

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places  
Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic events, persons, or places. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

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NAT. REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
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X New Submission \_\_\_\_\_ Amended Submission \_\_\_\_\_

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Seattle Apartment Buildings, 1900 - 1957

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Purpose-built Apartment Buildings in Seattle, constructed between 1900 and 1957

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Mimi Sheridan AICP

street & number 3630 37<sup>th</sup> Avenue West telephone 206-270-8727

city or town Seattle state WA zip code 98199

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official

Date

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE  
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

## Table of Contents for Written Narrative

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Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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<b>Numbers</b>	
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### Appendix: Partial List of Apartments

#### Primary Location of Additional Data:

X State Historic Preservation Office

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Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 et seq.). A federal agency may not conduct or sponsor, and a person is not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a valid OMB control number.

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 120 hours per response including the time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, 1849 C St., NW, Washington, DC 20240.



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### E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

#### INTRODUCTION

This context statement considers the development of multifamily housing in Seattle since 1900, the approximate time when apartment buildings as we define them today were first constructed in the city. The focus is on purpose-built apartment buildings and apartment hotels of more than four units. Other types of multifamily housing, including transient and workers' hotels, are discussed below in order to better understand the historical context, but are not included in this MPD. The ending date of 1957 was selected because a new zoning ordinance passed in that year significantly changed the form, size and location of subsequent apartment buildings.

The MPD and context statement are based on extensive review of the literature relating to the development of apartment buildings generally and in Seattle specifically. The other vital source was a field survey of approximately 400 apartment buildings and a more detailed inventory of 100 apartment buildings throughout the city. The survey identified four significant sub-types of Seattle apartment buildings:

- Low-Rise Apartment Block (less than 4 stories);
- Mid-Rise Apartment Block (5 to 8 stories);
- High-Rise Apartment Block (more than 8 stories); and,
- Courtyard/Townhouse Apartments.

Definitions of these sub-types are found in *Section F: Associated Property Types*.

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A partial list of apartment buildings that could be considered under this multiple property listing is attached as an Appendix. Mention of a specific apartment building does not necessarily mean that the building is significant enough to merit individual listing in the National Register of Historic Places, or that it meets local criteria for landmark designation. Also, omission of a specific building does not indicate that it does not merit listing or designation. Note that buildings are referred to as "apartment buildings" even if they are now in condominium or cooperative ownership. These reflect the legal circumstances of ownership, not the building form. Many older apartment buildings that were rentals for decades are now condominiums, without any significant physical alteration.

The MPD begins with consideration of the historic contexts of Seattle apartment development, reviewing influences from Europe, the eastern United States, and California. It then discusses three sub-themes of apartment development that were seen in the city in the 1900-1957 study period:

- Early Purpose-Built Apartments
- Apartments as Middle-Class Housing
- Apartments as Home

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### HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Throughout Seattle's history, multifamily housing has been perhaps the city's most diverse building type, ranging from modest duplexes to concrete high-rises. They have provided housing for people in a wide range of age groups, economic levels and family circumstances. As the city grew, the building type matured to meet these varying needs with specific building characteristics, features and amenities. Apartment buildings provide opportunities for lower cost living quarters, low maintenance, proximity to work and shopping and other amenities that may be unaffordable in a single-family home. They have traditionally been considered temporary housing while in college or while saving to purchase a house, but are increasingly becoming permanent accommodations for people who prefer the simpler lifestyle or more central locations, or who cannot afford to buy a home.

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the middle class in the United States firmly held the belief that the single-family home was the most desirable and appropriate living arrangement, and an important goal to strive toward. *Architectural Record* called apartment houses "a dangerous enemy of American domesticity....done out of necessity rather than by choice.<sup>1</sup> The middle class associated apartment living with the city tenements where working people lived. This was true despite the fact that in 1900 more than three-quarters of urban Americans lived in rented apartments. Apartments were considered acceptable for those without children, but families sought outdoor space for children to

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<sup>1</sup> Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, (Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1981), p. 150.



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play.<sup>2</sup> However, by the early twentieth century the rising cost of land made ownership of single-family homes difficult for much of the population. Strong housing demand led to intensive apartment development in cities throughout the country, especially during the prosperous 1920s. Unmarried and widowed people without families found apartments particularly suitable for their needs. The larger buildings also provided amenities such as refrigeration, radios, elegant surroundings and convenient locations that would be more expensive in single-family residences.

### European Influences

Consideration of influences from Europe and other U. S. cities provides insight into the development and forms of apartment buildings in Seattle. The population density in European cities meant that apartment living was common at least as early as first-century Rome. Most continental cities were originally constrained by expanding rings of defensive walls, resulting in high population densities in the city centers. Paris developed in this manner, with the vast majority of the population living in multifamily quarters. Late nineteenth century improvements swept away older buildings, replacing them with landscaped parks and broad tree-lined boulevards. The boulevards were soon lined with fashionable apartment houses for upper and middle-class families eager to enjoy the improved quality of life the city afforded. The invention of the elevator allowed people to occupy the upper floors and enjoy views and light without the inconvenience of stairs. Accordingly, architecture and ornament became more elaborate

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<sup>2</sup> Clifford E. Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986, p. 182-183.

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to attract fashionable tenants, and apartment amenities and configurations developed to meet residents' needs. "Flats," containing several reception rooms on one floor, were particularly popular because of their suitability for entertaining. The elegance of these buildings profoundly influenced the development of New York City through the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> The popularity of these apartments with the upper- and middle classes spread to major U. S. cities, with the buildings taking on varying forms.

London developed differently than continental cities, and influenced North American housing and growth patterns more significantly. Although it was one of the world's most populous cities, it did not have the high densities seen on the continent. Numerous single-family homes, both row houses and freestanding, were built within a short distance of the city center. The English placed a high value on privacy, feeling that proper family life was possible only in a single-family home, not in a flat where one's private life could be exposed to others in stairs and hallways.

However, rising property values and increased urban density during the Industrial Revolution made townhouses unaffordable for many families. First-class apartment buildings or "mansion flats" began to appear in the 1850s, providing the amenities of a townhouse for those who could not afford one. Most apartments for the middle- and upper-classes emphasized privacy, eliminating open passages and stairways; they often had two stories to separate the bedrooms from the entertaining rooms. As in Paris,

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<sup>3</sup> James M. Goode, *Best Addresses* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), pp. 529-531.



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residents learned that entertaining could be considerably easier in a spacious flat than in the traditional London townhouse with two rooms per floor. Flats also made it much easier to have such modern amenities as running water, gas lighting and central heating. However, the tradition of single-family housing and privacy remained strong, and the individual house or rowhouse is still the basic residential structure in much of London, just as the single-family home is in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

### East Coast Influences

Despite strong initial resistance, upper- and middle-class apartment living became popular in New York City during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, directly reflecting European influences. Large multifamily dwellings were first built to house workers moving to cities to work in the factories of the Industrial Revolution. At that time, any "house or part of a house occupied or arranged to be occupied by three or more families living independently of each other and doing their own cooking on the premises" was defined as a tenement.<sup>5</sup> They were designed for worker housing and, accordingly, were shunned by the middle and upper classes.

Later in the century, two factors changed the situation: increases in central city land values as populations grew, and advances in technology. In the 1870s, New York developers responded to rising land prices by building "French flats," luxury apartments

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<sup>4</sup> Goode, *Best Addresses*, p. 534-535.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas E. Norton and Jerry E. Patterson, *Living It Up: A Guide to the Named Apartment Houses of New York*, (New York: Athenaeum, 1984), p. 7.



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based on the Parisian model. The Stuyvesant Apartments, designed in 1869 by the Paris-educated architect Richard Morris Hunt, is called the first U. S. "apartment building." It rented quickly to young couples, widows and "artistic people" (including influential writers).<sup>6</sup> Soon numerous apartment buildings appeared, boasting amenities such as luxurious lobbies, elevators, service staffs, central heating and gas lighting. Steel-frame construction, fire proofing and elevators allowed greater building heights, away from the noise and dirt of the street. In larger units, the areas for entertaining, sleeping and service were kept separate, just as in a single-family home. As in Paris, elegant architecture and decor, as well as convenience, were used to attract tenants.

By the 1880s New Yorkers saw the construction of numerous 10- to 12-story apartment buildings, especially around Central Park. Many housed middle-class families in four-to-five room units, as compared to the six-to-ten rooms of more upscale units.

Developers also offered elegant "bachelor apartments" with two or three rooms but no kitchen; meals were eaten in a central dining room or in a restaurant.<sup>7</sup> A similar option was the apartment hotel, often with no private kitchens but with a restaurant on the first floor. These were considered ideal for newcomers getting established in the city and busy professionals or entertainers who did not have the time for a household or the need for a long lease.<sup>8</sup> However, high labor costs led to decreasing service and the lines

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<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Hawes, *New York, New York: How the Apartment House Transformed the Life of the City (1869-1930)*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Goode, *Best Addresses* p. 538.

<sup>8</sup> Russell Lynes, *The Domesticated Americans*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 5

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between the two types blurred; most buildings eventually added individual kitchens and the restaurants opened to public diners.

As land values rose during the postwar building boom of the 1920s, 77 percent of all residential construction in New York City was apartment houses. Despite this, apartment houses were viewed somewhat negatively. In 1929, R.W. Sexton said of apartment houses, hotels and apartment hotels that "...none of these buildings should be rightfully classed as a home....they all lack the very fundamentals on which the home is founded...the most important is perhaps privacy. Another is individuality."<sup>9</sup> He goes on to admit that multi-dwelling houses offer a new type of home, characterized chiefly by convenience. Regardless of these beliefs, people in many parts of the country were turning increasingly toward apartment living, usually either for economy or for convenience.

The driving forces behind the design of individual apartment buildings were the economic use of space and the provision of adequate light and air. This was not only due to regulations, but because apartments with light and airy interiors were easier to rent and attracted higher prices. Other important design considerations in quality apartments were fireproof construction, attractive lobbies (often quite small) and adequate exits. To increase privacy and the feeling of a private home, many of the best buildings avoided corridors, with individual entries leading to one to four units.

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<sup>9</sup> R.W. Sexton, *American Apartment Houses, Hotels and Apartment Hotels of Today*, (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1929), p. 1.



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Apartments with two-to-five rooms were most popular. In larger units, an effort was made to separate the kitchen and service areas from the living areas. Another major selling point for apartments was their provision of conveniences that were too costly for the average home at the time, such as telephones, refrigeration, built-in radios and even electric dumb waiters and pneumatic mail delivery.

In the 1920s apartment houses for the upper class had reached new heights of luxury, featuring servants' quarters, fireplaces, terraces and elaborate detailing.<sup>10</sup> Although apartments were still designed primarily for childless couples and single people, some buildings accommodated children with playrooms and outdoor play areas. At the same time, more units with two to four rooms were built for middle class and working people.<sup>11</sup> Much of the loss of space was made up in increasingly sumptuous appointments and conveniences. Efficient space use was stressed, leading to the foldaway bed and table. Smaller apartments also increased the developer's income, since they rented for higher rates per square foot; this, in turn, led to more apartment construction.

These trends directly influenced apartment development in Seattle, since much of the capital used to finance local construction came from Eastern sources. The city saw the development of both luxury buildings and efficiency units, and of apartment hotels that changed to regular apartments as labor costs increased. At least two early apartment

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<sup>10</sup> Goode, *Best Addresses*, p. 538

<sup>11</sup> Steven Ruttenbaum, *Mansions in the Clouds* (New York: Balsam Press, 1986) p. 81

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projects had direct New York connections. Developer John F. Douglas acquired New York financing for both the Manhattan Flats (1905), an early full-block complex, and the large Waldorf Hotel (1906).<sup>12</sup> The Rivoli (1909) was designed by Howells & Stokes, a New York firm with extensive apartment experience that had been hired to prepare a plan for the University of Washington's downtown property.

### West Coast Influences

The building boom in San Francisco after the Great Fire of 1906 created a large market for the so-called efficiency apartment.<sup>13</sup> Instead of a separate bedroom, these units typically had a "dressing room," a space larger than a closet but smaller than a bedroom. San Francisco was particularly notable for the early use of the Murphy bed, which folded into the wall and allowed the main room to be used as a living room during the day. These efficiency units, often with Murphy beds, soon became a major feature of Seattle housing development as well.

The influence of Southern California is also clearly seen in Seattle apartment housing of the 1920s. The Los Angeles area quadrupled in population between 1910 and 1930, bringing an urgent need for new housing forms for long-term visitors, single people, childless couples and lower paid workers.<sup>14</sup> To meet this demand, architects and

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<sup>12</sup> Neal Hines, *Denny's Knoll: A History of the Metropolitan Tract of the University of Washington*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980), p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 86.

<sup>14</sup> Wright, *Building the Dream*, p. 150.



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developers designed the garden courtyard apartment—a unique form to accommodate increased density while providing privacy, light, air and a connection with the prized California landscape. Earlier examples, starting about 1916, were bungalow courts, groups of small inexpensive cottages arranged around defined spaces. In later examples, the cottages were merged into larger structures around courtyards. The courtyard apartment lent itself to both plain and elegant treatments, but in most cases each residence had its own entrance and direct access to a landscaped court, often filled with fountains and semitropical foliage. Because these buildings could be sited on the basic single-family parcel (50 by 150 feet) found throughout Los Angeles, they fit easily into neighborhoods and escaped much of the stigma attached to traditional apartment blocks.<sup>15</sup> The wealthy and well-known lived in the more elegant apartments, while less elaborate buildings met the needs of working men and women. A romanticized version of Spanish Colonial Revival was the most common style.

During the 1920s courtyard apartments became one of the most popular multifamily housing types in Seattle. Although some were in the Mediterranean Revival styles, most were in variations of Tudor or French Norman, considered by some architects to be more appropriate to our climate.

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<sup>15</sup> Stefanos Polyzoides, Roger Sherwood, and James Tice, *Courtyard Housing in Los Angeles: A Typological Analysis*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 14.

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### SUB-THEMES

#### Early Seattle Multifamily Accommodations: Frontier Seattle: 1852-1889

It is believed that apartment houses as they are defined today were first built in Seattle in approximately 1901. Prior to that time, Seattleites lived in a variety of living situations that are now rare due to both changing preferences and increased regulation. Seattle's early years, and the associated multifamily accommodations and building types, are discussed here as precursors to the apartment house that developed later.

Seattle was settled almost simultaneously by two disparate groups. In September 1852, the Collins and Maple families made their claims in the Duwamish Valley, south of Elliott Bay, and established farms in the fertile alluvial soil. Two months later, the Denny party landed at windswept Alki Point, at the west end of Elliott Bay. This group had grander ambitions and, after a few winter months, moved eastward to a more sheltered area with deeper water, the site that became the heart of downtown Seattle. There they established a port town that thrived on trade and the export of coal and the raw lumber that covered the hillsides. The first industry came in 1853, when Henry Yesler opened his sawmill. The all-purpose cookhouse next door had bunks upstairs,



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serving as Seattle's first multifamily housing. Soon, the village was shipping lumber to the gold rush boomtowns of California.<sup>16</sup>

The new port grew slowly, with only 302 people in 1860. However, the city of Seattle was incorporated on December 2, 1869, and soon boasted of three newspapers, a bank, a public school and a Territorial University. Transportation remained a challenge, as it was not until 1875 that scheduled steamship service to San Francisco began. Early photos and maps show that most early Seattle families lived in simple wood frame houses. One of the largest 1850s buildings was Felker House, which accommodated visitors and families awaiting their own quarters.<sup>17</sup>

As with most frontier towns, much of the city's population was transient. In 1870 two-thirds of the population were males, many of whom lived part of the year in logging, mining or fishing camps elsewhere or arrived as seamen on ships that frequented the wharves. When logging or fishing was slack, men flocked to the city for supplies and entertainment. The permanent population generally lived north of Yesler's Wharf (Yesler Way), while "south of the pier stretched rooming houses, stores, ships, and saloons," all catering to these transients.<sup>18</sup> An 1878 birds'-eye view of the town shows a

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<sup>16</sup> Mildred Tanner Andrews (ed.). *Pioneer Square: Seattle's Oldest Neighborhood*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

<sup>17</sup> Andrews, *Pioneer Square*, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> Quintard Taylor, *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), p. 17.

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waterfront filled with square-riggers and sternwheelers, and buildings stretching to Denny Hill on the north and ten blocks east to the forested hillsides.<sup>19</sup>

During the 1880s the frontier village became a thriving boomtown. The population increased more than tenfold from 3,533 people in 1880 to nearly 43,000 in 1890. Trade in lumber and coal flourished, with California, British Columbia and Alaska as major trading partners. Seattle had also become the center for Puget Sound trade, with ports connected by a fleet of sternwheelers. More substantial buildings like the Mansard-roofed Frye's Opera House, the Victorian Yesler-Leary Building and the brick Second Empire-style Occidental Hotel gave downtown an urban air. The wealthiest citizens built ornate Queen Anne-style mansions. There were two schools, one at 6<sup>th</sup> and Madison streets, and another well north of downtown at 6<sup>th</sup> and Wall streets.<sup>20</sup>

Land uses were mixed, with commercial buildings, hotels, duplexes and single-family homes located close to one another within a few blocks of the waterfront. Buildings often had storefronts on the first floor and a combination of offices and living quarters above, with uses changing as demand developed. Those without families often lived in boarding houses and residential hotels in the downtown area. Single-family homes began to spread out to First Hill and beyond, as cable cars began operation in 1887 and streetcars in 1889. This pattern changed suddenly on June 6, 1889, when the entire

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<sup>19</sup> Andrews, *Pioneer Square*, p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> Jeffrey Karl Ochsner and Dennis Alan Andersen, *Distant Corner: Seattle Architects and the Legacy of H. H. Richardson*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), pp. 57.



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business district—more than thirty blocks of wooden buildings—went up in a conflagration. Although the residential areas were little damaged, many transient hotels in the commercial district were lost.<sup>21</sup>

During this early period, four types of multifamily accommodations developed: attached houses, rooming and boarding houses, workers' hotels and apartment or family hotels.

- **Attached Houses:** Seattle families who could not afford a single-family home could rent attached housing such as duplexes, triplexes or fourplexes, typically with an individual entrance for each unit or pair of units. Since they were mostly in denser areas that have been redeveloped, few of these survive today, although they are now a popular option for new construction. The rowhouse configuration, a common feature of denser East Coast cities, did not become very popular in Seattle, although records show that some examples were built in the pre-World War I period.<sup>22</sup> Another common configuration was the four-unit block, which often looked much like a large single-family home. The Classic Box house that became popular in the first decade of the century could be adapted to either a two- or four-unit configuration, and examples of these remain. With the popularity of Revival styles in the 1920s, four-unit blocks were also built in Colonial and Georgian styles.

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<sup>21</sup> Ochsner and Andersen, *Distant Corner*, p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> Ochsner and Andersen, *Distant Corner*, pp. 242-243.

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- **Rooming/Boarding Houses:** Two common residential options were often found within the single-family house form: rooming houses, where one rented a room and ate meals elsewhere; and boarding houses, where meals were served to residents. Little specific information is known about these facilities, but directory listings indicate that they were found in many of the city's denser neighborhoods, close to workplaces and transportation.
- **Workers' Hotels:** A step up from the rooming house was the workers' hotel, later known as the SRO or single room occupancy hotel. These catered largely to single men who rented by the week or month. These buildings were the most important source of housing for single working men in Seattle until World War II. The main characteristic that differentiated these buildings from apartments is that the individual rooms did not include a kitchen or a bathroom (although rooms often had a washbasin). Residents shared a toilet room and bathtub on each floor, and ate in nearby restaurants. Accordingly, these hotels were located primarily downtown or in other areas close to streetcar lines, restaurants, taverns, services and entertainment, with convenient access to the waterfront or industrial areas where the men worked.

These hotels were typically small brick-clad wood-frame or masonry buildings of two-to-four stories, with commercial uses on the ground floor. Many of them remain today as major elements of the urban fabric of Belltown and the Pioneer



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Square and Chinatown-International District historic districts. Many of these facilities were closed in the 1970s because owners did not want to upgrade them to conform to stricter building fire codes passed after the fatal Ozark Hotel fire.<sup>23</sup> After sitting vacant for many years, most that survive have been converted to studio apartments for low-income residents, with individual bathing and cooking facilities.

- **Apartment/Family Hotels:** Another sub-type was the apartment hotel or family hotel. Those that remain extant evolved long ago into either apartments or hotels, and they have a similar building form to that of the apartment block, described below. Most of their distinctive features, such as formal dining rooms, ballrooms and other public spaces, have been lost, replaced by living units or, in some cases, public restaurants.

Apartment hotels and family hotels catered to middle- and upper-class people who were in transition or did not want more permanent housing. Most hotels accepted weekly and monthly residents as well as more transient travelers, providing the easiest way for a person to get acceptable and convenient living accommodations without renting a house. Some people, especially bachelors, lived in such quarters for months or years.<sup>24</sup> Travelers also needed long-term accommodations, as people who came a long distance would often stay a

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<sup>23</sup> Andrews, p. 138.

<sup>24</sup> Private clubs, including the Rainier Club, the Washington Athletic Club and the Women's University Club also provided transitional and permanent rooms and dining rooms. The YMCA, YWCA and similar organizations offered less expensive living quarters.

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considerable length of time, bringing their families with them. Hotels catering to this need provided a wider range of amenities than the simpler hotels. The best documented example of this building type is the Chelsea Hotel, which opened in 1907 in time to accommodate visitors to the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. It was located in a quiet neighborhood with easy streetcar access to downtown, and offered maid service, a dining room, a rooftop garden for relaxation, and rooms for private entertaining. Both short- and long-term guests were welcomed, and some of the city's most prominent families lived there for a time. The advent of the automobile reduced the need for such accommodations and, by 1917 the Chelsea had been converted to apartments.<sup>25</sup> Most remaining examples, like the Chelsea, have had kitchens added and are now rented as apartments. Two buildings, the New Washington (now the Josephinum) and the Exeter are now senior housing, with central dining rooms. The Sorrento Hotel remains a hotel today.

### **Apartments as Middle-Class Housing: Booming Seattle: 1889-1923**

It is not surprising that the development of denser housing options began during the period of intensive growth following the fire. Rebuilding began immediately after the fire. Building codes were quickly revised and within a month 88 fire-resistant brick buildings were under construction. The newer structures were on a larger scale and their red brick Romanesque facades gave the city a modern appearance. The city

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<sup>25</sup> Miriam Sutermeister, Chelsea Family Hotel National Register Nomination Form, May 14, 1978.



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undertook significant infrastructure improvements to prepare for further growth, including new streets and wharves and a new water supply to protect from future fires.

The major event of the post-fire era was undoubtedly the arrival in January 1893 of the Great Northern Railway, giving Seattle its first direct connection with the rest of the United States. The post-fire boom halted, however, with the Panic of 1893, which began with the stock market collapse of May 1893. Within a year, the local economy declined, with eleven banks out of business. The East Coast capital fueling Seattle's development was withdrawn, leading to a four-year recession.

In Seattle, however, the recession ended abruptly following the June 17, 1897 arrival of the steamship *Portland* with "a ton of gold" from the Klondike. The regional economy "was revitalized seemingly overnight as it house, outfitted, entertained and transported thousands of fortune seekers....at once the last frontier fantasy of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the birth of modern Seattle."<sup>26</sup> The prolonged period of growth and construction lasted (with a brief slowdown due to World War I) until the Great Depression began.

By 1900 Seattle's population had exceeded 80,000, with 25,000 arriving in the previous three years alone.<sup>27</sup> It tripled to 237,000 by 1910 and to 315,312 in 1920. With the gold rush boom, the business district moved northward rapidly. Several skyscrapers, and a

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<sup>26</sup> Lisa Mighetto and Marcia Montgomery, *Hard Drive to the Klondike*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), p. vii.

<sup>27</sup> Walt Crowley and The HistoryLink Staff, *Seattle & King County Timeline* (Seattle: History Ink and University of Washington Press, 2001), p. 36.

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new post office and library were built well to the north in the first decade of the new century. In 1907 the University of Washington began development of its downtown property on Fourth Avenue, and, in 1918, a major department store, Frederick & Nelson, opened at Sixth and Pine streets. City Engineer R. H. Thomson wanted to encourage further development to the north and by 1911 the western portion of Denny Hill had been sluiced into Elliott Bay. Much of the ensuing growth in Belltown and lower Queen Anne took the form of apartment buildings.

In 1891 the city doubled in area with the annexation of the Wallingford, Magnolia Green Lake and University neighborhoods. It doubled again in 1907, when Seattle annexed the adjoining towns of West Seattle, Ballard, Southeast Seattle, Columbia, Ravenna and South Park. Georgetown and Laurelhurst followed in 1910. Each one had its own business district, industry and residential neighborhoods. The city's first high school, Broadway High School, opened on Capitol Hill in 1902 and by 1923 six more high schools and dozens of elementary schools had been added.

By 1902 a dozen or so streetcar lines served the city. In that year they were consolidated into a single monopoly controlled by the Seattle Electric Company.<sup>28</sup> As competition from automobiles began, service became erratic and, in April 1918, the city acquired the entire system. Between 1900 and 1910, land uses became more separated, with people of all income levels moving out of downtown to developing close in neighborhoods such

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<sup>28</sup> Leslie Blanchard, *The Street Railway Era in Seattle* (Forty Fort, PA: Harold E. Cox, 1968), endpaper.



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as Queen Anne and Wallingford.<sup>29</sup> Apartment houses typically appeared near neighborhood commercial areas and street car lines, with the greatest number in Queen Anne, Wallingford, First Hill, Capitol Hill and the University District. Many of these apartment houses and nearby commercial areas remain today, forming the core of these neighborhoods.

The major event of the first decade of the century was the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, held on the University of Washington campus in 1909. The city invited the world to commemorate the 1897 gold rush and see its accomplishments—more than 3 million visitors attended. The exposition grounds were designed by the Olmsted Brothers, landscape architects, who also planned the city's parks and boulevards. The park and boulevard plan, first completed in 1903 and expanded in 1909, was substantially (although not entirely) implemented by the end of the 1920s.

Industrial and waterfront activity continued to grow, as the city's role as an international and regional trade center flourished. The Port of Seattle was formed in 1911, bringing public ownership to much of the central waterfront. In 1916 completion of the Hiram Chittenden Locks connected industrial areas of Lake Union and Salmon Bay with Puget Sound. World War I brought large shipbuilding contracts. Nearly 40,000 workers were employed at local shipyards, many crowding into downtown

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<sup>29</sup> Roger Sale, *Seattle Past to Present* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), p. 80.

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workers' hotels and lodging houses.<sup>30</sup> Economic recovery after the war was slow, and it was not until the mid-1920s that construction resumed.

The extremely rapid growth of the first quarter of the century brought an acute need for housing of all types—for travelers, short-term residents, permanent residents and families. The city's builders and developers responded with a variety of housing types. Many commercial buildings had lodging rooms on upper floors, or even included hotels within their office buildings. Hotels and office buildings had similar room arrangements, with a wash basin in each room and toilet facilities at the end of the hall. The Terry-Denny Building on First Avenue South contained the Northern Hotel, and the nearby Holyoke Building had furnished rooms on the upper floors. The Butler Block, originally an office building, was converted to the more profitable hotel use in 1894, only a few years after its construction. The Austin A. Bell Building was initially described as having 65 apartments, even though its directory listing (1900) was under "Furnished Rooms" and its plan was much the same as that of the Pioneer Building, an office block.<sup>31</sup>

Family or apartment hotels then served much the same role as apartments did in later years by providing either short-term or permanent accommodations for middle- and upper-class people. The terms hotel, rooming house, and lodging house were ambiguous. The difference between a residential hotel or rooming house and an

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<sup>30</sup> Andrews, *Pioneer Square*, p. 113.

<sup>31</sup> Ochsner and Andersen, *Distant Corner*, pp. 242-243.



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apartment house was primarily a matter of name, rather than of design. Many residential buildings were typically identified as hotels, even if they primarily served permanent residents.<sup>32</sup> Terminology was so fluid that the same building could be listed in the city directory as a hotel one year and a boarding house the next. The term "apartment house" was little used, possibly because of the association with the workers' tenements of the East Coast. City directories had "apartment" listings, but these buildings appear to have been boarding houses, townhouses or apartment hotels rather than self-contained units with kitchens and baths.

Permanent hotel living was common in cities, and was highly stratified economically.<sup>33</sup> By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Seattle had hotels designed and located specifically to serve the wealthy, the middle class and workers and transient laborers. The latter were by far the most common, occupying dozens of small two- four-story buildings in the downtown area. Those for the wealthy and upper middle class were fewer in number, but larger and much better appointed. The best-known accommodations, the large hotels, were rebuilt immediately after the 1889 fire, in larger and more opulent fashion. The Occidental Hotel, one of the best, replaced its 3-story structure with five stories and 150 rooms. The new Butler Hotel boasted of a 12,000 square foot dining room with separate sections for men and women and an orchestra for evening entertainment.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ochsner and Andersen, *Distant Corner*, pp. 73-75.

<sup>33</sup> Groth, *Living Downtown*, p. 188.

<sup>34</sup> Henry Broderick, *"The 'HB' Story: Henry Broderick Relates Seattle's Yesterdays*. Seattle: Frank McCaffrey Publishers, 1969, pp. 120-124.

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Although they were used by travelers visiting for a few days, the major clientele of the family hotels was people renting by the week or month. Two of the best family hotels were in the elegant residential neighborhood of First Hill: the Perry (1906-07) and the Sorrento (1907-08). The Perry, built by a New York company, was apart from downtown bustle but close to First Hill mansions. Seattleites and their visitors evidently considered it too pretentious, and it was converted to apartments and later to a hospital (later demolished).<sup>35</sup> The nearby Sorrento Hotel was not successful at first, but today is one of the few turn-of-the century hotels that survive as a hotel. The famed Washington Hotel (1903) was razed in the regrading of Denny Hill, and was replaced by the New Washington Hotel, which still exists as the Josephinum, a low-income residence.

Seattle developed as a streetcar city, rather than a walking city, which encouraged developers to promote single-family residences, with small lots to make them more affordable. The 1890s saw limited development of rowhouses similar to those seen in Eastern cities. One of the most elegant was Scurry Terrace, a series of four three-story Victorian terrace houses, built in 1889 by architect Elmer Fisher at Third and James streets. Architects Towle and Wilcox built two groups of five Queen Anne-style wood townhouses on Sixth Street and on Yesler Avenue, and J. A. DeProse designed another group at Eighth Avenue and Columbia Street.<sup>36</sup> A similar design was the building now known as the Victorian Row Apartments, built in 1891. Although it had the general appearance of a townhouse, its three entries accessed twelve apartments, each with two

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<sup>35</sup> Broderick, *The HB Story*, pp. 125.

<sup>36</sup> Ochsner and Andersen, *Distant Corner*, pp. 47, 242-243.



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or three bedrooms.<sup>37</sup> Its typical Queen Anne townhouse features include two-story rectangular bays, scalloped skirting and gabled entrance porches with spindle work and turned posts.<sup>38</sup>

In 1892 noted architect John Parkinson designed and developed a row of stone townhouses at Marion Street and Twelfth Avenue (now Minor) on First Hill. This project had seven townhouses, each measuring 20 by 70 feet and having twelve rooms. It was envisioned that First Hill could develop as a dense area of townhouses, but the panic of 1893 ended such expensive development and this was the city's only known example of masonry townhouses until its demolition in the 1970s.<sup>39</sup>

The apartment block as it is known today, with a single primary entrance and individual living quarters with kitchens and bathrooms, appears to have first been constructed in Seattle around the turn of the century. The first such building may have been the St. Paul Flats, constructed in 1901 at Seneca Street and Summit Avenue by Edwin C. Burke, a wealthy real estate entrepreneur who had recently moved to Seattle from St. Paul, Minnesota.<sup>40</sup> In 1909 he formed a partnership with developer Bert Farrar, who had built

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<sup>37</sup> The building has been restored and is now configured with 14 units of varying sizes.

<sup>38</sup> Shirley Courtois, "Victorian Row Apartments National Register Landmark Nomination Form," August 1990.

<sup>39</sup> Ochsner and Andersen, *Distant Corner*, pp. 242-243.

<sup>40</sup> *Seattle Times*, April 24, 1938.

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the San Marco Apartments nearby at Minor Avenue and Spring Street in 1904.<sup>41</sup> The St. Paul, designed by Spalding and Russell of Tacoma, is a three-story block building, with a center entrance flanked by three-sided two-story bays. It was originally an elite building, with eighteen apartments of six to eight rooms each. It has been altered with new cladding and windows. The San Marco, generally similar in design and size, remains much as it was originally.<sup>42</sup>

A particularly well documented example of early and unique apartment development was the Manhattan Flats project, designed in 1905 by architect William P. White. The four buildings, bordering Boren, Minor and Howell avenues north of downtown, enclosed a grassy inner courtyard suitable for children's play. Suites were from two to five rooms, and children were allowed, with strict rules of conduct. Convenience and amenities were the marketing features, with stores on the first floor, phone service and an in-house kindergarten.<sup>43</sup> The project's name and the developer—the Manhattan Company—reflected its financing and influences, as it was based on New York models. It was called “the best and most complete flat plant on the Pacific Coast.” Its three-story buildings and large courtyard had ample light and fresh air, contrasting with:

“...an ordinary flat building with its cold exterior with unkempt yards and a general air of shiftlessness....perhaps the greatest eyesore in the universe. Until

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<sup>41</sup> Burke and Farrar are best known as the primary developers of Kirkland, WA. Burke died in 1915, at the age of 47, from injuries received in an auto accident (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 5/9/1915).

<sup>42</sup> *Seattle Times* (Conover, 12/13/47).

<sup>43</sup> “The Manhattan Flats,” *Seattle Mail & Herald*, 12/30/1905.



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recently a great majority of our people lived in their own homes. Since 1901, however, there has been a very marked increase in the number of renters....The Eastern cheap tenement house with its attendant evils has found not root here....The men who designed and built our first apartment buildings are entitled to considerable credit because of the first-class structures they then erected. These now set the pace and hereafter only good flat buildings will be built, for no other could find tenants....The man of moderate income need no longer go without the conveniences that formerly were only within the reach of wealth, for a flat home with all conveniences is within the reach of any man."<sup>44</sup>

Apartment development during the first decade of the century concentrated primarily in the downtown area and the nearby neighborhoods of First Hill and Capitol Hill.

Apartment buildings were heavily promoted as investments. One architect's catalog featured several sample plans, both elaborate ones and a simple four-square plan, which could be altered to suit various sites and pocketbooks. No regulations controlled the location of apartment buildings, but economics dictated that they were typically built on higher-value land close to downtown and near streetcar lines. As the catalog noted "Any fairly close-in lot in a good location, with good car service, is suitable, and the building, when completed and rented, will prove a source of satisfactory and permanent income."<sup>45</sup> Some apartments, however, were built in other neighborhoods, primarily

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<sup>44</sup> "Western Flat Dwellers," *Seattle Mail & Herald*, 9/30/1905.

<sup>45</sup> Dose, West & Reinoehl, *Architecture of Dose, West & Reinoehl*, Seattle: 1908. p. 4.

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near the commercial districts along streetcar lines. Some smaller buildings were also built in single-family areas.

Social conditions as well as economics and growth encouraged apartment development during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The increasing role of women in Seattle life and in the work force was a potent factor. Single women working in shops, offices and factories needed respectable and affordable housing, something that could not be obtained at the workers' hotels downtown.

The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, held in 1909, influenced housing in two ways. One was that developers were eager to profit by accommodating visitors. The larger impact, however, was that this event was seen as a sign of the region's long-term growth potential, a place that was worthwhile investing in. Two of the best-known buildings of this period, both listed in the National Register, appear to have been directly connected with the exposition. The De la Mar apartment building was constructed by developer George Kinnear to house his friends who were visiting the fair. The Chelsea Apartments nearby were built to accommodate families visiting the fair.

World War I and a subsequent recession slowed new development, despite a critical need for housing. One of the first major post-war apartment projects was The Victoria on Queen Anne. The architect, John Graham, Sr., announced it with great fanfare in May 1921, saying that construction of the "mammoth community apartment house" indicated a "fast reviving building situation in Seattle...the first important answer to the



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campaign waged by the Chamber of Commerce to get the public to build now." Graham went on to predict "there will be a great influx of people to Seattle seeking homes this fall. We are following what we have been teaching: build now. It is especially needed."<sup>46</sup> However, the building was not completed until 1923. It set a high standard among Seattle apartments, as its units averaged more than 1200 square feet, and many had fireplaces, large foyers, libraries. A children's play area and servants' rooms were in the basement. A number of other buildings with similar amenities were built over the next decade.

Minority groups played a particularly important role in hotel and apartment development during this period. Both Asians and African-Americans were constrained from owning property and living where they wished, so they often lived in apartments or apartment hotels. Residential hotels were a particularly important part of the social and economic life of Japanese and Chinese residents. In 1930 there were 136 Japanese-owned hotels and a separate Japanese Hotel Owners Association. Hotels were the major employer of Japanese residents.<sup>47</sup>

The city had relatively few African-Americans before World War II (3,789 in 1940), but they owned or managed several hotels and apartment buildings. William Grose, one of the city's first African-Americans, owned the Our House Hotel near First Avenue and Yesler Way, and in 1882 purchased land off of East Madison Street. This became a

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<sup>46</sup> *Seattle Times*, May 15, 1921.

<sup>47</sup> Richard C. Berner, *Seattle 1921-1940 from Boom to Bust*, (Seattle: Charles Press, 1992), p. 212.

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center for the black community and in the 1920s there were thirty black-owned buildings in the general vicinity of East Madison Street and 23<sup>rd</sup> Avenue, including the Chandler Apartments and Annex, the Dunbar Hotel, the Adelphi Apartments and the Douglass Apartments.<sup>48</sup> African-Americans were also an important part of the staffs of the larger downtown hotels and apartment hotels that catered to the wealthy and middle classes.

### **Apartments as Home: Controlled Intensive Development: 1924 - 1957**

By the early 1920s, apartments were well established as a viable and acceptable housing option for the middle class, typically for single people or for those saving to buy a single-family home. The market continued to evolve over the next three decades, with strong growth except during the Depression. Beginning in 1923, the city took various actions to control development that significantly influenced the form and location of apartments.

With the economic prosperity of the 1920s, apartments competed in offering amenities and luxuries that made them worthwhile alternatives to a single-family house. While this had been true to some extent in the preceding years, it became more common in the 1920s. The trend continued during the 1930s and into the 1950s, for very different reasons. The Depression halted apartment development, but also forced many homeowners into apartments. This occurred at all economic levels, as even some

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<sup>48</sup> Jacqueline E. A. Lawson, "Let's Take A Walk," 2005.



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wealthy people (particularly widows) downsized by moving from their large houses into luxurious apartments. The critical housing shortage during World War II and in the post-war era further increased the importance of apartments as a housing option. In 1923 the City of Seattle became one of the first U. S. cities to adopt a comprehensive zoning ordinance to regulate land uses. This ordinance determined, for the first time, the location and form of new apartment buildings. The complex ordinance divided residential areas into First Residential (where only single-family residences were allowed) and Second Residential, where apartment buildings were allowed. The location of each zone was determined primarily by the existing uses and character of each area. Thus, the Second Residential zone was located in a ring around downtown that already had many apartments (Belltown, First Hill, and western Capitol Hill) and adjoining commercial uses along the neighborhood arterials. Overlaid on the use zones were four Area Districts that regulated setbacks, lot coverage and building bulk. In addition, there were five overlaid Height Districts that determined allowable heights. Further apartment development was prohibited in single family areas, but it was allowed in commercial zones, where larger buildings were possible.<sup>49</sup>

This zoning change was enacted just as the city was beginning a significant development phase. Population growth slowed from previous decades, increasing by only 16 percent, from 315,312 in 1920 to 365,583 in 1930. However, the strong economy and pent-up demand for housing and commercial and institutional buildings meant that downtown was transformed with large office buildings and hotels, neighborhoods gained new

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<sup>49</sup> City of Seattle, Multifamily Land Use Policies, p. 20

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commercial districts and large residential areas, and apartment buildings were constructed throughout the city. The value of building permits issued between 1921 and 1930 equaled 48 percent of the value of all construction between 1921 and 1940.<sup>50</sup> The increased popularity of the automobile made people less dependent on streetcars, and development spread out accordingly. The city limits extended to approximately N. 85<sup>th</sup> Street (NE 65<sup>th</sup> Street in the northeast), and by the end of the 1920s much of the city's land area was developed with residential suburbs.

The *Journal of Commerce* reported record amounts of construction in 1925, including "thousands of houses and scores of apartment houses." The strong economy and construction activities led to higher wages and a growing demand for housing. Both construction and population growth came to a standstill in the 1930s.<sup>51</sup> Multifamily development peaked in 1925 and continued strongly until 1929-30.<sup>52</sup> The majority of the city's pre-World War II apartments were built during this period. Apartment blocks appeared along arterials in nearly every neighborhood. Many courtyard apartments were also constructed, with landscaped courtyards for residents to enjoy. While most buildings had predominantly one-bedroom or efficiency units, some buildings had larger apartments with amenities such as fireplaces.

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<sup>50</sup> Calvin Schmid, *Social Trends in Seattle*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1944, p. 33.

<sup>51</sup> Berner, *Seattle 1921-1940*, pp. 181-183.

<sup>52</sup> Schmid, *Social Trends in Seattle*, p. 34.



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Seattle was hit as hard as any city by the Depression of the 1930s. After decades of growth, the population increase virtually stopped. The 1940 population of 368,302 was only one percent greater than the 365,583 people in the city in 1930. Residential construction dropped precipitously, from 2,583 units in 1930 to 361 units in 1932, with an even greater drop in multifamily development, which continued to be erratic through the rest of the Depression.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the intensive apartment development of the 1920s, Seattle was known as a haven for homeowners. In 1941 the Works Progress Administration guide to Washington noted: "Among cities of the Nation with a population of 300,000 or more, Seattle ranks third in the percentage of home ownership....Scattered throughout the city are many districts of middle income...five- to seven-room dwellings cover an unusual proportion of the city's space....Moderately priced apartment houses and hotels loom here and there among the low roofs of the cottages....immediately south of the business district...rooming houses and cheap hotels provide lodging for large numbers of itinerant and seasonal laborers."<sup>54</sup>

Few major commercial or government projects occurred during the Depression, other than those sponsored by the federal government. Major projects completed in the 1930s include a new federal office building, a courthouse, an armory and the Sand Point Naval Air Station. The Works Progress Administration and other New Deal projects also

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<sup>53</sup> Berner, *Seattle 1921-1940*, p. 181.

<sup>54</sup> Washington Writers' Project, *Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State* (Portland: Binford & Mort, 1941), p. 212-213.

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completed improvements to parks, streets, sidewalks and sewer systems. One highlight was in the University District, where the business community joined together in 1932 to construct the Edmond Meany Hotel, a facility that served both travelers and permanent residents.

Major transportation improvements had significant and long-lasting implications for the area's development and housing. The completion of the Aurora Bridge in 1932 made it considerably easier for automobiles to enter downtown Seattle, encouraging more single-family development north of the city limits at 85<sup>th</sup> Street. The growing influence of automobiles was made clear in 1940 when the city halted the trolleys, which had been losing money since even before the city's acquisition of the system in 1918, and replaced them with a bus system. The same year, the opening of the Lacey V. Murrow Floating Bridge enabled people, for the first time, to commute easily from the large undeveloped areas east of Lake Washington to downtown Seattle. Earlier commuters had to rely on ferry service.

In 1939 Britain placed a large order for Boeing B-17's, and Seattle began its wartime transformation, the most important in its history. The city was well situated to play a critical role, with its shipyards, Boeing plants and related industries that were crucial to arming the Allies. Its large protected port and proximity to Alaska and Japan meant that it served as a major point for shipping supplies and for training and embarkation of troops. At Boeing alone, employment increased from 4,000 in September 1939 to 30,000 by December 1941. It was said that no state was more affected economically by the



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expansion of war industries than was Washington.<sup>55</sup> The city was one among the top three in the country in terms of military contracts per capita, and its population exploded from 368,302 in 1940 to 480,000 in 1943.<sup>56</sup>

The tremendous growth of the war years stressed Seattle in every way, particularly through the need to house more than 50,000 defense workers and their families who came to the city. Defense needs limited the availability of building materials, so relatively little private permanent new construction occurred. Advertising campaigns, sometimes going door-to-door, encouraged people to welcome lodgers into their homes. Federal home loans enabled homeowners to convert portions of their homes for renters, and the city relaxed building regulations to encourage the addition of rental units in homes and the conversion of vacant commercial buildings to housing. It is estimated that 3,000 temporary units were produced.<sup>57</sup> Units were also obtained through the rehabilitation of hotels and apartment buildings, especially downtown and in Pioneer Square that had become dilapidated during the Depression.<sup>58</sup> Not surprisingly, rents (especially for small units and rooming houses) increased significantly and the federal government made efforts to control rents. However, the controls were loosened after local protests, which found that three-quarters of local apartments were owned by individual owners rather than large corporations.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Crowley, *Timeline*, p. 59.

<sup>56</sup> Andrews, *Pioneer Square*, p. 129.

<sup>57</sup> Berner, *Seattle Transformed*, pp. 91-94.

<sup>58</sup> Andrews, *Pioneer Square*, p. 129.

<sup>59</sup> Berner, *Seattle Transformed*, pp. 91-94.

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Another wartime response to the housing shortage was the construction of 6,000 housing units by the federal government in partnership with the Seattle Housing Authority. Most projects were located near Boeing or the shipyards and steel plants of the Duwamish area, or the military bases at Sand Point, Fort Lawton and Pier 91. The great majority were temporary projects, including dormitories and trailer parks, long forgotten today. However, the five permanent garden apartment communities had a lasting impact on the city. Each of these had numerous small buildings, most housing two to four families, sited along landscaped curvilinear roadways. The first of these projects, Yesler Terrace, was initiated as a New Deal urban renewal project, but was converted to defense housing by the time of its completion. It and the three communities of High Point, Holly Park and Rainier Vista became low-income housing after the war. A fifth project, adjacent to the Sand Point Naval Air Station, was sold to the University of Washington in 1956 for graduate student housing. Local architects teamed up to design these projects, as there was little work available.<sup>60</sup> (All of these projects except Yesler Terrace have been demolished in recent years.)

The acute demand for housing continued with the end of the war. Many of those who had seen the Pacific Northwest while on military service wanted to return, and families that had been separated by the war wanted to establish homes. However, a shortage of building materials and of skilled labor, combined with continued federal control and a post-war recession, slowed development initially. Low-interest loans insured by the

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<sup>60</sup> Mimi Sheridan, Seattle Landmark Nomination Form, Rainier Vista Homes, 2000.



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Federal Housing Administration spurred development of both suburban single-family houses and large multifamily projects in the city. It was estimated that 70 percent of apartment development in 1949 was covered by FHA mortgage insurance, which transferred the development risk from the private builder to the federal agency. These apartments were primarily in large complexes of 100 units or more, a distinct departure from earlier trends. Projects were typically built to the minimum standards established by FHA, as there was little reason to build larger or better appointed units than required.<sup>61</sup> Apartment construction, like single-family construction, dispersed away from the downtown. With the availability of the automobile, people no longer depended on buses. The completion of the Lake Washington Bridge in 1940 allowed builders to build farther out to the east where land was cheaper. This occurred even within Seattle, with more multifamily development in the north end and West Seattle, which were made more easily accessible by the completion of the Alaskan Way Viaduct in the early 1950s.

Federal mortgage insurance also encouraged the development of privately-owned apartment complexes, which often consisted of a grouping of multi-unit, multi-story buildings arranged in a landscaped setting. These extended the bungalow court's concept of a setting apart from the street, but they were larger in scale, with higher densities and larger buildings, usually without individual entries for each unit. The earliest known local example is Edgewater Park (now the Edgewater Apartments). The eighteen buildings (with a total of 305 units) are arranged around large courtyards on

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<sup>61</sup> "Apartment Boom," *Architectural Forum*, January 1950, p. 95.

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the 12.5-acre lakefront site in the Madison Park neighborhood. It was built by local businessmen organized as the Madison Park Corporation in 1938-40, about the same time as the Yesler Terrace public housing project. The project was financed by a \$1,250,000 mortgage loan insured by the Federal Housing Administration.<sup>62</sup> Edgewater Park's architect, John Graham, Jr., had recently returned from working in New York City, where this form of garden apartment had become highly developed and very popular.

At least three similar projects were built in the late 1940s-early 1950s, probably to house the influx of university students brought by the G. I. bill:

- Laurelon Terrace (originally called Laurelon Gardens), off Sand Point Way near the University of Washington, has 136 units in 19 two-story buildings, arranged on a 5.5 acre site.
- Northgate Plaza, across from Northgate Mall, was designed by John Graham, Jr. (architect for the mall) and includes 207 units in 34 buildings.
- Wedgewood Estates (originally called Oneida Gardens) was built in a new neighborhood north of the University of Washington in 1947-48, with 110 units in eleven buildings; in the 1970s three buildings were added, reducing the open space.<sup>63</sup>

Apartment buildings constructed in the decade after World War II typically continued the same building forms as those used in the 1920s, with the apartment block being the most popular. Courtyard or townhouse developments from the period are uncommon,

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<sup>62</sup> "Madison Park Project Waits City Approval," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 9, 1938.

<sup>63</sup> Department of Planning and Development building records



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although they do exist. By the mid-1950s, garages became a more predominant design element, with garage doors or open car ports on the primary façade. Also at this time a new form became popular, multistory buildings with apartment units opening off of exterior corridors. Building circulation was often clearly identified, with a stair tower as the primary feature of a façade. Fenestration was often concentrated on certain elevations, leaving blank facades that served as a background for fanciful over-sized signs announcing the apartment building's name.<sup>64</sup>

Most post-war buildings were Modernistic in style, with flat roofs (often with deep eaves), little or no ornamentation and larger expanses of glass than seen in earlier buildings. They used modern materials such as Roman brick and aluminum framed windows. Wide horizontal wood siding, stone (or manufactured stone) and various types of stucco and Marblecrete were also commonly seen on. Concrete block (CMU) was used not only as a structural element, but in decorative patterns and as screening.

### **Postscript: Development after 1957**

In 1957 the City of Seattle completed a comprehensive review of its zoning ordinance, leading to significant changes in the location and form of apartment buildings. The city had changed significantly since the 1923 ordinance had been enacted. It had grown by nearly 70 percent, from 325,000 in 1923 to 550,000 in 1957. Its land area had increased

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<sup>64</sup> Amanda Lewkowicz, "Capitol Hill's Modern Apartment Buildings: An Investigation in the Dingbat Typology," Unpublished paper, Urbdp 585, University of Washington, June 2008.

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from approximately 70 to 92 square miles, due to the annexation in 1954 of all the land up to North 145<sup>th</sup> Street. However, the average household size in the city was decreasing. One reason for this was the growing popularity of apartment living. At the beginning of the century more than five people (5.64) had lived in each household. This fell steadily over the next decades: 3.94 in 1920 before the apartment construction boom; 2.91 in 1940, just before the wartime housing shortage; and then to 2.79 in 1950, reflecting, in part, the early movement of families to larger suburban houses.<sup>65</sup>

The new zoning ordinance was based on the philosophy of encouraging a standardized land use pattern for each neighborhood, with single-family residences ringed by arterials, with commercial and multifamily uses concentrated near the arterials. The new zones placed greater restrictions on land uses to avoid potential conflicts. Only two zones allowed apartment buildings: a low-density zone for 2-to-3-story walk-ups and garden court buildings (RM800); and another zone for taller elevator buildings (RMH350). Each zone had additional regulations for building bulk, lot coverage, minimum lot sizes and square footage required per unit. A new provision allowed larger projects to develop as "Planned Unit Developments," without adhering to individual lot sizes. Higher densities (and heights up to 60 feet) were still allowed in commercial zones, intensifying the earlier tendency to place apartment buildings in commercial districts.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> City of Seattle Multifamily Policies, p. 20.

<sup>66</sup> City of Seattle Multifamily Policies, p. 22.



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The ordinance's most significant change for apartment buildings was a new parking requirement. The ratio of cars in the city had risen to 1.438 per household. Although some apartments had provided automobile facilities since the early 1920s, it had not been required, and the number of parking spaces was generally less than one per unit. The new regulations required three parking spaces for each four units in smaller buildings (RM 800 zone). In the higher-density zone, one space was required for each two units up to the first fifty units, and an additional space for each unit above fifty. This requirement meant that a developer had to provide additional space for cars, usually on ground level along the front of the building. The streets came to be lined with garages, open parking and curb cuts.<sup>67</sup>

## **DEVELOPERS AND ARCHITECTS**

### **The Developers**

The character of early apartment buildings, as well as their size, location and the timing of their construction, was determined primarily by developers and their financial backers. Many Seattle apartment buildings in the study period appear to have been developed by individuals or partnerships to be maintained as rental properties. Others were constructed for sale to investors shortly after completion. Larger projects were financed by investment firms. Most individuals, partnerships or corporate entities appear to have been involved in only a small number of buildings, although the identities of the specific persons involved in a particular building is sometimes difficult

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<sup>67</sup> City of Seattle Multifamily Policies, p. 22.

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to determine. However, several individuals have been identified as having played a significant role in shaping the Seattle apartment landscape of the period.

**Frederick Anhalt** (1896-1996) was Seattle's best-known apartment developer, bringing a distinctive sense of style and promoting high-quality apartments as an alternative to single-family homes. Today, his buildings are seen as setting the standard for pre-war apartment buildings and have become almost synonymous with the type. Anhalt was only involved with apartment development for approximately five years (1925-1930), and worked through at least three different business entities in that time. His approach was to combine the development, design, construction, landscaping, marketing and management functions in one firm. Anhalt moved to Seattle about 1924 after working in various trades in the Midwest, and in 1925 formed the Western Building & Leasing Company with partner Jerome B. Hardcastle, Jr.<sup>68</sup> The company quickly began to centralize both design and construction within the firm, and built bungalow courts, apartment courts and small commercial buildings on Capitol Hill, Queen Anne, West Seattle, Beacon Hill and Ballard. In 1928 Anhalt bought Hardcastle's interest, and designed and constructed apartment buildings for The Borchert Company (owned by Anhalt's brother-in-law). The following year the firm (then known as the Anhalt Company) decided to increase profits by focusing on the higher end market with elaborate Tudor and Norman French courtyard apartments. In 1929-1930 he built his best known projects, five luxury apartment buildings on Capitol Hill, based on Medieval

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<sup>68</sup> Hardcastle also developed apartment buildings on his own, both during and after his partnership with Anhalt.



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English and Norman French prototypes. Although the apartment business failed during the Depression, Anhalt was involved in single-family construction until 1942, when he turned his focus to a plant nursery business.

Anhalt's later buildings are particularly notable because of his goal of creating "apartment homes," refuges that were distinguished by their charm, fanciful detailing (exterior and interior) and quality landscaping. Although he used architects to complete his designs, Anhalt himself was very influential in freely combining elements such as steeply-pitched roofs, turrets, gables, dormers with highly decorative elements such as clinker brick, leaded and stained glass to produce the buildings that have come to be considered the epitome of the 1920s apartment building in Seattle.<sup>69</sup>

**Gardner J. Gwinn** may have been Seattle's most prolific apartment developer of the pre-World War II period. His firm, Gardner Gwinn, Inc., was widely advertised as "Builder of apartments, homes, bungalow courts and commercial buildings—designed, built and financed."<sup>70</sup> Gwinn began doing construction work with his father in his native Nova Scotia, moving to Seattle in 1909. He soon established his own construction business, building more than 700 homes ranging in value from \$5,000 to \$25,000. They were noted for their livability and strong construction. In 1925 he turned primarily to apartment construction, building more than fifty apartment houses during the 1925-30

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<sup>69</sup> Lawrence Kreisman, *Apartments by Anhalt* (Seattle: City of Seattle Office of Urban Conservation, 1982), p. 6

<sup>70</sup> *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 3, 1926.

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development boom. He typically sold buildings to investors shortly after completion, using the funds for new projects. His largest project was the 14-story Benjamin Franklin Hotel, the second largest in Seattle (demolished for construction of the present Westin Hotel). His brother Wells Gwinn headed several housing contracting and finance companies.

Gwinn's buildings represent the "bread and butter" of Seattle apartments. They feature quality construction, but are basically wood frame blocks of 3-4 stories, clad with brick veneer with applied terra cotta ornament. They are ubiquitous on Capitol Hill and lower Queen Anne and found in several other neighborhoods as well. Gwinn himself is listed as the architect on some building plans, and it is probable that many of the buildings were adapted from a master design by in-house draftsmen, differentiated simply by changes in the applied terra cotta ornament.

**John S. Hudson** (b. 1879) developed apartments primarily on Capitol Hill and First Hill between 1923 and 1928. He came to Seattle in 1903 from his native Minnesota. He began studying architecture in 1910 and obtained his architecture license in 1921, but he worked primarily as a developer.<sup>71</sup> He is known to have been involved in at least a dozen buildings. The names of many of his buildings generally refer to American history--the John Alden, Paul Revere, John Winthrop, Hudson Arms, Lexington-Concord, Faneuil Hall, Lowell and Emerson. Others are the Hudson Arms, Chasselton,

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<sup>71</sup> Clarence Bagley, *History of Seattle*, Seattle: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1916, pp. 64-68.



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Northcliffe, Miramar, Loleta, Rhododendron and Ruth Court. His brother Harry Hudson designed many of these buildings.

**Samuel Anderson** (1884-1959) was primarily a builder of single-family homes who entered the apartment field in the late 1920s. Anderson came to Seattle from Wisconsin in 1906 and became very active in the home building industry as an organizer and official of the Seattle Master Builders Association and related national organizations.<sup>72</sup> In 1928-29 he developed at least eight Seattle apartment buildings, notable for their vivid interpretations of a wide variety of styles. Seven of the buildings that have been identified are in the 1100 block of 17th Avenue.<sup>73</sup> An additional one (La Flor) is several blocks away on Capitol Hill. They are all basic three-story rectangular forms with central entrances, with 14 to 16 units ranging from 660 to 900 square feet in size. The applied ornament and architectural detailing on the facades is very striking and expressive, drawing from the Art Deco, Colonial, Mediterranean Revival, French Provincial and Tudor Revival styles. Each building has its own individualized landscaping. The scale is very domestic, giving the street the feel of a neighborhood of larger than average single-family houses.

**Edward L. Merritt** was another single-family developer who turned to apartment development in the 1920s. Unlike other developers, he was an architect, having graduated from the University of Minnesota architectural school in 1900. He joined his

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<sup>72</sup> *Seattle Times*, Samuel Anderson obituary, April 4, 1959.

<sup>73</sup> Two additional buildings in this group were designed by Schack & Young for different owners. The relationship, if any, between them and Anderson is not known.

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father's Seattle contracting business before forming the Merritt-Hall Investment Company. In 1917 he purchased the Craftsman Bungalow Company and built showcase houses throughout the city. In the mid-twenties he opened the Merritt Realty Company and developed several apartment buildings.<sup>74</sup>

**Angus P. Malloy** was a major force in the development of the University District. He came to Seattle from Florida for the Alaska-Pacific-Yukon Exposition in 1909 and became a prominent local businessman. Malloy purchased the Adelaide Apartments in 1925 and, the following year, bought Washington Manor Apartments, renaming it Malloy Manor. In 1928 he built the Malloy Apartments, designed by Earl Roberts, adjacent to campus.

### **The Architects**

Apartment design in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century attracted some of the city's best architects, who were responsible for many major buildings as well as apartments. Many projects, however, were designed by architects who specialized in apartment design. Apartment plans were also available in catalogs, although it is not known how many of those that were actually constructed began as catalog designs.

**William Bain, Sr.** and **Lionel Pries** each had a long distinguished career, but they worked together on apartment buildings during their brief partnership (1928-1932).

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<sup>74</sup> David Vergobbi, *Seattle Master Builders: An 80 Year Journey Through History*, Bellevue WA: SMBA, 1989, p. 42.



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Bain (1896-1985) was one of the city's best-known and most prolific architects for much of the 20th century. He came to Seattle in 1915, apprenticing with W. R. B. Willcox and Arthur Loveless before serving in the U. S. Army in World War I. In 1921 he received a degree in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania, receiving further training in the Beaux-Arts tradition. He opened his own practice in 1924, specializing in houses in the French and English Revival styles. From 1928 until 1932 he was in partnership with Lionel Pries, and designed a number of apartments and sorority houses that exhibit both Revival and Modern influences. One of his first apartment buildings, the Shoremont (1926) showed French Provincial influences. Three later apartment designs with Pries show Georgian Revival influences: the Viceroy (1930), the Consulate (1930) and the Envoy (1930). The partners also designed an addition to the Shoremont (1930-31). Their most notable apartment design is the Bel-Roy (1930-31), which departed from the typical block form to express its Moderne style in a zigzag floor plan.

Following the partnership's dissolution, Bain continued with residential and apartment commissions and added commercial and institutional work. Toward the end of the Depression, Bain joined other local architects in working on the Yesler Terrace public housing project. During World War II he served as state camouflage director, gaining some fame as the person responsible for disguising the Boeing plant. In 1943 he formed a partnership with three other architects, with whom he remained until his death. This firm, now known as NBBJ, has grown into one of the largest architectural firms in the

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world. He also continued with residential designs with another partner, Harrison Overturf, combining traditional and modern idioms.<sup>75</sup>

**Lionel Pries** was at the University of Pennsylvania at the same time as Bain, receiving a master's of architecture in 1921. He had previously studied at the University of California. Following graduation, he studied in Europe and later opened a private practice in San Francisco. He came to Seattle in 1928 and formed a partnership with Bain, as described above. Following the partnership with Bain, Pries taught full-time at the University of Washington School of Architecture, rising to full professor in 1948. He remained there until 1958, and is known for his brilliant teaching and lasting influence on his students.<sup>76</sup>

**Everett J. Beardsley** is best known for his elegant Mediterranean Revival apartment designs. Little is known of his life, although he arrived in Seattle in 1909. He worked with a number of developers, and designed the Hacienda Court (1925), the Morris Apartments (1926), El Monterey (1928), Villa Costella (1928) and El Cerrito (1930).<sup>77</sup>

**Henry Bittman** (1882-1953) studied engineering at Cooper Union in New York and worked briefly as a bridge engineer in Chicago before arriving in Seattle in 1906. He practiced for a year with architect William Kingsley, and then opened his own practice

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<sup>75</sup> Jeffrey Ochsner, editor, *Shaping Seattle Architecture: A Guide to the Architects* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), pp. 216-219.

<sup>76</sup> Ochsner, *Shaping Seattle Architecture*, pp. 228-233.

<sup>77</sup> Ochsner, *Shaping Seattle Architecture* p. 338.