflected in the differing expressions of heritage and methods of heritage preservation. With regular interactions with state and city employees, Southeast Baltimore community leaders, businesses, and residents, connect and react to different expressions of authenticity and heritage in their neighborhoods. A key concept relevant to understanding this dynamic is multilocality.

Margaret Rodman’s term “multilocality” describes “overlapping social landscapes.” Particular in urban spaces, many people are involved in the social production of space. Multilocality reveals a “tension between fragmentation and proliferation of a unitary concept of locality” and the realization that locality, or place, is always shared. In Southeast Baltimore, understanding neighborhoods as multilocal spaces helps us to see how different groups of people can approach the same space, and each other, from totally different, and equally strong, perspectives. There is only one Highlandtown, one Eastern Avenue, and one Thames Street; but for different groups,

18 Ibid.
these places reflect a different heritage and thus different potential means for preservation.

Once we understand the neighborhoods of Southeast Baltimore as multilocal spaces, we can then look at the ways in which each group defines that place. Place-making involves many people, the reaffirmation and redefinition of place, and an interplay of disparate meanings. Anthropologist Hugh Raffles observes that, “local places are continually and often self-consciously produced by their inhabitants and others.”19 “The production of a specific locality,” Raffles continues, “involves all kinds of people in all kinds of places.”20

In Baltimore, the process of place-making is ongoing. The neighborhoods of Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point are dynamic, multilocal spaces where different senses of place are brought to bear in landscape formation, economy, language, and expressions of neighborhood identity. Historic districts have been designated within the past forty years and Main Streets within the past eight years. The fact that within five years of designating a state heritage area Baltimore has sought Congressional authorization for a national heritage area shows the powerful influence of the state in constructing urban cultural places. Urban revitalization in Canton and Fell’s Point has transformed historic industrial buildings into mixed-use commercial-residential space. Within this transformation, the communities seek ways to retain their identifying

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19 Ibid.: 326.
20 Ibid.: 327.
characteristics (such as the unique East Baltimore folk art of painted window and door screens).”

Stuart Rockefeller (in Low and Lawrence) notes that “places are not in the landscape but simultaneously in the land, people’s minds, customs and bodily practices.” As people imagine, discuss, move through and live in an area, their spatial practices help to define, and are influenced by, their sense of place. Both the residents and the program managers of Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point use the place-making techniques of naming, boundary definition, architectural preservation and construction, and events to claim space and perpetuate their sense of place. In Highlandtown, Canton, and Fell’s Point, place is all at once constructed, appropriated, accessed, and represented by various groups so that the same space remains a cognitively different place for each group.

With an anthropological re-centering of place and an understanding of multilocality and the place-making techniques in play in Southeast Baltimore, we can then approach how authenticity is defined within this context. In a public sense, authenticity is defined for the audience, typically those outside of the group or tradition that is authenticated. As folklorist Shalom Staub notes:

> Notions of authenticity that underlie public folklore programs must be examined for their implications. Designating an experience or object authentic implies distance between the designator and the designees, whether social, physical, or temporal. Authenticity is not a term likely to be used self-referentially within a folk group.….The quality of authenticity is invested in the experiences, practices,


and activities of people socially distant from ourselves. The greater the social distance, the more we commonly attribute the image of a pure, authentic culture.\(^{23}\)

When people and places are linked in statically-defined, “natural” ways, we reinforce a dichotomous perspective of “us” and “them;” or as anthropologist Renato Rosaldo notes, culture gets defined by difference and in terms of mobility.\(^{24}\) People “with culture,” Rosaldo reflects, “appear sedentary and rooted in their particular niches.”\(^{25}\) They are idealized, romanticized, as are “their” places, and put in comparison to people “without culture.” People without culture have become so thoroughly acculturated that they are transparent; they are mobile and meld into landscapes. Thus a sense of what is “local” parallels what is “authentic” and expresses a vision of a “cultured” space.

This is in fact how the local sense of authenticity is described in Southeast Baltimore. Residents and business owners with multi-generational roots in Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point represent a history and connection to the city’s past that are rooted in the working class, immigrant beginnings of their neighborhoods. The preservation of the vernacular architecture (rowhouses, streetscapes, and historic buildings renovated for continued use) supports their presence in Southeast. They are set in place. Authentic. In contrast, the newer residents which represent a “gentrified” group within the neighborhoods are “unaware.” They are part of the “yuppification” of the

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\(^{25}\) Ibid.
neighborhood and are not seen as individuals. They are transparent. Without culture. Not authentic.

In a recent paper at the 2007 American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, anthropologist Brian Hoey introduced the term “lifestyle migrants” to refer to people who voluntarily relocate in support of a desired lifestyle. Though his paper described the relocation of urban residents to rural settings, I believe that we can use the same term in reference to those who relocate to rehabilitated historic urban settings. In particular, I think that the term and concepts of Hoey’s lifestyle migrants may offer another way to consider those “yuppies” who are presently part of the “gentrification” of Southeast Baltimore. It may help us to understand the sense of place of this group of people, who move into and rehabilitate historic properties, or who patronize businesses within historic buildings that are being adaptively re-used. Hoey notes that lifestyle migrants relocate in reaction to an increasing commercialization of self. Sense of place (which they often create or imagine) is important to lifestyle migrants to define their actual, and potential, self. This is a “person as portfolio” lifestyle where people are in a perpetual state of becoming.

Given this dynamic, efforts to define and preserve authenticity, which represents a local, historical heritage, have expanded in Southeast Baltimore in the last ten years. (See Appendix A.) The Baltimore Heritage Area, for example, represents a super-landscape of layered identity and urban place. The heritage area, called a “living

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landscape” by the National Park Service, parallels the anthropological concept of ethnoscapess and can be further understood as a vernacular political realm.

Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai developed the term ethnoscape in reference to “the landscapes of group identity.” In recognition of the extent of modern group mobility, Appadurai offered the term to discuss the ways in which “deterritorialized” people reconstitute their groups in ways that take into account the variety of people that make up the “shifting world in which we live,” and the self as reflected in imagination and mass media. Ethnography today, he says, must consider the impact of these “partly imagined lives” when defining the local within a broader community. This “local,” in terms of a people’s ethnoscape, is one that generates “new kinds of politics, new kinds of collective expression, and new needs for social discipline and surveillance on the part of elites.”

A heritage area is an imagined boundary placed on the living landscape of people’s neighborhoods. Heritage areas are often large landscapes that cross multiple cities, counties or even states. In Baltimore, it has been applied to a relatively small area of urban space. Inclusion or exclusion from this boundary has real economic impacts, from recognition and access to marketing, to financial incentives for architectural and community improvement. The economic connections between local businesses, preservation and city program managers, the tourism industry, and development

28 Ibid.: 192.
29 Ibid.: 198.
corporations build coherence that then becomes a factor in defining “authentic” places within this ethnoscape.

For example, by encouraging people to “Buy Local” or support their Main Streets, the local businesses are authenticated. Through their increased business, the overall neighborhood economy improves, and the neighborhoods are authenticated by the market attention. In turn, the neighborhoods together create an authentic Baltimore which is marketed as a City of Neighborhoods. The neighborhoods and the city are recognized by the state and designated as authentic space through the heritage area. And the managers of this authenticated space have now sought federal recognition and the consequent funding provided by a designation as a national heritage area. Naming, and the marketing of authenticity, then become place-making tools based on the Baltimore economy.

Since the establishment of the first National Heritage Area in 1984, the role of heritage areas in community development has drawn increasing attention in the United States. At the state level in Maryland, communities go through a process of being a recognized heritage area before becoming a certified heritage area. This process includes management planning, designing public heritage interpretation, and showing the capacity to be visitor-ready. This may mean new types of collective expression, which are then supported through funding for product development or capital improvements in what the Maryland Heritage Area Authority calls target investment zones. New economic and political alliances form, and a new, partly imagined landscape is created.

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Anthropologist Jenny White calls this the “vernacular political realm.” With Turkey as her place of analysis, she offers her definition of vernacular politics as “a value-centered political process rooted in local culture, interpersonal relations, and community networks, yet connected through civic organizations to national party politics.”\(^{32}\) White suggests that her term “vernacular politics” allows us to move beyond our preconceptions of political and social boundaries, leading us to ask “crucial questions about the connections between people and processes.”\(^{33}\)

In Southeast Baltimore, multiple organizations have joined together to achieve common goals of heritage preservation and community development. The Greater Baltimore History Alliance, which began as a task force convened by the Mayor of Baltimore, and which used to reside within the Baltimore Heritage Area, now works with museums, schools and preservation groups to pool their resources and impact. The arts community, preservation groups, city marketing, businesses and state employees worked together to foster a state heritage area designation, which is now run by city employees in the Mayor’s office. Business associations, neighborhood associations and preservation groups support the Main Street programs, which are run by independent community development programs, supported, in part, by city funds. All of this leads to layers of designation and complex vernacular politics.

While considering the question of a withering of national identity as people move between national spaces, Hannerz observed that “the feeling of deep historical rootedness


\(^{33}\) Ibid.: 261.
may be replaced by an equally intense experience of discontinuity and rupture.” I believe, as other anthropologists have well stated, that people reconnect themselves to places in a continual process, thereby creating a sense of rootedness as they go. I suggest that by understanding the neighborhoods of Southeast Baltimore as multilocal spaces, where various forms of place-making are continuously used by locals and preservation program managers, we may come to a deeper understanding of this constantly evolving living landscape. As partly imagined ethnoscapes, the neighborhoods of Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point are spaces where people with different senses of place interact and seek ways to perpetuate their understandings of authenticity and heritage. As these efforts persist, a unique vernacular political realm is created which ties the neighborhoods to each other, the city, the state, and ultimately (through a national heritage area designation) a national sense of heritage. What is authentically Baltimore then takes on a whole new meaning.

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PART 2: HIGHLANDTOWN & CANTON

The door to Kurek’s Hardware Store is on the corner of Clinton and O’Donnell Streets. It’s a gray building, with a step up to the corner door and windows full of tools and signs. On a Saturday morning, I wandered through the narrow aisles, looking at a typical selection of hardware, along with some not-so-typical items like a handmade shelf of used books. Items covered the walls, shelves, and hung from the ceiling on the sides. I bought a few things. I said I was doing some research on the community and that Sharon from Hoehn’s Bakery had sent me down. “Hoehn’s!” Bill Kurek said. “Now you’re making me hungry!” We started to talk and I was welcomed to the end of the counter so that Bill’s sister-in-law, Susan Thompson, could continue to work with the customers on that busy Saturday. I showed him the map of the Baltimore Heritage Area. Then I asked him about the neighborhood.

Bill Kurek: Highlandtown and Canton. Canton was never known, alright? You lived in Canton, you didn’t tell anybody. You lived in Highlandtown. Alright? [Looking at the BHA map.] Highlandtown, Highland Avenue, is the next… this is Clinton Street goin’ up right here. Highland Avenue is the next street and it goes up a hill. Hill, high, get it?

Jennifer T-S: Yeah.

BK: There’s a restaurant on Highland Avenue called Haussner’s. Haussner’s is closed, but it used to be a very fancy, nice restaurant. There’s actually a maker on the ground around Haussner’s. It was the highest point in Baltimore City, before they extended the city lines further. So a long time ago. Right at Haussner’s restaurant, Highlandtown. It was high. And right now you’re here at number 70. 70 is the Korean War Memorial which is right down off of Boston Street.
JTS: I went down there.

BK: So that’s right here.

JTS: Ok.

BK: But when I was growing up as a kid, you didn’t tell people you were from Canton. Girls from Highlandtown were not allowed to date Canton boys.

JTS: Why’s that?

BK: We were on the wrong side of the tracks. And there weren’t any tracks. Eastern Avenue was the tracks. Eastern Avenue used to be….

Susan: Even when my father grew up, he wasn’t allowed to tell anybody he’s from Canton.

JTS: Really? [Susan: mmhmm]

BK: Now Canton is gentrified. You wanna be from Canton now because the houses are more money.

JTS: So, do people say, well, I’m from Highlandtown?

BK: If you're a real estate agent and your house is in Highlandtown, the real estate agent will put it in as Canton. So she can get more money for it. So Canton’s been spreadin’ its wings, goin’ up North. But the boundaries of Highlandtown, nobody really knows.

This section will explore how locals and city managers define space and place in Highlandtown and Canton. It will explore how authenticity is described by local residents and business owners in relational terms. Heritage resources, as they are identified locally, are held both in memory and the presence of long-time businesses, the residential architecture of rowhouses, and the folk tradition of painted screens that has expanded to include a community of artists and public displays of community pride.
Here, heritage is preserved when the people, places, and traditions remain in the neighborhood.

As my conversation with Bill Kurek continued, he described his Canton neighborhood, including locations of buildings, churches, historic markers and streets. When I asked him how long he had been there, he said dryly, with a gleam in his eye, “I never had a real job.” Then he pointed to the ceiling behind me and said,

I was born right above this light according to my family. And I’m 60 this month, end of this month. My god, 60. [JTS: Happy Birthday.] Thanks. Store’s been here since 1932. I been workin’ here since I was 16. Eighteen for a paycheck. My father was 87, he just died in August. He did good. It was good. My grandfather started it, but he died young. Fifty-somethin’, I didn’t know him.

Figure 1: Baltimore City Bench, Highlandtown
In fact, as I spoke with residents and business owners, I noticed that a great amount of time goes into identifying one’s neighborhood in terms of memories of the neighborhood, and the boundaries of it. People defined the neighborhood not only using street names, but in terms of places- bringing context to the urban space.

One man explained, “Used to be, it was either Fait or Boston they’d say Canton stopped at. Now they’re sayin’ it’s up to Eastern and comes down Conkling.” Sharon Hoehn, the third generation owner of the bakery on Bank Street directed me to several local businesses saying that they were a “few blocks south of Edison,” or “down Fleet Street and then take a right on Conkling.” A woman at the fall Market/ARTket directed me to see painted screens at “Chester and Collington. I live right there and if I walk just a few blocks, there are the screens right on Chester and Collington.”
Folklorist Elaine Eff, after ten years of fieldwork in East Baltimore, expressed the local understanding of neighborhoods:

In urban East Baltimore, neighborhood is measured in city blocks. The concept of neighborhood might best be defined as the geographic area that a ten year old boy travels on foot with his parents’ blessing without getting lost. A neighborhood is the sub-unit of a community, the larger entity circumscribed by the adult traveler.\(^{35}\)

While some residents and business owners define their neighborhood space in terms bounded by memory and relationships, the city defines the neighborhoods in terms of organizational boundaries. The Baltimore Visitor Center, operated by the Baltimore Area Convention and Visitors Association (BACVA), contains a large, lighted map that displays city space as defined from neighborhood statistics from the 2000 census, compiled by the Baltimore City Department of Planning. Its title is “A City of Neighborhoods,” and it is surrounded by hundreds of brochures which emphasize the different neighborhood identities, historic and cultural features, sites and restaurants. The implication is that these neighborhoods fit under a single “roof” - i.e. the City of Baltimore. Here Highlandtown is defined as Ellwood Avenue (west), Pratt Street (north), Haven Street (east), and Eastern Avenue (south). Canton is bounded by Chester Street (west), Eastern Avenue (north), Conkling Street (east), and the waterfront (south). (See Figure 3.)

The City of Baltimore website further defines the neighborhoods of Southeast. Canton and Highlandtown are together with four sub-designations: Baltimore Highlands, Canton, Brewers Hill and Hudson-Highlandtown. Links from the city website to each of these areas takes one to websites for community associations (each with their own boundary descriptions), or listings in the residential marketing site, Live Baltimore.

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37 Ibid.
Live Baltimore is a non-profit organization, founded in 1997, which promotes the benefits of city living.\textsuperscript{38} They are an active part of the city’s marketing to potential residents. Their office is in the historic Charles Street neighborhood (outside of Southeast). It has a colorful, dynamic feel. Their website includes yet another map for Southeast as well as information and statistics on the neighborhoods (Canton and Fell’s Point are featured, Highlandtown is not). (See Figure 4.) Canton is described by its historic district boundaries, bounded by Eastern Avenue, Conkling Street, the waterfront, and Chester Street. (See Figure 5.)

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{live_baltimore_map.png}
\caption{Map: Southeast Baltimore, Live Baltimore\textsuperscript{39}}
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\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
The urban space of Southeast Baltimore is thus defined in bounded terms by both residents and city program managers. While most generally include the same space within their definitions, there are some discrepancies. For example, the east boundary of Canton and the north boundary of Highlandtown vary.

Both Canton and Highlandtown are designated historic districts, thus moving from a geographical description of space to a more social definition of place. Canton was
listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. It is one of the largest historic districts in Baltimore and contains a diversity of house types, including 19th and early 20th century rowhouses.\textsuperscript{42} Its significance as a historic district is noted by the Commission for Historical & Architectural Preservation (CHAP):

Canton has played an important role in the development of Baltimore’s early maritime trade and the City’s growth as a major port. This district is one of the oldest industrial development communities in the United States….A unique relationship developed between Canton’s industries and the residential areas that grew up around the industries. Many of the industries built worker’s housing and provided for the social welfare and recreational needs of their workers….The Canton area is also associated with the growth of Baltimore’s ethnic communities.\textsuperscript{43}

The Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District was listed on the National Register in 2002. It contains a large material representation of Baltimore’s settlement patterns created by waves of European immigrants, who established ethnically heterogeneous neighborhoods within this district.\textsuperscript{44} Its significance is noted:

The area is a surviving example of the unbroken streetscapes of modest row houses that once characterized middle class housing in Baltimore….Alterations are inextricably linked to the persistence of home ownership that characterizes the neighborhood and the democratic ideals of urban row house living….the area retains elements such as painted screens, window displays, planters, and decorative seating areas characteristic of Baltimore’s row house-based residential folkways….Less than 1% of the structures constructed before 1952 have been lost.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
The neighborhood space is defined in relational terms with streets as reference. It is both historic, an enclosure of neighbors, and a somewhat fluid space. As Bill Kurek described, many long term residents defined their neighborhood in terms of memory and the simultaneous interaction of past and present in shaping place. He asked me:

You been down into O’Donnell Square? Oh yeah...O’Donnell Square is where O’Donnell Street splits and that’s a historic square. It’s got Captain O’Donnell’s statue in it. Unless they put a Ravens helmet on him. But anyway, go down there. It’s got a bunch of good restaurants. When you get past O’Donnell’s Square, St. Casmir’s Church is there. St. Casmir’s Church is a beautiful church if you want to go inside and see a nice church. I can’t go in there because the lightning would strike me. Beautiful church. ‘Course the Catholics, they got a lot of money…. But then next to that, behind that, used to be the can company. Where they made tin cans. And now that’s all restaurants. And the Bay Café, which is right on the water where the taxi picks you up and takes you to the Inner Harbor, that was Tindeco. Tin Decorating Company where they made cans. And now it’s all condominiums….go into the lobby of Tindeco….Go down to the Bay Café, but just watch where you park. ‘Cause one of them parking lots a minimum seven bucks to park. Yeah, so watch that, even if you're in there for 15 minutes they nail ya.

Long-term business owners and residents draw a sense of heritage from historical knowledge and personal lineage, as well as residential and commercial architecture. A key feature of Highlandtown and Canton is the folk tradition of painted screens, which developed because of the unique mix of people and close rowhouse neighborhoods. The sense of place in Southeast Baltimore is directly linked to the history of Baltimore as a prominent port town with a large working class of immigrants.

Speculators and the port industries built rows of small, comfortable, two and a half story houses for the working class so that by the 1830s, blocks of modest row houses
filled the cityscape, especially near the waterfront. Skilled masons built red brick homes trimmed with white marble from quarries north of the city. After 1890, many houses were made with “iron spot” brick, a highly fired brick (with a surface speckled with iron dots) that did not need to be painted. In the 1900s, houses began to take on a Renaissance Revival façade design with stained-glass window transoms, marble accents to the basement level, window lintels and sills, and the signature front steps of a Baltimore rowhouse. Symbolic not only of fashion, but an aesthetic that showcased pride in their homes, these features have been preserved by homeowners and can still be seen on the rowhouses of Highlandtown and Canton today. (See Figure 6.)

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47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.: 258.
49 Ibid.
On a high point of land just east of the city boundaries (called Snake Hill), a community of workers and their families developed. It was renamed Highland Town in 1870. Primarily German immigrants, they were an independent group with their own church and shops near their homes. As development progressed through the 19th century, ethnic neighborhoods such as Highlandtown created entire economic systems within their communities, allowing people to walk from home to work.

Personal homeownership for these immigrants was made possible in part by the system of ground rents in Baltimore. Large landowners laid out densely packed blocks of rowhouses and then leased the lots to builders. Builders were required to develop the lots within a few years. When the houses were sold, the new owners paid a small annual rent directly to the landowners for the ground on which their home sat. In this way, working class homeowners could purchase their home at a lower cost, pay rent on the land, and have the option to purchase the land later. This system was beneficial to speculators as well. They were able to sell houses at lower prices because they were assured of an annual return on a block of ground which contained several rent-producing houses. Architectural historian Mary Ellen Hayward noted that this system put home ownership within reach for most of the working class, thus, “Home ownership…became

53 Ibid.: 166.
commonplace among Baltimore’s working families—more so, perhaps, than in comparable American cities of the time."

Of the many immigrants to Baltimore’s port, several settled in the city, supported by ethnic communities and urban opportunities for work and homeownership. Czech immigration to the United States, stimulated by the Revolution of 1848, brought 400,000 people, 87 percent of whom arrived between 1848-1914. Of the Czechs who stayed in Baltimore, most settled around St. Wenceslaus Church in East Baltimore (just north of the present day Highlandtown/Patterson Park Historic District boundary). By the end of the 1870s, the parish had grown to over 5,000 members. A new church and school began construction in 1903 and the St. Wenceslaus parish buildings grew to include a convent, rectory and social hall at the intersection of Collington and Ashland. It was on the southeast side of this intersection that Czech immigrant William Oktavec relocated from New Jersey in 1913. His home and first floor grocery became the genesis site for a tradition that has continued now for 94 years.

The identification of this East Baltimore tradition begins with a legend. Versions of this story- a legend in two parts- have been retold in many different formats (including a book on Maryland folklore, websites, and newspaper articles) so that one familiar

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57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
with painted screens comes to know the story without question. The first part places the originator of the tradition, William Oktavec, with the creation of the first painted screen in his Newark workplace about 1909. William had been trained in a fine spray technique used during his job as a demonstrator of a new paint compressor and sprayer for the Eclipse Airbrush Company of Newark, New Jersey. Eff, in her dissertation, relates the rest of the story as gleaned from written interviews with Oktavec and discussions with his sons:

She [the secretary] worked in this office and the guys across the way used to see her and whistle at her. She used to get quite shook up about it. So she told him [Oktavec] about it, wondered if there could be something that could be done. So he said, ‘Let me think about it.’ So he went home and then painted a window screen. I believe it was the expandable type they used to have in those days. The original that I remember (he kept the original and made her another one later), he painted like a window with lace curtains on it and it had a pot of flowers and they put it in the window. And she could see out and they couldn’t see in.

The second part of the legend places the production of the first painted screen in East Baltimore. Again, Eff relates the story using written interviews with Oktavec. Oktavec and his family moved to East Baltimore in 1913. He opened his neighborhood grocery, prominently placed across from the church. During the steamy summer of 1913, Oktavec “replaced his store’s wilting sidewalk produce display with a vivid pictorial

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64 Ibid.: 115.
65 Ibid.: 116.
representation painted on his woven wire screen door. The painting showed cuts of beef, spareribs, lettuce, cucumbers and carrots.  

He later said:

I used all my artistic temperament, all the art that was in me to make it as real as possible…It looked so real when I got through that customers who came in would get mad when we said we were out of lettuce, because they said they saw it.

People in the community soon began to see the benefits of ventilation and privacy (the screens are painted so that the holes are not clogged with paint). Soon he was painting screens for his neighbors to great success. In 1913, a traveling artist would charge $.50 - $1.50 per screen, priced according to the size and the difficulty of the scene. In 1984, screens sold for $9 - $25. Today, small screens in a simple wooden frame, intended for hanging on the wall as art, instead of being used practically in a window, are sold for $60 in Baltimore’s American Visionary Art Museum gift shop.

The popularity of the screens was brought about both by the aesthetic they provided as well as the practical nature of a privacy screen in the close rowhouse community. In the days before air conditioning, screens on open windows and doors provided needed ventilation for homes. But because the public space (sidewalk) was within a few feet of the private space (the home), a glance to the side by passers-by allowed one to see inside the home uninhibited. Thus, the painted screens provided utility and beauty.

The most popular, now classic, scene for Baltimore screens was taken by Oktavec from a greeting card. It includes a red-roofed bungalow, surrounded by trees, with a path.

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66 Ibid.
67 Ibid.: 117.
68 Ibid.: 273.
69 Ibid.
winding down to a pond inhabited by ducks or swans. (See Figure 7.) Eff noted that Oktavec “continued to repeat this theme [known as R.B. for “red bungalow”] in infinite variation…over a period of more than forty years.”  

This motif, and the technique of screen painting, was shared by Oktavec with students who came to classes in his art shop (which he opened in 1922).

Figure 7: “Red-Roofed Bungalow” Painted Screen

Screen painting in East Baltimore, particularly in the neighborhoods of Highlandtown and Canton, have been documented by Eff’s doctoral dissertation, the

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Ibid.: 267.
Ibid.: 118.
documentary film “The Screen Painters,” The Painted Screen Society, the development of the painted screens exhibit at the American Visionary Art Museum (AVAM), and through numerous presentations and interviews.

The exhibit of painted screens in the AVAM is in a gallery called “the barn.” The series of four rowhouse facades with painted screens on every window and door sits just to the left of a huge fuzzy pink dog on a bicycle and a colorful, rotating, lighted, air balloon with “GOD IS…” on the side. The exhibit includes the traditional red brick house, houses with the Formstone treatment (with a small plaque noting “genuine Formstone”), faux marble steps at each door, stained glass transoms with house numbers included, and painted screens. The collection includes screens from the original artists, the earliest a parlor window screen painted in 1930 at the beginning of the highpoint of production and use of painted screens. The most recent screens on display were painted in 2004. The exhibit, which opened in 2005, was produced through the efforts of Eff and The Painted Screen Society. One enters the exhibit by going through an open doorway behind the rowhouse façade. There one can watch the documentary film, “The Screen Painters,” and see and hear painters describing the work in their own words.

In the film, a woman sits in front of her house and says, “Painted screens go back a long ways in Baltimore, a long ways. Probably before you were even born! It’s an old tradition in Baltimore.”72 Another woman said that the neighborhoods where the screens are feel “homey, folks living together…and a nice screen equates with a nice

street….Other parts of East Baltimore don’t have that.”73 One woman who had a painted screen on her house said, “It’s just like being in an outdoor museum. In fact, it would be just like having a Rembrandt out in front of your house.”74

One artist, Frank Cipolloni, noted that “Since the advent of the screen club here, people are beginning to see it again and they’re thinking back to the old days at Canton and Highlandtown. ‘See, we had that when I was a kid. I’d like to have that again.”75

William Oktavec, Jr., the son of the first screen painter, talked about his feeling of the place of painted screens in the city, “It’s just like Babe Ruth and baseball for the City of Baltimore. It’s the same way. That’s one thing I like about Baltimore. Things like that can exist and can endure.”76

Painted screens remain a key vernacular feature in Southeast and people of the neighborhoods can tell you just where to find them. One resident told me, “If you wanna see painted screens, you’re too far south in Canton. You gotta go to Highlandtown…if you get up to North Lynnwood Ave…above Baltimore Street….If you get into those and start ridin’ up and down the streets you’ll see a lot of painted screens.” Another told me to look on Gough Street in Highlandtown. When I asked about painted screens in the Baltimore Visitor Center, the guide pulled up the Painted Screen Society brochure said, "We're the only place that has this kind of thing." (See Figure 8.)

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73 Ibid.
74 Ibid.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
Because screen painting is inherently tied to the architecture of the communities, preservation of the architecture also means preservation of the tradition. Place is perpetuated in physical form. Even with changes in the windows and doors of today’s

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rowhouses, people find a way to continue the tradition, if not in painted screens, then in window decorations and decals.

When a Highlandtown man saw me walking the block adjacent to his rowhome, he asked me what I was taking pictures of. “Painted screens,” I said. He said:

Oh, the painted screens- you know we used to have some too until we got these new windows. Once we got these windows, we don’t have the screens anymore... There’s still a lady that’s doing them. She’s pretty good. You been findin’ screens?

I said I had and he told me he still had his screens in the basement. He asked why I was interested in the screens. I said I was interested in them as a piece of the neighborhood; I liked to see how people know they’re in their neighborhood. He said:

Well that’s how she [his wife] knows she’s in her neighborhood, because of her decorated windows. She still decorates the windows. She does it every season. Won a lot of awards for the Southeast Association too for her decorations. She loves to do it. See this [the fall leaves and Disney jack-o-lantern lights] will be up for a few more weeks and then as soon as Halloween is over, it will come down and she’ll decorate for Thanksgiving. Then it’ll be Christmas. See that house across the street- he used to decorate his windows too and they’d try to beat each other out. He’d call up and say to my wife, ‘so why do I have my decorations up before you?’ [JTS: A little rivalry?] Yeah [laughing], but she loves to do it.

Sure enough, when I returned to his street in January, the windows were decorated with a Christmas theme. (See Figure 9.)
The creation of the screens is a social tie within the community— involving residents, artists, and business owners. Bill Kurek used to provide materials and space to produce them. He worked with Dee Herget, a screen artist who has a website link off The Painted Screen Society’s website and is frequently talked about as an active artist and teacher.

BK: If you’re interested in painted screens, write down the name Dee Herget. DEE HERGET, her husband was in the store yesterday….She’s a nice lady. I used to have ‘em here in the store. People used to come in and pick out the screens and she painted ‘em. Dee would paint ‘em. I would be like the middlemen. But it got to be a real, ah. The customer took too long. The place was too small. The family would come in to pick out the painted screens.

JTS: Did you sell the painted screens or did you sell the screen and then she would paint them for the people?
BK: I repaired their screens so they had new screen in them and then she painted them. ‘Cause you didn’t want to take an old screen and paint it.

There’s been new interest in the screens since the Painted Screen Society started to promote them, and there’s a desire to get new residents interested. An upcoming event, “Rowhouse Rembrandts: Celebrating Screen Painters & Urban Arts in Baltimore,” will be held in Fell’s Point and Highlandtown in May 2008. Elaine Eff recently told me, “The Rowhouse Rembrandts program is meant to develop connections to traditions with the community and also to imbue a sense of tradition to newcomers.” (See Figure 10.)
Ellen von Karajan, of the Preservation Society in Fell’s Point, is working with Eff on the program. She noted:

We walked around yesterday [in Fell’s Point] to try and find these Rowhouse Rembrandts and I got to thinking, ‘cause I was down in Highlandtown a couple of weeks ago, and I got to thinking, you know, well gee, you know there’s a way in

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Figure 10: Flyer: Rowhouse Rembrandts

which...if you want to find the painted screens and the marble steps there’s not the diversity there. But there’s that sense of the blockscapes. There’s something about, which I kind of love Highlandtown, there’s something about Highlandtown that is just quintessentially Baltimore. It’s so Baltimore. I mean it is our, they are our little, and they are not rich people’s houses. But that’s our suburb, that’s our working class, that’s the whole, you know homeownership for as many people as you could get it for.

The people of Southeast are aware of the places that preserve their heritage and help to define their overall community. This creates a unique sense of place that is local, urban, and historical. In Highlandtown and Canton, the difference between preserving the screens on houses in the neighborhood and as exhibits in a museum reflects a sense of where the heritage is held and a desire for preservation in place. The man I spoke to in front of his Highlandtown rowhouse was not aware of the exhibit at the AVAM. One woman I spoke to at the Highlandtown Farmers Market and ARTket expressed her feelings on the importance of keeping the tradition alive within the community. When we were talking about the screen painters who teach classes, she said:

I’ve actually tried to get him [a screen painter] to come here [to the market]. And Elaine, I told her, ‘bring [him] and come to the market. We can do a whole thing.’ But trying to schedule anything with them, is well….Elaine said that she wants to get the screens in a museum...I mean not just the Visionary, but a museum. It really needs to be here- in the neighborhood. It’s good she wants to get in the museum, but it really needs to be here. I think she’s planning to do something in March [in the neighborhood].

The last statement was a reference to the Rowhouse Rembrandts event to be held in May.

There is also an understanding of who the keepers of the tradition are. Classes are taught by master screen painters in community centers of Highlandtown and Canton. I signed up for a class hosted at the AVAM. The instructor was to be a self-taught screen
painter who believes that there is “no ‘right’ way to paint a screen.” Her screens clearly break from the traditional “R.B.” motif and expand into detailed scenes that she sells in shops and galleries around Baltimore. (See Figure 11.)

Figure 11: Advertisement: Screen Painting Class

80 Ibid.
Unfortunately, when I arrived at the museum on the day of the class, my kitchen screen in hand, I was told that the class had been cancelled. “Only three people signed up,” the clerk told me. Hoping to still talk to the artist, I went looking for her in the exhibit area after the clerk told me he saw her head in that direction. The docent in the exhibit area said to me, “I have some bad news.” “I know,” I said, “they told me the class was cancelled, but I hoped to talk to the artist.” He said, “She left already. They said only one person signed up.” Interesting, I thought, that the only person who showed up for the class was the researcher.

On the sliding scale of change, there is still a great deal of stability and local identity that is both expressed by those within the neighborhood, and recognized by those outside the community. Nobody I spoke to in Baltimore even blinked when I said I was studying painted screens. The only people unfamiliar with painted screens were those not native to Baltimore. Furthermore, the residents and business owners of Highlandtown visually express their unique neighborhood identities and immigrant roots by blending the forms of decorative window art (painted screens, decals, stained glass, and displays) with other expressions of community pride. For example, the addition of the Formstone façades on their homes in the 1950s-1960s\(^\text{81}\) showed that homeowners were committed to their neighborhoods. (See Figure 12.) The man in Highlandtown, and most of his neighbors, recently re-painted their Formstone, giving the block a sharp, fresh look. The continued care (and in some cases, re-application) of Formstone on Southeast rowhouses still indicates a pride of ownership and long-term residential make-up. Additionally, the

Southeast Community Development Corporation (CDC) has funded some improvements and purchased items for residents (such as exterior light fixtures) that improve the residential streetscape.

Figure 12: Application of Formstone Facade
In Highlandtown, Joe Di Pasquale said that the mural on the side of his store was an idea of the Southeast CDC. The mural, now about five years old, took two months to paint and was selected through a competition of local artists. He described the process:

They had some money allocated to do some things and that was one of the projects. I mean, we paid for it also, we kicked in. It was to help local artists too, so we had bids and ideas comin’ from local artists. And the guy across the street won. It was amazing, a lot of people that wanted to do the job, they drew some pencil sketches, and this guy did a full painting! I mean, I gave him the idea of what I wanted, and then he came up with this beautiful painting. I still have it. So this guy was really wantin’ the job and he was a local guy....It’s supposed to look like a scene in Italy, as you’re walking by. And we’re just in that scene....And it was the perfect situation. Because he used to come out when he felt like painting, and do it, work on it. And then he’d disappear for a day or two and then come back. It was pretty neat how he got inspiration or something....

Figure 13: Mural on Di Pasquale’s
This heritage of art and architecture, combined with livable, workable space for new artists and residents was recognized in 2005. The State of Maryland selected Highlandtown as an Arts and Entertainment District in recognition of the collaborative programs already offered, and because the “residential, commercial, and light industrial properties provide excellent housing, retail, and studio opportunities for artists, developers and entrepreneurs.”\(^\text{82}\) Former Mayor (now governor) Martin O’Malley said, “I’m proud that Highlandtown has become a haven for artists and arts activities.”\(^\text{83}\) In fact, Highlandtown has been a community of artists and entrepreneurs since before William Oktavec opened his grocery and painted his first screen in 1913.

From bounded descriptions of place, to place tied to existing businesses, architecture, and the continuing tradition of painted screens, we see authenticity and heritage defined by residents of Highlandtown and Canton. Heritage is preserved in maintained homes, streetscapes, and classes and displays of painted screens. It is found in the relationships that still exist between neighbors. City, state and federal preservation programs have also recognized the heritage of these neighborhoods through recent designations of historic districts and an Arts and Entertainment District. This adds a layer of designation, and a programmatic attempt at preservation, onto the living landscape of the neighborhoods.

\(^{83}\) Ibid.
PART 3: FELL’S POINT

In Fell’s Point, the streets are made of ballast. These are old stones. Cobblestones I thought, but was later told, clearly and by many Pointers, that they are not cobblestone. They are stones that were used as ballast for the ships that came to Fell’s Point in the 1800s. Later, after I had spent some time there, I came to feel that ballast streets were fitting for this community that continues to seek ways to stay put. The streets are angular, lined with old houses and storefronts and a few newer facades. Everything leads you to the water, where there is often a tug or water taxi pulling up or pulling away from the dock.

Opposite the waterfront, on the north side of Thames Street, is the Fell’s Point Visitor Center. It includes a maritime museum and is around the corner from the oldest house in Baltimore. All are run by the Preservation Society for Federal Hill and Fell’s Point, and one afternoon, I talked with the woman on duty. Though she wasn’t aware of the Baltimore Heritage Area, she was very familiar with the Authentic Baltimore program. The logo was on their flag outside and on a stand-up card on the counter. She told me, “So many people come in and they start at the harbor and they want something more. More community feel and more of the historical nature. And they love it. And we have so much heritage here- from when the Fell family founded this area until now really.”
Just then, a man rushed in and asked for batteries. While she was ringing up the sale, he apologized to us for being rude. He said, “I’m just trying to enjoy your beautiful city. I’m from Texas and we don’t have history like this there. We’re staying down on the other side of the harbor, I don’t even know what street, but we started walking and came here and we’re like wow!” The woman and I smiled and said we were just talking about that. He continued to tell us how they “tear down anything old and build something new” where he’s from and that this area “is so great.”

When the man re-joined his friends outside, I said, “Case in point?” “Yes,” she said, “that’s how we get a lot of our visitors. They start down at the harbor and make their way here.”

This section will introduce the neighborhood of Fell’s Point, including definitions of place by both locals and program managers. It reveals how residents and business owners express what is authentic about their community in terms that are relational and lineal. Here, heritage and authenticity are rooted in history and preserved in remaining and rehabilitated historical architecture, known and shared historical stories and official designations of historical place.
Figure 14: Fell’s Point Waterfront

Figure 15: The Robert Long House and Plaques
Fell’s Point is a waterfront community and historic port town. It is often described by its historic district boundaries, as on the Live Baltimore website. Their neighborhood map shows Fell’s Point bounded by Gough Street (north), the waterfront (south), and then roughly between Caroline (west) and Chester Streets (east). (Though the historic district’s west boundary is actually Eden Street.) (See Figure 5.) The city’s website defines the “Fells Point Area” including Butchers Hill, Fells Point and Upper Fells Point. On the Baltimore Visitor Center “City of Neighborhoods” map, Fell’s Point runs from Eden Street (west), Chester Street (east), the waterfront (south), and a line on the north running from Bank Street, to Bethel, to Pratt, to Regester, to Eastern Avenue. Some variation in description are seen in these boundary definitions as well. In some cases, Fell’s Point extends further north or west than in others. (See Figure 3.)

Ellen von Karajan, the Executive Director of The Preservation Society for Fell’s Point and Federal Hill described the connection between history and place:

What happened because there were, well because all the action in a sense was at Fort McHenry. I mean the ‘rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air,’ the Star Spangled Banner....Fell’s Point in the meantime...they didn’t say Fell’s Point, Fell’s Point was annexed by Baltimore town, so they never say Fell’s Point. But in fact it was our...privateers, and it was our schooners, and it was...the particular version of the Chesapeake Bay pilot schooner that was evolved here in Fell’s Point....And it was our sea captains who, because these schooners were dangerous little devils to sail. I mean how they won was they could just sail all around people and come up right underneath them and let ‘em have it. I mean... they weren’t big, they weren’t heavy, usually they didn’t carry the same number of guns, or anything else. So they just had to do it by being, you know, weatherly, fleet and yar. I mean they’d just come in and do it....I mean they literally had a blockade on all the British ports to the point where the merchants in England said ‘do something about all these renegade Americans, just get them out of our hair.’ ...And when it appeared in a British newspaper, ‘that den of pirates and thieves,’... they weren’t talking about the Inner, they were talking about this place called Fell’s Point. And Fell’s Point, which had this amazing community of free blacks, it had this amazing community of whites and slaves. It has this amazing number
of artisans that were highly specialized. It had this process of being able to build these vessels that just came from a history of having been built year after year after year, father to son. And then they knew just exactly how to refine them to get the result that they wanted....They gave them the dickens of a time. At a time when America had no respect on the high seas whatsoever. So all of this is wildly tied in with this story of this sort of ethnic...racial melting pot with our seafaring history. And with the kinds of people who lived and settled here, and with the fact that they kind of stayed together and galvanized....And there is still so much diversity here.

Figure 16: Fell’s Point Historic Sign

One soon learns that you can not talk about the heritage of Fell’s Point, or Southeast Baltimore, without talking about “the highway.” This is an example of the continuing galvanization of Fell’s Pointers to “defend” their space. “The highway,” refers to a 1967 proposal by the City of Baltimore to condemn houses along the waterfront in Federal Hill and Fell’s Point so that I-95 could be expanded, skirting Baltimore through its inner harbor area. As part of this plan, the city condemned some of
the oldest rowhouses in all of Baltimore (dating from the 18th and 19th centuries), and in some cases, began to tear them down to make room for the highway.  

Community activists joined together to oppose the highway and formed The Preservation Society for Federal Hill and Fell’s Point. For ten years, they opposed the construction of the highway and advocated for the preservation of the historic buildings within their community- and for the preservation of the community itself. They led the effort to document all of the buildings in Fell’s Point and, through their efforts, the Fell’s Point Historic District was designated in 1969. Local Fell’s Point architectural historian, Robert Eney, said, “Anne Parrish, who worked for Agnew, took the forms that we had filled out, she took it to Agnew and he sent them over to Dr. Garvey at the Department of the Interior. And in 3 days, we were on the National Register. And the City of Baltimore went crazy.”[Spiro Agnew was then the Governor of Maryland.]

In this case, the federal recognition and designation of the historic district acknowledged an authenticity that the community already felt - the buildings, and the history they held, were worth saving. Fell’s Point was more than “a slum” and held more identity than being “the foot of Broadway [Street].”

Language used to describe heritage preservation in Fell’s Point revolves around a feeling of contested space. The community has expressed, and continues to express, their sense of place in terms of threats, fights and battles. Victories are celebrated, losses mourned, and threats come in forms both human-generated and natural. Many talk about

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87 Ibid.: 51.
the impacts of Hurricane Isabel. An interpretive exhibit on Broadway Square (a community plaza at the end of Broadway Street) shows the waterfront businesses and a flooded Thames Street after the storm. Businesses along the waterfront can tell you exactly what was ruined in the storm and what has been replaced. It is heritage they can see, clean, restore, and continue to live in and make a living from. Authenticity is tangible and tied to the old. Heritage is history.

In reference to “the highway” time in Fell’s Point history, Pointers often quote Senator Barbara Mikulski with shouting, “The British couldn’t take Fell’s Point, the termites couldn’t take Fells Point, and the State Road Commission can’t take Fell’s Point.”

This tone, and respect for the “fight” in their Senator reflects the scrappy immigrant image of Fell’s Point, which has translated to a larger sense of a Baltimorean identity that continues to this day. Bill Pencek, former Director of the Baltimore Heritage Area (BHA) agreed and asked me if I had seen the news release from Senator Mikulski’s office about the bill being introduced for the Baltimore National Heritage Area. I hadn’t. “Oh, I have to show you! Let’s see if I have it.” He pulled it out and said, “You see what it says at the top. ‘Fight for…’” I read, “Fight for Baltimore Heritage Area.” “That’s right!,” he said. “Fight for!”

Fell’s Point was only the second National Historic District to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, which was created by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. By using the new legislation as a tool to challenge the city’s development plans, the community re-claimed their neighborhood and vernacular

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88 Ibid.: 95.
architecture and used an effective “naming” strategy to assert their sense of place. As historian Mary Ellen Hayward puts it:

A small group of citizens had opposed one of the country’s most powerful interest groups—the highway lobby—and won. The historic fabric of Baltimore’s earliest rowhouse neighborhoods had been saved. Perhaps more importantly, the fight had drawn attention to the value of the city’s historic waterfront and sparked its incipient renaissance.  

Figure 17: Fell’s Point Rowhouses and Streetscape

Once the highway was stopped, the Preservation Society and members of the community set about restoring the buildings of Fell’s Point and a small local company owned by the Struever brothers and Cobber Eccles did its first renovation, a block of

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rowhouses across the harbor in Federal Hill. By 1978 they had launched a major commercial revitalization project, renovating historic properties in the city.\textsuperscript{90}

With James Rouse as a new partner, Struever Bros. Eccles and Rouse, Inc. (SBER) has grown to be a major influence on the vernacular landscape of Fell’s Point and Canton through investment, rehabilitation of historic buildings and re-naming of place. Their mission is to “rebuild our cities, neighborhood by neighborhood.”\textsuperscript{91} Focusing on their ultimate goal, the “triple bottom line,” they seek to “positively impact three areas — profitability, people and the planet.”\textsuperscript{92} Their redevelopment includes pro-bono projects geared to specifically give something back to the community, from renovating school classrooms and libraries, to sponsoring public service days that provide millions of dollars to the communities.

Within the community, SBER is widely acknowledged for their renovations, and for what they give back. They also sit on the board of the Baltimore Heritage Area. Abbi Wicklein-Bayne, former BHA Heritage, Education, and Outreach Administrator said:

I mean they’re definitely the people who know what they’re doing in terms of, and have a passion for rehabbing old buildings, turning them into usable space. Using the tax credit programs, which is a big. They’re so confusing....It’s important that if you’re going to do these huge expensive projects that you take advantage of the incentives out there. And I think they’re one of the people who’ve figured out how to do that. I know that they sit on the heritage area board. And he’s won awards for adaptive reuse.

Jason Sullivan, Executive Director of the Fell’s Point Development Corporation and Main Street, noted that SBER is redeveloping Harbor Point in Fell’s Point, saying,

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
“There’s a number of big development projects...but we haven’t seen the development here to the extent or to the degree that Canton has. But it will happen.”

The next big SBER project in Fell’s Point is Harbor East, a $1 billion development beginning just east of the Inner Harbor and extending to South Caroline Street (which is a few blocks within the Fell’s Point Historic District). Harbor East will include 4 hotels, 650 residential units, 10 restaurants, a Whole Foods Market, and a Sylvan Learning Center. The first opening, the Four Seasons Hotel and Residences, will open in 2010.93

As a company, SBER had held a tremendous amount of influence on both the preservation of architecture and the shaping of place. Bill Kurek described a specific example of the work of SBER in Canton:

BK: Well now Natty Boh, you see the Natty Boh sign. That building was just about to fall right to the ground when Struever Brothers took it over and rehabbed that. You seen that Natty Boh head sticking up there? You gotta look up in the sky.

JTS: Yeah, yeah.

BK: Yeah, well that was Natty Boh. Struever Brothers, they’re the ones that did Tindeco, they did the Can Company. Struever Brothers took old buildings, they do it in every, they do it in a lot of cities. They take old factory type buildings and turn them into office apartments, whatever works. So they were a big deal because you gotta have back up, a lot of money to do...

JTS: To do those major rehabs.

BK: Yeah and make a buck out of it! You know, Brewers Hill is what they call right next to the brewery now. Nobody knew they lived in Brewers Hill until about a year ago when they put the Natty Boh sign up. Now the community got labeled Brewers Hill...because it’s the hill up here and it was two breweries…um National and Ashland Gunther started it...

93 Ibid.
Brewers Hill is a 27-acre redevelopment project that transformed two former breweries (the Gunther Brewery and the National Brewery, where “Natty Boh” and Colt...
45 were first brewed) into a mixed use space within Canton.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}} The company is aware of their influence on the community. The SBER website notes:

The current campus tenants have proven to be an engine for economic revitalization in Canton and act as a catalyst for developing the remaining phases of Brewers Hill. Brewers Hill is one of the last large former industrial landmarks in southeast Baltimore - a community that has been partly transformed by SBER’s revitalization efforts over the past decade. Brewers Hill will further expand the scope and impact of Baltimore’s east side as an engine of economic growth for the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}}

The implication here is that while preserving an old industrial space, the Brewers Hill development transformed a traditional place into something new and gave it a new name- thus separating it from the Canton of Kurek’s memory. Harbor Point in Fell’s Point also brings to mind a “new place” in the neighborhood. These names, adopted by new residents who live and work there, further separate the new from the traditional space via place naming.

Within the neighborhood, both the Fell’s Point Development Corporation and the Fell’s Point Preservation Society see the importance of place names. Jason Sullivan, with the Fell’s Point Development Corporation and Main Street, told me about two projects they’re working on with the BHA:

One is a Fell’s Point Heritage Walk, heritage trail....Heritage Walk would include 19 historic landmark sites in Fell’s Point. We’ve got the oldest residence in the city....The nice thing about it is that it would include interpretive signage in front of each location and Baltimore Heritage Area would sell tickets to the tours. I guess it would be guided, or unguided, self-guided tours....And the second project we’re working on is wayfinding signage. We’ve already identified 34 locations for wayfinding signage....Because right now, people come down, there’s no signage at all. There’s some vacancies. So, it’s almost embarrassing in a way.
You don’t want to bring people down and have them have a bad experience. So I think there’s certain things that need to be put into place before we really, you know market heavily.

Figure 19: Heritage Walk Interpretive Sign and Trail Markers at City Hall
Ellen von Karajan of the Preservation Society is also working with the BHA on a new brochure, and on the Heritage Walk. In addition, she has an idea for new signage in Fell’s Point that would help reflect a sense of heritage:

I think maybe they went to them and got partial funding for the Heritage Walk. Because see right now it’s so bad when people come here. Unless they go on one of our walking tours, there is so much. And you would just never know it. Never know it! So you wouldn’t know that this piece left over from the Revolutionary War and here’s where Betsy Bonaparte used to come to buy her embroidery thread. There’s just so much that you would never know.

...You know I have this whole notion of getting the old names on the old street signs, before, in some cases before the revolution, in some cases before the War of 1812, where this was really founded by Quakers from Britain and all the names were really British. And then they said, ‘well the heck with that.’ So names, we kept General Wolfe’s name...but other streets got completely renamed. So I’d love to have, underneath the existing street names, the old street names.

In addition to naming, events are another place-making tool used by residents of Fell’s Point. Events in the neighborhood bring tourists and tourist dollars to the city, but not necessarily to the businesses in the neighborhoods. This was expressed to me in both Highlandtown and Fell’s Point- both sites of recent festivals and some annual events. The events are a community social event, but as an economic generator, the feeling by some in the commercial district is that festival sponsors and the City gain more than local businesses. Streets get blocked off and other vendors are brought in. Some feel events have a “flash in the pan” effect with an influx of outside people, who may not necessarily return to the neighborhood to shop or visit after the event is done. One person in Highlandtown told me, “And they [business owners] don’t like events. Events don’t bring shoppers into the store.”
Here we see a distinction made within the community between festivals and events. Festivals are seen as reflections of the neighborhood and build the relational connection within the community. Events do not necessarily build those relationships. And in both the Highlandtown and Fell’s Point Main Street districts, it was expressed to me that events may hurt local businesses. In multilocal spaces, such as urban neighborhoods, festivals and events are space-claiming techniques that may clash among the varying groups. For example, the sponsor of the Fell’s Point Privateer Days, said:

It’s called Privateer Day to celebrate the privateers who ran the British blockade and helped to turn the tide of the War of 1812, and you know, eventually helped us to win the war. However, it’s loosely based on fact. It’s a lot of pirates.

In contrast, a local preservationist told me:

They basically say, a privateer was a pirate, end of story, so therefore our pirates are authentic to Fell’s Point. I mean we just rankle at that because...we feel that the history then of our people gets obscured and that we don’t have a chance to tell our heritage tourism story.

The Baltimore Heritage Area’s Authentic Baltimore program recognizes a difference as well. They define two types of heritage events. (See Appendix C.) An interpretive event is: “a staged activity which is designed to be educational. This includes activities such as craft demonstrations, first-person re-enactments, dramatizations, and living history.” Privateer Days may be an example of this type of event, though not all would agree. A traditional event is, “a commonplace activity whose importance is widely recognized by the geographic, social or cultural community that it represents.” The Preservation Society’s Fell’s Point Fun Fest reflects this type of event and has been designated as an Authentic Baltimore Event.
From its historical beginnings to community-driven efforts to stop a highway and re-claim their neighborhood, heritage has been preserved through action in Fell’s Point. The local sense of authenticity is historical and takes advantage of official designations to achieve heritage preservation. Program managers and community developers have taken notice and play an active role in the rehabilitation of historic industrial buildings for reuse. As new residents move into the neighborhood, Fell’s Pointers seek to both welcome and claim space through their signage and events. Place-making continues.
Bill Pencek’s office is quiet. It’s on the 9th floor of a new office building tucked between old facades in downtown Baltimore. Sunlight streamed in and warmed his office as he met me on a February holiday to discuss the creation of the Maryland Heritage Area Program, and in particular, the Baltimore Heritage Area. In my weeks in town talking with people associated with the early days of the heritage area, nearly everyone asked, “Have you talked with Bill yet?” He was then Deputy Director of the Maryland Historical Trust and became the first director of the Baltimore Heritage Area. He’s now the Director of Heritage and Cultural Tourism for the State of Maryland, and his personality quickly puts one at ease. He is charismatic. I began to understand why some have called him the “father of heritage areas” in Maryland.

We sat comfortably facing each other in front of his desk. A poster of the Orchard Street Church, a building rehabilitated by SBER, hung behind him on the wall. I asked him how a heritage area for Baltimore came to be. He told me about a “convergence” of a lot of initiatives happening at exactly the same time. That there was a “community recognition that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts in Baltimore.” He continued:

There was a real effort to get people here beyond the Inner Harbor. Inner Harbor is wonderful. Inner Harbor is the source of the great success that we’ve had here. But it was clear to Baltimoreans at all levels that tourism in Baltimore was more than the Inner Harbor, and that people liked us and visitors like Baltimore and
the Baltimore experience, you weren’t getting the complete Baltimore experience by any means by just visiting the Inner Harbor.

And so the plan was completed almost at the same time that BACVA had- boom, the light bulb had gone on big time, that the Mayor’s cultural tourism council- boom- and the arts community in Baltimore recognized it. That the planning agencies and the organizations like the Greater Baltimore Committee, which is sort of a regional coalition of big business in Baltimore, recognized that tourism is big and that there...really needed to be focused strategies to go out and do this.

So that’s, that’s really how it happened. And the heritage area program, I mean it was really sort of a statewide recognition, it was the culture of all those business, tourism, marketing, cultural heritage, product development, it was at different stages in different cultures in each part of the state, but in Baltimore, there was a great convergence.

This section describes how heritage program managers express what is authentic about the Baltimore neighborhoods and how they seek to preserve it. Authenticity is described through historical connection, interpretation, and readiness. Heritage is preserved through designations, community development, product development, and funding assistance for architectural improvements and cultural tourism. This section contrasts the perspective of the program manager with the local sense of authenticity, heritage and heritage preservation.

Figure 20: Authentic Baltimore Logo
Authenticity is a cultural resource of a sort to the city. It comes in many forms as defining features of Baltimore (Fort McHenry, the Inner Harbor, the Flag House, the City of Neighborhoods). Authenticity allows the city to showcase cultural diversity in terms of marketing both historical sites, and newer businesses. The “city of neighborhoods” softens the hard urban feel, projecting a feeling more like a collection of small towns. To combat the overall shrinking resident population, officials encourage people to live in Baltimore. According to the city census, the resident population has dropped from 905,759 in 1970 to 736,014 in 1990. Another drop to 651,154 in 2000 has somewhat stabilized in 2004 with a population of 641,943.\footnote{Live Baltimore Home Center. (2008). “Home Sales Statistics.” Retrieved March 21, 2008, from http://www.livebaltimore.com/nb/hs/} Efforts at revitalization and marketing, through organizations like Live in Baltimore, have succeeded in stemming the tide. Baltimore is changing its marketing strategy to market its best to itself. As Keith Losoya, the Executive Director of the Chesapeake Sustainable Business Alliance in Fell’s Point told me:

I remember, one of the funniest pieces of feedback I had, I ran a campaign, I ran for State Senate, lost, but it was a great experience....So I was knocking on doors and talking to folks and I guess I was perceived as like one of those newcomer, like yuppies, still use that term. And I remember the comment was, ‘what is it with yous yuppies? It used to be when you made it you left Baltimore and now all you guys are comin’ back here, what is it?’ And he was right! You know, traditionally, when you made it, you left the city. There was a flight from the city for decades. And you know, only in the past 10 to 15 years, did that trend reverse. So all of these things that we’re talking about, I would say are reasons for that trend reversing. And there’s a new value to the waterfront, when Jim Rouse did Harborplace and you know Fell’s Point and Federal Hill neighborhoods, people started appreciating the charm of these historic neighborhoods and the value of living here and working in the city.
With the revitalization of the Inner Harbor completed in the early 1980s with the opening of the Harborplace pavilions and the aquarium, Baltimore looked to expand its urban renewal efforts into the neighborhoods. Particularly within the last decade, Baltimore has sought new ways to recognize and highlight the traditions of its unique ethnic communities and draw the attention of the tourism industry to the city’s historical roots. Two major efforts were the establishment of the Baltimore Heritage Area and the Baltimore Main Streets program. (See Appendix A.)

First established as a state Recognized Heritage Area in 1997, the Baltimore City Heritage Area was created just a year after the creation of the state Maryland Heritage Area Authority (MHAA). To become a Recognized Heritage Area, the MHAA requires that certain criteria for organization, boundary definition, and the identification of cultural and natural resources are met, and that the heritage area can demonstrate that it expects to produce “new private investment, jobs and tourist revenues.” (A full list of criteria is found in Appendix B.)

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Figure 21: Map: Baltimore Heritage Area, 2001, Original Boundaries\(^98\)

After additional planning, public participation and the development of the first Management Action Plan, the MHAA granted Certified Heritage Area status to the Baltimore Heritage Area (BHA) in 2001. Designation as a state Certified Heritage Area (CHA) makes the heritage area eligible for funding (capped at $1 million per year until 2005 when the cap was raised to $3 million). Funding supports planning, design, interpretation, marketing, programming, and revitalization and reinvestment. In addition, state agencies are “required to coordinate with CHAs and take into consideration potential impacts of their actions on the heritage area’s resources.” This mirrors the requirement for federal agencies, under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (16 U.S.C. 470), to take into consideration “the effect of the undertaking on any district, site, building, structure, or object that is included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register [of Historic Places].”

The BHA noted that the heritage area “includes the heart of Baltimore—its central and oldest neighborhoods, downtown, and waterfront areas—and innumerable heritage, cultural, and natural resources.” The original boundary was recognized as having an Inner Harbor focus and included “portions of all local and National Register Historic Districts which were then, or believed to have the capacity in the next 5 to 10 year period, to attract and reward visitors.”

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100 Ibid.: 2.
101 Ibid.: 3.
102 National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended 1992
104 Ibid.
The BHA undertook an update to the management action plan in 2005. The BHA Board and Planning Committee decided to recommend a limited expansion of the boundary that would meet the criteria of a state certified heritage area and the approval of the MHAA. To that end, three expansions were proposed to include: Mount Auburn Cemetery (significant for its association with African American social history in Baltimore); Cylburn Arboretum (a nature preserve and city park); and the Middle Branch of the Patapsco River (which extended the southern boundary of the BHA to include all of the Middle Branch, the Locust Point peninsula and Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine).^{105} (See Figure 22.)

^{105} Ibid.: 7.
Figure 22: Map: Baltimore Heritage Area, 2005, Expanded Boundaries

During the year-long process, the BHA also developed a feasibility study for potential designation as a national heritage area. “A National Heritage Area designation,” it states, “would alert and welcome Americans to this significant historic place to learn how American identity came to be and evolve over time, heightening appreciation for the history and resources of Baltimore.”

A national heritage area is a “place designated by the United States Congress where natural, cultural, historic and recreational resources combine to form a cohesive, nationally-distinctive landscape arising from patterns of human activity shaped by geography.” The National Park Service (NPS) is the government agency that recommends national heritage areas to Congress and provides planning assistance to communities who wish to develop a national heritage area. However, national heritage areas are owned and managed by local communities— not the federal government. In seeking designation as a national heritage area, the Baltimore Heritage Area managers hope to capitalize on the mutual benefits a more formalized relationship with the National Park Service could provide. They feel that the most effective way to formalize this relationship is via designation as a national heritage area.

On April 12, 2007, Baltimore Mayor Sheila Dixon submitted the Feasibility Study for the Baltimore National Heritage Area to the National Park Service in the hopes that a national heritage area designation “will bring new recognition and technical and financial

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109 Ibid.
benefits to the natural, historical and cultural resources of the BHA.” With the support of the National Park Service for the feasibility study, the staff of the Baltimore Heritage Area (who are employees of the city, housed in the mayor’s office) worked with Maryland’s Congressional delegation on legislation to create a Baltimore National Heritage Area.\textsuperscript{112}

On February 7, 2008, the legislation to designate a Baltimore National Heritage Area was introduced into Congress. The bill (S. 2604) was introduced by Senator Barbara Mikulski and an identical bill (H.R. 5279) was introduced into the House.\textsuperscript{113} The news release from Senator Mikulski’s office noted that the designation would bring $10 million in federal funding over 15 years.\textsuperscript{114} Through the comments of the legislators, the news release also provides a glimpse of official recognition of heritage resources and the variety of expectations for a Baltimore National Heritage Area.

Senator Mikulski said:

I am proud to be from a city with such a rich heritage and culture as Baltimore...We need a federal investment to preserve Baltimore’s national treasures and Maryland’s historical integrity.

Congressman Albert Wynn said:

The City of Baltimore is an important part of our nation’s history and a central part of Maryland’s economic and maritime heritage. These designated neighborhoods embody the antiquity and spirit of Maryland.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{113} Baltimore National Heritage Area Act 2008 (Senate)
Finally, Congressman John Sarbanes noted, “This heritage area designation will link these resources together in a way that encourages more people to visit Baltimore.”

Awaiting NHA designation, the BHA remains a state heritage area working within the community. The sense that a community resource or event is “real” is important to heritage areas:

A commitment to authenticity is an overriding concern—without it the area may merely be marketing an imagined past, not telling a story through real resources that resonate now and into the future. Residents and visitors recognize the difference between a real, complete heritage experience and one that is contrived, even sanitized. Tourism experts agree: Visitors to heritage areas want the ‘real deal’.  

Through programs like Heritage Walk and Authentic Baltimore, the BHA sought to highlight the heritage resources of the BHA and expand its services and interpretation into the neighborhoods. The staff worked with the Baltimore Area Convention and Visitors Association (BACVA) to develop a trailhead for the Heritage Walk at the Baltimore Visitor Center. As Abbi Wicklein-Bayne, the former BHA Heritage, Education, and Outreach Administrator told me:

That’s one of the reasons that the name was changed from the Baltimore City Heritage Area to the Baltimore Heritage Area. Because when people think about coming to this area, they don’t necessarily think about going to Baltimore City, they’re going to Baltimore. They don’t know when they cross this line, let alone this line [referring to the BHA map]….As people are thinking about coming to this area, people are thinking about the whole area. You know the motto was always, ‘Beyond the Inner Harbor.’ The Inner Harbor gets ‘em here but how do we get ‘em outta the Harbor? …That was one of the thoughts, the ways...to do that. To get to use that trailhead was, here’s the hub, here’s the center, and then the spokes were the trails [going into the neighborhoods].

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Working with the communities and organizations in the heritage area, the BHA has packaged heritage for public consumption. As noted in the booklet, “Getting Started with Heritage Areas:”

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By enhancing the ‘product’ development of the heritage tourism industry, national heritage areas have clearly become key contributors to local and regional economies. Typically state and local tourism agencies focus on marketing and promotion while heritage area programs focus on enhancing the actual heritage resources and linking historic, cultural, and natural attractions….Heritage areas also assist sites and attractions to become visitor-ready with capital investments and improved interpretation. They create the necessary critical mass of heritage attractions so to tempt visitors to remain in a region for a longer time.\textsuperscript{117}

The Authentic Baltimore program is a product of this type. The Baltimore program was based on a similar program in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Bill Pencek described the creation of Authentic Baltimore, its intent, and how authenticity was expressed through the program:

What the Baltimore Heritage Area offered to the business community, is the Authentic Baltimore program. That was the invention, it wasn’t an invention, it was a steal from Lancaster County Pennsylvania. When Lancaster County planning agency and others found that Amish quilts were being made in Mainland China, there was a fear. So probably nearly 10 years ago, Lancaster County started...sort of an authentic Lancaster program. And doing some limited research, and Googling and all that kind of stuff, we couldn’t find any other place in the states that were doing anything like that. So, and I had seen evidence of that program...at some national conference or something like that where [a person from Lancaster’s] planning agency, had presented. So Abbi and I, Abbi had come on board as our education and outreach administrator at the Baltimore Heritage Area...we took the trip to Lancaster and put our own program together.

And as of now, there are 75 to 100 sites, services and events that have the Authentic Baltimore seal of approval….You don’t have to be in the heritage area strictly speaking to be authenticated. But it was the one thing that we could do to direct sort of consumer interest to these places or these services. We had big dreams for it. Actually, if you go to the BACVA website and look at attractions, and you’ll see they have – boom- Authentic Baltimore. They have integrated that into their programming. There are other restaurants, Henninger’s Tavern is one in Southeast Baltimore for example is an Authentic Baltimore restaurant. Or Atman’s Delicatessen is an Authentic Baltimore restaurant in Southeast Baltimore. The Preservation Society and the Fell’s Point Visitor Center is an

Authentic Baltimore service or site….so that was the way we attempted to reach out…..

A lot of the verbiage and the criteria, which I think are very good, was a direct steal from Lancaster. Um, it was not only in terms of the building or the site itself, does it need to be, a genuine historic site or building with integrity. But the business itself has to very much be of the place. And in addition, just being of the place is not enough. It has to have an interpretive or story-telling function sort of integral to the business. And that could be, in the case of an Atman’s Delicatessen, a placemat, or menu. You know you get a story with your pastrami sandwich. It’s that simple. It doesn’t even necessarily have to do, I don’t think there is anywhere in there a magic age limit, that you have to be in business 50 years or anything…I think it’s good. It is what it is. To a visitor, who is interested in that kind of thing, it’s another way to help them sort information.

(See Appendix C for the Authentic Baltimore Application, Guidelines and Definitions.) The BHA website further describes the goals and benefits of the program:

The Authentic Baltimore Initiative allows sites, services and events to apply for designation as part of the ‘Authentic Baltimore Experience.’ The designation allows visitors and local area residents alike to identify resources such as restaurants, hotels, museums and festivals that authentically convey the heritage of Baltimore….Certified resources are entitled to use the Authentic Baltimore logo in all advertising materials and are supplied their choice of window decals, banners or table top signs to use on site. When this logo is utilized on site and in promotions, it will enable visitors and area residents to determine places to visit, shop, eat and experience when they want to get in touch with the real Baltimore. The Heritage Area is partnering with the Baltimore Area Convention and Visitors Association as well as the Greater Baltimore Cultural Alliance to promote certified resources.\(^\text{118}\)

(See Figure 20.)

The Authentic Baltimore Program Definitions define an authentic resource as, “A site, service or event which reflects Baltimore’s heritage by retaining features which existed during its period of significance, and by demonstrating an association with

historic events, persons, architecture, engineering, or technology.”119 The program defines heritage as, “A legacy passed down from preceding generations. This legacy encompasses physical features and the cultural perspectives which define them. Elements of this inheritance include natural features, landscape, history, culture, art, architecture, religion, folklore, and other social systems.”120

One of the successes of this program was recently recognized. In 2007, the US Department of Education awarded the Baltimore City Public School System a three-year grant totaling nearly $1 million to fund “Teaching American History in Authentic Baltimore.”121 The program is a partnership between the BHA, the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, Towson University and the school system to develop lesson plans and create professional development programs for teachers. The scope ranges throughout the BHA and will include participation of 50 city museums and historic sites.

Fell’s Point and Canton contain several “authenticated” sites, services and events. Authentic sites include the Fell’s Point Visitor Center, the Baltimore Maritime Museum, and the Robert Long House and 18th Century Gardens. Authentic services range from dining at Henninger’s Tavern, joining a tour with the Fell’s Point Ghost Walk, taking a ride on the Ride the Ducks Baltimore City Tour and lodging at the Admiral Fell Inn. Artscape and the Fell’s Point Fun Festival are included in the listing for authentic events.

120 Ibid.
Yet when I looked for evidence of the Baltimore Heritage Area on the ground, it was hard to come by. There is not a brochure for the BHA and it is not specifically mentioned in the Baltimore Visitor Center. In fact, of those I spoke with, the only people who knew it by name were the people who helped to create it, or community program managers who were actively working with BHA staff on current projects. Bill Pencek explained:

That’s not surprising because we, the outreach of the heritage area was organizational outreach, not to individual businesses, or men and women on the street. And that’s largely because it is a product development initiative in tourism speak, it is not a marketing initiative. And so, the products…what the heritage area program offers…is grants and loans to non-profit organizations and local governments for product development. Capital improvements, education, outreach.
As a cooperative entity, the marketing piece of the BHA, including marketing their programs, generally falls to BACVA. I told Abbi Wicklein-Bayne that I had asked for information at the visitor center, and the gentleman said he knew of the BHA, directing me to a number of brochures including those for the Star Spangled Banner Trail and Heritage Walk. (See Figure 25.) She said that was always their goal:

AWB: Yeah, there isn’t a promotional piece for the heritage area...it’s much more about product development and promoting the products, than promoting itself. So like the History Alliance brochure, in a perfect world, what they would have said was, ‘no there’s no heritage area brochure, but here’s the History Alliance brochure, here’s the Star Spangled Trails brochure.’ But that’s why we’re doing volunteer training today, because we want to make sure we’re all on the same page.

JTS: Right. Product development and then promote the product. Which is why, you know, some people knew of Authentic Baltimore even though they hadn’t heard of the heritage area necessarily.

AWB: Right. And we really relied on BACVA as the marketing arm of the city to promote our products. I mean we bought ads in the BACVA Guide, that kind of thing....And being in the Mayor’s office was very helpful you know. Because when press releases come from the Mayor’s office, press will pick up on it. Like our Authentic Baltimore kick-off, we actually got a really nice article and the Mayor was there and everything. So that does help too.
There are Authentic Baltimore decals on the window at the Carroll Mansion and the Mount Clare House (outside of Southeast). In Fell’s Point, the visitor center has the logo on the flag and inside on the counter. (See Figure 24.) The Preservation Society

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uses the log in its marketing for their historic homes tour. (See Figure 26- note the small “Authentic Baltimore” logo in the lower left corner.) But the Authentic Baltimore program is minimally visible in Baltimore. Part of this limited visibility comes from a change (and loss) of staff at the BHA since the program was created. There is currently not a BHA employee dedicated to manage the program, and in fact, a recent click to their website showed that the links to the program’s applications were not currently active.

![Figure 26: Program: Historic Harbor House Tour of Fell’s Point](image)

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Jeffrey Buchheit, the current Director of the BHA explains:

Authentic Baltimore...when I read about Authentic Baltimore as a citizen of Baltimore and a person who loves history, I was like, ‘this is the coolest thing since sliced bread!’ I just thought it was awesome because when I travel, part of when you’re in a different city, what you want is that authentic experience. It’s the reason you’re there. You want to know what’s unique about that place. So that really spoke to me when I read about it….So that was the outside perspective. From the inside perspective, it’s a program that’s actually run by that outreach and education administrator….that position’s been vacant since last July I believe….So not a lot of activity in that program since last summer….

It’s a membership program. They pay a fee….The community was excited about it because I think their gut told them the same thing, me from the outside...you know it’s a good thing. I mean you’re basically telling the tourist, come here and have this crab cake at this place and that’s an authentic Baltimore experience.

I have spent no time, I had to prioritize when I came into the position and Authentic Baltimore landed here. But as we talk it out, I would think things like having BACVA at the table in the decision process [reviewing applications], I would think you know that would be a good thing. Because of course, they’re not gonna come into it caring so much about the history piece, and they may not care about the criteria as they should, but that’s the role that we would play here in the office. BACVA would be able to uniquely think strategically in terms of well, would having this event or this site be authentic, help cultural tourism in Baltimore. So I think they would come to the table I think with that piece.

Authenticity here is defined programmatically, for the benefit of the visitor. This is different than a local, internal authenticity that relates to neighbors and community. This difference, I believe, is another reason for the limited visibility of the program. Local business owners do see themselves as part of the community, but maybe not “authentic” as defined by the program. When asked, many businesses expressed the sentiment that an “Authentic Baltimore” designation wasn’t very valuable because they felt that they would continue to get business by simply remaining open as they have for decades. It also reflects, I believe, the difference between marketing to your neighbors,
thus reinforcing a relational sense of heritage (as we’ll explore later in the Buy Local campaign), versus marketing to tourists and reinforcing an outside sense of heritage (as in the Authentic Baltimore program).

The BHA is not the only designation in town. Many people were familiar with their community’s designation as a historic district, and even more were aware of being a designated Main Street. Sharon, at Hoehn’s Bakery in Highlandtown, told me that they had gotten Main Street designation a couple years ago. In Fell’s Point, the woman at the visitor center wasn’t aware of the Baltimore Heritage Area, but she told me about all of their other designations, “We’re on the National Register, the Fell’s Point Historic District. We’re a CHAP District….This is also a Main Street, which is a national program. If you’re a full-fledged Main Street you get funding.” Showing me their shopping bag, she noted, “There are several Main Streets in Baltimore.” (See Figure 27.)
I mentioned to Bill Pencek that people in the neighborhoods were very familiar with the Main Streets Program, and he said:

Absolutely. Yeah, because the heritage area program...there is not sort of the same network, it’s a different network of neighborhood-based partners for the heritage area than there is for the Main Streets program. Some of the folks are the same, but you know part of the Main Streets program is that each participating, designated Main Street gets support through the Main Streets program to have a...neighborhood-based Main Street director, and that does make all the difference in the world.

The Main Street program was developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{125} It uses a four point approach (organization, promotion, design, and economic restructuring) to develop a community-driven program to “revitalize older, traditional business districts throughout the United States.”\textsuperscript{126} Main Streets are tailored to the communities that seek designation through the National Trust and their local government. The Baltimore Main Street program was established in 2000. Bill Pencek described its creation:

The Main Street Program was...the first new program that Mayor O’Malley implemented and got excited about and saw implemented in his new administration....Because he had gone to Mayor school, soon after being elected, at Harvard. Met Mayor Menino, or knew of Mayor Menino, got a tour on the ground of the Main Streets Program there and thought, yeah, this is, we should replicate this in Baltimore. So, again, it’s another example of this convergence.... It’s about what’s authentic to our place. It’s about neighborhood business development. It’s about supplementing local businesses which support our neighborhoods with dollars that visitors can bring to help us in the slow time, or to just help supplement. And to keep feet on the sidewalks. So, that was going on very much at the same time and there was a terrific new Main Street Director.

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
The Baltimore Main Streets program resides in the Baltimore Development Corporation (BDC). The BDC is a non-profit corporation contracted with the City of Baltimore to provide economic development services within the city. The Baltimore Main Street program “provides customized support and public resources to designated neighborhood business districts.”

The Fell’s Point Main Street was established in 2003. The Highlandtown Main Street was established in 2004. (See Figures 28 and 29.) Both have recently hired new directors, and the management entity differs for each Main Street. The Fell’s Point Main Street is a “stand-alone” non-profit program run by the Fell’s Point Development Corporation. It is only one of two stand-alone Main Street programs in the city. All others, like the Highlandtown Main Street, are imbedded in other organizations. Highlandtown Main Street is a program of the Southeast CDC.

128 Ibid.
Figure 28: Map: Fell’s Point Main Street\textsuperscript{129}

The Baltimore Main Streets program is set to expand to include two new Main Streets in 2008. The BDC said that the expansion is “in response to communities throughout Baltimore showing interest in becoming a part of the program.”\(^\text{131}\) The program has not expanded since Highlandtown became a member in 2004.\(^\text{132}\) The Fell’s Point Main Street Director said that this expansion was a “big deal,” to increase the

\(^\text{130}\) Ibid.


\(^\text{132}\)
number of neighborhoods in the program, and to bring them on as full Main Streets, instead of affiliates, as Fell’s Point was originally:

We were lucky...they won’t have any more affiliate programs, and that’s what we were...which means, you get technical assistance, you can call ‘em up and get assistance through them [Baltimore Main Streets and the National Trust for Historic Preservation]. They’ll come out as well and provide some assistance. You have access to the façade improvement grant program, whereas now we actually...have those funds and disperse them. As an affiliate, you don’t disperse the funds, but you can still work and promote the program. So we were lucky I guess in 2006 to move to the full Main Street program. We were the last ones to move to full Main Street. So when they announced this [expansion] this year, I don’t think they’re going to be doing another expansion after this for some time.

In addition to the façade improvement grants available through the local Main Street programs, Main Streets also provide support and some marketing for new businesses. The Highlandtown Main Street Manager told me that she primarily works with businesses on improvements to the commercial district, “I focus a lot of time on aesthetic things, so that would be things that come under the design committee. Façade grant program. Greening.” She has also produced brochures to market the businesses within the Main Street, which actually extends several blocks above and below Eastern Avenue. (She told me that the map available on the website is slightly out of date.) (See Figure 30.)
The services provided by the Fells Point Development Corporation and Main Street include distributing grants of up to $3,000 for façade improvements to businesses. The Executive Director explained:

\[\text{Figure 30: Brochure: Highlandtown Main Street Shoppers Directory}\]^{133}

\[\text{Highlandtown Main Street. Highlandtown Shopper's Directory. Baltimore.}\]
We get $25,000 a year from Baltimore Main Streets and then I wrote a grant last year...we were awarded an additional $75,000 from the Maryland Department of Housing and Community Development, NBW- Neighborhood Business Works. So we have a good deal of money that we can offer businesses. So, whether or not a business goes through this program, any exterior work needs to go in front of the Preservation Society’s design review committee....If one of our clients that is going through this program goes in front of them, we offer pro-bono architectural services with a historic preservation architect. Most of the time, 99% of the time, if they go in with those plans from him, they shouldn’t have any issues with the design review committee.

The Main Street program puts an emphasis on commercial district revitalization within the context of historic preservation “in ways appropriate to today’s marketplace.”\textsuperscript{134} Through Main Streets, the National Trust for Historic Preservation advocates:

A return to community self-reliance, local empowerment, and the rebuilding of traditional commercial districts based on their unique assets: distinctive architecture, a pedestrian-friendly environment, personal service, local ownership, and a sense of community.\textsuperscript{135}

This sentiment is also expressed by the Buy Local campaign. Their goal, similar to the Main Street approach, is to develop local living economies, or self-sustaining neighborhoods. The Buy Local campaign is a program of the Chesapeake Sustainable Business Alliance. Keith Losoya, the Executive Director said:

You know we always try to say...we’re not so much anti-big box, or anti-chain, but just educating people that when they do spend their dollars at small, locally owned independent merchants, that more of those dollars goes back into their community. And if more goes back into the community, then...the economics then should improve. And the easiest example that I’ll throw out is that if you were to buy something at a Wal-Mart or a Best Buy, you know generally their

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid.
accounts are not local, their printing is not done local, and there’s lots of other ways that the money leaves your community. Whereas if you spend it at a local print shop, they have a small local accountant, so those dollars go to the accountant which goes back into your community. And of course, that printer was able to spend more money in their community. Ah, it’s funny because...when we started our program, one of the biggest forms of creative feedback that we received, criticism, was that you know you’re trying to do what has traditionally been one of the hardest things to do which is change people’s buying habits, or alter people’s buying habits. And our response has always been, you’re absolutely right.

Figure 31: Brochure: Buy Local

In the neighborhoods I walked through, “Buy Local” was the logo I saw most on the windows of businesses, and the cards were widely available. (See Figures 31 and 32.) I think it speaks not only to the strong marketing of this campaign, but to the roots of these traditionally working class neighborhoods. Though it has a more modern sensibility, “local living economy” is a tradition that stretches back to the 19th century roots of self-contained and self-supporting neighborhoods of Southeast. The program speaks in some ways to a sensibility the community already holds, and provides a larger marketing pool for their business.

Figure 32: Buy Local Decals on Stores, Fell’s Point
The Fell’s Point Development Corporation and Main Street has sponsored more than 15 businesses to become Buy Local members, and they have over 50 participating members. Jason Sullivan, the Executive Director, told me:

We have the most businesses of any other neighborhood that participate in Buy Local....I mean everything from like the hardware store, to the bike store, to variety stores, to all of these unique kinds of things to let people know, you can get everything you need right here in the neighborhood. You don’t need to go up to the county and Home Depot and whatever.

Joe Di Pasquale, of Di Pasquale’s (in Highlandtown since 1914),\(^\text{137}\) is a member of Buy Local and tries to support local businesses. He told me:

We use local vendors if that’s what you mean. Local bakers, we use local distributors. But you know, one of the keys to our niche is to have something that’s not around, something that’s not local. We are a specialized importer of specialty items that are difficult to find everywhere else. But we buy, in season of course, from local farmers if that’s what they mean. We outsource our pasta products, they make our breads…some of the breads. There’s not exactly cheese makers in the area, or prosciutto makers, or wine makers….But we definitely use local non-product services, such as all our printing and counting. And what else is there around here… law offices, our lawyers are right here. Banking obviously and we have a local coffee maker….And we try to, if they have a...good quality product that’s made locally, we try to support it.

There is no doubt that a primary purpose of designations like historic districts, Main Streets, and heritage areas is to build a connection to greater funding and resources, which in turn support preservation. With all of the other existing designations, including an existing state certified heritage area, I asked Bill Pencek why create a Baltimore National Heritage Area? He replied:

BK: I mean two reasons. I’m too old and have been in this business too long, I mean there’s two reasons for doing it. One, the money and it’s not a fortune. But in the kind of business we’re in, up to a million dollars a year to do this stuff is huge. It’s huge. Um, so one, the money. Two, the recognition. Before you leave I’ll give you the little case statement for Baltimore National Heritage Area that I used to support the grant applications as I went around trying to raise the $120,000 to do the national heritage area feasibility study with the local foundations. At the core of that case statement is that when you look at the four other cities in our leisure travel competitive set- Washington, Philadelphia, New York and Boston- when you look at the investment coming in the cultural heritage product in the five cities, including Baltimore, from the National Park system annually to support our national cultural heritage resource base, Baltimore, it’s obscene. I will use that word. It is obscene. On a pie chart, and it’s in the case statement, Baltimore is like nearly invisible. Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Boston…

JTS: Investment, in the pie chart of cultural heritage tourism, is that a pie chart of money going in or a pie chart of tourism dollars?

BP: That was a pie chart, and it’s dated now ‘cause I think it was federal fiscal year ’04. But it was the annual operating budgets for national park units in each of those respective cities. In Baltimore, the only national park unit is Fort McHenry. In FY04, $1.7 million was their operating budget. You can imagine in DC. You can imagine in Philadelphia with Independence. You can imagine in Boston with everything with Boston Islands, blah, blah, blah. And New York. I mean this is where, I am a native and this is where this local, the native-ism, the parochialism steps in. It ain’t because we don’t got the goods! And it ain’t because we don’t have incredible national heritage stories to tell. It’s just because we never asked. We never found our voice to go to Congress to petition for the money. So if you read the national heritage area feasibility study, not only is the strategy recommended in there to go for national heritage area designation, now, because that’s what politically and otherwise we can reasonably think that we could get; but it’s to expand Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine to include...non-federally owned thematically, directly related resources. Like the Historical Society, and Patterson Park, and the Battle Monument, and the Flag House, and I could go on....

So why go for National Heritage Area? The money. Not a fortune, but I’ll take it. And the recognition. And getting into the, you know having that seal of approval that we are a destination of national significance and substance. No questions asked.
Pencek’s case statement and pie chart, prepared from the fiscal year 2004 NPS operating funds, show investments made in NPS park units in Baltimore as compared to the cities of Baltimore’s leisure travel competitive set. In millions of dollars of NPS operating funds, Boston receives $9.3, New York, $43.2, Philadelphia $21.8, Washington DC, $45.5 and Baltimore, $1.7.\(^{138}\) It notes that tourism is the third largest employer in Baltimore, and growing. The rationale for seeking designation as a national heritage area is clearly stated, using these numbers as support, “Baltimore will continue to suffer an extreme competitive disadvantage in the cultural heritage tourism marketplace, especially when measured against our leisure travel competitive set…unless we establish deeper partnerships with the National Park Service (NPS).”\(^{139}\)

In addition to program investment through direct federal funding, the tourism dollar is a huge draw for heritage areas. The Alliance of National Heritage Areas, a coalition of designated national heritage areas, measured the tourism spending in five national heritage areas and extrapolated the economic impact to the local economies included within national heritage areas.\(^{140}\) They estimate that visitors to the entire network of national heritage areas generated $8.5 billion in direct and indirect sales in 2004-2005. The sales supported more than 152,300 jobs which paid $3.2 billion in wages and salaries. For the five national heritage areas included in the study, the total direct and indirect value added to the community as a result of heritage tourism (including personal income, profits and rents, and indirect business taxes) was more than


\(^{139}\) Ibid.

\(^{140}\) Alliance of National Heritage Areas (2005). Economic Impact of Heritage Tourism Spending, Alliance of National Heritage Areas.
$5 billion. The study noted that most of the tourist spending “tends to occur at hotels, restaurants, amusements, and retail shops.”

This is a big incentive not only to draw tourists to the local economy, but also to encourage them to make purchases through local businesses. The Buy Local campaign estimates that for every $100 spent at locally owned businesses, $32 leaves the local economy (through supplies and imports) and $68 remains. In relation to the numbers above, city and local preservation program managers see that the creation of a Baltimore National Heritage Area could potentially generate billions of dollars of investment in local businesses through tourism. (For perspectives on what may come next if the Baltimore National Heritage Area is established, see Appendix D.)

These programs were designed, and are administered, with economy in mind, but also with a genuine feeling of care. There is a real desire by program managers to make other Baltimoreans aware of the “jewels we have right here,” and to draw people to the neighborhood commercial districts. Authenticity is preserved in active local economies.

Folklorist Shalom Stab notes that authenticity is a “construct of our intellectual, social, and political experience, although having created the category, we then write ourselves out of the picture.” The audience for authenticity is the outsider. So how do the local and programmatic definitions of authenticity compare? Between the lines of personal expressions of place, we see that authenticity and community identity in this urban ethnoscape are bound both in personal perceptions and public definition.

141 Ibid.
Authenticity in the neighborhoods is defined as genuine, consistent, and historical. It is “real” - such as the rough and tumble neighborhoods (now undergoing a change through revitalization), even when they are in a tenuous state. (For example, the neighborhood north of Highlandtown where Oktavec first painted screens is now facing abandonment of homes, drugs, and loss, just blocks away from an area where multiple blocks of rowhouses have been torn down for new development. When I drove through the neighborhood in January, the church sign across the street from Octave’s former grocery said “Have a safe and drug free new year.”) “Authentic” includes old parts of the neighborhood or “historical” places or businesses that have just been around for a long time. Authenticity is often characterized by personal connections, and heritage is memory. As Sharon Hoehn told me, “You gotta go to Matthew’s. My grandfather sold them their first table. And he said, ‘now how’s anyone ever gonna make it selling pizzas?’” “But they’re still there?” I asked. She replied, “They’re still there. Just like us, hanging on with our fingers.”

Locals recognize the programmatic and “marketing” side of authenticity, but it does not necessarily equate with the authentic heritage held in their memory. Their neighborhoods are changing. Instead, an outsider definition of “authentic” might be applied to many places. The following conversation took place in Kurek’s Hardware with Bill Kurek and his sister-in-law, Susan Thompson:

JTS: So, let’s say they came down here and they said Authentic Baltimore. We’re looking for an authentic Baltimore spot…

ST: Marble steps.

JTS: Marble steps. Do you see yourself as fitting into that?
BK: Nope. Not this neighborhood. That was always the thing, brick rowhouses, now they’re called townhouses- excuuuse me.

ST: Well my neighbor told me that when he bought his home it was a rowhome. Then it became a townhome. And now he found out he lives in a condominium.

BK: It was always the marble steps and the brick rowhouses. Philadelphia’s the same way. Philadelphia and Baltimore are really close. If you had a hangover and you woke up in Philly, in one of Philly’s neighborhoods, you’d think you were still in Baltimore. Cause it’s about the same.

Yet authenticity is also historical and in some neighborhoods, like Fell’s Point, the marketing lines up with a very real sense of preservation, i.e. designation as a National Historic District saved their community from the highway. It’s authenticity defined as the oldest, the first, the last, the remaining—superlatives that define space in amplified terms of place under threat. This is the “good fight” scenario to authenticity, which is both felt and an engaging story for public interpretation.

When preserving architecture is the foundation for heritage preservation, keeping the facades intact, or restoring them, holds the landscape in place even if the use and population change. Painted screens are an example of community identity that is intact and tied to the architecture of place. Where rowhouses, marble steps, and painted screens are found, this is recognized as the quintessential image of Baltimore. It is a local identity that has been adopted to represent the city—an ethnic, working class background with a neighborhood identity that reflects an authentic Baltimore. Though Canton is within the BHA, and Highlandtown is not, nearly everyone, residents and program managers alike, stated that both neighborhoods are “truly authentic.”
The majority of the participants in the Authentic Baltimore program see heritage as history. And many already belong to other coalitions (such as the Greater Baltimore Heritage Alliance). Yet among those who participate in the Authentic Baltimore program, the most common phrase I heard was, “We’re a designated Authentic Baltimore site, whatever that means.” Many people expressed to me that there were other ways of designating “real” places, such as being listed as a local historic landmark or being listed on the National Register. The impact of the Authentic Baltimore program, they felt, was its potential as a marketing tool. And in that venue, reactions were mixed. Some said they thought it helped outsiders (and potentially new residents) to “weed through” the bulk of information available about the city. Others said they thought it was more well-known locally but that visitors “didn’t get it.” One Fell’s Pointer expressed a concern that it may not get at the true historical stories of a place.

“Awareness” and “readiness” are linked in ways that are important to heritage preservationists, i.e. when a community is aware of its heritage, it is a step closer to being ready (for visitors). One preservationist expressed a sentiment I heard frequently about the potential designation of a National Heritage Area for Baltimore:

They’ve got a new study that they’ve undertaken that’s in process right now regarding having the national heritage designation in place because, I mean...he’ll tell you and I’ll tell you, and I guess most of the people who are in the actual heritage, cultural heritage organizations, I mean, we’ve got every bit as much as Boston or Philadelphia and absolutely no, even city-wide, our citizens don’t have a recognition of it. And of course we certainly don’t have that reputation when it comes to the cultural heritage tourism marketplace.

Awareness gives people a voice to talk about those places and stories that are significant to them. Once the authenticity is vocalized, it can be packaged, designated,
marketed and the community made ready to enjoy the benefits of tourism from people who will pay to experience the authentic heritage. Architectural heritage (that retains integrity and contributes to the historic district designations) can be restored and renovated, enjoying investment dollars for those who want to rehabilitate and use the space, thereby contributing to and taking advantage of the unique historical space. But these concepts are not necessarily linked for those whom heritage is relational.

Programs like Authentic Baltimore intend to help visitors and locals “weed through” the mass of marketing to find authentic sites, services and events that reflect Baltimore’s heritage. The program required a great deal of effort on the part of the BHA staff to encourage and assist potential applicants to package their story into an interpretive product accessible to visitors. I believe that part of the reason that the program required work and encouragement within the community is because long-time business owners and residents see themselves as “footholds” and “landmarks” of the community, but not necessarily “authentic” in programmatic terms. The program has an uncomfortable label. Those who are most encouraged by this program are those who are in the business of making Baltimore visitor-ready and see its potential as a fine marketing tool. Thus, the program gains participants who are interested in the marketing aspects and will self-identify as authentic; but does not gain (without a lot of effort on the part of the BHA staff) those long term neighborhood businesses who would tend not to self-identify as authentic. Instead, they gravitate to programs like Buy Local and Main Street.

The report “Getting Started with Heritage Areas” states:

The advocates for heritage areas seek to ensure that the past remains part of the living fabric of the community. Their goal is not so much to create a region pock-
marked with parks, historic districts, individual landmarks, and natural areas as to nurture a landscape, protected in large part by a shared conservation ethic, where heritage is a key tool for cultural, educational, and economic development. Although defined by boundaries, albeit fluid, heritage areas do not possess or manage large swaths of land; their regulatory functions in most cases are nil—the good they achieve comes from creating meaningful locally-driven conservation, recreation, education, and tourism projects that rely on interlocking, reciprocal partnerships to achieve success.\(^{144}\)

So we find national historic districts, heritage areas, Main Streets, Buy Local and Authentic Baltimore programs in Southeast Baltimore. In this urban setting, the designations are created in a political realm often separated from the residential realm. Though, once designated, there is the potential for direct economic benefits (in the form of capital improvement grants) to residents within the recognized and targeted areas. By their connectedness to each other and local, state and federal funding, the managers of these designated spaces continue to operate in a vernacular political realm, bound together by economy as much as heritage preservation. Within this political-residential space, local and programmatic definitions of authenticity, heritage and heritage preservation sometimes intersect to create unintended consequences.

“You’ve got eight minutes.” Sharon, the third generation to operate Hoehn’s Bakery in Highlandtown took a quick break on a cool Friday morning to talk with me about her business and her neighborhood. When I opened the bakery door that morning, it was to the smell of sweet rolls and coffee. I told the clerk it looked like this bakery had been here awhile. “Oh yes,” she said, “it should be a landmark!” On the corner of Bank and Rutland Streets, Hoehn’s Bakery has been tucked into its corner store since before the streets were paved (as documented by black and white family photos on the back wall). Sharon showed me the photo of her grandfather, younger in the photo, with a large wedding cake in front of the bakery when Bank Street was still a dirt road in the 1930s. There was her young aunt and uncle on top of a car riding in the “Tom Thumb” parade along Bank Street. The business is celebrating 80 years in the community this year she told me. She is a part of her neighborhood and feels connected to other businesses that “are still hanging on.”

I asked if she had heard about the heritage area. She hadn’t. When I said that it was an effort to highlight things that reflect Baltimore and showed her the BHA map, she exclaimed, “We’re getting screwed! They never tell us anything, but we don’t get out much. But there’s still a lot of us around.” Then she gave me the names of several
businesses, saying that I should talk to them. She said that business wasn’t as good as it
used to be:

SH: Eastern Avenue doesn’t provide as many real draws as it used to. But
they’re trying to make our new shtick a melting pot. When Patterson Park
changed to the Creative Alliance, they tried to get a new shtick, you know
like Hampden’s shtick is ‘Hey Hon.’ Well ours was ‘Salsa-polka-looza’
because we have a lot of Latin American, an influx of Latin American
people, and still a lot of the old Polish families here too. So they thought
they would try this ‘melting pot.’ They do a lot, the Creative Alliance.

JTS: And who are they?

SH: They’re a bunch of artists.

Given our understanding of how authenticity, heritage and appropriate methods of
heritage preservation are defined by locals and program managers, this section will
explore the unintended results of interaction between them. There are four main areas for
reflection. The first is confusion or unawareness of the different designations and
programs. The second, based on the issue of official recognition, is differential access to
economic support for Highlandtown as compared to Canton and Fell’s Point. The third is
the reaction to the changing neighborhood demographic. The final unintended
consequence is the inclusion of Canton and Fell’s Point in the Baltimore Heritage Area
and exclusion of Highlandtown. This section concludes with the reactions of local
residents and business owners to this perceived change of place.
As I spent time in the neighborhoods, I began to see how people who held differing senses of authenticity, heritage and heritage preservation moved within the community and reacted to one another. As a truly multilocal space, the people of Southeast and the program managers associated with it do operate within their own senses of place. They each try their own methods of preservation (from preserving

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relationships to preserving place through designations) by choosing from what is familiar to them. An unintended consequence of the variety of designations and programs however, is a level of unawareness or confusion felt by nearly everyone.

I asked local residents, business owners, and preservation program managers what they thought about all the different designations in play. While they were well aware of their own definitions of place and heritage, they had varied awareness or interest in the super-spatial designations of historic districts, Main Streets, or heritage areas.

Residents and business owners told me:

“[The Baltimore Heritage Area] I don’t know what that is. Never heard of it. Is that, our new mayor do that,” Bill Kurek.

Robert McClintock, a Fell’s Point gallery owner, said he was kind of surprised he hadn’t heard about the Baltimore Heritage Area or the Authentic Baltimore program. “I’m involved, very involved in the community,” he said. “But just because I don’t know about it doesn’t mean that…well, maybe it does.”

Sharon Hoehn was not aware of the BHA, or the Authentic Baltimore program saying, “They never tell us anything!” She is a member of the Buy Local program, which she said is used “by those of us who are still hanging on.”

Preservation and community development program managers told me:

“Yeah. I’ve thought about it quite a bit actually.” Bill Pencek, now Director of Heritage and Cultural Tourism for the State of Maryland, continued:

Not only sort of at the local level, but at the state level too, because all of these city, local programs that you’ve mentioned are the local chapter program of state programs. And we’ve actually focused a bit on it...[I’ve been asked] to work with state agencies across the board and to try to get a better handle on, are we
being efficient in our investments of the limited state resources. Are our programs coordinating and communicating well enough?

Back in, I think it was in October, we convened a meeting down in Annapolis with about ten different state agencies which do this stuff….Coming out of that meeting...the consensus really is that, yeah, we do pretty well in Maryland. Maybe it’s because we’re a small state, relatively speaking. Maybe it’s because in our funding decisions, in our advisory committees and board structures and all of that, it’s all the same people anyway involved in these decision meetings….So I guess your question is, is this any way to run an airline? Is this the most efficient way to run an airline? And I mean I think it is until we’re all omniscient and it’s just like one big brain. Because um, the Hoehn’s Bakery is a perfect example. Yeah, you might not catch Hoehn’s Bakery in the Arts and Entertainment District emphasis or in the heritage area target investment zone emphasis, or in the historic district emphasis, but you catch them in the Main Street program.

Jeffrey Buchheit, current Director of the BHA, clarifying that he’s giving me the “60-day in” perspective and that his answers are right on the edge of asking a person on the street, said:

There’s no way anybody out there understands it all. I mean having to ah…I can’t believe this is on and you’re recording this! But um, there’s no way anybody can make any sense of it. I think the whole thing is kind of crazy. I mean if we can’t understand it when we’re in the business, how in the world does the owner of that bakery in Highlandtown make any sense of you know, is that building a landmark? Should it be on the National Register? Where do I go for my tax credits? Am I part of the heritage area? Am I part of a byway? I don’t know. I mean, that’s the piece of the heritage thing...that I’m still quite honestly uncomfortable with because I just...at the end of the day, what is the purpose of all this?

Abbi Wicklein-Bayne, former BHA staff and currently the manager of a small Baltimore museum and the Greater Baltimore History Alliance (GBHA) said:

You know I think probably the thing we all fall into is that we’re all hittin’ the same people....You know I felt kind of bad when I went around, the initial round of applicants [for Authentic Baltimore] and then when I did my site visits after that, I would say to people, ‘I don’t want this program to become one of those
...And there’s only so many dues money that people have out there to pay. You know one of the partnerships that the History Alliance does is that we have a joint membership with the Greater Baltimore Cultural Alliance… But you’re right, there are too many organizations out there, BACVA, BOPA, GBHA, BHA, that I think people have trouble keeping it straight. ‘Cause it is the same people. It was kind of funny, because here I am managing the History Alliance, going out and hitting the same people up for Authentic Baltimore. Then the same people on Heritage Walk, so um. But you know, nobody seemed confused or on overload really. And it’s good that it all comes out of the heritage area because at least if there’s a question or something like that, people know where to go.

...well maybe it was a little confusing when I was calling them about History Alliance, Heritage Walk, and Authentic Baltimore. I mean, everybody seemed to keep it straight, but I’m sure there were some internal rumblings. Who knows, I mean I don’t have any evidence of that. But after awhile, some of the people on Heritage Walk did have to kind of pick and choose what they were going to do because they’re like here. Staff. I mean we have one full time person....You get into all these programs and it’s like, wait a minute. We can’t do it!

The Highlandtown Main Street Manager was aware of the Heritage Area designation by the National Park Service, but was not aware of the state or city heritage area program. She was aware of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown Historic District and noted that the part of the Main Street District southeast of Conkling was not in the National Register Historic District. She thought that the layers of designation might be confusing and feels that the Main Street Manager needs to work with businesses saying, “The thing that gets business owners on board is when they see change.”

The Executive Director of the Fells Point Development Corporation and Main Street uses the multiple designations to the advantage of the community. He would like to see Fell’s Point designated as a Preserve America Community, which would bring
additional money to promote cultural tourism. He would also like to see Fell’s Point designated as a Healthy Neighborhood. He acknowledged:

Well it could be confusing. There are people like, I don’t know…the local person on the street probably doesn’t know that we’re a heritage area. They’ll know when they see the signage that’s gonna go up….They might not be aware of where the money’s coming from. But, you know, until something happens, what does it mean to them? Until they see some effect of it. But the fact that we are a heritage area, and the fact we, being a staffed organization, I can meet with [the BHA], I’ve been meeting with the designers that are working on this signage and help follow through with the project. Whereas if I wasn’t here, it would be up to [the Preservation Society]…But we’re the only two staffed, well I shouldn’t say that, there’s EBLOs here, they’re education-based Latino outreach…But in terms of community development, we’re the only two staffed organizations. And if we weren’t here, it would be up to volunteers to kind of keep up to date on what’s going on and yeah, what all the designations really are.

A member of the Fells Point Preservation Society summarized her feelings this way, “We are trying so hard to preserve our heritage. That’s why the Baltimore heritage programs are so important, because they allow us to advertise more about that heritage….Now they’re trying landmarking to preserve it.”

Keith Losoya, the Executive Director of the Chesapeake Sustainable Business Alliance, which manages the Buy Local campaign, had not heard of the BHA, but was aware of the Authentic Baltimore program and is a “strategic partner” with the Main Street program and the city. His program supports local businesses, and he felt the Authentic Baltimore program also provided support for “goods manufactured here.”

Losoya also sits on the board of the Preservation Society for Federal Hill and Fell’s Point. He sees a connection between the efforts of Buy Local and the Preservation Society saying, “If businesses are able to survive, it supports the local architecture.” But he does recognize that the layers of designation, and the layers of control, are confusing.
We talked about the impacts and the awareness of these aspects of heritage preservation within the community:

KL: You have National Register Historic Districts, and when it becomes CHAP, they go through the whole district and you have to identify what is contributing and what is not. Usually a non-contributing property is 1960s-70s. They keep on raising the bar because 50 years or whatever makes it historic. But the no-brainers are those 17, 1800s and early 1900s architecture that we want to preserve. Yeah, I’m not saying it’s right. There’s so many layers of zoning here and it’s very confusing for developers and citizens and all that. But it’s Baltimore and it’s the way we’ve developed. There’s probably other cities that have done it better, but you know.

JTS: Do you find yourself answering a lot of questions, you know from residents who want to do something with their building...

KL: Yeah, the Preservation Society has played that role, the neighborhood associations had played that role....And you always hope that the system works. But sometimes, somebody can be given a variance down at zoning at a hearing and they think that they can build something and they really can’t. You know, because sometimes zoning didn’t know, I’ve had the case where the zoning department didn’t know...this place was part of a URO [Urban Renewal Ordinance]. So they allowed some height increase or whatever and they couldn’t do it. So, unfortunately there’s been more conflict than synergy. But Baltimore City, they’re rezoning the whole thing, re-master planning. Hopefully all that will get easier.

JTS: The conflict because of the layers and just a confusing system.

KL: Yeah, you know when it works right...you’ve got your city zoning code and it’s codified and everybody understands it and they know what they can do and what they can’t do. But a lot of times, people will look at the city zoning code and they don’t realize there’s another layer called an Urban Renewal Ordinance or a CHAP Historic District. So hopefully when they revamp the whole zoning code, all that will be very clear, the housing department will know what’s going on. The planning department will know what’s going on. And nobody’s confused. You know I can’t blame some residents that try to do stuff with their homes and found out they couldn’t. Or some developers that try to do stuff because the code is very confusing with all the layers.

JTS: Yeah. It’s a lot to keep track of. Do you think people understand the multiple designations and the reason for them?
KL: You know your average resident, there’s probably not a lot of understanding. You know they just, I think they understand that they benefit from these, that things don’t just happen. That they happen for a reason. And you go into Federal Hill and there’s been a lot of preservation initiatives that have been done there and you don’t see like big glass buildings in the middle of the block, or you know, unwelcome night clubs or strip joints or whatever. It’s all, you know I think they understand there’s a reason for this, but it takes a lot to really embrace. Like we were saying, it’s all these layers. Whether it’s the watersheds or the heritage areas or whatever, I’m sure that everybody wants to educate people, let them know why these things happen. But it’s still a lot for your average person on the street to wrap their arms around. So, what you do is try to introduce these things in these light sort of formats like these programs or whatever. And then everybody retains, or soaks it in at their own level.

Based on different levels of official recognition, designations, and the ability to draw attention for investment, we see a second result of preserving heritage in real time—a discrepancy in economic investment within and between neighborhoods. This is a source of interest, conflict and money within the communities of Southeast.

For example, the BACVA website includes several ready-made travel itineraries. Those for the Baltimore neighborhoods include Canton, Fells Point and Patterson Park, though Highlandtown is not included. Their Quick Guide invites visitors to explore the city and its dynamic neighborhoods noting, “With $11 billion in development taking place all over town, we’re proud to offer visitors inviting hotels, new and diverse attractions and restaurants to suit every palate.” The neighborhood sections describe Fell’s Point (“a spirited waterfront community in perpetual celebration of Baltimore’s British nautical roots”) and Canton (“a charming blue-collar neighborhood...with the nearly lost Baltimore art form of the painted screen...and rows of

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classic marble stoops on block after block of traditional Baltimore brick and Formstone row houses"). Highlandtown, however, is not included in the BACVA marketing.

Highlandtown has also not drawn the attention of investors for large scale rehabilitation projects within their community, though the list is long for projects by Struever Bros. Eccles and Rouse (SBER) in Southeast. SBER has invested over $2.5 billion in private investment and planning in Fell’s Point over the past 15 years. The Bond Street Wharf, the Bagby furniture building, townhomes at Bond Street Wharf and Caroline Street, the promenade, historic structures on Thames Street, and the Fredrick Douglas Isaac Myers Maritime Museum were all SBER projects.

In addition to the recent projects at Brewers Hill, SBER has also renovated Canton’s historical industrial space into large scale mixed-use business and residential complexes. Over the past 20 years, they have invested over $59 million into the structural framework of this community. The historic Tin Decorating Company became Tindeco Wharf. An addition on an existing structure created condominium living at Canton Cove. And the historic American Can Company was transformed into the world headquarters for DAP (manufacturer of sealants and adhesives) and numerous other retail businesses and restaurants. The oldest building in the Can Company was constructed in 1895. Listed on the National Register, the complex was documented by

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149 Ibid.
150 Ibid.

The Can Company demonstrates that historic preservation and economic development are not mutually exclusive. Rather, The Can Company shows that historic preservation can create a dynamic and unique community center, and that a historic symbol of the industrial past can become a new economic engine for the future.

There is not, however, the same level of investment and restoration effort going on in Highlandtown. In part, this may be due to the nature of the neighborhood as primarily residential, whereas industry and rowhouses interweave in Canton and Fell’s Point. As Keith Losoya said:

The thing with the historic retail district is they’re old rowhomes and the footprints are very small. So, you know one of the things is, why Fell’s Point took off is because they had huge footprints from the industrial buildings, so they’re able to use those for people that need 10,000, 15,000 square foot. But Federal Hill and Highlandtown and some of the other ones, you don’t have that. You just have really small footprints so there’s only certain types of stores that can go into those.

I also think that this lesser attention is because Highlandtown has been slow to receive official designations that would draw the attention of capital investment through rehabilitation of historic structures.

Yet, there are interesting connections between the renovation of industrial and residential spaces and the community demographic- our third result of heritage preservation on the ground. Commercial and residential architectures grew up in

Southeast Baltimore together. As shipping and other industry grew, the immigrants of Southeast Baltimore built their homes and communities around the available jobs. Neighborhoods of affordable rowhouses, churches, groceries and small businesses were conjoined with the large industry that supported them. The historic preservation model that we see today, which provides adaptive reuse of the architecture of the working class, also provides, in part, for the new generation of urban home-owners in Canton and Fell’s Point.

So while preservationists fight to save and adaptively reuse historic structures to the betterment of the local economy, they also contribute to a demographic change within their neighborhoods. Newcomers are drawn to the neighborhoods because of their tenacity, architecture, and revitalized commercial district. In Highlandtown, Eastern Avenue used to be the primary shopping district, but that changed when strip malls developed in adjacent neighborhoods and the county and, I would say, the Safeway and mixed-use retail developments came to Canton. Now Eastern Avenue reflects some of the long-standing businesses and a number of new stores marketing to Latino residents. In Fell’s Point and Canton, long-time businesses remain, side by side with new mixed use retail in historic spaces and additional shops catering to the Latino community. There is much discussion in these communities of “gentrification,” or as Mr. Kurek put it, “yuppification.”

While some argue that redevelopment serves as an economic engine, a reaction to this engine is seen in part through programs such as Buy Local and Authentic Baltimore which have appeared as new commercialization is situated within historic communities.
They represent a desire to preserve a sense of “realness” that people no longer feel in the
developed Inner Harbor. In urban space, authenticity is what’s left after aggressive
revitalization. Preservation of place then includes places as one remembers them and
continues to associate with them (as with the businesses of friends and neighbors). In this
scenario, one of the greatest impacts is when others come into the places of memory and
change them. Residents and business owners in Southeast talked about their changing
neighborhoods and program managers talked about trying to integrate with the new
demographics. In Highlandtown, though there was discussion of “gentrification,” there
was an even bigger sense of a changing demographic in new Latino residents.

There is no doubt that the Latino population in Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s
Point are a growing part of these communities. When people talked to me about their
Latino neighbors, I got a real sense that this is yet another example of multilocality within
the community. To the long-standing white, ethnic (German, Polish, Italian) residents,
the Latino population is new and not really understood. Eastern Avenue (the boundary
between Highlandtown and Canton) and Broadway Street (in Fell’s Point) have a large
number of shops catering to the Latino population, and there is a sense that long-time
residents don’t know what’s in the shops because the advertising is in Spanish. I heard
remarks of casual racism several times and one manager told me that sometimes, “it
wasn’t so casual” (for example, property owners would sometimes rather leave a
storefront vacant than rent to Latinos).

Yet, the group Education Based Latino Outreach has been holding LatinoFest
annually since 1980 in what they call, “the heart of Baltimore’s Latino community,
Patterson Park.\footnote{153} Patterson Park (the city’s first public park, established in 1827) is west of Highlandtown and north of Canton,\footnote{154} and a key feature of East Baltimore.

Figure 34: Patterson Park from Ellwood Avenue, Highlandtown

Although the communities of Southeast Baltimore have always been a place for immigrant populations, this change in demographic seems unsettling. Jason Sullivan, the Executive Director of the Fells Point Development Corporation and Main Street, is fluent in Spanish and has been in the community for a year. He described his experiences thus far:


[Referring to a map of Fell’s Point.] This ah, these blocks of Broadway, this area is gettin’ to be known as Fell’s Point Spanish town. The Hispanic leadership, you know, recognizes that distinction. It’s not official with the city or anything, but there’s a lot of backlash from the residents who live in this portion....So there’s this contention, you know that Hispanics are coming in, they’re renaming the neighborhood, and it’s you know, people get up at arms about what they hold dear. You know their neighborhood and their name and everything. But things are changing. I mean the last figures I’ve seen are from the 2000 census and I’d be really interested to know even like today, what the Hispanic population is. I think we have the highest percentage of Hispanics here than in any other neighborhood in the city.

In fact the 2000 Census data (the most recent available) shows that this is the case. An interactive mapping system provided by the Baltimore Neighborhood Indicator’s Alliance shows the Fells Point Hispanic population (at 15.4%) is nearly three times greater than the next largest population in the neighborhoods of Patterson Park (6.6%) and Highlandtown (5.2%).\(^{155}\) Canton is 3.9% Hispanic. The white population (with no distinction between the traditional Greek, Italian, Polish, Irish or other white ethnic groups) in Fells Point is 68.9%. In Canton and Highlandtown, the white population is 89.6% and 82.6% respectively.

In some ways, the communities are trying to reach out to their new neighbors. In Fell’s Point, Ellen von Karajan noted, “We do the Fun Festival. We have a large Latino community here. We created as a sub festival within our festival, La Plaza Hispania.” La Plaza Hispania offers live music, Hispanic cuisine, and family activities as part of the annual community celebration.\(^{156}\)

Jason Sullivan of the Fell’s Point Development Corporation told me:

What we do, the leadership of the Hispanic business association, which is theoretically...a city-wide business association. There’s also a Hispanic Chamber of Commerce....My previous board president worked to build a close relationship with them. Would go to all their meetings, didn’t speak any Spanish and would sit through these meetings. But, so when I came in...early on I was able to build a fairly close relationship with them. But I’m still having a hard time getting things like this to them. [The façade grant brochure.] They just don’t seem to get, like, free money. You know like, it’s been, I’ve translated this to Spanish, I go to the meetings, I talk about it. It’s nothing on my part that I’m not doing. I’m translating this stuff and I’m fluent and all that. What I’m waiting for is like, one or two of the more influential Hispanic leaders to take advantage of it and hopefully it will snowball. Because this is where we really need it up here, where these people have done these homemade signs and paint jobs and you know, it could really help to improve upper Broadway.

As the Latino population continues to grow in the community, they will also grow in voice and influence and continue to shape these urban neighborhoods as other immigrant groups have done before them. This is a major community dynamic that I feel deserves further exploration in ethnographic research with Latino residents.

In addition to the growing Latino population, the other large dynamic is gentrification. Many business owners told me their memories of the neighborhoods, how it had changed, and the impact it has had on their business. In Canton, Bill Kurek said:

But the neighborhood’s changing. It’s changed in the last 10 years. When people lived in this, this was an ethnic neighborhood. Polacks. When you got further that way it was Italian. When you get further that way it was Greek. Ah, people bought their houses in this neighborhood to die in. Blue-collar people. You bought your house, you kept it up, you paid your mortgage when you were ready to retire. And you died in your house. Then the kids inherited the houses and they couldn’t sell ‘em. They’re worth $4,000 or somethin’. So they rented ‘em. So that changed the neighborhood a bit. Tenants. Tenants didn’t upkeep as well. And now, there was also a lot of industry on Clinton Street. Down here at the piers. That was a big part of our business....I used to have 3 full time employees with families. Then as this neighborhood changed and the industry went out, then it started. I don’t know what started the big boom and then everybody and his brother was buyin’ houses, guttin’ ‘em out. Makin’ these $200,000 houses. $300,000. Crazy stuff. So that’s what I call gentrification. Yuppies. Like you.
And you [pointing to a customer, white male, about 30 at the counter, who said 'like me.'] Like him. So Canton’s become yuppified. Gentrified is probably the political correct term.

While a Highlandtown resident and I were talking in front of his house one day, a young woman walked around at the end of the block, picking up trash. The resident said, “You see that lady? She comes out every week and picks up trash in the street; and I think she’s a renter!”

Robert McClintock, local artist and owner of the Fell’s Point gallery Baltimore Seen told me that he had been in Baltimore for eight years, and is probably part of the gentrification. He makes a point of looking beyond the commercial parts of Baltimore and has created a series of paintings about the neighborhoods, one of which he calls the “Outer Harbor.” His paintings have come to illustrate both visitor’s tastes, as well as local senses of their own place and are seen throughout Fell’s Point and in city-wide marketing products. He described to me what he sees as authenticity in consistency, even in spite of changes in Baltimore’s population:

To me authentic is Highlandtown, Patterson Park, Hampden- those bastions of authenticity. Where do these people go? No matter how many yuppies move in, it’s not gonna change. Polish, Ukrainians and Italians, there’s all kinds of people here. They came in right over here. I don’t think that’s gonna change. Here we are in this nice urban gallery and ten blocks away there’s drug dealers and people suffering. What’s gonna change that? What gives them hope? It’s not somewhere else, it’s very close. That’s Baltimore. It’s authentic.

In Highlandtown, I asked Sharon Hoehn what their relationship was to the community. Did a lot of locals still come into the bakery? She said:

Not as much as they used to. We used to get a lot of foot traffic because the avenue [Eastern Avenue] was so strong. But it’s not as strong as it used to be and so we don’t get as much. The houses are starting with gentrification, which means some more money in the area, but the business district has not kept up.

Elaine Eff, who is now the state folklorist with the Maryland Historical Trust expressed a nostalgia that is common in Highlandtown:

In the 1970s, when I began doing my fieldwork, the demographic was still stable and 99% white ethnic with people still in their houses. In the ‘90s, everything changed. People bought into the architecture, but not the lifestyle. So there’s a super-imposition of a new culture on the historic. How do you get these 20-somethings to have an appreciation of the classic architecture? People [who have moved in] don’t clean the [marble] steps anymore- they ask ‘why should I do it?’ It was part of the social structure. The neighborhood is being reinvented and disassembled. Where do the icons go?

Canton’s draw is redevelopment of the historic industrial spaces and the rowhouse architecture. The changing demographic and housing market has resulted in incredibly high (from the local perspective) real estate prices. The following conversation about the impacts of gentrification on the local housing market was in Kurek’s Hardware store with Susan Thompson and an old friend and customer of theirs:

Friend: I got a house down on Clinton Street, 1200 block. I paid twenty-two-five for it back in ’79. And I couldn’t even sleep at night. I had the kids in school. And worried about paying for it. And the money I could get for it now…

ST: Yeah, probably $300,000?

JTS: How long ago do you think this change took place? This gentrification, housing market is going up?

ST: What, about 15 years ago now?

Friend: Yeah, about 15 years ago.
ST: These condos over here, there used to be a gas station there. They’re sellin’ for $800,000. And the last one, they had trouble selling it because he found out that the taxes are $1500 a month!

Friend: Mine’s ah, $400-somethin’ down here.

JTS: Interesting.

ST: That place over there is beautiful but I’m sorry, if you don’t have a blade of grass out back, no pool or nothin’, I’m not payin’ $800,000 for a home!

A waitress at Matthews Pizza (a Highlandtown pizzeria since 1943) told me there had been a lot of changes in the neighborhood and that the prices of the houses are going up. She said you used to be able to buy a house “for $65,000, now they're like $200,000-$300,000.” When I asked when the changes began, she said, “you could still buy a cheap house in 2000.” I asked what kind of effect it’s had on the businesses. She said she didn’t really think it had that much effect because people still come into the pizzeria because they’ve always been there. “We’re still busy and we’ve always been busy," she said.

Using information compiled by the Live in Baltimore organization, based on title transfers, the average home sale price has risen in Highlandtown 94% between 2003 ($90,000) and 2005 ($174,000).\(^\text{158}\) In Canton, the increase is 73% between 2003 ($170,000) and 2005 ($294,000). And in Fell’s Point, the increase is 87% between 2003 ($170,000) and 2005 ($318,000).

Yet within the changing demographic, some business owners express pride in what their neighborhood has to offer new residents. When I asked Joe Di Pasquale, of Di

Pasquale’s in Highlandtown, if he thought people still recognized them as a business that is a part of the neighborhood he said, “Absolutely. We’re like a foothold.” A key part of the neighborhood now he said is that Highlandtown is “Reasonably safe, reasonably affordable, for starters.” He continued:

People want to purchase a home and use it as a starting point. And they’re excited about it, they want a neighborhood feel, people are searching for that neighborhood feel again. They want to recreate it, they want to promote, most of them want to promote their local stores.

For some however, the result of the changing demographic is an intense feeling of change and potential loss of a neighborhood sense of place. One woman in Fell’s Point put it this way, “The new people don’t understand the fight we’ve had to preserve it. We’ve fought against developers who wanted to bring things in. And new people don’t understand how bringing anything in changes the fabric of the place.” With the addition of these “lifestyle migrants” (to use Hoey’s term), the dynamic of the neighborhood shifts. Changes in the neighborhoods feel rapid and recent to residents, a fact that is apparent in the statistics.

Again, using 2000 Census data compiled by the Baltimore City Department of Planning, we see that nearly 24% of Highlandtown’s residents moved into their homes in 1969 or earlier. The next largest percentage is 28% of residents who moved into their homes in three years between 1995-1998.\footnote{Baltimore Neighborhood Indicators Alliance. (January 2008). “Mapping: US Census Data.” Retrieved March 21, 2008, from http://www.ubalt.edu/bnia/mapping/citywide_tables.html.} Showing that new residents are indeed buying into the existing architecture, 71% of the homes in Highlandtown were built
before 1939, 21% were built between 1940-1959, with no housing units built between 1980-1998.

In Canton, 22% moved into their homes prior to 1969 and over twice that number (47%) moved into their homes in five years from 1995-2000. Of these houses, 71% were built before 1939, the next largest construction being from 1940-1959 (17%).

In Fell’s Point, just 14% of the population moved into their homes prior to 1959. The largest percentage (40%) moved into the neighborhood between 1995-1998 with another 32% moving in from 1999-2000. Still, the older houses remain in this neighborhood as well, 60% were constructed before 1939. The next largest number is 15% built between 1940-1959.

The changes that residents feel in their neighborhoods are reflected in a blending of the old and the new in community publications and media. The “Urbanite,” a free monthly publication distributed throughout the metropolitan Baltimore area, occasionally adopts a sense of place that is rooted in the historical vernacular identity. (See Figure 33.) One Highlandtown business owner shows his support for the local heritage and the community through a series of special coffee blends, roasted on-site in their coffee shop. (See Figure 35.) The December 2007 issue of “The Fell’s Pointer” newsletter contained an update on the latest SBER redevelopment project at Harbor Point and an article about the influence of the Dashiell Sisters (“a family rooted in Fell’s Point for 200 years”) on preserving historic structures in the neighborhood. The community association

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160 Ibid.
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![Figure 35: Scan of Label: Baltimore Artists Blend Coffee](image)

As communities navigate changing demographics and new definitions of authenticity and heritage, residents search for ways to preserve place. It may be through
rehabilitation of historic buildings. It may be through events or signage. Or it may be in seeking out official designations of authentic place to enhance preservation through recognition. Boundaries help to define and manage space, but they also include some people and exclude others- our final consequence of differing definitions of authenticity and methods of preservation.

Heritage areas (particularly national heritage areas) generally are very large, encompassing several counties or spreading across more than one state. The size is an effort to include all those within a region that might contribute to the heritage- a method akin to cultural geography where heritage traits are traced in a large scale through multiple communities. Two NPS colleagues, intimately involved in the NPS National Heritage Area Program, told me that it would be interesting to see how the designation will work in Baltimore. Bill Pencek, former BHA Director said the question about whether or not the national heritage area model would work in a smaller setting (the city versus a multi-county or multi-state national heritage area) had been raised to him as well.

In a dense urban setting, even with extensive community input, there are those who might have been included but for the “readiness” factor. The question is then, by who’s definition is a community ready? When authenticity is linked to “readiness,” we see the discrepancy between the local perspective and that of the outsider. Many of the business owners I talked to feel that they are ready for business now. They’ve been ready for decades, as they continue to operate businesses that their grandparents began.
Many people in Highlandtown expressed a feeling of exclusion because they were not included within the boundaries of the Baltimore Heritage Area—even though before I showed them the map, that had not known of it. One person in Highlandtown told me that she was “personally offended [that they were not included in the BHA because] this is a really historic neighborhood.” Once they realized there was a heritage area, their own feelings about the heritage they held in their community—whether it be in long-standing businesses, architecture, or the tradition of screen painting—came to the fore. They felt excluded, unrecognized.

The new BHA Director, Jeffrey Buchheit, said he had been getting similar reactions while fielding calls about their grant program:

To be in a heritage area, the idea was that...neighborhood was ready. It was ready for tourism. If tourists came in, there was the amenities that they would need, you know the ability to have a good cultural heritage experience. You know, places to eat, bathrooms, interpretation that happens. You know, just ready, in essence. And I think, from what I understand, the boundary was drawn according to the areas, it’s not whether or not, and that’s where people get sensitive from what I gather from when I talk to them on the phone. They’re like, ‘well our history’s important, you know we have the painted screens, we have everything that all these other areas have.’ I think it was a readiness issue. And the reason then that it’s reviewed every five years from what I gather is because an area can become ready and then it’s time to look at that and pull them in.

When I spoke with people who were in the heritage area, even though they had previously not known of it, they were happy to be included. They thought it was “good.” When I showed them the map and mentioned that Highlandtown was not within the boundaries, nearly everyone expressed surprise. With an understanding that the BHA boundaries included sites of “heritage,” they felt that Highlandtown should also be included.
Ellen von Karajan with the Preservation Society of Federal Hill and Fell’s Point said that she and her predecessor had been involved with the Baltimore Heritage Area from the beginning. She said:

They had designated the priority funding areas and kind of arrived at what the boundaries of the map were. And I guess Highlandtown wasn’t. I mean the big problem with these heritage areas or any of these heritage studies is just exactly, you know, where do you stop to make it manageable? Because you’re gonna have to, usually they work best when you’ve got some kind of funding entity involved with them, so that you can provide support to the different groups that are within it. So. Although I will say that I do think that Highlandtown has much better painted screen blocks and marble step blocks than we still have over here.

A partial explanation of why Highlandtown wasn’t included within the BHA boundaries came in part through a conversation with Elaine Eff, now the Folklorist for the State of Maryland:

EE: When was it created?


EE: 1997 was kind of a troubled period for Highlandtown.

JTS: Why’s that?

EE: I think it was around that time...when they tore down the housing [in East Baltimore], people moved east and they flooded Highlandtown. It brought things like crime and drugs and people sort of woke up and said, ‘what happened?’ Highlandtown became like a new housing project. Does that make sense?

I asked Bill Pencek why Highlandtown was not added in the original heritage area boundary. He responded:

What happened? It wasn’t a Main Street at the time the original boundary was drawn. There wasn’t an A&E [CHAP] program, an A&E district program at the time that this was created. And this boundary, I’m pretty sure, reflects the Canton
National Historic District. So that’s, I mean if it makes sense for the next amendment round, pull it in. It’s really funny, the, there is now...a Patterson Park/Highlandtown National Register Historic District, but I don’t know…it’s really funny, the visitor-readiness and sort of the integrity from the, I mean you should hear…the National Register Administrator for the State of Maryland on the integrity for Highlandtown from a historic standpoint. He says flatly, it’s not there. So, off the top of my head right now, I don’t know where the boundary of the Patterson Park/Highlandtown National Register Historic District is, but I think it’s a residential district and doesn’t even take in the commercial portions.

A great many historians, heritage advisors, and community groups were involved in the design of the current BHA boundary, but by the creators’ own words, they were “all the same people” involved in the process (and thus sharing the same sense of place and literally, speaking the same language). The result being that Highlandtown was neither included in the original BHA boundaries nor the expanded boundaries in 2005 (three years after it was listed on the National Register).

While at first there is a sense of disownment for residents, there are also real economic ramifications to inclusion and exclusion from the BHA. In addition to income generated through tourism to the BHA, businesses within the BHA are eligible for:

1. Matching grants from the Baltimore City Heritage Area Small Cap Grant Fund.
2. Matching grants and loans from the Maryland Heritage Areas Authority Financing Fund. Only projects in one of the activated Target Investment Zones are eligible for grants for capital projects.
3. State income tax credits for the rehabilitation of certified heritage structures, even if not located in a listed historic district, including some non-historic structures.
4. Broad program support from State government, including priority consideration for funding from many State agencies. In addition, all State agencies must seek to avoid activities that are not consistent with Management Action Plan.166

The BHA Management Plan Update explains the concept of Targeted Investment Zones as “priority areas into which the Baltimore Heritage Area Association and

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community partners seek to attract significant private investment. The TIZ approach is MHAA’s primary vehicle for encouraging private economic development activities within the heritage area.”  

When I asked Jeff Buchheit how the target investment zones are determined, he told me he was still wrapping his mind around it. Because the BHA had recently announced that they were accepting applications for the capital grants, he had been getting a lot of calls about this very thing. He said:

One of my first questions to that person is, ok give me your exact address. And as I have them on the phone, I’m looking it up and Map Questing it and figuring out if whether or not they’re in one of the target investment zones....The rationale behind the target investment zones. Again tied very much more, even stronger to the readiness piece. Is there strong neighborhood management presence....There’s capacity there....And they have to be activated. I mean the language behind all of it is just like, oh my word.

Only those businesses within an activated Targeted Investment Zone are eligible for capital improvement grants through the BHA. Activation is “a process by which a neighborhood submits a request for activation that addresses readiness based on the MHAA criteria for TIZs, a vision and work plan, matching funds, an organizational structure, and relevance to the MAP [Management Action Plan].”  

Programming funds are available to those not in an activated target investment zone. There are eleven Targeted Investment Zones within the BHA. Eight are activated (including Fell’s Point) and three are awaiting activation (including Canton/Patterson Park). Highlandtown, which is not included in the BHA, is not eligible for any BHA financial assistance.

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168 Ibid.
If the Baltimore National Heritage Area is designated by Congress, additional recognition and resources will be available to those within its boundaries. Annual federal funds may be authorized for the new national heritage area up to $1 million per year for 10 years.\(^{169}\) The national heritage area would also be eligible to receive federal funds to match assistance provided from non-Federal sources. Greater name recognition and exposure to national and international marketing through the National Park Service and, if the BHA joins, the Alliance of National Heritage Areas, would also provide significant additional marketing to the Baltimore NHA. The new Baltimore NHA would also receive access to technical support and assistance from the National Park Service NHA program and a more formal association with the local NPS site- Fort McHenry National Monument.

Without another boundary change, Highlandtown will remain excluded from the wider scope of recognition and resources that become available if the Baltimore National Heritage Area is designated. And at that point, the boundaries will literally take another act of Congress to change.

In considering the various definitions of authenticity, heritage and methods for heritage preservation, we see both convergence of perspectives and reactions to unexpected results. The layers of designations and preservation programming serve to connect different groups with different funding sources, but are also a confusing array of programmatic description and regulation. Rehabilitation of historic structures preserves the architecture of place, but also facilitates a changing demographic within the

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\(^{169}\) Baltimore National Heritage Area Act 2008 (Senate)
neighborhoods. This changes the traditional relationship of long-term residents to the places of their memory. Official recognition by investors, the city marketing establishment, and the BHA brings attention to Canton and Fell’s Point, and to a lesser degree, Highlandtown. This discrepancy reveals the difference between a local and “official” sense of authenticity.
CONCLUSION

In identifying typical conditions under which heritage areas are created, the Alliance of National Heritage Areas and the National Park Service note:

Heritage area initiatives are more likely to blossom in areas where residents have a deep sense of place and an identity that is tied to their perceived pasts and the surrounding landscape which embodies that history and culture….However, heritage area residents often are not confident that their children will either recognize or appreciate this cultural legacy, and they worry whether the landmarks that define their sense of place will survive. Thus, heritage areas often emerge in communities under stress: the former economic base has disappeared; young people are moving elsewhere; sprawling development threatens to erase the historic landscape and replace it with cookie-cutter suburbs and bland commercial strips; the region is depopulating; or new development is happening so quickly that new residents do not know the old stories and do not seem to care.\footnote{Barrett and West (2005). Getting Started with Heritage Areas. Washington, National Trust for Historic Preservation: 3.}

This is the case in Southeast Baltimore, though the urban dynamic is slightly different. Because new people and businesses have come into their neighborhoods, long-term residents and business owners worry that key buildings, traditions and the traditional social make-up will be displaced. Residents and city program managers want to make people aware of the local traditions, so programs like Buy Local, Main Street, and the heritage area have arisen. Fighting depopulation with urban revitalization and rehabilitation of historic buildings, city managers both preserve and change the urban landscape. Historic buildings are rehabilitated, but the former economic base of industry
and small neighborhood businesses has changed to an economy based on mixed-use retail, office, and residential space and the tourist dollar. Operating within their own sense of place, each group then seeks to preserve and perpetuate their sense of place in different, over-lapping ways.

Preservationists in Fell’s Point have been “fighting” for decades to “save” buildings, restore them, and maintain a sense of (historical) place within the community. In Highlandtown and Canton, heritage is what is remembered. They see changes, and operate in today’s time, but are frustrated and surprised by the lack of general knowledge of what they feel is obviously important- a Natty Boh, a painted screen, their business just off the main avenue. It is the connections to family, friends, neighbors and places that constitute an important sense of place. The long-term business owners know other business owners and the preservation of heritage comes in the maintenance of these relationships. For example, in one day, Sharon Hoehn told me to go to Kurek’s Hardware, but I didn’t quite get the address right. Joe Di Pasquale told me he gets his keys made at Kurek’s and gave me the correct address. Bill Kurek told me one of his former employees used to pick up stuff from Hoehn’s Bakery; and when I said I was going to Matthews’s Pizzeria for lunch, he told me that’s where all the people of his generation used to take their first dates. Sharon Hoehn said that her grandfather had sold Matthew’s their first table. And at Matthew’s, the waitress told me that one of her relatives is married to a Di Pasquale.

The business owners see themselves as “landmarks” and “footholds” of the community. In most cases, they are aware of outside designations like the Main Street
program and the Buy Local program and are often active in the business associations. Though they are in some ways isolated from the revitalization activities of the larger community, they do share in activities that build connections within their neighborhood. For example, Di Pasquale’s hosts the annual Highlandtown Wine Festival because, “there’s a lot of people around here that make homemade wine.”

For program managers, heritage preservation requires identification of heritage resources, packaging for a non-local or non-specialist audience, and then active marketing. Preservation includes a demonstrated capacity to preserve the resources and interpret them to the public to build awareness and appreciation. Both residents and program managers are generally keen to share their knowledge with others who will appreciate it. They want others to see their neighborhoods, their Baltimore, as they see it.

For some, heritage is found in the “consistency” of their neighbors and the fact that long-term businesses are “still hanging on.” For others, it is in the architecture of “rowhouses and marble steps” and the presence of other historic buildings and related traditions (like painted screens). For program managers, it is those unique places that are “quintessentially Baltimore” that show the rest of the country that Baltimore’s “got the goods” to compete in a national heritage tourism market.

Once we recognize the differing versions of authenticity, we can better understand the variety of ways people go about preserving that heritage. Long time business owners who see themselves as “footholds” of the neighborhood preserve heritage by staying in business and by continuing to build relationships with other businesses and residents.
They participate in programs like Buy Local which speak to their independent neighborhood roots.

Community development groups and residents of historic districts, like Fell’s Point, support revitalization of historic buildings and the income of new businesses. They see a connection between renovation of historic places, and developing a sustainable local economy. As one person told me, “at least they...do it within the existing structures [so] you didn’t have to...raze a block to have bigger footprints.” With the architecture intact, the streetscape is preserved and provides a place to interpret the neighborhood history- which is further supported by local preservation groups and the heritage area.

Preservation groups and city heritage program managers seek designations to gain recognition and funding to continue preservation efforts. By marketing the heritage product (walking tours, historic buildings, authentic local sites, events and services), they help to make Baltimore’s citizens, and the tourist consumer, aware of the heritage and resources available to them.

The anthropological concepts of multilocality, place-making, ethnoscape and vernacular politics help us find a frame for understanding the cultural dynamics in the neighborhoods of Highlandtown, Canton and Fell’s Point. There are complex personal and social relationships within each neighborhood, between neighborhoods, and between the neighborhoods and larger society. This is multilocality at play. Each group sees the neighborhood’s heritage from their own perspective and operates within that perspective. They are surprised, frustrated, or even angry when others don’t respond in ways that are
obvious (to them). People told me of disagreements and conflict over topics such as events, building rehabilitation projects, and the best ways to draw people into the business and retail districts. Each story was genuinely related and the frustration genuinely felt. But I also heard a great deal of care expressed and there were many common interests. Each wants to preserve and present their neighborhood in the best way they know how and they want to see it sustain into the future, to their benefit, and to the benefit of the wider community. The differences came in the methods, which, I believe are generated by each group’s sense of place.

By understanding the ethnoscape of Southeast Baltimore as a constantly evolving “landscape of group identity,” we see deeper layers of connection within the “living landscape” of the heritage area. These include a shift from industrial to mixed residential-commercial use and changing neighborhood demographics. It includes groups of people who persevere through the confusing number of programs, requirements, and designations to find methods and funding that will help preserve their heritage resources. And it includes people who still see their neighborhoods as places that hold the “oldest” or “most intact” or “best” examples of what it means to be a Baltimorean—authenticity as it is lived every day.
APPENDIX A

Timeline of Selected Events and Designations for Southeast Baltimore, compiled by the author from various sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event/ Designation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>Fell’s Point established by English shipbuilder, William Fell.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>Canton estate established by Capt. John O’Donnell.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>Baltimore City annexes Fell’s Point.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>Fell’s Point privateers play a key role in securing Baltimore during the Battle of Baltimore (during the War of 1812).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Fort Marshall established on Snake Hill (renamed Highland Town in 1870s).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Baltimore City fails in their attempt to expand eastward and annex Canton and Highland Town.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Canton and Highland Town petition state lawmakers to allow them to join as one community separate from both the city and Baltimore County. It is defeated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>William Oktavec paints meats and produce on the screens of his neighborhood grocery in East Baltimore.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Rowhouse homes of the immigrant working class connect Canton and Highland Town.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Baltimore City annexes Highland Town (and Canton) and changes the spelling to “Highlandtown.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>The Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation is established by the City of Baltimore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>The City of Baltimore condemns houses along the waterfront in Federal Hill and Fell’s Point to make way for an expansion of the East-west Expressway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>The Preservation Society of Federal Hill and Fell’s Point established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Fell’s Point Historic District designated, listed on the National Register of Historic Places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Southeast Community Development Corporation (Southeast CDC) created.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>The city abandons plans to expand the East-west Expressway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
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<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Canton Historic District designated, listed on the National Register of Historic Places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Elaine Eff’s doctoral dissertation establishes painted screens as a unique urban folk tradition in East Baltimore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>The Painted Screen Society of Baltimore, Inc. is founded “to preserve Screen Painting and rowhouse arts in Baltimore neighborhoods.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Fell’s Point Historic District boundary increased.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>The Creative Alliance is established, based in The Patterson in Highlandtown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Maryland Heritage Areas Authority (MHAA) created by state legislation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Baltimore City Heritage Area created by MHAA (Recognized Heritage Area status).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Baltimore Main Streets Program introduced by the Mayor’s Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Baltimore Heritage Area (BHA) given Certified Heritage Area status by MHAA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Patterson Park/ Highlandtown Historic District designated, listed on the National Register of Historic Places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Highlandtown Arts and Entertainment District designated by the State of Maryland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Fell’s Point Development Corporation- Main Street Program designated by the City of Baltimore and the National Trust for Historic Preservation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Highlandtown Main Street designated by the City of Baltimore and the National Trust for Historic Preservation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>The Chesapeake Sustainable Business Alliance (CSBA) is created in Baltimore, with their office in Fell’s Point, as a local chapter of the international Business Alliance for Local Living Economies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Exhibit of rowhouse architecture and painted screens opens at the American Visionary Art Museum, sponsored by the Painted Screen Society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Baltimore National Heritage Area Feasibility Study complete, along with an update to the Baltimore Heritage Area Management Plan. Update includes an expansion of BHA boundaries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>The CSBA initiates the “Buy Local Baltimore” campaign with logos and advertising tailored to each neighborhood.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Legislation introduced into the U.S. Congress to designate a Baltimore National Heritage Area.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

Maryland Heritage Areas Authority criteria to become a Recognized Heritage Area (the first stage in the process to becoming a Certified Heritage Area):\textsuperscript{171}

1. The proposed heritage area must be approved by all local jurisdictions that would be affected.

2. The geographic boundaries must be specified.

3. An entity must be identified as responsible for coordinating the development of a management plan.

4. The cultural, historic, and natural resources contributing to the special character of the heritage area must be described.

5. Goals and objectives for the area must be specified.

6. Strategies for encouraging and accommodating visitors and compatible economic development must be described.

7. Public assistance must be expected to produce new private investment, jobs, and tourist revenues.

8. The economic costs and benefits of the development of the area must be identified.

9. The local jurisdictions must describe how they intend to preserve and protect the cultural, historic, and natural resources within the heritage area.

APPENDIX C

Authentic Baltimore Program Application, Guidelines, and Definitions:  


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Authentic Baltimore
Application for Certification of Heritage Resources as an Authentic Baltimore Experience

This application should be completed by Heritage Resources, including sites, services, and events seeking certification as an Authentic Baltimore Experience. For clarification and definitions please consult the Authenticity Program guidelines.

Name of resource: ____________________________
Type of resource (Site, Service, or Event): ____________________________
Contact person/title: ____________________________
Address: _________________________________________
City: _______ State: _______ Zip: ____________

Phone: _______ Fax: _______ E-mail: ________________________

For each of the questions below please check all answers that apply.

In which category does your resource best fit?

____ Site (landscape, streetscape, building, structure, museum, object, or collection of objects)
____ Lodging
____ Dining
____ Retail
____ Interpretive facility or operation
____ Festival
____ Other

Has the historic character of this resource been officially recognized?

____ National Register of Historic Places
____ Baltimore City Landmark or district (CHAP designation)
____ Other

If you are nominating a heritage site approximately what year was this resource built?
If you are nominating a heritage service or event what year was the service or event initiated or introduced?

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Which of these periods are significant to the history of this resource (site, service, or event)?

- 1700-1783 Colonial, including Revolutionary War
- 1784-1861 after Revolutionary War, before Civil War
- 1861-1865 Civil War
- 1865-1900 after Civil War before 20th century
- 1900-1945 first half of 20th century, including World War II
- 1945-today after World War II

Which cultural and religious groups are significant to this resource?

- African-American
- Latino/Hispanic
- Asian-American
- German/Swiss
- British (English, Welsh, Scottish)
- other European
- Native American
- Jewish
- Protestant Denominations
- Catholic
- other religious traditions
- other

Which historical themes are important to this resource?

- African-American Heritage
- Maritime/Chesapeake Bay
- War ____(pls. Specify) __________ Art and Culture
- Foodways
- Immigration
- Religion
- Other
- Architecture
- Industry
- Transportation

If the resource being nominated is a historic site or service housed in a historic site what special historic features (inside or outside) make this building unique?

________________________________________

________________________________________

________________________________________

Do the managers of this resource sponsor events or activities that reflect cultural heritage traditions?
- yes
- no

If yes, please describe any such events that take place at least once annually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event/Activities</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Time of Year</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
How does your resource interpret and communicate Baltimore cultural heritage traditions to visitors, patrons and customers?

If the resource is a retail establishment what types of products are offered for sale?

Upon designation as an Authentic Baltimore Experience each site, service or event is entitled to receive materials denoting their status. Available materials include flags/banners that may be flown or displayed inside or outside, table or desktop signs, window decals and copies of the logo in digital format for use in brochures, advertisements and other publications. The materials will have the Authentic Baltimore Logo that can be found on the first page of this application.

Which materials and in what quantity would make the most sense for your resource?

Flags/Banners_______#  Signs_______#  Window Decals_______#  Logo in Digital Format____

Please attach any marketing, informational or interpretive materials that further describe this resource, and mail to:

Abbi Wickens-Bayne
Heritage Education and Outreach Administrator
Baltimore City Heritage Area
City Hall, Room 346
100 N. Holliday Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
(410) 984-2869

The Baltimore City Heritage Area Association will review applications within ninety days of receipt. Applicants will be notified of the results of the review process as soon as possible. For information on meeting dates please call 410-984-2869.
Authentic Baltimore
Program Guidelines

Purpose: The purpose of the Authenticity Guidelines and Heritage Resource Criteria is to assist the Baltimore City Heritage Area Association in identifying sites, services, and events that authentically convey the heritage of Baltimore.

Heritage Resource Criteria

Heritage Site
Heritage Sites are the central feature of the Heritage Area. For that reason, it is imperative that they function primarily to educate the public about local heritage. In order to qualify as a Heritage Site, a facility must provide a substantial amount of authentic interpretation above and beyond a simple statement of facts.

- A Historic Site
  - Must meet the definition of an authentic resource
  - Must provide authentic interpretation specific to that site
  - Must be open with regular, established hours

- A Museum
  - Must provide authentic interpretation which directly relates to local heritage
  - Must be open with regular, established hours

Heritage Service
Heritage Services play a supporting role in the program. They are not specifically designed to educate the public about local heritage, but they have authentic features which qualify them for recognition by the program. Since education is not the primary focus of these facilities, it is important that they provide an experience which is unmistakably linked to local heritage.

- A Research Facility
  - Must promote scholarship which directly relates to local heritage
  - Must be open with regular, established hours

- A Tour
  - Must provide authentic interpretation of local heritage
  - Must offer tour guides on a regular basis (at least once per month in season) or provide interpretive materials at an easily accessible public location

- Lodging
  - Must meet the definition of an authentic resource
  - Must provide authentic interpretation of local heritage. This interpretation must carefully outline how the building has changed over time, and the role that it has played in the history of the surrounding community. If the building was designed for a purpose other than temporary lodging, its original use must be clearly explained.
• Lodging continued
  o If a theme is used, this theme must show a clear relationship to local heritage. If the theme conflicts with the original use of the building, the difference between the two purposes must be clearly explained.

• Dining
  o Must meet the definition of an authentic resource
  o Must provide authentic interpretation of local heritage. This interpretation must carefully outline how the building has changed over time, and the role that it has played in the history of the surrounding community. If the building was designed for a purpose other than dining, its original use must be clearly explained.
  o If a theme is used, this theme must show a clear relationship to local heritage. If the theme conflicts with the original use of the building, the difference between the two purposes must be clearly explained.

Heritage Event
Heritage Events support the Baltimore City Heritage Area by making local heritage come alive. They give the public the opportunity to participate directly in the learning process. These events do not need to take place at a Historic Site, but they must result in a better understanding of local heritage. To qualify as a Traditional Event, an event must be considered a natural and integral part of community life. All staged events are classified as Interpretive Events, because they are intentionally designed to inform and entertain the public.

• A Traditional Event
  o Must be a commonplace activity whose importance is widely recognized by the geographic, social, or cultural community that it represents
  o Must demonstrate a clear relationship to local heritage

• An Interpretive Event
  o Must focus primarily on educating the public about local heritage
  o Must be promoted in a manner that emphasizes local heritage
  o Must clearly indicate the historic time period, season of the year, and location which are being interpreted
  o Must take place at regularly scheduled intervals at least once per year. One-time events may also be considered for approval, but the BCHCA must be given the opportunity to review them at least two months prior to the event.
Authentic Baltimore
Program Definitions

Authentic Interpretation: Organized information that reflects Baltimore's heritage through an accurate, objective, and culturally sensitive portrayal of people, sites, services, or events. The presentation of this information must not sacrifice historical accuracy for the sake of entertainment or popularity. This information must be made easily accessible to visitors through signage, printed materials or other media, exhibits, or tours.

Authentic Resource: A site, service, or event which reflects Baltimore’s heritage by retaining features which existed during its period of significance, and by demonstrating an association with historic events, persons, architecture, engineering, or technology. It is not necessary for a site, service, or event to retain all of the features which it had during its period of significance, but it must retain enough of these features to present a clear picture of local heritage.

- For an Historic Site, evidence of authenticity is strengthened by listing in, or eligibility for listing in, the National Register of Historic Places, or the Baltimore City Landmarks List.
- For a Museum, evidence of authenticity is strengthened by interpretation which meets professional curatorial standards. Collections which are not displayed in an interpreted historic building must have sufficiently detailed interpretation to convey a strong sense of local heritage.

Collection: A set of artifacts or objects which are acquired and preserved because of their value as examples, as reference material, or as objects of aesthetic or educational importance.

Dining: An historic restaurant, café, or tavern.

Heritage: A legacy passed down from preceding generations. This legacy encompasses physical features and the cultural perspectives which define them. Elements of this inheritance include natural features, landscape, history, culture, art, architecture, religion, folklore, and other social systems.

Heritage Event: One of the three types of Heritage Resources. There are two subcategories:

- Interpretive: A staged activity which is designed to be educational. This includes activities such as craft demonstrations, first-person re-enactments, dramatizations, and living history.
- Traditional: A commonplace activity whose importance is widely recognized by the geographic, social, or cultural community that it represents.

Heritage Service: One of the three categories of Heritage Resources. This category is composed of four subcategories: Research Facility, Tour, Lodging, and Dining.

Heritage Site: One of the three categories of Heritage Resources. This category is composed of two subcategories: Historic Sites and Museums.

Historic Site: A place (such as a landscape, streetscape, building, or structure) which has played a first-hand role in Baltimore's heritage. If any feature of this place has been moved from its original location or has been reconstructed, this change must be clearly explained.
Lodging: An historic bed & breakfast, inn, or hotel.

Museum: A gallery-based institution which maintains exhibits, displays, or collections.

Period of Significance: The span of time that has made the greatest contribution to the historical importance of a resource. In most cases, the physical features of a Heritage Site or Heritage Service should draw attention to that era.

Regular, Established Hours: A schedule of appointed times when a Heritage Resource is open to the public. Seasonal hours are acceptable, as long as the resource is open at least once per week for three months of the year. One-time events are excluded from this requirement.

Research Facility: An institution whose primary purpose is to promote scholarship about local heritage. These institutions often provide archival information, historical documents, and research assistance.

Theme: A recurrent, coordinated motif which intentionally creates an atmosphere of a specific place, time, activity, or culture. This motif is often expressed through a combination of cuisine, décor, and printed materials.

Tour: A guided experience or self-guided signage system or brochure whose primary purpose is to educate the public about local heritage. These experiences or brochures often feature a specific walking, biking, or driving route.
APPENDIX D

I asked those closest to the Baltimore Heritage Area what they thought would happen if Congress passed the Baltimore National Heritage Area act this year. What are the expectations? These were their responses:

Bill Pencek, former Director of the Baltimore Heritage Area:

I think that number one will be the issue of whether or not the Park Service will be able to accept the recent update...of the Baltimore Heritage Area Management Plan as sufficient as the management plan for the National Heritage Area. It was completed as if that would be the case...So, I would hope that that happens. The management entity, there will have to be consensus. And it was suggested, actually I think it’s in the legislation, in the bill that the Baltimore Heritage Area management entity is the management entity for the purposes of the National Heritage Area. So...once those things are agreed upon, I think it’s time for cooperative agreements and writing checks.

And I see the emphasis, I mean I realize too there’s going to be competition. The Baltimore Heritage Area is going to have to compete with ah, 37 plus other national heritage areas for the funds that are appropriated. And I know there’s, I try to keep up, but I’m not totally up on it because I’m not right there anymore, and I know...that they’ve gone to an allocation formula from an earmarking system for the National Heritage Area system because the demand and the number of the national heritage areas so far exceeds the available supply...I think Baltimore in an allocation system, to the extent that National Register listings factor in, would do well. I see a big emphasis on the Bicentennial for the War of 1812...So that’s the value. You have to take the long view. It’s not going to change the world over night creating the Baltimore National Heritage Area, but that’s the plan.

Jeffrey Buchheit, current Director of the Baltimore Heritage Area:

That’s been presented to me pretty clearly since day one. From Bill’s perspective, from the management plan’s perspective, and from City Hall’s perspective, with the Deputy Mayor and with the Mayor, it’s everyone’s goal to have the heritage area become a national heritage area. And this is the kind of the blunt way it was always put to me. Then the National Park Service can go outside of Fort McHenry. They are the, the National Park Service...is the model for great interpretation, seamless visitor experience. You know the National Park Service
is like the gold seal of all those things. By giving Fort McHenry and the National Park Service the ability to reach out beyond Fort McHenry in a formal way, through a National Heritage Area designation, just in essence I think, speeds up that seamless visitor experience, that interpretive approach to the entire Baltimore City Heritage Area...People trained across the heritage area to answer people’s questions about all the different sites.

The other thing that people brought up of course is the potential for money. And from what I understand, there’s only one amount of money so each national heritage area that gets added to the pool, then everyone’s piece of the pie goes down...One of the strengths of being in Maryland is that our heritage area program is so strong, that we would be coming into this already with a management plan in place and that a lot of the other heritage areas, one of the first things they have to do when they become a national heritage area is go through the management plan process. Whereas we have ours.

Abbi Wicklein-Bayne, former staff of the Baltimore Heritage Area:

There were a couple of different scenarios that I always heard that were out there. The first one, my best case scenario, would be to expand the staff of the heritage area....With an expanded staff, the heritage area can operate much more efficiently. The programs that they have could really be expanded to bring...a small business person to do Authentic Baltimore to connect more of these programs. I mean why couldn’t it be ‘Buy Local and Authentic Baltimore’? We did our Teaching American History grant and the title of it was ‘Teaching American History in Authentic Baltimore.’...And the second goal would be to increase...grant funding. I know Bill at one point thought that the money would go in and out as grants, but I think that the heritage area really needs to kind of examine itself. And see how, can we serve the area better? And eventually, why can’t the boundaries be expanded?

Gay Vietske, has been the Superintendent of Fort McHenry National Monument for just over two years and is currently on the board of the BHA and the Executive Committee. She said that the role of Fort McHenry in a new Baltimore National Heritage Area is a “big To Be Determined” because this is one of several pending legislative actions which involve the national park site. She said that the creation of the Baltimore National Heritage Area, “would be great, mostly because it would bring more money for
the big, visionary ideas. It would spread the arrowhead around the city. Right now, there is no legislative authority for the park staff to work outside of Fort McHenry.” The current legislation, she noted, includes language that would give Fort McHenry the ability to provide technical assistance beyond the boundaries of the park, to the heritage area. She also noted that there might need to be a governance change for the new national heritage area. She said that the present heritage area has “functioned so nicely as a separate but effective unit,” but she anticipates that a governance change might be required. “It’s hard to see how they would be able to keep the Executive Director as an employee of the city while administering federal funds.”

Ellen von Karajan, of the Preservation Society of Fell’s Point, who was also interviewed as part of the community study for the heritage area, said:

For me, my own expectation is that...it means there would be a blanket group that would handle a more comprehensive marketing program for all of us ‘smallies.’ You know we’ve got so many good ‘smallies’ around here. That it would take some of the burden, it’s awfully hard to do really good marketing and advertising for yourself. I think that, at least...when I was interviewed as part of the consultant study for it, that certainly was the thing that I think is very badly needed. Then too...wouldn’t it be wonderful if we had park rangers...wouldn’t it be great during the peak season here if we couldn’t have people by day...connecting the stories? Wouldn’t it be great if we couldn’t have people at...if there were designated sites? ...So we’re hoping that we would have all of those kinds of opportunities to be more out there, and then to also get some program grants, hopefully that there would be some funding. Some funding. Because it is nice to be able to do research and to develop new and involving programs....So I see it mainly as being helpful in terms of helping to extend our ability to attract more people and then to be able to tell them better stories when they actually, tell them better and in some cases more stories, when they get here. And keep us all tuned in to each other....So it becomes a whole way of being able to...have more depth and to have more intelligence among our peers in this area. So that communication among the organizations is also a big enriching factor.
REFERENCES CITED
REFERENCES CITED


Baltimore National Heritage Area Act 2008 (Senate)


Buy Local Baltimore. Think Local First. Baltimore.


CURRICULUM VITAE

Jennifer M. Talken-Spaulding (Spaulding) graduated magna cum laude from Ogemaw Heights High School, West Branch, Michigan, in 1991. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology from Western Michigan University in 1995. She has been employed with the National Park Service (NPS) since 1995 and has worked in national park units in Montana, the Southwest, California, Hawaii and the Mid-Atlantic. She is currently the Cultural Resource Specialist for the National Mall & Memorial Parks in Washington, D.C. She received her Master of Arts degree in Anthropology from George Mason University in 2008.

In recognition of her academic achievement at George Mason University, Ms. Talken-Spaulding is a 2007 recipient of the College of Humanities and Social Sciences Dean’s Challenge Award. In 2004, she received an Albright-Wirth Grant for Professional Development from the National Park Foundation. In 1995, she received an Undergraduate Research and Creative Activities Award from Western Michigan University to research and write, America’s Land, American People: The Relationship between the U.S. National Park Service and Native Americans at Glacier National Park and Grand Canyon National Park.

Ms. Talken-Spaulding’s publications include:

Books

Articles and Invited Papers
