

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

# DRAFT

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. **Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).**

## 1. Name of Property

historic name McKinley Parkway Historic District

other names/site number \_\_\_\_\_

name of related multiple property listing N/A

## Location

street & number Various Streets east and west of McKinley Parkway

city or town Buffalo

state New York code NY county Erie code 063 zip code 14214


not for publication

vicinity

## 3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this X nomination     request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property X meets     does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

    national     statewide X local

Signature of certifying official/Title \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government \_\_\_\_\_

In my opinion, the property     meets     does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Title \_\_\_\_\_ State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government \_\_\_\_\_

## 4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

    entered in the National Register     determined eligible for the National Register

    determined not eligible for the National Register     removed from the National Register

    other (explain:) \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of the Keeper \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Action \_\_\_\_\_

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**5. Classification**

**Ownership of Property**

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	private
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Local
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - State
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Federal

**Category of Property**

(Check only **one** box.)

<input type="checkbox"/>	building(s)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	district
<input type="checkbox"/>	site
<input type="checkbox"/>	structure
<input type="checkbox"/>	object

**Number of Resources within Property**

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
3,935	1,272	buildings
3	0	sites
0	0	structures
0	0	objects
3,938	1,272	<b>Total</b>

**Name of related multiple property listing**

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

N/A

**Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register**

7

**6. Function or Use**

**Historic Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/ Single Dwelling, Multiple Dwelling

COMMERCE

EDUCATION/ School

RELIGIOUS/ Church

**Current Functions**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/ Single Dwelling, Multiple Dwelling

COMMERCE

EDUCATION/ School

RELIGIOUS/ Church

**7. Description**

**Architectural Classification**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

LATE 19<sup>TH</sup>/20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AMERICAN MOV. /

Bungalow/Craftsman

LATE 19<sup>TH</sup> & 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY REVIVALS /

Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival

MID-20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY /

Ranch, Split Level, Cape Cod

**Materials**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

foundation: Mostly concrete, brick or stone

walls: Mostly wood, brick or stucco

roof: Mostly asphalt Shingle

other:

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**Narrative Description**

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance of the property. Explain contributing and noncontributing resources if necessary. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, setting, size, and significant features.)

**Summary Paragraph**

McKinley Parkway Historic District is a large, primarily residential street-car suburb located in the South Buffalo neighborhood of the City of Buffalo, Erie County, New York. It contains a collection of largely intact, historically-related suburban subdevelopments, which were established in multiple waves and locations by multiple developers. The district contains approximately 5,000 primary resources in an area bounded by Heacock Park and Cazenovia Creek to the north, Dorrance Avenue to the south, South Park Avenue to the west, and Onondaga Avenue, Potters Road, and South Legion Drive to the east. These boundaries reflect the strongest collection of resources with significant architectural integrity remaining today within the historic boundaries of the residential neighborhood along the spine of McKinley Parkway, established by multiple real estate developers during the period of significance from 1890 to 1968. McKinley Parkway (NR Listed) was designed and laid out by Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr. in 1894. Although different developers were responsible for settling and planning each street or subdivision, they did so contemporaneously, constructing similar popular architectural styles aimed at attracting the same middle-class and working-class residents in settlement patterns typical of twentieth-century American suburbs. Today, the district retains a good cohesive level of integrity in its plan, form, architecture and character that reflects the evolution of suburban style development through the twentieth century.

McKinley Parkway Historic District developed as a residential neighborhood between 1890 and 1968, with the majority of the construction occurring between the 1910s and 1950s. South Buffalo is an area separated from the city to the north by the Cazenovia Creek, and was thus relatively isolated from the broader network of roads and transportation until the 1890s. Improvements in streetcar transportation and subsequently automobile transportation increased the mobility of Buffalo's growing middle class population in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, who sought residences away from the crowded downtown areas that were still near industrial employment centers to the west. A wave of substantial development followed the announcement that Frederick Law Olmsted would be establishing multiple parks and parkways in South Buffalo during the 1890s. Over the next several decades, multiple developers purchased parcels of land and subdivided the area into smaller lots, constructing houses in the popular styles of the early twentieth century that they then sold to middle-class homeowners. After World War II, another wave of development occurred in the district, evident today on some curvilinear streets and cul de sacs that exemplify this period of suburban settlement patterns.

No single developer or landowner controlled the growth and development of the entire McKinley Parkway Historic District. The area developed as large lots and vacant land between older, existing routes was parceled and sold off during the real estate boom that swept the city beginning in the late 1800s. This occurred through the combined effort of many real estate speculators, contractors and builders, who purchased large swaths of land and subdivided them into individual lots where they constructed houses in large groups, street by street. In most cases, a developer would subdivide a large parcel of land and divide it into individual building lots which were either sold directly to a homeowner or to a builder who would construct houses on the lots before selling them to homeowners. The district consists of over a dozen separately named residential subdivisions. Some of these were single streets that were developed by multiple developers on a smaller scale, while others consist of several blocks in more formally named communities.

These developments share a common history, origin, and similar architectural vocabulary of form and styles, reflecting a broader collective character as a district that was established as a streetcar suburb and evolved into an automobile-oriented one by the mid twentieth century. All of these developers and builders maintained a consistent vocabulary of popular architectural styles that were typical of their period of construction. Early-

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twentieth-century development is reflected in the Bungalow, Craftsman, Colonial Revival, American Foursquare, and Tudor Revival style residences, aimed to attract working-and-middle-class residents, many of whom worked at industries like Lackawanna Steel Plant to the west of the district. In some of the larger subdivisions, deed restrictions explicitly required a consistency of styles, influencing smaller scale development outside those subdivisions as well. The district also reflects a new wave of residential settlement patterns by the mid-twentieth century, with automobile-oriented curvilinear streets or cul de sacs accessing Cape Cod, Split Level, or Ranch style houses with some attached garages. In this way, the district reflects an excellent collection of examples of multiple types of residences that can serve as a textbook, patchwork viewing of the evolution of styles over time. Today, the historic district contains an intact collection of built resources that thoroughly represents these types of settlement patterns and architectural styles from the twentieth century.

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**Narrative Description**

There are **3,938** contributing primary resources in the McKinley Parkway Historic District. These contributing resources are mostly free-standing single or multiple-family houses, some with garages. The nominated district also includes several paved brick streets including Eden Street, Minnetonka Road, and Narragansett Road that date to the early twentieth century. Seven resources in the district has previously been listed on the National Register of Historic Places (see Previously Listed Resources). The majority of the buildings in the district retain their historic features from the period of significance including form and massing, sheathing and siding materials, details such as moldings, trim, carved brackets, wood windows, and porches. The layout of streets in the district remains unchanged since the original development of the neighborhood from the early to mid-twentieth century. There are few vacant lots or demolitions in the district, but there is some infill housing constructed in the late-twentieth century. The vast majority of buildings in the neighborhood were constructed during the period of significance. Most of the **1,272** buildings determined to be non-contributing to the district reflect significant alterations or removal of key elements such as porches, fenestration, doors, additions or other changes. Others have been determined non-contributing due to their construction after the period of significance (post-1968).

**STREETS**

The street plan in the McKinley Parkway Historic District is primarily composed of a rough grid of streets radiating out from the spine of McKinley Parkway in a roughly triangular form. This area of the city was created by filling in streets running east-west between older preexisting streets, such as South Park Avenue, Abbott Avenue, and Potters Road, which ran north-south away from downtown Buffalo and into neighboring settlements. These three roads are among the oldest in the district. Abbott Road was a path since at least 1809 and appears on maps as early as 1866, formally laid out after the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold in the 1840s. Bailey Avenue was extended southward across the Buffalo River to join Abbott Road in 1891, aiding in the cross-river connection between the district and areas north in the city. This encouraged the laying of additional streets, which could newly be accessed from the north, and henceforth encouraged development. Because these older streets ran at irregular angles, the grid of residential streets is not perfectly rendered, instead forming a roughly triangular shape. Streets filled in the irregularly shaped area formed by South Park Avenue, Abbott Road, Potters Road, and eventually Cazenovia Park, where residential streets such as Woodside Avenue and Cazenovia Avenue were prepared for development by the late nineteenth century. Paving occurred during the early twentieth century in most cases, as roads were laid out and improved on a grander scale at that time.



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Lot sizes tend to be relatively uniform and consistently spaced throughout the district, as much of the development occurred on each street simultaneously. Generally, most parcels feature a narrow width of street frontage about 30-35 feet wide and a depth of about 70-100 feet. These numerous, rectangular lots were typical of early suburban style development that relied on the availability of public utilities such as gas, water, and sewer that are typically run underground close to the street. Following deed restrictions, houses are of similar size and scale, generally one to two and a half stories in height, with a standard setback from the street. Houses are typically set on their lots with a driveway or small side yard on either side. Midcentury houses tend to occupy a double wide lot, accommodating the horizontal emphasis typical of the Ranch style. Most lots feature sidewalks and grass margins planted with trees near the street and small rear lawns. Sidewalks and curbing tend to be concrete on all streets, with a few exceptions paved with brick on Culver Street, Eaglewood Avenue, Eden Street, Narragansett Road, Minnetonka Road, and Portland Street. In the below street descriptions, specific development tracts may be mentioned. Figure 15 provides the individual subdivision boundaries, developers and dates.

***North-South Streets***

**Abbott Road** is a primary northwest-southeast two-lane thoroughfare in the McKinley Parkway Historic District, running from the junction of Potters Road and Red Jacket Parkway through and past the district beyond the city line to the south. Originating as a dirt road since at least 1809, this road was more formally laid out after the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold in the 1840s. After the street was connected to points south and north as part of area road improvements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, commercial development began to grow along Abbott Road. Some of its older houses were converted with additions on their front elevations into shops, while new purpose-built commercial buildings were constructed as well. This has given Abbott Road its characteristic balance of residential and commercial appearance today.

**Augusta Street** is a north-south street that is one block long running south from Downing Street to Evanston Place. It is characterized by a handful of parcels developed in the mid-twentieth century with Split Level style houses. There are three maple trees and concrete curbing.

**Beale Street** is a north-south street that is two blocks long between Dundee Street and Densmore Street. The street was laid out as part of the Tuscarora Road Subdivision around 1907. There are no parcels facing Beale Street. The road has large maple trees and assists with circulation amongst connecting streets.

**Cumberland Avenue** is a northwest-southeast street, originally laid out as part of what became the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision in the early 1900s. This residential street is a two-lane central road in the subdivision, running between Southside Parkway and Cazenovia Street. It is lined with granite curbing, concrete sidewalks, and metal luminaries on curved poles. Large maple, elm, oak, and ash trees are present on Cumberland Avenue.

**Hancock Avenue** is a north-south street connecting Coolidge Road in the north through Downing Street past the district boundaries to Dorrance Avenue. There are no parcels facing Hancock Avenue. The street was laid out in 1922 by Pierson as part of the Coolidge Street subdivision. It was paved with asphalt in 1934. The road has maple and oak trees and assists with circulation amongst connecting east-west streets.

**Hansen Avenue** is a north-south two-lane street that runs from Downing Street to Dorrance Avenue. It is characterized by parcels developed in the mid-twentieth century with Split Level and Ranch style houses. Maple and Oak trees line the street with concrete curbing.

**High View Terrace** is a north-south two-lane street that runs from Downing Street to Dorrance Avenue. It is characterized by a handful of parcels developed in the mid-twentieth century with Split Level and Ranch style houses. There is no major landscaping aside from a few young maple trees on the west side on the street, with concrete curbing.

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**Hines Street** is a north-south street that is one block long running south from Downing Street. It dead ends before reaching Aldrich Place to the south. It is characterized by a handful of parcels developed in the mid-twentieth century with Split Level and Ranch style houses. There is no major landscaping on the street, with concrete curbing.

**Ithaca Street** is a north-south street connecting Tift Street in the north to Whitfield Avenue in the south. There are no parcels facing Ithaca Street. The street, originally Dold Street, was laid out as part of the Woodside Land Company' subdivision in 1892. The narrow two-lane road has maple trees and assists with circulation amongst connecting east-west streets.

**Julius Street** is a north-south street that is one block long running south from Downing Street. It dead ends to the south of Evanston Place before reaching Aldrich Place to the south. It is characterized by a handful of parcels developed in the mid-twentieth century with Split Level and Ranch style houses. There are a few maple trees and concrete curbing.

**Latona Court** is a curvilinear U-shaped street connecting Downing Street in the north to McKinley Parkway in the west. It was laid out in 1950 to accommodate the Downing Apartments constructed that year. is characterized primarily by a mid-to-late century apartment complex with numerous buildings. Concrete curbing and maple trees line the street.

**McKinley Parkway** is the primary north-south thoroughfare in the McKinley Parkway Historic District, serving as the spine that catalyzed much of the residential development that occurred to the east and west. The street itself was previously listed on the State and National Registers of Historic Places as part of the Cazenovia Park-South Park system in the Olmsted Parks and Parkways (NR Listed 1982). The Parkway was intended to serve as the gracious link between Heacock Park to the north and the Olmsted-designed South Park to southwest. McKinley Parkway is dotted by two of Olmsted's circles, with **McClellan Circle** in the district and **McKinley Circle** to the south, both part of the NR-listed parkway system. The name was changed from South Side Parkway in 1915, to honor U.S. President McKinley. The traffic circle at McKinley and Dorrance Avenue is known as McKinley Circle, but was also originally known as South Side Circle. It is a broad, 100-foot-wide residential street which features many individual houses with a generous set back of approximately 25 feet. Some of the houses are angled to enhance the setback and accommodate the curve of the street. While the majority of the buildings on the street date from the 1890s-1920s, McKinley Parkway at its far north and southern ends has a few lots indicating mid-to-late twentieth century construction. Bordering the paved roadway is curbing, typically Medina Sandstone or granite with some concrete curbing repairs. Grassy shoulders near the street also contain numerous maple, elm, and oak trees, giving the street a lush, shaded landscape in the summer months. The sidewalk is generally concrete with some earlier sandstone slabs still remaining. Streetlights include twentieth century cast iron lamps, primarily located to illuminate intersections.

**Niantic Street** is a narrow two-lane northeast-southwest street between Narragansett Road and Potters Road. It was originally laid out as part of the Tuscarora Land Company subdivision in 1907, and later paved with macadam in 1936. There are no parcels facing Niantic Street The road has no major trees and assists with circulation amongst connecting residential streets in the Tuscarora Land Co. subdivision.

**Onondaga Avenue** is a north-south street between Potters Road to the north and Dorrance Avenue to the south beyond the district. The street was laid out as part of the Tuscarora Land Company subdivision in 1907 and later paved with asphalt in 1936. The two-lane road assists in circulation through the historic subdivision. It forms the border of the city line, as well as the southeast boundary of the McKinley Parkway Historic District.

**Potters Road** is a northwest-southeast street that begins at Red Jacket Parkway in the northwest and continues beyond the district and city line to the southeast. The two-way two-lane road was known originally as Potters Corners Road, which began as a footpath since at least the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold in the

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1840s. It provides circulation along the south side of Cazenovia Park to the northeast and the district to the southwest. It connects to join Abbott Road to continue northwards through the district. The street has a mixture of early twentieth century and mid-twentieth century residences, with later construction typically occurring on the east side of the road closer to the park.

**Sibley Street** is a north-south street that is one block long running south from Downing Street. It dead ends before reaching Aldrich Place to the south. It is characterized by a handful of parcels developed in the mid-twentieth century with Split Level and Ranch style houses. There is no major landscaping on the street, with concrete curbing.

**Tuscarora Road** is a northwest-southeast road that runs roughly parallel to Potters Road between Peconic Street and Shenandoah Road in the district. It was originally laid out as part of the Tuscarora Land Company subdivision in 1892 and then more formally in 1907. The road has two lanes divided by a central median, planted with grass, flowers, shrubberies, and small ornamental trees. Cast iron luminaries are located at regular intervals along the medians for illumination. Sandstone and granite curbing occurs along the median. The majority of the residences on the road were constructed in the early twentieth century.

**Ward Court** is a north-south street that is one block long running south from Downing Street to Dorrance Avenue. It is characterized by a handful of parcels developed in the mid-twentieth century with mostly Split Level and Ranch style houses. There is no major landscaping on the street with concrete curbing.

***East-West Streets***

**Aldrich Place** is an east-west street with two lanes running between South Park Avenue to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. The street is named after Alexander Aldrich, who purchased the land in 1855 and grew celery on his estate there. The land was sold to the Pixley Land Company in 1903 and developed later that decade. It is a two-lane road about 66-feet wide and features granite and concrete curbing and concrete sidewalks. The street features mostly early twentieth century residences at a uniform setback.

**Alsace Avenue** runs roughly east-west between Abbott Road to the east and McKinley Parkway to the west. The road was laid out by 1901 as part of developer William Choate's subdivision and paved with asphalt by 1915. It is a two-lane road about 66-feet wide and features granite and concrete curbing and concrete sidewalks. The street features mostly early twentieth century residences at a uniform setback.

**Arbor Lane** is an east-west residential street that was laid out in two distinct stages. The two-lane street extends east from McKinley Parkway, laid out and paved to Hancock Avenue in 1939 as a small subdivision by developer Arber. East of Hancock Avenue, Arbor Lane was laid out and paved in 1961, resulting in a southward curve that ends at Eden Street. The latter curvilinear arrangement to the east reflects a midcentury settlement pattern while the west half reflects a pre-World War II gridlike east-west formation in relation to McKinley Parkway. The residences in the west half reflect their ca. 1939 construction while those in the east half are the midcentury style Steeple Bay Apartments, a series of freestanding multifamily buildings. Oak and maple trees line both sides of the street at regular intervals, with concrete sidewalks and curbing.

**Athol Street** is an east-west residential street between South Legion Drive to the east and Abbott Road to the west. It is a one-way street running east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision in the 1910s. It was paved with asphalt in 1922 from Abbott to Cumberland Avenue, and in 1928 to South Legion Drive. It is lined with oak and maple trees, with concrete sidewalks and granite curbing. The houses are setback at a uniform distance and were constructed mostly during the early twentieth century.

**Belvedere Road** is a one block long east-west road between McKinley Parkway to the west and Mercy Street to the east. It was laid out by at least 1935, developed later than nearby streets due to its proximity to the former Choate estate to the south and Mercy Hospital to the east. It was paved with asphalt by 1960. The rear,

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south end of Lorraine Elementary school occupies the northeast end of the street and a large individual residence facing the circle to the south occupies the southwest end of the street. A small collection of residences, dating mostly from midcentury or later, are setback from a concrete sidewalk and curbing at uniform distances.

**Bloomfield Avenue** is an east-west residential street between McKinley Parkway to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. The street curves slightly where it intersects with McKinley but otherwise is generally straight. It was laid out by 1894 and developed by the 1920s by developer George Duerstein. It has two lanes and is about 66-feet wide, with concrete sidewalks and curbing. Maple and oak trees line the curbs and early twentieth century houses are setback a uniform distance.

**Britt Avenue** is an east-west residential street between St. Martins Place to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. The street curves slightly where it intersects with St. Martins Place but otherwise is generally straight. It was laid out in the mid twentieth century and has two lanes and is about 50-feet wide, with concrete sidewalks and curbing. Maple and oak trees line the curbs and mid twentieth century houses are setback with driveways.

**Brost Drive** is less than one block long between Hancock Avenue to the west and Abbott Road to the east. The street terminates in a cul de sac at the north side of Public School 67, which occupies the south side of the street. The road was laid out, paved, and developed in 1968. This street is characterized by midcentury residential construction on the north side and the school and landscaped school grounds to the south.

**Cantwell Drive** is an east-west residential street between McKinley Parkway to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. Formerly known as Brucella, Cantwell Drive was laid out in 1916 and developed as part of the Eden Acres subdivision primarily in the 1920s. It was paved with asphalt in 1934. It has two lanes and is about 66-feet wide, with concrete sidewalks and curbing. Maple and oak trees line the curbs and early twentieth century houses are setback a uniform distance.

**Carlyle Avenue** is one block long residential street between Abbott Road to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. It was laid out in 1893, known then as Little Street after the developers C.E.U. and Little. It was first paved in 1897 and again in 1925. Most of the residences reflect late nineteenth and early twentieth construction, setback from the concrete sidewalk and curbing at uniform distances. Some maple and elm trees line the street.

**Cazenovia Street** is an east-west street between Abbott Road to the west and beyond South Legion Drive and the district to the east. The street crosses the adjacent Cazenovia Creek just outside the eastern boundary of the district. Formerly known as Whitmore, the street was laid out by 1872 and was first paved in 1897. It formed the south end of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision, developed mostly in the 1910s. Cazenovia Park is located at the south side of the street, and the north side is characterized by early twentieth century residences at uniform setbacks with concrete sidewalks and curbing.

**Choate Avenue** is a residential street located between South Park Avenue and McKinley Parkway, continuing at a northeast direction past McClellan Circle to Abbott Road. Formerly known as Springfield, the street was laid out in 1892. The street is named after developer William Choate, who developed the street in the early 1900s and also lived there before that time. The street west of McKinley Parkway was developed beginning in 1892 by the Woodside Land Company and the street east of McKinley Parkway was developed ca. 1904 by Choate himself. It was paved with asphalt in 1915. The whole street reflects predominantly early twentieth century residential construction with concrete sidewalks and curbing, uniform setbacks. The east portion of the street is characterized by slightly later residential styles and the prominent Mercy Hospital at the east end near Abbott Road.

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**Clio Avenue** is a one block long residential street between McKinley Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. It was laid out ca. 1893 and was paved with asphalt in 1915. Most of the residences reflect late nineteenth and early twentieth construction, setback from the concrete sidewalk and curbing at uniform distances. Some maple and elm trees line the street.

**Columbus Avenue** is a two block long residential street between Abbott Road to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. The west block, west of McKinley Parkway, was laid out by 1894 and the block east of McKinley Parkway was laid out ca. 1908. Each block was developed in the early 1900s as part of different subdivisions. The whole street was first paved in 1910. The block west of McKinley is a one-way street, while the east block contains two lanes. Both blocks have concrete sidewalks and curbing, with ash and elm trees.

**Como Avenue** is a two block long residential street between Abbott Road to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. The west block, west of McKinley Parkway, was laid out by 1894 and the block east of McKinley Parkway was laid out by that time as well, although it was known then as Bloom Road. Each block was developed in the early 1900s as part of different subdivisions, mostly by developer William Burke. The whole street was first paved in 1897. Both blocks have concrete sidewalks and some sandstone curbing, with notably more ash and elm trees on the east block.

**Coolidge Road** is a one block long residential street between Abbott Road to the east and McKinley Parkway to the west. It was laid out as part of Sheffield Street by 1901, but later became known as Coolidge Road in the 1920s. It was developed as a subdivision, separated from the continuation of Sheffield Street to the west of McKinley Parkway by Pierson in 1922. It was first paved in 1920. The road contains two lanes separated by a grass median with interval breaks. The median is planted with ash and maple trees, which also dot the concrete curbing along the street.

**Culver Road** is a one block long residential street between South Park Avenue to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. Formally known as Devonshire Road, it was laid out by 1909. Development did not occur until it became part of the Interpark subdivision in 1922. The road contains two lanes separated by a grass median with interval breaks. The median is planted with a few small ornamental trees and shrubberies, with larger ash and maple trees along the concrete curbing along the street.

**Cushing Place** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. It was laid out by 1894 and developed primarily as part of the Abbott Terrace subdivision by Kinsey Real Estate in 1922. This residential street is a two-lane road lined with concrete curbing, sidewalks, and a few maple trees.

**Densmore Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and beyond the district boundary to terminate at Tudor Boulevard to the east. It was laid out by 1901 and developed as part of the Abbott Terrace subdivision in the 1920s. It was paved with asphalt in 1928. The road has early twentieth century houses at uniform setbacks from concrete sidewalks and concrete curbing.

**Dorrance Avenue** is a two-lane residential street that forms the southern boundary of the district, running between South Park Avenue to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. The street forms the southern boundary of the district and of the City of Buffalo overall. The road has early twentieth century and mid-twentieth century houses at uniform setbacks from concrete sidewalks and concrete curbing lined with maple and elm trees.

**Downing Street** is a two-lane residential street running between South Park Avenue to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. It was laid out between South Park Avenue and Abbott Road by 1872, with the east portion stretching to Onondaga Avenue in 1893. It was paved in parts by 1901. The north side of the street served as the southern boundary for multiple subdivisions, including Eden Acres, Southdale, and C.E.U. and Little's subdivision. The south side of the street was not included in these subdivisions and thus not

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developed as part of the district. The road has early twentieth century houses at uniform setbacks from concrete sidewalks and concrete curbing lined with maple and elm trees.

**Dundee Street** is a two-lane residential street running between Abbott Road to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. It was laid out by 1894, formerly known as Waldron Street. The name had changed to Dundee Street by 1916 and was developed mostly during the 1920s as part of the Abbott Terrace subdivision. It was paved with asphalt in 1929. The road has early twentieth century houses at uniform setbacks from concrete sidewalks and concrete curbing lined with a few maple trees.

**Eaglewood Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between McKinley Avenue to the west and Abbott Road to the east. It was laid out in 1891 as part of the South Buffalo Parkside Land Co. subdivision that year. It was paved with brick in 1917 and still has red brick paving today. The road has early twentieth century houses at uniform setbacks from concrete sidewalks and sandstone curbing lined with maple trees.

**Eden Street** is a two-lane residential street between South Park Avenue to the west and Abbott Road to the east. It crosses McKinley Parkway, with the west half slightly south of the east half of the street. Formerly known as Marconi, it was laid out west of McKinley Parkway by 1901. The west portion was developed as part of the Eden Acres subdivision in the 1920s and paved with asphalt by 1921. The east portion was laid out as part of a small subdivision by developer Forbach in 1926 and paved with brick in 1928. The street features concrete sidewalks, sandstone curbing, and a mix of maple, oak, and ash trees.

**Edgewood Avenue** is a one lane, one-way residential street that runs west from Abbott Road to McKinley Parkway. It was laid out in 1891 as part of the South Buffalo Parkside Land Co. subdivision. It was paved with asphalt by 1919. The road has early twentieth century houses at uniform setbacks from concrete sidewalks and sandstone curbing lined with maple and oak trees.

**Evanston Place** is an east-west residential street between Sibley Street to the west and Julius Street to the east. It was laid out in the mid twentieth century and has two lanes and is about 50-feet wide, with concrete sidewalks and curbing. Maple and oak trees line the curbs and mid-twentieth century houses are setback with driveways.

**Harding Road** is a residential street between South Park Avenue to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. The street was laid out by 1901 and developed as part of the Interpark subdivision in 1922. The road contains two lanes separated by a grass median with interval breaks. The median is planted with a few small ornamental shrubberies, with larger oak and maple trees along the concrete curbing along the street. Metal luminaries line the median as well.

**Hollywood Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between McKinley Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. The street was laid out in 1893 as part of a street long subdivision that year. Early-to-mid twentieth century houses are setback at uniform distances. The road has concrete sidewalks, sandstone and concrete curbing, and rows of maple and elm trees.

**Hubbell Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between Southside Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. The street crosses McKinley Parkway at an irregular angle to accommodate the triangular shape of area streets in relation to the spine of McKinley Parkway. The street was laid out west of McKinley Parkway by 1894 and east of McKinley Parkway by 1901. It was developed predominantly by William Burke in the early 1900s. It was paved with asphalt by 1915. It has a mix of sandstone and concrete curbing, concrete sidewalks, and early twentieth century residences at uniform setbacks.

**Kenefick Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between Southside Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. The street crosses McKinley Parkway at an irregular angle to accommodate the triangular shape of area streets in relation to the spine of McKinley Parkway. The street was laid out west of McKinley Parkway by

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1894 and east of McKinley Parkway by 1901. It was developed predominantly by William Burke in the early 1900s. It was paved with asphalt by 1917. It has a mix of sandstone and concrete curbing, concrete sidewalks, and early twentieth century residences at uniform setbacks.

**Kimberly Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between McKinley Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. Formerly known as Loveland, the street was laid out by 1901 and developed in the 1920s. It was paved in 1926 from Hancock west and in 1934 from Hancock east. It has concrete sidewalks and curbing with a few maple trees located mostly west of Hancock Avenue.

**Lakewood Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between Southside Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. The street crosses McKinley Parkway at an irregular angle to accommodate the triangular shape of area streets in relation to the spine of McKinley Parkway. The street was laid out in 1891 from the former Heacock grounds in relation to the new McKinley Parkway spine. It was developed predominantly by William Burke in the early 1900s and Kemp in the 1920s. It was paved with asphalt by 1915. It has a mix of granite and concrete curbing, concrete sidewalks, and early twentieth century residences at uniform setbacks.

**Lorraine Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between McKinley Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. The street was laid out by 1901 and paved with asphalt by 1926. The street has residences at uniform setbacks and is characterized by the presence of Lorraine Elementary school at its southeast end. It has concrete curbing, concrete sidewalks, and early twentieth century residences at uniform setbacks.

**Magnolia Avenue** is a short residential street between Oakhurst Avenue to the southwest and Abbott Road to the northeast. It was laid out by 1909 and paved with brick in 1920. It has concrete curbing, sidewalks, early twentieth century residences at uniform setbacks, and multiple maple, oak, and chestnut trees.

**Mariemont Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between South Park Avenue to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. It was laid out between 1894-1895. It was developed as part of the Interpark subdivision in 1922. It was paved with asphalt in 1922. It has a mix of sandstone and concrete curbing, concrete sidewalks, and maple and elm trees.

**Marilla Street** is a two-lane residential street between McKinley Parkway to the east and South Park Avenue to the west beyond the district to Larabee Street. It was laid out west of South Park Avenue by 1880 and developed in the district by William Hurley during the early 1900s. It was paved with macadam in 1902, and later with asphalt in 1927. It has sandstone curbing, concrete sidewalks, and is lined with maple trees.

**Melrose Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was paved in 1924. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, with several maple and oak trees.

**Meriden Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was paved with asphalt in 1920. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, with maple trees.

**Mesmer Avenue** is a one way, one lane residential street between Southside Parkway to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. It was laid out in 1891 from the Heacock subdivision. It was paved with brick in 1912. Today it is paved with asphalt and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, early twentieth century residences with uniform setbacks on grass lawns, and dotted with a few maple trees.

**Milford Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It

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was paved with asphalt in 1925. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, with maple trees.

**Minnetonka Road** is a two-lane residential street between Tuscarora Road to the east and Abbott Road to the west. It was originally laid out as part of the Tuscarora Land Company subdivision in 1892 and then more formally developed in 1907. The road was first paved with brick in 1928. The red brick road has sandstone curbing and is lined with maple and oak trees. The majority of the residences on the road were constructed in the early twentieth century.

**Morgan Road** is a short residential street that begins at Hancock Avenue to the east and dead ends less than a block to the west at the east edge of Brookdale Park. It was laid out in the late 1920s and paved with asphalt in 1931. The road has only eight houses, four on each side of the street, with concrete driveways. It has concrete curbing, sidewalks, and a few maple trees. It terminates at Brookdale Park in a simple concrete curb planted with a few ornamental shrubberies.

**Mumford Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was paved in 1927 from Abbott Road to Cumberland Avenue, with east of Cumberland Avenue paved in 1934. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, with several maple and oak trees.

**Narragansett Road** is a two-lane residential street between Tuscarora Road to the east and Abbott Road to the west. It was originally laid out as part of the Tuscarora Land Company subdivision in 1892 and then more formally developed in 1907. The road was first paved with brick in 1928. The red brick road has sandstone curbing and is lined with maple and oak trees. The majority of the residences on the road were constructed in the early twentieth century.

**Oakhurst Avenue** is a one-way residential street running west from Abbott Road in the east to Red Jacket Parkway at the west. It was laid out by 1909 and paved in 1926, with paving extension from Magnolia Avenue to Red Jacket Parkway in 1929. It has concrete curbing, sidewalks, early twentieth century residences at uniform setbacks with maple trees.

**Okell Street** is a two-lane residential street between McKinley Parkway to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. Formerly known as Newberry Street, it was laid out in 1901 and developed by William Hurley during the early 1900s. It was paved with macadam in 1905, and later with asphalt in 1934. It has concrete curbing, concrete sidewalks, with maple and oak trees.

**Olcott Avenue** is a one block long residential street between McKinley Parkway to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. It was laid out around 1903, initially called Eaglewood as an extension of that street to the east of McKinley Parkway. It was developed by the Reward Development Company from 1904-1910. The street was first paved with asphalt in 1918. The street has concrete sidewalks and curbing, with maple and elm trees.

**Peconic Street** is a short residential street between Abbott Road to the west and Potters Road to the east. It was originally laid out as part of the Tuscarora Land Company subdivision in 1892 and then more formally developed in 1907. It was paved with asphalt in 1936. The asphalt road has concrete curbing, maple trees, and a few houses facing the road.

**Portland Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was paved in brick west of Cumberland Avenue in 1926 and paved in asphalt in 1936 to South Legion Drive.



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Today the brick road is still intact and the asphalt road is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, dotted with maple trees.

**Ramona Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. The street was laid out and developed in 1917. It was paved east of Hancock Avenue in 1924 and west of Hancock Avenue in 1926. The asphalt road has sandstone curbing and maple trees, lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback.

**Red Jacket Parkway** is a two-lane residential street between Potters Road to the east and McClellan Circle at McKinley Parkway to the west. It was laid out and paved with macadam in 1893, as part of Olmsted's design for the parkway system in the district. The asphalt road has a mix of concrete and sandstone curbing and is lined with maple trees.

**Richfield Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between South Park Avenue to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. It was laid out in 1892 as part of the Woodside Land Company subdivision and paved with brick in 1904. The asphalt street today has sandstone curbing, concrete sidewalks, and oak and maple trees.

**Ridgewood Road** is a two-lane residential street between South Park Avenue to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. It was laid out, paved, and developed in the 1920s as part of the Interpark subdivision. The asphalt road has two lanes separated by a grass median with small flowering trees and metal arched luminaries facing alternating directions. There is a mix of sandstone and concrete curbing, with maple and oak lining the road.

**Robins Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and just past Cumberland Avenue to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was paved in 1926 from Abbott Road to Cumberland Avenue. The portion east of Cumberland was still unpaved in 1961, developed and truncated after the period of significance. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, with elm and oak trees.

**Rutland Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was paved with asphalt in 1926. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, with large elm and maple trees.

**Salem Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was paved with asphalt in 1922 west of Cumberland Avenue and in 1929 to South Legion Drive. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, with maple trees.

**Sheffield Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between South Park Avenue to the west and McKinley Parkway to the east. It was laid out around 1892 and developed primarily by William Burke around 1905. It was paved with asphalt in 1920. The road has a mix of granite and concrete curbing and is lined with mostly maple and oak trees.

**Shenandoah Road** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. It was originally laid out as part of the Tuscarora Land Company subdivision in 1892 and then more formally developed in 1907. The asphalt road has sandstone curbing and is lined with maple and oak trees. The majority of the residences on the road were constructed in the early twentieth century.

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**Stevenson Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was first paved with asphalt in the late 1920s. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has concrete curbing, sidewalks, and maple trees.

**Strathmore Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between McKinley Parkway to the west and Abbott Road to the east. It was laid out in 1891 and developed as part of the South Buffalo Parkside Land Company subdivision. It was paved with brick in 1918. The Bishop St. Timon school is located at the southwest end of the street. Today the asphalt road has sandstone curbing and is lined with maple, ash, and elm trees.

**Susan Lane** is an east-northwest residential street between Hancock Avenue to the west and Downing Street to the north. The street curves northward to intersect with Downing Street but otherwise is generally straight. It was laid out in the mid twentieth century and has two lanes and is about 50-feet wide, with concrete sidewalks and curbing. Maple and oak trees line the curbs and mid twentieth century houses are setback with driveways.

**Turner Avenue** is an east-west residential street between Abbott Road to the west and Onondaga Avenue to the east. It was laid out by the mid twentieth century and has two lanes and is about 50-feet wide, with concrete sidewalks and curbing. Maple and oak trees line the curbs and mid twentieth century houses are setback with driveways.

**Tamarack Street** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the west and South Legion Drive to the east. It was laid out by 1887 and developed in the 1910s as part of the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision. It was first paved with asphalt west of Cumberland Avenue in 1919, with paving east to South Legion Drive in 1930. It is lined with early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback and has sandstone curbing, sidewalks, and maple and ash trees.

**Tifft Street** is a two-lane street between McKinley Parkway to the east and past the west boundary of the district at South Park Avenue to Fuhrmann Boulevard at its west end. The name derives from George Washington Tifft, an area farmer in the early twentieth century who later sold his South Buffalo tract of land to encourage residential and industrial development in the district and mostly points west. It was laid out by 1880 and paved by 1915. The asphalt road has a mix of granite and concrete curbing and is lined with maple and ash trees.

**Whitehall Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between Abbott Road to the east and McKinley Parkway to the west. It was laid out and developed as part of Albert Fox's Southdale subdivision in 1925 and paved with asphalt in 1929. The asphalt road has sandstone curbing and a mix of maple, ash, and elm trees. It is lined with early and mid-twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback.

**Whitfield Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between Abbot Road to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. It was laid out in 1892 and initially developed by the Woodside Land Company that year. The west portion was paved with asphalt in 1919 to McKinley Parkway, but the east portion was not paved until the late 1920s. The east portion was developed later by Park Abbott Realty Company between 1916-1925. The asphalt road has a mix of sandstone, granite, and concrete curbing as well as maple and oak trees.

**Woodside Avenue** is a two-lane residential street between Abbot Road to the east and South Park Avenue to the west. Formerly known as Inkerman Street, the street was also once known by its prior function, Indian Trail. It appears on maps as early as 1866 and likely served as a trail many decades before that time. It was first paved in 1904. The street served as the boundary for multiple subdivisions to the north and south, spurring development in the area in multiple phases from the 1890s-1920s. The asphalt road has a mix of sandstone, granite, and concrete curbing as well as maple, ash, and elm trees. The streetscape is characterized by early twentieth century frame residences at a uniform setback.

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**ARCHITECTURE**

The growth of the McKinley Parkway Historic District occurred in waves of development starting largely in the 1890s and lasting well into the mid-twentieth-century, with the largest development boom occurring between 1910 and 1950. There are no major examples of buildings from before the 1890s with sufficient integrity to attest to cohesively demonstrate the area prior to that time. Given this development period and the developers' use of deed restrictions (see page 8.26), there is a great deal of cohesiveness amongst the architectural styles, materials, and sizes of residences in the district. While most of the residences were built with similar massing and styles according to their early or mid-twentieth century wave of development, many also feature individually articulated details that lend distinctive character to each house and street. Virtually all of residences were constructed by a local developer or builder, reflecting common American architectural trends of the period of their construction. The bulk of the residential building stock in the district is comprised of freestanding examples of the Bungalow, Craftsman, American Foursquare, Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival styles that were common during the early twentieth century. Elements such as front porches, regular fenestration with double-hung sash windows, chimneys, and hipped or gable asphalt roofs are common throughout the district. Residences are typically freestanding single-family or multi-family. Most examples are of frame or brick construction, although a few stucco or stone examples over frame are also present in the district. The district is almost entirely comprised of residential architecture, with several churches and a few schools. Commercial architecture was located along the main thoroughfares of Abbott Road and South Park Avenue, designed primarily to serve the residential community on the surrounding streets.

**LANDSCAPE FEATURES**

The McKinley Parkway Historic District is typical of an American suburban-style neighborhood that developed from the early to mid-twentieth century. The streetscapes in the district tend to feature houses set back on grassy lots and front yards, with concrete sidewalks and grass strips with trees near the streets. Front walks leading to entry porches and front doors are generally poured concrete or concrete slabs. Street trees are regularly spaced within the sidewalk margins, and many of these were planted along with the residential development of the area in the early twentieth century. There are landscaped grass medians with planted flowers and trees running along the center of Tuscarora Boulevard, Coolidge Road, Ridgewood Road, and Culver Road illustrating the district's history of automobile-oriented development. No original subdivision gates remain intact, if there were any, but there are brick paved streets on Eden Street, Portland Street, Narragansett Avenue, and Minnetonka Road, which are a relatively rare type in Buffalo.

**SECONDARY BUILDINGS-GARAGES**

Settled by a combination of streetcar and automobile commuters, the district features many driveways, garages and a few median landscapes that reflect multiple eras suburban-style commuting residents. Many of these driveways are now of asphalt paving, but in some instances an older concrete pad driveway is still intact. Garages present in the district are typically small, historic one-bay garages, with some retaining historic wood doors. Typically constructed of frame or masonry to match the house, common features include a large ground level door. As these properties were intended for middle class homeowners, carriage houses are virtually nonexistent in the district and garages remain modest, typically intended for one car. Midcentury residences sometimes feature attached garages as well. Garages and other outbuildings that are substantial in size or scale have not been included in the inventory count because many are not visible from the public right-of-way. Rather than include a partial inventory, this nomination has omitted these buildings from the counts of resources but acknowledges that some were built during the period of significance, retain integrity and contribute to the historic district. That being said, where visible, the resource list included with this nomination indicates the presence of a garage whenever possible. All garages and other outbuildings that are substantial in size or scale are considered contributing until documentation that demonstrates otherwise is approved by the National Register.

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**NON-CONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS AND INTEGRITY ASSESSMENT**

The McKinley Parkway Historic District reflects a strong level of integrity particularly in its urban plan. The area's historic layout and setbacks from the street have been maintained, along with the bulk of the historic building stock. While most streets have been paved with asphalt, and some have been widened, these are typical improvements that occur in most communities, and do not detract from the overall character and integrity of the nominated district. Examples of brick paved streets, sandstone or granite curbing, and landscaped median streets are intact in several locations throughout the district as well. Non-contributing resources comprise a minority proportion of buildings in the historic district, and their presence also does not detract from the overall integrity of the district. Even though some of the buildings may be non-contributing due to individual alteration and loss, there is a good level of integrity to the cohesive streetscape to convey the original history and design of the neighborhood as a mix of early streetcar suburbs and mid-twentieth century suburbs in South Buffalo.

A minority percent of the primary resources in the McKinley Parkway Historic District are non-contributing to the character and significance of the district. Many of those resources identified as non-contributing reflect substantial cumulative impacts from alterations to the original massing/form, rooflines, fenestration patterns and relationship to the street. Common alterations such as the addition of picture windows or enclosure of porches do not necessarily disqualify the building from contributing status, as these changes reflect shifting trends that occurred during the period of significance. The addition of vinyl or aluminum siding also does not automatically render a building non-contributing.

***Methodology for Determinations***

The following criteria were used to evaluate contributing/noncontributing status of buildings in the district.

- The building must have been present during the period of significance (1890-1968). Some properties have been considered non-contributing because they were constructed after of the period of significance. These properties form a small minority in the historic district. While they may be considered non-contributing buildings to the historic district, the presence of these buildings does help to maintain the continuous streetscape of the residential streets in the nominated district, without large gaps or holes.
- The building must retain, at a minimum, integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association.
- Integrity of workmanship and materials is important in relation to the quality of the building's original construction. While a small number of buildings exhibit high quality workmanship and architect designed details, most buildings do not reflect this history and are therefore not held to that higher standard. The majority of buildings are vernacular in character; neither workmanship nor materials constitute essential aspects of integrity for these buildings. Owners of typical houses in the district commonly sought to address maintenance issues using twentieth-century substitute materials marketed as being easier to maintain, such as cement-asbestos or aluminum siding. These materials do not count against integrity if they are reasonably visually similar to the original material, e.g. aluminum or vinyl siding retaining the original horizontal alignment of wood clapboards, if the historic character of the building remains legible. Many buildings that have had modern sheathing materials installed retain their original overall size, shape, massing as well as trim, moldings and detailing, and in many instances, it can be assumed that vinyl or aluminum siding was installed over the original wood clapboard or shingle sheathing, making this alteration potentially reversible.
- Integrity of design, likewise, is important in relation to the building's original quality of design, where they are contributing if they retain enough character-defining features that their original design is substantially legible. Most of the buildings are modestly designed, reflecting the common building trends at the time of

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their construction as well as the area's middle and working class focus. For the district's buildings the following considerations were used to evaluate integrity of design:

- The building should retain its historic scale and massing. Additions that are clearly secondary, e.g. located at the back or side where they are visually distinct from the historic form, are common and are considered part of the normal evolution of buildings in the neighborhood. Such additions do not detract from integrity.
- The building should retain its original roofline. Alterations to the roofline during the period of significance are acceptable.
- Replacement sash in original openings are common in the district and do not render a building non-contributing, nor do alterations to openings if the original openings remain legible (e.g. partial wood infill of a window opening in a brick building, or replacement sash spanning the original outer opening). Vinyl sash, if it retains the same opening, size, and rhythm, does not render a building non-contributing. An isolated instance, or alterations to fenestration on less-prominent sides of the building, will not render a building non-contributing in the absence of other integrity issues. Extensive alteration to fenestration patterns due to complete infill of openings or introduction of new windows not consistent with the location, rhythm, operational type, and/or size of historic fenestration may render a building non-contributing.
- Alterations to historic front porches are common and are often a response to deterioration and/or the need for additional interior space. Few porches in the district retain all their historic materials, and many porches have been enclosed. Alterations to historic porches, up to and including removal, will not on their own render a building non-contributing. Common alterations such as the addition of picture windows or enclosure of porches do not necessarily disqualify the building from contributing status, as these changes reflect shifting trends that occurred during the period of significance. Replacement of a historic open front porch with an alternative not typical of the period of significance, such as an uncovered deck or a full enclosure that does not retain evidence of original open character, may alter the building enough that it is no longer contributing.

While one substantial change to a building in one of the categories described above can detract from integrity enough to render the building non-contributing, more commonly buildings are determined non-contributing due to the cumulative effect of multiple alterations that collectively obscure the building's historic character and detract from the continuity of the streetscape.

**PREVIOUSLY LISTED RESOURCES**

The McKinley Parkway Historic District contains four previously listed resources: the St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church Complex at 432 Abbott Road (NR Listed 2017), and the Cazenovia Park-South Park System (NR Listed 1982). St. Thomas Aquinas Roman Catholic Church Complex consists of three buildings and is significant as a modern interpretation of Italian Romanesque church architecture designed by architects George Dietel and Stickle, Stickle, & Kelly. The Cazenovia Park-South Park System is part of the Olmsted Parks and Parkways Thematic Resources National Register listing. Designed by Frederick Law Olmsted between 1894 and 1897, the Cazenovia Park-South Park System includes Heacock Park, McKinley Parkway, McClellan Circle, Red Jacket Parkway, Cazenovia Park, McKinley Circle, and South Park.

**RESOURCE LIST**

Total Contributing Buildings:

Total Non-Contributing Buildings:

Total Number of Buildings:

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Previously NR Listed: 7

The full resource list can be found at the end of the nomination form

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**8. Statement of Significance**

**Applicable National Register Criteria**

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☒ A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

**Criteria Considerations**

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- ☐ A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ B removed from its original location.
- ☐ C a birthplace or grave.
- ☐ D a cemetery.
- ☐ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ F a commemorative property.
- ☐ G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

**Areas of Significance**

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Community Planning & Development

**Period of Significance**

1890 - 1968

**Significant Dates**

1890, 1894, 1897, 1901, 1915, 1939, 1942, 1968

**Significant Person**

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

**Cultural Affiliation**

**Architect/Builder**

Various

**Period of Significance (justification)**

**Criteria Considerations (explanation, if necessary)**

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**Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph**

(Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance and applicable criteria.)

The McKinley Parkway Historic District is significant as a large, primarily middle-class streetcar neighborhood that reflects the growth and development of this distinct area of the city of Buffalo between the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. The district encompasses most of the South Buffalo neighborhood, which is located south of downtown Buffalo and south of the Buffalo River. Spanning both sides of the Frederick Law Olmsted-designed McKinley Parkway (previously NR listed), the McKinley Parkway Historic District encompasses more than 5,000, largely residential, resources. Its location south of the Buffalo River meant that South Buffalo developed somewhat isolated from downtown Buffalo, and the fact that the area was not incorporated into the city boundaries until 1854 further reinforced this relatively independent identity. This location, near many important industries, including steel plants along the Lake Erie shore and grain elevators on the Buffalo River, attracted a growing population of Irish and Irish American immigrants looking for good paying jobs. The isolated location, undeveloped site, and large immigrant population helped to forge a distinctly more suburban community than was typical within the city limits. While initial settlement was limited, several factors encouraged more expansive development of South Buffalo, as the neighborhood expanded to the south. These included the establishment of Frederick Law Olmsted's parks and parkways in the area in the 1890s, the installation of streetcar lines, and the 1899 announcement that the large Lackawanna Steel (later Bethlehem Steel) plant would employ hundreds of workers nearby. All of these factors precipitated the district's dramatic growth beginning in the 1890s. The relative prosperity and stability of the middle-class neighborhood is reflected by the continued repetition of the same development patterns within the district well into the 1960s.

Significant under **Criterion A for Community Development and Planning**, the McKinley Parkway Historic District was established in multiple waves beginning in the 1890s to the 1930s, often corresponding to transportation improvements and employment growth to accommodate increased production at the Lackawanna Steel Plant. The Olmsted-designed McKinley Parkway, anchored between Heacock Park to the north, South Park to the south, and Cazenovia Park to the east, formed the spine of this development. The streetscape of McKinley Parkway is already NR listed as part of the Cazenovia Park-South Park System (NR listed 1982). Given its location, bordered by the Buffalo River to the north, Lake Erie to the west, the city of Lackawanna to the south, and the town of West Seneca to the east, the neighborhood developed as a relatively isolated, self-contained neighborhood between the commercial spines along South Park Avenue and Abbott Road. Residential development occurred largely between and adjacent to those main arteries throughout the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.

The district represents a plethora of primarily single family detached residences in a range of popular types, forms, and architectural styles from both the early and mid-twentieth century, often aligned on rectangular blocks in close proximity to one another. Their large numbers, close siting, and similarity of forms and materials creates an especially distinctive sense of place, as similar streetscapes continue for block after uninterrupted block. Variety is provided by the fact that streets containing houses from the 1910s and 20s are interlaced with streets developed in the 1940s or later. Rather than the more typical story of an individual subdivision constructed by an individual developer, this district reflects a decentralized settlement history, one that was developed by multiple developers in multiple phases and styles, providing a sampler of numerous and varied building types with minimal stylistic embellishment aimed to attract a middle-class population to settle the areas branching east and west from McKinley Parkway. The building block of this district is the two-story single-family wood-frame house (with some two family versions); however, the diversity of building types using similar materials and varied modest embellishment near one another gives the neighborhood its distinctive physical character. While there was no formal street plan for the area, streets generally were laid out in an east-west orientation between major earlier arteries such as South Park Avenue, McKinley Parkway, and Abbott Road. Houses were set on narrow urban lots, and setbacks were generally consistent.



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Although different individual developers were responsible for subdividing lots and constructing houses in each subdivision, they did so contemporaneously by building residences in the same basic architectural styles and forms and aimed to attract the same middle-class citizens in settlement patterns as they evolved from the early through the mid-twentieth century in America. Many of the area's buildings were constructed as modest examples of the American Foursquare, Colonial Revival, Bungalow, Craftsman, and Tudor Revival types, with a much smaller representation of older Italianate and Queen Anne examples. Many of the neighborhood's later houses were not designed with such distinctions, many illustrating the more modest Minimal Traditional and Cape Cod styles, but there is a notable similarity in massing and plan to these houses which visually connects them, as well as relates to earlier development with similar sizes and street setbacks. Today the district presents a cohesive built environment with a comprehensive aesthetic sampling of residential architecture from the twentieth century.

The period of significance for the district begins in 1890 when the announcement of the Olmsted parks and parkways system began to spur development and road improvements. The area was sparsely settled prior to this. It ends in 1968 with the completion of the last major subdivision, on Brost Street, that year. This period encompasses all significant street pattern and architectural development within the South Buffalo neighborhood and corresponds to the era during which the district was at its most socially and economically prosperous. The McKinley Parkway Historic District retains the spirit of its original development as an early suburban, middle-class residential neighborhood that was established simultaneously by multiple developers during multiple waves of construction between 1890 and 1968.

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**Narrative Statement of Significance**

**BUFFALO CREEK RESERVATION: BEFORE 1854**

The McKinley Parkway Historic District is located within the former 130 square mile Buffalo Creek Reservation (Figure 1 - 3). In the eighteenth century, as white American settlers were just beginning to look westward to settle in what is now Western New York, what is now South Buffalo was already home to a sizeable population of Seneca. The Seneca Nation is one of six Native American nations that comprise the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy or Six Nations, a democratic government that pre-dates the founding of the United States. Following the American Revolution, the Haudenosaunee were forced to relinquish large tracts of land to the newly formed United States government.

By the Treaty of Big Tree, signed September 15, 1797, the Senecas were pushed onto their lands in reservations totaling 310 square miles, including the Buffalo Creek Reservation spanning the district. The fertile bottomlands along Buffalo Creek became an important Haudenosaunee population center until the mid-1840s when controversial treaties conducted in 1838 and 1842 forced the native residents of Buffalo Creek to move away from their land.

Some early European-American settlers had begun to establish rudimentary roads and homesteads in the district during the early 1800s, even while it was still the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Overall, the lack of roads and frequent flooding of the creeks and rivers in the area prevented white settlers from establishing more permanent homesteads, aside from a few hardy early settlers who predate the sale of the Buffalo Creek Reservation land in 1842. In 1809, Abbott Road was constructed along an older Indian trail there, built by Samuel and Seth Abbott. The Abbotts had moved to the area from Vermont in 1807, settling in the area that

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came to be known as Abbotts Corner, near South Park Avenue today. In 1833 Abbott Road was more formally surveyed, but it remained relatively isolated in terms of road connectivity from the city to the north.

A handful of other early settlers established small, relatively isolated farms in the district during the early 1800s. Timothy Hopkins is reputedly the first to settle in the vicinity, purchasing a large portion of land that he later sold to farmers David Bell and George Washington Tifft.<sup>1</sup> Bell, a Scottish immigrant, played an early role in Great Lakes shipping in the development of the iron propeller steamer. His farm was located northwest of the district, where Bell Street originally ran through his farm. Reuben Heacock, invested in land quite early in the district, purchasing a large plot near the center of the district surrounding what later became Heacock Park. He purchased the land for his family from the Ogden Land Company shortly after the 1842 Compromise Treaty had obtained it from the Seneca.

Aside from these few farms near the edges of the district, the vast majority of the land was owned and occupied by the Seneca through the early nineteenth century. In the 1840s, the Seneca would reluctantly sell the title to their lands to the Ogden Land Company, as attempts to keep speculators at bay proved unsuccessful. As a result of the 1842 Compromise Treaty, the Buffalo Creek Reservation lands were sold to the Ogden Land Company. Most Seneca were pushed out of their land in 1846 according to the agreement ratified by the U.S. Senate. Subsequently, speculators began clearing the land in the district for development aimed to attract white settlers by 1850.<sup>2</sup>

## **THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTH BUFFALO: 1854-1890**

The year 1854 in particular marked a turning point in the city's history, once that directly affected the district. In 1854 the City of Buffalo limits were expanded to include the district area, absorbing the former Buffalo Creek Reservation land. This occurred as part of a broader massive land grab that also occurred as the city spread its boundaries in virtually all directions to accommodate growth. Initially bounded by Porter Avenue and North Street on the north, Jefferson Avenue to the east, and Lake Erie and Buffalo River on the south and west, the city boundaries expanded at an exponential rate, with the largest acquisitions occurring in 1854. Between 1832 and 1854, the City of Buffalo grew from four-and-a-half square miles to roughly its present area of forty-two square miles. This massive jump in size reflected the optimism and foresight that resulted from the booming transportation-oriented industries, the success of the Erie Canal and early railroads, and the population growth that was already occurring. With this acquisition, the city presented its aims to become a major urban center, emerging from its small settlement-era roots.

As part of this huge land expansion, South Buffalo was incorporated into the city boundaries as part of this massive expansion of the city boundaries in 1854, giving the area access to municipal services and funds. Locations to the north of downtown, to the north of South Buffalo, were more immediately primed for development. The land presented topographical difficulties, frequent flooding from the Buffalo River, as well as a lack of reliable roads to connect the area to the city's downtown to the north. Due to this, development in the 1860s and 1870s focused instead on the newly acquired land to the north of the city rather than to the south. While this 1854 boundary expansion led to a few improvements in the district, development was still relatively slow to occur until major transportation improvements occurred in the late nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Kowsky and Clinton Brown Company Architecture, "Triangle Neighborhood," Historic Resources Intensive Level Survey (City of Buffalo, May 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Mark Goldman, *High Hopes: The Rise and Decline of Buffalo, New York* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983), 32.

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During the mid-nineteenth century, the district still resembled only a small rural settlement of farmers. As the 1866 Stone and Stewart map indicates (Figure 4), the land had been divided into large lots suitable for farming or homestead purposes, and very few roads crisscrossed the area. Potters Road, known then as Potters Corners Road, had been laid out by that time, one of few in the area. These long, large lots were initially laid out by the Ogden Land Company and corresponded to the few roads in the vicinity, stretching between roads that were still at quite a distance from one another.

The area remained relatively rural for a while due to the lack of roads and persistent flooding of Cazenovia Creek and the Buffalo River. Only a few recognizable roads were in the area before this time, including Abbott Road. Brothers Samuel and Seth Abbott helped to build Abbott Road in 1809. The Abbott brothers invested in large amounts of land. Samuel was a farmer and surveyor and surveyed most of the principal early roads of Erie County.<sup>3</sup> Seth Abbott lived at Abbott's Corners and was interested in constructing a road to lead into Buffalo. The brothers helped clear the road of huge primeval trees, using their teams of oxen they brought from Vermont in 1807. The road still follows, with only slight deviations, the same path that the brothers originally cleared.

While the area today is well known for its Irish-American population, many of the earliest white settlers were immigrants from Germany who purchased and ran farms in the vicinity. In 1855, Alexander Aldrich began operating a large farm to the southeast of the district. There, he grew celery, black walnuts, and flowers. Later, he constructed a greenhouse on South Park and sold flowers to those going to the cemeteries on Limestone Hill.<sup>4</sup> Another early settler, John E. Beale, a Canadian by birth, operated a farm on the east side of Abbott Road. From his residence at Abbott Road and Dundee Street in the district, his holdings stretched back to Cazenovia Creek. In 1862, the German immigrant John Knoerl purchased ten acres of land adjoining Hammerschmidt's to the northeast of the district, planting a cherry orchard there. In 1866, George Leonard Unger, a cattle farmer from Collins, purchased the property through which Unger Street now runs for use as a stopping point during cattle drives, outside the district to the east. The property remained in the Unger family until being subdivided in 1910.

A sense of community likely emerged among these mid-nineteenth-century settlers, with churches and stores constructed to serve the population. Small commercial storefronts emerged along main corridors, although none of these buildings from the mid-nineteenth century remain today. Although the area today is largely affiliated with the Irish-American population, some of the earliest developers in the nineteenth century were German immigrants. In general, Buffalo's earliest major immigrant group were the Germans, who came over in the 1840s due to social and religious unrest in Germany, so this is perhaps unsurprising. William Duerstein, for instance, was a German member of the former Buffalo Creek Reservation Land Company and was amongst the first to develop the land for residential use in the northeast portion of the survey area in the 1880s-1900s. Other settlers included the British Alexander Aldrich, who purchased the land that later became Aldrich Place in the south portion of the district in 1855. This area was known for celery farming at the time.<sup>5</sup>

Three 'corners' formed major intersections in this rural area by the 1850s: Abbott's Corners, Martin's Corners and White's Corners. Abbott's Corners was named after the early settlers the Abbott brothers. Martin's Corners occupied the present-day junction between Southside and Abbott Road at Heacock Place, at the north end of

<sup>3</sup> Angela Keppel, "Abbott Road," *Discovering Buffalo, One Street at a Time* (February 28, 2018).

<sup>4</sup> Kerry Traynor and Urban Design Studio students, "Bringing New Form to Old Fabric: A Neighborhood Infill Development Proposal," Unpublished Design Studio report (University at Buffalo: School of Architecture and Planning, December 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Angela Keppel, "Abbott Road," *Discovering Buffalo, One Street at a Time* (February 3, 2015).

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the district. The straight stretch of South Park that runs due south between South Buffalo and Hamburg was built around 1850 and originally named White's Corners Plank Road, or simply White's Corners.<sup>6</sup>

With South Buffalo now within the city boundaries since 1854, a few road improvements conducted by the city aided in the early settlement of the district. In 1855, the city constructed Triangle Street between what was then White's Corners Plank Road and Abbott Road. The new road created a right-angle triangle between the three streets, giving the Triangle neighborhood its name. However, this improvement did little to improve connections to the city to the north, which occurred only at a bridge tollgate established just northwest of the district in 1848.

A single toll road connected South Buffalo to the city to the north via a bridge in 1848, which prevented development from occurring at a large scale during the 1800s. Between 1848 and 1898, the tollgate on the toll road was privately owned and run by George W. Briggs, who charged six cents for each horse to cross the bridge, making the connection across the river quite slow.<sup>7</sup> This bridge was the only reliable means to reach Buffalo from the district area, as the pathway via roadways did not efficiently occur until the 1890s. Until that time, settlement patterns tended to resemble a relatively rural area, with large swaths of land being purchased for use as farms or homesteads, primarily by immigrant families during the 1850s-1880s.

With the only consistent connection to the resources of the city to the north occurring on the toll bridge crossing near the northeast end of the area at Seneca and Cazenovia Creek, development remained quite sparse until the area waterways were tamed by dredging and new roads were laid in the late 1800s. In the 1860s, for instance, it took an entire day to travel into the city and then back again.<sup>8</sup> This slow travel time was due to several factors: constantly flooding waterways, only one toll road, and several rail crossings were located along the route. When horses arrived at the railroad crossings, they would often rear up on their hind legs due to fear. Early settler of the area, Rufus Choate, recognized these nuisances around 1866. In addition to later developing the area, he eventually abolished the old toll gate at Seneca Street and Cazenovia Creek in 1898 and the sixteen hazardous grade railroad crossings of South Buffalo.<sup>9</sup>

Before the large-scale development of the district, the 1872 Hopkins atlas and 1880 Beers map show that the district area remained mostly rural and sparsely settled by farmers and residents on large lots, with a handful of smaller lots and storefronts along intersections to the north (Figure 5). Given that the lot sizes, particularly on the west side of the district, were still quite large, there were not dedicated park spaces at that time. One exception occurred in January 1854, however, when Reuben Heacock deeded the property at the intersection of South Park Avenue and Abbott Road to the city for use as a park. This empty lot, soon known as Heacock Park (extant, contributing), then became a dedicated park space, making it one of Buffalo's earliest public green spaces.<sup>10</sup> Aside from this park, there were no other park spaces created in the area until the 1880s.

By the 1880s, growth occurred sporadically as streets were laid out to accommodate some of the industrial workers in the area. A comparison of maps from 1880, 1887, and 1894 illustrates the trends of growth in the area, wherein the portions to the northeast and northwest were laid out before the central south portions of the district. By 1880, the Beers map (Figure 6) shows the center of the survey was distinguished by only a few

<sup>6</sup> Luke Hammill, "The Long and Winding History of South Park Avenue," *Buffalo News* (January 15, 2018).

<sup>7</sup> Francis Kowsky and Clinton Brown Company Architecture, "Triangle Neighborhood," Historic Resources Intensive Level Survey (City of Buffalo, May 2004).

<sup>8</sup> Angela Keppel, "Choate Avenue," *Discovering Buffalo, One Street at a Time* (September 9, 2018).

<sup>9</sup> Angela Keppel, "Choate Avenue," *Discovering Buffalo, One Street at a Time* (September 9, 2018).

<sup>10</sup> Francis Kowsky and Clinton Brown Company Architecture, "Triangle Neighborhood," Historic Resources Intensive Level Survey (City of Buffalo, May 2004).

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roads, including White's Corners (South Park Ave), Abbott Road, Triangle Street, Downing Road, and Woodside Avenue. Relatively large lots characterized the area, particularly near the east and west ends, with the densest and smallest lots clustered around the intersections in the Triangle neighborhood to the north. The 1887 Matthews-Northrup map (Figure 7) similarly depicts the area, illustrating little change from 1880 in terms of roads.

Given the lack of adequate roads to connect the city to South Buffalo, railroads were a more reliable way to access the district in the mid-nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1850s, the development of railroads in downtown Buffalo also allowed manufacturers, distributors, and other businesses to move further inland, away from the water, where the land was cheaper for business owners and residents, such as South Buffalo. Several rail companies operated railroad lines that formed the outer edges of South Buffalo, somewhat circling the area and distinguishing it from the rest of the city to the north. The New York City and Hudson River Railroad, Lehigh Valley Railroad, Buffalo Railway Company, and South Buffalo Railroad all established headquarters in South Buffalo. The New York Central & Hudson River Railroad along with the Delaware Lackawanna Railroad ran parallel through the northern portion of South Buffalo. Early industries were established in the district in relation to waterways and railroad transportation networks. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps illustrate South Buffalo's railroads, brickworks, steamworks, packing houses, sawmills, gristmills, coal, iron, steel, and other industries (see Appendix). These businesses not only increased the import and export of goods to and from the City but also contributed to the growth and development of South Buffalo.

In South Buffalo, the push for development was first encouraged by the 1854 city boundary expansion and the introduction of railroads in the area in the 1870s. As other areas to the north like the Elmwood Historic District were soon 'filled up' by the late 1800s, developers continued to move southward to establish new residential communities away from the perceived dirt and grime of the central city. By the 1890s, population pressures in downtown Buffalo affected South Buffalo. Many of the old farmsteads in the area south of the Buffalo River became residential subdivisions for middle-class families. New fire companies, schools, and churches followed the population out of urban areas and into the new suburbs, inching south along Abbott Street in the district. With the introduction of regular streetcar service by the 1890s, followed by the automobile in the 1910s and 1920s, the district would soon experience a boom in development.

## **CONTEXT: EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY SUBURBAN-STYLE SETTLEMENTS**

Several factors influenced the growth of suburban development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in America. Population movement was occurring in the 1800s, partly in response to the growing commercial needs that dominated American city centers in the 1800s, pushing residential use increasingly away. City centers increasingly became associated with disease, crowded conditions, pollution from factories, and noise. Those who could afford it constructed their homes far from the city center, traveling by carriage, a phenomenon seen on Buffalo's Delaware Avenue. Increasing immigrant populations in cities, which saw immigrants often settling in dense communities that shared a common language and heritage, filled many of these now-vacant inner-city neighborhoods. Simultaneously, new advancements in public transportation in the second half of the nineteenth century dramatically shifted the relationship of the middle-class living in the city center, replacing foot travel with horse-drawn and later electric-powered streetcars. By the 1890s, most of the wealthiest were gone from city centers and, thanks to improvements in affordable public transportation, the middle-class would soon follow.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Americans had been seeking out locations in the suburbs for domestic life. Olmsted and Vaux's 1868 design for Riverside, Illinois, became a model that many later residential suburbs were to follow. In 1870, the same landscape architects had proposed that Buffalo lay out a

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similar residential neighborhood adjacent to the new park system in North Buffalo, known as Parkside. Like Riverside, Parkside's streets were to be gently curving, tree-lined, and provided with pedestrian sidewalks. Housing in the district and other streetcar suburbs provided, in the words of social historian Dolores Hayden, "a cut-rate version of the verdant residential ideal expressed in the picturesque enclaves" such as Parkside.<sup>11</sup> This was a nationwide pattern, and it applied quite clearly to the early twentieth-century development of the district that was made possible by the introduction of the electric streetcar.

Dozens of streets were laid by the city and lots were improved by developers in the district in the late 1800s to accommodate the influx of new factory workers and their families. These many new residential streets became lined with small, closely spaced single-family houses or two-story, double-family flats. Able to travel to places of employment by streetcars, local residents, like thousands of their counterparts in other cities, could enjoy the pleasures of home life away from the immediate proximity of commerce and industry.

By the early twentieth century, idealized residential living was characterized by open space, natural landscapes with trees and plants, and single-family homes. These philosophies of ideal neighborhoods and communities were partially modeled on older notions of individual suburban mansions set on lush, manicured grounds as symbols of not only wealth and status but also of good health and tranquility. These notions contrasted with the housing stock in many American city centers in this era which consisted of crowded multistory tenement buildings, with multiple families packed into small units with little light or air. This type of housing became widely associated with disease, as the density, poor ventilation, and often unsanitary living conditions all contributed to the rapid spread of illnesses such as cholera and tuberculosis.<sup>12</sup>

As these residential visions shifted in combination with access to new transportation technology, developers took advantage of the cheaper land prices, lower building costs, and public transportation systems to create new middle-class residential development. In addition to the streetcar lines, public utilities played a significant role in shaping the development and character of these early suburban developments. As properties were dependent on connections to utilities such as water, sewer, gas, and later electricity, it was common for developers to divide lots into rectangular parcels with a narrow frontage on the street. This allowed for more houses to be constructed along a street, maximizing access to utilities, and also maximizing profitability for the developer or builder. These long, narrow lots with houses sited at regular setbacks also resulted in the creation of a "front yard" and a "backyard," drawing on the desire for surrounding oneself in the natural landscape; while these are now typical elements of suburban development, in the 1880s and '90s this was a new concept. Despite the relatively small lots and closely spaced buildings, residents in these new streetcar suburbs enjoyed more light, air, space, and better sanitary conditions than those in urban centers and older residential areas at this time.<sup>13</sup>

## **CATALYSTS FOR DEVELOPMENT: 1890s**

By the 1890s, development was significantly encouraged by the introduction of four major elements into the district. Firstly, from 1887-1895, the establishment of a park system by Frederick Law Olmsted, designed as an extension of that to the north in Buffalo, spurred the settlement of the region as a residential area. Second, road improvements made in the 1890s provided better connectivity from the district to downtown Buffalo

<sup>11</sup> Dolores Hayden, *Building Suburbia, Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820-2000* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003), 71. For Parkside, see the National Register for Historic Places historic district nomination.

<sup>12</sup> Jennifer Walkowski, *Elmwood Historic District (West)* (National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 2012), 8.39

<sup>13</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (London: Oxford University Press, 1985), 104-106.

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across the Cazenovia Creek. Thirdly, in the late 1890s, the installation of several streetcar lines greatly increased the accessibility of the area through public transportation. This led to the settlement of many more businesses along these streets and residential settlements in the adjacent side streets. Fourthly, in 1899, the area received a great deal of new attention from prospective developers again, when the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company announced it would construct its new mill on prime waterfront land nearby, just west of the historic district. Although located outside the geographic boundaries of the district, the influx of workers to the mill resulted in high demand for housing in the vicinity, particularly in the district. Other industries soon followed, drawing even more workers to the area. Combined, these three factors set the stage for the rapid growth of the district that would primarily occur in the early twentieth century.

***The Olmsted Parks and Parkways within the District***

During the 1850s, "city beautification" became the priority for most major cities, and Frederick Law Olmsted was a significant supporter of this movement.<sup>14</sup> From 1869 to 1873, Olmsted and Calvert Vaux created Buffalo's system of parks and interconnecting parkways. The first phase consisted of three public elements: a large 350-acre park featuring a naturalistic landscape called The Park (now Delaware Park), a large meadow park with 120 acres called The Front (now Front Park), and a parade ground in the inland area called The Parade (now MLK Park). All three grounds were connected by broad, green parkways, separating the different modes of transportation common at the time, such as pedestrians, horses and buggy, and bicyclists.<sup>15</sup> Green corridors were formed to connect the three public parks and extended the scenic, aesthetic experience throughout the city.

In the city to the north, the establishment of one of America's first coordinated systems of public parks and parkways in the 1870s had a positive effect on the community and directly encouraged development in areas in the Elmwood neighborhood and, later, in the Parkside area. It was much the same in South Buffalo, although this did not occur until South Buffalo added three outer ring parks in the 1890s: Riverside Park, South Park, and Cazenovia Park.<sup>16</sup> The establishment of parks and parkways in the district began to spur developers' interest in the land to the south of the Buffalo River, but this did not occur in any official sense until the late nineteenth century. The district greatly benefitted from the establishment of major parks and parkways in the 1890s which encouraged settlement in the region.

Seeing the success of the park development in the northern areas of the city, South Buffalo residents successfully petitioned the Common Council in 1887 to extend the Olmsted park system south through to South Buffalo and t<sup>17</sup>he Lake Erie shoreline. They hoped for the day when new parkways would structure the growth of residential neighborhoods in South Buffalo, the way they had decades earlier in North Buffalo.<sup>18</sup> In 1888, however, Olmsted and his son John C. Olmsted stated several major hindrances that prevented the work from being completed at that time, particularly emphasizing the area's frequent flooding, poor drainage, and difficult access. Frequent rain in the spring months often led to the flooding of the Buffalo and Cazenovia

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<sup>14</sup> Charles A., Birnbaum, FASLA, and Robin Karson. *Frederick Law Olmsted Sr. National Association for Olmsted Parks* (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc, 2000). Retrieved 18 September 2013 from <http://www.olmsted.org/the-olmsted-legacy/frederick-law-olmsted-sr>

<sup>15</sup> C.S. Sargent, *The Buffalo Park System: Sept. 1881* (Buffalo, New York: Printing House of Matthews, Northrup & Co., 1881).

<sup>16</sup> Buffalo Olmsted Parks Conservancy, "Cazenovia Park," *The Urban Design Project*. Retrieved 21 September 2013 from [http://urbandesignproject.ap.buffalo.edu/project/cazenovia\\_park.pdf](http://urbandesignproject.ap.buffalo.edu/project/cazenovia_park.pdf)

<sup>17</sup>

<sup>18</sup> David Schuyler, "Cityscape and Parkscape," in F. Kowsky (ed.), *The Best Planned City: The Olmsted Legacy in Buffalo* (Buffalo: Burchfield Art Center, 1992), 6-17.

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Creeks. Additionally, with rail lines crisscrossing the area, travel to and from the city center to the north was nearly impossible. The Olmsted's observed the difficult conditions for development in South Buffalo at the time:

The value of real estate in the southern outskirts of the city is much less than in the northern outskirts...[this] is largely due to the fact that between these southern outskirts and the main body of the city there is a district so crossed by railroads, creeks, canals, and swamps, that communication across it by ordinary street conveyances can only be had in a way which, to those who have not become habituated to it, is frightfully perilous, besides being extremely tedious and disagreeable. At times, even such communication as has been characterized is impossible because of floods.<sup>19</sup>

Recommending that the city make some infrastructural improvements in the form of new roads, the Olmsted's identified the major need to connect the area to the central business district to the north.

To encourage future development, traffic needed to easily cross the network of railroad lines that formed a barrier between the northern and southern parts of the city. The Olmsted's stated, "If a single road could be made which by sufficient causeways and bridges on almost any line that would provide good, safe passage across this intermediate district, all property over a large space to the southward of it would be greatly benefited."<sup>20</sup> Specifically, they recommended that a direct approach from the central parts of town to the southeast through a viaduct over the intervening railroad tracks. The route would then lead southward through what is now the Triangle neighborhood to the new scenic park on the southern border of the city. "As to the plan and courses of this thoroughfare," the Olmsted's advised that "it be given the general character of Fillmore Avenue; that its breadth be nowhere less than ninety nor more than a hundred and twenty feet; that its centerline shall follow the center lines of Abbott's Corners Road, Triangle Street, White's Corners Road (the name was changed in 1893 to the present South Park Avenue) and Ridge Road to the entrance to the park at Hamburg turnpike."<sup>21</sup> These improvements were made as part of his plan.

In 1894, Buffalo's park commissioners officially commissioned Olmsted to design two new parks, South Park and Cazenovia Park. The design for 155-acre South Park was underway in 1894, with the 76-acre Cazenovia Park to the northeast in 1896. Olmsted proposed an earlier version of the design for South Park in 1892, envisioning a smaller, inland park full of densely wooded thickets, a concert area, playground, baseball field, athletic track, and small pools. Buffalo's park commissioners accepted the proposal but also insisted on adding a large water feature, expanding the arboretum, and creating a true botanical garden.

From its first design proposal in 1892, Cazenovia Park was the most complexly designed park of the Buffalo system. Olmsted created a lake-and-island system, connecting with the existing Cazenovia Creek and intertwining among the trees and grasslands. The lake was constructed in 1896, contained islands, and an uneven shoreline created inlets and promontories. During the early 1900s, other amenities and structures were added to the park with permission from and in collaboration with Olmsted. In 1925, Cazenovia Park, at the southeastern edge, grew by eighty acres. Today, Cazenovia Park has been altered from Olmsted's original vision and design. In 1925, the park grew by 80 acres at its southeastern edge. Other valuable features added to the Park include the Buffalo Public Library branch (1925), an ice skating rink, golf course (1925), a

<sup>19</sup> Frederick Law Olmsted and John C. Olmsted. "The Projects Park and Parkways on the South Side of Buffalo" (Buffalo: City of Buffalo, Park Commission, 1888), in S. B. Sutton (ed.), *Civilizing American Cities: A Selection of Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1979), 145.

<sup>20</sup> Shuyler, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Shuyler, 149.



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community center (1971), and parking lots.<sup>22</sup> The lake was later drained and filled in, as it posed problems with siltation and occasional flooding.

In 1894-1895, the Olmsteds designed and constructed two new parkways and circles to be laid out to link the southside parks to parkways and streets in the northern part of the city and one another. These two new parkways, known today as McKinley Parkway (originally known as South Side Parkway) and Red Jacket Parkway, would join South Park and Cazenovia Park to connect to each other and the northern part of the city according to Olmsted's suggestions. These parkways and circles occurred concurrently with the establishment of South Park. They were wide, majestic, tree-lined roadways with large green medians. Originally, parkways were for pedestrians and horse-drawn buggies, but as automobiles became more popular, they became open to more traffic. Beginning at Heacock Park, McKinley Parkway (former South Side Parkway) ran southwest to McClellan Circle (former Woodside Circle) where it met Red Jacket Parkway coming from Cazenovia Park to the northeast. From McClellan Circle, McKinley Parkway curved in a southeasterly direction to South Park. Olmsted's plan for joining McKinley Parkway to Fillmore Avenue through a grand viaduct over the Buffalo River and adjacent railroad tracks never came to be. The southern parkway system effectively terminated at Heacock Park, although in the 1930s the city laid out a northward extension of McKinley Parkway as far as Bailey Avenue.

Most of South Side Parkway has been renamed "McKinley Parkway," honoring United States President William McKinley, assassinated in 1901 at the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo. South Parkway Circle was also renamed after the President, becoming McKinley Circle. Woodside Circle is now known as McClellan Circle after George B. McClellan, a General of Union forces during the United States Civil War. Despite these name changes, the physical parkways remain largely intact.

The Olmsted Park System had a direct influence on the development of the district in the late nineteenth century. During the 1890s, as the park system was being put in place in South Buffalo, several new streets were laid out and extended in the district, preparing the way for the first major wave of development.

### ***Road Improvements in the 1890s***

Recognizing the lack of road connections from South Buffalo to downtown Buffalo as a major barrier to settlement, municipal services and private developers encouraged more substantial, organized settlement in South Buffalo through the establishment of roads in the 1890s. Many of the streets that are found in the Triangle neighborhood north of the district today were opened by the city in conjunction with private developers between 1891 and 1895. Bailey Avenue was extended southward across the Buffalo River to Abbott Road in 1891, aiding in the cross-river connection between the district and areas north in the city (Figure 8). This encouraged the laying of additional streets, which could newly be accessed from the north, and henceforth encouraged development. The introduction of streetcars into the area, along Bailey, South Park, and Abbott Road also occurred around 1893, greatly encouraging settlement in the area.

Many streets filled in the irregularly shaped area formed by older roads such as South Park Ave, Abbott Road, and Tiff Street, where east-west residential streets were prepared for development. Maps from 1894 and 1901 demonstrate the substantial increase in streets in the district that occurred in the 1890s (Figure 9). These maps, combined with information recorded in the *Index to Streets*, indicate a strong interest in developing this land around that time. Recognizing that transportation and efficient roads were the number one barrier to settling South Buffalo in large numbers, cities and developers worked together to lay out dozens of streets at

<sup>22</sup> Buffalo Friends of Olmsted Parks, *Cazenovia Park: 100 Years of Park Life*. Buffalo, New York (1991).

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the end of the nineteenth century. Many of these streets stretched east-west, located between larger thoroughfares such as Abbott, South Park, and Potters Road.

These streets included those in the northeast part of the district, such as Cazenovia northwards to Mumford along the spine of Cumberland, in place with some of them even paved by 1897. To the west of Abbott, streets from Red Jacket Parkway to Lakewood Avenue were laid out ca. 1893-1895, with a gap occurring where a larger estate remained between Choate Avenue and Lorraine Avenue. Several streets were also laid out from Red Jacket Parkway south to Downing Street, although many of their names were changed with later development. To the east of Abbott Road, streets in the future Tuscarora Land Company subdivision had already been initially laid out by 1892, with five streets to the south including Cushing Street and Densmore Street also laid out running parallel heading south to Downing Street. West of McKinley Parkway, streets from Lakewood Avenue to Marilla Road were laid out by the late 1890s, with a few gaps in roads between Columbus and Como, and between Marilla Road and Downing Street.

Paving occurred sporadically, and many of the streets were laid out several years before they were paved. Abbott Road, Cazenovia Street, Como Avenue, Red Jacket Parkway, McKinley Parkway, and Potters Road were all paved with macadam between 1891 and 1897.<sup>23</sup> Once these major crossroads were paved, developers urged the city to pave the residential streets based on settlement patterns and timing. Among the earliest of these to be paved were Marilla Road and Aldrich in 1902, and Woodside Avenue and Richfield in 1904. The latter was paved in brick, which was also the case on other streets such as Culver Road, Magnolia Drive, Mesmer Avenue, and Strathmore Avenue, each paved in the 1910s. The majority of the other roads were paved in the 1920s, with some of the earliest paved roads repaved at that time as well.

Since the lack of reliable road access had been the biggest obstacle to development, the installation of this infrastructure marked a key turning point in the history of the district. The laying out and paving of these roads greatly encouraged and enabled the residential and commercial settlement of the district. As the city was laying out and paving additional roads, private developers purchased lots and subdivided them for sale and construction. Much of these initial road developments occurred in tandem with the establishment of Olmsted's McKinley Parkway and Park System in South Buffalo, detailed in the previous section, and the establishment of the streetcar system in the district.

***Establishing the Streetcar in South Buffalo, 1890s-1930s***

The expansion of Buffalo's streetcar system into South Buffalo was an important factor that spurred the widespread development of the area in the 1890s. The McKinley Parkway Historic District is a good example of a streetcar suburb, a type of residential settlement which was occurring through the country during the late 1800s and into the early 1900s, which enabled middle-class and working-class residents to commute to nearby industries and businesses while still living in a quieter environment.

Residential subdivisions in South Buffalo were typical of turn-of-the-twentieth-century planning efforts to create controlled suburban neighborhoods within city boundaries. Residents of the new streetcar suburb of South Buffalo, specifically the area around Cazenovia Park, desired a direct line of street railway communication with the steel plants and other factories. This district rapidly filled up with men employed at the Lackawanna Steel factory. A short line from Cazenovia and Seneca Streets to the steel plant would have reduced the travel time by two-thirds. Hayden's description of a typical streetcar suburb aptly describes the northern portion of the district:

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<sup>23</sup> Department of Public Works, Division of Engineering. *Index to Paved Streets* (City of Buffalo: multiple years).

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Served by the . . . electric streetcar, these new buildouts began as linear real estate developments along the expanding transit lines. Sometimes they were adjacent to urban or suburban industries. Owners of large tracts of land subdivided and marketed lots to many second-generation Americans, children of immigrants who had grown up in inner-city tenements. Subdividers sometimes organized construction of houses, but more commonly small builders took over, or the owners built themselves. Houses were usually on a modest scale. They included single-family, two-family, and three-family dwellings, plus some commercial and apartment structures.<sup>24</sup>

Increased streetcar service was essential to the development of streetcar suburbs like the district. Areas of high traffic or accessibility to the streetcar dictated the location of developing communities. This settlement pattern remained consistent with other locations in the city and nation, wherein streets were developed piecemeal by multiple developers simultaneously to provide accommodations for a new community of working and middle-class residents employed at industries nearby.<sup>25</sup>

At the end of the nineteenth century, the electric streetcar system began replacing the horse car, eventually transforming urban landscapes around the country. Buffalo installed its first major streetcar line in 1880 on Main Street, but it was not until 1897 that South Buffalo's first horse streetcar line ran along Seneca Street, from downtown Buffalo (Swan and Washington Street) to the city line. Major stops on the streetcar line included Bailey Avenue, Abbott, and South Park of the Triangle Neighborhood. New lines soon followed the original Seneca line, with South Park Avenue line (Swan and Washington to Ridge and Lackawanna border), and Abbott Road line (Swan and Washington to Woodside) accessing much of the district.<sup>26</sup>

By 1901, the year the Pan American Exposition brought millions to the area, streetcar maps illustrated the extent of the system in the district (Figure 9). This map illustrates streetcar access to the area, where lines ran along South Park, Abbott Road, and crossed the creek at Cazenovia Street. These lines began to form the outer edges of the district as development worked inwards from these lines.

During the 1910s, increased streetcar frequency and coverage encouraged development in the district. In 1914, an improved Abbott Road electric streetcar line enabled the opening of even more lots in the district. The Abbott line had already been extended to the city line to the north by that time, and the electrification of the line demonstrated the International Railway Company's commitment to its regular service. In 1916, the Bailey Line (Route 19) began electric service as well. This line traveled south from the city, turning onto South Park Avenue along the western edge of the district. A 1916 map also indicates the presence of other passenger rail lines in the vicinity, with suburban commuter rail lines such as the Buffalo Lake and Erie Traction Co, leading to points west and the Buffalo Southern suburban rail lines heading to Gardenville and to Hamburg ran along the southeast edge of the district (Figure 11).

In South Buffalo, streetcars greatly impacted where people chose to live, property values, what type of people lived in the neighborhood, and how people commuted to work. Many potential homeowners specifically stated the importance of the ability to access the residential lots in the district from both downtown Buffalo to the north and the employment opportunities in the industries located to the south and west. Much of the district,

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<sup>24</sup> Hayden, 70.

<sup>25</sup> Much of this discussion is drawn from United States of America, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Historic Residential Suburbs, by David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland, National Register Bulletin: (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, September 2002)

<sup>26</sup> D. David. Bregger, *Buffalo's Historic Streetcars and Buses* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2008), 9.

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particularly in the northern half, was developed as a typical "streetcar suburb" where most breadwinners worked in nearby industries. Until 1919, Buffalonians rode the streetcar system for five cents, it was then changed to seven cents.<sup>27</sup> The affordability of this transportation enabled middle class residents to live in South Buffalo and commute to nearby factories or the city to the north for work.

Public transportation methods shifted from streetcars in the 1900s-1920s toward automobiles and bus transportation beginning around the 1920s. This shift was gradual and for about two decades it was common to have busses, streetcars, and automobiles all simultaneously present on city road networks. A 1935 map of public transportation demonstrates the presence of both bus lines and streetcar lines in the district that year. Streetcars along Route 14 and Route 16 continued to access the outer edges of the district, running along Abbott Road and South Park Avenue respectively (Figure 12). A bus line known as Route 19, an extension of the Bailey line, traveled down the center of the district by this time as well. Heading south down McKinley Avenue and then making a loop along Downing Street, Abbott Road and Ramona Street, this bus line connected the city to the north directly to the heart of the district.

***Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company and the Growth of Industry in South Buffalo***

The establishment of the Lackawanna Steel plant was another major factor that contributed to the rapid development of the district in the early twentieth century. When the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company purchased 400 acres along the shore of Lake Erie to the west of the district in 1899, development of the district began to occur at an unprecedented pace at the turn of the century. This steel company, founded in Scranton, Pennsylvania in 1840, was already one of the nation's largest steel companies by the time they expanded their operations to the Buffalo region. Drawn to the area's convenient access to the Great Lakes shipping networks by both waterways and railways, the company's decision to move their main plant to a location south of Buffalo had a major impact on the area.

To avoid land speculation, the company hired John J. Albright, then president of the Ontario Power Company, to purchase land on its behalf. Covertly exploring several sites in March 1899, by the end of the month, Albright chose an undeveloped shoreline area on Lake Erie west of the district. Albright began purchasing land on April 1, 1899, and by the end of that month had obtained nearly all the required property for the low price of \$1.1 million.<sup>28</sup> Albright was often accompanied on his purchasing visits by John G. Milburn, President of the Pan-American Exposition, and many property owners assumed the land purchases were for the Exposition.<sup>29</sup> Construction began on the plant in early 1900 and was completed at a rapid rate that enabled the company to begin turning out steel at the new plant in 1903.

The impact of the steel plant on the settlement of the region was tremendous. When the company was reorganized into the Lackawanna Steel Company in 1902, it was the largest independent steel company in the world at that time.<sup>30</sup> With about 6,000 workers at the plant on opening day, 2,000 of which had relocated from Scranton, the company had attracted thousands of new employees to the area virtually overnight. These workers needed affordable housing within proximity to the plant. The company initially attempted to provide housing near the plant in what became the Town of Lackawanna, creating extensive tracts of housing. This housing was substandard, however, which subsequently led to public health problems such as outbreaks of

<sup>27</sup> William R Gordon, *90 Years of Buffalo Railways* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1970).

<sup>28</sup> Joseph Larned, *A History of Buffalo: Its Men and Institutions, Biographical Sketch of Leading Citizens* (Buffalo: Haubreuer-Jones, 1908).

<sup>29</sup> "J.J. Albright Dead," *The New York Times* (August 21, 1931).

<sup>30</sup> "New Steel Plant Started," *The New York Times* (December 24, 1902).

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cholera, typhoid, and influenza.<sup>31</sup> As the plant was technically located within the town of West Seneca at the time, the demand on public utilities was too high to supply, so the town proposed separating the area around the steel mill as its own incorporated municipality, to be known as Lackawanna. Lackawanna Steel initially opposed the incorporation of the proposed municipality, but it relented in 1909 after the two-year-long Panic of 1907 nearly bankrupted the Town of West Seneca and imperiled the company's operations.<sup>32</sup>

As the plant was being constructed and established in the early 1900s, private developers began establishing residential tracts aimed at plant workers who could commute to nearby areas within reach of the streetcar. Suddenly, South Buffalo, which had previously been disconnected from the city's places of employment, was in high demand for the hundreds of new workers that were looking to live near their place of employment.

With Bailey Avenue providing a new connection across the Buffalo River to the north, a streetcar line already in place, and plenty of room for large-scale residential development in proximity to the new park system, it soon became one of the most active construction regions in the city of Buffalo. The district became the most attractive area for residential settlement, offering plenty of lots along the spine of Olmsted-designed McKinley Parkway and the side streets leading east and west from there.

Encouraged by the success of the Lackawanna Steel plant, other industrial operations were also established in South Buffalo. Soon multiple steel companies and other industries were located within the region, significantly influencing the development of the district as an adjacent community of residents attracted to the plentiful nearby jobs. Nearby industries such as the Lehigh Valley Railroad, Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company, the Buffalo Structural Steel Company, the Seneca Iron and Steel Company, National Aniline, and the Goodyear Rubber Company brought many working-class families to live on the land that had once been the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

By 1904, almost 7,000 people had relocated to the new neighborhoods emerging in the district to be closer to their place of employment at the steel companies, indicating the scale of development had already shifted from the relatively quiet, pastoral settlement patterns of the nineteenth century by this time. This led to the rapid construction of streets, subdivisions, and sale of new lots and construction of hundreds of new houses in the region beginning in 1899-1900, marking a new era for the district.

Industrial development continued during the twentieth century, with another major set of factories occurring west of the district boundaries around 1915. The 'Howard Factory subdivision,' visible on the 1917 Sanborn map, was formed to the west of the district from the former estate of Gibson Howard, who moved to California at the time. In 1915, he left the property under the charge of Edward C. Randall, who subsequently functioned as an attorney and realtor in subdividing the tract and attracting industrial businesses to develop the land. Located between Tifft, Hopkins, and Marilla Streets, as well as many railroad tracks, the property contained 136 acres of land. The land was well suited for industrial development, as it was adjacent to half a dozen trunk line railroads, with each factory plot reached by railroad sidings that have already been constructed. Bounding the west of the land were the tracks of the Lehigh and Lake Erie Railroad, Lake Shore division of the NY Central Lines, Erie Railroad, Nickel Plate, the Pennsylvania, and extending through the property was the main line of the Buffalo, Rochester, and Pittsburgh Railroad. Each industrial lot in the subdivision had street frontage and railroad access in the rear, with industrial switches already installed.

<sup>31</sup> Mark Goldman, *High Hopes: The Rise and Decline of Buffalo, New York* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus, 1984).

<sup>32</sup> "82 Years of History in Lackawanna," *The New York Times* (December 28, 1982).

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By 1919, the Commercial Electrolytic Company and Presto-Lite Company built factories west of the district in subsequent decades by the Maritime Milling Co Inc feed and grain mill, the US. Corrugated Fiber Box Co., and the Bliss and Laughlin Inc which made cold drawn steel and bearings. These multiple industries drew workers to the area, many of them residing in more comfortable, suburban-style surroundings in the district to the east as it continued to develop in the twentieth century.

**EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT: 1900-1920**

After the Olmsted parks system was established, the expansion of the streetcar system, and the establishment of the Lackawanna Steel plant all occurred in the late-nineteenth century, the rapid development of South Buffalo began in earnest in the early twentieth century. Development began to increase in the district immediately following the announcement of the Lackawanna Iron and Steel plant to be located to the west. New streets were laid out by the city, with more east-west residential streets laid out generally moving from north to south and west to east between larger preexisting streets such as Abbott Road, South Park Avenue, and McKinley Parkway.

The late nineteenth century was a time of massive real estate development throughout the city of Buffalo, including in South Buffalo. This was part of a broader real estate speculation boom sweeping the City in general. In addition to the district, other areas north of downtown such as the Elmwood district, Central Park, and University Heights, at the northernmost corner of the city near the University of Buffalo, were also all developed amongst a larger wave of population growth in the city.

The frequent flooding of both Cazenovia and Buffalo Creeks was a well-known problem in the early 1900s and continued to hinder development somewhat, despite the high demand for housing within commuting distance of the Lackawanna Steel plant. In 1906, flood abatement greatly improved this issue, when the creeks were dredged and straightened. This significantly dissipated the problem, and both developers and customers were far more inclined to consider the potential of the area after that time.<sup>33</sup>

Beginning in the 1890s, the district was developed by a combination of developers, builders, and realtors. The district was not developed by one developer, or even a group of them, but instead by a combination of large- and small-scale entities, along with enterprising individuals. The land was initially in large tracts, as former estates, farms, or land investment holdings. The city also owned several portions of the undeveloped land by the late 1890s and was responsible for laying out the streets in many cases, which were later paved and improved by developers.

Subdivision survey maps reveal the piecemeal fashion of these simultaneous developments, as well as the early street layout, which appears largely intact today. The earliest subdivisions tended to be only a few streets at a time. Once strong interest emerged in subdividing the land for development in the early twentieth century, tracts were then sold piecemeal to building contractors, investors, or directly to homebuyers. Some streets were developed lot by lot in this manner, with multiple developers and contractors building houses on the same streets side by side simultaneously. Other streets were developed by single entities as part of formal, named subdivisions that were laid out from larger tracts.

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<sup>33</sup> James Napora, *Houses of Worship: A Guide to the Religious Architecture of Buffalo, New York* ( Master of Architecture Thesis), 436-37. See also: Steve Cichon, "South Buffalo Residents Turn to Muddy Boots to Demand Help with Flooding" *Buffalo News* (June 17 1959).

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Typically, a developer would focus their efforts on a single block or group of blocks at a time, with multiple developers working in proximity to one another simultaneously. Lots would be sold vacant, particularly in the early 1900s. There were also many opportunities to buy a newly constructed house. A few large-scale developers made sweeping impacts on the area by selling hundreds of lots and/or constructing hundreds of residences, but dozens of smaller-scale individuals would build about five to twenty houses on a few adjacent streets overall. Occasionally the developers would name their subdivisions, such as 'Parkview Heights' or 'Southdale', but more often they would simply emphasize the pleasant qualities of the street in which lots were available.

Most subdivisions included a portion of McKinley Parkway within their boundaries. Somewhat surprisingly, McKinley Parkway was developed by multiple developers, with each subdivision having a few prime lots on McKinley Parkway as well as on the residential side streets. Rather than developing the parkway as a single long subdivision, real estate speculators each retained a few lots facing McKinley Parkway, typically only a block or two long, as part of their east-west subdivision boundaries. The buildings constructed along McKinley Parkway were typically the largest and most stylistically grand, serving as unofficial gateways to the east-west subdivisions in a manner similar to Richmond Avenue (also an Olmsted-designed street) in the Elmwood district neighborhood to the north. On the adjacent east-west side streets, the houses were smaller and more modest in style. These were not intended to rival the grand mansions of Buffalo's Delaware Avenue, where the city's millionaires built their mansions, or even the large Queen Anne style upper-middle-class houses in the city to the north but aimed instead to provide the opportunity for middle-class and working-class citizens to own a smaller but still fashionable house at a price comparable to renting.

The involvement of various developers and contractors results in a somewhat decentralized history, one without a clear and obvious developing entity to point to as the grand planner of the area. In this case, it is perhaps Olmsted himself, coupled with the streetcar and road networks, that served as the initial development spark for the area in the late nineteenth century. While the development history can be a bit multifaceted, the architectural character of the district conveys a strong, clear, physical sense of the area as an early-twentieth-century residential neighborhood. This is largely the result of a pattern in which a few major subdivisions were established by large-scale developers, and other small-scale entities followed suit. Architectural styles are consistent throughout the district, regardless of a specific developer. This reflects the early twentieth-century concern for encouraging and protecting residential investments in suburban-style settings by cultivating a sense of relative uniformity and consistency. Today, the same styles, setbacks, and settlement patterns are recognizable throughout the district, regardless of which subdivision or street a house is located on.

Larger subdivisions tended to set the pace for smaller-scale developers, constructing houses in areas that ranged from a single block to about ten blocks at a time. These subdivisions were typically laid out and improved by a single developer within about ten years or less. They tended to have names suggesting their suburban-style character, such as 'Eden Acres,' 'Cazenovia Park Colony,' and 'Abbott Terrace.'

Typically, these subdivisions sold lots and/or houses with deed restrictions, setting a formal standard for architectural style, size, siting, and cost that led to a visual consistency in the area. These restrictions, common in American suburbs during the twentieth century, were believed to provide investment security for homeowners, although they also often enforced a narrowminded view of what a desirable neighbor would be, particularly along the lines of race. Even where restrictions were not actually placed on the deed, the presence of them in adjacent areas ensured that the entire district developed with these stylistic considerations in mind.

Generally, most developers sold modestly sized lots, around 32-35 x 100 feet. The houses they constructed were aimed to accommodate working- or middle-class residents, many of whom were employed by the nearby

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Lackawanna Steel plant or other nearby industries and businesses. Bungalows, small one- or two-story single-family houses, and two-story 'Buffalo double' style multi-family houses were the most common residential types, designed to be affordable and comfortable for the plant's employees and families.<sup>34</sup> Many advertisements emphasized the affordability of these houses, offered competitive prices and mortgages, as well as actively promoting the proximity to the steel plant for the convenience of workers.

Many developers offered to "build to suit" in their advertisements, presumably working from a range of pattern plans and making adjustments as needed. One described the typical process that customers could undergo to build to suit:

Let us build a home for you in our restricted subdivision. You buy a lot from us and pay for it as you wish, then tell us whether you want a bungalow, single residence or two-family house, size and number of rooms, hard or soft wood trim and floors, steam or hot air heating, kind of bathe and plumbing, etc. We draw the plans for you free and when you have specified just what you want and the plans are satisfactory to you we build the house attractive, snug, and warm and you pay for it as you please, monthly, quarterly, or half-yearly. It is cheaper to build than rent and to have a house just as you would like it is added pleasure.<sup>35</sup>

While these advertisements emphasized the ability to customize a plan, it is far more likely that most developers worked from a set of pre-released pattern plans and edited small elements to better suit the customer. Given that these houses were aimed to be affordable first and foremost, however, these adjustments were often relatively minor and cosmetic. Overall, the district conveys a strong consistency of styles that were popular between the 1900s and 1960s, and the variations that occur are modest, rather than serving as major aesthetic departures.

***Attracting the Residents to the District***

These newly constructed houses were designed and priced to attract a working- and middle-class residential community, many of whom worked in the steel and iron industries which were conveniently located nearby. Developers emphasized the affordability of single-family bungalows in particular, which encouraged customers to buy to own a house for nearly the same cost as renting. Larger companies offered mortgages and insisted "All these houses are sold on a reasonable down payment and a moderate monthly payment. By doing this it gives the average man a chance to own a nice modern house and provide a comfortable, cozy home for his family and his children."<sup>36</sup> The typical bungalow was designed to attract this 'average man' who could pay a \$300 down payment with the "balance like rent," providing features such as "a reception hall, parlor, dining room, kitchen, 3 bedrooms, bathroom, large clothes closet, hot air furnace, electric lights, stationary tubs, brick fireplace, and hardwood floors."<sup>37</sup> House prices ranged from \$2300-\$5800, depending on the size of the house and whether it was a single-family or multi-family. These prices, equivalent to about \$35,000-\$87,000 in 2021 dollars, were targeted to the working class and middle-class population that was often affiliated or employed at the nearby industries just beyond the district.

For those that were not able to own a house, the district contained some rental properties as well. The construction of two-family houses increased in the 1920s, indicating the need for rental income-producing

<sup>34</sup> See page 8.44 and 8.45 for more on the 'Buffalo double' style

<sup>35</sup> *Buffalo Evening News* (October 12, 1916), 13.

<sup>36</sup> "South Buffalo Development," *Buffalo Courier* (September 10, 1919), 7.

<sup>37</sup> Advertisement, *Buffalo News* (April 7, 1917), 23.



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buildings, as well as the growing density and demand for residential space in the area. By 1916, realtor Albert Fox announced the high demand and low supply for rental properties in the area, stating "in my many years' experience in real estate I have never seen so little available renting property offered as this season."<sup>38</sup> He repeated this in 1917, stating he receives "20-30 calls daily for flats or single houses but he has no properties to offer for renters."<sup>39</sup> Developer William Klaus built a number of these two-family Buffalo double style flats, stating in 1925, "I am confident that South Buffalo will always be the safest investment for Buffalonians who purchase two-family homes, as the demand for rentals in this locality is far greater than other sections."<sup>40</sup> Many of these two-family houses are located in the northwest portion of the district near South Park High School, where demand for rental opportunities was the highest at the time.

Many community services and civic buildings emerged along a few major commercial corridors to help attract residents to the community. By the 1910s, the demand for both vacant lots and improved property in South Buffalo was becoming quite competitive. At that time, newspapers reported, "South Buffalo vacant property, especially in the vicinity of the new South Park high school, is gradually becoming more in demand. Building construction is becoming more active each day."<sup>41</sup> While automobiles were becoming more affordable in the late 1910s, many still could not afford to purchase, maintain, and store a car at that time, and instead relied on walking and public transportation. Given that many of these houses were designed to attract a working-class and middle-class population, "the elimination of carfare is an important consideration in the purchase of homes [and] has been emphasized lately in the inquiries for desirable residence or vacant properties in the South Buffalo territory."<sup>42</sup>

Partly in response to this demand, Triangle Street (now South Park Avenue) and Abbott Road emerged as commercial streets, offering walkable communities that also offered connections to other locations on the streetcar lines. As the *Buffalo Evening News* observed, "South Buffalo development is indicated by the conversion of Triangle Street into a live business thoroughfare, with all kinds of business, and the land value raising considerably this season."<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Abbott Road and South Park Avenue became commercial hub around this time, with numerous storefronts, churches, civic buildings, and entertainment centers emerging along these corridors to serve the growing residential population in nearby streets.

As the McKinley Parkway Historic District experienced significant development in the early twentieth century, the new residents were overwhelmingly of Irish descent. Many of the residents purchasing houses in the district at this time were of Irish descent or Irish immigrants, a pattern that continued for several decades and still characterizes the area today. The largely Irish population was drawn to the district due to the proximity of the steel plant, where many were employed. Over the next few decades, the increased presence of the Irish community would manifest in the establishment of community centers, Roman Catholic churches, and commercial storefronts. The district offered a refuge that was still quite near the large steel and iron industries to the west, encouraging the growth of the district as a working-class and middle-class residential community through the twentieth century.

***Small Scale Development: 1900-1910s***

<sup>38</sup> "No Car Fare Big Factor in Buying of Homes," *Buffalo Evening News* (April 8 1916), 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Buffalo Evening News* (October 12, 1916), 13.

<sup>40</sup> "City Will Spend More than \$2,000,000 in Improvements in South Buffalo This Year," *Buffalo Courier* (March 22, 1925), 8-9.

<sup>41</sup> "South Buffalo Land Grows in Demand," *Buffalo Evening News* (November 20, 1915), 21.

<sup>42</sup> "No Car Fare Big Factor in Buying of Homes," *Buffalo Evening News* (April 8, 1916), 2.

<sup>43</sup> "No Car Fare Big Factor in Buying of Homes," *Buffalo Evening News* (April 8, 1916), 2.

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During the real estate frenzy that occurred in Buffalo during the early 1900s, many people were encouraged to invest in real estate and even become small scale developers. Small-scale development was rampant in many areas of Buffalo during the early twentieth century, and it occurred in the early waves of development in South Buffalo as well.

Small-scale development occurred in the district in first five years of the 1900s, particularly before the flooding issue was abated in 1906. Streets were laid out by the city in the north portion of the district, and individual developers subdivided lots for sale or built houses there. A pattern of small-scale, street-by-street or lot-by-lot development was repeated on most streets in the district. The streets would be laid out by the city and improved, utility services would be added, and lots and houses would be constructed and sold at a rapid rate.

A few developers made an early impact on the district during these first few years of the 1900s, constructing dozens of houses that were sold to the newly employed workers at the nearby plant long before any major subdivisions were established. Some early developers subdivided lots and constructed houses at the individual street scale in the early 1900s. Olcott Street, for example, was developed between 1904 and 1910 by the Reward Development Company, selling particularly low-priced lots at \$10 down and \$1 a week. The Hollywood Avenue Land Company developed Hollywood Avenue from about 1903 to 1919 at a similar pattern.

William Burke and William Hurley each constructed over 50 buildings in the district during the early 1900s, at a time when larger scale subdivisions had not yet occurred. William Burke worked initially with his brother John in the firm William H. Burke and Brother from 1897 to 1911 where they developed streets such as Como and Kenefick, installing improvements in the year 1900, with scores of dwellings they constructed there.<sup>44</sup> When the firm dissolved in a nasty lawsuit between the brothers in 1911, John Burke continued to develop lots and build houses in the area into the mid-1920s. Working on Como, Kenefick, Englewood, and Edgewood Avenues, Burke is credited with building over 500 total houses in the area, typically building to suit the customer with an “up-to-date style of home known as the bungalow.”<sup>45</sup>

Developer William Hurley had his office at 372 South Park Avenue (demolished) and focused his efforts on Marilla Street running from South Park to Tifft, where he constructed about fifty houses between 1900 and 1905. Marilla Street received several improvements in 1902 when it was paved, had a sewer, water main and illuminated gas mains added. At that time it was not possible to secure natural gas mains in the street, but newspapers assured: “the houses will be equipped for the use of that fuel so that connections can be made as soon as the mains are placed in the street.”<sup>46</sup> Over the next three years, contractor William Hurley constructed about fifty houses just on Marilla Street alone.<sup>47</sup> These houses were a mixture of “flats and one and two-family structures...all fitted with modern improvements and cost in the neighborhood of \$2000.”<sup>48</sup> Newspapers took note of Hurley’s early efforts in the area. After he constructed the first seven houses, it was accurately predicted “these are but starters in a big house-building boom. Others will be put up as soon as the first seven are started. Mr. Hurley will soon have 30 or 40 houses under construction. They will be built in Marilla St with a view to the improvement of that thoroughfare.”<sup>49</sup> Like many other developers, Hurley advertised his ability to work with customers in constructing their homes, stating, “Prospective purchasers can have their choice of the structures and any changes that are asked will be made in the present plans for the houses.”<sup>50</sup> Of course, any

<sup>44</sup> “Fox Opens New Tract,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22, 1925), 8.

<sup>45</sup> “South Buffalo Claims Lead in 1924 New Home Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22, 1925), 8-9.

<sup>46</sup> “Boom in South Park Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (February 25, 1902), 8.

<sup>47</sup> “Boom in South Park Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (February 25, 1902), 8.

<sup>48</sup> “Boom in South Park Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (February 25, 1902), 8.

<sup>49</sup> “Boom in South Park Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (February 25, 1902), 8.

<sup>50</sup> “Boom in South Park Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (February 25, 1902), 8.

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major alterations to the typical pattern plans that were offered would cost extra, and few were likely to decide to make large changes. However, this option to build to suit was attractive to many buyers.

Other figures specialized primarily in real estate sales rather than construction itself, making a widespread impact on the settlement of the district. Known as 'a pioneer realtor' in the area, Albert Fox had an office at 4 Triangle Street which later moved to 1807 South Park Avenue (demolished).<sup>51</sup> Working in the area from about 1903 into the late 1920s, Fox was instrumental in connecting customers to developers and contractors through many waves of construction occurring in the early twentieth century. Advertising that he "works in South Buffalo exclusively," he was "of great assistance to builders, advised on many homes and has assisted in the sale and financing of many more homes."<sup>52</sup> He established his business in the early 1900s.

### ***Cazenovia Park Colony***

The first large subdivision to develop was the Cazenovia Park Colony area at the northeast end of the district. Bound by Cazenovia Street, Abbott Road, Mumford Avenue, and the Cazenovia Creek, this large land tract was purchased by Wilton C. Lindsey by 1912. Working with a builder named O'Connors, Lindsey developed hundreds of lots in this subdivision over the next fifteen years. Naming the area based on its proximity to Cazenovia Park to the south, Lindsey emphasized the park-like setting through plantings and street layout as well. Cumberland Avenue ran north-south down the center of the subdivision, a "wide, handsome, asphalted boulevard running directly toward the Park."<sup>53</sup> The street layout was in place by 1912, with Cumberland Avenue running parallel to Abbott Road and east-west side streets running directly to the Cazenovia Creek. The city had laid out many of the streets before Lindsey's development activity, around the time Cazenovia Park was established at the turn of the twentieth century. A 1909 map illustrates this street plan was in place by that time, although notable South Legion Drive was not in place. It would be added many years later, after Lindsey's development (Figure 10).

By 1912, Lindsey had purchased the land and began subdividing lots and constructing houses on a massive scale. In preparation, paving and other improvements were made to the streets and lots, adding "beautiful shade trees, handsome grass, granolithic walks, trunk sewer, water, gas, electricity, and a most delightful atmosphere of artistic refinement."<sup>54</sup> Lindsey subdivided and sold 100-200 lots at a time. Lots along Cazenovia Street faced the park and were, therefore, more expensive than those to the north. Lots on the streets to the north were priced lower, available at rates of between \$5-10 a month. Compared to lots facing Delaware Park in the city to the north, however, lots on Cazenovia Street were competitively priced to attract middle-class homebuyers. While lots on other parks and parkways were around \$200 a foot at the time, lots on Cazenovia Street were sold for \$500-\$600 total. Priced more affordably than other Olmsted park adjacent areas in Buffalo, the Cazenovia Park adjacent lots were designed to take advantage of the setting within a reasonable commute to other parts of the city.

The Cazenovia Park Colony offered a convenient location with easy access to public transportation, stores, schools, and churches. The Abbott Road trolley line, improved in 1914, ran along the west end of the subdivision, where businesses catered to residents' needs. A short walk or ride across the Cazenovia Creek to the east brought residents to Seneca Street, where schools, stores, and churches were located. The Seneca and South Park trolleys were also within reach of the area, making it possible for citizens unable to afford a car

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<sup>52</sup> "Fox Prepared to Aid In Purchase of Land in South Buffalo," *Buffalo Courier-Express* (June 3, 1929), 18.

<sup>53</sup> "In Cazenovia Park Colony," *Buffalo Times* (July 6, 1913), 38.

<sup>54</sup> "Cazenovia Park," *Buffalo Courier* (August 21, 1912), 10.

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to reside in the subdivision. There, "the home buyer of moderate means who is looking for all the charm and beauty of the country combined with the comfort and conveniences of city life."<sup>55</sup>

Cazenovia Park Colony cultivated an air of modest distinction through its design and advertising. Newspapers stated that Lindsey "has truly accomplished a splendid combination of the artistic and the practical...the aim of the Cazenovia Park Colony is to meet the artistic appreciation of the cultured mind and refined taste."<sup>56</sup> This 'refined taste' appears to have been rooted in a sense of visual consistency. Like many subdivisions, all the houses were set back from the street at a uniform distance, "so that the thoroughfares will be beautiful."<sup>57</sup> Greenery and views of the park or parklike setting were heavily promoted, as advertisements emphasized Lindsey's aim "to preserve the atmosphere of the park throughout," assuring homebuyers, "from the broad verandas of the bungalows the view will be magnificent- the sparkling lake, the vistas of great trees."<sup>58</sup>

Deed restrictions ensured the visual consistency of the Cazenovia Park Colony, as well as bringing along financial stipulations with racial implications. Some of the restrictions focused on stylistic qualities, requiring uniform setback as well as heights, massing, and costs of houses to be constructed. Bungalows were the most popular style, as well as other popular early twentieth-century styles such as Colonial Revival or American Foursquare. Restrictions also stipulated the costs of buildings in the entire subdivision, "preventing the erection of saloons, stores, barns, or houses costing less than \$3500."<sup>59</sup> Given that nearly all of the houses at the time cost under \$3000, this placed a high price on new construction from outsiders.

These restrictions defined the physical characteristics of the subdivision to envision the social qualities of the area. The subdivision was promoted as a place where "refined and quiet loving people are seeking their future homes in a restricted, thoroughly modern district where comfort and beauty can be secured within the reach of the man without great wealth."<sup>60</sup> To prevent middle-class homeowners from feeling uncomfortable in a higher class environment, advertisements reassured customers, "here, snobbery and display are not in evidence. The true democracy of America finds a real expression in genuine neighborliness and kindly association of real people, not in rivalry of foolish extravagances."<sup>61</sup> The developer even played a direct role in generating social life in the subdivision as an added benefit for homeowners. Community sports leagues also served to strengthen social ties within the subdivision. In 1913 Lindsey announced plans to "erect a park club for members of the community and their families. The club will look into the general conditions of purchasers so that no undesirables may creep into the territory. The club will be equipped for parties, dances, and dinners."<sup>62</sup>

These restrictions led to a beneficial aesthetic unity and cohesive visual quality, but they also implied the presence of unwanted people, particularly minorities, was unwelcome. Similar to many suburbs in Buffalo and nationwide, South Buffalo developers like Lindsey referenced, if not also enforced, these restrictions as a subtle but strong way of reinforcing racist policies echoed in redlining practices by the FHA and HOLC maps later created during the 1930s. By restricting architectural style, lot size, and massing for houses in the area, developers attempted to reassure nervous homeowners that their investment would be 'safe' for many years to come. At the Cazenovia Park Colony, buyers were informed that "All the lots are restricted, forever assuring the highly desirable characteristics of the property. No objectionable structures are permitted. No lots are sold

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<sup>55</sup> "Cazenovia Park," *Buffalo Enquirer* (July 5 1919), 3.

<sup>56</sup> "Cazenovia Park," *Buffalo Courier* (August 21 1912), 10.

<sup>57</sup> "In Cazenovia Park Colony," *Buffalo Times* (July 6, 1913), 38.

<sup>58</sup> "In Cazenovia Park Colony," *Buffalo Times* (July 6, 1913), 38.

<sup>59</sup> "In Cazenovia Park Colony," *Buffalo Times* (July 6, 1913), 38.

<sup>60</sup> "Cazenovia Park," *Buffalo Enquirer* (July 5, 1919), 3.

<sup>61</sup> "Cazenovia Park," *Buffalo Enquirer* (July 5, 1919), 3.

<sup>62</sup> "In Cazenovia Park Colony," *Buffalo Times* (July 6, 1913), 38.

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to objectional people.”<sup>63</sup> While not clearly defined, these ‘objectional people’ typically referred to people of color, certain immigrant communities, LGBTQ individuals, and many other types of people that in some way strayed from the ‘norm’ of the white, family-oriented, middle-class residential community at the subdivision. Like many twentieth-century subdivisions in America, the Cazenovia Park Colony placed these restrictions to reassure this latter population that “you will have congenial neighbors, high-class houses and nothing that will detract from the value of the property.”<sup>64</sup> The Cazenovia Park Colony may have been the first to impose these deed restrictions in the McKinley Parkway Historic District, but it was certainly not the last. This type of development pattern would continue in the area through the entire period of significance.

Even in other areas of the district where developers did not impose deed restrictions, the historic context provided enough consistency to convey a cohesive collection of architecture regardless, attracting similar populations. “No special regulatory body was needed to tell most builders what was appropriate,” notes historian Sam Bass Warner, Jr., “the other houses in the area presented them with models... They were a conservative group and sought safety in their operations by restricting themselves to one or two house styles and catering to a limited price range of customer.”<sup>65</sup> Although multiple developers built and sold houses on the same streets nearly simultaneously, most of the residences were constructed in a few styles that were popular at the time. Nearly identical bungalows on Whitfield Avenue, Tuscarora Road, and Cumberland Avenue bear witness to Warner’s observation.<sup>66</sup>

## **THE PRE- WWII PERIOD: 1920-1939**

World War I barely slowed development in the district and another massive wave of construction led to the further settlement in the 1920s and 1930s. On a lot-by-lot basis, developers such as Paul Henrich, Walter Nelson, George Shifferle, the Edwin Lodge Realty Group, and the Park-Abbott Realty Company recognized the great potential of investing in the development of South Buffalo. The land began to be snatched up at an increasing pace. This competition led to the creation of multiple new lots and the construction of new houses at a rapid rate through the late 1910s and into the 1920s. Henrich, for instance, constructed more than 1000 houses in the district, primarily from 1918 to 1924. Permits reveal he tended to construct about fifteen houses at a time, constructing bungalows and two-story residences mostly on Edgewood Avenue, Sheffield Avenue, Whitfield Avenue, McKinley Parkway, Woodside Avenue, Abbott Road, Strathmore Avenue, Kenefick Avenue, Choate Avenue, and Ithaca Street. Walter Nelson constructed bungalows on Sheffield Avenue, Tift Street, Como Avenue, and Woodside Avenue, primarily from 1922 to 1924. Neither of these developers appeared to have named or defined a particular area as a subdivision, instead of constructing houses on the same streets simultaneously and selling them on an individual basis.

It was very common for multiple developers to build on the same street, such as on Woodside Avenue, Englewood Avenue, and Sheffield Avenue, for instance. The Park-Abbott Realty Company was active in the area from about 1916 to 1925, building on Whitfield Avenue in particular but also dozens of houses on McKinley Parkway, Englewood, Edgewood, Lockwood, Kenefick, and Strathmore Avenues.

By the time the district was experiencing subsequent waves of development in the 1920s (Figure 15), realtor Albert Fox had expanded his services into real estate development as well. In 1922, Fox subdivided sixteen

<sup>63</sup> “Cazenovia Park,” *Buffalo Courier* (August 21, 1912), 10.

<sup>64</sup> “In Cazenovia Park Colony,” *Buffalo Times* (July 6, 1913), 38.

<sup>65</sup> Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Progress of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 76.

<sup>66</sup> Kowsky, 3.16.

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acres at McKinley Parkway and Downing Street, formerly known as Rose Hill, and also closed out 50 lots in Mariemont Avenue that year.<sup>67</sup> In 1924, he sold twelve residences in that area in just one month, indicating the sheer pace and scale of development in the area that occurred under his guidance.<sup>68</sup> By 1925, he had “opened and successfully operated many subdivisions, among them Maple Hill, Abbott Road-South Park, and Seneca Street-South Park.”<sup>69</sup> The term ‘subdivision’ was used loosely here, as there is no indication these areas had formal names, restrictions, or clear boundaries, but regardless this attests to Fox’s involvement in the sale of many properties throughout the district over an extended period of time. Fox seemed to have believed that his investments in this area would only lead to more investments, once stating he was “so optimistic of the future growth of South Buffalo that he is opening a new sub-division in the McKinley Parkway district, consisting of about 250 lots.”<sup>70</sup> This was certainly at least one factor in the growth of the district at the time, combined with its accessibility to nearby employment opportunities at the Lackawanna Steel plant and in the central business district across the Buffalo River to the north.

Albert Fox continued to facilitate the development of the district into the late 1920s as well, even as empty available land began to become scarce. In 1928, he even offered to sell land to help extend McKinley Parkway, past South Park, and Abbott.<sup>71</sup> While the city did not capitalize on this deal, Fox likely recognized that this would later assist in the future development of the area. In 1929, he opened another 100 lots on South Park Avenue, as well as lots west of the district.<sup>72</sup> To sell these lots, Fox made improvements to the streets, constructing sewers, sidewalks, and water lines installed. He promoted the South Park lots as “especially attractive in size and prices.”<sup>73</sup> Fox’s statement that this “is positively the last subdivision to be opened in South Buffalo,” was been accurate, but it does indicate that the majority of the vacant space that existed in the area just thirty years prior had been sold by this time.<sup>74</sup> Many areas were still undeveloped however, and residential infill and a few small subdivision streets would be added after World War II as well.

By 1925, South Buffalo was called “the contented city in itself.”<sup>75</sup> The City of Buffalo had spent more than two million dollars in improvement in the area that year, primarily on roads, sewers, water lines, and other utility connections. The value of land had risen considerably, with the newspaper noting, “The prices of land in South Buffalo have been in keeping with the improvements...with lots in McKinley Parkway worth \$14 a foot in the early 1900s, now the same lots today are worth \$100 a foot.”<sup>76</sup> The availability of vacant lots on which to build was dwindling already by this time, and scores of developers purchased multiple lots to capitalize on this demand. Marveling at the rapid development occurring throughout the district, the *Buffalo Courier* stated, “the contractors became too numerous to mention.”<sup>77</sup> A few larger subdivisions emerged at this time as well.

### ***Tuscarora Subdivision***

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<sup>67</sup> “South Buffalo Lot Sales,” *Buffalo Evening News* (June 17, 1922), 18.

<sup>68</sup> “South Buffalo Claims Lead in 1924 New Home Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22 1925), 8-9.

<sup>69</sup> “South Buffalo Claims Lead in 1924 New Home Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22 1925), 8-9.

<sup>70</sup> “South Buffalo Claims Lead in 1924 New Home Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22 1925), 8-9.

<sup>71</sup> “Offer Land for Road Extension,” *Buffalo Courier-Express* (October 11, 1928), 11.

<sup>72</sup> “Albert Fox,” *Buffalo Courier-Express* (April 1, 1929), 11.

<sup>73</sup> “South Buffalo Realty Active Owing to New Industrial Buildings,” *Buffalo Courier-Express* (August 19, 1929), 17.

<sup>74</sup> “Albert Fox,” *Buffalo Courier-Express* (April 1, 1929), 11.

<sup>75</sup> “South Buffalo Claims Lead in 1924 New Home Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22, 1925), 8-9.

<sup>76</sup> “South Buffalo Claims Lead in 1924 New Home Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22, 1925), 8-9.

<sup>77</sup> “South Buffalo Claims Lead in 1924 New Home Building,” *Buffalo Courier* (March 22, 1925), 8-9.

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Compared to the subdivisions located directly adjacent to McKinley Parkway, the Tuscarora Subdivision had a slow start. Interest in developing the triangular piece of land bounded by Potters Road, Abbott Road, and Shenandoah Road began in the 1890s, but construction did not begin in earnest until the 1920s.

In 1891, a new company organized as the Tuscarora Land and Improvement Company to purchase the large Lot 271, an undeveloped tract of land. Purchased at \$1300 an acre, the company spent about \$163,00 on the lot, relatively inexpensive at the time. They announced the land would be surveyed and laid out in streets, to be sold in blocks only, in 1892. The project only occurred in fits and starts, however. By 1897, still owning the entire lot, the company sold 30 acres to the northeast to the City of Buffalo as additional land to be included in Cazenovia Park. In the meantime, streets were laid out to define this triangular land, with Tuscarora Road forming the spine meeting Potters Road in the north and Shenandoah linking them east-west to Abbott Road at the south. Smaller streets such as Narragansett, Minnetonka, and Niantic crossed east-west, as well as an eastward bound connecting portion of Woodside Avenue.

In 1907, the Tuscarora Land and Improvement Co. sold the deed for the entire lot to the city. They also included a small piece of land near the center set aside for Sheldon Park (contributing). In total, it was about 100 acres of land, all the way from Potters to Shenandoah to Abbott.<sup>78</sup> Now under the city's ownership, the land was subdivided into lots and the streets were improved. Construction was still slow to begin, however, due to a combination of other factors. World War I approached and developers were focused on other areas to the north at the time. Furthermore, there was a sense of general unease about the unpredictability of the Cazenovia Creek at the northeast edge of the land, even after Cazenovia Park was established and became a draw to the area. By 1915, maps indicate only two houses had been constructed in the entire tract, located on the west end of Shenandoah Road.

The city eventually sold the lots in the Tuscarora Subdivision to two developers. Working independently from one another, developers G.F. Metty and Chris Forbach began to construct houses at a rapid rate beginning around 1921. They boasted that Tuscarora Boulevard, beginning at Abbott Road and concluding at Shenandoah Road, was "one of the new beauty spots in Buffalo... Its location near Cazenovia Park has made it doubly attractive, and within a short time every foot frontage of vacant property will be transferred to residential land."<sup>79</sup> These developers capitalized on the proximity to Cazenovia Park as well as the inclusion of Sheldon Park to convey a bucolic, suburban setting with convenient access to the city on streetcar lines and well-paved roads. Tuscarora Boulevard was frequently emphasized as the core of the district, however, and its grass-planted median ushered in a parklike setting that was simultaneously convenient for vehicular access. Narragansett and Minnetonka had red brick-paved roads, which they still retain today. Offering Dutch Colonials and Bungalows on Tuscarora Boulevard and adjacent streets, there was a cohesive sense of style with enough minor variation to provide visual interest. These houses, too, were aimed at middle-class residents, like many subdivisions in the district.

Given the initial sale of these lots individually by the city to the developers, they did not place any deed restrictions nor name a cohesive identity for the subdivision. Since they did not own the single large plot of land, they could not market the entire area as one united subdivision. The pattern, however, of selling similar houses on uniform setbacks within a planned residential area, resonated with those of larger subdivisions like Cazenovia Park Colony.

***Abbott Terrace***

<sup>78</sup>New York State Court of Appeals, *Records and Briefs* (New York State, 1913), 19.

<sup>79</sup> "Tuscarora Boulevard New Beauty Spot in South Side," *Buffalo Courier* (March 22, 1925), 9.

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Adjacent to the south of the Tuscarora Subdivision, the Abbott Terrace subdivision was developed almost simultaneously by another developer. In September 1923, Kinsey Realty Company purchased all of the land from Dundee, Densmore, and Cushing, between Onondaga and Abbott Road, for \$90,000 from George V. Forman.<sup>80</sup> Kinsey Realty was a large, very well-known real estate company that developed and sold multiple subdivisions throughout all areas of Buffalo. This experienced firm recognized the value of the south portion of the district by the early 1920s, a time when development east of Abbott Road was also occurring on a large scale in the Tuscarora Subdivision to the north.

Kinsey Realty subdivided their large land purchase into 297 building lots, each with between 35-40 feet of frontage. Selling the lots at between \$12 and \$17 a foot based on proximity to the Park and streetcars, the company received interest from buyers even before sales officially began in mid-September 1923. Like many developers, Kinsey set up a branch office on the subdivision, at Abbott and Woodside in this case, a streetcar stop.

Abbott Terrace was located on Abbott Road, just beyond Potters Road, near Cazenovia Park, with lots on Abbott Road, Densmore, Cushing, Onondaga, and Dundee St. Kinsey Realty promoted Abbott Terrace as being located in the “highest, cleanest part of South Buffalo,” lending the subdivision its name. With reportedly good drainage, views, and well-paved streets, and all the necessary utility connections, Abbott Terrace was in high demand. The company boasted, “Your first glimpse of Kinsey’s Abbott Terrace will impress you. There are many beautiful homes in the immediate vicinity. This property is in a most attractive residential district.”<sup>81</sup> It is unknown if actual deed restrictions were placed on the titles, but Kinsey Realty is known to have used them in other locations throughout the city so it is likely. Within about seven years, most of the houses on these streets were constructed and sold, leading to a cohesive collection of styles dating from this period today (Figure 14 & 19).

### ***Eden Acres***

At the same time, a subdivision known as Eden Acres was constructed on the southwest side of the district. In 1924, while construction on the Abbott Terrace and Tuscarora subdivisions was underway, another major developer announced his plans for Eden Acres. Developer J. Joseph O’Leary of the International Home Building Company purchased all of Eden Street, shortly after he built the Hamlin Park Historic District in Buffalo (NR listed 2013). Looking to South Buffalo as his next major investment area, he announced, “We have been long watching South Park and have decided upon it as the scene of our next development.”<sup>82</sup> His company installed sewer and water facilities in 1924, and stated: “We are planning to improve the entire section in the same way we did Hamlin Park.”<sup>83</sup> Interest among buyers arose even before the subdivision was officially open for business.

The International Home Building Company subdivided lots with 35-foot frontage, already common throughout the district by that time. Selling them at uniform rates of \$18- \$20 a foot, the developer offered payment plans that allowed \$25 down combined with regularly \$1.50 payments. Those prices, they stated, “in such a desirable

<sup>80</sup> *Buffalo Morning Express* (September 14, 1923), 9.

<sup>81</sup> Advertisement,” *Buffalo Evening News* (October 1923).

<sup>82</sup> “Developers In Hamlin Park Open Eden Acres in New South Park,” *Buffalo Courier* (August 30, 1924), 12.

<sup>83</sup> “Developers In Hamlin Park Open Eden Acres in New South Park,” *Buffalo Courier* (August 30, 1924), 12.



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district cannot fail to attract both the home buyer of modest means and the investor with an understanding of South Park values."<sup>84</sup> Half of the lots in Eden Acres were sold within one week of opening.<sup>85</sup>

Like many subdivisions in the district, the location of Eden Acres boasted proximity to parks and was connected by public transportation to industrial employment away from the residential area. Accessed from the South Park and Abbott car lines, which ran directly by it for those without automobiles, the subdivision also offered "well-paved streets that make pleasant riding for motorists."<sup>86</sup> This reflects a transitional era when residents may rely on streetcar transportation or may even be able to afford an automobile. Eden Acres was described as "a quiet, agreeable neighborhood - factories and railroads with their noise and smoke do not intrude on its peacefulness. South Park and Cazenovia Park are within five minutes walk. The air is fresh and clear."<sup>87</sup> Located far enough away from the industrial sector but still within reach of its employment opportunities, Eden Acres was, like all of the district, ideally suited as a residential settlement for working-class and middle-class citizens during the twentieth century (Figure 20).

***Road Improvements, 1920-1930***

Important road improvement projects affected the development of the district during the 1920s and 1930s. Starting in the 1920s, the city dredged and straightened the Buffalo River and Cazenovia Creek. These two bodies of water had caused widespread annual flooding, and even the 1906 flood abatement efforts had not completely solved the issue. "These two streams wander about the district southeast of the Lackawanna Railroad as though they didn't have any particular place to go and didn't care when they got there," observed a Buffalo resident in the mid-1920s. "They have no purpose in life but to furnish raw material for mud pies," he quipped.<sup>88</sup> To correct this situation and make the area suitable for buildings, the city dug a new channel for the Buffalo River which ever after abandoned the bend that came perilously close to South Park Avenue. The new, straight channel and a similar trench that diverted the waters of Cazenovia Creek from its former meandering riverbed now define the northern boundary of the Triangle neighborhood, north of the district. While this work occurred outside the district, it played a direct role in increasing interest in settling in the district itself.

In conjunction with this work, Bailey Avenue was extended from the bridge over Cazenovia Creek southwest to Abbott Road (the present South Park Avenue) at Triangle Street. From here traffic could easily reach Hopkins Street, which the city paved and extended to South Park. A new branch of McKinley Parkway was also created running southeasterly from the Bailey Avenue bridge over Cazenovia Creek to the intersection of Abbott Road and Heacock Park. At the same time, Tift Street was extended on the east and the west so that it became a major artery for commercial traffic passing through South Buffalo and the district.

In 1929, the expansion of industry in the surrounding area, particularly the Howard Factory Subdivision west of the district, created more demand for housing. One reporter observed, "there must be a demand for South Buffalo real estate in view of the fact that several large industrial plants have recently located in this section of the city and that the Donner Steel Company has purchased considerable property for expansion. The Bethlehem Steel Company is continually constructing new mills and other buildings which necessarily demand more labor and South Buffalo receives the benefit of additional population."<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> "Developers In Hamlin Park Open Eden Acres in New South Park," *Buffalo Courier* (August 30, 1924), 12.

<sup>85</sup> *Buffalo Enquirer* (September 6, 1924), 9.

<sup>86</sup> "Developers In Hamlin Park Open Eden Acres in New South Park," *Buffalo Courier* (August 30, 1924), 12.

<sup>87</sup> "Lots Go Fast at Eden Acres," *Buffalo Times* (August 31, 1924), 70.

<sup>88</sup> "The Rebirth of South Park," Heacock's, X (September 1924), p. 7.

<sup>89</sup> "Fox Prepared to Aid In Purchase of Land in South Buffalo," *Buffalo Courier-Express* (June 3, 1929), 18.

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Over a dozen newly paved streets were improved during the 1920s, some of them being paved for the first time while others being repaved to improve traffic. These roads included such as Athol Street, Cumberland Avenue, Densmore Street, Dundee Street, Eden Street, Hollywood Avenue, Mariemont Avenue, Melrose Street, Meriden Street, Milford Street, Minnetonka Road, Mumford Street, Oakhurst Avenue, Ramona Avenue, Robins Street, Rutland Street, Salem Street, Sheffield Avenue, Turner Road, and Whitehall Avenue, all paved between 1921 and 1929. Almost all of these were paved with asphalt or macadam, although a few such as Magnolia were paved with brick.

***Streetcars Replaced by Automobiles, 1930-1945***

Within just thirty years, the district had been largely developed from a quiet, relatively rural collection of dairy farms and homesteads into a mostly residential collection of single-family houses, bungalows, and two-family houses occupied by Lackawanna Iron and Steel plant workers and other middle-class citizens, mostly of Irish descent. South Buffalo's population more than doubled in size between 1900 and 1910, the Fourth Ward growing from 10,028 to 22,639, and then doubled once again by 1930, with the Fourth and Fifth Wards (reconfigured in 1915) totaling 45,683.<sup>90</sup>

The road improvements of the 1920s were seen as both opening up new areas to more automobile-oriented development and bringing new tourist dollars to area businesses.<sup>91</sup> Once automobiles began to become more affordable for the middle and even working class in the 1920s and 1930s, the construction of houses extended further south in the district, more distant from the city and streetcar lines. Houses built on Cantwell Street during this era, for instance, were constructed with driveways and small garages, reflecting the changing transportation technology and patterns of accessibility.

In 1930, the local residents of the district petitioned the City of Buffalo for a connecting route from the end of Main Street in downtown Buffalo to the southern city line at Ridge Road. Now that the area had become a thoroughly settled group of neighborhoods rather than a mostly rural space, residents had a new sense of agency in continuing to advocate for easier connections to the rest of the city to the north. As one reporter noted in 1930, "although the population in South Buffalo has greatly increased during the last few years, transportation facilities have decreased... South Buffalo is lagging behind in development and growth because of the dearth of transportation facilities."<sup>92</sup> The lack of crosstown outlets and public transportation in the area was a major problem, as "there are only three crosstown traffic outlets in the area- Smith, Cazenovia Street and Bailey Avenue. Trolley service has been suspended in the latter two thoroughfares, leaving only Smith St as a means of bridging the gap from one section of the vast south side to the other."<sup>93</sup> Although the community had grown substantially over the last three decades, public transportation and road access had not grown at the same pace.

In response to residents' demands, attempts to improve automobile access to the South Buffalo were renewed in the 1930s. McKinley Parkway was newly paved and extended south in 1930, uniting Hamburg and Elk

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<sup>90</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: Report by States Nebraska-Wyoming*, 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 197; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: Report by States Montana-Wyoming*, 1930 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), 326.

<sup>91</sup> Kowsky and Clinton Brown Architecture, 3-8.

<sup>92</sup> "South Buffalo Leaders Want New Bus Line Established," *Buffalo Evening News* (May 7, 1930).

<sup>93</sup> "South Buffalo Leaders Want New Bus Line Established," *Buffalo Evening News* (May 7, 1930).

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Street.<sup>94</sup> By 1939, the city created the new thoroughfare of South Park Avenue. From the end of Main Street, it absorbed Abbott Road as far as Triangle Street, all of Triangle Street, and White's Corners Road. The portion of White's Corners Road between South Park Avenue and Abbott Road then became Southside Parkway, a name that had originally been applied to the present McKinley Parkway. Now, drivers could reach downtown Buffalo from the district, Hamburg and Lackawanna, and only have to remember one street's name.<sup>95</sup> This increased and consolidated traffic in the area, encouraging the growth of businesses on these streets while also ensuring the side streets remained residential.

During the 1930s, the few remaining unpaved streets in the district were finally paved. These included Arbor Lane, Belvedere Street, Cantwell Avenue, Hancock Avenue, Hansen Street, High View Terrace, Niantic, and St. Martin's Place. Most of these streets were laid out in smaller subdivisions that were established in the 1930s as larger estates were sold off, such as the west half of Arbor Lane which was a small subdivision established in 1939. Their development reflects a shift in architectural styles, and virtually all of these houses included driveways and garages.

Streetcars were increasingly replaced by bus lines city wide by the late 1930s, usually running the same routes with minor alterations. In 1937 the Abbott Road streetcar line was replaced with a bus route, reflecting the general shift to automobile usage nationwide, in private and public transportation methods, by that time. By 1940, eleven streetcar lines were still running (Figure 13). The South Park (Route 16) was still run by streetcars, as indicated on a map from that time. In 1942, the Route 16 streetcar down South Park ended service. It was one of four streetcar routes to end service that year, being replaced by busses. This gradual replacement of streetcars in favor of automobile was slightly slowed during World War II, and then ultimately the transformation from streetcars to busses was complete by 1950 when the last streetcar ran in Buffalo.

By the onset of World War II in 1939, the district had been established and settled as a residential community. While a majority of the district had been settled by this time, the empty lots that remained were not purchased or built on until after the war ended in 1945. Only then could building materials, finances, and labor be devoted to house construction efforts once again.

During World War II, many of the residents worked in the steel, iron, and railroad industries nearby. Given the involvement of these industries in war efforts, their employment remained relatively consistent during this time as factories boomed and converted to wartime production. As many of the area's men left the factories to go into war overseas, these industries began hiring new employees, women amongst them. With car ownership more common by that time, the South Park and Seneca streetcar lines ended service in 1942. Overall, the resident population remained stable during this time.

## **THE DISTRICT FROM 1945-1968**

Midcentury development patterns in the district differed significantly from those of the early twentieth century. New transportation methods combined with a population boom led to a more sprawled form of settlement pattern than had occurred before World War II. World War II had led to the increased usage of the rail systems not only around South Buffalo but throughout the United States. However, post-World War II government programs and overall development of the United States greatly impacted the use of rail for the transportation of goods and more specifically people. The 1940s and 1950s boomed with personal automobile traffic and increased air travel, therefore leaving the railroad to feel the same decline as the Erie Canal experienced. The businesses were faced with New York State taxes, decreased business due to the war (and ending of the war),

<sup>94</sup> "Opening of McKinley Extension Due Soon," *The County Republican* (September 18, 1930), 1.

<sup>95</sup> "The Long and Winding History of South Park Avenue," *Buffalo News* (January 15, 2018).

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and cheaper land prices at larger ports of entry and exit from New York, California, and Florida. Land transportation was becoming more popular and cheaper due to the Federal Highway Act.

The installation of a nationwide highway system was a major contributing factor to postwar development patterns. The Federal Highway Act of 1944 designated 65,000 kilometers of a "National System of Interstate Highways." In April 1956, the House passed a vote of 388 to 19 in support of the Federal-Aid Highway Act, and the interstate system was expanded by 1,600 kilometers to 66,000 kilometers, costing \$25 billion. The creation of accessible highways allowed people to move farther from the central city and be able to commute to the city with ease and rapid speed. Specifically, in South Buffalo, Interstate 190 was built just north of the Buffalo River with a highway entrance at Seneca Street. The I-190 allowed South Buffalonians to commute downtown in just minutes.

In 1950, the final streetcar ran in Buffalo, demonstrating the shift to automobile use was complete. For those able to afford their own automobiles, private homeownership outside of the central city grew increasingly attractive by the mid-twentieth century. For those who could not, they were reliant upon bus lines, rather than streetcar lines, to commute. By 1950, the district, like most of the city and nation, was dependent on automobile access in both private and public transportation, and cities began to reflect this in the physical and demographic changes that occurred in the mid-twentieth century.

As World War II came to an end and troops began to return home, the First Serviceman's Readjustment Act, more commonly known as the "G.I. Bill," was introduced in January 1944. The Roosevelt Administration used this legislation as a way "to compensate World War II veterans for their service, offering sixteen million veterans government-subsidized loans for homes in the suburbs, unemployment benefits, and a year of school of technical training for those whose education had been interrupted by draft or enlistment."<sup>96</sup> In South Buffalo, one resident explained, "After the war, the physical community had not changed very much. People did though, some never returned home, some went on to school because of the G.I. Bill, or got a job at Bethlehem Steel or the Republic."<sup>97</sup>

### ***Postwar Development Patterns***

Houses built during the post-WWII period illustrate a broad spectrum of two-story, gabled-roof structures. Whilst some were content to continue the old tradition of a comfortable and well-built bungalow, others prefer hipped or low-pitched gable roofs. Plain brick walls, chimneys with minimal exterior decorative elements, and projecting window-walls were also common in construction during this time. Cape Cod Revivals, Ranch Styles, and Split-Level houses became common at this time, in keeping with national building trends. These buildings tended to be designed as single-family houses, typically accommodating a car through a driveway, detached or attached garage, indicating the predominance of personal automobiles amongst the middle and working classes by this time. Most of these new houses were constructed on the remaining available vacant lots scattered throughout the district.

A small number of subdivisions emerged after the war as well, occurring on the scale of a single street in two locations within the district boundaries. The Steeplechase Apartments were constructed on Arbor Lane, east of Hancock Avenue, in 1948. While the west block of Arbor Lane was developed in 1939, the block to the east represents a distinctly midcentury architectural style and organization. With groups of freestanding brick two story multifamily buildings is arranged around a curvilinear street typical of postwar vehicle-oriented settlement

<sup>96</sup> Edward Humes, *Over Here: How G.I. Bill Transformed American Dream* (Orlando: Harcourt, 2006).

<sup>97</sup> M.C. Herwood, "All the Old Familiar Places: Memories of South Buffalo" (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 2007).

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patterns. In 1950, a group of apartments were constructed on Latona Court off of Downing near McKinley Parkway. Developed by Rojer J. Branchini, the project consisted of seven two-story buildings and cost about \$600,000.<sup>98</sup>

In 1954, the B.W. Morris and Son real estate firm announced plans for a new South Buffalo subdivision in the district, to be known as Marbeth Court.<sup>99</sup> The following year, construction had been completed on this group of “three-bedroom family homes, with two-floor plans, deluxe Youngstown kitchen, large dinette, tile bath, gas heat, copper plumbing, plaster walls, concrete drive.”<sup>100</sup> Subdivisions like this one, located off of Cumberland Avenue northeast of Heacock Park, are typical of the cul-de-sac or curvilinear style of development that was prominent in the automobile-dominated built environment of America during the postwar period.

The last major subdivision in the district, Brost Drive, was laid out, paved, and developed in 1968. Located between Ramona Avenue and Hollywood Avenue, this street is characterized by midcentury construction on land once occupied by PS 67 to the east. There, most of the Split-Level style houses included attached garages, reflecting the prominence of the car by that time.

Curvilinear street patterns and subdivisions like these are typical of the cul-de-sac style of development that was prominent in the automobile-dominated built environment of America during the postwar period. This type of development is clearly distinct from early twentieth-century developments, resulting from new patterns set in place by Federal Housing Administration (FHA) standards for subdivisions as they emerged beginning in the 1930s. By the postwar period, curvilinear streets with uniform setbacks, driveways, and garages had become the standard form of suburban residential development. The presence of several examples in the district, particularly towards the southern end, reflects this midcentury wave of development, easily recognizable in the architecture and streetscapes of these areas.

***Social and Political Power and Decline in the District***

While the historic district was largely physically developed by the 1960s, the area continued to have strong political and social significance in the city for years to come. The overwhelming majority of the district had been settled by 1960, and its population remained firmly Irish-American at that time. South Buffalo managed to maintain a highly influential position in local politics in the 1960s and 1970s. After World War II, politicians from South Buffalo had, “exercised extraordinary power in local politics, with access to patronage jobs unrivaled by any neighborhood in the city.”<sup>101</sup> Since the 1950s, residents of South Buffalo, who also happened to be of Irish descent, held tremendous sway in the Erie County Democratic Party. During the 1960s, the Erie County Democratic Party was led by Peter Crotty followed by Joe Crangle, both born in South Buffalo.<sup>102</sup> Crotty was formerly the President of the Buffalo City Council and was known for his influence in the campaigns of John F. Kennedy for President and Robert F. Kennedy for the US Senate.<sup>103</sup> Chairman Crangle overhauled the party, inviting more young college and law school graduates to join.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>98</sup> “Downing Apartments,” *Buffalo Evening News* (March 15 1950)

<sup>99</sup> “What the Council Did,” *Buffalo Evening News* (May 1, 1954), 3.

<sup>100</sup> *Buffalo Evening News* (August 8, 1955), 37.

<sup>101</sup> Mark Goldman, *City on the Lake: The Challenge of Change in Buffalo, New York* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1990).

<sup>102</sup> Mark Goldman, *City on the Lake: The Challenge of Change in Buffalo, New York* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1990).

<sup>103</sup> S. Roberts, “Peter J. Crotty, Democratic Force In Western New York,” *The New York Times* (March 4, 1992).

<sup>104</sup> D. Dillaway, *Power Failure: Politics, Patronage, and the Economic Future of Buffalo, New York* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2006).

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As the former New York State Senator (1967-1977) and City of Buffalo Mayor (1977-1993) James D. Griffin was formerly a resident of South Buffalo at 420 Dorrance Avenue (extant, contributing), he recruited many of his constituents from South Buffalo to fill jobs in local government, thus strengthening loyalty amongst voters. As a result, in 1990, Goldman noted, "Today, the halls and offices of City Hall, which has yet to come under an affirmative action ruling, are filled with South Buffalonians in their late thirties and early forties, who, after high school and the service, were unable to find work in any of the traditional places of neighborhood employment."<sup>105</sup> Griffin's devotion to South Buffalo included spending time and attention on the area's infrastructure, improving and maintaining parks, and offering personal and business loans to residents.

In summary, by 1968 an overwhelming majority of the buildings in the district had been constructed. The district grew dramatically beginning in the late nineteenth century, spurred by the establishment of Olmsted's parks and parkways in the area in the 1890s, the introduction of streetcar lines, and the 1899 announcement that the large Lackawanna Steel plant would employ hundreds of workers nearby. The new accessibility, coupled with the proliferation of industrial jobs available in the vicinity, led to a boom in development, real estate speculation, and new residential construction during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The area's location was marketed as ideal due to its proximity to the Olmsted-designed Cazenovia Park, South Park, and parkways, as well as its newly available transportation connections to the city to the north and the industries to the south and west. As transportation technology improved, early twentieth-century streetcar suburb style developments in the north portion of the district gave way to more automobile-oriented subdivisions to the south, and in the years following World War II the area was almost fully developed. Employment in nearby industries continued to provide a stable income for the area's working- and middle-class residents into the 1970s.

The movement of people out of the city's core to this area at the south edge of the city defined the area's trends and attitudes toward architectural design and neighborhood planning. This movement can be traced through a study of historic maps, specifically in the planning of new roads, which in essence define suburban growth. The laying out and paving of roads, improvements in both public and automobile transportation, and the establishment of the multiple large-scale industrial plants nearby set the stage for a boom in speculative real estate development during the 1900s-1950s. Multiple developers purchased several blocks or larger tracts and in conjunction with the city laid roads, installed utilities, and planned communities to be distinctively residential rather than urban. Together, these buildings represent a strong collection of early to mid-twentieth century architectural styles in the district.

## **AFTER THE PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE, 1968-2022**

Overall the city experienced a drastic population decline during the 1970s. While Buffalo's population had been dropping since the end of World War II, the loss during the 1970s was staggering: it went from 462,768 in 1970 to 357,000 in 1980, as 23 percent of the population left the city in favor of the suburbs.<sup>106</sup> In the district, the loss of major employing nearby industries had a large impact on the area's residents. By the 1970s, Catholic schools in urban America were facing declining enrollments at that time, and so too, in South Buffalo. Between 1966 and 1986, eight parish schools in South Buffalo experienced a decrease in enrollment by percent. By 1987, St. John the Evangelist, one of the largest schools, was forced to close. Furthermore, a lower birth rate, migration to the suburbs, tuition increases, and the quality of public school education, severely impacted parochial schools. The issues these schools faced was indicative of the larger issues, including the loss of political clout in the district, faced by the district overall as it entered a new era in the 1970s.

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<sup>105</sup> Goldman, 1990.

<sup>106</sup> Goldman, 255.

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In general there have been relatively few demolitions, particularly of residential buildings. Commercial buildings along Abbott Road and South Park Avenue have been subject to more demolition, neglect, deterioration or historically insensitive alterations than residences. There are some vacant lots today, along with parking lots that have replaced older commercial buildings. On residential streets, however, multiple block clubs and community-led efforts serve as stewardship for the citizens of the district, many of whom are actively seeking to improve the quality of their houses through architectural repairs. Some recent development has begun to occur in the district as well as at its peripheries, particularly to the northeast of the district along Seneca Street. Overall, the architectural fabric of the district attests to its historical development as a twentieth century grouping of residential subdivisions.

## **ARCHITECTURE OF THE DISTRICT**

The architectural character of the district was established during the real estate boom that occurred during the period of significance, between 1890 and 1968. Architectural styles tended to be in keeping with one another in the area, as several of the same styles tend to appear throughout the district due to the developers' imposition of design restrictions. Architecture in the district is overwhelming residential but other building types, including commercial, institutional, ecclesiastic, and recreational, were constructed out of necessity to support these residential subdivisions. The district is a rich study in the development of a rural agricultural community into a streetcar suburb style and later automobile-oriented community characteristic of multiple periods of late nineteenth and early twentieth century America.

The vast majority of the buildings in the district are residential. Residences are typically constructed in popular early twentieth century styles such the American Foursquare, Bungalow, Craftsman and Colonial Revival styles. These styles were the most popular at the time the district was established and experienced substantial growth in the first decades of the twentieth century. Construction in suburbs such as the McKinley Parkway Historic District often kept to tested, fashionable, popular styles, as builders attempted to appeal to the greatest number of people. There are very few examples of houses designed by architects, as most of the buildings were constructed by developers and contractors, typically in groups or clusters. This phenomenon is reflected in the appearance of some blocks, where houses share multiple architectural similarities common to the predominant style. The majority of the buildings were designed and constructed by a real estate developer and/or contractor, and therefore reflect common American architectural trends of the first few decades of the twentieth century. Furthermore, these developers each placed similar building restrictions on the style, size and type of residence in their subdivisions within the district, leading to an aesthetically unified built environment.

Like most developers in quickly developing areas aimed to attract working- and middle-class residents, those in the McKinley Parkway Historic District used plans that could be purchased cheaply from various house plan companies. Some may also have built popular mail-order or "kit houses," especially individual owners who would buy complete house units designed to be assembled on the buyer's site. Architectural historian Daniel D. Reiff has identified more than seventy-five companies that between 1883 and 1951 sold house plans through the mail. Builders throughout the country relied on the good-looking plan catalogs from such Chicago companies as the Radford Architectural Company, Sears, Roebuck & Company, and the Chicago House Wrecking Company rather than on professional architects for designs, blueprints, and specifications for

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buildings they erected. "All this detailed information will [enable you to] . . . estimate almost to the dollar what the building, when completed, will cost," read a typical claim in such literature.<sup>107</sup>

A basic box-like massing is common in most houses in the district regardless of architectural style, where architectural elements such as overhanging eaves, decorative windows, dormers, and porches are then applied for stylistic variation. Many of these styles share common elements such as front porches, regular fenestration typically in the form of double hung wood sash windows, chimneys, and other features. Residential architecture types include individual freestanding houses (sometimes divided internally into apartments) and multiple family dwellings. Most residential examples are of frame or brick veneer construction, with a few stucco examples present to show a change in aesthetic sheathing over the same basic form. While massing, form and styles are consistent, small changes made to a pattern book design, such as the altering of a roof type, addition of different forms of exterior ornamentation, porch variations or occasional changes to a building material or texture lend a sense of stylistic diversity within the overall cohesive built environment.

Single-family and multi-family houses in the district are constructed in a limited variety of styles that were popular during the largest wave of construction from 1900 to 1940. Many of them were built by contractors according to patterns purchased from a plan catalog, erected in a selection of popular styles from the early twentieth century. Several recognizable American architectural styles were represented during the early decades of the twentieth-century in the district, including the American Foursquare, Bungalow, and 'Buffalo Double' style houses. Some residential buildings date from the post-war period, including midcentury Ranch and Cape Cod styles. The styles represented by residential buildings in the project area are briefly summarized below.

### ***Bungalow and Craftsman Houses***

Bungalow and Craftsman (or Arts and Crafts) architecture was popular in the early twentieth century in Western New York, and its aesthetic values and typical scale lent itself well to the district. More broadly, the style was especially popular in Buffalo thanks to the Prairie style influences of Frank Lloyd Wright, furniture designer Charles Rohlf, and Elbert Hubbard and the Roycroft community in nearby East Aurora. The style was simpler and easier to build in comparison to the larger and more elaborate nineteenth century styles such as Queen Anne.

The style is characterized in the district mostly by low-pitched gable and hipped asphalt roofs; wide, unenclosed eave overhangs and exposed rafters; decorative wood beams or knee braces beneath overhangs; full or partial width porches with square-tapered columns that sometimes extend to the ground level. The exterior wall is sometimes broken up by the use of different materials. Dormers are common, with exposed rafters and braces. With the narrow end of the house facing the street, they often have a porch across the front. One story vernacular examples are called the Bungalow style, whereas larger two-story and more elaborate examples are more affiliated with the Craftsman style.

Architecturally, these styles are present in virtually all parts of the district. Given the relatively small size of most Bungalow houses, this style lent itself particularly well to developers who cultivated an environment of small single family houses targeted to middle class homeowners. Houses were built smaller and more economically for purchasers of more modest means. This appealed in particular to the middle-class residents that developers were looking to attract to the McKinley Parkway Historic District, many of whom were first time

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<sup>107</sup> Daniel D. Reiff, *Houses from Books, Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1733-1950: A History and Guide* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 185.



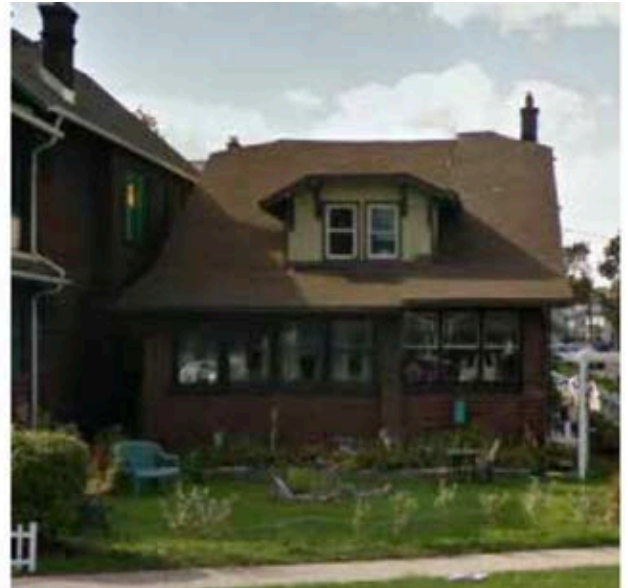
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homeowners of modest means. There is an extensive sampling of the Craftsman and Bungalow style in the district ranging from a few large-scale designs to more common modest builder/developer standardized types. Its design and plan also reflected the new ways of living of the early twentieth century, as it was no longer affordable for most families to maintain a large live-in staff. A typical example is located at 760 McKinley Parkway (contributing, seen below), which is still recognizable today in relation to a historic photograph.



**760 McKinley Parkway**

***Colonial Revival Houses***

The Colonial Revival style is also common in the district, although appears somewhat more infrequently than Bungalows. As it is used here, the style refers to a revival in the interest of early Dutch and English (Georgian and Adam styles) houses from the Atlantic seaboard. The freestanding single-family Colonial Revival dwelling that was popular in the 1920s in more affluent garden suburbs is rare in the district. The style broadly interprets forms from America's colonial past such as a simple massing with symmetrical façade, often with three or five bays, gabled or gambrel asphalt roofs, and classical elements such as columns, dentils, balusters and other elements.

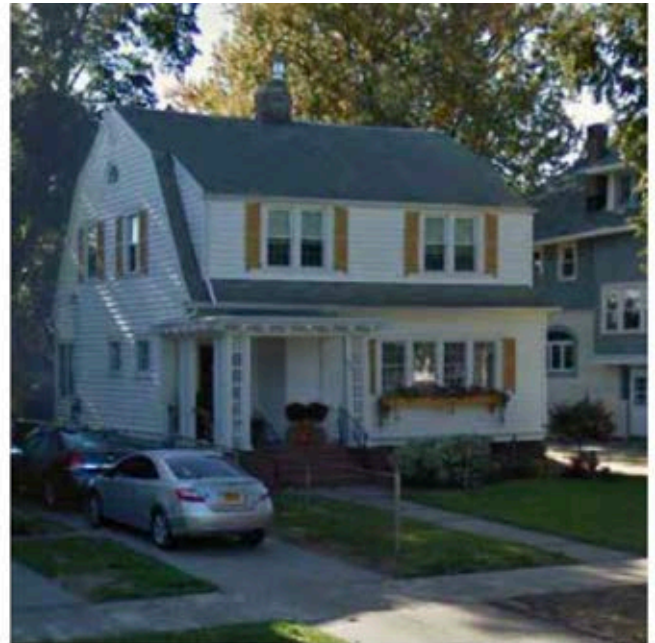
The Colonial Revival style examples in the nominated district are typically two or two-and-half-story buildings of frame or brick construction, with a simplified massing that features most of its elaboration on the front-facing elevation. The Colonial Revival style is scattered throughout the nominated district as many streets developed simultaneously, but some of the grander examples can be found along McKinley Parkway itself. This area was developed to attract a slightly wealthier population than the neighboring streets. One example is located at 472 McKinley Parkway (seen below), where a gambrel roof, shed dormer, offset entry and central brick chimney demonstrate the style.

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**472 McKinley Parkway**

***American Foursquare Houses***

The American Foursquare style refers more to a massing typology than it does to a stylistic ornamental language. The typology is common in the district, characterized by a two or two-and-a-half story form and square or rectangular massing, generally with a hipped asphalt roof and front dormer. This typology lent itself well to developers throughout the district, as the simple rectangular massing was easy to construct and presented a regular interior plan that could be easily divided into nearly equal size rooms. Many examples were constructed in stone, brick or wood shingle and feature elements such as exposed rafter tails and simple, battered square columns or posts on porches. The ornament can reference Craftsman, Prairie or Colonial Revival styles. The style first appeared in the late nineteenth century and gained popularity in the early twentieth century. It was often promoted by builder's magazines and catalogue companies who sold house 'kits.' The simplified ornamental language gave the buildings a clean, dignified appearance, which appealed to the budget and aesthetic sensibilities of the modern homeowner. The simple massing lent itself to a variety of cladding materials including brick, stucco, clapboard and shingle.

Many houses in the district are based on the hipped-roofed American Foursquare or Prairie Box form that began to appear around the turn of the century in such sources as Shoppell's *Modern Houses* (1900) and Radford's *Modern American Homes* (1903). These houses with porches on the front were simple in form, economical to build, and ample in the accommodation they afforded. Furthermore, their square footprint fits nicely onto the long rectangular lot that was standard property type in much of the district. One of many good examples is at 192 Southside Parkway. This style of buildings also seemed to the people who bought them to be a modern version of the Georgian house of Colonial America.<sup>108</sup> This association was often reinforced by the presence of such ornamental details as columns and corner pilasters, as appear on the house at 192 Southside Parkway (contributing). Other examples, such as 336 Eden Street (contributing), illustrate the Colonial Revival style applied to the American Foursquare massing in another portion of the district.

<sup>108</sup> Reiff, 282.

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***Multiple Family Dwellings and 'Buffalo Doubles'***

While individual single-family houses dominate the residential architectural of the McKinley Parkway Historic District, the widespread popularity of the area and its marketed affordability led to the development of many two-family or multiple-family dwellings. These buildings were meant to cater to the working-class or middle-class residents who could not afford to purchase a house outright. They were often financed or rented directly from real estate developers. Some of these two-family buildings were marketed to buyers who could live on one level and rent out the other to help finance the purchase. These houses indicated new ways of living that were becoming prominent in the country after the turn of the twentieth century, offering an attractive option between living in a tenement house and owning a single-family residence.

There are many residences in the district which are two-family flats, also commonly called double houses or simply "Buffalo doubles." A previous survey of the neighborhood just north of the district described the typical form and massing of these doubles:

Typically, these rectangular, two-story with-attic frame dwellings contained distinct apartments on each floor. Invariably oriented with the short side toward the street, they are covered with clapboard siding or wooden shingles. They usually have a simple gable roof or, less often, a hipped roof with a front dormer. A porch (often enclosed) extends across the front of the ground floor, and its roof serves as the floor for a porch for the upper apartment. Entrances are provided on both the street front and driveway side. Stylistic elements on these plain but substantial buildings are sparse and generally confined to such details as porch columns or eave brackets.<sup>109</sup>

Residences of this type drew the attention of the *Buffalo Courier* in 1902 when it informed its readers that many of them were to be found in the new neighborhoods around South Park. "They are all sixteen-room houses," stated the reporter, "nicely decorated, eight rooms to each flat, two stories high and contain all modern improvements, including gas, water, cellar, mantles, and granolithic walks."<sup>110</sup> A dwelling like this brought homeownership within the means of working-class families who would typically rent the upper flat to boarders in order to cover mortgage payments. "Now factory workers," noted the *Courier*, "are becoming real estate holders in what is regarded as the most likely section of the city for real estate investment."<sup>111</sup> There are many Buffalo double style buildings in the district.

***Commercial Buildings***

The influx of residents into the district generally spurred the development of commercial structures, churches, and public buildings to meet their needs. Today the district retains some examples of these building types, although some have been adapted for new purposes.

Many commercial buildings are found along South Park Avenue and Abbott Road, the district's two primary thoroughfares. These commercial strips contain pedestrian-oriented buildings with ground-level shops entered directly from the street. Typically two-stories high, the floor above the street would have apartments or offices. The building at 254 Abbott Road (extant, contributing) is a good example, with offset hip-on-gable and flat asphalt roof features paired wood brackets under a front facing offset hip-on-gable, and an overhanging eave

<sup>109</sup> Kowsky and Clinton Brown Company Architecture, 3-15

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in Kowsky and Clinton Brown Company Architecture, 3-15

<sup>111</sup> "New Modern Residences in the Steel Plant District," *Buffalo Courier* (August 10, 1902).

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that divides above second floor. A brick header row over the storefront is framed by brick pilasters with stone end caps. Typical of the area, the first-floor storefront would house commercial stores and the upper floors would be apartments or offices.

### ***Religious Buildings***

Religious buildings were constructed to accommodate the growing resident population in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most of the existing religious buildings in the district are churches dating from this time and all were designed by local architectural firms.<sup>112</sup>

With the influx of Irish Catholic populations into the district from the First Ward in the late-nineteenth century, churches soon arose to serve these Catholic congregations. In 1902, the Holy Family Parish was built on the former William J. Connors estate at Tift Street and South Park Avenue. It was founded by Msgr. John Nash, a native of the First Ward. The Sisters of Mercy acquired the Rufus P. Choate estate at Red Jacket Parkway and Abbott Road to build a motherhouse and later, in 1904, opened the Mercy Hospital on Tift Street.<sup>113</sup> Built to serve the many Irish-American and German-American Catholics who had moved into the area, the imposing twin-towered Romanesque-style stone edifice followed designs by Buffalo's Lansing & Beierl. It was constructed, together with the rectory, between 1905 and 1908. Before that time, the congregation had worshiped in the carriage barn and home of William J. Connors, which the church purchased in 1902.

The St. Thomas Aquinas Parish formed in 1920 and constructed its original frame church in 1921. The parochial school was added in 1922 and the rectory was constructed in 1928, both in the Italian Romanesque Revival style. The parish community continued to grow and a new larger church was built in 1949, modeled after Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome. In 1956 the parochial school was expanded as well.<sup>114</sup> The buildings in the complex reflect not only a cohesion of religious architectural styles despite their construction over nearly thirty years, but the growth of the community they continue to serve, as the parish is still active. St. Ambrose at 260 Okell Street was the last to emerge, in 1930, to meet the needs of the continually growing Catholic population of residents settling the district during those decades of intense development.

The roots of the present South Park Baptist Church go back to 1887 when the Buffalo Baptist Union started a Sunday school in the area. After worshipping for nearly three decades in a building that the group had purchased in 1891 at the corner of Good and Triangle Street (the present South Park Avenue), the congregation purchased property at 187 South Side Parkway and erected the present church complex that North, Shulgren & Swift designed in 1925. The red-brick Georgian Revival building reflects the renewed interest that traditional architects were taking at the time in America's colonial architecture due to the well-publicized restoration of Williamsburg, Virginia. The architects arranged their grouping of the church, tower, and parish hall to effectively terminate the eastward vista down Koester Street, which ends in front of the church just outside the district.

Other churches in the district include the Good Shepherd Community of Faith, Salem Lutheran Church, Our Lady of the Rosary Church, and Kennedy Church. Overall, the impact of these churches was far-reaching in the area, not just in religious buildings but also in their affiliations with schools and other public services.

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<sup>112</sup> Napora, "Houses of Worship: A Guide to the Religious Architecture of Buffalo, New York." Unpublished Master's Thesis. University at Buffalo: School of Architecture, 1995.

<sup>113</sup> Timothy Bohen, *Against the Grain: the History of Buffalo's First Ward* (Buffalo, NY : Petit Printing, 2012).

<sup>114</sup> Moriarty and Preservation Studios, 2016.

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***Civic, Institutional and Educational Buildings***

Many of the public buildings emerged in the district during the era of most intense development, from the 1900s into the 1940s. The largest historic school building is South Park High School at 150 South Park Avenue (contributing), which occupies a spacious site on South Park Avenue bordered by Macamley Street, Taylor Street, and Josie Street. Designed by the prominent local architectural firm of Green and Wicks, the yellow brick and sandstone building is one of the leading of the Neo-Classical style in Buffalo.

Several of the earliest schools to be established were affiliated with the neighborhood churches as well. South Buffalo contained the most parish schools in the city, some of them in the district. Mercy Academy in 1904, a girl's high school on Abbott Road and South Park High School, a public school, was heavily influenced by the Catholic tradition.<sup>115</sup> Parish schools were at their peak by the late 1940s and early 1950s. After World War II, the Catholic Church in Buffalo endeavored to add to its existing fleet of schools by constructing high schools. In 1949, Bishop Timon High School was constructed in the district.<sup>116</sup>

Mercy Hospital was the first hospital established in South Buffalo, emerging to meet the health care needs of the many new residents in the area in 1904. At that time, the Sisters of Mercy purchased the former William J. Connors house at the northwest corner of Tifft Street and South Park Avenue. Before that time, the house had served as the rectory of the Holy Family Church. When the rectory was moved to a new site nearby on Tifft Street, Connors' commodious house became the first Mercy Hospital. Transforming the former conservatory into the operating room and fitting out the first-floor parlors as offices, pharmacy, and three private rooms, the Sisters of Mercy equipped the facility with beds to care for fifty patients.<sup>117</sup> The adaptively reused building, however, was demolished in the late 1920s when the institution erected a much larger structure on Ridge Road, outside of the district. After the nuns sold the property with 200 feet of frontage on Tifft Street, the present frame dwellings were erected there.

Together, these residential and non-residential buildings remain intact to provide plenty of insight today into the historic context of the major development periods of the district. Over time, these buildings were constructed primarily from the 1890s-1950s, after the area grew from the Buffalo Creek Reservation during the relatively pastoral mid-nineteenth century into an urban residential streetcar suburb and later automobile-oriented set of developments by the mid-twentieth century.

**CONCLUSION**

From a quiet agricultural community in the mid-nineteenth century, the district grew dramatically after the establishment of Olmsted's parks and parkways in the area in the 1890s and the 1899 announcement that the large Lackawanna Steel plant would employ hundreds of workers nearby. The new accessibility, coupled with the proliferation of industrial jobs available in the vicinity, led to a boom in development, real estate speculation, and new residential construction during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The area's location was marketed as ideal due to its proximity to the Olmsted-designed Cazenovia Park, South Park, and parkways, as well as its newly available transportation connections to the city to the north and the industries to the south and west. As transportation technology improved, early-twentieth-century streetcar suburb style

<sup>115</sup> Timothy Bohen, *Against the Grain: the History of Buffalo's First Ward* (Buffalo, NY : Petit Printing, 2012).

<sup>116</sup> Timothy Bohen, *Against the Grain: the History of Buffalo's First Ward* (Buffalo, NY: Petit Printing, 2012).

<sup>117</sup> "Mercy Hospital Will Open Soon," *Buffalo Express* (July 28, 1904); "South Side's New Hospital," *Buffalo Courier* (August 14, 1904).

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developments in the north portion of the district gave way to more automobile-oriented subdivisions to the south, coinciding with the removal of the streetcar lines in 1942.

As a result of building restrictions and market demand, the entire district today retains an aesthetic cohesion that is firmly rooted in the settlement pattern associated with the history of American suburbs from the early to the mid-twentieth century. Several commonalities emerge amongst the individual histories of each subdivision, including their development strategy, lot sizes and setbacks, architectural styles, deed restrictions, sales tactics, and the qualities they all promoted to potential consumers about the area. Addressing these overall patterns of development shared amongst these individual subdivisions can illuminate the factors that have contributed to the cohesive built environment in the district today.

In general, the settlement patterns, streetscapes, and architectural styles of each subdivision were virtually indistinguishable from one another even though they were built simultaneously by distinct developers. Development tended to occur lot by lot, street by street, or in large tracts of land. Different developers worked on different streets, or sometimes even the same streets, simultaneously during the period of significance. Developers tended to work directly with contractors on these subdivisions, often hiring a single construction group to build a large group of homes on a single street. While a select few companies hired in-house contractors, such as the Wilton C. Lindsey working with J. O'Connors, each developer usually teamed together with a different contractor, resulting in a different builder on each street.

While each street in the nominated district was initially developed by different companies, the pattern, pace, and style of development were typically the same on each street. As one article described, "The system of operation is as follows: Acreage, or a block of lots, is bought by the building company. These are developed and built upon as a group."<sup>118</sup> Building each lot simultaneously as a group gave developers a financial advantage, enabling them to purchase materials and labor from contractors at a bulk cost that was more economically efficient. Furthermore, this allowed developers to keep the cost of lots and houses relatively low, making them easier to sell to the predominantly middle-class homebuyers that were the target audience of this area.

Despite these multiple developers working simultaneously, the built environment that resulted from this construction boom is quite unified and consistent in terms of lot sizes, setbacks, landscaping, and architectural form, massing, and styles. Developers improved and sometimes even laid out the streets, ensured there would be sewer and water lines, and subdivided the lots in ways that were nearly uniform from one street to the next. Most of the lot sizes were 35' x 100.' Setbacks, landscaping, and later, driveways, were established in the district inconsistent measurements as well, leading to a cohesive environment that still exists today. As is typical in many early American suburbs, developers also placed building restrictions on the construction of new houses in some of the subdivisions. All developers specified, either explicitly or implicitly by example, acceptable architectural styles, attempting to 'protect' homeowners' investments. The consistency of building materials, architectural styles, and uniform landscaping details such as setbacks, sidewalks, and curbing created a desirable environment for middle-class homebuyers looking for an alternative to dense city living.

The movement of people out of the city's core to this area at the south edge of the city defined the area's trends and attitudes toward architectural design and neighborhood planning. This movement can be traced through a study of historic maps, specifically in the planning of new roads, which in essence define suburban growth. The laying out and paving of roads, improvements in both public and automobile transportation, and the establishment of the multiple large-scale industrial plants nearby set the stage for a boom in speculative

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<sup>118</sup> "Capitalizing Fine Points in House Equipment," *The National Builder* 66.1 (January 1923), 14.

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real estate development during the 1900s-1930s. Multiple developers purchased several blocks or larger tracts and in conjunction with the city laid roads, installed utilities, and planned communities to be distinctively residential rather than urban. Overall, the historic district maintains a high level of integrity in its design, plan, streets, and overall landscape. All of the streets in this district today combine to provide a significant patchwork that typified multiple phases of suburban style development patterns in America.



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**Previous documentation on file (NPS):**

☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)  
☐ previously listed in the National Register  
☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register  
☐ designated a National Historic Landmark  
☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary location of additional data:**

☐ State Historic Preservation Office  
☐ Other State agency  
☐ Federal agency  
☐ Local government  
☐ University  
☐ Other  
Name of repository: \_\_\_\_\_

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): \_\_\_\_\_

**10. Geographical Data**

**Acreage of Property** \_\_\_\_\_

(Do not include previously listed resource acreage.)

**Latitude/Longitude Coordinates**

Datum if other than WGS84: \_\_\_\_\_  
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- |              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| 1. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 2. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 3. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 4. Latitude: | Longitude: |

**Verbal Boundary Description** (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The boundary is indicated by a heavy line on the enclosed map with scale.

**Boundary Justification** (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundary has been drawn to encompass an area that developed between existing thoroughfares during a period of tremendous real estate development in South Buffalo's history. Each of the streets contained within this district emerged from a similar historic context of settlement patterns as they evolved between 1890-1968. The district contains multiple subdivisions, historically distinguished only by different individual real estate developers responsible for establishing each of them contemporaneously to one another. The boundary encompasses the majority of this historically related area of South Buffalo. Cazenovia Creek forms a natural boundary to the north and east. Heacock Park anchors the north end of the district, connected to the spine of the district along Olmsted-designed McKinley Parkway. Areas further south of Downing Street were excluded from the district boundary as that street served as the boundary of all of the concerned subdivisions. The same applies to the area east of Onondaga Avenue, where that street forms the City Line. Commercial properties on

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South Park Avenue to the west are excluded from the nominated district because of its predominantly commercial character in a primarily residential character. Commercial properties along Abbott Road have been included as a sampling of the services they provided to the community, and due to its contiguous location to multiple residential streets crossing the district. The boundary encompasses the largest collection of resources with sufficient physical integrity to convey the significance of this area as a residential community that developed from an early twentieth century streetcar-oriented residential neighborhood that was established before the streetcar lines were removed in 1942.

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Figure 1: The 1804 *Map of Morris' Purchase or West Geneseo in the State of New York* (Ellicott 1804). Note the district indicated approximately by the solid line.

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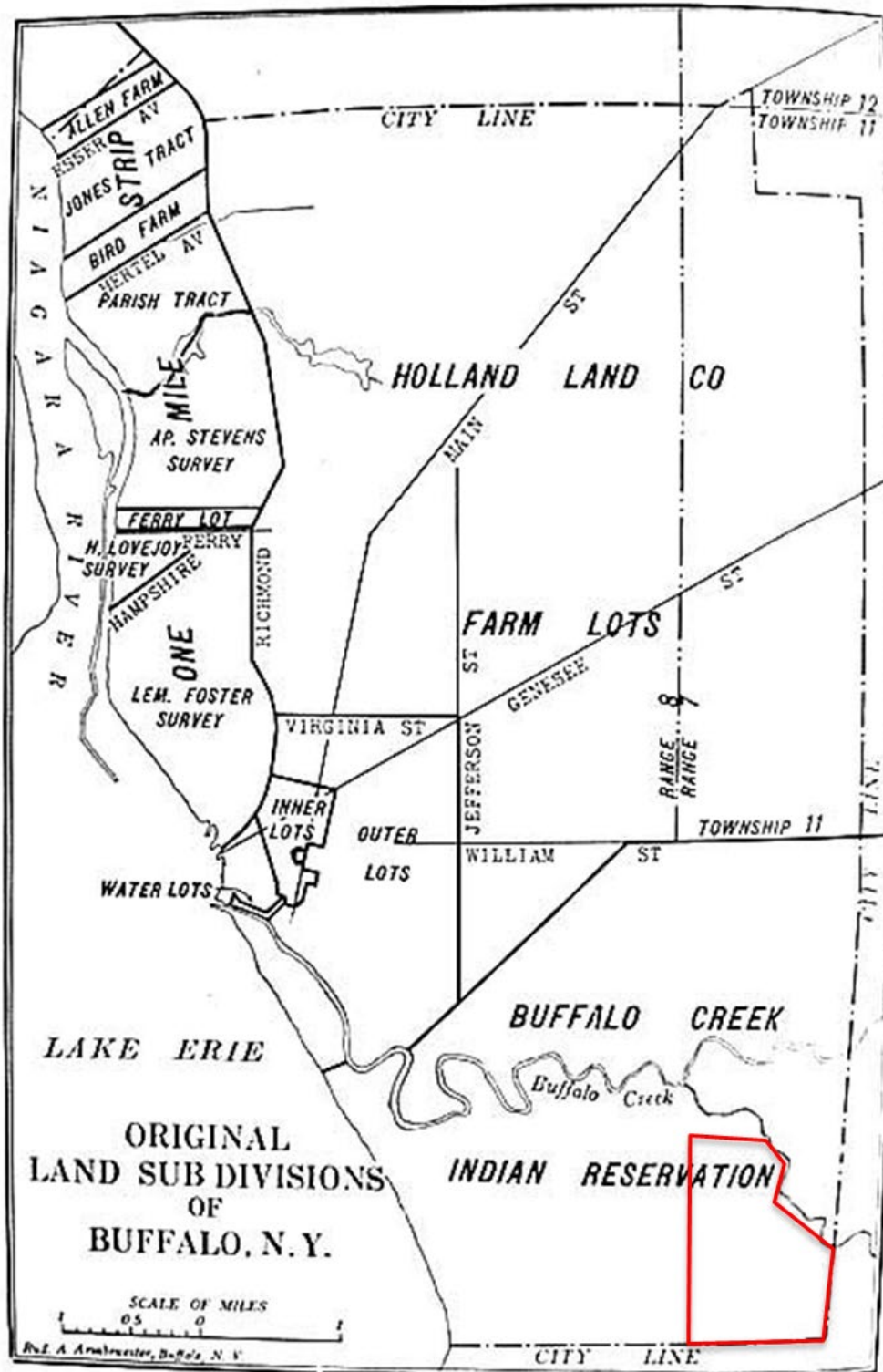


Figure 2: The district and City of Buffalo as depicted on the 1802 *Original Land Subdivisions of Buffalo, NY* (1802) The outlined location is the approximate location of the district.



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Figure 3: Illustrating the district in the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Map from 1905, showing historic boundaries from the 1800s.



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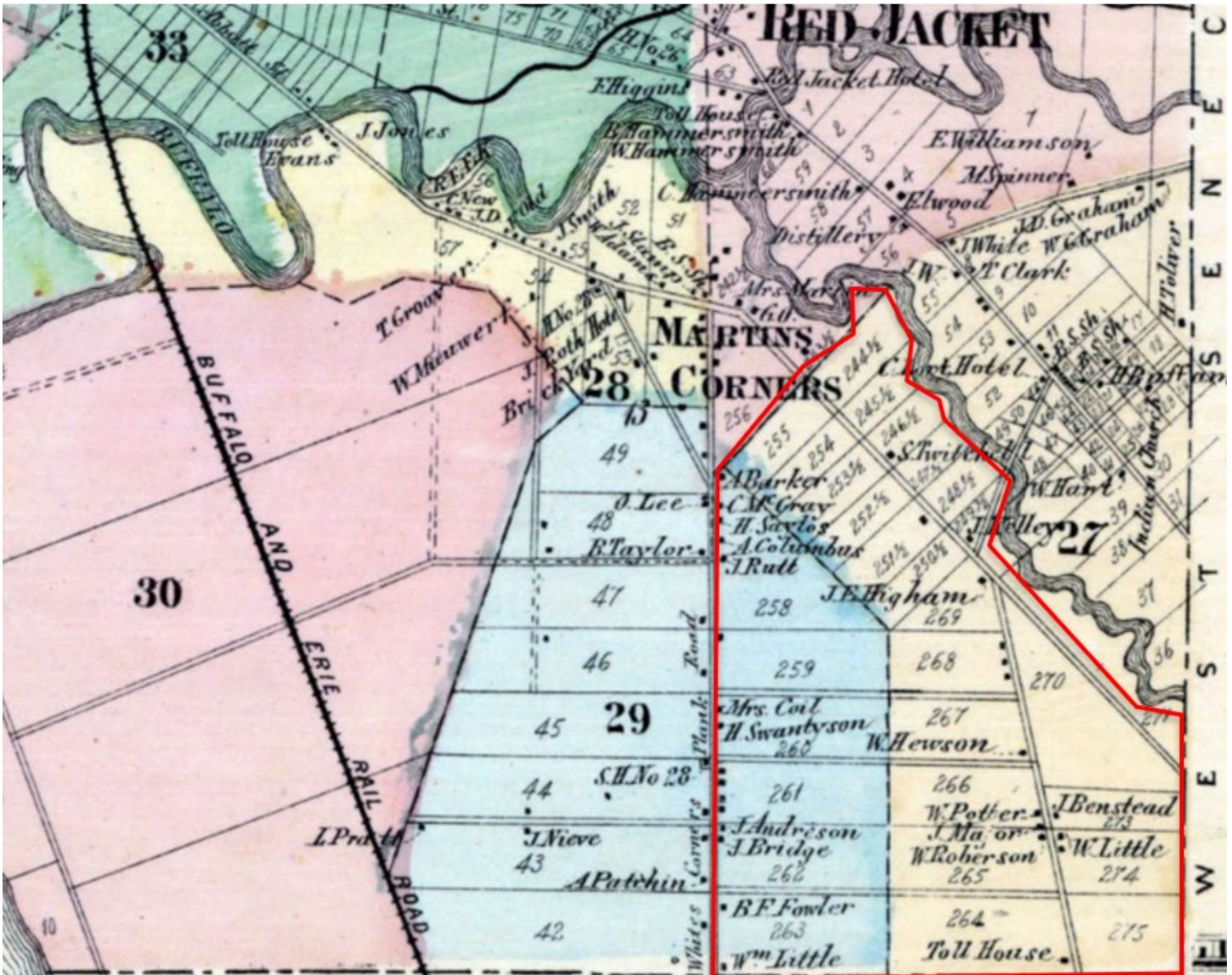


Figure 4: The district as depicted on the 1866 *New Topographical Atlas of Erie County* (Stone Stewart 1866).



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Figure 5: The district is outlined on the 1872 *Atlas of the City of Buffalo* (1872 Hopkins). Note the area was still mostly larger farm lots by this time, with only a few major streets laid out.



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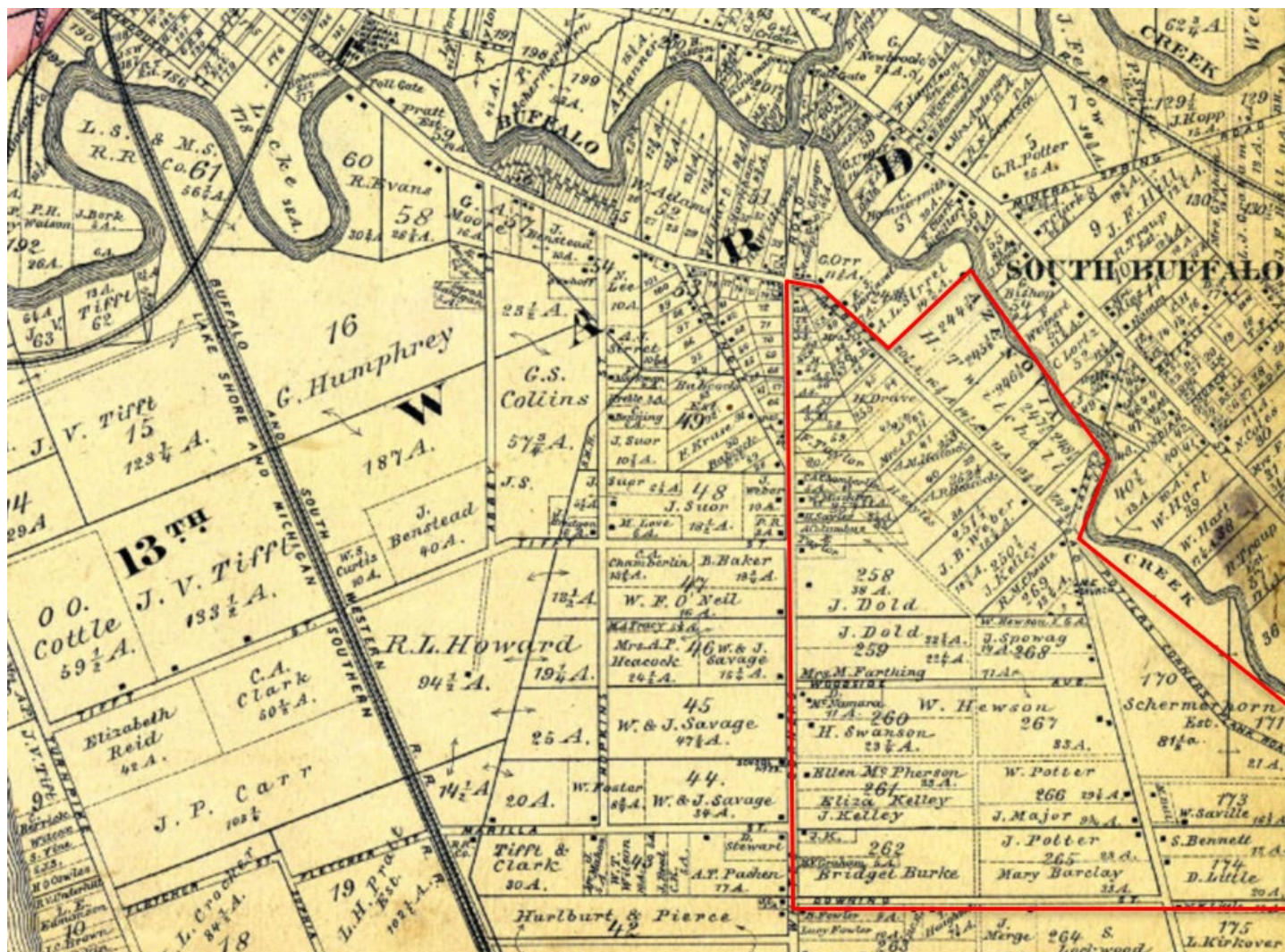


Figure 6: The district as depicted on the 1880 *City of Buffalo Atlas* (1880 Beers). Note many of the same farm lots and owners exist.



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

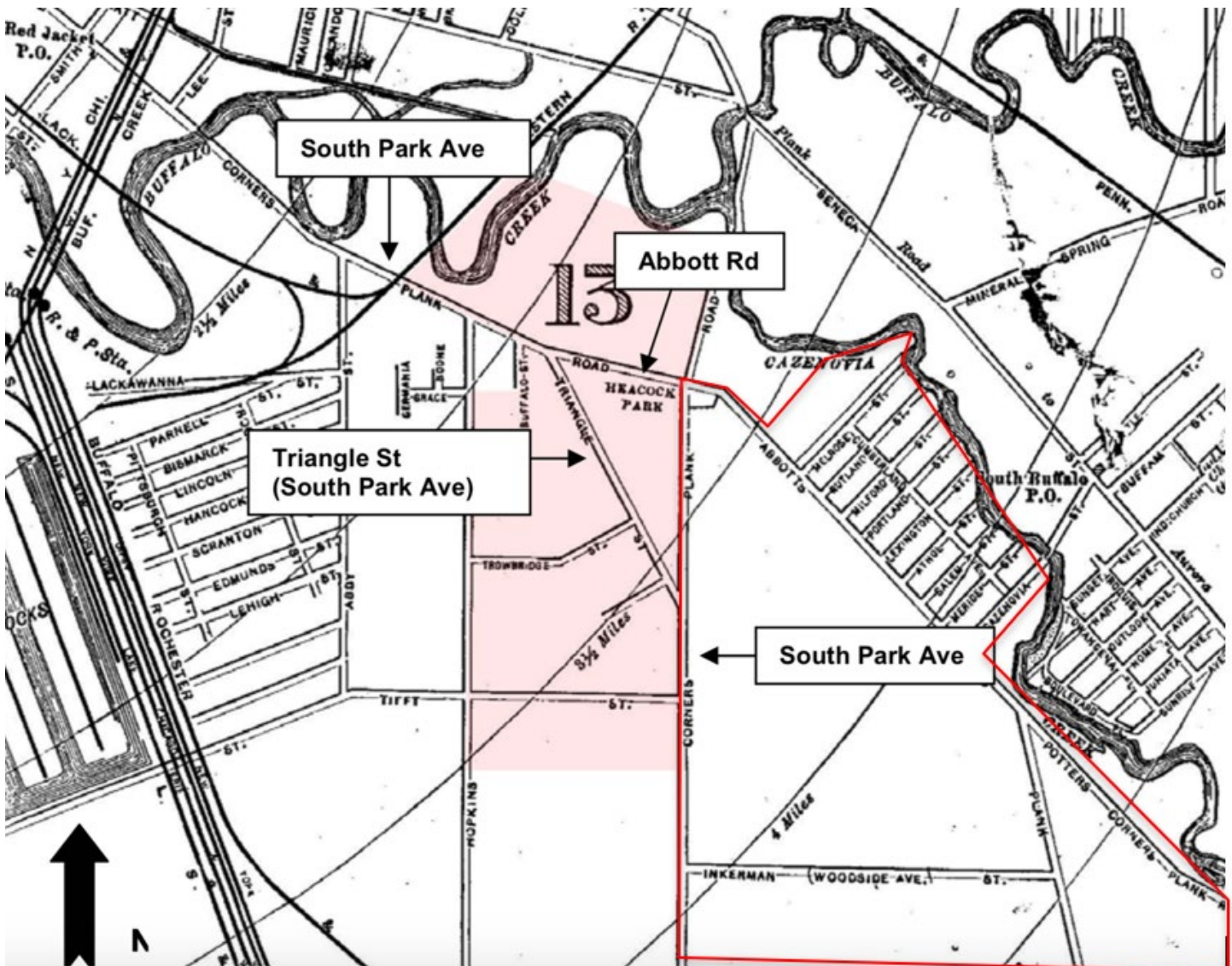


Figure 7: A portion of the district as depicted on the 1887 *City of Buffalo Atlas* (1887 Matthews & Northrup). Note the major thoroughfares have been laid out, as well as a portion of the future Cazenovia Park Colony Subdivision to the northeast, but most of the roads to the south are not yet in place. The shaded area is outside the district, representing mostly the Triangle neighborhood.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

**Erie Co., NY**

County and State

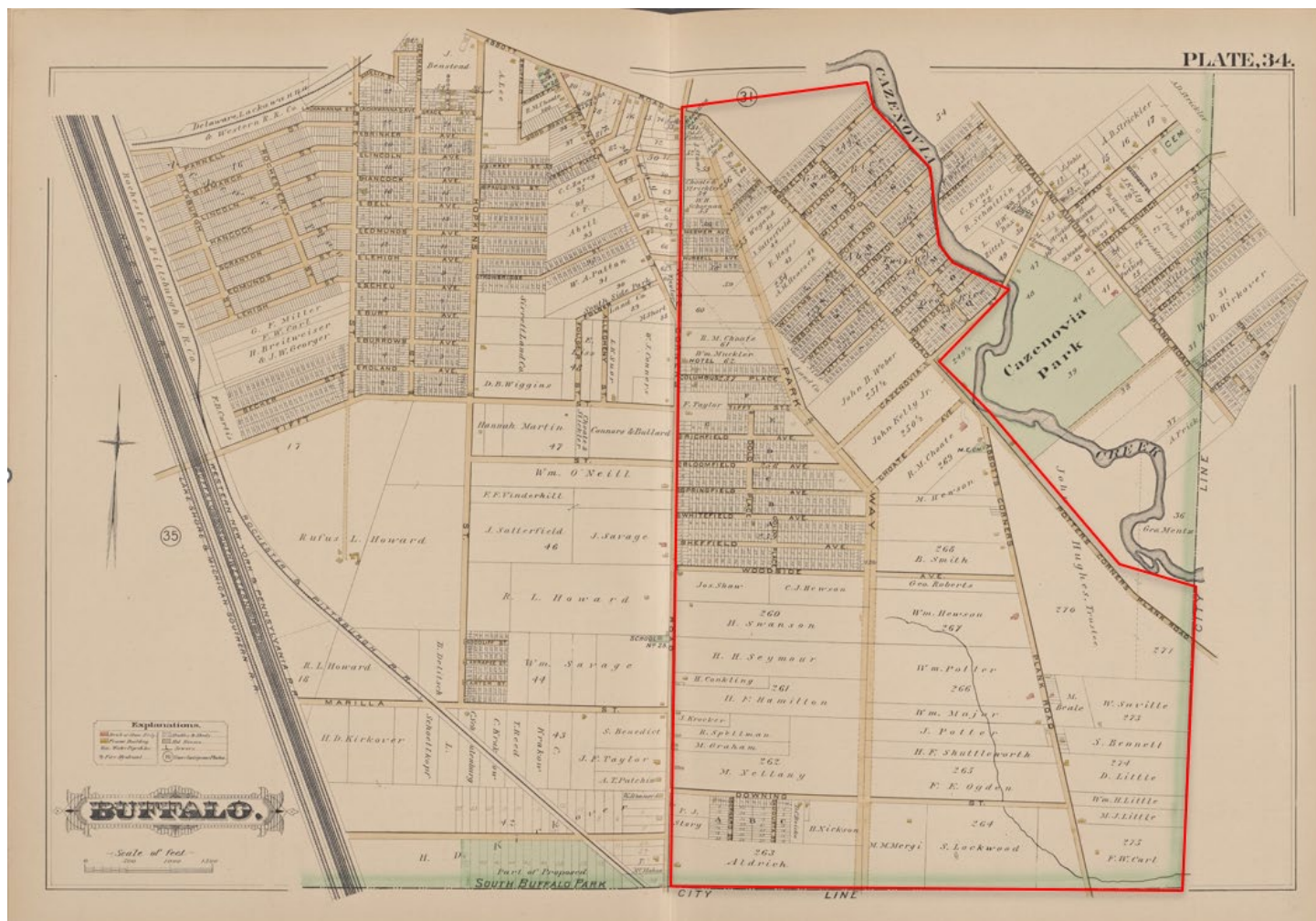


Figure 8: 1891 Atlas of Buffalo. District outlined in red.



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

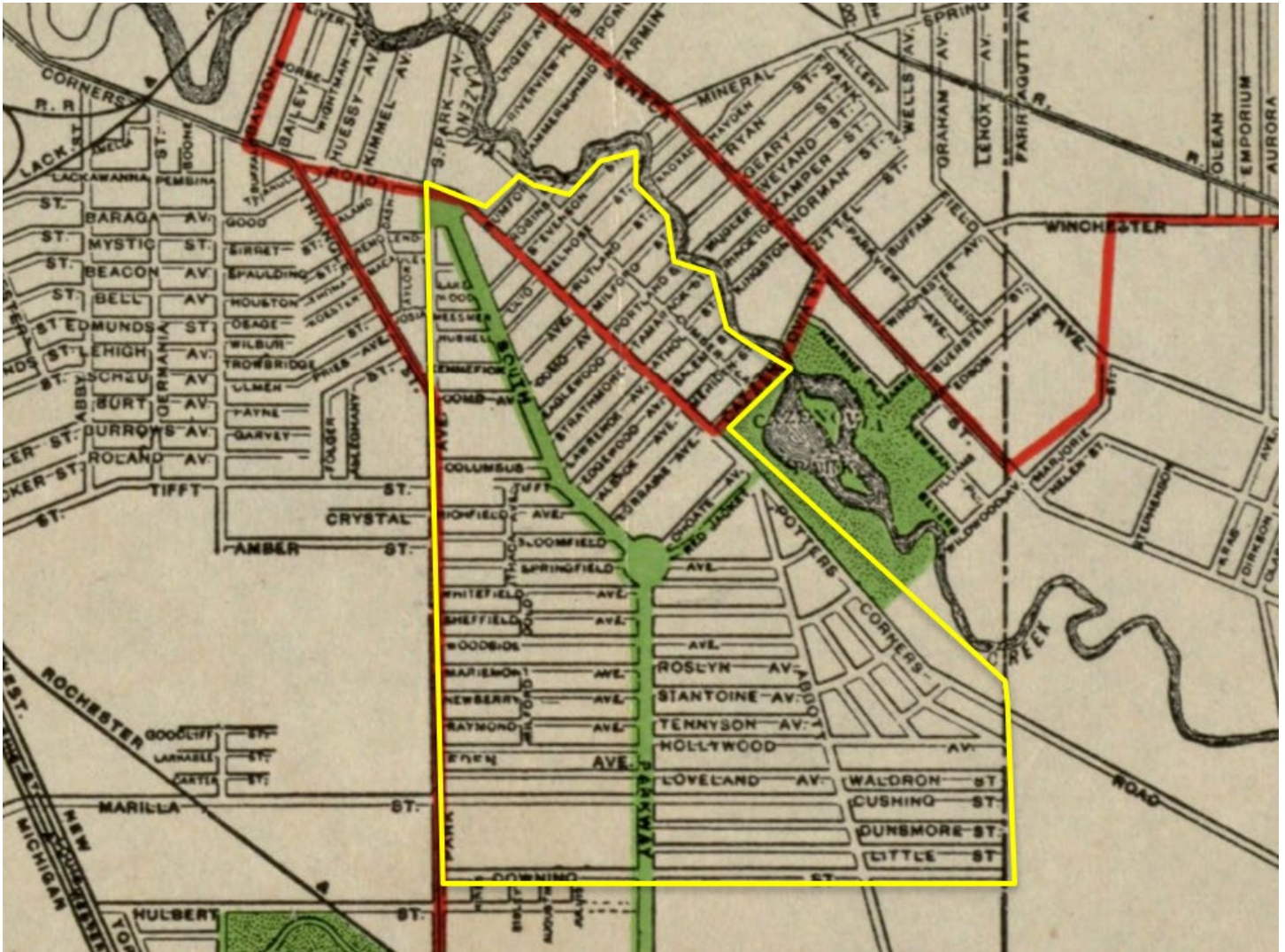


Figure 9: 1901 New Map of the City of Buffalo, by Buffalo Engraving Company. Note the red streetcar lines along the edges of the district (yellow).



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

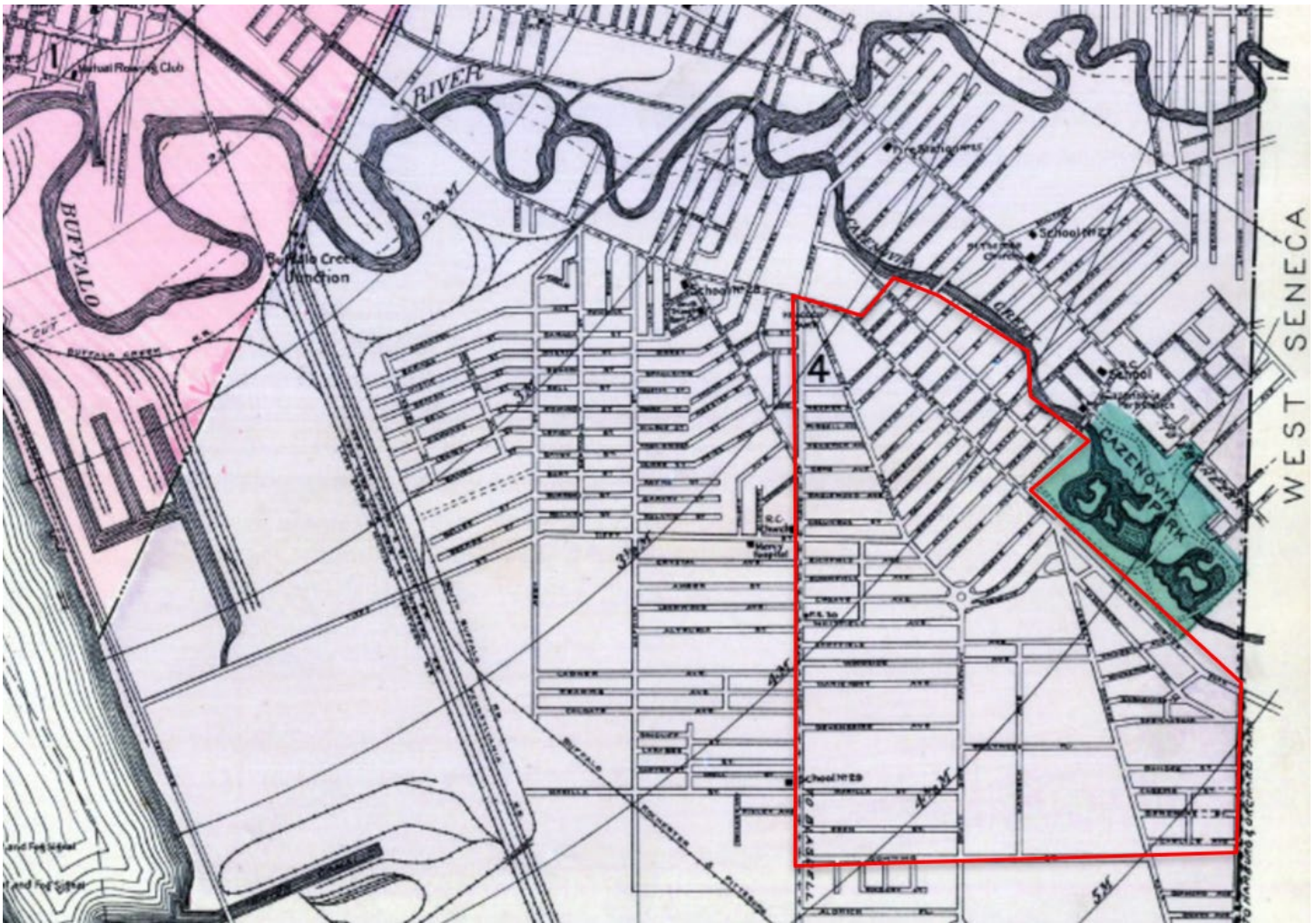


Figure 10: The district as depicted on the 1909 *City of Buffalo* map. (1909 City Map). Note several of the streets in the district have been laid out, especially in the north portion of the district.



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

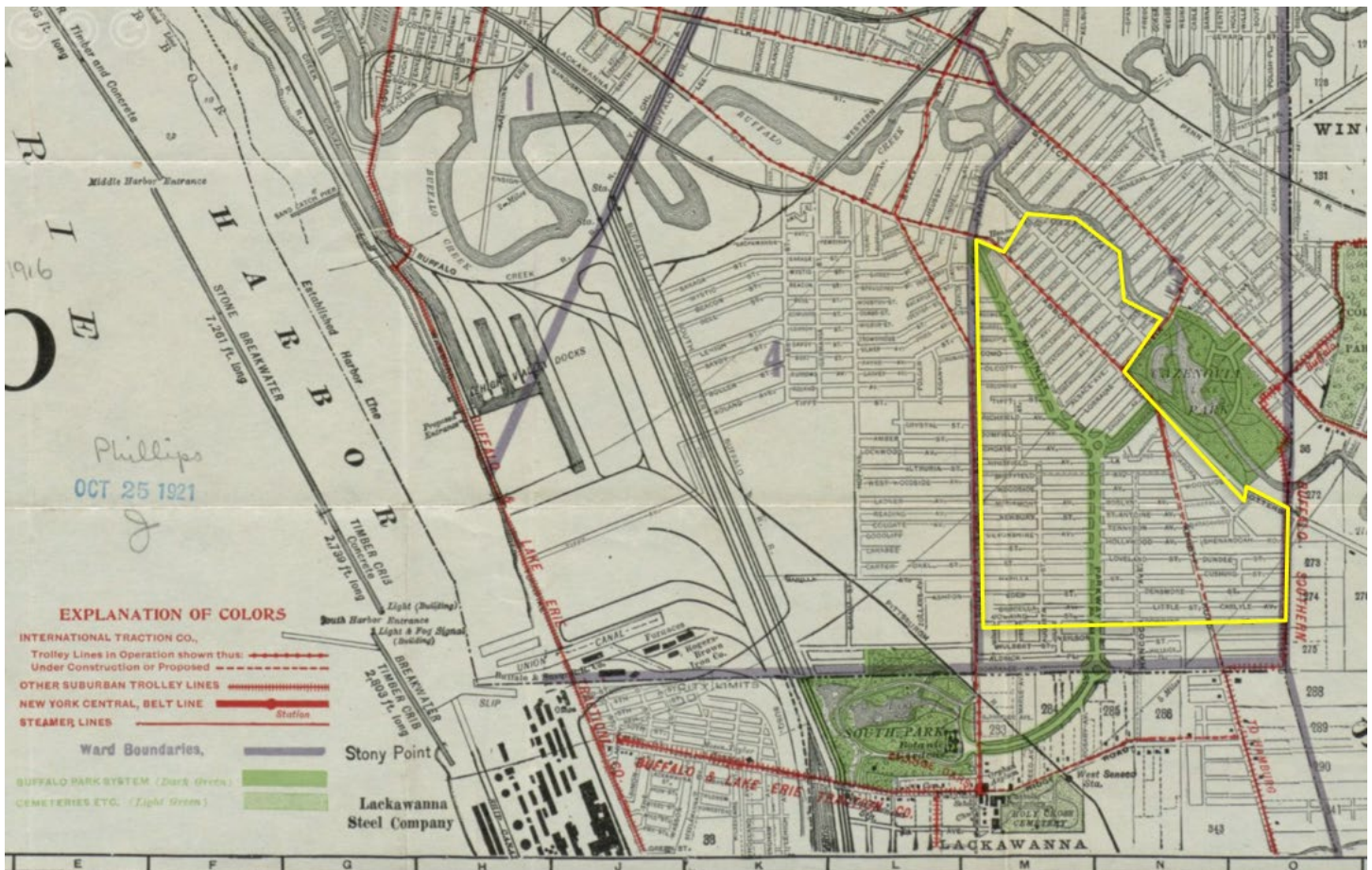


Figure 11: Map of streetcars and passenger rail in the district in 1916. Matthews Northrup Co. District outlined in yellow.



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

**Erie Co., NY**

County and State



Figure 12: Map of Streetcar Lines in Buffalo in 1935. District outlined in yellow. Note the Route 19 bus line loop by this time runs down the center of the district.



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

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Erie Co., NY

County and State

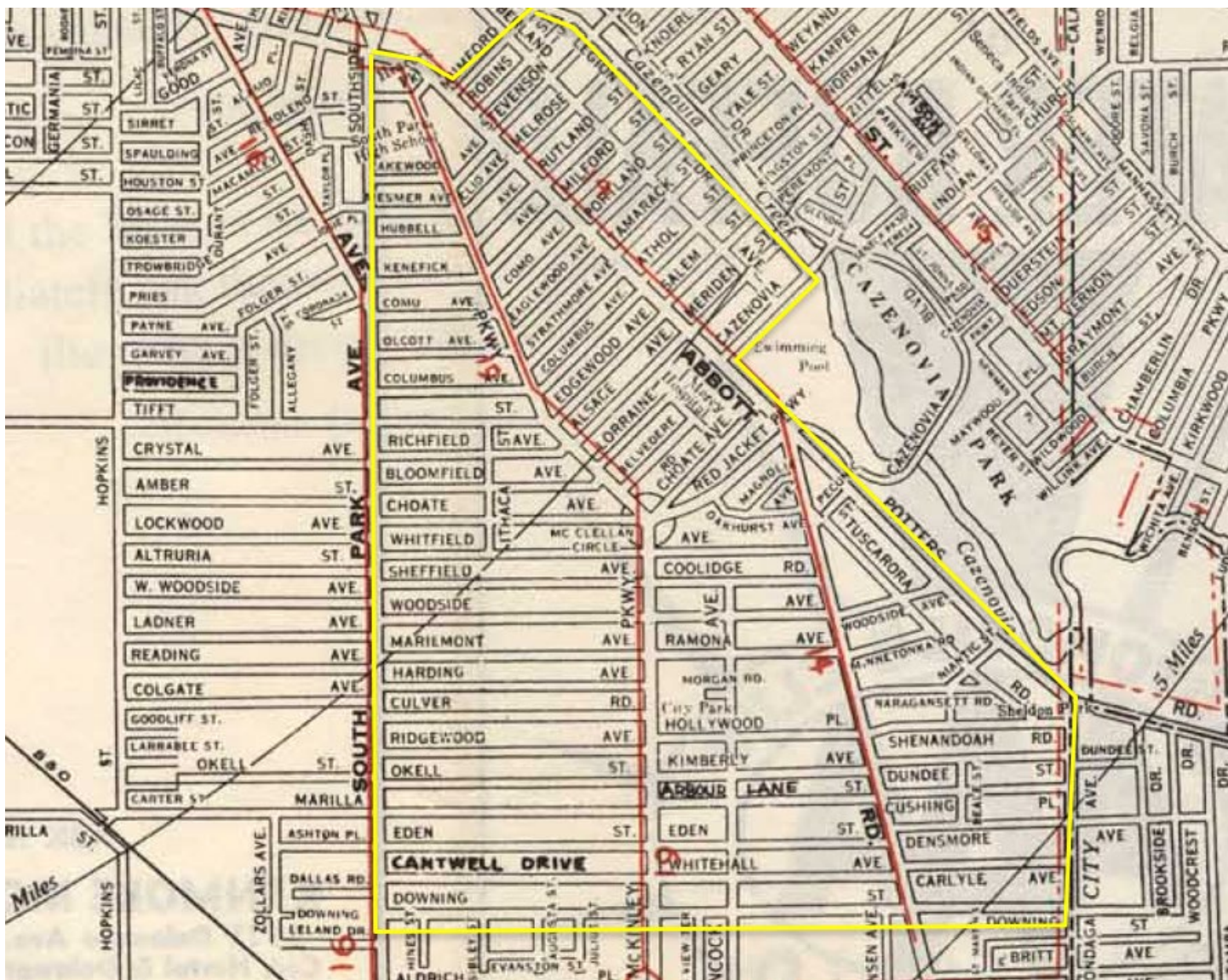


Figure 13: Map of Streetcar and bus lines in the district in 1941. District outlined in yellow. The last streetcar line was removed the following year in 1942.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

**Erie Co., NY**

County and State

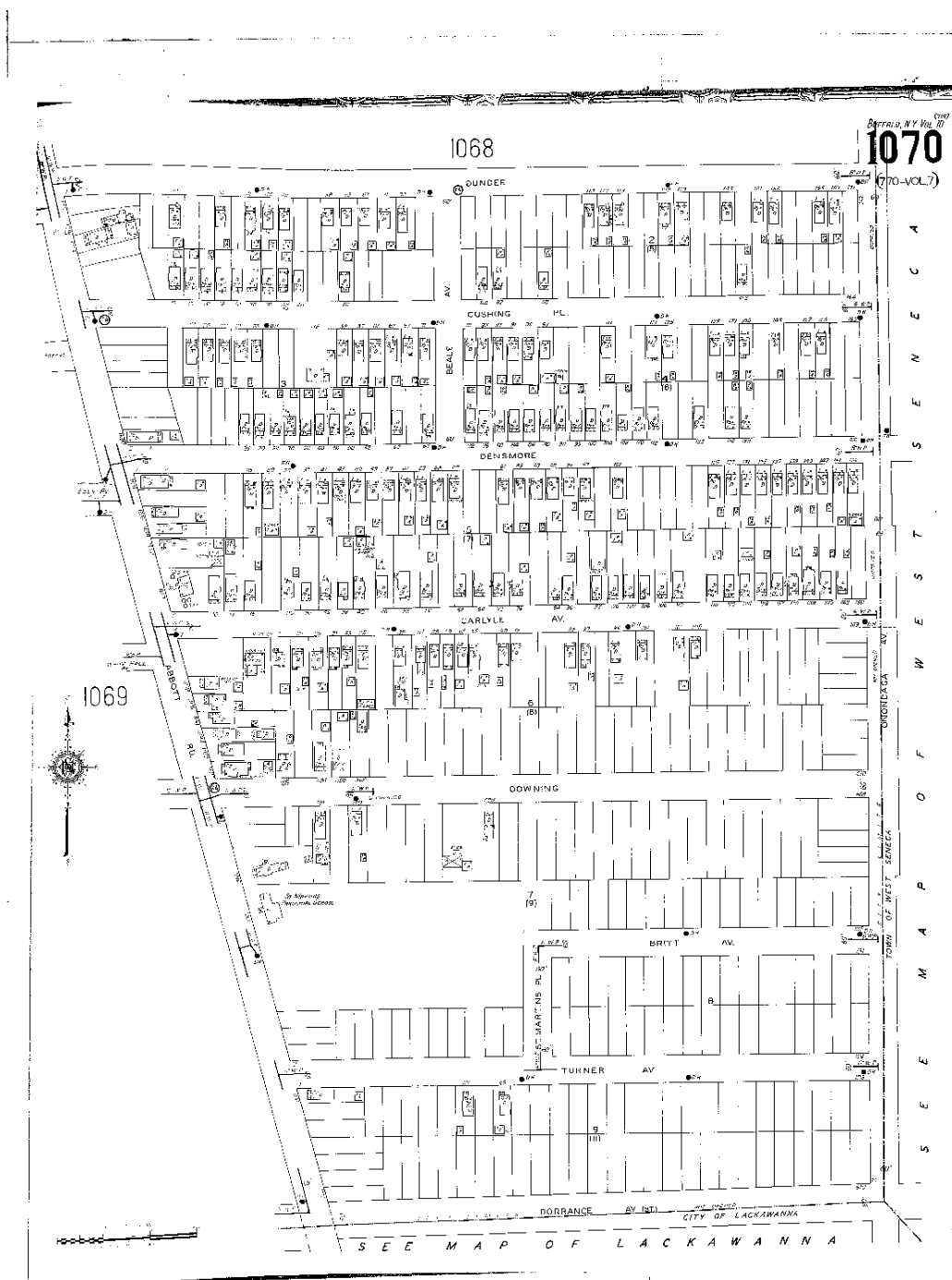


Figure 14: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1940.

This map shows a small selection of the district, including a portion of Abbott Terrace and the area further south, by 1940. Note the area to the south has not been developed by this time, but lots have been subdivided and were prepared to experience postwar development.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

**Erie Co., NY**

County and State

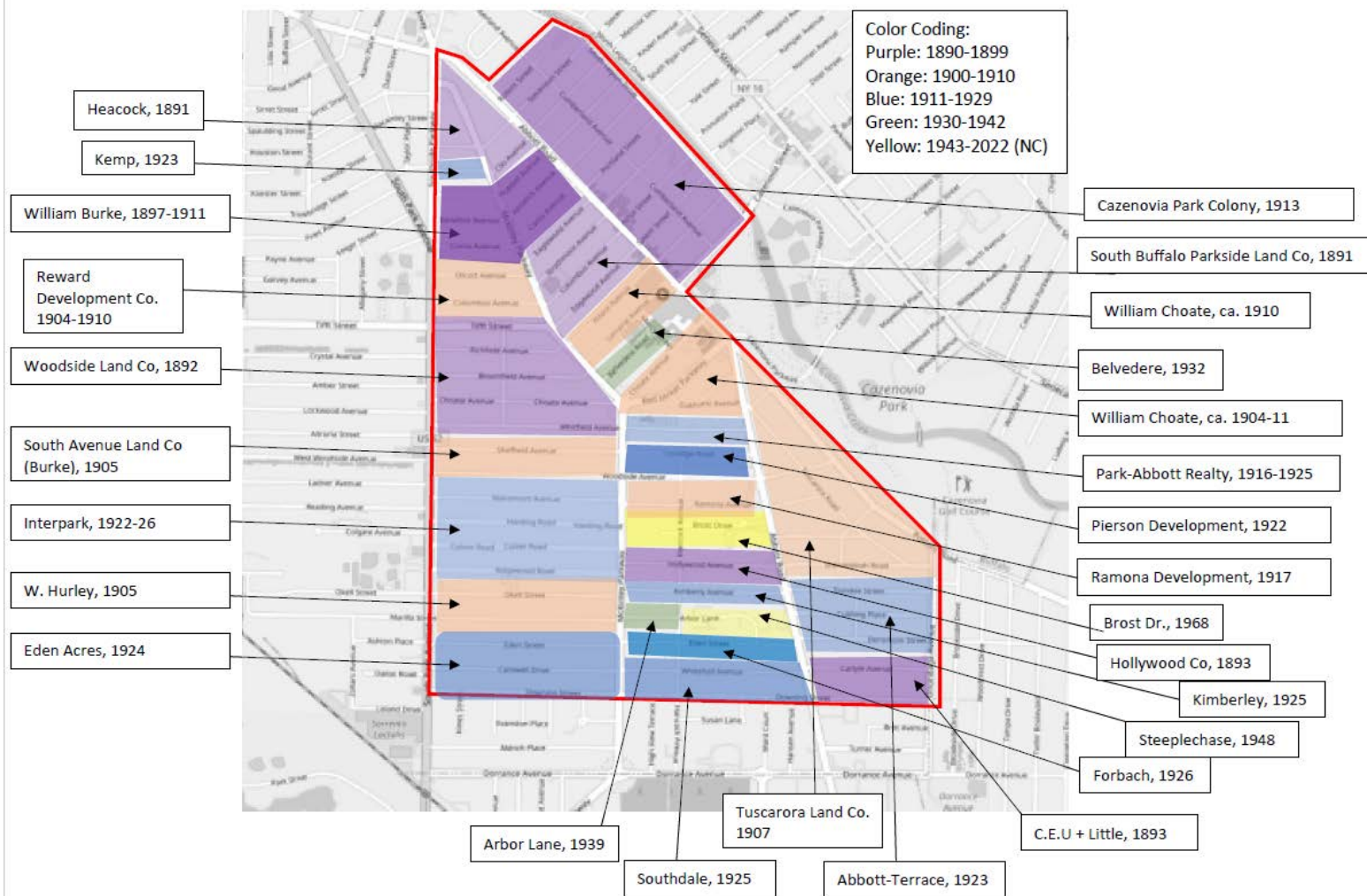


Figure 15: Map of distric with individual subdivision boundaries, Developers and Dates



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State



Figure 16: Photographs of development in the Cazenovia Park Colony subdivision in 1913. Reproduced in *The Buffalo Times* (July 6, 1913): 38.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

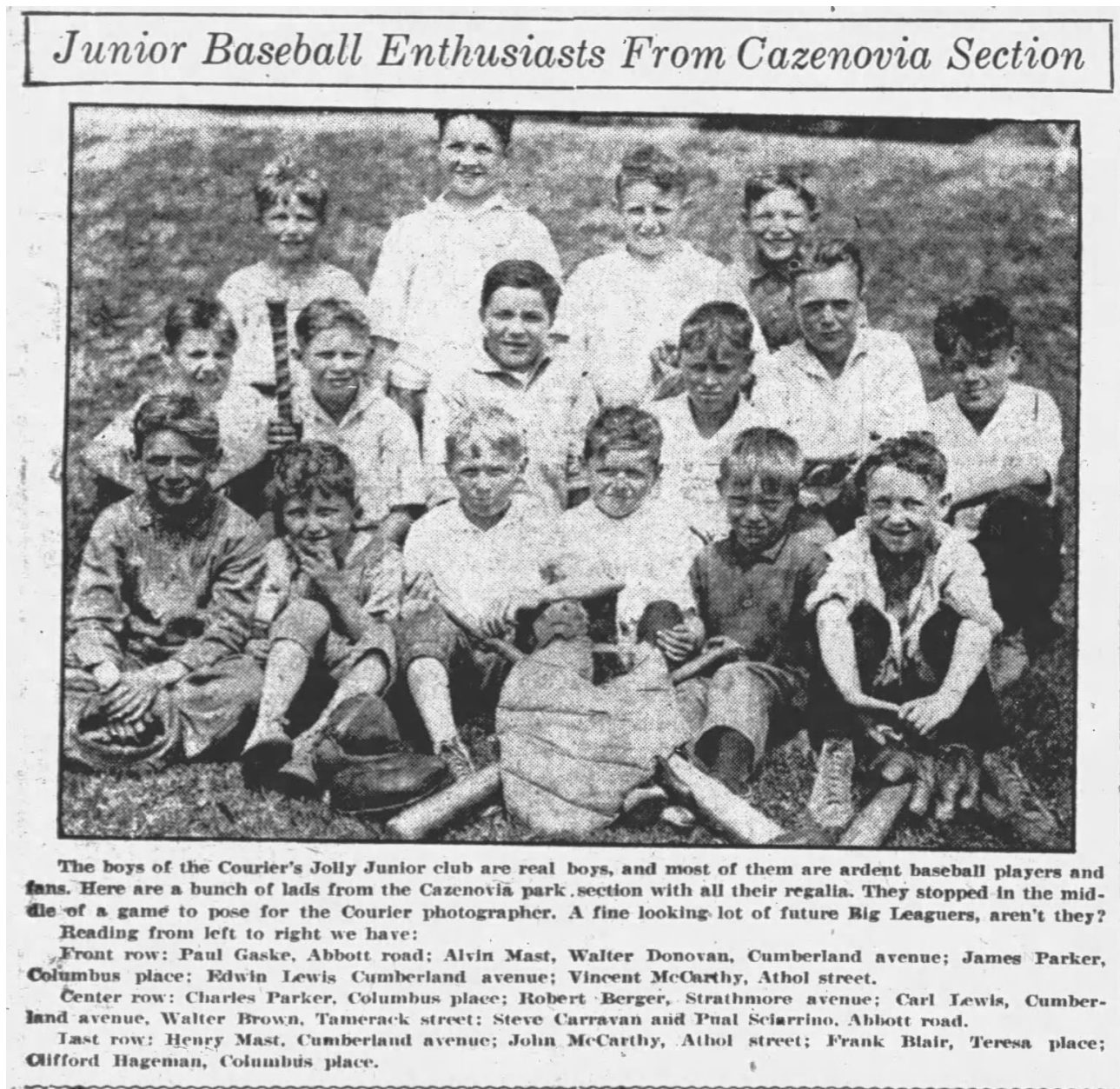


Figure 17: Photograph of Cazenovia Park Colony subdivisions residents in youth baseball league. The subdivision developer similarly encouraged a social life amongst the residents. Reproduced in *Buffalo Courier* (October 6, 1924): 7.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State



Figure 18: Photograph reproduced in *Buffalo Courier* of Whitfield Avenue development in 1919.  
Note consistency of massing, style, construction, and setbacks is typical of early twentieth century development in the district.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY  
County and State

**Come Today or Sunday and  
Choose Your Homesite in  
Kinsey's Abbott Terrace**  
(On Abbott Road near Cazenovia Park)

South Buffalo has come into its own. Sales in this section in the last few months have totaled hundreds of thousands of dollars.  
Your first glimpse of Kinsey's Abbott Terrace will impress you. There are many beautiful homes in the immediate vicinity. This property is in a most attractive residential district.



*These beautiful homes are in the immediate vicinity of Kinsey's Abbott Terrace. Homes are what make the community. Why not build your home here?*

You can buy a large lot in this beautiful subdivision for  
**\$10 DOWN AND \$5 A MONTH**  
(A few lots \$25 down)

Buy at once and you secure the very low opening prices and terms in a neighborhood where values are increasing daily.

**KINSEY'S ABBOTT TERRACE TITLE IS INSURED**  
You will be given, free of all cost, a Policy of Title Insurance made by the Buffalo Abstract & Title Company. Your title is absolutely protected; this \$400,000.00 company guarantees the title against all defects.

**YOU MAY SELL YOUR LOT BEFORE IT IS PAID FOR.**  
You are sure to make a profit on it and you do not have to have your lot fully paid for to reap the benefit of the increase in value.

**HOW TO GET TO KINSEY'S ABBOTT TERRACE**

By Auto: Drive out Abbott Road, just beyond Potter's Road; you'll see the Kinsey signs on the property.	By Trolley: Take Abbott Road trolley to Woodside avenue; look for the Kinsey branch office.	Kinsey's Abbott Terrace is on the Abbott Road, just beyond Potter's Road near Cazenovia Park. It has frontages on Abbott Road, Densmore, Cushing, Onondaga and Dundee streets.
---	---	--



**158 Pearl at Church St. Seneca 8075**  
Branch office on property open every day till dark.

Figure 19: Advertisement for Kinsey Realty's Abbott Terrace subdivision in the district.  
From *The Buffalo Enquirer* (September 15, 1923): 3.



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY  
County and State

*In The Immediate Vicinity of Eden Acres*



**SOUTH PARK CONSERVATORY**

**CAPITOL THEATRE**

**HOLY FAMILY CHURCH & SCHOOL**

**SO. PARK HIGH SCHOOL**

**Two Years Will See Great Changes at Eden Acres**  
**Get Your Lot Today**

NOW Eden Acres is just land, neatly laid off into 35-foot lots. In two years what will it be? Surrounded on all sides by smooth-paved streets—facing the South Park-Abbott Road car line — but a stone's throw from the South Park golf links — schools, churches, neighborhood stores all in the immediate vicinity. In two years this "land" will be the property of home owners, its value will be from two to three times what we are offering it at today. An investment that CANT go wrong.

*All Lots \$18 to \$20 per foot  
Terms \$25 Down \$1.50 per week*

IN such a locality with such natural advantages, these prices cannot be approached anywhere in Buffalo. Fresh air, congenial surroundings removed from the hustle and noise of "downtown," yet easily accessible to it—Eden Acres is an ideal place for the man of moderate means. Soon, however, with the increasing calls for South Park property it will be beyond the reach of moderate incomes. This property unquestionably is going to rise in value and SOON.

*Developments Under Way*

ON all sides of Eden Acres there has been extraordinarily rapid development. Whole rows of houses have sprung up as though by magic. And with each new home there is a corresponding rise in land values. It is the inevitable price of popularity. NOW is the time to buy Eden Acres land, as much as you can, while prices are so astonishingly low. Ample sewer and water facilities have already been installed. Search and survey given with each lot.

**Yesterday's Opening Popular!**

OUR offices on South Park and Downing street were the scene of great activity yesterday. The interest with which people have greeted the opening of Eden Acres indicates a speedy disposal of every available lot. Some early while there are still a few good selections left! And remember that we are glad to finance any contractor or building owner with building loans.

**International Home Building Co., Inc.**  
*Developers of Hamlin Park*  
J. Jos. O'Leary, Representative,  
Main Office, E. Ferry, corner Wohlers FILL 5728  
Branch Office, South Park Avenue, near Downing

**EDEN ACRES**

Figure 20: Advertisement for the Eden Acres subdivision in *Buffalo Courier* (September 1, 1924): 6.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**


Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

BUFFALO COURIER, MONDAY, MAY 5, 1924

**NARRAGANSETT ST.**




**SEVEN ROOM FLATS NOW COMPLETED**

If you are thinking of two family houses in South Buffalo, see these before buying. With six rooms, oak floors, tile baths and vestibules. Rooms for dining. Lot 48x112. Price \$12,500. Terms arranged, open evenings.

**G. F. METTY**  
408 SOUTH PARK AVENUE  
Abbott 6652-W  
OPEN EVENINGS

**HOMES OF KLAS**




**CUMBERLAND AVENUE**

NEW two families built in one of the choicest sections of South Buffalo. Everything attractively arranged for convenience and comfort. Near Carnegie Park. Hot air heat, electric fireplaces, tile baths. Priced at \$11,500. Terms.

For Appointment Phone  
**WILLIAM P. KLAS, Inc.**  
2104 Seneca St. Abbott 2601

**HOMES OF QUALITY**




**McKINLEY PARKWAY COR. EDGEMOOD**

HOMES of quality at attractive prices will be found in our houses. An Ashlar, Lockwood, Edgemoor, Whitford, Bedford, Woodside and McKinley Parkway. Only single, 2 bedroom designs. Look them over. You will find one which will suit your requirements, taste and pocketbook. See personally.

**PAUL HENRICH**  
600-698 Ellicott Square  
Seneca 2148  
Pittsford 1340-W

**HEUSSY AVENUE**



**TWO FAMILY HOUSES AND BUNGALOWS**

PAVED street—Underground lighting system.

Our best price experience is your guarantee. We refer you to our many contented home owners.

Small down payment. Balance like rent.

**W. H. Fitzpatrick & Sons, Inc.**  
1920 SENECA STREET  
Abbott 0737

**HARDING ROAD**



**NEW SIX ROOM SINGLE**  
New South Park Avenue  
IN A RAPIDLY DEVELOPING SECTION  
For Home-own and Rent

See Large  
Light Rooms  
Hardwood Floors  
Hot Air Heat  
Lot 48x112.

**CORMACK, RICH & CO.**  
Priced at \$12,500. Cash \$1,500.

302 ERIE COUNTY BANK. SENECA 6866.

**SOUTH BUFFALO**  
THE CITY IN ITSELF  
SENECA — ABBOTT ROAD — SOUTH PARK

May 5th, 1924.

Mr. and Mrs. Homeseeker:

We have chosen you to act as judges of Real Estate Values in Buffalo.

We know that you are capable of rendering a fair and honest decision.

We know that you no longer desire to pay rent and are now looking for a home to call your own.

We know that you have looked over the different sections of Buffalo, and so we ask you

**COME OUT TO SOUTH BUFFALO.**

Look over the homes now under construction. Inspect those already built and for sale.

Then compare them with the others you have seen. Compare the location, the conveniences, the cleanliness, the beauty of this district, to others.

Compare the prices, and judge where the greatest home values are to be found.

And in the meantime.

**WE AWAIT YOUR DECISION.**

Very truly yours,  
**SOUTH BUFFALO**  
*Francis L. McGraw*  
Acting Secretary

Promotion Committee  
William P. Klas, Paul Henrich, William H. Fitzpatrick, August 23rd, Jr.,  
Adam H. Cernich, M. R. Harst, George F. Fitzpatrick, Walter F. Cernich,  
Charles E. Cernich, Frank B. Cernich, George F. Metty, John J. Cernich,  
Albert J. Butler, Walter Nelson

Copyright, 1914, P. W. McCormick

**WOODSIDE AVE.**




**SIX ROOM SINGLE HOUSE**  
New Abbott Road  
CHOICEST SECTION OF SOUTH PARK  
For Information Telephone

Modern  
Throughout, Oak  
Floors, Tile Bath  
Hot Air Heat

**CORMACK, RICH & CO.**  
Lot 24x150.  
Price \$8,500.  
Cash \$1,000.  
\$1,500

302 ERIE COUNTY BANK. SENECA 6866.

**WOODSIDE AVENUE**




**NEAR McKINLEY PARKWAY**

Do not fail to inspect these beautiful, distinctive brick veneer homes before purchasing elsewhere. One or two floor plans. An honest price and terms that will appeal to you. Here is an opportunity that you cannot afford to miss.

**PIERSON & JEPSON**  
Phone "Builders of High Class Homes." Evenings  
Abbott 2728 Office at Abbott Road and Woodside Ave. Abb. 2728-J

**MARIEMONT AVENUE**




**SIX ROOM BUNGALOWS**

These homes are being constructed by experienced workmen with better material. Colonial and semi-Colonial designs. Each six rooms and bath, select quarter oak floors, stone gas plumbing, Dayton furnace, priced at \$1250 to \$1750. Easy terms.

**Ekke Realty & Construction Co.**  
Branch Office  
Abbott 2814 184 MARIEMONT AVE. Abbott 2781-W

**PRIES AVENUE**




**ONE FIVE-ROOM BUNGALOWS**

DIFFERENT designs, some with 2 bedrooms and bath on first floor, one bedroom on second. Oak floors, tile and brick work, modern appliances, radiant fireplace, hot air heating, full cellar, garden lot 100x75. A few lots in this section are very near town. See us in person or phone.

**C. MILLS REALTY**  
Sen. 3283 315 Main St. Sen. 6894

**McKINLEY PARKWAY**




**ONE FLOOR PLAN BUNGALOWS**

LIVING ROOM—large open—Crown with stone covered walls. Bath with tile floor and Kaiser enamel walls. 4 bedrooms, brick fireplace, built-in bathroom, etc. Workmanship and material the best. Beautiful location. Small down payment. Easy terms.

**CROSSON & BUTLER**  
469 South Park Ave. Abbott 3063

**ABBOTT ROAD**




**TWO FAMILY HOUSES UNDER CONSTRUCTION**

HARDWOOD Floors, French stone, hot air heat. Marbled tile floors, fireplace, etc. Large rooms. Priced at \$11,999. Small down payment. Good location. Beautiful design with stone and brick veneer finish. These may be bought very reasonably and on easy terms.

**WALTER NELSON**  
CONTRACTOR-BUILDER  
118 WOODSIDE AVENUE Abbott 2828-D

**TUSCARORA ROAD**



**ALREADY BUILT & UNDER CONSTRUCTION**

We are building the most modern designs in South Buffalo on Tuscarora and Potter Road. Almost in every respect, we have built these homes to satisfy every desire of a home owner and comfort. Priced very reasonable. Terms arranged. For inspection phone.

**CHRIST FORBACH**  
322 Pottery Road Abbott 2280-M

Figure 21: Page from *Buffalo Courier* (May 5, 1924) illustrating the presence of multiple developers in the McKinley Parkway Historic District simultaneously.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

---

**11. Form Prepared By**

name/title Annie Schentag, Ph.D.; Kerry Traynor, March, M.S. [Edited by NYSHPO]

organization kta preservation specialists

date 9/30/2022

street & number \_\_\_\_\_

telephone \_\_\_\_\_

city or town Buffalo

state NY

zip code 14216

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**Additional Documentation**

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.

- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

---

**Photographs:**

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map.

Name of Property: McKinley Parkway Historic District

City or Vicinity: Buffalo

County: Erie Co.

State: New York

Photographer: KTA Specialists

Date Photographed: June 2023

Description of Photograph(s) and number:

1. Heacock Park at north end of district.
2. McKinley Parkway looking south from near Heacock Park.
3. McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Mesmer Avenue.
4. McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Hubbell Ave.
5. McKinley Parkway looking north along west side near Como Avenue.
6. McKinley Parkway looking north along west side near Olcott Avenue.
7. McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Columbus Ave.
8. McKinley Parkway looking south on west side near Edgewood Ave.
9. McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Richfield Ave.
10. McKinley Parkway looking north on west side near Bloomfield Ave.
11. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Choate Ave.

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

12. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south towards circle at Choate Ave.
13. Detail of circle on McKinley Parkway.
14. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Sheffield Ave.
15. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Woodside Ave.
16. West side of McKinley Parkway, Queen Anne house near Mariemont Ave.
17. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Culver Road.
18. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Ridgewood Rd.
19. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Marilla Street
20. West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Eden Street.
21. Looking south from center of McKinley Parkway towards circle at south end of district.
22. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Downing Street
23. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north at Kimberly Ave.
24. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Ramona Ave.
25. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north at McClellan Circle in district.
26. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Belvedere Road.
27. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Edgewood Ave.
28. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Eaglewood Ave.
29. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Kenefick Ave.
30. East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Clio Ave.
31. Looking north from east side of Abbott Rd at intersection with Peconic St.
32. East side of Abbott Road looking north near Woodside Ave.
33. East side of Abbott Road looking north at intersection with Minnetonka Road.
34. East side of Abbott Road looking northwest at Kimberly Ave.
35. East side of Abbott Road looking south near Densmore Street.
36. Looking from Dorrance Ave towards Abbott Road at south end of district
37. Looking north at Potters Road near Peconic Street, from Cazenovia Park.
38. Looking south at Potters Road at Peconic Street, from Cazenovia Park
39. Looking south at Potters Road at Woodside Ave.
40. Looking south on Potters Road, towards border of the district at Onondaga Road
41. Looking along Cumberland Ave at Milford Street.
42. Looking along Cumberland Ave near Athol Street
43. Looking west along Lakewood Ave towards north end of district.
44. Looking northeast on Setevenson Street.
45. Looking north on Marbeth Court
46. Looking west on Melrose Street
47. Looking east on Mesmer Ave
48. Looking east on Hubbell Ave.
49. Looking west on Kenefick Ave
50. Looking west on Eaglewood Ave
51. Looking west on Como Ave
52. Looking west on Olcott Ave
53. Looking west on Columbus Ave
54. Looking west on Athol Street.
55. Looking west on Meriden Street.
56. Looking east on Alsace Ave
57. Looking west on Richfield Ave.
58. Looking west on Bloomfield Ave
59. Looking west on Whitfield Ave.
60. Looking east on Whitfield Ave.
61. Looking east on Red Jacket Parkway

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

62. Looking west on Magnolia Ave
63. Looking east on Coolidge Road.
64. Looking west on Coolidge Road
65. Looking west on Sheffield Ave
66. Looking east on Woodside Ave
67. Looking west on Mariemont Ave
68. Looking east on Ramona Ave
69. Looking west on Harding Road, note median
70. Looking east on Brost Dr.
71. Looking east on Culver Road, across median
72. Looking west on Hollywood Ave
73. Looking west on Hollywood Ave, towards Abbott Road
74. Looking east on Kimberly Ave.
75. Looking west on Okell Street
76. Looking west on Marilla Street.
77. Looking west on Arbour Lane
78. Looking west on Eden Street, towards McKinley Parkway.
79. Looking west on Eden Street, towards west boundary of district
80. Looking west on Cantwell Dr
81. Looking east on Whitehall Ave
82. Looking west on Downing Street, west of McKinley Parkway
83. Looking west on Downing Street from intersection with Susan Lane
84. Looking east on Downing Street towards Onondaga Dr.
85. Looking west on Britt Ave.
86. Looking west on Turner Ave
87. Looking north on Ward Ct.
88. Looking west on Susan Lane
89. Looking west on Aldrich Pl.
90. Looking west on Clio Ave.
91. Looking southeast on Tuscarora Rd from north end
92. Looking north from Tuscarora Road and Woodside Avenue
93. Looking northwest at Tuscarora Road and Niantic Street
94. Looking east on Narragansett Road – note the brick pathway
95. Looking east on Shenandoah Road
96. Looking east on Dundee Road
97. Looking west on Cushing Pl.
98. Looking west on Densmore St.
99. Looking west from Onondaga Rd. at Carlyle Ave, from east boundary of district



**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

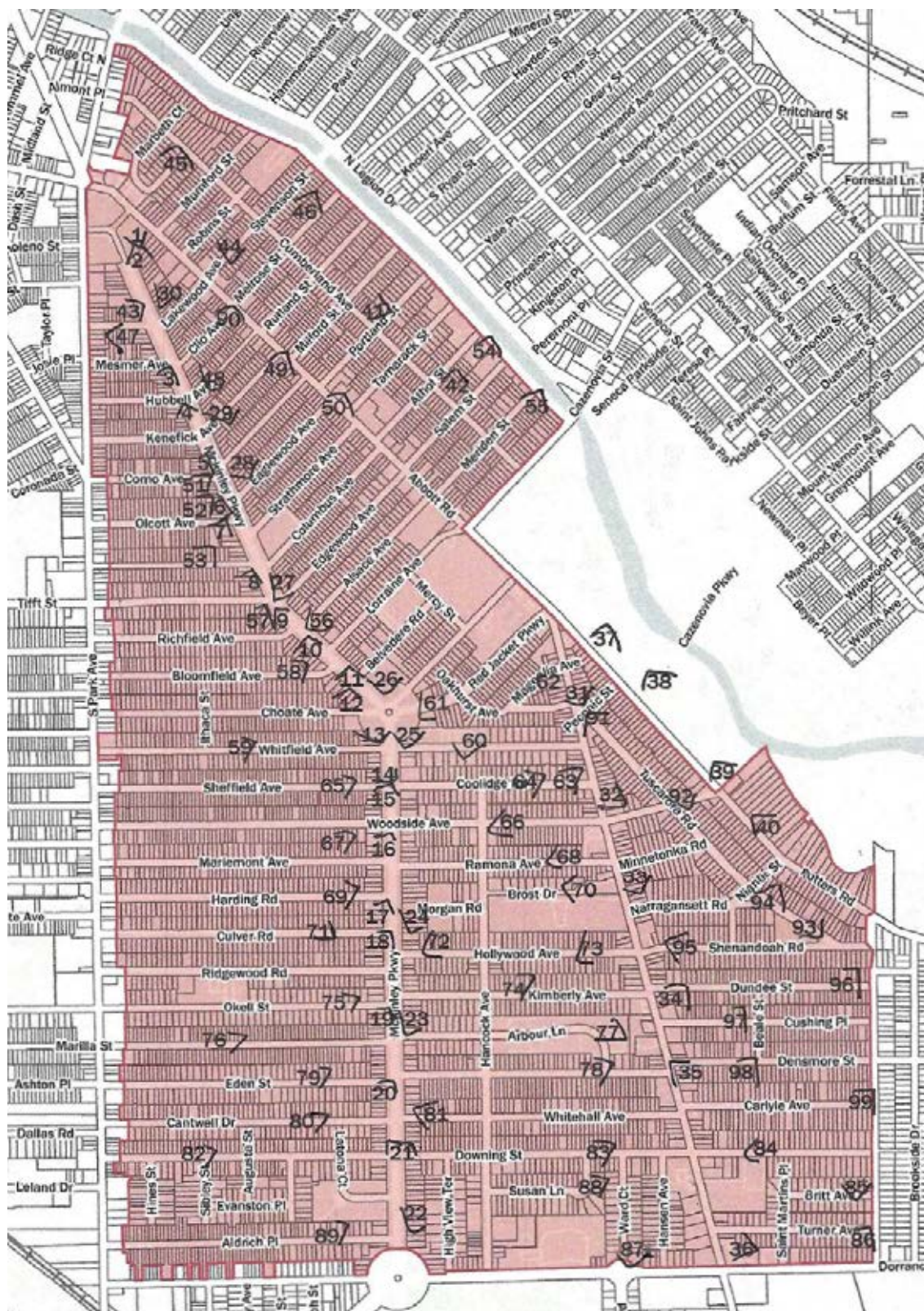


Photo Key

**DRAFT McKinley Parkway Historic District**

Name of Property

Erie Co., NY

County and State

---

**Property Owner:**

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

---

name N/A

street & number \_\_\_\_\_ telephone \_\_\_\_\_

city or town \_\_\_\_\_ state \_\_\_\_\_ zip code \_\_\_\_\_

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.





Photo 1: Heacock Park at north end of district.





Photo 2: McKinley Parkway looking south from near Heacock Park.



Photo 3: McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Mesmer Avenue.



Photo 4: McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Hubbell Ave.





Photo 5: McKinley Parkway looking north along west side near Como Avenue.



Photo 6: McKinley Parkway looking north along west side near Olcott Avenue.



Photo 7: McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Columbus Ave.





Photo 8: McKinley Parkway looking south on west side near Edgewood Ave.



Photo 9: McKinley Parkway looking south along west side near Richfield Ave.





Photo 10: McKinley Parkway looking north on west side near Bloomfield Ave.



Photo 11: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Choate Ave.



Photo 12: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south towards circle at Choate Ave.





Photo 13: Detail of circle on McKinley Parkway.



Photo 14: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Sheffield Ave.





Photo 15: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Woodside Ave.



Photo 16: West side of McKinley Parkway, Queen Anne house near Mariemont Ave.



Photo 17: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Culver Road.





Photo 18: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Ridgewood Rd.



Photo 19: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Marilla Street.





Photo 20: West side of McKinley Parkway looking south near Eden Street.



Photo 21: Looking south from center of McKinley Parkway towards circle at south end of district.



Photo 22: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Downing Street.





Photo 23: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north at Kimberly Ave.



Photo 24: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Ramona Ave.





Photo 25: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north at McClellan Circle in district.



Photo 26: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Belvedere Road.



Photo 27: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Edgewood Ave.





Photo 28: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Eaglewood Ave.



Photo 29: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Kenefick Ave.





Photo 30: East side of McKinley Parkway looking north near Clio Ave.



Photo 31: Looking north from east side of Abbott Rd at intersection with Peconic St.



Photo 32: East side of Abbott Road looking north near Woodside Ave.



Photo 33: East side of Abbott Road looking north at intersection with Minnetonka Road.





Photo 34: East side of Abbott Road looking northwest at Kimberly Ave.





Photo 35: East side of Abbott Road looking south near Densmore Street.



Photo 36: Looking from Dorrance Ave towards Abbott Road at south end of district.



Photo 37: Looking north at Potters Road near Peconic Street, from Cazenovia Park.





Photo 38: Looking south at Potters Road at Peconic Street, from Cazenovia Park.



Photo 39: Looking south at Potters Road at Woodside Ave.





Photo 40: Looking south on Potters Road, towards border of the district at Onondaga Road.



Photo 41: Looking along Cumberland Ave at Milford Street.



Photo 42: Looking along Cumberland Ave near Athol Street.





Photo 43: Looking west along Lakewood Ave towards north end of district.



Photo 44: Looking northeast on Setevenson Street.





Photo 45: Looking north on Marbeth Court.



Photo 46: Looking west on Melrose Street.



Photo 47: Looking east on Mesmer Ave.





Photo 48: Looking east on Hubbell Ave.





Photo 49: Looking west on Kenefick Ave.



Photo 50: Looking west on Eaglewood Ave.



Photo 51: Looking west on Como Ave.





Photo 52: Looking west on Olcott Ave.



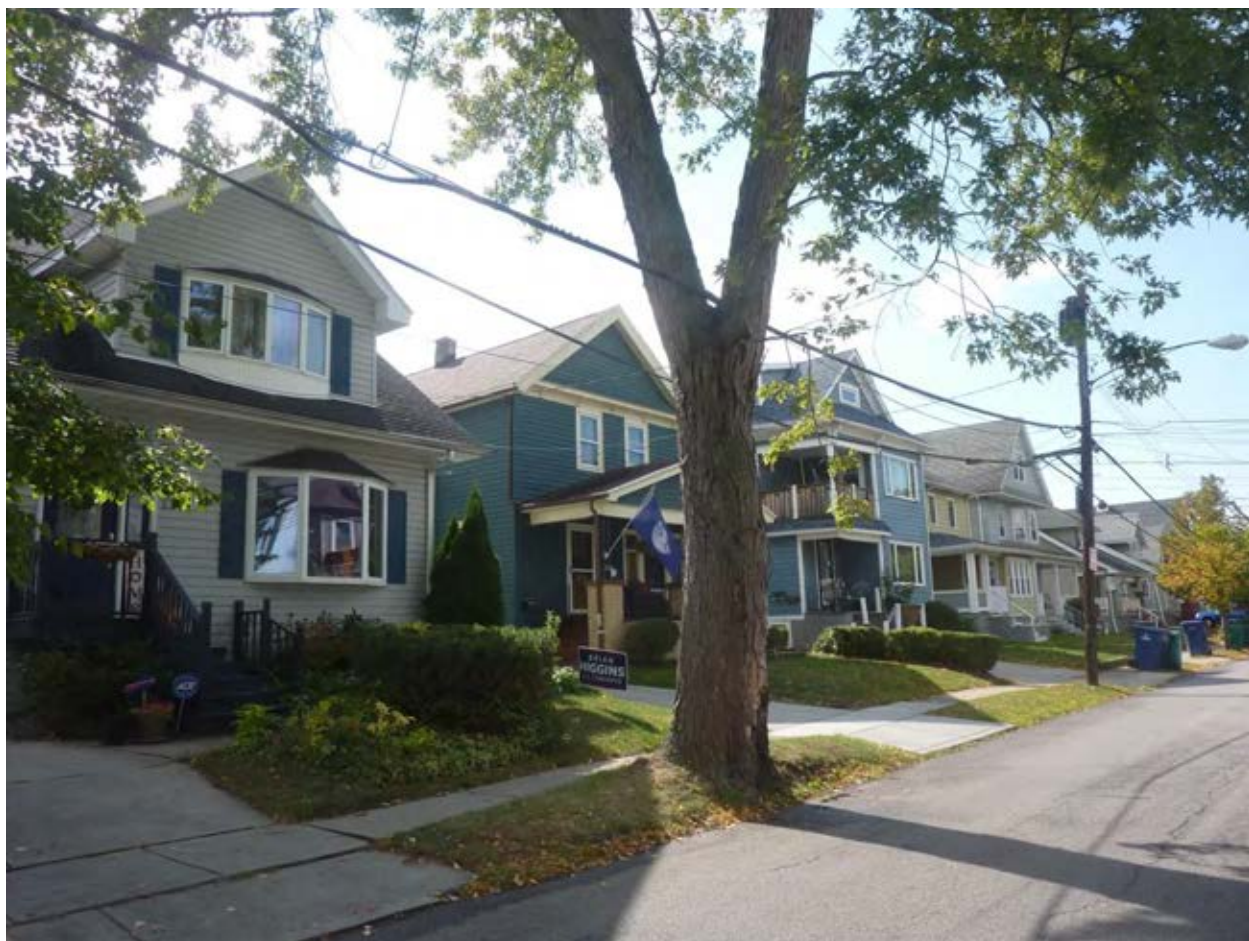


Photo 53: Looking west on Columbus Ave.



Photo 54: Looking west on Athol Street.



Photo 55: Looking west on Meriden Street.





Photo 56: Looking east on Alsace Ave.





Photo 57: Looking west on Richfield Ave.



Photo 58: Looking west on Bloomfield Ave.



Photo 59: Looking west on Whitfield Ave.





Photo 60: Looking east on Whitfield Ave.





Photo 61: Looking east on Red Jacket Parkway.

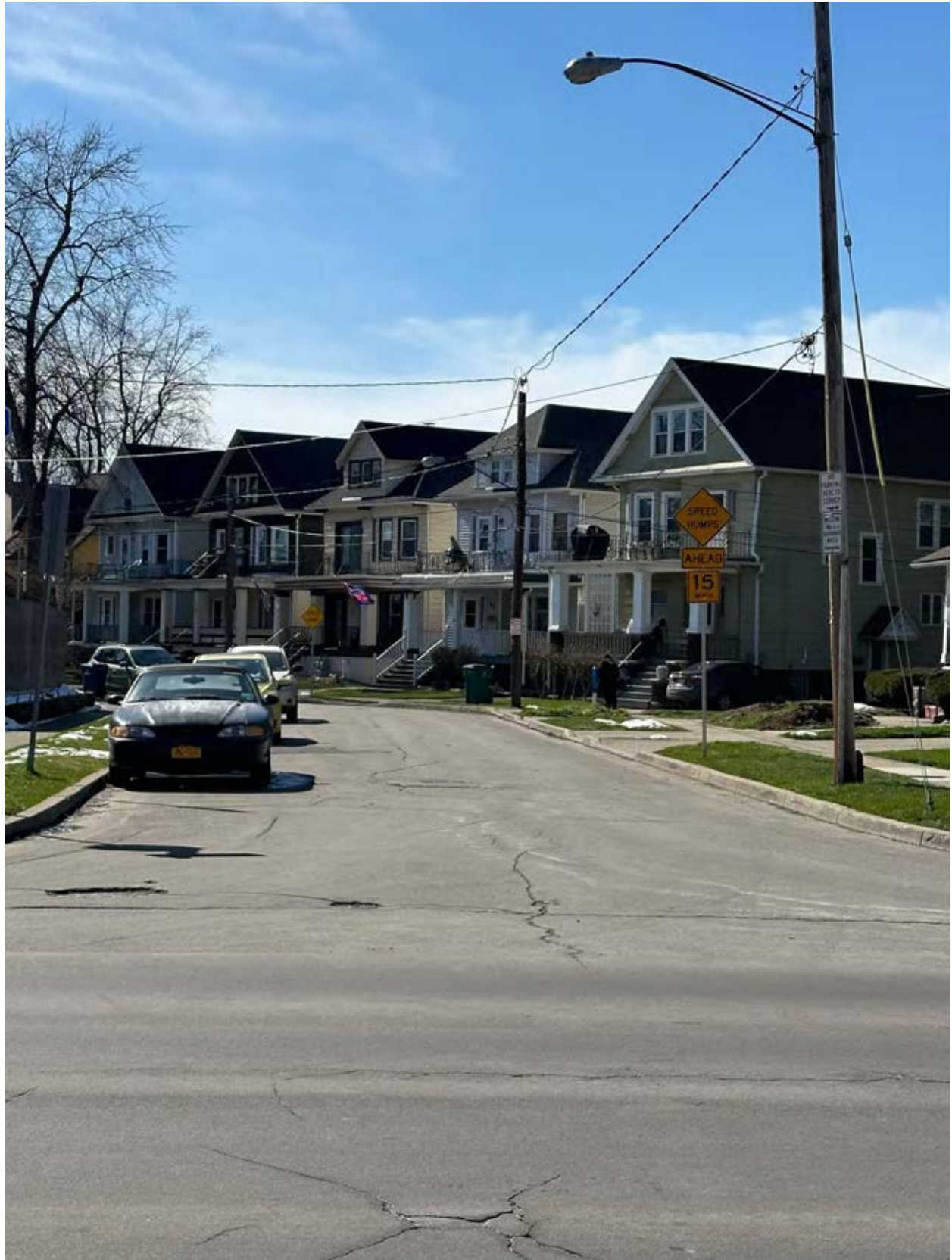


Photo 62: Looking west on Magnolia Ave.





Photo 63: Looking east on Coolidge Road.



Photo 64: Looking west on Coolidge Road.





Photo 65: Looking west on Sheffield Ave.



Photo 66: Looking east on Woodside Ave.



Photo 67: Looking west on Mariemont Ave.



Photo 68: Looking east on Ramona Ave,





Photo 69: Looking west on Harding Road, note median.



Photo 70: Looking east on Brost Dr.



Photo 71: Looking east on Culver Road, across median.





Photo 72: Looking west on Hollywood Ave,





Photo 73: Looking west on Hollywood Ave, towards Abbott Road.



Photo 74: Looking east on Kimberly Ave.





Photo 75: Looking west on Okell Street.



Photo 76: Looking west on Marilla Street.





Photo 77: Looking west on Arbour Lane.



Photo 78: Looking west on Eden Street, towards McKinley Parkway.



Photo 79: Looking west on Eden Street, towards west boundary of district.





Photo 80: Looking west on Cantwell Dr.





Photo 81: Looking east on Whitehall Ave.



Photo 82: Looking west on Downing Street, west of McKinley Parkway.



Photo 83: Looking west on Downing Street from intersection with Susan Lane.





Photo 84: Looking east on Downing Street towards Onondaga Dr.





Photo 85: Looking west on Britt Ave.



Photo 86: Looking west on Turner Ave.



Photo 87: Looking north on Ward Ct.





Photo 88: Looking west on Susan Lane.





Photo 89: Looking west on Aldrich Pl.



Photo 90: Looking west on Clio Ave.





Photo 91: Looking southeast on Tuscarora Rd from north end.



Photo 92: Looking north from Tuscarora Road and Woodside Avenue.





Photo 93: Looking northwest at Tuscarora Road and Niantic Street.



Photo 94: Looking east on Narragansett Road.



Photo 95: Looking east on Shenandoah Road.





Photo 96: Looking east on Dundee Road.





Photo 97: Looking west on Cushing Pl.



Photo 98: Looking west on Densmore St.





Photo 99: Looking west from Onondaga Rd. at Carlyle Ave, from east boundary of district.