

223A South Clay Street House

Draft Report on the Proposal for Designation as an Individual Landmark

(24-LANDMARK-0004)



**Metro Historic Landmarks and
Preservation Districts Commission**

September 3, 2024

Table of Contents

<i>Case Information</i>	1
Individual Landmark	1
24-LANDMARK-0004	1
<i>Property Description</i>	2
Location and Key Elements	2
Building Description	4
<i>Historic Context</i>	8
Development of 223 S. Clay Street	8
German Immigration in Louisville	16
Shotgun Style Home Introduction	19
Shotgun Style Home Origins	21
<i>Statement of Significance</i>	23
Historic Significance	23
Archaeological Significance	23
<i>Integrity Assessment</i>	24
<i>Designation Criteria Analysis</i>	25
<i>Boundary Justification</i>	27
<i>Sources of Information</i>	28

Case Information

Individual Landmark

As defined by the Louisville Metro Code of Ordinances (LMCO) 32.250, an Individual Landmark is “a structure or site, including prehistoric and historic archaeological sites, designated as a local historic landmark by the Commission as provided in this subchapter or by action prior to the effect of this subchapter. A landmark structure or site is one of significant importance to the city, the Commonwealth, or the nation and which represents irreplaceable distinctive architectural features or historical associations that represent the historic character of the city, the Commonwealth, or the nation.”

24-LANDMARK-0004

This case was initiated by the Commission’s receipt of an application and petition containing the signatures of at least 200 residents of Louisville Metro with at least 101 of those signatures being of residents or property owners within one of the following boundaries: (1) a one-mile radius surrounding the structure or site proposed for landmark designation, (2) the Council district in which the proposed landmarks is located, or (3) the cumulative areas of (1) and (2). The petition was prepared and submitted in response to a required 30-day hold notice.

The proposed demolition of 749 E. Jefferson Street and 223A S. Clay Street is associated with the Rabbit Hole campus changes that require design overlay and planning/zoning approvals (cases 24-ZONE-0004 and 23-OVERLAY-0080). On February 7, 2024, the NuLu Review Overlay District (NROD) Committee reviewed the overlay permit case and approved the proposed demolition and new construction. The Committee later approved updates to the project on May 1, 2024. Following a preliminary review by its Land Development & Transportation Committee on May 23, 2024, the Planning Commission reviewed the planning/zoning cases on July 11, 2024 but decided to defer its decision to a later date in light of the petition. Each aforementioned meeting was noticed and open to the public.

The two buildings proposed for demolition meet the threshold requirements of LMCO 150.110 because they are eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places as part of the Phoenix Hill Historic District. Thus, they were placed on a 30-day hold with a joint notice with the Planning Commission hearing. The 30-day hold expired on July 11, 2024. The lead petitioner requested an extension on that 30-day hold per LMCO 150.110(B). The request was reviewed and denied because the project and its associated demolition had been the subject of two neighborhood meetings and three public meetings prior to the mailing of the joint notice. The project had been well advertised prior to the formal 30-day hold. The Planning Commission and the property owners have agreed to table the zone change application during the designation process.

On July 10, 2024, the petition requesting Individual Landmark Designation of 749 E. Jefferson Street and 223A S. Clay Street was submitted to the Office of Planning and assigned case number 24-LANDMARK-0004. The petition verification was completed on August 1, 2024 with 219 total verified signatures, 104 of which were from residents in Council District 4 or within in the 1-mile radius of where the property is located.

Property Description

Location and Key Elements

The 223A S. Clay Street House is located on one parcel known as 225 S. Clay Street in Louisville, Kentucky. The property is situated on the east side of S. Clay Street, between E. Jefferson Street and Nanny Goat Strut (**Figure 1**). Rabbit Hole Spirits owns the property as well as the whole half block on which it is situated—bound by Nanny Goat Strut to the north, S. Shelby Street to the east, E. Jefferson Street to the south, and S. Clay Street to the west. The property is located within the locally designated NuLu Review Overlay District and is carved out of the National Register-listed Phoenix Hill Historic District (**Figure 2**). It is unclear why the block was omitted from the 1983 National Register nomination.



Figure 1. Aerial view of the building with a purple dot showing the location (LOJIC).

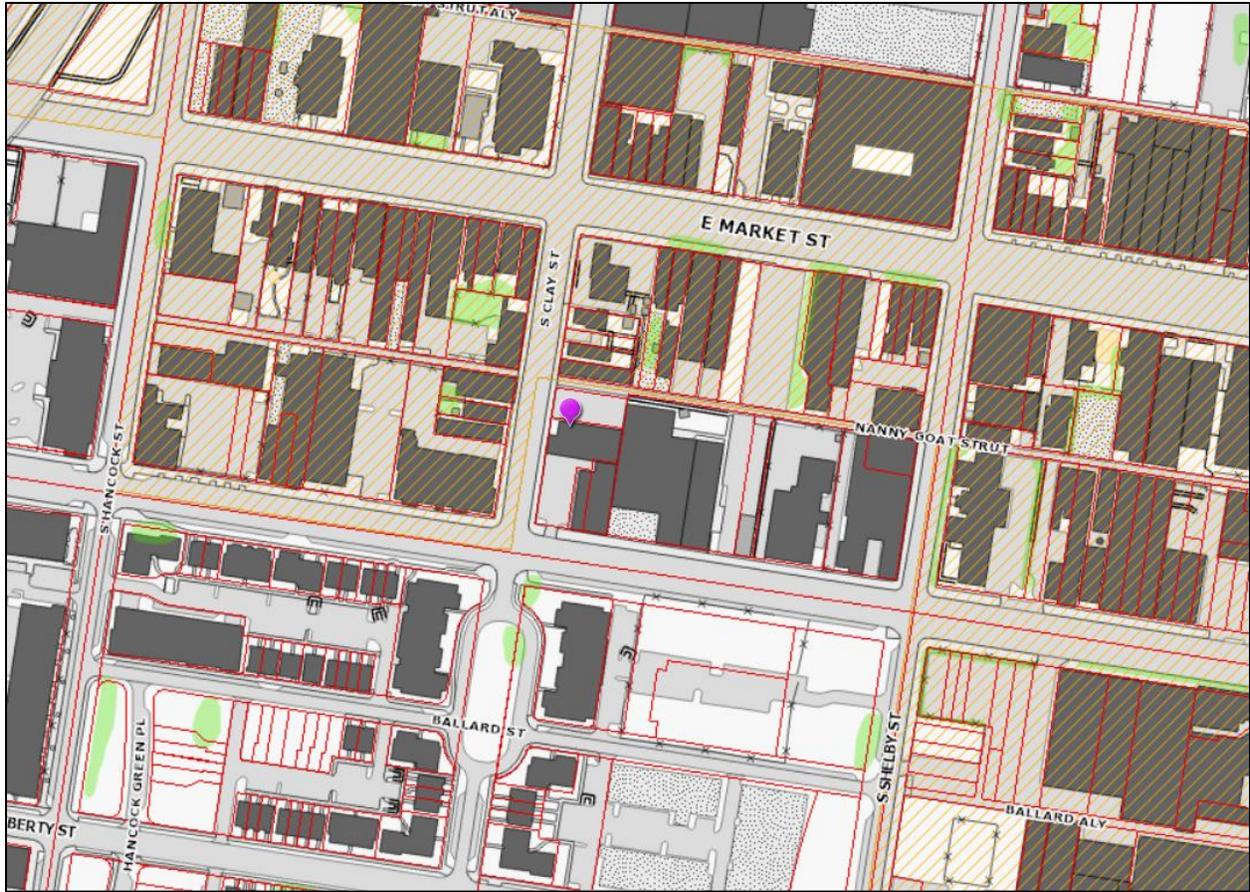


Figure 2. Map of the building (purple dot) showing the location of the Phoenix Hill National Register District (orange hashing) (LOJIC).

Building Description

Built circa 1882, 223A S. Clay Street is situated at street level with a large wooden ramp in front of it. The house has a limestone foundation, painted brick masonry walls, and a hipped roof clad in membrane roofing. The cornice features decorative wooden brackets that appear to be replacements as well as historic dentil molding. Circa 1993, a large CMU building was constructed along the south and east elevations of the building.

The front façade, or west elevation, of the building contains two window openings with historic decorative hoods and stone sills. There are metal replacement windows that appear as 1/1 double-hung windows. To the south, the modern entry door has a reconstructed decorative door hood with brackets (**Figure 3** and **Figure 4**). The south elevation of the building is encapsulated by the 1993 CMU building. The exterior masonry wall and arched window openings are visible within the CMU building (**Figure 5** and **Figure 6**). Portions of the building corners were removed during construction; however, it appears that the shotgun building remains structurally independent.

The rear of the shotgun building, or east elevation, is covered by the CMU building. The north elevation of the building contains a large painted mural that covers the façade as well as that of the CMU building (**Figure 7** and **Figure 8**). Near the western side of the elevation, there is an infilled door opening with a wood lintel. This elevation did not historically have window openings as another shotgun house was located next to it. However, that house was demolished in or after 1965. It is likely that the door opening was constructed after that time as well.



Figure 3. Front (west) façade, looking east.



Figure 4. Detail of the front (west) façade, looking east.



Figure 5. South elevation inside the 1993 building, looking northeast.



Figure 6. South elevation inside the 1993 building, looking northwest.

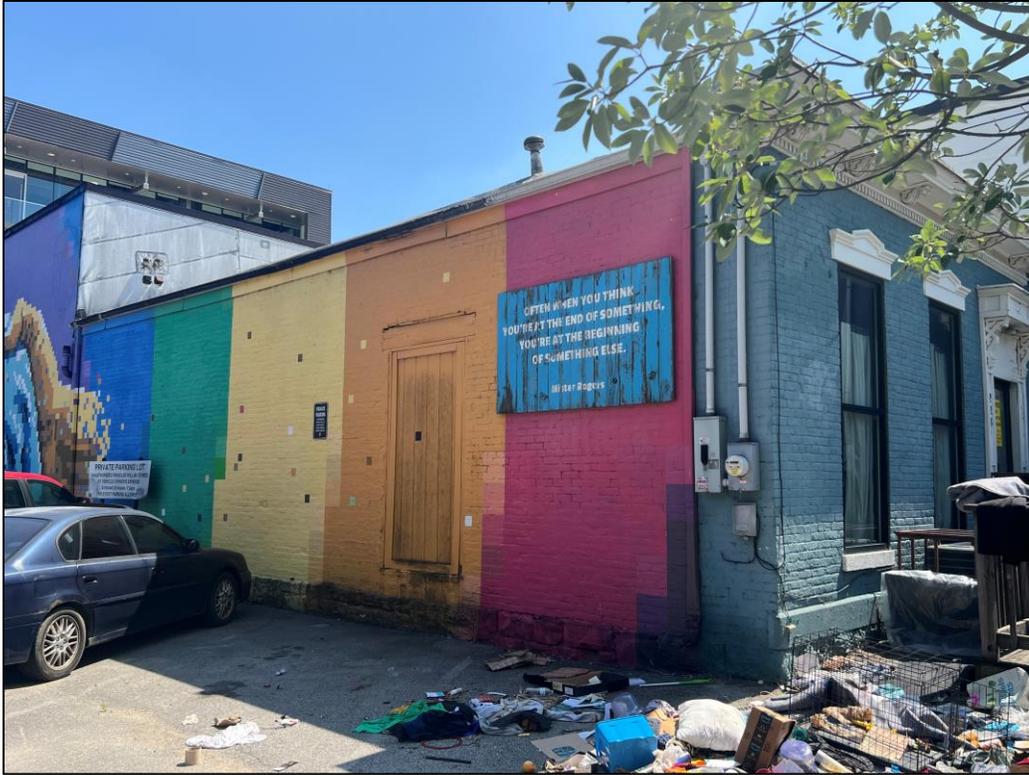


Figure 7. North elevation, looking southeast.



Figure 8. North elevation, looking south.

Historic Context

Development of 223 S. Clay Street

The land on which the 223A S. Clay Street House is located was part of lot 189 of Preston's Enlargement, part of the land granted to Colonel William Preston in 1774 (Figure 9). The land extended from the Ohio River, through what is now the Butchertown Neighborhood, and south into what is now the Phoenix Hill Neighborhood. The City of Louisville annexed the area in 1827 and continued to be further subdivided, accelerated by the influx of German immigrants. Originally known as Uptown, Phoenix Hill, along with Butchertown and Germantown, was populated mostly by Germans, which was Louisville's largest group of immigrants (Foshee et al. 1983). In 1875, the 223A S. Clay Street House lot was divided to a smaller residential lot with a 25' width on Clay Street. It is unclear if a structure was on the lot during the preceding years. The 1876 Atlas shows the lot without a structure on it (Figure 10). Per the deeds, Alexander Domick was the owner at the time (see Table 1).

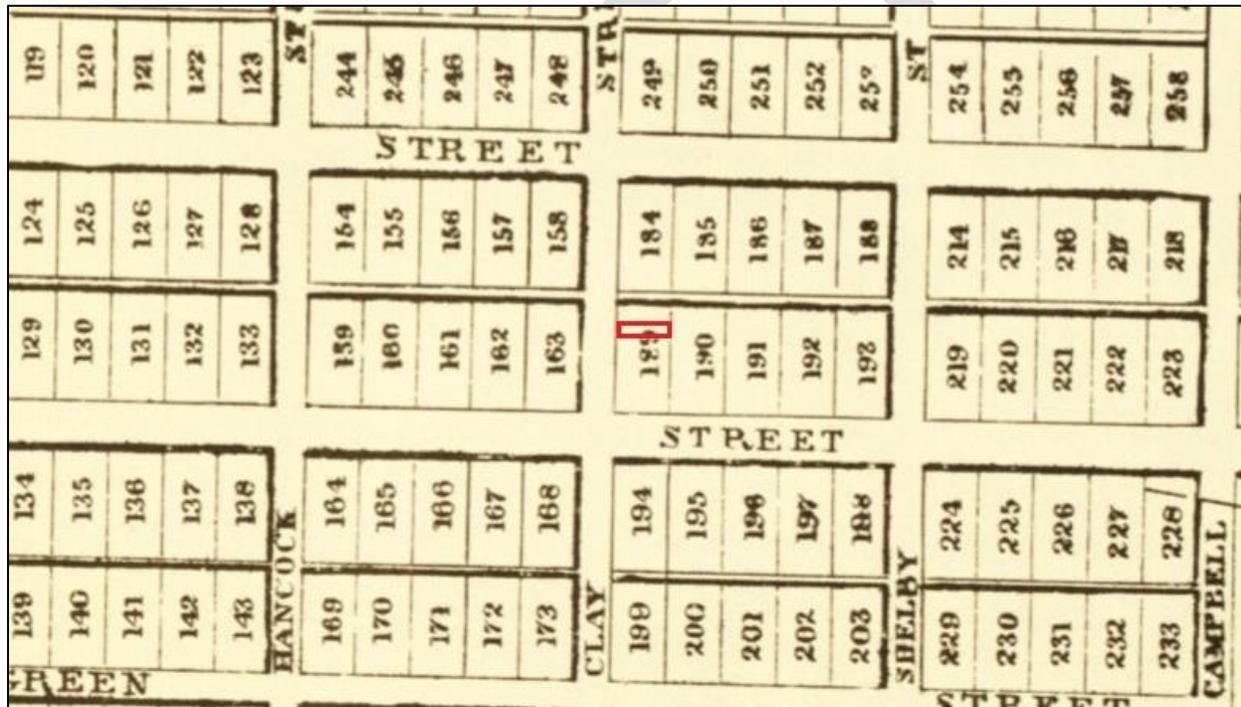


Figure 9. 1832 *City of Louisville and its enlargements* map, lot #189 of Preston's Enlargement (red line shows approximate property location) (Hobbs 1832).

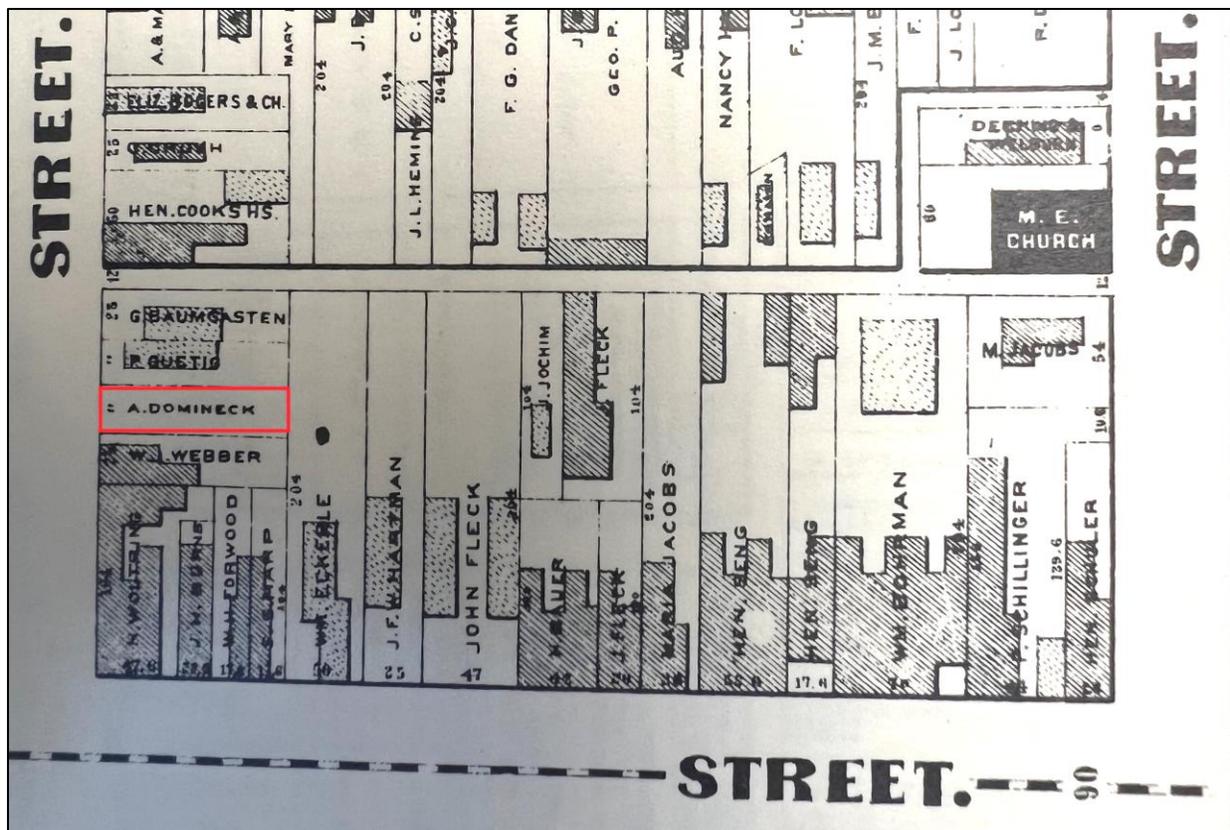


Figure 10. 1876 Atlas of the City of Louisville, Map 5 (red line shows property location) (Louisville Abstract & Loan Association 1876)—NOTE: the owner’s name is misspelled on the map.

The house first appears in the 1882 city directory, and it is shown on the 1884 Atlas (**Figure 11**). While not certain, it is likely that the house was built circa 1882 when it was addressed as 523 Clay Street. At the time, Henrietta Hupe owned the property. She was the wife of Henry L. Hupe, a German businessman who sold hair goods, a business he inherited from Alexander Domick (*Courier-Journal* 1872; *Courier-Journal* 1898). The Hupe family lived on Hancock Street in the Phoenix Hill Neighborhood. According to city directories, the shotgun house on Clay Street was a rental for working class German immigrants and German Americans (see **Table 2**). The 1892 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map shows details of the shotgun house, such as the sleeping porch on the south side, a rear porch, and a small outbuilding at the end of the property (**Figure 12**). By 1905, the property did not appear to change much (**Figure 13**). In 1909, the city underwent an address change, and the property officially became 223 S. Clay Street.

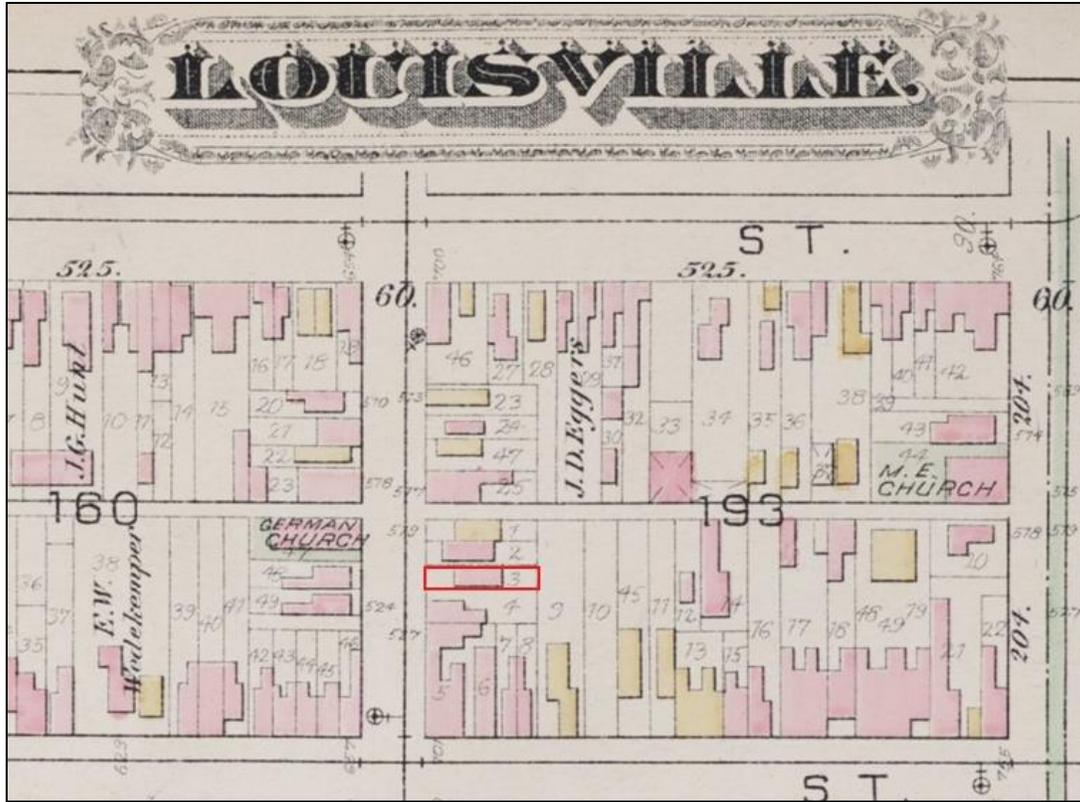


Figure 11. 1884 *Atlas of the City of Louisville, Ky. and Environs* (red line shows property location) (Hopkins 1884).

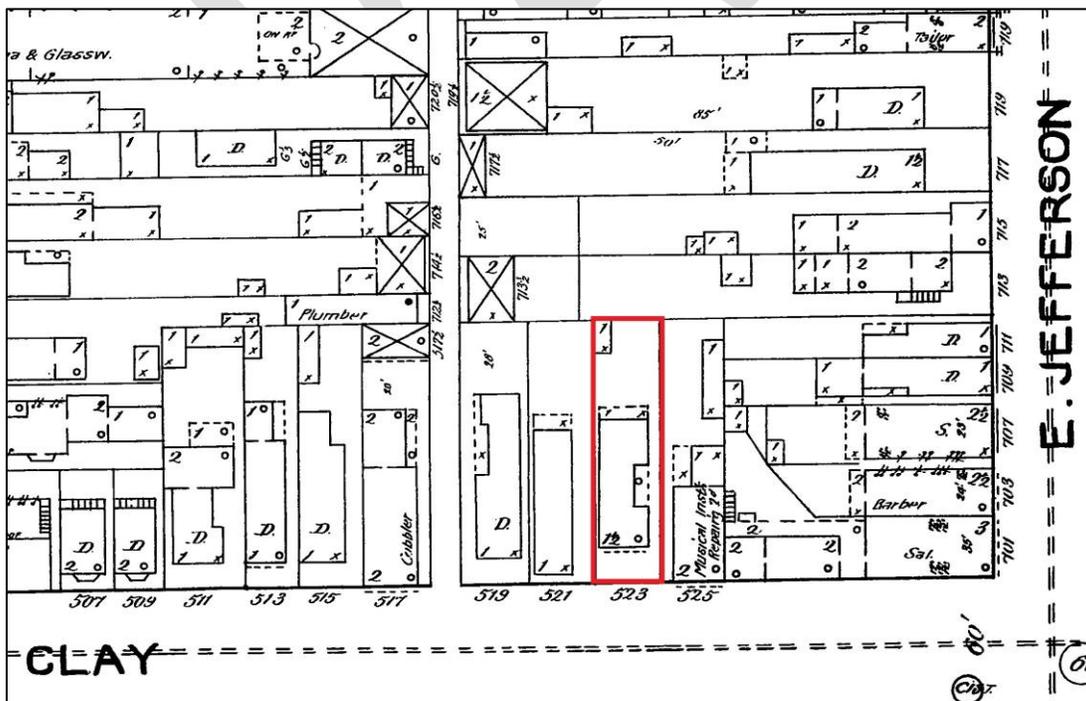


Figure 12. 1892 *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Volume 2, Sheet 122* (red line shows property location).

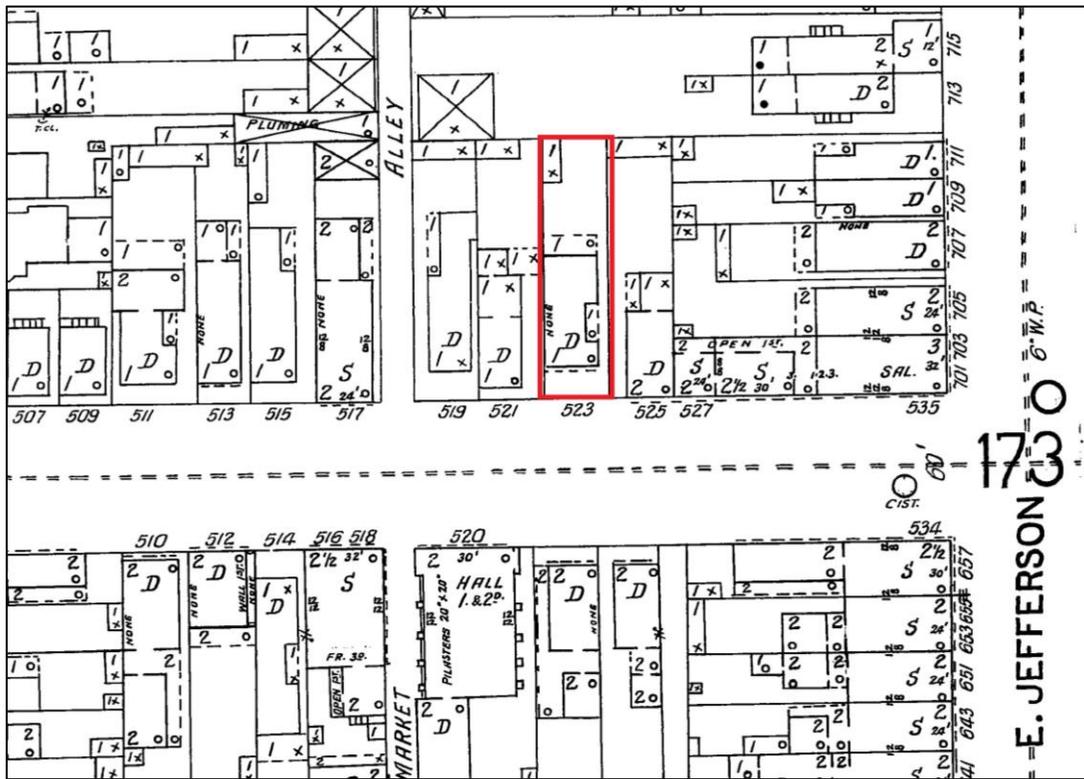


Figure 13. 1905 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Volume 2, Sheet 122 (red line shows property location).

The Hupe family owned the property until 1911 when it was sold to Henrietta Connelly Kannel, a first generation Irish American and widow of German immigrant Frederick Kannel. According to city directories, the Kannel family was one of the few to own and live in the shotgun house. Their tenure in the house spanned three decades. Henrietta resided there with her children Charles, George, John, and Mary. As teenagers and then young adults, the Kannel children all had jobs to help the household. By 1930, only John and Mary remained in the house. Mary married Henry Schindler and the couple continued to reside there until 1941 when they sold the property to Vincent and Louise Wood. The 1941 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map shows details of the shotgun house, such as the one-and-a-half-story camelback addition on the rear and a one-story addition behind that (Figure 14). The Wood family resided in the house briefly before moving elsewhere. The house appears to have remained rental property throughout the next several decades.

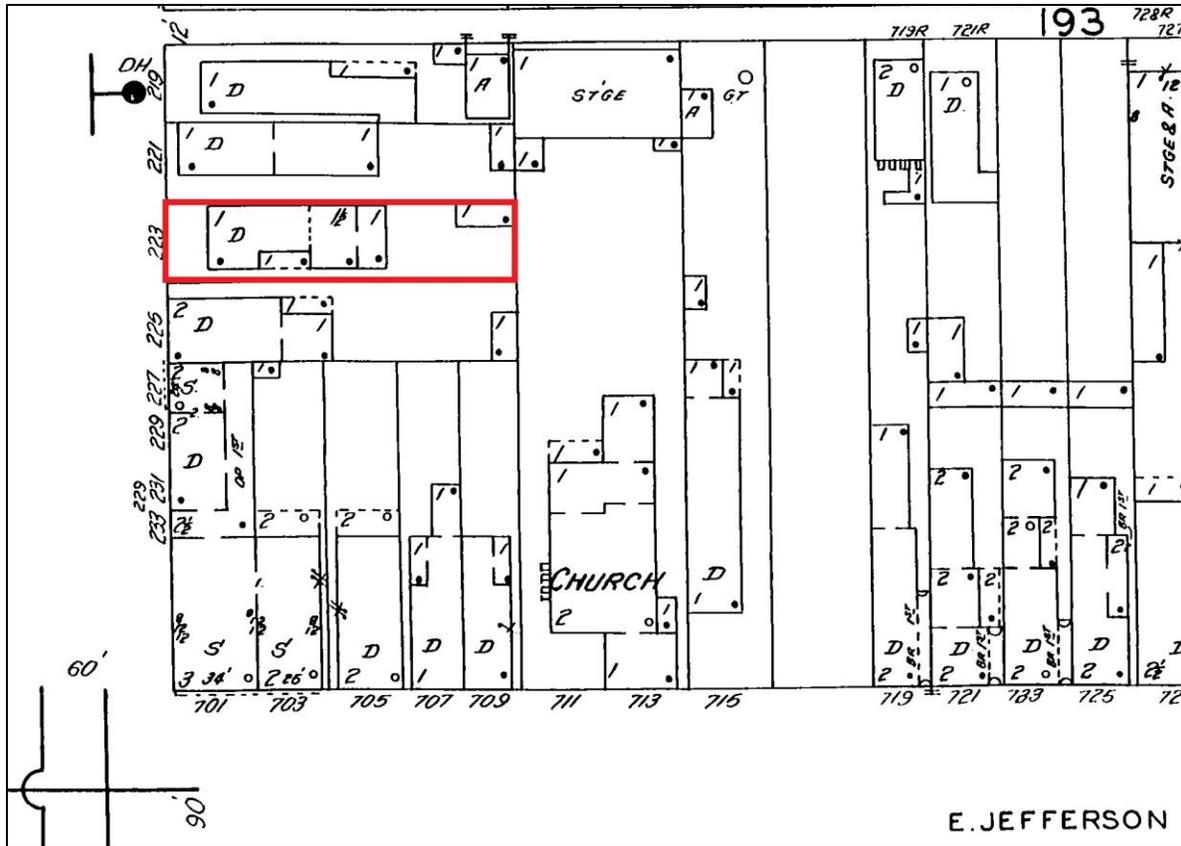


Figure 14. 1941 *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map*, Volume 2 East, Sheet 8e (red line shows property location).

Table 1. Chain of Title for 223 S. Clay Street.

Reference	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Description
Deed Book PP:522	5/30/1835	Edward Hobbs	Leaven Lawrence	Preston's Enlargement: East side of Clay, 104' North of Jefferson Street, then 100' North to alley, then East 105', and then 104' South. North 100' of lot #189.
Deed Book 69:325	12/29/1847	Gad Chapin, James Stewart, A. VanDeventer, J.M. Stephens, Thomas Ausbrook, trustees of Universalist Society of the City of Louisville	Henry Wolford	Bequeathed to the Universalist Society by Leaven Lawrence in Will Book 4:1. ½ acre lot #189 in Preston's Enlargement.
Deed Book 71:44	9/8/1848	Henry Wolford and Sarah Anne Wolford	Frederick Schlueter	North ½ of property bequeathed to Universalist Society of the City of Louisville. ½ acre lot #189 in Preston's Enlargement.
Deed Book 143:85	5/19/1869	Catherine Schlueter, heir of Frederick Schlueter	Mary Anne Weber, wife of W.J. Weber	North ½ of property bequeathed to Universalist Society of the City of Louisville. ½ acre lot #189 in Preston's Enlargement.
Deed Book 193:326	9/13/1875	Mary A. Weber and W.J. Weber	Alexander Domick	129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 205:344	12/28/1876	Alexander Domick and Therese Domick	Henrietta Hupe	129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 667:5	8/5/1907	Alexander L. Hupe and Agnes L. Hupe, heirs of Henrietta Hupe	Lloyd Hupe	129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 740:400	5/20/1911	H. Lloyd Hupe	Louisville Trust Co.	Party of 3 rd : Henrietta Kannel Louisville Trust Co. held a mortgage on the property 129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 1789:576	4/1/1941	Harry P. Schindler and Mary Kannel Schindler, heir of Henrietta Kannel	Vincent O. Wood and Louise Ellen Wood	129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 2237:557	5/14/1947	Vincent O. Wood and Louise Ellen Wood	Madro Combs and Gertrude Combs	129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.

Reference	Date Recorded	Grantor	Grantee	Description
Deed Book 2418:416	10/5/1948	Madro Combs and Gertrude Combs	Rose Hendricks	129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 3097:3	12/2/1953	Rose Hendricks, widow	A.E. Murphy, J.M. Murphy, C.H. Murphy, W.C. Rosbottom d/b/a M & R Wrecking and Lumber Co.	129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 3596:380	9/30/1959	Charles Harold Murphy; James Marshall Murphy and Victorene Murphy; Warren Clifton Rosbottom and Louise Rosbottom; Charity Delk Murphy, widow of Allen Emerson Murphy; Robert A. Murphy and Laura Marie Murphy; Jewel Murphy Kuhn and Forrest Kuhn; and Doris Jean Murphy, some of the surviving partners of M & R Wrecking and Lumber Co. and all are heirs of Allen Emerson Murphy, deceased	M & R Wrecking and Lumber Co.	Party of 3 rd : Carolyn Weber Party of 4 th : M & R Wrecking and Lumber Co. (partnership of C.H. Murphy, J.M. Murphy, W.C. Rosbottom) Parcel #4: 129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 3868:313	1/3/1964	M & R Wrecking and Lumber Co.	A-1 Moving & Storage Co.	Tract 1: 129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 4121:185	6/15/1967	A-1 Moving & Storage Co.	Cavalier Corporation, later merged into W.D. Gatchel & Sons	Tract 1: 129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 5844:117	2/21/1989	W.D. Gatchel & Sons	Windsor Corporation	Tract 1: 129' North of Jefferson Street on the East Side of Clay Street. 25' wide lot with a depth of 105'.
Deed Book 9889:950	5/23/2012	Windsor Corporation n/k/a W.D. Gatchel & Sons	William F. Marzian and Mary Lou Marzian	Lot 1 of Minor Subdivision Plat (Docket No. 099-06)
Deed Book 10101:449	7/12/2013	William F. Marzian and Mary Lou Marzian	Charles J. Clark and Kimberly Clark	Lot 1 of Minor Subdivision Plat (Docket No. 099-06)
Deed Book 12127:365	9/2/2021	Charles J. Clark and Kimberly Clark	Jeff & Clay, LLC	Lot 1 of Minor Subdivision Plat (Docket No. 099-06)
Deed Book 12382:107	6/16/2022	Jeff & Clay, LLC	Rabbit Hole Spirits, LLC	Lot 1 of Minor Subdivision Plat (Docket No. 099-06)

Table 2. List of Tenants for 223 (523) S. Clay Street.

City Directory Year(s)	Tenant Names	Occupation Listed
1882-1884	Henry Miller	Tailor
	Laura Miller	Dressmaker
1886	Nicholas H. Rehkopf	Clerk for German Insurance Bank
1888	John Adler	Barkeep
1890-1892	John Erthle	Harness maker for Myers and Bonn
1894-1899	Anna E. Sheridan	Widow of Richard Sheridan
1901-1911	John B. Ochs	Blacksmith for L&N Railroad
1913-1919	Henrietta Connelly Kannel	Widow of Frederick Kannel
1921-1930	Charles Kannel	Pressman for Courier-Journal Print Co.
	George Kannel	Clerk; presser for Sheman & Sons; Iron worker
	John A. Kannel	Feeder for Courier-Journal Print Co.; Printer; Feeder for <i>Louisville Anzeiger</i>
	Mary M. Kannel	Phone operator for Western Union Telegraph Co.; Stenographer for John C. Lewis Co.
1933-1939	Harry Schindler	Clerk for Belknap Hardware & Manufacturing Co.
	Mary Kannel Schindler	(No occupation listed)
1942	Vincent O. Wood	Janitor at St. Boniface Catholic Church
	Louise Weise Wood	(No occupation listed)
	Joseph A. Weise	(No occupation listed)
1946-1947	Hubert E. Moore	Guard at Nichols General Hospital
	France Moore	(No occupation listed)
1949	Carl E. Hammock	Driver for Emmart Packaging
	Catherine B. Hammock	(No occupation listed)
1951-1953	Benjamin Howard	Carpenter
	Nancy Howard	(No occupation listed)
1955	Virgie B. Carmickle	Laborer for P. Lorillard
	Richard Jagers	Driver for Buechel Cab Co.
	Jeannie Jagers	(No occupation listed)
	Tarvin E. Young	Inspector for Hillerich & Bradsby Co.
	Stella Young	(No occupation listed)
1957	Charles Right	(No occupation listed)
	Clara B. Right	(No occupation listed)
1959	Spencer Coleman	Material handler for American Saw & Tool Co.
	Ellen King	(No occupation listed)
1961	Ellen King	(No occupation listed)
1963-1967	Winfield Hentchey	(No occupation listed)
	Tommie Hentchey	(No occupation listed)

German Immigration in Louisville

According to Ullrich et al.,

German immigration to Louisville progressed slowly in the early nineteenth century until the introduction of steamboat travel on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. As upriver travel from New Orleans became easier, the German populations of river cities, such as Evansville (Indiana), Louisville, St. Louis and Cincinnati, began to flourish.

By the 1830s, distinct German immigrant neighborhoods had formed both east and west of the Louisville city center. The first churches in which German was spoken were established in the eastern neighborhood known as Uptown (now Phoenix Hill). St. Paul Evangelical Church, the first German Protestant church in Louisville, was founded in 1836. St. Boniface Catholic Church, the first German Catholic church and only the second Catholic church in the city, was established in 1837 (Ullrich et al. 2015).

According to Brothier et al.,

Perhaps the most important antebellum event in Louisville history is the story of immigration to the area by countless German and Irish nationals in the 1840-1860 time period. The Irish were fleeing their homeland due to the dire set of economic consequences from the Great Famine of 1845-52.

Typically, Germans left their country for less severe economic reasons. A great number of German people, known as the 48ers came after the failed Revolution of 1848, in which their liberal ideas were silenced. Both the Irish and Germans came to America hoping for equality and prosperity in the new land. The 48ers were the most controversial of all groups. Their leaders were intellectuals who espoused radical theories such as a minimum wage, women's rights, immediate emancipation of slaves, and direct election of the president and congress. The Irish, on the other hand, were poorly educated and had little wealth. With the exception of the 48ers, who were agnostic or atheist, most German and Irish immigrants to Louisville were Catholic. Many new churches, both Catholic and Protestant, were founded in this time period for German and Irish immigrants. By 1850, there were 7,537 German immigrants and 3,105 Irish immigrants living in Louisville.

This influx of immigrants encouraged the development of large swaths of land in the burgeoning city of Louisville. In general, German peoples settled in newly developed neighborhoods near Phoenix Hill Knob, known as Phoenix Hill, Germantown, and Butchertown. Most of Phoenix Hill and Butchertown was annexed earlier as Preston's Enlargement, but Germans placed their own cultural stamp on the neighborhoods. Irish immigrants also located in Phoenix Hill and Butchertown; however, they tended to cluster in the West End. To accommodate the significant population in Butchertown, the remainder of the neighborhood was annexed to the city in 1854.

Antebellum development by German immigrants was considerable. Several German churches, of either the Protestant or Catholic faith, were established in the Phoenix Hill area – many of which held services in their native tongue. St. John’s German Evangelical Church (JFCH-23), for example, was founded in 1843 and is represented today by an 1866 building at Clay and Market Streets in Phoenix Hill. Additionally, a new building for St. Boniface Catholic Church was dedicated in 1838 at Jackson and Greer, also in Phoenix Hill. Germans in Butchertown established the German-American Civic School in 1854. Social clubs, newspapers, and cultural societies were founded during this time period as well. Prominent among the newspapers was the *Louisville Anzeiger* (1849) and the radical *Herold des Westen* (1852). Singing societies, such as the *Leiderkranz* (1848), and gymnastic association, the *Louisville Turngemeinde* (Turners) of 1850, further added to the lively German cultural scene.

German Americans established businesses and developed industry in early Louisville as well. German butchers built tidy homes that included slaughterhouses at the rear of their properties in Butchertown. These sites tended to back up to Beargrass Creek for easy disposal of waste. In general, products of this small cottage industry, such as sausage, were marketed to local residents. Antebellum German butchers of significant note include: Leibold Kliesendorf, William and Gottfried Kriel, Conrad Schoel, Frank Hammer, and Fred Leib. Later in the nineteenth century, these smaller operations were consolidated into larger commercial enterprises.

Germans also participated in various related industries, such as tanneries, soap and tallow factories, cooperages, wagon and harness shops, and feed stores. Breweries were among other operations dominated by Germans in mid-century Louisville. The Anglo-Saxon establishment looked on in wonder as Germans drank on Sundays and enjoyed live music at outdoor establishments such as the Woodland Gardens (1849) near Butchertown. Apparently, native-born Americans were joining in the fun, as the *Louisville Daily Courier* noted, “These make each Sunday a Saturnalia and with all their might are attempting to Europeanize our population. Americans are ever fond of novelties, especially if brought from across the water, and it is amusing to see how they perfectly adapt to enjoying German music and Lager Beer...in a pleasant retreat like that of the Woodland.”

An unfortunate response to this largely peaceful migration was the activities of the Know-Nothing party in the city. The Know-Nothings were the heir to the former Whig party whose platform was the exclusion of foreign-born (naturalized or not) and Catholics from public office. Their tenets were based upon the fear that foreign elements might gain control of the United States government. From the illegal mayoral election in April 1855 through the summer, vehemence and occasionally violence was directed at Germans and Irish throughout the city. On 6 August 1855, an election for Kentucky Congress and governor was held. The Know Nothing party, which was in control of city government, attempted to prevent Germans and

Irish from voting in the election, which would insure, due to their sheer numbers, a win for the Democrats. Foreigners were beaten and prohibited from entering polling places. Eventually, a riot was started in Phoenix Hill, at Shelby and Green, which resulted in several murders and destruction of German and Irish property. William Ambruster's brewery, in the triangle at Baxter and Liberty Streets, was stormed and set on fire, but not before large quantities of beer were consumed by rioters. The West End Irish population suffered greatly as well. Blocks of Irish tenement housing were destroyed, including Quinn's Row on Main Street between Tenth and 11th Streets. Twenty-two persons, mostly foreign born, were confirmed dead.

The aftermath of this episode was significant for Louisville. Many talented immigrants chose to migrate to St Louis, Cincinnati, or points west. Louisville missed a key opportunity to diversify economically, culturally and socially. Without this incident, it is difficult to say how Louisville might have developed, but likely the Falls City would have been a larger, more diverse place before the Civil War.

Perhaps the most significant late 1910s event was the advent of World War I. Though fought overseas, Louisville felt the impact of war through the loss of 353 promising young men and women to warfare as well as a recurrence, albeit more moderate in tone, of anti-German sentiment. Though German immigration to Louisville was minimal by this time, there were still citizens who identified themselves as German Americans. In some instances, they felt the sting of overzealous patriots eager to condemn all Germans as "Kaiserists." Socialist Henry Fischer, owner of Fischer Packing Company in Butchertown, was targeted as an anti-war German communist. Other German Americans, such as Rev John Stille of St John's Evangelical Church at Clay and Market Streets in Phoenix Hill, was also chastised for his anti-war beliefs and his German heritage. St John's was considered the "cultural and social focus for a large portion of the ethnic Germans residing in Louisville's East End...Members of this active congregation came from the immediate neighborhood as well as the 'suburbs'..." Due to outside pressure, Stille was ousted from St John's and moved a loyal portion of the congregation to a new church, which he called the People's Church of Louisville. He defended his position in his first sermon saying, "We say this morning that at no time have we been pro-German or for the Kaiser, or disloyal..." In the end, German Americans across the city were obliged to prove themselves true patriots. "The German Security Bank became simply the Security Bank; the German Insurance Bank, the Liberty Insurance Bank; and the German Insurance Company, the Liberty Insurance Company" (Brother et al. 2010).

Shotgun Style Home Introduction

According to the Preservation Alliance of Louisville and Jefferson County,

In its most basic form, the shotgun cottage is a one-story, rectangular structure, only one room wide (usually 12' to 15' in width) and three or four rooms deep. Constructed without any hallways, the rooms are lined up, one behind the other. Typically, the living room is the first room at the front with a bedroom behind, followed by a kitchen. With all of the doors in a straight line, a person could stand at the front door and shoot a gun straight through the house and out the back door without hitting anything. That's one explanation of why they're called shotgun houses.

Camelback shotguns are those which have a second story at the back of the house, providing a bedroom over the kitchen. Other variations include the presence of a third entrance located on the side of the house and leading into the kitchen. In houses with this feature, it was customary for visitors to come to the side door, rather than to the front. Some shotguns have recessed side porches extending nearly the entire length of the house.

For economy's sake, chimneys were built in the interior. The front and middle rooms share a chimney with a fireplace opening in each room. The kitchen has its own chimney, and in the case of camelbacks, the second floor also captures the warmth of this chimney.

Shotgun houses were originally built without indoor plumbing. Later, a one-story addition was often constructed off the kitchen to accommodate a bathroom.

Most of Louisville's shotgun cottages were built in the period between the end of the Civil War and 1910. During this time Louisville experienced a rapid growth in population. It had taken ninety years for her population to top the 100,000 mark in 1870, but in just 30 years, by the turn of the century, that number had doubled, making the city the 15th largest in the country.

In the post-War period, Louisville was making a conscious effort to develop an industrial base; hitherto, she had been principally a mercantile center. Employment in industry grew from 7,396 in 1860 to 10,813 in 1870 and 17,448 in 1880. The number of factories more than doubled from 436 in 1860 to 1,108 in 1880.

Among those attracted to the city in the post-War period of industrial expansion were laborers and skilled craftsmen, many of whom had immigrated from Germany, Ireland, Scotland, Switzerland, and Italy. They were ready to fill jobs in the burgeoning manufacturing enterprises. There came butchers, tanners, coopers, brewery workers, machinists, bricklayers, carpenters, railroad workers, printers and a legion of other working men.

With the influx of laborers came the need for ample and cheap housing. Prior to the Civil War, Louisville had primarily been a walking city with owners and employers living in close proximity to factories and mercantile establishments. The population expansion in the late 1870s put new pressures on city boundaries. The advent of the street railway system in the 1860s made possible the development for housing of new areas ringing downtown. The street railways reached out from the core into Portland, Butchertown, and to points in what are now Russell, Old Louisville and the Highlands. These areas, with the exception of Old Louisville, became home to the hordes of workers pouring into the city.

The shotgun houses were erected to provide shelter for the workers in a way that rowhouses were erected in eastern U.S. cities. The shotguns, however, afforded a greater sense of privacy and separateness than rowhouses and cut down on the wild spread of fires. ...

Shotguns are organized along a block in a delicate manner which allows maximum privacy despite the narrow lots. The side entrance of one cottage does not abut that of its neighbor and neither's windows are placed so as to encourage peering. In fact, typically, one side of a house will be windowless facing the windowed side of the next house.

A definite neighborhood image is created by a series of shotguns. Because the houses all have the same setback from the street, the same height at the front, and regular spacing down the block, a coherent "blockscape" is created. The cumulative effect of repetitive forms gives a pleasant, small-town sense to the block (Preservation Alliance of Louisville and Jefferson County 1980).

The 223A S. Clay Street House fits the above description of a shotgun style home. While some of the interior walls have been moved or removed, the general shape and form of the shotgun is still present. Per Samuel W. Thomas, most shotgun houses had gable roofs or low hipped roofs with Italianate cornices. He noted that shotgun houses that differ from these norms have been rare in Louisville (Thomas 2009). While it is unclear what the shotgun house looked like before the replacement cornice materials, it likely had Italianate style details as it would be from the right time period and the historic dentil molding still remains.

Shotgun Style Home Origins

According to the Preservation Alliance of Louisville and Jefferson County,

Oral tradition has it that the name “shotgun” for the rectangular cottage is derived from the fact that a person could stand at the front door and shoot a gun the length of the building and out the back door without piercing a wall. University of Maryland faculty member and folklorist John Michael Vlach thinks a proper etymology lies elsewhere.

In “Shotgun Houses,” published in the February 1977 issue of *Natural History* magazine, Vlach postulates that the word originated with a Western African tribe whose word for house was to-gun, literally, “place of assembly.” The word may have been carried along with the cottage style into slavery with its builders. Many of these Africans were brought to Haiti in the early eighteenth century as a strong plantation economy began to develop there. ...

Transmittal of this style to what is now the United States apparently occurred in the early part of the nineteenth century. Vlach explains it in this way: “The origin of the shotgun house lies in the history of New Orleans’ black community. In 1803 there were 1,355 free blacks in the city many of whom were active and successful in a variety of trades. The size of the community was greatly increased in 1809 by the immigration of approximately 2,000 Haitian mulattoes, who first emigrated to Cuba but were later forced off the island by anti-French sentiment. At the same time a like number of slaves arrived from Haiti, including many who were relatives of free blacks. By 1810 blacks outnumbered whites in New Orleans, 10,500 to 4,500. Such a population expansion necessitated new housing. As many of the carpenters, masons, and inhabitants were Haitian, it was only natural that they modeled their new homes on those they had left behind.”

This influx of Haitians occurred at a time when the relationship between Louisville and what became Louisiana, with its key city New Orleans, was rapidly changing. In 1799, because of its frontier location, Louisville was made a port of entry to the United States by Congress, and a collector was appointed to prevent the smuggling of foreign goods into the country from this French colony. Four years later, with the stroke of a pen, this foreign territory was purchased by the U.S., and the free flow of goods and services from the former French colony into the country became a priority rather than an activity to be penalized. ...

Shippingport, as the name implies, was once a thriving port two miles downriver from Louisville. It was adjacent to Portland, then another river town, now one of Louisville's own proud neighborhoods. ... Shippingport's earliest settlers were French and much of its business was with French traders heading upriver. ... Contact with the architectural styles of French-dominated New Orleans would have had an enormous impact on Shippingport. From 1810 to 1820, the town's population soared from 98 to over 500 persons, and it is very likely that the design

of the homes built to house New Orleans' expanding Haitian population could easily and naturally have found its way upriver to shelter Shippingport's new residents.

Hard evidence of this transmittal is not to be found as the town of Shippingport is no more. The most compelling evidence of the emergence of the shotgun cottage in Shippingport and its subsequent transmittal into Louisville's architectural heritage is the presence today of a large number of these structures in Louisville's Portland neighborhood, adjacent to Shippingport (Preservation Alliance of Louisville and Jefferson County 1980).

However, some historians believe the origin of shotgun houses is more straightforward than that. According to Samuel W. Thomas,

When Louisville was laid out in a grid form, there were generally eight half-acre lots to the almost square block. The eight lots were rectangular, with the long siding running north-south. The short sides faced the east-west streets, and as the alleys all ran east-west, the front-to-back axis of most structures was north-south. So while the dimensions east to west could be modified at will and were, the north-south dimensions were kept more uniform because of the alleys. As the city expanded in the grid form, it was always the alleys that determined, especially in residential areas, on which streets the houses would front. So while housing continued to front east-west streets to about Broadway, the areas developed in Old Louisville mostly front north-south streets.

With this lot pattern in mind, there is nothing mysterious about the origin and evolution of shotgun houses. It was the most efficient use of spaces in providing the most inexpensive housing for the city's growing workforce of immigrants in the 1840s and 1850s. Instead of perhaps four old Beargrass Georgian or six to eight Federal residences to the block front, fifteen to twenty shotguns would fit on the same land. ...

Shotguns continued to be constructed until World War I, but with the addition of indoor plumbing, the need for more privacy and better circulation and a garage, they fell out of favor. However, thousands upon thousands have been built (Thomas 2009).

Statement of Significance

Historic Significance

While the 223A South Clay Street House is historically significant for its association with the development of workforce housing as well as the history of German immigration and culture in Louisville, it alone does not best convey this significance. German immigration in Louisville began in the early 1800s, and by 1850, there were 7,537 German immigrants. Antebellum development by German immigrants was considerable. Churches, schools, businesses, and industries were established. After the Civil War, Louisville experienced a rapid growth in population due to an industrial boom. With the influx of immigrants and laborers came the need for ample, inexpensive, and easy to build housing. Shotgun style homes fit the narrow lots on Louisville's grid pattern and fit the requirements for workforce housing. The 223A South Clay Street House was developed by and inhabited by German immigrants and German Americans in the Phoenix Hill Neighborhood beginning circa 1882. In looking at historic maps of the area, shotgun houses were the predominate housing type to allow for the growing population.

If the house were part of a larger district, like Phoenix Hill, the significance is stronger as there are more buildings and sites that work together to tell the story, such as clusters of residences, commercial buildings, and religious and institutional buildings. Each of these works together to convey the way of life for German immigrants and help explain how that impacted Louisville's history. Currently, the house is isolated from other buildings like these due to Urban Renewal and subsequent demolitions. For these same reasons, a single shotgun style house does not fully convey the significance of the history of workforce housing in Louisville.

Archaeological Significance

The 223A South Clay Street House has potential to contain archaeological resources. The remnants of domestic outbuildings and artifact middens associated with domestic activities are likely present on the property, as has been demonstrated by excavations conducted at similar properties throughout Jefferson County (Bader 1997; DiBlasi 1997; Slider 1998; Stallings and Stallings 1999; Stottman 2000; Stottman 2001; Stottman and Watts-Roy 1995; Stottman et al. 2004). Furthermore, an outbuilding is clearly seen on the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, which was likely a privy. An archaeological investigation into these could yield valuable information on the history of this area.

Integrity Assessment

As defined by the LMCO 32.250, integrity is “The authenticity of a structure or site’s historic integrity evidenced by survival of physical characteristics that existed during the structure or site’s historic or prehistoric period. To retain historic integrity a site must possess some of the following aspects: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, or association.” Note that the integrity as applied by the Landmarks Ordinance is for the exterior of the structure since that is the extent of regulation if designated.

The 223A South Clay Street House retains its integrity in *location* to support the historic significance of the structure as it relates to its association with the history of workforce housing and German immigration. The House retains a medium level of integrity in *feeling, setting, and association*. Comparing the Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps to a LOJIC map (**Figure 1, Figure 12, Figure 13, and Figure 14**), the changes that have occurred around the property are evident. Urban Renewal brought about a lot of demolition and some subsequent new construction. The formerly intact block with a mix of residences and commercial structures now contains more infill development and vacant parking areas. Because of this, the integrity in *feeling, setting, and association* have been negatively impacted and mostly lost.

The 223A South Clay Street House retains a medium level of integrity in *design, materials, and workmanship* to support the historic significance of the structures as it relates to the history of workforce and immigrant housing. The cornice details have been mostly replaced as have the front entry details. The design is complementary to the building, but it’s unknown if they are part of the original design. The front windows were also replaced, but the replacement window is generally appropriate for the building style. The 1993 CMU building encapsulates the south and rear elevations, which has greatly altered their appearance. For these reasons, the integrity in *design, materials, and workmanship* have been negatively impacted while not totally lost.

Designation Criteria Analysis

In consideration of a potential designation of an Individual Landmark, LMCO 32.250 defines an Individual Landmark structure or site as “one of significant importance to the city, the Commonwealth, or the nation and which represents irreplaceable distinctive architectural features or historical associations that represent the historic character of the city, the Commonwealth, or the nation.”

In accordance with LMCO 32.260(O), considering the designation of any area, site, or structure in Louisville Metro as an Individual Landmark, the Commission shall apply the following criteria with respect to such structure, site, or area. An Individual Landmark shall possess sufficient integrity to meet criterion (a) and one or more of the other criteria (b) through (e).

A) Its character, interest, or value as part of the development or heritage of the city, the Commonwealth, or the United States.

After the Civil War, Louisville experienced a rapid growth in population due to an industrial boom. With the influx of immigrants and laborers came the need for ample, inexpensive, and easy to build housing. The advent of the street railway system also allowed for city growth and these new areas became home to the new influx of workers. Shotgun style homes fit the narrow lots on Louisville’s grid pattern and fit the requirements for workforce housing. While the eastern United States built attached rowhouses to accomplish this, Louisville built shotgun houses, which provided more privacy and separateness. The 223A S. Clay Street House was developed by and inhabited by German immigrants and German Americans in the Phoenix Hill Neighborhood beginning circa 1882. In looking at historic maps of the area, shotgun houses were the predominate housing type to allow for the growing population. Thus, the 223A S. Clay Street House is an important part of the development and heritage of Louisville.

B) Its location as a site of a significant historic event.

There are no singularly significant historic events that give the site its historic significance.

C) Its identification with a person or persons who significantly contributed to the culture and development of the city, the commonwealth, or the nation.

In consideration of significance associated with a person or persons, the evaluation relates to whether an individual’s period of significant contribution or productivity occurred while residing or occupying a building, structure, or site. While noteworthy people are associated with the building, that is not why the building is significant.

D) Its embodiment of distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type or specimen; or its embodiment of a significant architectural innovation; or its identification as the work of an architect, landscape architect, or master builder whose individual work has influenced the development of the city, the Commonwealth, or the nation.

The 223A S. Clay Street House is a shotgun style house, of which there are a large number of across Louisville Metro. Per Samuel W. Thomas, most shotgun houses had gable roofs or low hipped roofs with Italianate cornices, much like this house. While the shotgun house is a specific architectural type or specimen, it does not necessarily contain characteristics that distinguish it from other examples in Louisville Metro. The cornice details have been mostly replaced as have the front entry details. Additionally, the 1993 CMU building encapsulates the south and rear elevations. Thus, the house is not the embodiment of distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type or specimen.

The house does not represent a significant architectural innovation.

The house is not identified as the work of an architect, landscape architect, or master builder whose individual work has influenced the development of the city, the Commonwealth, or the nation.

E) Its historic significance is based on its association with an underrepresented history within the city, the Commonwealth, or the nation and broadens our understanding of these underrepresented histories.

In consideration of significance associated with underrepresented histories, the evaluation relates to inclusion and telling a comprehensive history. Based on current research, the 223A S. Clay Street House is not associated with underrepresented history. German immigration has been widely documented in Louisville. Additionally, the following buildings associated with that history have been locally designated as Individual Landmarks: Cloister/ Ursuline Academy & Convent Complex (in Phoenix Hill); Former Wayside Christian Mission Property (in NuLu/Phoenix Hill); German Insurance Bank Building; and St. Paul's German Evangelical Church Complex.

Boundary Justification

The 223A S. Clay Street House is located on one parcel known as 225 S. Clay Street. According to the Jefferson County Property Valuation Administrator (PVA), the property (parcel number 017D00520053) contains a total 0.24140 acres of land. If designated, the proposed boundaries include the historic parcel lines for the shotgun house (**Figure 15**).



Figure 15. LOJIC map showing location of the designation boundary for the 223A S. Clay Street House in blue.

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