



4-15-2004

## Chicago's Other Magnificent Mile: Howard Street's Growth and its Effect upon the Rogers Park Neighborhood

Ryan McGuinness '04  
*Illinois Wesleyan University*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/history\\_honproj](https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/history_honproj)



Part of the [History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

McGuinness '04, Ryan, "Chicago's Other Magnificent Mile: Howard Street's Growth and its Effect upon the Rogers Park Neighborhood" (2004). *Honors Projects*. 9.  
[https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/history\\_honproj/9](https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/history_honproj/9)

This Article is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by Digital Commons @ IWU with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this material in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/ or on the work itself. This material has been accepted for inclusion by faculty at Illinois Wesleyan University. For more information, please contact [digitalcommons@iwu.edu](mailto:digitalcommons@iwu.edu).

©Copyright is owned by the author of this document.

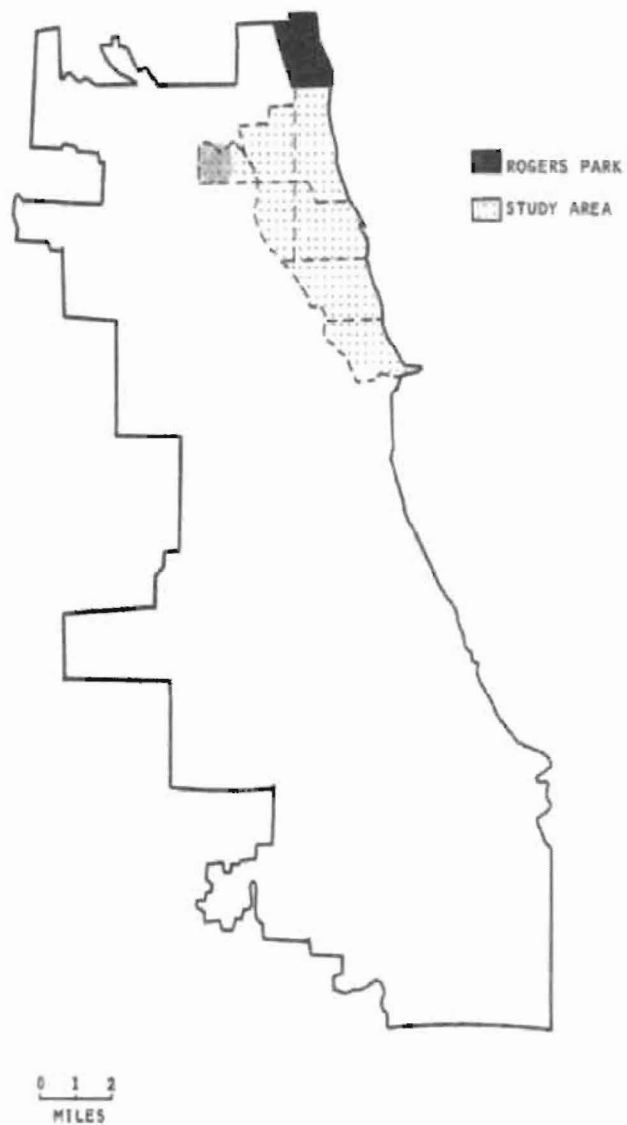
**Chicago's Other Magnificent Mile: Howard Street's  
Growth and Its Effect Upon the Rogers Park Neighborhood.**

Ryan McGuinness

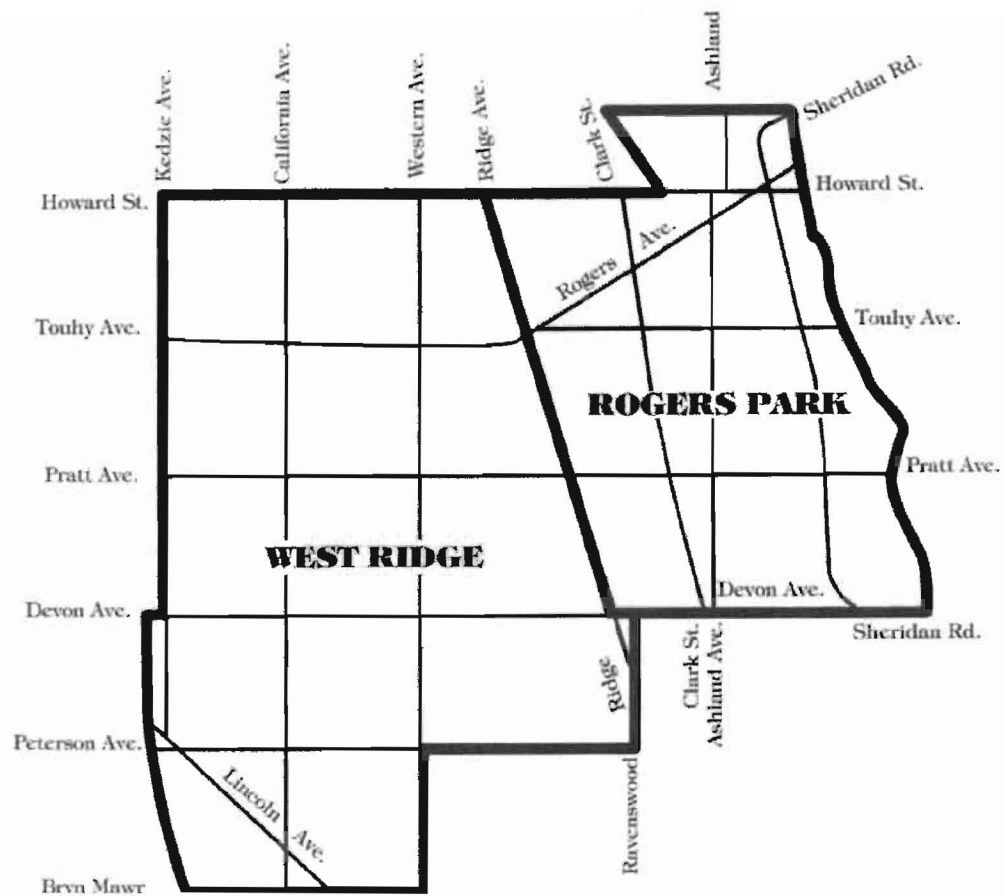
4/15/04

Senior Seminar Honors Research Thesis

**FIG. 10—ROGERS PARK—LOCATION**



**A Map of Chicago Locating Rogers Park**



A Map of Rogers Park and West Ridge



## Chicago's Other Magnificent Mile: Howard Street's Growth and Its Effect Upon the Rogers Park Neighborhood.

The town sorts itself into neighborhoods spaces, into social classes, into languages and nationalities and colors, into parishes and school districts and shopping streets and block clubs and bus routes. And into hope and dreams, for that matter. It's a dreamers town, for all of its harshness. Some of it writhing, some waiting, some being reborn. It's passé, it's fresh, it's gone and it's coming, and as it sheds one skin it grows another. It's a town that never stops, a neighborhood for the world. The best place to put your finger on its pulse is on the streets where we live.<sup>1</sup>

The history of Howard Street starts off in a fashion remarkably congruent to so many American beginnings. By the time of its firm establishment in 1915, this north eastern border made up a mostly insignificant portion of the great urban expanse that was the city of Chicago. At this time, Chicago had the nation's second highest population, behind the more historical New York City, and was also one of the world's great cultural centers. Chicago's awe-inspiring skyline found itself covered in the brilliance of Adler, Burnham, Sullivan, Wright, Root, and Roche. It was a city known for its big buildings, great food, horrid winds, and world-class entertainment. Howard Street was none of these things and really did not fit as a part of Chicago's extremely wealthy North Side coast-line, where one could find nearly ten straight miles of affluence and opulence. The neighborhood of Rogers Park, where Howard Street is located, the city of Chicago, and suburban Evanston all shunned this large plot of land. Local residents and real-estate developers saw it as nothing more than a gnarled and swampy prairie that contained no valuable future. It was truly a "No-Man's Land." Charles Ferguson, a real estate developer looking for his big break, saw differently, however. Coming to this area in 1910, he instantly recognized the potential value of this land and, by 1915, had fully acted upon this realization. In this area, Ferguson saw what some might term as his "American Dream", a notion that with perseverance, determination, effective advertising, and a little luck, he could become rich and, perhaps, this area could even be turned into something great. Charles Ferguson's "American Dream" became the driving impetus behind this area's development. Perhaps, looking out upon this swampy prairie in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ellen Skerret and Dominic Pacyga, *Chicago: City of Neighborhoods* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986), xii.

ghostly twilight, Ferguson foresaw the shadowy images of elaborate theatres lighting the night sky with their shimmering marquees, the towering apartment and hotel buildings that were going to be the domestic abodes for some of Chicago's elite citizens, or heard the nearly continual roar of a popular Elevated line. While others scoffed at what seemed like a ridiculous vision that possessed no chance of success, Ferguson diligently began to create his dream. By 1923, one of the many visitors to the newly developed area did not find the gnarled and swampy prairie that Ferguson once beheld. Instead, this amazed visitor found Howard Street, an area that was quickly becoming one of the most important, successful, and popular streets in the entire city of Chicago.

Situated as the northeastern boundary of Chicago, Rogers Park has barely been a part of Chicago for more than one hundred years. Ever since Philip McGregor Rogers purchased an initial 1,600 acres of land and established himself as the area's first white settler, Rogers Park's contributions have been numerous and its importance almost unlimited. This area, bounded by the town of Evanston to the north, Devon to the south, Lake Michigan to the east, and Western Avenue to the west, has, at one time or another, been the home of Chicago's elite, a center of transportation, a youthful retreat, a haven for academia, a commercial "wonderland," and, more recently a major port-of-entry for a truly international array of immigrants. As a result, Rogers Park is an integral and important Chicago neighborhood. The *Daily News* agrees, mentioning that, "At a glance, Rogers Park clearly is one of Chicago's...best neighborhoods."<sup>2</sup> Pete Fleming, an immigrant to Rogers Park from County Mayo in 1923, agrees, as well. In a thick Irish brogue, he says "Rogers Pahrk is th' foinest place in this city t'live, and it always has been. Especially for th' workin' stiff, like me."<sup>3</sup> Pete Fleming and the *Daily News* are not alone in this belief, however, as many of his fellow neighbors, nearly fifty thousand strong, as well as the hundreds of thousands of former area residents, would surely support these claims of the neighborhood's superiority. Naturally, this gives rise to the rhetorical question of what factors have made this area so historically successful and important? Also, why does this little-known northern suburb transcend the more famous northern neighborhoods, like Wrigleyville or Lake View, in importance? To this

---

<sup>2</sup> *The Daily News*, 1 July, 1959.

<sup>3</sup> *Chicago Sun-Times*, 8 April, 1973.



**An Aerial View of East Rogers Park**

question lies an easy and nearly instantaneous answer, an answer that sounds as inconsequential as a mere two words can possibly sound: Howard Street.

Howard Street, a street at the northern tip of Rogers Park that barely extends one mile west of Lake Michigan, and its surrounding district, has provided the greatest influence on the development of the Rogers Park area. Even more, Howard Street's importance transcends the rather limited enclave of Rogers Park. This street, historically, has had a profound affect upon the development of the whole North Side, as well as many of Chicago's more immediate suburbs. From Howard Street's development in 1915, to the beginning of its eventual degradation and decay into a northern ghetto in approximately 1955, this street served as one of Chicago's greatest commercial, residential, and entertainment outposts, as well as the most important North Side transportation hub. As a result, this street, along with many of Chicago's more famous names, like Halsted, Wilson, Devon, Prairie, and Garfield, can find itself among the pantheon of Chicago's important streets, especially those outside of Chicago's downtown area. Yet, Howard Street, at least from 1915-1955, transcended these other streets in importance. Although Howard Street stretches for barely a mile within the boundaries of

Rogers Park, this street, between the years 1915-1955, has played an integral and important role in the development of the Rogers Park neighborhood, as well as the surrounding neighborhoods and cities of Chicago's Far North Side and its immediate suburbs.

During this period, however, the growth that famous thoroughfares, like Howard Street caused was nothing new. People had been pouring into Chicago's North Side, and creating vibrant and influential neighborhoods ever since the Great Chicago Fire of 1871 decimated the residential centers of Chicago's downtown area. Major sections of this North Side growth, even within Rogers Park, had been developing for almost fifty years before Howard Street even came into existence. This growth was also further spurred by the massive migrations that the city experienced after the Colombian Exposition of 1893, which, almost single-handedly, created a world-class city out of Chicago. Yet, at this time, according to the urban historian Sam Bass Warner, many other cities were rapidly expanding and growing as well. Boston, for example, by 1900, had expanded greatly from the tightly-packed seaport of the mid-to-late 1800s and had become a metropolis that "sprawled over a ten-mile radius and contained nearly thirty-one cities and towns."<sup>4</sup> With this, the population also exploded to nearly one million.<sup>5</sup> In Boston, streets like Tremont Street played a role very similar to Chicago's most important and locally dominant streets.<sup>6</sup>

Philadelphia, too, witnessed a dizzying population explosion at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its size "had become so great...with a population of 2,847,000...that even small annual increments to its population meant thousands of new families, jobs, and houses."<sup>7</sup> Also, just like Chicago, cities such as Philadelphia found areas developing that contained "hundreds upon hundreds of offices, shops, mills, and neighborhoods, each one an important element in the urban environment of some Philadelphia residents."<sup>8</sup> Finally, the great migration of Chicago's wealthy residents up the shore-line of Lake Michigan to its northern neighborhoods was also imitated in

---

<sup>4</sup> Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>7</sup> Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Growth*, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1968), 161.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 162.

almost every other major metropolitan area across the nation. Chicago's outward movement of wealth created three distinct and segregated rings that were based on a person's wealth. Closest to the industrial center of the city lived the poor, followed by the middle-class, and finally by Chicago's wealthy elite. This "generalized sketch of spatial configuration...the radial city with a single center-can be applied to the other industrial metropolises of the time. It was a pattern to which they all roughly conformed."<sup>9</sup> As a result, Chicago's migration, growth, and success during this period was quite similar to that of other cities in the early 1900s.

Yet, despite all of this similarity, Chicago is still unique. One of Chicago's many beloved monikers is the City of Neighborhoods. It is the neighborhood that represents the very vibrancy and excitement that makes up life in Chicago. At the heart of these neighborhoods are the residential and commercial streets that have since become famous for their importance and their influence upon the lives of Chicago's many citizens. These streets are many and are located throughout the vast expanse of the city, including Halsted and 63<sup>rd</sup>, Clark St., Wilson St., and, also within Rogers Park's own boundaries, Devon Ave. Yet, from these numerous streets, Howard Street still manages to be almost entirely unique in its impact upon the area and in its own development.

Jean Gottmann claimed that the "recent (1920s) growth patterns of the urban regions of the United States...show that two types of areas are growing fastest-megalopolis clusters...and the Riviera recreation areas which combine both social amenities with good physical setting."<sup>10</sup> Most major urban developments at this time tended to fall into either one of these two categories. Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and New York City all expanded as megalopolis clusters. However, like the far more famous Coney Island, Atlantic City, the Catskills, and Cape Cod, Howard Street is quite unique in the fact that it combines both of Gottmann's growth patterns.<sup>11</sup> While not a Riviera in the literal meaning of the word, the development of Howard Street was very aesthetically and socially driven. Starting its journey westward from the beautiful and idyllic beaches of Lake Michigan, which at this time consisted of nearly ten continuous

---

<sup>9</sup> Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City*, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1972), 102.

<sup>10</sup> Jean Gottmann, "The Rising Demand for Urban Amenities," in *Planning for a Nation of Cities*, ed. Sam Bass Warner, Jr. (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1966), 169.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

miles of luxurious high-rise apartment buildings, Howard Street became one of the more aesthetically pleasing parts of the city of Chicago. It was a suburban setting within Chicago's city limits. It was miles from the industries and factories that polluted the city with so much smoke, noise, traffic, and confusion. With this emphasis on aesthetics came an early emphasis on entertainment as well. From its very incorporation, Howard Street was built with the idea of recreation in mind. The very first building to rise up on the prairie of Howard Street was the Howard Theatre. This was soon followed by another theater and many jazz clubs, as well. As an area focused on recreation, the Howard Street area seemed to embody the social developments of the time, as it was a "region endowed with physical amenities...at a time of rising standards of living, lengthening leisure time for the mass, greater mobility of people, and better education of all."<sup>12</sup> As a result of this, Howard Street thrived as what Gottmann termed a Riviera recreation area, and soon became a great "red-light" district for Chicago's North Side.

On top of Howard Street's development as a recreation area, came its development as an outside part of Chicago's general megalopolis. Gottmann defines the concept of "megalopolitan" society as "a category of urban regions formed around one or several large cities which arose as centers of commerce, industry, and perhaps government."<sup>13</sup> While Howard Street did not contain the industries, factories, or corporations that the downtown area, as well as the more industrial sections of the city, possessed, Howard Street established itself as one of the city's premier commercial districts outside of the downtown area. The mere one-mile expanse of Howard Street employed thousands of workers on a daily basis. Leading the way was the A.C. Nielson Company, who employed nearly 1,200 workers. A.C. Nielson was not only the leading employer of the Howard Street area, but was also the leading employer in all of Rogers Park. Many other workers could be found in the numerous restaurants, nightclubs, taverns, businesses, and banks that covered Howard Street. On top of this, the district played its part in the success and development of the aggregate city of Chicago, as it sent thousands of its own residents to Chicago's downtown offices and businesses. To this end, Howard Street also embodies the "megalopolitan" concept that Gottmann stressed

---

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 169

and, combining it with the recreational developments that were also taking place on Howard Street, formed a fairly unique street that, through this combination, developed into an important and influential part of Chicago that people from all over flocked to reside in.

Surprisingly, though, while academics have conducted much research on urban development and on the neighborhoods of Chicago, no significant scholarly research has been conducted on Howard Street's vitality and importance to either the Rogers Park area or to the other northern neighborhoods. Perhaps this stems from the street's present condition. Today, a visitor to the Howard Street district would look on in amazement and confusion. He or she would not see the dazzling marquees, the plethora of servicemen dashing from one tavern to the next, or the ritzy storefronts of earlier times. Nor would he or she hear the endless stream of jazz exuding from any of the numerous clubs in this formerly opulent "red-light" district. Instead, the visitor would see a one mile stretch of a decayed, ghettoized, international "ghost-town" that has only recently seen private investors investing large sums of money into the area. Even worse, though, the significant secondary sources also fail to mention the importance of the street and its effect upon the area. If the street is mentioned, it is in passing, with the source perhaps mentioning the Howard Theater, the seemingly famous Howard Bowl, or the Elevated stop. These only constitute small shades of the full spectrum of Howard Street's importance, however. With this in mind, it becomes necessary to lift the fog that covers the history of the Rogers Park neighborhood. Only through instilling an awareness of the street's important role can one ever truly understand the importance of Rogers Park and, even more importantly, the true importance of the Far North Side to the development of the city of Chicago. To do this in an organized and efficient manner, this essay is broken down into six separate sections. The first section is going to deal with the Howard Street District's incorporation into the city of Chicago. The next four sections are going to deal with the four major impact areas that developed on Howard Street and how each of these four impact areas helped to define and influence the growth of Chicago's Far North Side. These four areas, in order, are transportation, commercialism, entertainment, and residential stimulation. Within each of these sections, the impact area will be discussed chronologically. The final section is the conclusion, which briefly details Howard



Street's rapid deterioration and downfall, as well as the street's present Renaissance and rejuvenation.

### **A Jungle of Thorns, Sunflowers, and Cattails: The Incorporation of Howard Street**

Howard Street, whose history is so deeply entwined with Rogers Park's growth and development, started out as a simple and ridiculous vision by a single man. Most people who looked out at the area that was to become the Howard Street district saw nothing but "wild prairie and woods."<sup>14</sup> This area was actually not part of Chicago at the time. It was a southern extension of the suburban town of Evanston, an extension which managed to be virtually ignored by the leaders of the suburb. The town refused to give the settlers of this area, nicknamed Germania, any type of "city improvements, such as sewers, light, a school and so forth."<sup>15</sup> The city of Evanston claimed that the Calvary Cemetery, a major cemetery directly to the north of Germania, "so isolated the territory from Evanston that fire protection, water, police, lights, and so forth could not be supplied by that city."<sup>16</sup> The area's sewers emptied into a ditch, which then emptied into Lake Michigan, an action against the law. As a result of a complete lack of resources and utilities, the area was so uninhabitable that it became known as "No Man's Land," a strip of land which pioneers refused to call home. A real estate developer by the name of Charles W. Ferguson, however, looked upon this area of neglect and underdevelopment as an area full of potential and profit. In an interview conducted in 1925 by a student from the University of Chicago, Charles Ferguson describes his initial interest in the area.

In 1910 I became interested in the district and bought quite a lot of land. The reason I thought the area could be made something of was because it was a center of transportation in a local sense. The Northwestern Elevated had a station at Howard Street and the Chicago street cars came to Howard at Clark Street. Then there was agitation... to get improvements which would result in an increase in the value of the land.<sup>17</sup>

The financial capabilities of the Germania area for Charles Ferguson's bank account were evidently seen by the developer to be incredible. As a result, he was willing to fight the long battle that ensued.

---

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Charles W. Ferguson, 1925.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> *Northside Sunday Citizen*, 30 December, 1927.

<sup>17</sup> Interview with Charles Ferguson



A visitor to the Germania area in 1910 would be flabbergasted at the land that Charles Ferguson had just purchased for his idealized vision of grandeur and wealth. *The Chicago Daily News* gives a vivid and poetic description of this sad land of desolation and neglect. It recalls that

Grotesque forms with long uplifted arms loomed out of the darkness and the sickly rays of a solitary kerosene street lamp revealed nothing but a cinder path starting nowhere and losing itself in a jungle of thorns, sunflowers and cattails. Intrepid explorers venturing into the sector by day might identify the grotesque forms as the gnarled apple trees of an abandoned orchard. They saw eighty acres of farmland abandoned by the owners in disgust, and a tangle of weeds with here and there a house.<sup>18</sup>

This was the “lost suburb” of Chicago, the very land which housed all of Ferguson’s ambitious dreams.<sup>19</sup> In Ferguson’s mind, the only major problem with his plan was securing the necessary improvements from the town of Evanston. This proved to be a very difficult endeavor. Ferguson recalls that “we asked for school sidewalks, and sewers. Evanston turned us down flat....Well, we investigated as to whether the Evanston council wouldn’t or couldn’t give us improvements and, by gosh, we found that they couldn’t.”<sup>20</sup> Realizing that any further attempted negotiations would end in nothing but heated words and the dull internal pain of failure, Ferguson decided, in 1912, to ignite a movement for Germania’s ultimate succession from Evanston and annexation to the city of Chicago. Chicago had the money and the raw resources to help the undeveloped area, as well as a significant interest in the prestigious population races that were taking place at this time among the nation’s greatest metropolises. Banking on Chicago’s interest in the area, Charles Ferguson soon realized that this reasonable solution had two major problems within itself. Ferguson had to first obtain Evanston’s permission for the succession of its property and, second, get Chicago’s permission for annexation. To do this, Ferguson formed a committee of ten men. Their job was to convince the Evanston council to relinquish the right of the land to Chicago. After a valiant effort by Ferguson, Evanston stubbornly refused. Foiled once again, Ferguson had to resort to other methods. When asked about what he did next, Ferguson responded that

I had ballots distributed among the citizens of Evanston and asked them to vote on this subject: whether or not they thought the Evanston Council had given the (future) Howard

---

<sup>18</sup> *Chicago Daily News*, 1 April, 1922

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

Street people a square deal in refusing them both improvements and secession. The people unanimously voted no...When the Council saw that the people were against them, they removed their objection to the secession of (the future) Howard Street District...<sup>21</sup>

With this problem solved, Ferguson's next step was to approach the Chicago city government with an offer of annexation. In this endeavor, Ferguson met some unexpected resistance. The city's aldermen were very wary of allowing what was considered a "dry" area into the very "wet" city of Chicago, which was, at this time, led by the very "wet" mayor, Carter Harrison. Germania found itself located too close to Northwestern University, whose charter explicitly prohibited the selling or consumption of alcoholic beverages within a four mile radius.<sup>22</sup> Yet, the crafty Ferguson once again found a way through this obstacle. "I talked alderman Tony Cermak, who had tremendous influence in the city council, into looking favorably upon the annexation. Tony passed the word along that he wanted Howard Street admitted into the city."<sup>23</sup> With Cermak's influence, the annexation was successfully passed by the city of Chicago. With these two major victories achieved, nothing was left to bar Germania's annexation into the city of Chicago, as well as the accumulation of Charles Ferguson's fortune. The annexation officially took place on February 8, 1915.

As soon as this area achieved its annexation into the city, land developers, especially Charles Ferguson, began to invest heavily in the land near the Howard Street District. The city quickly began to improve the area, implementing all major utilities and necessities, including efficient waste disposal, clean water, schools, and police and fire services. The only things still missing were lights, which were just being installed at the time of Ferguson's interview, in 1925. With these vital improvements in place, the Howard Street district began to undergo an amazing period of "marvelously rapid growth."<sup>24</sup> By Ferguson's interview in 1925, Howard Street had been "built up with business buildings of every kind."<sup>25</sup> The district was only becoming larger and expanding in the only direction it could--into the neighboring area of West Ridge. With its tremendous growth came the rise of Howard Street's tremendous importance. At this

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Neal Samors, *Chicago's Far North Side: An Illustrated History of Rogers Park and West Ridge* (Chicago: Rogers Park/West Ridge Historical Society, 2000), 6.

<sup>23</sup> Ferguson Interview

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

beginning stage of Howard Street's development, nothing was more important and integral to the development of the street and the area than the transportation facilities that arose at the very heart of the street.

### **Any Train Started Here: Howard Street as a Transportation Hub**

The concept of a continually improving transportation system dominated the development of the nation's major metropolises in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The improvements in transportation had such a profound effect upon the metropolitan layout of America's cities that its improvement forever changed the structure of city-life. The development of cable car lines and, especially in Chicago, electric street transit systems, "worked to...revolutionize the social geography of the American city."<sup>26</sup> Sam Bass Warner claims that the electrification of street railways was so important in Boston that it "brought convenient transportation to at least the range of six miles from City Hall."<sup>27</sup> This caused the "whole scale and plan of Greater Boston to be entirely made over."<sup>28</sup> The greatest change that resulted from this was that people could now move away from the central business district of any major city and, instead, commute daily to work from the less crowded and less polluted outlying neighborhoods of large cities. People no longer had to live among the smokestacks of factories or the sewage of industry. Instead, the city, according to Warner, split into two parts. Transportation now allowed for the distinct "segregation of industrial and commercial land...from residential land, which became the hallmark of the metropolis."<sup>29</sup>

In his book on the development of Philadelphia, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Growth*, Warner further emphasizes the results of a continuing development network of transportation, claiming that "in the modern industrial society...the middle-class commuter had earned a partial freedom from work by living in two separate worlds."<sup>30</sup> Philadelphia is a perfect example of this. By the 1920s and 1930s, most able Philadelphians lived in one of four sections of the city, the Northeast,

---

<sup>26</sup> Warner, *Wilderness*, 109.

<sup>27</sup> Warner, *Streetcar*, 22.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Warner, *Wilderness*, 104.

<sup>30</sup> Warner, *Private*, 196.

South, West, or Northwest. From these areas, nearly fifty percent of the area's workers took some sort of street-car or elevated subway to work everyday.<sup>31</sup> On top of this, the main transportation hubs within these cities flourished, as people were continually traversing the streets and neighborhoods of these hubs. As a result, the transportation revolution that was taking place in these areas forever changed the way that people lived. Area residents had new residential options that caused them to move farther away from the work place than ever before, new commercial opportunities, and had cheap and reliable transportation that could take them wherever they desired to go.

Howard Street was one such area that would be forever changed by the transportation revolution that was taking place in early twentieth century America. Even before any major developments began to arise in the area, Charles Ferguson recognized that the Howard Street area was a "center of transportation in a local sense."<sup>32</sup> True to Ferguson's words, Howard Street ended up developing into one of Chicago's most important transportation hubs outside of the downtown area. This resulted from the fact that Howard Street was what James Leslie Davis termed "a triple terminal."<sup>33</sup> Three major transportation lines, the Northwestern and Evanston elevated railways and the Clark Street cable car surface line, all had major stops at Howard Street. Cable cars represented Chicago's transportation transformation from the past to the future. Cable cars were the "last of the truly pre-elevated internal transport mode to begin operations in Chicago."<sup>34</sup> Yet, even though they were fairly inexpensive, quick, and convenient, the "Home-Made Transfer War" of 1894 caused cable cars to rapidly fall out of favor with Rogers Park residents. As a result, a new form of transportation began to dominate Rogers Park--the elevated electric railways. The most important of these, for Rogers Parkers, at least, was the Northwestern Elevated Line.

The Northwestern Elevated Line was the last of Chicago's five major electric and elevated railroad train lines that had been rapidly coursing through Chicago since 1892. Operating around the loop from its very inception, the railroad extended as far north as Wilson Avenue on May 31, 1900. A pamphlet, edited and distributed by the Elevated

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>32</sup> Ferguson Interview

<sup>33</sup> Davis, *Elevated*, 25

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 59.

Lines, provides a description of the extraordinary economic impact that these train lines brought to the northern areas through which they passed. The pamphlet proudly proclaims that,

At the time the Northwestern Elevated opened for traffic what is known as the Wilson Avenue district, one of the most populous residence and business sections of the city was largely a cow pasture. A photograph taken of the corner of Wilson and Broadway about the time the “L” opened shows a frame cottage with a pump to furnish the water supply and a cow grazing in the yard.<sup>35</sup>

As a result of the excellent commercial and residential developments that virtually exploded into existence on the streets through which this northern elevated line traveled, Rogers Park began to receive authorization from the city of Chicago for the construction of an extension that would run through the young neighborhood of Rogers Park. Rogers Park received its wish on July 1, 1907, as the city of Chicago officially authorized the electrification of the former Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul tracks from Graceland Avenue to the city’s northern boundary at Howard Street. The city also graciously granted the area a stunning total of four stops, at Loyola University, Morse Avenue, Birchwood, and Howard Street. The only stipulation that the agreement called for was that the “EL” was “required to provide twenty-four-hour service from all stops...”<sup>36</sup> As a result, the ultimate stop of the Rogers Park elevated system was constructed at Howard Street in 1908.

Beginning with a trickle in 1908, but fully blossoming into a full-blown economic boom by the area’s incorporation into the city in 1915, as well as the period immediately afterwards, Howard Street underwent a tremendous transformation, commercially, residentially, and in the field of entertainment. Yet, this all stemmed from the massive amounts of people who now traveled this street, drawn by the area’s terrific transportation system. Howard Street quickly became the single most important transportation center in the entire Far North Side. Peter DeStefano, a longtime resident of Howard Street, attests to this. According to Peter, “At the time, the Northwestern Elevated line was the only elevated line in the Far North neighborhoods. If one wanted to go downtown or to Lincoln Park by the elevated, he had to take this line. Among the

---

<sup>35</sup> A pamphlet edited by the Elevated Lines, “From Intramural to L.” 1923.

<sup>36</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 39.

line's numerous stops, Howard Street was the most popular point of origin."<sup>37</sup> People hoping to catch the Elevated train line downtown poured into Howard Street from the surrounding Chicago neighborhoods, as well as from the growing nearby northern suburbs of Evanston, Niles, Skokie, and Park Ridge. In a recent interview, Marikay McGuinness, a long-time resident of the Howard Street area harkened, back to the stories that she had heard from both her father and her grandfather. Back in the late 1910s, Howard Street was indeed "the connection. You could get any train...at the Howard El. You could get any...train out into the suburbs...or catch a train downtown...any train started there. And all major trains stopped there to drop off numerous passengers."<sup>38</sup> In hearing this, Dennis McGuinness strongly agreed. He emphasized that for his father, "Howard Street was *the* transportation hub of northern Chicago."<sup>39</sup> People could now live fifteen miles from the Central Business District of Chicago, and still easily and cheaply get to work everyday. This caused a tremendous boom in the development of Chicago's surrounding northern suburbs, as city workers could escape from the traffic, smell, and claustrophobic ambience of the downtown area, but still get to their lucrative downtown jobs. Mrs. Florence Hatterman, an elderly resident of the area who had moved to Rogers Park in 1888, offered proof of this claim, saying that "the elevated changed the neighborhood more than anything. It ceased to be a nice residence district and everyone began moving farther north."<sup>40</sup> It was the Elevated that caused the tremendous growth of the area's transient, as well as permanent, population and eventually led to the incredible development that arose on Howard Street in its ensuing boom years. On top of this, the Elevated also caused an ensuing residential boom to occur in the development of the nearby North Side neighborhoods, as the wealthy continually attempted to move farther away from Chicago's downtown area.

By the late 1910s and the early 1920s, the thickening crowd of travelers descended upon the new Howard Elevated station. Mrs. Burns, a resident of the early twentieth century Howard Street area, attests to this great migration of people to the once decrepit area. She says, "The greatest change I've seen...is the number of people who

---

<sup>37</sup> Peter DeStefano, interview by author, 29 December 2004, Chicago. Tape Recording.

<sup>38</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>39</sup> Dennis McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>40</sup> Florence Hatterman, Interview, June 1928. Chicago Historical Society, Chicago.

get off the Elevated at Howard. I used to be able to see the station from my window, and three people used to be a crowd. Now you have to get in line to keep from being trampled.”<sup>41</sup> James Leslie Davis also acknowledges this. He concedes that the “boom in...Loyola’s residential...and commercial construction from 1905 to 1914 was phenomenal.”<sup>42</sup> However, he then goes on to conclude that with the extension of the line to Howard Street, “the growth of the Howard Street District...was even more pronounced...The number of originating revenue passengers at the Howard Street ‘EL’ station increased over thirty-fold from 1908-1918.”<sup>43</sup> By 1918, this area had become virtually a mecca for any north-side traveler. With the vital addition of the Northwestern Elevated Line as the final piece of this great transportation puzzle, all of the major modes of transportation stopped at Howard Street, including the cable cars and the Evanston elevated train systems, as well. Numerous pedestrians traversed the area’s sidewalks, as the early morning and the late afternoon saw tremendous influxes of workers. Travelers and day-trippers would also often emerge from the electrically propelled train cars. This created a dire necessity for Howard Street to consist of more than just transportation facilities. Many residents of Rogers Park also realized this. Howard Street boosters, for example, held a strong belief that the “street is destined to develop rapidly.”<sup>44</sup> Charles Ferguson, also realizing this, commented upon Howard Street’s favorable position as the end of the line for the Chicago Northwest Elevated system. He said that, “The desire to go to the end of the road will always mean that a big section or city will develop at that road’s end.”<sup>45</sup> This was the Elevated’s greatest contribution to both the neighborhood and to Howard Street. True to Ferguson’s promise, entrepreneurs began to take advantage of the street’s incredible potential. Heavy amounts of money began, shortly after its annexation, to be invested into Howard Street, as associations were created to help exploit the area’s tremendous potential. As a result, even in the 1910s and 1920s, a plethora of commercialism, residential opportunities, and entertainment venues arose from the once gnarled landscape of the Howard Street area, making the area perhaps the single most important mile of northern Chicago.

---

<sup>41</sup> *Howard News*, 13 September, 1927.

<sup>42</sup> Davis, *Elevated*, 37.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *The Daily News*, 1 April, 1922.

<sup>45</sup> *The Howard News*, 13 September, 1927.



Throughout the ensuing decades, the Elevated stop at Howard Street never lost its vital role as the epicenter of the street's success. People poured into the area via the Elevated from all directions. This was especially the case in the 1930s and 40s. At this time, traffic in the city was just as congested as it is today, with hordes of people, cars, buses, and street cars all combining to form an aggregate traffic nightmare. Also, no major highway system yet existed. As a result, many residents from the Far North Side of Chicago opted to take the Elevated into the downtown area, more often than not choosing the Howard Street station as their point of departure. During this time period, Howard Street was at its liveliest and most elegant, a swanky, northern "red-light" district that housed some of the city's wealthiest elites. This district also catered especially to the pleasures and enjoyments of the numerous soldiers and sailors who frequented the area. They descended upon Howard Street in droves, using the Elevated, as well as the newly constructed busing system, to traverse back and forth between Howard Street and their military or naval base.

Even during Howard Street's years of decline, from 1955 to the present, the Elevated on Howard Street still played a major role in North side transportation. Marikay and Dennis McGuinness, residents in Rogers Park during the beginning of Rogers Park's decline, personally experienced this vital role. Marikay McGuinness states that "even though the area was in decline and many began to claim it was unsafe, like my mother, people, young and old alike, were always using the El to go back and forth between northern neighborhoods and downtown."<sup>46</sup> Once again, Dennis McGuinness agreed to the street's importance as an area-wide transportation hub. Dennis claimed that, "As Marikay said, people were always using the El. But what proved to be even more interesting...was that many people even from the nearby suburbs would come to the Howard Street El and use it as a ride to work. It allowed people to live in the suburbs and still work downtown."<sup>47</sup> As a result, it was the Elevated that caused the tremendous growth of the area's transient, as well as permanent, population and eventually led to the incredible development that arose on Howard Street in its ensuing boom years.

---

<sup>46</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>47</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.



## **The Street of Fortune: The Commercial Development of Howard Street**

Beginning in the 1910s and the 1920s, with the complete annexation of the Howard Street area and the evident success of the street as a transportation hub, Howard Street began a period of incredible commercial growth, transforming itself from a back-water, illegitimate street in an unknown Chicago neighborhood into one of the greatest “wonder districts” of Chicago’s storied history.<sup>48</sup> James Leslie Davis even goes as far as claiming that this area was *the* “model for urban commercial enterprise.”<sup>49</sup> Yet, even though Howard Street might have been more successful than most commercial strips in the first quarter of the twentieth century, many cities, with their transportation revolutions underway, also witnessed a great growth in commercialism. Philadelphia forms a powerful example of this commercial growth. According to Warner, in the decade of the 1920s and the 1930s, fairly congruent with Howard Street’s development, the northwest section of Philadelphia “grew by 71,000 and major commercial centers began to form. Most of the growth occurred at the end of the Broad Street transit line with the developments spreading out like the fan from the trunk of a palm tree.”<sup>50</sup> Also in Philadelphia, the outer northwest had “inherited the Broad Street and Germantown Avenue axes, and these developed in the 1920’s into shopping strips just as older streets like Ridge Avenue, or South Second Street had before them.”<sup>51</sup> Even within Chicago itself, this growth of commercialism was occurring to a varied degree among most of the city’s major transportation stops. According to Warner, “rows of stores sprang up along the streetcar lines and at transfer points to serve the neighborhoods.”<sup>52</sup> Yet, even though this was a growing national trend, Howard Street’s commercial growth in this period was still far superior to many other commercial centers in the entire nation, let alone Chicago.

Howard Street’s commercialism, at first, began quite slowly, however. Charles Ferguson had begun to invest large amounts of money into the Howard Street area, but many investors were still fearful of doing so. The area, in 1915, was still a hideous quagmire that sat on the fringe of the city of Chicago. Many felt that Ferguson had made

---

<sup>48</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 54.

<sup>49</sup> Davis, *Elevated*, 39

<sup>50</sup> Warner, *Private*, 199.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>52</sup> Warner, *Wilderness*, 109.

a “dubious investment” in the area and was bound to fail.<sup>53</sup> This changed, however, with the formation of the Howard District Business Association in 1921. This group, led by Charles Ferguson, was composed of a small group of business men who united in the interest of making Howard Street a “great shopping district for the north side.”<sup>54</sup> The association fought hard for the implementation of their idealized vision, the creation of a powerful north side commercial center. To this end, they were largely successful. They quickly had Howard Street paved, implemented better police protection for all of Rogers Park, and secured the installation of a new lighting system.<sup>55</sup> The association was also instrumental in securing “additional property services, buses, the elevated, and...better bathing beach conditions.”<sup>56</sup> As a final touch, the Association fought for and attained the annexation of a strip of the lake hugging Sheridan Road in 1926.<sup>57</sup> By the end of 1927, the association also hoped to build a new Howard Street station, make Howard a through street, add additional paving to the rest of the Howard Street District, and to assist in the promotion of the five great highways leading to Rogers Park.<sup>58</sup> Through these works, and with the ensuing rise in Howard Street’s commercialism, the impact of the association was quite apparent. According to an October 27, 1927, edition of *The Howard News*, the “success of the Howard district is due...to the Howard District Business Association.”<sup>59</sup> Through the work of the Howard Street Business Association, the street began to gain a city wide reputation as one of the booming districts of the city of Chicago. It became quite well known throughout the city in the 1920’s for being one of “Chicago’s most prominent new outlying hubs.”<sup>60</sup> After 1921, businessmen flocked to Howard Street, hoping to buy land while it was still cheap and begin a business. The Howard Street Business Association played a large and successful role in helping to foster a great interest among entrepreneurs in the area through well-crafted, and only slightly hyperbolic, propaganda. One of these advertisements vividly portrays the massive interest and quickly inflating prices of this growing northern commercial district.

---

<sup>53</sup> *The Howard News*, 27 October, 1927.

<sup>54</sup> *The Howard News*, 13 September, 1927.

<sup>55</sup> *The Howard News*, 13 September, 1927.

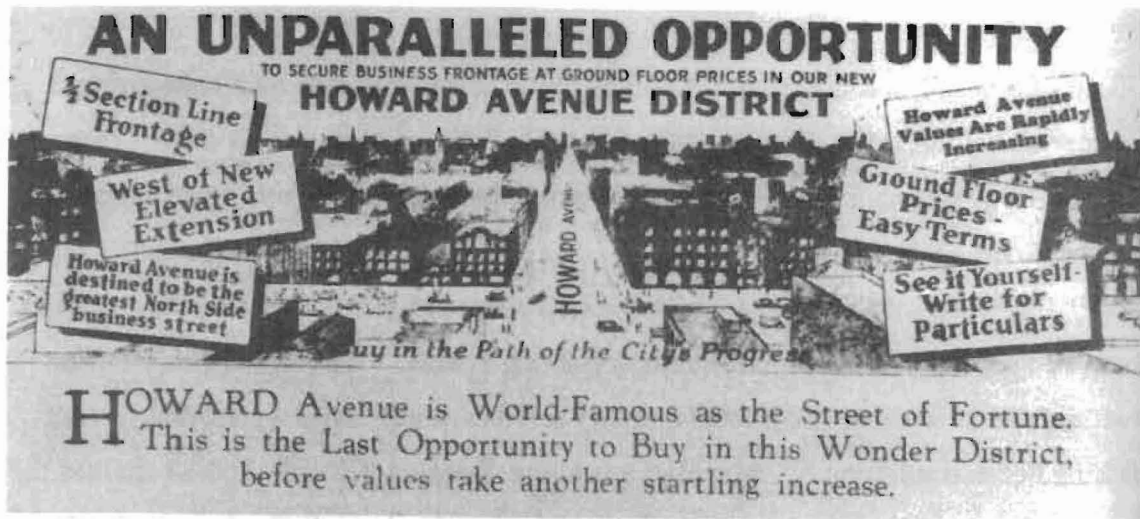
<sup>56</sup> *The Howard News*, 27 October, 1927.

<sup>57</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 73

<sup>58</sup> *The Howard News*, 10 October, 1927.

<sup>59</sup> *The Howard News*, 27 October, 1927.

<sup>60</sup> Davis, *Elevated*, 38.



A real estate ad to secure business frontage at ground floor prices on the new Howard Street

The sign boldly beckons the eye with an immodest boast that Howard Street presented “an unparalleled opportunity to...buy in the path of the city’s progress.”<sup>61</sup> This brash statement is followed with the equally conceited statement that “Howard [Street] is World-Famous as the Street of Fortune! This is the Last Opportunity to Buy in this Wonder District, before values take another startling increase...Howard [Street] is destined to be the greatest North Side business street!”<sup>62</sup> This strong language portrays the idealized potential that many investors and entrepreneurs felt that the area contained.

Apparently, the advertisements proved to be quite effective, as people did flock to this area, investing heavily in the continually vanishing undeveloped land of the Howard Street area. True to the warning that the Howard Street Business Association’s advertisement presented, the area’s land values rapidly skyrocketed, proving that the area was undergoing enormous amounts of expansion. Land that was worth about “12 cents 120 years ago...is now worth \$50,000...with the building on the new location worth an additional \$350,000.”<sup>63</sup> Other potential building sites underwent massive inflation, as well. A single plot of land at the corner of Howard and Paulina was purchased by the United Cigar Store for \$350,000. Another plot of land was bought by the Kresge

<sup>61</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 54

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> *The Daily News*, 29 September, 1956.

Company for \$70,000.<sup>64</sup> People were willing to pay almost any price to get a prized piece of land on this newly coveted street. The Phillip Bank provides a perfect example of how far many businesses were willing to go in an effort to own land on Howard Street in the 1920s. After a series of extensive negotiations, Peter Phillip, the president of Phillip Bank, finally outbid his fierce competitors for a plot of land on Howard Street, paying the extraordinary sum of \$650,000 for a single plot of land.<sup>65</sup>

Even with these seemingly ridiculous prices, prices that would buy large houses in today's society, entrepreneurs hoping for the attainment of their great "American Dream" of opportunity and prosperity continued to heavily develop Howard Street. The building became so frantic and excessive that the area's development had to expand to the streets immediately adjacent to Howard Street. As a result, the Howard Street District was created. Now, entrepreneurs eagerly sought land that was not necessarily on the one mile strip of Howard Street, but began to rapidly build in the surrounding areas, as well. *The Daily News* describes this incredible growth in the only way it realistically can, through nearly mind-boggling exaggeration. *The Daily News* reports,

If all of the theaters, office buildings, and business blocks and hotels projected for the Howard Street District were built, they would have to be made of India rubber and packed in under pressure, or the streets extended out into Lake Michigan. Many of these projects, of course, will never materialize—at least not more than one for each building site, but enough of them are already under way to make Rogers Park the busiest spot in the city from a building standpoint.<sup>66</sup>

James Leslie Davis offers a very similar statement in regards to Howard Street's role as Chicago's leading area of commercial development. Davis wrote that, "The Howard center had the biggest boom of all...commercial areas in this elevated impact period."<sup>67</sup> With countless banks, theaters, hotels, restaurants, fashion shops, entertainment venues, real estate offices, and clothing stores, Howard Street was an attractive commercial infrastructure that caused the surrounding area to grow and change at a frenetic pace.

The Rogers Park's population grew with the introduction and advancement of development on Howard Street. In 1914, the combined population of Rogers Park and West Ridge, its smaller neighbor, barely reached 10,000. Yet, by the end of the 1920s, a time in which Howard Street was beginning to reach maturity, the area's population

---

<sup>64</sup> *Northside Sunday Citizen*, 30 December, 1927.

<sup>65</sup> *The Howard News*, 13 September, 1927.

<sup>66</sup> *Daily News*, 1 April, 1922.

<sup>67</sup> Davis, *Elevated*, 38



**A view of Howard Street looking west towards the Elevated Tracks**

exploded to 96,000, a number almost ten times as high as 1914's census figure.<sup>68</sup>

Howard Street was both the stimulus and the setting for this massive growth.

One of the most impressive aspects of Howard Street's commercialism, however, was the amazing ability of the street to draw in consumers from outside the Rogers Park neighborhood. With its vast array of hotels, banks, real estate agencies, clothing stores, restaurants, offices, and entertainment venues, people poured into the area from throughout Chicago-land. James Leslie Davis realized this, stating that "Shoppers came from farther than just the surrounding neighborhood to patronize...the Howard Street...of the 1920s."<sup>69</sup> Neal Samors also agrees. He claims that "for almost fifty years, people from the North Side of Chicago and Evanston took advantage of the...Howard District."<sup>70</sup> Marikay McGuinness also adds that Howard Street, throughout its history, was the type of area "that drew people from outside of the neighborhood. You know,

---

<sup>68</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 59

<sup>69</sup> Davis, *Elevated*, 39.

<sup>70</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 138

from wherever, from Evanston or just Skokie.”<sup>71</sup> Through these testimonials, it becomes apparent that the Howard Street district served as a great commercial center for many of the neighborhoods and cities north of Chicago’s downtown area. It drew upon the wealthy residents of Chicago’s great northern neighborhoods, like Lake View, Andersonville, Wrigleyville, or Uptown.<sup>72</sup> It also drew the even wealthier citizens of Chicago’s northern suburbs, bringing a tremendous vitality and stimulus to this area. Howard Street was an attractive alternative to the farther, busier, smellier, and more dangerous commercial centers of the city, like State Street in Chicago’s Loop, or the other great neighborhood streets, such as 63<sup>rd</sup> and Halsted. As a result, the commercialism of Howard Street was vital to the growth of Rogers Park, as it brought great amounts of money, jobs, and opportunity into the area. Yet, it also helped to foster the growth of northern Chicago and the surrounding suburbs, as Howard Street served as an employment beacon, especially through huge companies like the A.C. Nielson Company, that caused people to move into the northern part of Chicago-land, either with a job or looking for a job in this booming district ripe with employment opportunities. Employees would then bring home part of the wealth of Howard Street and put the money right back into their suburb’s or neighborhood’s economy. To this end, Howard Street helped to build Chicago’s growing suburbs. As a result, Howard Street became synonymous with the great pantheon of Chicago’s other great commercial districts and truly did become a great model of commercial development for all of Chicago.

The commercial power of the Howard Street area was not only a phenomenon of the 1920s, however. After America shrugged off the minor post-war recession that arose after the armistice of the Great War in 1918, all major metropolises underwent a nearly decade long economic boom that created a new society, one that broke away from the old Victorian ideals of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was, instead, rebellious, opulent, excessive, irrational, and impulsive. In regards to this, the Howard Street of the 1920s was no different. Yet, this amazing growth solidly continued into the next few troubling decades. While the crash of the stock market in 1929, and the scathing world-wide depression that followed, decimated so many businesses, industries, families, and cities

---

<sup>71</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>72</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 139.

around the world, its affect upon Rogers Park, and especially Howard Street, was rather minimal. With a wide variety of citizens, from both white and blue-collar jobs of all sorts, Howard Street and Rogers Park managed to escape from the fate that destroyed so many “one-economy” neighborhoods. The worst casualty of the Great Depression in the Howard Street District was the Phillip State Bank, which, due to a lack of funds, closed on June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1932.<sup>73</sup> Unfortunately, this was a major source of financial support for the neighborhood and many residents were hurt by its closing. Regardless of this, however, the great “building boom continued into the...1930s, as new apartment buildings, theaters, and stores were being completed.”<sup>74</sup> Especially when prohibition ended in 1933, residents flocked to “restaurants, taverns and nightclubs to celebrate this new freedom....Theaters, as well, were still busy during this time as people sought affordable recreation during the Depression.”<sup>75</sup>

By 1935, the Rogers Park area was nearly full grown, as 57,094 people called this northern neighborhood their home. At this time, Howard Street also attained a peak of its own. In the mid-1930s, even though the Great Depression still raged on, Howard Street’s commercial center reached its highest percentage of Chicago’s total retail business, at 1.3 percent.<sup>76</sup> This ranked Howard Street, in 1935, as the “third greatest commercial district outside the Loop, confidently preparing a challenge to 63<sup>rd</sup> and Halsted for the No. 1 place.”<sup>77</sup> Out of the thousands of streets that stretched across the vast expanse of the city of Chicago, only two others had a more bustling retail district.

After 1935, however, when 63<sup>rd</sup> and Halsted found itself decimated by the intense height of the Great Depression, Howard Street only continued to grow commercially stronger. In 1935, the growing, A.C. Nielson Company moved to a new location on Howard Street. Founded by Arthur C. Nielson in 1923 in the Lake View neighborhood, this growing company wanted to move into a larger building that was located in a more bustling commercial district. This company first started out conducting simple inventories at food and drug stores throughout the Chicago-land area. Yet, this company soon became enormously famous through its creation of the Nielson Rating System, used

---

<sup>73</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 94.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 94-95.

<sup>76</sup> *Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 September, 1955.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.



by radio and TV stations and advertisers not only across the nation, but throughout the world. By 1950, from its international headquarters on Howard Street, the company had grown to be the largest marketing research company in the world, with offices in over twenty countries.

The impact the company had on Howard Street, Rogers Park, the North Side neighborhoods, and the surrounding suburbs was incredible.<sup>78</sup> The company was Rogers Park's single largest employer, offering jobs to those from throughout Chicago and the suburbs. It also brought large sums of money into the Howard Street area and Rogers Park, as a whole. Marikay McGuinness, whose mother spent a few years of her adult life doing secretarial work for the A.C. Nielson Company, realized the importance of this company. She remembered that "Nielsen employed quite a lot of people and brought a lot of people into the area, too. These were not only people from the area, like my mother, but people from throughout...Chicago and the suburbs, as well.... It probably brought a lot of money into the area, too."<sup>79</sup> As a result, this brought more travelers and more potential consumers onto this great commercial strip, spurring development, growth, and wealth to an even greater degree. This famous company, especially at its peak in the late 1940s and early 1950s, did much to bolster the Howard Street commercial district, as well as serve as a powerful representative of the continued growth of the area in the middle decades of the century.

Howard Street continued its reign as the great commercial street of the North Side into the 1950s, as well. Some decline and degradation was beginning to appear, especially by 1955, but the area, for the most part, was still lively and booming. This is the Howard Street that Marikay and Dennis McGuinness best remember. Even after fifty years, the couple can still vividly recall visiting the locally famous Howard Bowl, as well as many of the area's restaurants and stores. Dennis McGuinness' memories tend to focus around his palate and the area's great restaurants. He remembers that

we used to go [to Howard Street] for a few restaurants. They had the Gold Coin at the corner of Howard and Clark. I can remember as far back as a kid, you could go up there and get good banana splits and sundaes and milkshakes.... They had a good Mexican restaurant. I forget its name. It had a big outside garden and you would have to bring your own liquor...And the Fish Keg, oh my god. We used to go there every Friday night. We used to pop in there just for a bag of fries. They have big, brown, paper bags of fries.

---

<sup>78</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 95

<sup>79</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.





**A view of Howard Street looking east from the Elevated platform**

You could get fresh fish or you could get breaded. Cock-Robbin. The Pickle Barrel. My Place For...And of course, Gullivers Just so many great restaurants.<sup>80</sup>

Marikay McGuinness' memories, however, hold a much more materialistic tone to them. She remembers many of the great stores from Rogers Park in the 1950s. She recalls that "the shopping center was there. The Howard and Western shopping center. That was a big shopping area. Jewel, Walgreens, ice-cream stores.... Woolworths was there and a women's store.... And, yeah, there were a lot of stores on Howard Street. That was a big shopping area for Rogers Park, I would say."<sup>81</sup> Mary Jo Behrendt Doyle, the executive director of the Rogers Park Historical Society, recalls an even more detailed past of Howard Street's commercialism. As a resident of the Howard Street district in the 1950s,

I did most of my shopping on Howard Street. I remember all the stores including the dime store, Woolworth's....Then there were Gene Reid's Bootery on the south side and Mort Gibian's Bootery on the north side of Howard....There was the Black Cat Shop, which was a card and gift shop...The little popcorn place was to the east. Then came...Pan Dee's Restaurant. I went to various dress shops, including Kay Campbell's, Loretta Kam, and

<sup>80</sup> Dennis McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>81</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

Della Frocks. I also went to Robert's Card and Gift Shop...Dee's Market, a butcher shop, Howard Juvenile, and Davidson's and Heinemann's Bakeries...<sup>82</sup>

It becomes apparent that the Howard Street of the 1950s, the Howard Street of Dennis, Marikay, and Mary Jo, as still very much a commercial center.

To a visitor of Howard Street in the 1950s, he or she would still see most of what was found on Howard Street in the 1930s and 1940s. This world, all of the banks, entertainment venues, stores, restaurants, offices, and, most importantly, the people, still existed. Yet, decline was just beginning to set in. Part of the reason that decline hit so suddenly and so strongly was that the people who were traversing the street were not the same people that one would find in earlier years. A huge change in the neighborhood's ethnic make-up began taking place in the 1950s. Once a town of Luxemborgers, Irish, Italians, Russians, and Jews, this area was becoming a haven for new immigrants like Hispanics, Asians, and poor eastern Europeans. As residential prices began to plummet, due to overcrowding and through the degradation and neglect that was beginning to become apparent on many of the older buildings, the area started to assume its future role as a major port-of-entry for many new immigrants. These new immigrants came to the area without money, family, food, or friends. As a result, the commercial aspects of the area changed. These new immigrants simply "aren't spending money the way old Rogers Parkers did."<sup>83</sup> As a result, from about 1955 to the present, the Howard Street district radically transformed. It no longer carries the same vibrancy and energy that it did in the first half of the twentieth century. Worst of all, it no longer draws residents from all over Chicago or the suburbs and no longer has the great commercial appeal that had made it one of the greatest commercial centers in all of Chicago.

### **It Jumped: Howard Street's Development as a "Red-light District"**

With the rise of Howard Street's commercial capacities came an even greater asset to the North Side of Chicago, the development of Howard Street as one of the north

---

<sup>82</sup> Neal Samors, Michael Williams, and Mary Jo Doyle, *Neighborhoods Within Neighborhoods: Twentieth Century Life On Chicago's Far North Side*. (Chicago: Rogers Park/West Ridge Historical Society, 2002), 129.

<sup>83</sup> Gail Dank Welters, *The Rogers Park Community*. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1982), 43.

Side's premier "red-light" districts. In a city notorious for its fast women, free-flowing booze, and rebelling youngsters of its many "red-light" districts, Howard Street was one of the most popular and most exciting entertainment districts in all of Chicago.

According to Neal Samors, Rogers Park "during the 1920s and 1930s...became one of the liveliest entertainment centers on Chicago's North Side."<sup>84</sup> The period after this, the 1940s, was when this street truly bloomed into a full-fledged "red-light," as "the Howard Street area was especially popular as an entertainment center during World War II."<sup>85</sup>

Howard Street's unique location caused the development of a great entertainment district on Chicago's northern border. Conveniently located as the El's last stop within the boundaries of Chicago, this area provided the perfect place for one to come to in order to indulge in alcoholic beverages. One must remember that at this time Evanston still had a clause in Northwestern's charter that prohibited alcohol from being served or consumed anywhere within the suburb. As a result, once Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in 1933 repealed Prohibition, Howard Street became the last stop for North Shore residents to purchase or consume alcohol.<sup>86</sup> Howard Street was also the nearest place for the "thirsty" collegiate students of Northwestern to quench their alcoholic needs and desires. On top of this, this "wet" street of hot jazz and lusty dancing attracted the servicemen from three major army or naval institutions, the Great Lakes Training Station, Glenview Naval Air Base, and Fort Sheridan, all within an easy train ride of Howard Street. As a result, a tremendous outpour of youth descended upon the area. Starting with the development of the Howard Theater in 1918, Howard Street quickly developed in an effort to cater to the nightly migration of young thrill-seekers from Chicago's northern neighborhoods and suburbs. Yet, interestingly, Howard Street also catered to the older and wealthier residents that were beginning to make Rogers Park and the Howard Street area their home. Marikay McGuinness, listening to stories from her father's experience on Howard Street in the 1930s and 1940s, would often have her father "tell me stories about the night-life that used to be over there. You know, dances and ballrooms."<sup>87</sup> Dennis McGuinness also heard his mother and father telling many stories about how

---

<sup>84</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 55.

<sup>85</sup> Welters, *Community*, 11

<sup>86</sup> Pacyga and Skerrett, *Neighborhoods*, 136.

<sup>87</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

Howard Street, in the 1930s and 1940s, was once “one of the ritzier places to go. You would dress up in a tux when you went to Howard Street.”<sup>88</sup> As a result, a great, and classy, “red-light” district emerged on Chicago’s northern border.

It should be remembered that, according to Jean Gottmann’s urban development classifications, Howard Street’s very foundation consisted of a recreational and Riviera-like growth. This quickly becomes evident, as the first important form of entertainment to arise on the newly purchased land of Charles Ferguson was his own great project, the Howard Theatre. This was a wise move by Ferguson, as the development of this theater echoed the national entertainment trend that was quickly transforming the nation. In the 1910s and the 1920s, America was a country attempting to break away from the seemingly constrictive Victorian ideals that had played such a dominant societal role for the last one hundred years. Movies, and the development of the great movie palaces represented this attempted break. Patrons poured into these movie theaters, according to Lary May, because the “performers and directors dramatized the central theme of the age: the change from Victorian to modern life.”<sup>89</sup> Also, at this time, the very center of local and urbane society shifted. While the opera house was once the Victorian home for societies elitists, the center of local society in 1920s America “had been turned into a movie theater open to all.”<sup>90</sup> The movie theaters were also the most democratic of entertainment forms. For a mere 7 cents, any resident, man or woman, could go to one of the hundreds of movie houses throughout America and find temporary solace from reality. Here, they were “people without distinction of class.”<sup>91</sup> Instead, according to William Fox, one of New York City’s most successful theater owners,

Movies breathe the spirit in which the country was founded, freedom, and equality. In the motion picture theaters there are no separations of classes. Everyone enters the same way. There is no side door thrust upon those who sit in the less expensive seats....In the movies the rich rub elbows with the poor and that’s the way it should be. The motion picture is a distinctly American institution.<sup>92</sup>

As a result of the cheap ticket prices and the incredible amounts of equality and freedom that all felt upon entering the movie palace, people poured into these institutions. The

---

<sup>88</sup> Dennis McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>89</sup> Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), xii.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 152

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-153.

movie palaces quickly became the one elitist form of entertainment in which the masses could regularly enjoy. Movies were the first “true mass amusement in American life.”<sup>93</sup>

Also at this time, the rapid growth and expansion of movie palaces became the national trend for almost all cities, both big and small. By 1928, America possessed almost 28,000 theaters.<sup>94</sup> Most of these, however, could be located in the great metropolises of the 1920s, in cities such as New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Most of these cities had between five hundred and eight hundred theaters, with each theater averaging over 1,000 seats. In New York City, for example, there were over eight hundred theaters that contained an average of 1,200 seats. This number comes out to the stunning ratio of one seat for every six people.<sup>95</sup> Even in small towns such as Muncie, Indiana, there were enough seats available on a daily basis for three times the town’s own population.<sup>96</sup> America, at this time, was so movie-crazy that the weekly audience was between twenty and thirty million people and movies, by the 1920s, easily absorbed the largest portion of the average American’s recreation budget.<sup>97</sup> As a result of this, Charles Ferguson wisely invested in the construction of a theater as the anchor for his recently purchased land, an anchor that he hoped would draw people into the area and cause them to invest precious dollars into its development.

Yet, even in the 1920s, motion pictures were nothing new to Rogers Park or to the city of Chicago. In fact, Chicago served as one of the nation’s first homes for movie production, well before producers ever dreamed of moving west to Hollywoodland and the sunny beaches of California. According to Charles A. Jahant, even the first movies began their evolution in Chicago. Jahant states that, “Movies had their beginnings in the Edison Kinetoscope which...was first shown in Chicago during the Colombian Exposition of 1893.”<sup>98</sup> The first major movie studios were also located in Chicago. In 1896, William N. Selig opened “what may have been the first commercial motion picture

---

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., xii.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 165

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Charles A. Jahant, “Chicago: Center of the Silent Film Industry,” *Chicago History* 3, no. 1 (1974), 45.

studio in the country” on Peck Court, in Chicago.<sup>99</sup> About a decade afterwards, in 1907, the Essanay Studios was founded by George Spoor and Gilbert M. Anderson, who was already famous for his role in the first Western, *The Great Train Robbery*, in Chicago’s Old Town neighborhood. Most of the early film industry’s greatest actors or writers came from or spent time in Chicago, as well. These included Charlie Chaplin, Gilbert M. Anderson, Mary Pickford, Frank L. Baum, Ring Lardner, and, a bit later, the famous Johnny Weismuller. Even more interesting, however, was the fact that the first professional film ever created, *The Tramp and the Dog*, took place in Rogers Park. For approximately a minute and a half, a bulldog chased a tramp through the streets of Rogers Park before eventually taking a bite out of the tramp’s pants after he attempted to climb over a fence.<sup>100</sup> As a result, Charles Ferguson’s great commercial contribution to Howard Street was nothing revolutionary or new to Chicago or even to Rogers Park. Instead, he hoped to capitalize on Chicago’s, as well as Rogers Park’s, growing fascination with the motion picture industry.

Although the Howard Theatre was not the first major theater of Chicago and never truly came to be the favorite theater of most Rogers Park citizens, by the 1920s, Howard Theatre was one of the first popular, wealthy, and ornate theaters to arise on Chicago’s North Side. Completed in 1918, this “great modern theatre set up in the midst



**The Howard Street Theatre-1918**

---

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

of prairies...” was considered by the *Howard News* to be “a heroic undertaking for the early Howard district...”<sup>101</sup> This grand project, however, proved to be a valuable addition to early Howard Street, as the theater “definitely fixed Howard as a business district.”<sup>102</sup> Rising above the flat, sometimes swampy, prairie of early Chicago, this illuminated monstrosity consisted of a long brick building with a pair of almost mosque-like towers adorning the sides of a glittering marquee. It is this dazzling marquee, a powerful beacon of light calling to the residents of Chicago’s North Side, that has most etched itself into the minds of Rogers Park residents. Dennis McGuinness still remembers the sparkling marquee to this day. Thinking back to his younger years as a resident of Rogers Park, Dennis vividly recalls the “huge and amazing marquee in the front of the theater that said what was playing there. When all of the theater’s lights were shining, it produced a nearly blinding glow of light.”<sup>103</sup>

People flocked from all over the North Side and Chicago’s suburbs in an effort to attend a show at this great, new theater, making use of the Howard Street Elevated for quick and easy access to the booming theater. *The Howard News* noticed this great influx of people, specifically commenting on the vast “crowds that were drawn to the district by the new attraction.”<sup>104</sup> Sondra Fargo, a resident of the suburb of Evanston, provides a perfect example of the migration of youngsters from the suburbs to the Howard Street “red-light district.” As a high school student at Evanston Township High School, Sondra “loved going to the movies at the Howard...Theatre. [This] was the place to go for older kids, including the students at Northwestern University.”<sup>105</sup> This theater, in its younger years, brought people to the area from all over, people who would ride the Elevated into Howard Street and spend the day shopping and eating on the strip before attending their nighttime entertainment at the Howard Theatre. As a result, this theater indirectly caused the rest of the Howard Street district to blossom and bloom. Investors, seeing the potential of this theater, quickly began purchasing land all around the venue in an effort to build profitable commercial enterprises. To this end, the Howard Theatre truly was an

---

<sup>101</sup> *The Howard News*, 13 September, 1927.

<sup>102</sup> *The Northside Sunday Citizen*, 30 December, 1927.

<sup>103</sup> Dennis McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>104</sup> *The Howard News*, 13 September, 1927.

<sup>105</sup> Samors, Williams, and Doyle, *Twentieth Century*, 105.



anchor for the street and did play a large role in ensuring the Howard Street District's role as a great northern business center.

The Howard Theatre was not the only theater to arise on Howard Street, however. Another theater, even more elegant than the Howard Theatre, arose at the opposite end of the street. In the 1910s and 1920s, Rogers Park underwent a great theater boom, which saw the creation of the Nortown Theatre, the Adelphi, the North Shore Theatre, The Regent Theatre, The Casino Theatre, The Park Theatre, and the most famous, the Granada Theatre. One of the finest theaters to be built during this time period, however, was the Norshore Theatre, built in 1927. It stood out as Rogers Park's first Balaban and Katz theater. The Balaban brothers, along with their partner, Sam Katz, created a theater empire of grandeur and splendor in the Chicago of the 1920s.. By 1925, Balaban & Katz owned twenty-eight Chicago movie theaters and a hundred others throughout the Midwest.<sup>106</sup> Two of their most popular and famous creations, however, lay within the boundaries of Rogers Park. The famous Granada Theatre and the Norshore Theatre were two of the most spectacular theaters in the whole Chicagoland area. George D. Bushnell's journal article, *Chicago's Magnificent Movie Palaces*, classifies the Norshore among Chicago's greatest theaters. Claiming that it was a "neighborhood favorite from



**The Norshore Theatre**

---

<sup>106</sup> George D. Bushnell, "Chicago's Magnificent Movie Palaces," *Chicago History* 6, no. 2 (1977), 100.



1927 until its closing in 1957,” this 3,500 seat masterpiece featured a huge three-story domed lobby that awed the theater’s many patrons.<sup>107</sup> With an imposing façade that was constructed in the same manner as the Howard Theatre, the Norshore Theatre consisted of two soaring towers. These, in huge neon letters, boasted the name of the proud theater, while an arch across the middle displayed the names of the great sultans of the early twentieth century movie-house world, Balaban and Katz. Joan Wester Anderson, an author who resided in Rogers Park as a child, remembers the elegance of the Norshore Theatre. She recalls that

I used to go to the Norshore Theatre on Howard Street a lot when I was growing up...Of course, we saw the movies, but we were often out in the luxurious sitting area at the Norshore talking to each other in little groups...The Howard Theatre was about a block east, but...was just ‘peanuts’ compared to the Norshore because it had a big foyer where you could stand if there was ever a waiting line. The Norshore was just an elegant theater...<sup>108</sup>

Anderson later adds that “since the Norshore was a Balaban and Katz movie theater like the Granada, it meant that the seats were fabulous and you behaved in there because it was an elegant place.”<sup>109</sup> This fabulous theater served as the anchor of the street on its western end. With the Howard Theatre anchoring the eastern end, the land in-between developed at a very rapid pace, as many people poured into the commercial district so that they could attend shows at these two important North Side theaters.

Not all of the theater’s importance, however, derived from the commercial aspects of the street. The theaters themselves helped to create a major new industry on Howard Street, the entertainment industry. Starting with the construction of the two great theaters on Howard Street, the street began to become a major entertainment hub for the North Side. The Howard Theatre and the Norshore Theatre led the way. In this time period of opulence and of an almost excessive decadence, the architecture of the theater itself was supposed to be a form of entertainment. One was supposed to be swept away into an exotic and foreign land, as these theaters were outposts of Romanticism. The purpose of a theater was to transport one from “their lives of toil into a caliph’s Baghdad...great rococo temples of marble, crystal, and bronze... or the marble splendor of Versailles.”<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 105,106

<sup>108</sup> Samors, Williams, and Doyle, *Twentieth Century*, 129.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 99-100

Only a half-century ago, as Bushnell maintains, “Chicago’s extravagant motion-picture theaters were wondrous fairy-tale palaces, where all who entered could become royalty for a few hours.”<sup>111</sup> George Rapp, a great theater architect, whose visions shaped the construction of the famous Chicago Theatre, offers an even more Americanized and Romanticized view of theaters. He calls upon one to “Watch the eyes of a child as he enters the portals of one of our great theaters and treads the pathway to fairyland.... See the toil-worn father whose dreams have never come true and look inside his heart as he finds strength and rest within the theater.”<sup>112</sup> Rapp even goes as far as claiming theaters are “a shrine to democracy where... the wealthy rub elbows with the poor.”<sup>113</sup> Theaters were not just havens for the wealthy or social centers for the elite. All could reasonably attend a show. Laborers would often find solace within the theater doors, offering a justification of sorts for their hard work. People found that not only could they shop on Howard Street, but that they could also have fun there, as well. With the two great anchors of the Northside Theatre and the Howard Theatre solidifying the one-mile strip of land, other important entertainment establishments soon began to arise.

One of the most important of these establishments were the popular jazz clubs that arose along the length of Howard Street. With its developing reputation as an area for entertainment, Howard Street quickly became one of the great and famous jazz capitals of Chicago. One should not really be shocked by the appearance of this northern jazz center, however. Chicago has always been a city known for its remarkable jazz culture. Ever since the man known to posterity as Satchmo left Storyville, the infamous “red-light” district of New Orleans, and migrated up the Mississippi into Illinois, and the lonely, forlorn, young, Jewish clarinetist came down from his perch atop Jane Addams’ Hull House and assumed the title of “King of Swing,” Chicago consolidated its rule as one of the nation’s greatest Jazz capitals. Chicago easily rivaled the other great jazz cities of the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as Kansas City and New York, through what William Howland Kenney interpreted as Chicago’s great “pulling” power.<sup>114</sup> Great players and bands were being pulled by “a mounting popular ‘craze’ for social dancing”

---

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 99

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> William Howland Kenney, *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History 1904-1930*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3.

in Chicago during the 1910s and 1920s.<sup>115</sup> As a result, a tremendous group of musicians, including Louis Armstrong, Jelly Roll Morton, Joseph “King” Oliver, Jimmy Noone, Johnny Dodds, and Earl Hines, collaboratively developed a distinct style known as Chicago Jazz. The vibrancy and quality of Chicago’s ever-growing jazz life helped to expand the reach of Chicago’s famous jazz clubs. At this time, clubs began to expand from their central vortex in the black communities of Chicago’s South Side and Chicago’s notorious “Levee” district. They eventually began to develop in Chicago’s downtown and soon spilled out into Chicago’s growing north side, even reaching into the popular jazz clubs and restaurants of Howard Street.

Howard Street was somewhat unusual in its jazz development, however. As Chicago’s farthest northern boundary, Rogers Park, in racial terms, was an almost completely white neighborhood. Yet, it developed an interesting mix of jazz styles. William Howland Kenney breaks Chicago jazz into two distinct forms, South Side Jazz and white jazz. South Side Jazz consisted of what dance-band leader Isham Jones called a “down South Negro type of blues.”<sup>116</sup> Played in the smoky and liquored rooms of Chicago’s racially segregated black South Side night clubs, it was a more laid-back style, resting heavily on beats two and four. This created a feeling that the band swung hard, like the great Count Basie or Duke Ellington Orchestras. The improvisation consisted of extended solos that allowed a soloist to show his full range of talents and virtuosity. White jazz, on the other hand, was the music one could predominately find on Chicago’s North Side. Kenney claims that “impressive numbers of white Chicagoans...danced to Jazz Age music in the North Side...bright-light districts.”<sup>117</sup> This type of jazz existed in the dancehalls and great ballrooms of the northern and western Chicago neighborhoods, where the “large commercialized dance hall was overwhelmingly a white phenomenon that catered to a craze among the white population for social dancing.”<sup>118</sup> It represented the dance music of the Jazz Age, the music that the young would flock to so that they could wildly dance to the easy-swing and the quick, upbeat tempos of band leaders like Isham Jones, Jimmy and Tommy Dorsey, and Glenn Miller. When the bands slowed the

---

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 61.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

tempo down with a ballad, the couples would “stand close together, the girl with her hands around the man’s neck, the man with both his arms around the girl or on her hips, their cheeks...pressed close together, their bodies touching each other...”<sup>119</sup> In this style of jazz, improvisation was kept to a minimal, with a few small solo breaks that allowed little time for development or showmanship. Interestingly, Howard Street, even though it was located as far north in Chicago as one could go, incorporated both of these styles of jazz into its own popular and semi-famous clubs.

As a result, servicemen, single men, single women, and couples from all over poured into these diverse and unique clubs to have a good time, to flirt with one another, and to simply dance. This helped to create one of the most dynamic and energetic club scenes in all of Chicago. Samors, Williams, and Doyle support this claim in their book, *Neighborhoods Within Neighborhoods: Twentieth Century Life On Chicago’s Far North Side*, claiming that “in the 1930s and 1940s, jazz clubs were very popular on Howard Street.”<sup>120</sup> Joseph Levinson, a young and fledgling jazz musician from Drexel Square on Chicago’s South Side, had heard about the jazz clubs of Howard Street and enjoyed them so much that they became somewhat of a regular haunt for him. Levinson relates that in the 1940s,

I heard about all this music that was being played around town...and one of the places that I’d heard about was Howard Street. Now from Drexel Square on the South Side to Howard Street is a pretty big hike for a high school kid, especially in those days. But my dad was real good about it, and he let me have the car, and I would go down to Howard Street and park the car...I did know that the music was there and the two places that I knew where the Club Silhouette and the Club Detour.<sup>121</sup>

Joseph Levinson took the long voyage to Howard Street because he believed that “Howard Street was to the north side of Chicago what Rush Street was to downtown...It jumped.”<sup>122</sup> Levinson’s constant northern voyages prove a lot about this street’s powerful jazz scene. A large portion of the world’s greatest jazz, in many of the world’s greatest jazz clubs, could be heard on the South Side or even downtown. The wildly famous Cotton Club, the Jazz Showcase, the Bluenote, the Dream Café, the Sunset Café, and the Tip-Top-Tap, a unique jazz club that soared high above the city at the top of the Allerton Hotel, were all prominent clubs that recruited top performers and catered mainly

---

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, 63.

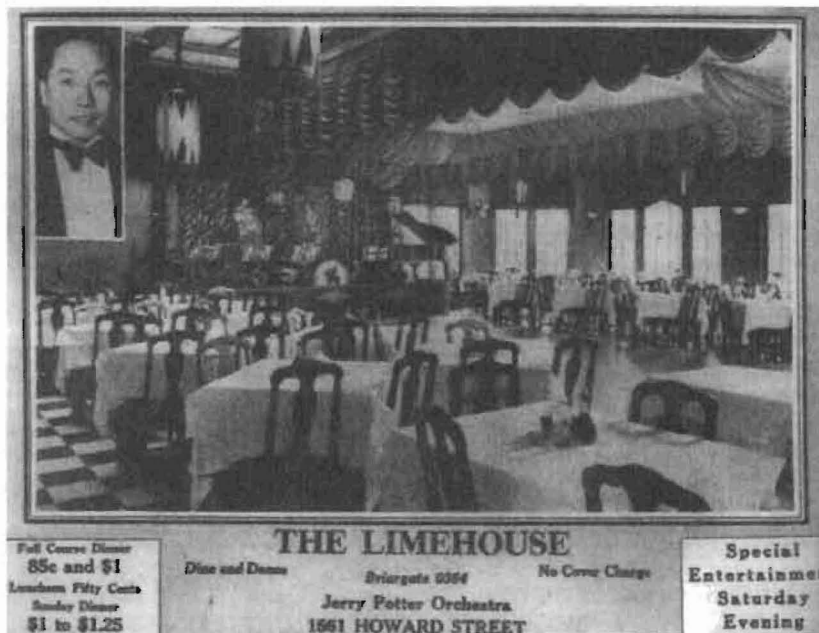
<sup>120</sup> Samors, Williams, and Doyle, *Twentieth Century*, 104.

<sup>121</sup> Samors, Williams, and Doyle, *Twentieth Century*, 116.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

to the African-Americans, like Levinson, who began to dominate the South Side. Instead of these, however, Levinson opted not for these famous clubs but, instead, crossed a racially divided Chicago in an effort to hear the great music that poured out of Howard Street's clubs.

Sondra Fargo, from suburban Evanston, also attended the area's jazz clubs. Her favorite, however, was Bar-O, which, with Club Silhouette and Club Detour, formed a great triumvirate of jazz clubs on Howard Street. Reminiscing back to her younger jazz-filled years, she recalls that she "spent a lot of time on Howard Street at the jazz clubs....like the Bar-O. In those days, everybody danced, and unlike some of the kids who liked to drink, I loved to dance....All the clubs there had some sort of dance floor, even if they were postage-stamp sized."<sup>123</sup> With many restaurants, such as the Limehouse, also hiring jazz bands to play for their diners, the sheer extent of jazz on Howard Street was rather impressive. On top of this, people, like the servicemen coming



An Advertisement for the Limehouse Restaurant

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, 121.

from Glenview, Joseph Levinson coming from the South Side, and Sondra Fargo coming from Evanston, would come from far and wide to attend and dance to the swinging music that echoed forth from the bowels of the many popular clubs located on Howard Street, making this district the most popular “red-light” district of Chicago’s North Side.

Even more impressive was the nationally recognized talent that the great jazz clubs of Howard Street attracted to the area. Some of jazz’s biggest marquee names had, at one time or another in their career, played on Howard Street, creating an almost who’s who of the jazz world. Levinson remembers listening to

Herbie Fields and Charlie Ventura at the Silhouette, and the Fields Octet or Septet was a real powerhouse group....I also remember seeing Art Tatum in the Club Detour one night... He was playing the piano and...I sat there, completely blown away, because at time he was like a God to me. He was the greatest jazz piano player that I’d ever heard until then, and he was so advanced it was scary....It was like a graduate school course in how to be totally great on your musical instrument.<sup>124</sup>

Sondra Fargo remembers listening to “Billy Eckstine...at The Bar-O or the Club Silhouette.”<sup>125</sup> Shecky Greene, a comedian from the Rogers Park neighborhood, fondly recalls seeing the legendary “Sarah Vaughn...on the bill.... I’ll never forget it.”<sup>126</sup> Even the wispy saxophone great, Stan Getz, back from his musical exile in Paris, and Woody Herman, the famous clarinetist, frequently played at the clubs on Howard Street. These great jazz artists collaborated together in bringing a tremendous wealth of jazz talent to Howard Street. It was to this talent that patrons flocked to hear. As the first significant “water-hole” within the Chicago city-limits, visitors to the city poured into the clubs, hoping to hear these great jazz artists or to dance. This extraordinary talent drew people from a wide variety of areas, from Drexel Square in the heart of Chicago’s South Side, the wealthy North Shore suburb of Glenview, or from Rogers Park residents themselves. Servicemen, too, descended upon the area, as they were looking for some relief to their Spartan barrack-life. They came to Howard Street looking for some entertainment, a quick drink, some good music, and, if they were lucky, a dance with a pretty girl. As a result, Howard Street, especially during the war years of the late 1930s and early 1940s, quickly developed into the most important and most populated North Side entertainment district, as well as rising as one of Chicago’s premier night spots.

---

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, 116.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

Howard Street's rapid development into one of Chicago's great "red-light" districts, however, was not entirely positive for Rogers Park and its residents. Many residents, especially the older ones, grew very concerned with the rising amounts of crime that began to take place in the area. Foremost among this was the development of bordellos and other houses of pleasure. This area, in the 1930s and the 1940s, was a major recreational district and, as a result, a major hangout for prostitutes. Hundreds, if not thousands, of single men frequented this area on a nightly basis, many of them young college students from either Northwestern University or Loyola University. To this end, the Howard Street district was ripe for the creation of a major prostitution dilemma. As early as 1935, it became evident that these outposts of corruption began to rise in the quickly growing district. One distraught parent, June E. Hill, complained in a letter to the editor of the *Howard News*. As a self-proclaimed member of the "younger-generation," Ms. Hill saw Howard Street as almost "nothing but taverns, which are far from being a moral asset to any neighborhood. Young women cannot walk down Howard Street of an evening because of the adventurous drunks who fast become a menace and an annoyance."<sup>127</sup> This was the environment that Ms. Hill feared more than anything as "such a condition breeds a hangout spot for women who have not been from conventional society."<sup>128</sup> She ends her letter by appealing to other Rogers Parkers who she hoped would help her cause. She desired that the "thriving Rogers Park community [get] up in arms and rid itself of most of these common and far from comely females so that it would be safe for a respectable citizen to walk down the street without being approached."<sup>129</sup> Yet, to Ms. Hill's probable chagrin, this problem was not solved and the threat of prostitution only grew, especially with the introduction of hundreds of young servicemen to the area during the late 1930s and early 1940s.

James Levinson, a fairly naïve teenager, noticed many of what he termed "dens of paradise" in his many visits to Howard Street in the early 1940s. Even though he was sixteen or seventeen years old when he began to visit the Howard Street area, his "understanding of 'dens of paradise' and stuff like that was very limited."<sup>130</sup> Regardless

---

<sup>127</sup> Samors, Williams, and Doyle, *Twentieth Century*, 121.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 116.



of this, however, he “knew that hookers were there. Everybody knew that.”<sup>131</sup> Even with the conclusion of World War II and the disappearance of the hoards of servicemen who had frequented the area, Howard Street still remained a one-mile strip of vice. The Howard Street of the 1950s actually saw the growth of vice and corruption with the development of a major ghetto in the northern part of the Howard Street District. This ghetto, home to many poor immigrants and migrating African Americans, came to house many lethal gangs and local hoodlums. Marikay McGuinness remembered this oftentimes dangerous environment. Her mother, through the process of aging, began to like the area less and less. To this end, Marikay and her friends were always “told to stay away from there.”<sup>132</sup> She also remembers that “one time I had wanted to work in that area as a camp counselor but my mom refused to sign the papers and would not let me work. She just dreaded the thought of me going into that area every day. This was troubling, though, as this area was only a few blocks to the north of my house.”<sup>133</sup> Dennis McGuinness had even greater fears of the area instilled in him. He remembers that “it was just a place where we were told not to go, that bad things happened there. When I was a kid, unless you were with somebody and it wasn’t late at night, you just shouldn’t be down there.”<sup>134</sup> As a result, Howard Street had a history of being perceived as a potentially dangerous place. While this hardly deterred the vast numbers of people who willingly traversed the streets, the shops, and the entertainment venues, crime, corruption, and vice were something that could always be found on Howard Street. Like the parents of Dennis and Marikay McGuinness foresaw, the area, by the mid-1950s, was becoming ever more dangerous and, by 1955, had begun a period of serious degradation and decline. This rising excess of crime helped to officially bring about Howard Street’s unfortunate downfall.

Howard Street also contained some lesser forms of entertainment, as well. While it was not the location of a beautiful baseball stadium, like the Thillens Stadium that was located at the southern tip of Rogers Park, which, interestingly, hosted games for the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League, it did house another locally famous

---

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Dennis McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

sporting complex--the Howard Bowl. The Howard Bowl was located almost adjacent to the Norshore Theatre and just west of the Elevated station. For generations of Rogers Parkers, the this bowling alley was one of the area's great social gathering spots. Many residents of Rogers Park hold some type of memory affiliated with the bowling alley. Both Marikay and Dennis McGuinness frequented the bowling alley in their younger years. When asked what her most vivid memories of Howard Street were, Marikay quickly replied,

We used to go bowling all the time at the Howard Bowl. My mom was in a bowling league there, at the Howard Bowl. And I would always go bowling with her. It was often disappointing, though. Since so many people from all around the neighborhood came to the Howard Bowl, my mom, like a typical Italian, would end up talking to them for hours. I always felt like I was gypped out of time to bowl.<sup>135</sup>

Linda Lanoff Zimmerman, a collegiate educator who had spent her youth in Rogers Park, also recalls frequently attending the Howard Bowl. To her, Howard Bowl was as much a Saturday tradition as the morning cartoons, a place to go with her friends on a Saturday morning to escape the weekly doldrums of school. She remembers that "When we were in sixth, seventh, and eighth grade at Gale, we had this group of boys and girls. We were all like best friends, and every Saturday morning we would go to the Howard Bowl and go bowling."<sup>136</sup>

It was even a major social hangout for Rogers Park's older, adult citizens. Mary Jo Behrendt Doyle, an older woman, also enjoyed the entertainment that the Howard Bowl offered. According to Mary Jo Doyle, "I bowled at Howard Bowl for many years, and, when I started working at the A.C. Nielson Company...I joined their bowling league and bowled there for another thirteen years."<sup>137</sup> As a result, Howard Bowl played an integral part in the Howard Street dynamic. While it did not reap in the huge profits that the jazz clubs and the Howard and Norshore Theatres did, it served as a major social gathering spot for many Rogers Parkers, both old and young alike. It was an entertainment venue free of the hot dancing, free flowing liquor, and bright lights that so defined the clubs and theatres that the younger generations attended. It offered good, clean fun that the whole family could partake in on a stormy Saturday or Sunday morning. Many leagues also formed, giving the older crowd a comfortable atmosphere in

---

<sup>135</sup> Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Chicago, tape recording, Prospect Heights.

<sup>136</sup> Samors, Williams, and Doyle, *Twentieth Century*, 129.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

which they could enjoy themselves. To this end, many Rogers Park residents, at one time or another, spent significant amounts of money and time at the Howard Bowl, making it a popular and important entertainment venue among the many that dotted Howard Street.

There was one more rather unique form of entertainment that came to operate on Howard Street, a type of entertainment that most other major streets in Chicago lacked. Howard Street could claim its very own radio broadcasting station. Located high above the street at the top of the Broadmoor Hotel, WBBM-AM released its powerful waves upon the radio antennas of Chicago. Began by two brothers, H. Leslie and Ralph Atlass, in the basement of their Lincoln, Illinois home, the station moved to the Broadmoor Hotel on Howard Street on June 24, 1925. Using a new transmitter, the radio station aired some of the era's most famous radio programs, such as "Amos and Andy," "Fibber McGee and Molly," as well as a variety of live big band and jazz music.<sup>138</sup> While not as profitable as the night-clubs and theaters of the area, or as important in terms of influencing people's interest in the North Side area, it was still a famous and unique form of entertainment that called Howard Street home. Reaching into the homes of millions, this radio station perhaps touched more people than any other form of entertainment on Howard Street. As a result, it was just as important a source of pride to many Rogers Park residents as the more famous Howard Theatre or the many jazz clubs.

### **Worth At Least Three Castles in Spain: Howard Street's Residential Boom**

During the same era that the famous radio shows of WBBM-AM were being broadcasted to the anxious listeners of the Chicago-land area, Rogers Park, and especially the Howard Street area, emerged as one of the city's premier residential districts. From 1910 to 1930, but especially during the opulent decade of the "Roaring Twenties," Rogers Park grew at an extraordinary pace. During this time period, according to Neal Samors, "Rogers Park...experienced a building boom that was not matched for the next eighty years."<sup>139</sup> Between 1910 and 1930, for example, the Rogers Park neighborhood was "Chicago's fastest growing neighborhood, its population increasing 287 percent in

---

<sup>138</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 64-65.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, 59.

this period.”<sup>140</sup> This made the residential boom one of the greatest such expansions in Chicago’s history. The *Chicago Sun-Times* grasped an understanding of the area’s great growth. It states that “residences are going up around the old Rogers homestead at a faster rate than in any other Chicago community...”<sup>141</sup> Even in 1922, in the residential boom’s earlier years, the *Chicago Daily News* fully comprehended the sheer magnitude of growth that was taking place throughout the neighborhood. In a definitive statement, the article’s writer, Harry M. Beardsley, confidently states that “for the last two years Rogers Park has been the center of the liveliest building boom in Chicago’s history. More apartments have been built within its limits than in any other section of the city....”<sup>142</sup> This growth is statistically evident, as well. From a neighborhood with a population of a mere 10,000 residents in 1914, the area’s population ballooned to what the *Chicago Daily News* claims to be an incredible 75,000 people by 1922.<sup>143</sup> While this number is most likely an exaggeration, the population was more likely, by 1930, around 57, 094, a number that still showcases Rogers Park’s astronomical growth rates.<sup>144</sup> Large parts of this residential growth, however, especially the northern migration of society’s elite, centered around the Howard Street District.

While Howard Street itself was mostly composed of the commercial, entertainment, and transportation facilities that have previously been discussed in this paper, the areas immediately surrounding Howard Street came to be one of Chicago’s most coveted areas of residence. The Howard Street district drew numerous residents to the area, as Howard Street’s superior transportation facilities, incredible night-life, and wonderful commercial and business opportunities proved to have a very alluring effect upon the minds and the imaginations of Chicago’s well-off citizens. As a result, with the great demand caused by Rogers Park’s incredible residential expansion in the first quarter of the twentieth century came a very similar expansion of Howard Street’s domestic opportunities.

Yet, this growth in Howard Street was only a small fraction of the greater residential expansion that was taking place throughout the American nation. Major

---

<sup>140</sup> *The Chicago Daily News*, 16 May, 1957.

<sup>141</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 September, 1955.

<sup>142</sup> *The Chicago Daily News*, 1 April, 1922.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 September, 1955.

metropolitan areas at this time were rapidly expanding, as many of America's former farmers found themselves being beckoned by the opportunities, wealth, and sheer magnitude of the city. To this end, they poured into the city, looking for places to live. With such a massive influx of potential residents, the residential developments logically took the form of apartment buildings, instead of single family houses, which would have quickly caused a space shortage within the cities. The 1910s, and especially the 1920s, became the age of the apartment complexes and apartment hotels, as they shot up throughout America's metropolises. The construction of single-family housing in Chicago, for example, had nearly disappeared by 1915. Statistics show that the construction of single-family housing had fallen to only 10.8 percent of all new construction.<sup>145</sup> Boston's Roxbury Highlands, an area booming in a time somewhat congruent with the boom period of Rogers Park and Howard Street, provides one example of this. According to Sam Bass Warner, "The high price and high social status of land was...reflected in large...three-story apartment row houses and tall apartment hotels."<sup>146</sup> By the 1920s, Warner explains, "large numbers of apartments were built...for families coming into the district."<sup>147</sup> Philadelphia, too, serves as a powerful example of the residential growth that swept the nation. In Philadelphia, the apartment boom continued, as "Germantown, Logan, Olney, Fern Rock, and Oak Lane filled with new homes."<sup>148</sup>

At this time, as well, large city-wide migrations also occurred. To these transient city-dwellers, a desire to escape from work and from the controls of society dominated many of their minds.<sup>149</sup> Many people desperately sought to escape from the limited and polluted confines of the downtown area. To this end, many of them moved to outer neighborhoods or districts that, while still being within the bounds of the city, were far enough away to remove one from his or her work. From this, a new spatial freedom emerged, a freedom that strongly catered to the individual. With the desire for more spatial freedom, and the rise of apartment living, the commuter did not seek recreation in the society of neighbors, but by taking the "automobile into the country or in shopping,

---

<sup>145</sup> Warner, *Wilderness*, 109.

<sup>146</sup> Warner, *Streetcar*, 114.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-115.

<sup>148</sup> Warner, *Private*, 199.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

eating in restaurants, or in going to movies and theaters in the downtown.”<sup>150</sup> To many people, these outlying neighborhoods were “expressions of freedom for the bourgeois family.”<sup>151</sup> These people, moving from close-knit communities based on ethnicities, wanted, and found, more freedom in the residential expansion that swept the nation in the 1910s and 1920s.

The residential growth that swept the nation, however, was no more apparent than in the city of Chicago. Chicago, in terms of megalopolis cities, was still quite young. While most of the major metropolises, like New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia, have pasts that date back to colonial times, Chicago was a frontier prodigy from a much more recent era. Chicago did not grow as a major metropolis until after its Great Conflagration of 1871. As a result, by the 1910s and 1920s, Chicago had only seen substantial amounts of growth for about forty years. Yet, the growth that descended upon Chicago in the 1910s and the 1920s was incredible. Chicago, like other major cities of this time period, came to be arranged in a systematic pattern of socio-economic segregation. The farther one moved away from the city, the more wealth the neighborhood’s residents possessed. Warner outlines this in *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City*. He maintains that “the rings of residential settlement varied from inner poverty to outer affluence, and this pattern of residential segregation was as characteristic of the metropolis of...the 1920s as were its industrial sectors, its satellites, and its downtown areas.”<sup>152</sup> In the northern affluent neighborhoods of Chicago, especially those that hugged the coastline of Lake Michigan, residential expansion defined the 1920s. Neighborhoods surrounding Rogers Park, like Lake View, East Lake View, Wrigleyville, Buena Park, and Uptown all boomed at this time. Ellen Skerret and Dominic Pacyga make an example out of East Lake View. They mention that “in the 1920s single-family residences and flat buildings...were demolished to make way for high-rise buildings and apartment hotels....Like other sections of the North Side, East Lake View prospered as a high-class residential area.”<sup>153</sup> Skerret and Pacyga also mention that Buena Park, “as a result of the apartment building boom...reached full

---

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Warner, *Urban Wilderness*, 107.

<sup>153</sup> Skerret and Pacyga, *Neighborhoods*, 99.

maturity by the 1920s. Although the area was no longer an enclave of single-family homes, it retained its reputation as a high-class district.”<sup>154</sup> Yet, few of these neighborhoods could match the growth and the tremendous population and residential explosion that Rogers Park, and especially the Howard Street District, was undergoing at this time.

By the time the 1920s began, Howard Street emerged as one of the city’s most popular residential hotspots, undergoing a residential growth unparalleled in the history of Chicago. In his typical exaggerating fashion, Beardsley loudly boasts that Howard Street, in 1922, was benefiting from “Chicago’s dizziest building boom, where millions are being invested in apartment buildings and every vacant lot is the site of at least three ‘castles in Spain.’”<sup>155</sup> To get a better idea of this incredible growth, one only needs to focus on the year 1922. In this year, the Broadmoor Hotel, a towering colossus built by Louis J. Rubin and N.D. Marks, rose high above the street level of Howard Street, with ninety-five state-of-the-art apartments, complete with kitchenettes, eleven stores, a large lobby and dining room, and room for a bank. Also in this year, Plotke and Grosby built “a thirty-nine apartment building, seven forty-two apartment buildings, and one with forty-two apartments and six stores....”<sup>156</sup> Mr. Olson Galup, an area architect, had plans for four more buildings at this time, “containing approximately 200 apartments....”<sup>157</sup> Within this same year, Paul Olson also completed an amazing ten forty-two apartment buildings within the Howard Street district.<sup>158</sup> The most incredible aspect about these numbers, however, is the fact that this is the residential development in only a one year time frame. Hundreds upon hundreds of apartments were erected in the mere twelve months of 1922. By the end of 1922, James Leslie Davis estimated that “buildings containing nearly 1,600 high-grade apartments were under construction...” in the Howard Street district alone.<sup>159</sup>

Yet, this type of intense growth, a growth that nearly enveloped Howard Street, lasted for almost two decades. Thousands of apartments came into creation in the Howard Street

---

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>155</sup> *The Chicago Daily News*, 1 April, 1922.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

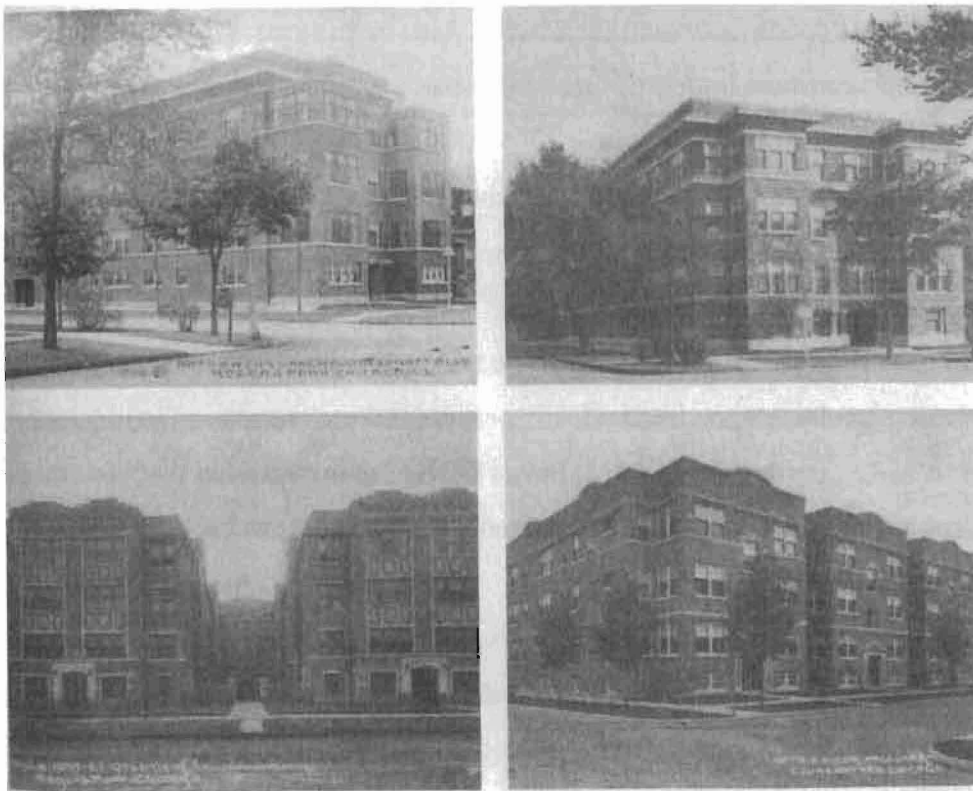
<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Davis, *Elevated*, 37.



District between 1910 and 1930. This great growth was necessary, as people flocked to the area because, at this time, it was, following Jean Gottmann's theory, one of the city's most popular urban Rivas. With a beautiful and idyllic location next to the grainy sands of Lake Michigan, well-constructed and ornate faades to many of the area's buildings, and large, tree-lined streets that gave a suburban feel to a very urban neighborhood, Howard Street proved to be one of the more aesthetically pleasing parts of the city. On top of this, the wide variety of entertainment options, the many commercial opportunities, and the easily accessible links, through trains and buses, to almost anywhere in the city or its surrounding area, proved to be quite alluring to many of Chicago's wealthiest citizens. Gottmann maintains that people move into areas such as Howard Street because people have a natural desire to be around the "urban regions that will develop the most pleasant mode of life, [and] offer a wide and attractive gamut of activities."<sup>160</sup> This is the type of lifestyle that Howard Street offered and, as a result, it



**Apartment complexes in the Howard Street district**

<sup>160</sup> Jean Gottmann, "Urban Amenities," 176

was easily one of the busiest areas, in terms of residential growth, in the entire Chicago-land area.

The people that moved into the thousands of apartments that were being built in the Howard Street District were not just the typical representatives of the Chicago-land population, however. With Rogers Park being a community built around apartments, the population was a very transient one. Yet, the new tenants that moved into the area were some of Chicago's wealthiest elites. James Leslie Davis noticed this. He mentions that "the Howard section was rapidly being built up with three-and four-story apartments that attracted a high-class tenantry."<sup>161</sup> This was no truer than in the area immediately to the north of Howard Street. While this area eventually became an infamous ghetto known as the "Juneway Jungle," nicknamed this as a result of the lack of space between the buildings and the ensuing darkness that overwhelmed the claustrophobic pedestrians of the 1950s, during and after its construction in the late 1920s and early 1930s this area became famous as the epitome of luxury. Gail Dank Welter acknowledges the affluence of this area, as she mentions that it "was a fashionable area in Chicago."<sup>162</sup> Welter later returns to the affluence and opulence of the Howard Street District in her book entitled *The Rogers Park Community*. One interviewee of Welter's believed that "the north of Howard area (the 'Juneway Jungle' area) was a showcase area then. It attracted professional people and was always reported in the press as a community where a lot of large and high quality apartment buildings were."<sup>163</sup> In this elite area lived many of Chicago's wealthiest citizens. Another interviewee of Welter's ran down a list of the important and influential citizens of Chicago who called this area of Rogers Park home. "To show you the kind of people that lived here," the interviewee responded, "there was the Isbels who started up the Ramada Inns..., Jim and Mary Gordon who played Fibber McGee and Molly, John P. Harding who owned the Harding Restaurant on Wabash and Madsion, and the Berghoff's..."<sup>164</sup> As a result, people from all over the Chicago-land area attempted to move into the Rogers Park area, especially into the Howard Street District. With a bustling commercial and entertainment district, Howard Street provided

---

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Welter, *Community*, 7

<sup>163</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

a nearly perfect place for the city's wealthier and more gentrified youthful residents to domestically migrate. In a fledging circular motion, just as the developing commercial and entertainment life on Howard Street caused more residential opportunities, the continuing influx of new residents also caused the district's commercial and entertainment industries to further grow and develop.

With this huge influx of new and wealthy residents, the newcomers began to call for the area's educational expansion. With Howard Street's stunning success in both the residential and the commercial arenas, these elite citizens, wrapped in a growing educational frenzy, desired nothing but top quality education for their children. Beginning with the creation of the Steven Francis Gale School on September 4, 1922, a school conveniently located in the heart of the Howard Street District's great growth, a large expansion of the neighborhood's educational base ensued. Following Gale, came the construction of St. Scholastica High School for girls in 1925, Sullivan High School in 1926, Mundelein College for Women, the first such college in America, in 1929, and an expansion to Loyola University in 1930.<sup>165</sup> Education, to residents of Rogers Park, was extremely important and the area quickly gained a national reputation for its outstanding schools. The difficulty of the Rogers Park's schooling system and the area's strong emphasis on education are vividly portrayed in an interview of a local business owner, Irwin Kanefsky. He recalls that,

In seventh grade, I had a teacher who was a former Marine and who thought he was still in the Marines. Everything was "yes, sir," and "no, sir." And if you were a bad kid you went behind the blackboard and he made you stay there. He used to give us three to four hours of homework every night....He ran the class like a barracks."

Kanefsky's memories of his elementary school experience indicate the extensive role that education played in the lives of the residents of Rogers Park. With homework combining for a stunning four hours of study almost every night, the importance placed on education becomes immediately obvious. It is through the combination of an extensive workload and high aspirations that Rogers Park's schooling systems became, in some cases, nationally re-knowned. Yet, this great neighborhood-wide movement for improved schooling began on a one-mile strip of land. From this area's wealthy residents, came a

---

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, 42, 85

desire for improvements that the city did not dare to overlook, for, like Patricia Mooney-Melvin maintains, as Howard Street grows, so does the area's schools.<sup>166</sup>

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the great influx of youthful migration would not subside. Even during the Great Depression of the 1930s, a horrid plague that devastated so many other communities, this steady stream of migrants refused to yield. For thirty years, huge numbers of Chicago's transient population would settle in Rogers Park. Many of these would choose to live in the Howard Street Sistrict. This reached its culmination in the summer and the fall of 1945. With the German Fuhrer and his mighty Third Reich finally destroyed and the setting of the Empire of the Sun eminent, American soldiers released from their service in the army came back to America eagerly hoping to return to an America that, through the booming war-time economy, had finally been thrust out of its decade long Depression. Many, either returning to the Chicago-land area, finding significant others in the Rogers Park area, or remembering the area from previous visitations, decided to move into the Howard Street District. The area's bright lights, scorching music, free-flowing liquor, interesting shops, high-class housing, and nearly instant accessibility undoubtedly attracted the returning veterans. Few saw the negative effects that this unchecked migration would have upon the Rogers Park area and even fewer realized how significant a role the influx of these young war-heroes would have on the beginning of Howard Street's tragic decline.

Initially, one might find it hard to believe that the Howard Street District, with its tremendous life, wealth, and vitality, could possibly decline to the degree that it did. Yet, this lethal transformation did take place, as Howard Street, once the home to the city's wealthiest, began to turn into a dangerous ghetto by 1955. This process started, however, with the return of our nation's war-heroes in 1945. Since Rogers Park and the Howard Street area were both very appealing residential districts for the returning veterans, many tried to move into the area. Two major problems arose, though. Veterans returning to the Rogers Park area came with very little money and entered a community with little open housing. By 1945, Howard Street had reached its capacity. Yet, the veterans still forced themselves into the area. The owners of these once ritzy apartments, realizing the

---

<sup>166</sup> Patricia Mooney-Melvin, *Reading Your Neighborhood: A History of East Rogers Park*. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1993), 14.

large profits they could make by lowering the prices of their apartments and by offering residences, sometimes consisting of only a single room, to as many people as they could, catered to the desire of the war veterans to live in this area. Veterans began to pour into the area just north of Howard Street, forcing themselves into already packed apartment complexes. Many families found themselves living in only a single room. With this new influx, as well as the new arrangements made by the landlords, “the apartments [were] frequently overcrowded; originally intended for individuals or couples, they now often house families.”<sup>167</sup>

As a result of this overcrowding, many of the wealthier and more prominent citizens that had originally come to live in this upper-class and spacious area, like the Berghoff’s, moved away once the poorer war veterans began to cram themselves into Howard Street’s apartments. Landlords, in combination with a very transient population, did not help either. Terry P. Bannon, a real estate man in the Rogers Park area, noticed how the many buildings north of Howard Street “may not look too bad from the outside, but...have been milked for profits and have gone bad inside.”<sup>168</sup> The new tenants also tended to be less wealthy than the previous residents of the area. Just out of the army, many of the war veterans had no jobs, families, or at least the beginnings of one, and no substantial savings. As a result, they simply could not spend money like the former residents of the area did. They could only afford a room or two within the apartments and had to share the apartment with many other families. They could not afford the fancy clothing shops that lined Howard Street or to spend a night out on the town. This plight is perhaps best exemplified in a letter written by the wife of one poor war veteran. Stuck in a miserable residence north of Howard Street, she appeals for more effective rent control.

My husband, myself and my daughter live in a miserable 2-room basement apartment and have lived here for five years. We are doing our best toward not keeping up the rest of the economy by not buying a car, by not buying a television set and by not buying all the clothes we could. We’re saving for the mythical reasonably priced homes that undoubtedly don’t exist. Meanwhile, we have a miserable life with our quarters even prohibiting any sort of social life. There are undoubtedly thousands of others like us.<sup>169</sup>

---

<sup>167</sup> Welter, *Community*, 7.

<sup>168</sup> *The Daily News*, 1 July, 1959.

<sup>169</sup> Samors, *Far North Side*, 124.

As a result of the lack of money in Howard Street's immediately surrounding areas, the area had fewer patrons, fewer pedestrians, and fewer consumers. With these problems, the community began to decline.

After 1955, this decline began to occur much more rapidly. Until this year, Howard Street had been continually profitable to all who took advantage of what the street had to offer. At this time, however, a noticeable ghetto began to form to the north of Howard Street. This rising concern in the depreciation and deprecation of the once bustling street is evident by examining newspaper headings from the late 1950s. One such paper screams "Far North Area Fights Old Age." Another article, relieved, proclaims "Blight Threat Wanes in Rogers Park." A final article mysteriously warns "The Truth About Rogers Park," before revealing the sickening decay that was already apparent in the community by the end of the 1950s. The neighborhood's greatest trouble spot, the area north of Howard Street, gained its infamous nomenclature during this time period. The "Juneway Jungle" gained a notorious reputation among Rogers Parkers, taking on an almost nightmarish quality to it. Consisting of the decayed, and oftentimes destroyed, shells of the once grand apartments that made up the area north of Howard Streets, one resident horrifically claimed that "until noon in 'The Jungle,' you can't see the sun for the buildings completely block it....The place is a cavernous maze of narrow asphalt streets, teeming sidewalks, and wall-to-wall brick buildings, and walking through it brings on a feeling at once claustrophobic and airless."<sup>170</sup> The "Juneway Jungle," at this time, became one of the city's biggest problem areas and began to cause the decay and destruction of both Howard Street and the Rogers Park neighborhood. People began to flee from the area, as they saw that it was destined for downfall. A general national residential movement was beginning at this time, a movement that drew the wealthiest and most able residents from the nation's major cities and helped to develop the ensuing suburban sprawl that came to define the recent migration patterns of most megalopolises. This suburban sprawl was spreading outwards from Chicago in the late 1950s and the 1960s, as new suburbs like Mount Prospect, Highland Park, Lake Zurich, and Barrington welcomed Chicago's wealthy refuse. This general trend was obvious to most Rogers Parkers. When asked what he thinks caused the area's death, Joe Coughlin, a Rogers

---

<sup>170</sup> *The Truth about Rogers Park: A nice place to live; but does anything ever happen there?*

Parker who is fondly known as “Rembrandt” to his friends, thumbs north toward Wilmette, Skokie, and the rest of Chicago’s North Shore suburbs, while answering “Rogers Park went thataway...Twenty, thirty years ago this used to be a swell neighborhood...But people felt...‘The whole area’s fallin’ by the wayside anyway, so I’ll just leave.’ And they all just left, the good people. They’re all gone.”<sup>171</sup> Back in Rogers Park, however, this movement of people left Howard Street painfully exposed to the impending threat of decline. Without eager buyers of material goods, landed property, or train tickets, the heart of Howard Street was gone. Instead, the poor rushed in to fill the void that the wealthy had left. As a result, urban decay in the Howard Street District became inevitable. Much was done in an attempt to stop this decay, but the problem only grew worse.

A visitor to the Howard Street area in the 1980s would see a completely different Howard Street than the one that a visiting serviceman in the early 1940s would have known. The famous night-clubs, restaurants, and powerful commercial store-fronts were gone. The A.C. Nielson company left Howard Street and moved to Schaumburg, where any driver on Interstate 53 can see the new towering skyscraper that the international company calls home. The Howard Theatre, the great anchor to the street, was nothing but an old boarded-up building. The Norshore Theatre no longer existed. Even the Elevated was falling into disuse, as it became dirty and dangerous. C.G. Bean, a resident of the area who failed at opening a gourmet coffee shop on Howard Street claimed that this street was, in the 1980s, nothing more than “a dirty street with a lot of vacant buildings....”<sup>172</sup> The residences of the “Juneway Jungle” were so bad that Detective Rolf Northfall, a veteran of the area’s law enforcement team for over thirty years, said that “everyday existence for the poor who lived near the web of burned out apartments and battered cars was so tough it made the much-publicized Cabrini-Green housing project look like Camelot by comparison.”<sup>173</sup> Even worse, the numerous pedestrians roaming the streets of the Howard Street district were of a very different variety than the elites who traversed Howard Street in the 1930s and early 1940s. One would have seen, in the 1980s, almost nothing but foreigners. Rogers Park, at this time, was a major port-

---

<sup>171</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 8 April, 1973.

<sup>172</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 26 August, 1983.

<sup>173</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 6 September, 1983.



of-entry for all different types of poverty-stricken ethnicities. One could have seen Pakistanis, Russian Jews, African Americans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, East Asians, Indians, and countless others. Over twenty different nationalities were represented in the “Juneway Jungle” alone. Mixed in with these foreigners are other pedestrians who Fritz Reuter, an instrument repairman who owned a shop on Howard Street, claimed to be nothing but “hookers, loiterers, drunks, and drug addicts.”<sup>174</sup> C.G. Bean also noticed the shocking number of social misfits traveling down the district’s streets. He was shocked at the incredible number of “bums walking around in the morning.”<sup>175</sup> He further concluded that, with this unwanted clientele, the street was no longer fit for commercial ventures. According to Bean, the area has “all the elements that turn off a street for shopping.”<sup>176</sup> This was Howard Street at its worst. Howard Street was essentially a ghetto, a ghetto as every bit as poor and as terrifying as the nationally infamous “projects” of Chicago, such as the Cabrini-Green housing development on Chicago’s near West Side, and the Robert Taylor homes on southern State Street. It was a street of immorality and of poverty, a street of boarded up businesses and excessive amounts of trash, and a street of internationalism and prejudiced reputations. In such an impoverished area, it had seemed that almost all hope had disappeared; that all hope for Howard Street had been extinguished. Yet, a small flicker of hope, hardly more than a spark, still existed in this district of boarded up storefronts and burned out buildings.

### **The Model for Urban Renewal: The Renaissance of the Howard Street District**

A present-day visitor to the Howard Street district would almost instantly notice that this small spark of hope ignited into a much more powerful conflagration, a mythical inferno that draws instant comparisons between this fire and Chicago’s more famous Great Fire of 1871. From this Great Fire of magnificent proportions, rose, like the mythical firebird, a greater and grander city. Likewise, from Howard Street’s mythical ashes and ruin rose a new district that proudly displays some obvious rejuvenation through the great efforts of community leaders and private investors. One of the most

---

<sup>174</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 26 August, 1983.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

important of these private investors was the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, who, at this time, was conducting huge campaigns to re-develop decaying neighborhoods. Seeing that the Howard Street area desperately needed revitalization, the company began a project for the area called Northpoint. The company found the most decrepit residences and completely rehabilitated the buildings. According to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the company put in

immaculate one-, two-, and three-bedroom units with new walls, floors, and wall-to-wall carpeting. Kitchens and bathrooms were remodeled and have all new fixtures and appliances. Units have individually controlled heat and air conditioning, new windows, intercoms, plumbing and electrical systems. Outside the building was steam-cleaned and the courtyard landscaped.”<sup>177</sup>

Many of the apartments that had formally existed had lacked these basic and necessary household amenities. Now, however, these came guaranteed. Even better, the profits that Standard Oil made from this neighborhood venture were re-invested right back into the area. This led to many more important improvements to the Howard Street district, including the paving of a dirt alley along the north edge of the district, the repaving of Howard Street, the installation of higher-intensity street lights, the intensification of the area’s police patrols, the definitive closing of the area’s worst taverns, and an expansion of space within Gale Elementary School.<sup>178</sup>

Working closely with the Standard Oil Company was the Chicago Area Renewal Effort Service Corporation (RESCORP), who unleashed its own urban renewal plan upon Howard Street in the 1980s. This corporation, formed by more than sixty savings and loan associations, also began to rehabilitate some of the Howard Street District’s many decaying apartment buildings. By November 7, 1980, RESCORP had acquired options to buy eight rundown rental buildings with a total of 240 units. Yet, this was just a beginning for Saul Klibanow’s corporation. According to Klibanow, “up to 20 million could be spent in the neighborhood to rehab 300 to 350 units that could house moderate-income families....”<sup>179</sup> As a result, with the help of the massive investments made in the area by both Standard Oil and RESCORP, the area was slowly becoming an attractive residential district again. It was an area that was slowly regaining its appeal and its reputation, one that had so flourished in the middle decades of the twentieth century.

---

<sup>177</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, No Date Given.

<sup>178</sup> *The Daily News*, 25 January, 1978.

<sup>179</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 7 November, 1980.

Yet, perhaps the biggest contribution to the Howard Street District's rebirth was the incredible amounts of money put into the area by the district's own residents. Many of the building's landlords, as well as many younger couples who were beginning to come back to the Howard Street area, found themselves inspired by the vast quantities of money already being injected into the area by private investors and began to fix up the dilapidated buildings that came to be their homes. As Howard Street's development helped to build up Rogers Park and the surrounding neighborhoods of the Far North Side, it is the redevelopment of these areas that is contributing to the rebirth of Howard Street. Before, these residents lacked the necessary motivation to unite and invest their money in what was believed to be a hopeless venture. Yet, the work of Standard Oil and of RESCORP inspired these residents and gave them hope. "Since Northpoint began" according to Saul Klibanow, "16 building owners in the neighborhood have upgraded their property."<sup>180</sup> These owners washed their building's exteriors with acid, put in new windows, and redid the landscape. The interiors of the buildings were also in the process of being modernized, with the installation of new walls, kitchens, bathrooms, and appliances for all apartments. Along with the improvements made by the building's owners, the younger people moving back into the area have made a great difference, as well. Students attending, or who have just recently graduated from, the area's prestigious colleges, like Northwestern or Loyola, are no longer afraid to live in the area. Young adults, who work in Chicago's Loop, have also begun to move into the area. In many instances, it is these younger people who "have purchased and are rehabilitating apartment buildings."<sup>181</sup> It is through community-conscious citizens such as these, along with the help of other local community groups, that have caused the greatest success in the recent revitalization of the Howard Street district. Neil Hartigan, the 49<sup>th</sup> Ward Democratic committeeman serving the area, likewise attributed Howard Street's recent success to these types of people. Hartigan proudly boasts that "the success is due to the people who were willing to stay through the toughest times and put their own money and work into the neighborhood."<sup>182</sup> As a result, he confidently claims that the "North of Howard area may serve as a model for urban renewal, the kind that doesn't involve the

---

<sup>180</sup> *The Chicago Sun-Times*, No Date Given.

<sup>181</sup> *The Daily News*, 25 January, 1978.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

old pattern of deterioration, displacement of the people and wide-scale demolition.”<sup>183</sup> Instead, it was a new model of urban renewal that would eventually lead to the creation of a newly invigorated Howard Street.

On a quick five-minute drive down the mere one-mile expanse of Howard Street, a passenger looking at the street’s many buildings will perhaps catch the glimmer of the area in its heyday of the 1910s through the 1940s. At one time, this was the most important street in the city’s entire North Side. It was the center of local transportation for Chicago’s North Side, it had a powerful commercial base, wealthy residents, and a booming entertainment industry. Today, however, within an interesting mix of the old and the modern, a visitor can see a new vitality and energy swarming about the area, something that had been foreign to the area for almost fifty years. Howard Street has entered its adolescent years of its rejuvenation. On a typical summer day, hundreds of people are again flocking from all over in an attempt to get to Howard Elevated station. The destinations are often varied and diverse, whether it is to Wrigley Field, Loyola University, or downtown, but their point of departures are increasingly similar. This new surge of Elevated riders has recently overwhelmed the area and necessitated the construction of a new, large parking complex. A new Dominicks grocery store has recently opened next to the parking complex. Even more impressive, however, has been the recent construction of a huge mall, offering a vast array of trendy stores and kiosks. The area’s theater life has also been rejuvenated, as the Wisdom Bridge Theatre troupe has recently opened a new performance hall on Howard Street, putting on eclectic shows for an increasingly youthful audience. Finally, night-life has, to some degree, returned to the area, as well. Many new restaurants have either relocated to the area or have opened their doors for the first time.

Yet, with the vast array of scholarly literature written on the area formerly known as the “Juneway Jungle,” few scholars realize the true direction that Rogers Park and Howard Street are inevitably heading. Rogers Park and the Howard Street area are vastly different, for example, than the picture that Mary Alice Patton paints for her readers. Her Rogers Park is still the old decrepit version that drove residents out. She claims that the vast majority of the residents are fairly impoverished and want to get away from the

---

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

Rogers Park area.<sup>184</sup> This is not true, however. Being proudly recreated as Chicago's "Gateway," the area is undergoing a Renaissance that will once again turn this area into one of the leading commercial and residential districts in all of Chicago. Howard Street will once again be the most important street of Chicago's North Side. This is the vision that the city planners currently have and, even more importantly, this is the vision of the area's many new residents. Perhaps like Charles Ferguson, almost ninety years earlier, these new residents look, in the sky's waning twilight, and see a new and vibrant Howard Street. Perhaps they, once again, see streets lined with trendy and successful stores. Perhaps they hear the Elevated train's nearly continuous roar, as people once again come to the area to spend their Friday and Saturday evenings. Perhaps these new residents also see flocks of people everywhere, not the vagrant and immoral kind that had roamed the streets in the 1970s and the 1980s, but the kind that had formed the very life-blood of the Howard Street district eighty years before, the type of people who will once again transform this area into one of Chicago's most important, most influential, and most lively districts in the vast expanses of its urban sprawl.

---

<sup>184</sup> Mary Alice Patton, *Gender and Gentrification: Who Moves In, Who Stays, and How They Differ* (Chicago: DePaul University Press, 2002), 43.

# Bibliography

## Books

Chamberlain, Everett. *Metropolitan America: Chicago and Its Suburbs*. New York: Arno Press, 1874.

Collins, Dolores. *The Now and Future Rogers Park: A Profile of the Community*. Chicago: Loyola University, 1986.

Davis, James Leslie. *The Elevated System and the Growth of Northern Chicago*. Evanston: Northwestern University, 1965.

Gottmann, Jean. "The Rising Demand for Urban Amenities." In *Planning for a Nation of Cities*, ed. Sam Bass Warner Jr., 163-192. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1969.

Kenney, William Howland. *Chicago Jazz: A Cultural History, 1904-1930*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

May, Lary. *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Mayer, Harold M. and Richard Wade. *Chicago: Growth of a Metropolis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Mooney-Melvin, Patricia. *Reading Your Neighborhood: A History of East Rogers Park*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1993.

Pacyga, Dominic and Ellen Skerret. *Chicago: A City of Neighborhoods*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1986.

Patton, Mary Alice. *Gender and Gentrification: Who Moves In, Who Stays And How They Differ*. Chicago: DePaul University, 2002.

Samors, Neal, Mary Jo Doyle, Martin Lewin, and Michael Williams. *Chicago's Far North Side: An Illustrated History of Rogers Park and West Ridge*. Chicago: Rogers Park/West Ridge Historical Society, 2000.

Samors, Neal, Michael Williams, and Mary Jo Doyle. *Neighborhoods Within Neighborhoods: Twentieth Century Life On Chicago's Far North Side*. Chicago: Rogers Park/West Ridge Historical Society, 2002.

Spinney, Robert G. *City of Big Shoulders: A History of Chicago*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2000.

Vargas, Colby. *Urban Flight Without a Plan: Rogers Park and Uptown Searching for Identity in 1960's Chicago*. Chicago: DePaul University, 1995.

Warner, Sam Bass. *Street Car Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Warner, Sam Bass. *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1968.

Warner, Sam Bass. *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1972.

Welter, Gail Dank. *The Rogers Park Community*. Chicago: Loyola University of Chicago, 1982.

## **Periodicals**

Bushnell, George D. "Chicago's Magnificent Movie Palaces." *Chicago History* 6, no. 2 (1977): 99-106.

Jahant, Charles A. "Chicago: Center of the Silent Film Industry." *Chicago History* 3, no. 1 (1974): 45-53.

## **Newspaper Articles**

No Author. No Title. *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago) 16 September, 1955.

No Author. "About the Annexation of Germania to Chicago." *The News Index* (Chicago) 9 February, 1915.

No Author. "Apartment Buildings in Rogers Park." *The Howard News* (Chicago) 30, December, 1927.

No Author. "Concerning the Howard Street District in Rogers Park." *The Northside Sunday Citizen* (Chicago) 30 December, 1927.

No Author. "From Intramural to L." 1923.

No Author. "History Walks in the Streets In Rogers Park." *The Daily News* (Chicago) 29 September, 1956.

No Author. "Howard Street." *The Howard News* (Chicago) 13 September, 1927.



No Author. "Howard Street District." *The Howard News* (Chicago) 10 October, 1927.

No Author. "Looking Back Half A Century: Facts Anent One of Chicago's Most Popular Residential Districts." *The North Shore News* (Chicago) 11 October, 1940.

No Author. "Mid-Rogers Park Retains Its Many Ethnic Flavors" *The Chicago Sun Times* (Chicago) 7 November, 1980.

No Author. "Northpoint" *The Chicago Sun-Times*. (Chicago)

No Author. "Rogers Park." *The Daily News*. (Chicago) 8 July, 1929.

No Author. "Rogers Park Annexed to City in 1893." *The Howard News* (Chicago) 7 April, 1938.

Alter, David. "Blight Treat Wanes in Rogers Pk." *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago), 8 May, 1958.

Ansley, Mary Holm. "Rogers Park Offers Diversity in Housing" *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago) 1 February, 1981.

Beardsley, Harry M. "Mighty Boom Lifts Rogers Park to Fore." *The Chicago Daily News* (Chicago) 1 April, 1922.

Beardsley, Harry M. "Rogers Park Bought For \$1.25 An Acre." *The Chicago Daily News* (Chicago) 19 April, 1924.

Busk, Celeste. "Home Renovators hope to tame Rogers Park 'Jungle.'" *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago) 11 March, 1983.

Constantine, Peggy. "Howard St. Merchants Battle Urban Decay With Rejuvenation Plan." *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago) 26 August, 1983.

De Zutter, Hank. "Studying the Jungle, a Community of Cultures." *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago) 2 July, 1982.

Drury, John. "Rogers Park" *The Daily News* (Chicago) 16, May 1957.

Hopp-Peters, Elizabeth. "Rogers Park Renaissance: Construction, Renovation Set Stage for Comeback." *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago) 4 December, 1988.

Jones, Rosalyn E. "Bright Lights of Theater Shine in Rogers Park." *The Chicago Sun Times* (Chicago)

Kerch, Steve. "Loyola Spearheads Revitalization of Rogers Park."

Kerwin, Don. "The Truth About Rogers Park: A Nice Place to Live; But Does Anything Ever Happen There?" *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago), 8 April, 1973.

Kloss, James. "Neighbors try taming 'The Jungle' off Howard." *The Daily News* (Chicago) 25 January, 1978.

Newman, M.W. "Far North Area Fights Old Age." *The Daily News* (Chicago) 1 July 1959.

Quinlan, Jim. "Taming 'Juneway Jungle:' How A Community Banded Together to Perform Neighborhood Miracles." *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago) 6 September, 1983.

Schneidman, Dave. "Howard Project Causes Concern Over Displacement." *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago) 3 June, 1982.

Schwartz, Donald M. "Rogers Pk. Plans: The Jungle-Symptomatic Sore Spot" *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago), 17 September, 1972.

Soll, Frederic and Jack Houston. "Tax Hike '71: The Community Reacts." *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago), 30 May, 1971.

Stockholm, Gail. "Lakefront Recreation." *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago) 28, December, 1967.

Swanson, Stevenson. "Condoization in Rogers Park: Not All Bad, Study Shows." *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago), 17 September, 1981.

Weintraub, Larry. No Title. *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago) 14 July, 1974.

Wille, Lois. "'Refugee' Fears New Black Ghetto Forming." *The Daily News* (Chicago), 6 December, 1971.

Wille, Lois. "Rogers Park: A Community With Few Problems." *The Daily News* (Chicago), 6 April, 1967.

Wolff, Jennifer. "Renovators Tame Former 'Juneway Jungle.'" *The Chicago Sun-Times* (Chicago) 5 February, 1989.

## Interviews

Charles W. Ferguson, interviewed by a University of Chicago student,, autumn quarter of 1925. Written Document no. 65. Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, IL.

Florence Hattenman, interviewed by a college student, June 1928. Written Document no. 80. Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, IL.

Dennis McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Prospect Heights. Tape Recording.

Marikay McGuinness, interview by author, 4 January 2004, Prospect Heights. Tape Recording

Peter DeStefano, interview by author, 29 December 2004, Chicago. Tape Recording.