GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

HISTORIC PRESERVATION REVIEW BOARD
APPLICATION FOR HISTORIC LANDMARK OR HISTORIC DISTRICT DESIGNATION

New Designation X
Amendment of a previous designation ___
Please summarize any amendment(s) _____
Property name St. James Mutual Homes
If any part of the interior is being nominated, it must be specifically identified and described in the narrative statements.

Address 201 through 217 P Street SW, 1410 and 1414 Third Street SW, 200 through 220 and 215 through 229 O Street SW, and 1411 and 1415 James Creek Parkway SW
Square and lot number(s) Square 547, Lot 23

Affected Advisory Neighborhood Commission ANC 6D 05

Date of construction 1937 and 1939 Date of major alteration(s)_____

Architect(s) Appleton P. Clark

Architectural style(s) Late 19th And 20th Century Revivals / Colonial Revival
Original use Domestic / Multiple Dwelling

Property owner Saint James Mutual Homes

Legal address of property owner 215 O St. SW; Washington, DC 20024-2905

NAME OF APPLICANT(S) Saint James Mutual Homes (Owner)

***If the applicant is an organization**, it must submit evidence that among its purposes is the promotion of historic preservation in the District of Columbia. A copy of its charter, articles of incorporation, or by-laws, setting forth such purpose, will satisfy this requirement.*

Address/Telephone of applicant(s) 215 O St. SW; Washington, DC 20024-2905, (202-484-3149)

Name and title of authorized representative William Brawner, President

Signature of representative W Brawner Date 5/11/2015

Name and telephone of author of application D.P. Sefton (703-836-2015)

Date received 5/11/15
H.P.O. staff JBO

#15-10

NPS Form 10-900
OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.* If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: St. James Mutual Homes
Other names/site number: Sternberg Court, Kober Court, and Kober-Sternberg Courts
Name of related multiple property listing:
Apartment Buildings in Washington,DC (1880-1945)
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing

2. Location

Street & number: 201 through 217 P Street SW, 1410 and 1414 Third Street SW, 200 through 220 and 215 through 229 O Street SW, and 1411 and 1415 James Creek Parkway SW
City or town: Washington State: DC County: _____
Not For Publication: ☐ Vicinity: ☐

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

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

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

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

___national ___statewide ___local
Applicable National Register Criteria:

___A ___B ___C ___D

_____

Signature of certifying official/Title: **Date**

_____

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

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

Signature of commenting official: **Date**

Title : **State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government**

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ entered in the National Register

___ determined eligible for the National Register

___ determined not eligible for the National Register

___ removed from the National Register

___ other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

Private:	x
Public – Local	
Public – State	
Public – Federal	

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

Building(s)	x
District	
Site	

St. James Mutual Homes
Name of Property

Washington, DC
County and State

Structure

Object ☐

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
16	0	buildings
		sites
		structures
		objects
		Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 0

6. Function or Use
Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)
Domestic / Multiple Dwelling
Landscape / Plaza

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)
Domestic / Multiple Dwelling
Landscape / Plaza

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)
Late 19th And 20th Century Revivals / Colonial Revival

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)
Principal exterior materials of the property: Brick, cinder block, and concrete

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with **a summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

Originally known as the Kober-Sternberg Courts, the St. James Mutual Homes complex was constructed by the Washington Sanitary Housing and Washington Sanitary Improvement Companies in sections separated by the 200 block of O Street SW. The Sternberg Court section, located south of O Street, consists of fifteen two-story, red brick, multi-unit buildings arranged in four rows. It contains 56 one, two, and three bedroom units. The Kober Court section, located north of O Street, consists of a brick and cinder block three-story apartment house with three wings. It contains 51 one and two-bedroom units. Each section is arranged around a landscaped court, and its buildings incorporate elements of the colonial revival style.

The complex exemplifies key features of the "Garden Apartment Subtype" as described in the Multiple Property Documentation Form "Apartment Buildings of Washington, DC, 1880-1945,"[1] Known as the St. James Mutual Homes since it became a cooperative in 1967, it displays a high degree of historic integrity.

Images 1A through 1O illustrate key elements of the St. James Mutual Homes.

Narrative Description

The Washington Sanitary Housing and Washington Sanitary Improvement Companies built the Kober-Sternberg Courts in 1937 and 1939. At that time, the complex's site was listed in adjacent Squares 546E and 547E. However, these squares were consolidated within a "superblock" renumbered as Square 547 during the Southwest redevelopment of the 1950s (Historic Map Image 2A attached) .

Sternberg Court, built in 1937, occupies former Square 547E, which was bounded by Third Street SW on the west, P Street SW on the south, O Street SW on the north, and Canal Street SW on the east. Today this area is partially divided by James Creek Parkway, a diagonal dead-end street running northeast from the 200 block of P Street SW. James Creek Parkway separates the portion of the site devoted to buildings from a parking lot and landscaped green space to its east. This open area, extends east to Canal Street SW, covers the banks of James Creek, which has been encased since the 1930s. O Street SW, the former Square 547E's northern boundary, is now a cul-de-sac, which terminates in a small traffic circle a few feet west of Canal Street SW.

Sternberg Court consists of fifteen red brick, two-story, multi-unit buildings, arranged in four rows in a trapezoidal pattern around a central courtyard.[2] Each of its 56 apartments has its own porch. These porches are built in two-story tiers overlooking the courtyard. Sternberg Court's original formal center was 209 P Street SW, a four-unit building at the midpoint of a row of five attached buildings. The row is spanned by a parapet wall with a scalloped cornice at its base, while a narrow strip of lawn separates the buildings from the sidewalk.

209 P is flanked on each side by a four-unit building, while the row is bracketed by a duplex building at either end. The duplex buildings protrude slightly forward of the row's middle buildings and their facades are demarcated by quoins at their outer corners. The facades of the trio of four-unit buildings present a common plane, although each is visually separated from its neighbor by a column of narrow tiers of brick in which every fifth course is extruded. This arrangement creates a pattern of light and shadow which suggests the quoins on the row's corners. Such brickwork patterns are varied at many points throughout the complex to create visual interest and prevent buildings that are symmetrical from being repetitious and identical.

209 P is distinguished from its neighbors by a triangular pediment which projects from the parapet wall. This pediment, which contains a crescent-shaped fanlight framed by a protruding s course of bricks, recalls that of the Wheat Row, which incorporates the oldest buildings in Southwest, located a few blocks to the west. The visual prominence of this center building is further reinforced by a concrete cornerstone inscribed "Sternberg Court, Erected 1937" above its entrance.

209 P is otherwise similar to the neighboring four-unit buildings at 205 and 213 P. Its doorway, a single step above grade, leads to a center vestibule with staircase, which gives access to the two apartments on each story. Tiers of extruded brick in the same pattern as its façade's borders line its arched door aperture on both sides. The doorway arch is outlined by two courses of brick, with the outermost on the same plane as the façade and the innermost recessed several inches inwards. This three level variation in surface creates a visual suggestion of depth. Above the door is a semi-circular frame fanlight transom with sunset panes, which suggests the transoms of the Wheat Row. The doorway is topped by a wooden short wooden cornice with a scalloped edge above brick dentils. Above the cornice, which at 209 P is topped by the concrete cornerstone, is a four-over-four light double sash window. Like the facade's other windows, its sill is a protruding course of brick. A pair of six-over-six light double-hung windows, symmetrically placed on either side of the façade's vertical midline, illuminates each apartment.

A small single window on either side of the doorway provides light to the basement, which includes storage and mechanical areas. Like its immediate neighbors, 209 P contains only one-bedroom apartments.

The row-end duplex buildings each contain one two-bedroom and one three-bedroom apartment. Each building is entered from a stoop at the top of a flight of three steps, through a doorway located on the side closest to the row's center. Unlike the four- unit buildings' semi-circular arched apertures, the duplexes' doorways are rectangular and topped by transoms with a horizontal row of small panes. Their apartments are illuminated by a single six-over-six light double-hung window on each floor. 217 P's Third Street side façade has protruding bays with pairs of windows at each end and an inset central section with single windows. 201 P's James Creek Parkway façade has a chamfered rear bay which turns inward toward the courtyard. The rear corners of both duplexes' side façades are wrapped by protruding quoins.

The pair of attached four-unit buildings at 1410 and 1414 Third Street SW is separated from the its P and Street neighbors by walkways, which pass into the center courtyard through iron gates between brick walls. The front facades of these buildings are very similar to those of the P Street four-unit buildings, other than that their facades are not divided by tiers of extruded brick and their entrance detailing varies. Each of their doorways is outlined by quoins rather than extruded single courses of brick, and is topped by a small triangular pediment, rather than a scalloped horizontal bar. The Third Street buildings' side facades have two bays, with the rear bay projecting outward by perhaps an additional two feet. Each bay has the same window placement on both stories, with the front bay illuminated by both a single and a pair of double-hung windows and the rear bay by two single double-hung windows. The buildings at 1411 and 1415 James Creek Parkway on the opposite face of Sternberg Court are more-or-less identical, except that they are offset from the conventional north-south axis to parallel the northeast-southwest orientation of the street.[3] Both the Third Street and James Creek Parkway rows contain a mix of one and two-bedroom apartments.

The O Street face of Sternberg Court consists of two rows of three attached four-unit buildings, separated by a central walkway leading to the interior courtyard. The central building in each row has a triangular pediment above its front door beneath a double window, while its neighbors have horizontal cornice strips and single central windows. To adjust for the diagonal axis of St. James Parkway and the longer frontage of the O Street, the outer side facades of the end buildings at 200 and 220 O have front bays which are chamfered, rather than set at right angles to the front façade.

In 1939, the section informally known as Kober Court was erected on the north side of O Street. Kober Court visually suggests a complex of attached three-story buildings, arranged in rows in much the manner as Sternberg Court. However, its permit states that it is a single cinder block and brick building with 51 apartments. [4] Its three wings can be traversed from end-to-end through a common basement. Each wing has multiple entrances, each of which communicates with an entry hall and staircase giving egress to a pair of apartments on each floor, as well as to the basement corridor which spans the entire building. The east wing entrances bear the

addresses 215, 217, and 219 O Street, the north wing entrances are 221 and 223 O Street, and the west wing entrances are numbered 225, 227, and 229 O Street.

Like the buildings of Sternberg Court, Kober Court's three wings are oriented to an open space. Here the space is a landscaped forecourt, surrounded by the building's wings on three sides and bounded along O Street by a low brick wall. To the building's east is a plot of land covered by a parking lot and green area, which extends to Canal Street. Delaware Avenue, which is separated from the rear of the building by a narrow open area, is the northern boundary for part of the site. The fence surrounding the River Park Cooperative complex, which borders Kober Courts on two sides, makes up the section's remaining boundary.

Kober Court's north wing, which faces O Street across the forecourt, is the central section of the building. Above ground, it is linked to the east and west wings by brick archways above walkways that communicate with the rear of the building. Its façade is spanned by a pediment wall whose cornice has a scalloped upper ridge and a broader, flat cornice band of white concrete block that runs above the third story windows. It is paralleled by an identical cornice band just above the first story windows. A central, unfenestrated section of the façade visually suggests the north wing's internal division into two sets of apartments, each of which is serviced by a separate entrance. Above each entrance a single, rectangular, double-hung window in a concrete block surround, whose sill is incorporated in the lower cornice and whose lintel suggests a highly-stylized chevron. A window of the same size and configuration which lacks the distinctive concrete block surround is centered above it on the third story. Each doorway is outlined with concrete block quoins and flanked by a symmetrically-placed pair of double-hung windows, whose sills are protruding courses of bricks. This fenestration pattern is repeated on the upper stories of the wing.

Kober Court's east and west wings exhibit some variations in configuration from each other, as well as from the north wing. The east wing is vaguely T-shaped, with the section that comprises short bar of the T running in parallel with, but slightly behind, the north wing. The rear of the west wing, which comes quite close to the slanting property line with River Park, has the bar of the T truncated on its west side, but, like the east wing, it has a rear section that runs inward toward the brick arch which connects it to the north wing. Like the north wing, the facade of each of these wings is composed of two sections, which are demarcated by off-setting the section closest to the street about three feet outward. A third entrance is placed close to the rear corner of the front facade, which in the east wing provides access to the apartments in its T-shaped section. The east and west wings' side facades face O Street. Each façade has the same symmetrical fenestration pattern of paired double-hung windows flanked by single double-hung windows on each floor. Like Sternberg Courts, the rear of each wing is connected to tiers of porches, which are three stories tall and topped by sloping metal roofs.

Each entrance gives egress to six units, except for 219 O, the entrance to the bar of the T-section of the east wing, which services nine units. All apartments served by the 217 and 227 O entrances are one-bedroom. The other entrances serve a mix of one and two bedroom units.

During the seventy years since its construction, the exterior of St. James Mutual Homes has undergone some alterations. It appears that, at some point, individual unit air conditioners were installed in the façade, but that these apertures have been bricked-in. Original doors are now covered by energy-efficient aluminum storm doors, and colorful awnings shelter the entrance ways but obscure fanlights from street-side viewers. Awnings have been installed above the public entrances to all the buildings in the complex. However, the complex is beautifully maintained and exhibits a high degree of historic integrity.

8. Statement of Significance

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

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

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

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

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions.)
Architecture
Community Planning And Development
Landscape Architecture
Social History

Period of Significance
1937-1963

Significant Dates
1937, 1939, 1963

Significant Person
(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Cultural Affiliation

Architect/Builder
Appleton Clark (Architect)
Martin Brothers (Builder)

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

St. James Mutual Homes is significant under DC Criterion A as it was the site of events significant to the heritage of the District and to the nation and DC Criterion B for its "association with historical periods, social movements and patterns of growth that contributed to the heritage and development of the District," as well as that of the nation. For these reasons, it is also significant under similar National Register Criterion A.

It is also significant under District of Columbia Criteria D through F and similar National Register Criterion C because it embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, style, and method of construction, as well as representing the work of a master architect. Finally, it is

significant under District of Columbia Criterion G and similar National Register Criterion D in that portions of its site are likely to yield archeological information of historical significance.

St. James Mutual Homes meets DC Criteria A and B for its role in the development of Southwest, with particular regard to the quadrant's long struggle to develop high-quality affordable housing despite natural and man-made impediments. its construction as the Kober-Sternberg Courts represents a significant milestone in the development of planned housing for persons of moderate income and the evolution of the "sanitary housing" movement, an important force in the residential development of Southwest Washington and the city as a whole. Its Sternberg Court section was the first sanitary housing complex with true multi-unit buildings constructed in Southwest. Its construction helped shape the redevelopment of the banks of James Creek from an industrial tract to a district for planned affordable housing development, which subsequently came to include the James Creek Dwellings and original Syphax Homes for war workers (1942), as well as the Syphax Gardens (1957-58) and Greenleaf Gardens (1959-60) public housing developments. St. James Mutual Homes is also unique in that it is the only multi-unit housing complex in the Southwest Redevelopment area to survive urban renewal and the only undesignated site among the handful of existing non-commercial or non-public buildings that escaped demolition during redevelopment.[5]

St. James Mutual Homes is also the District's first identified example of a cooperatively-owned complex purchased by a group that represented its tenants and the country's "first cooperative housing financed under the FHA 221 (d)(3) program for moderate-income families." [6]

The Multiple Property Documentation Form "Apartment Houses in Washington, DC (1880-1945)" presents a classification scheme for assessing significance, which is keyed to National Register (NR) Criteria A, B, and C. By this classification, St. James Mutual Homes is significant under the following NR sub-criteria:

- A-1: Buildings associated with specific events that have made a contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- A-2: Buildings that illustrate the initial development of the apartment movement as it relates to the need for housing, including the introduction of the building type and the specific form seen…
- A-3: Buildings that are parts of clusters, corridors, or districts that illustrate the patterns of development of the city;
- A-4: Buildings that reflect economic forces, both external and internal, that altered the development of the city;
- A-5: Buildings that reflect trends in the attitude toward the stratification or segregation and integration of religious, racial, economic, or other social groups through the building's residential character, architectural form. And/or location.
- A-7: Buildings that are parts of corridors or zones that illustrate changes in zoning and planning trends and specific regulations.

St. James Mutual Homes is also significant under DC Criteria D through F because it represents a unique and masterfully-executed final stage in the evolution of sanitary housing design, reflecting the influence of the Garden Cities movement and the modern architectural influence of the Garden Apartment Subtype. Although the Sternberg Court buildings share some of the 1934 Trinidad sanitary housing development's colonial revival influences, their arrangement in rows with flat roofs, and long continuous upper cornice lines provide a more streamlined horizontality not present in the Trinidad development's more "house-like" paired and single buildings with prominent gable roofs and gable ends. In this sense, the more modern Sternberg Courts designs are direct ancestors of the garden apartment blocks that architects like George Santmyers would soon build all over the city, which today compose "one of the most important collections of this type of apartment house in the United States."[7] The former Kober Court is the only multi-wing apartment house the sanitary housing companies constructed. With its three wings arranged around a central forecourt, the Kober Court represents a complex plan which further departs from the pattern of buildings paralleling the street, which was typical of both the Trinidad project and the 1938-39 sanitary housing development in Square 654.

Viewed as a whole, St. James Mutual Homes shows an especially adroit arrangement of buildings and open space within the constraints imposed by an irregular site shaped by the channel of the James Creek Canal. The Kober-Sternberg Courts created a unique synthesis in integrating the large Kober Court apartment building and the two-story garden-style Sternberg Court units in a planned landscape. Its harmonious arrangement of buildings and grounds testifies to the talent and skills of Appleton Clark, who is among Washington's most accomplished architects of the first half of the twentieth century and is particularly noted for his apartment house designs. Indeed, the Kober-Sternberg Courts was the most sophisticated and fully-realized of the hundreds of sanitary housing dwellings Clark designed in his long career as company architect. However, the sanitary housing companies' multi-unit developments are far from copies of each other in terms of physical form or developmental circumstances. A valid argument can be made that each of the three developments is significant for its individual architectural achievements as well as unique historic context.

Under the classification scheme presented by "Apartment Houses in Washington, DC (1880-1945)," St. James Mutual Homes also meets the following NR sub-criteria:

- C-2: Buildings that reflect changes in the form of the building type in response to health and safety trnds or specific regulatioons;
- C-3: Buildings that reflect changes in aesthetic philosophies;
- C-5 Buildings that reflect divisions of demography in multi-unit living as typlified bt special organization of their tenants…
- C-6: Buildings that illustrate expressions of architectural styles, either rare, notable, or influential to the aesthetic development of the apartment building or arcjiecture in general;
- C-9: Buildings that introduced or made contributions to the expression and appreciation of amenities affecting the architectural form of the building type;

- C10 and C-11: Buildings that are the wotk of skilled architects, landscape architects, irban planners, engineers, builders, ... developers [or[skilled architect developer teams.

St. James Mutual Homes also meets Criterion D because its grounds incorporate a portion of the banks of James Creek, as well as the grounds of the Washington Brick and Terra Cotta Company's manufactory, whose first structures were erected in 1892. As a 1992 American University archeological study notes, such sites may contain remnants of the canal's fabric as well as numerous artifacts mixed in with the material used as fill when it was covered.[8]

St. James Mutual Homes period of significance begins with the construction of its first module, the Kober-Sternberg Courts, in 1937. Its ending date could arguably be 1967, when the complex re-opened as the St. James Mutual Homes. However, the complex had achieved this level if significance by 1963, when the Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA) first implemented plans to sell the complex to a cooperative whose members would include its current tenants, which made it the nation's "first cooperative housing financed under the FHA 221 (d)(3) program for moderate-income families."[9]

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

1. Creek and Canal

When Pierre L'Enfant began drafting his plan for Washington in 1791, the new capital was a quilt of wooded land, planted fields, and plots exhausted by successive crops of tobacco.[10] Two wealthy planters farmed much of what would become the city's Southwest quadrant. Notley Young's plantation, which included a Georgian manor house, a mill, outbuildings, and slave quarters typical of "a well-organized tidewater farm," covered much of the land from C Street SW to the riverfront.[11] Daniel Carroll, whose manor stood in nearby Southeast, owned most of the remainder of the quadrant. Although Carroll had platted "Carrollsburg," a town at the tip of Buzzard Point before the American Revolution, only a few houses had been built on its lots, Southwest remained a place of scattered agricultural settlement while L'Enfant mapped its fields and woods into a paper city's grid of streets and squares.[12]

However sleepy L'Enfant found Southwest's rustic landscape, his plan sparked visions of a real estate boom. Speculators envisioned the Buzzard Point peninsula's long frontage on the Potomac and Eastern Branch (as the Anacostia River was known) as the city's major waterfront portal and the Southwest quadrant as its commercial heart.[13] Such visions ignited the imagination of James Greenleaf, a politically-connected New Englander who was both a diplomat and merchant-trader with a stone warehouse on Rock Creek near Georgetown. The Greenleaf Syndicate contracted to purchase thousands of lots from the District commissioners on credit and constructed the city's first real estate developments with the Wheat Row on Fourth Street SW in 1794 and the "Twenty Houses" at South Capitol and N Streets in 1796.

The Greenleaf Syndicate quickly collapsed in bankruptcy and sent its principals to debtors' prison, but faith in Southwest's coming waterborne prosperity endured. In June 1791,

L'Enfant's first report to President George Washington had proposed a canal which would run through Southwest to link wharves on Eastern Branch to the city's center and Georgetown, and bypass the tortuous, silt-ridden Potomac River channel, which was increasingly difficult for ocean-going vessels to navigate.[14] Within a few months, Washington had come to see the construction of a city canal "as one of the initial tasks necessary for the prosperous development of the city," and was extolling its benefits to Thomas Jefferson.[15] Washington's personal secretary Tobias Lear imagined such a canal as the final link in a national commercial network and:

> Foresaw the time when the fur and peltry from the Great Lakes region would be brought to the Capital city, passing through the Washington Canal to the Eastern Branch, where it could be shipped to various ports.[16]

In 1792, Andrew Ellicott's first map of the District of Columbia, a slightly revised version of the L'Enfant Plan, showed such a canal bisecting the city.[17] Yet, despite its highly-placed supporters, this enterprise languished for almost twenty years. Among the obstacles it faced was the opposition of Georgetown waterfront property owners and cartage interests, as well as high labor costs.[18] After two companies became bankrupt before making much visible progress, a new company persevered through the burning of Washington in 1812 and opened the Washington City Canal in 1815, more than fifteen years after George Washington's death.[19]

The canal's route took advantage of several tributaries that passed through the low-lying riverfront lands. Running east from the marshy shore of the Potomac near the future site of the Lincoln Memorial, its channel followed Tiber Creek along what is now Constitution Avenue's right of way. Between Seventh and Third Streets, the canal's level dropped about thirty feet as it swung southeast across the mall. Near South Capitol and E Streets SW, the canal split into east and west channels. Its eastern channel emptied into Eastern Branch near the Navy Yard in Southeast, while its western channel followed the route of St. James (later simply James) Creek, which flowed into Eastern Branch between Greenleaf and Buzzard Points, just east of the United States Arsenal and Washington Penitentiary.[20]

Despite its long gestation, the City Canal proved an enormous economic disappointment. Poorly engineered, it was subject to silt accumulation and tidal fluctuation that alternately resulted in flooding and boats left stranded. After a decade and a half of struggling to attract traffic, the canal was taken over by the city commissioners in 1831.[21] In 1833, a branch waterway finally accomplished something of Tobias Lear's vision by linking the City Canal to the new Chesapeake and Potomac Canal between Georgetown and Cumberland, Maryland. However, business continued to languish as the commissioners failed to make other improvements. After railroads began taking over much of the nation's freight and passenger traffic, the city ceased maintaining the canal in 1860.[22] By 1866, many of the city's sewer mains drained into the canal, creating a vista in which "the Capitol building with its half-completed dome looked grotesquely down upon the Washington City Canal, a canal by name but a municipal sewer by use." During the administration of Governor Alexander Shepard, the District's territorial government began filling in the canal channel north of the mall in the early 1870s.[23]

The failure of the canal bought Southwest problems more pressing than disappointed hopes. Rather than fueling development, the canal's watery loop was perceived to have isolated the quadrant from the rest of the city and led to its being nicknamed "The Island." This nickname may have exaggerated the extent of the problem, for, although it lagged behind that of the city as a whole, Southwest's population grew considerably during the late nineteenth century. During the Civil War, Southwest's population had nearly doubled,[24] While the District's population more than doubled between 1870 and 1900, Southwest's residents increased at a slightly lower rate of 84%.[25] However, the areas south of M Street along the canal route did not share equally in the quadrant's growth. Silt deposited at the canal's mouth further hampered drainage, and, besides flooding adjoining areas, high tides pushed sewage effluent back upstream, creating foul odors which grew especially intense in hot weather. The 1856-59 Boschke map showed what became known as the James Creek Canal as a string of puddle-like ponds sending a tributary as far west as Second and I Streets SW and submerging a significant land area. The intersection of Second and O Streets SW lay beneath the canal's waters and was surrounded by almost entirely uninhabited land (Historic Map Image 2B attached). These swampy and odiferous conditions discouraged residential growth and limited the area's development to slaughterhouses, glue factories, and similarly unpleasant neighbors.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the canal banks remained largely uninhabited south of N Street, the southernmost street to bridge the waterway. Here city streets did not penetrate a large tract divided by the canal that centered on the future site of the St. James Mutual Homes. West of the channel, this tract contained a small number of dwellings and several factories. A glue factory faced N Street, while just northwest of the submerged future intersection of Second and P Streets were the kilns of the Washington Brick and Terra Cotta Company and a large coal and wood yard (Historic Map Image 2C attached). West of the brick works, Square 547 was occupied by the workshops of the Metropolitan Street Railroad Company. By 1919, although the canal been filled in as far south as P Street and most city streets had been extended throughout the area, there had been little additional residential or commercial development (Historic Map Image 2D attached).

Housing Reform and Southwest

Like almost every nineteenth century city, Washington experienced an influx of mostly poor new residents from immigration and in-migration from rural areas. Land prices depressed by the noisome influence of the canal and increasingly silted-in, marshy Eastern Branch bought much small, densely-packed housing for this expanding working class to Southwest. A perception that, despite an overall growth rate that paralleled that of the city as a whole, Southwest would be unlikely to attract more affluent residents led to policy decisions that further encouraged the building of small, rudimentary houses in the quadrant. Although the city building code of 1873 restricted the construction of frame dwellings, these fire rules were suspended for the sparsely-settled areas south of I Street SW, after the chief inspector of buildings pronounced "shanty builders ... the pioneers of the city [who perform the] legitimate function of colonizing and preparing the way for more pretentious buildings."[26]

Racial segregation also shaped housing patterns throughout the city, but probably nowhere so much as in Southwest. African-Americans made up a large proportion of Southwest's new residents beginning with the Civil War decade, when their numbers quadrupled to comprise 37.3% of the quadrant's population by 1870. In-migration of African-Americans accounted for almost two-thirds of the quadrant's growth between 1890 and 1897.[27] By 1897, African-Americans comprised almost half Southwest's residents, compared to approximately one-third of the city's overall population.[28] Most new African-American residents were poor migrants from rural areas who often succeeded white residents in the quadrant's least-expensive housing, including the alley dwellings which had first been noted in the 1850s.[29] By 1871, clusters of alley dwellings had developed in every area of Southwest other than Buzzard's Point.[30] At that time, some 81% of the heads of alley-dwelling households city-wide were Black.[31]

While industrialization and urbanization were creating the clusters of overcrowded and insanitary housing which came to be referred to as "slums," a national movement arose to improve the health, welfare, and morality of the urban poor. Many of these reformers shared the values of the Progressive movement, which reached its peak between1890 and the First World War, which included faith in academic expertise and the efficacy of governmental action to effect social change. Although the Progressive movement sought to improve education, the acculturation of immigrants, and hygienic practices, it also gave rise to housing reform as the most direct channel for improving the physical and moral condition of the poor.

Although it took several decades to achieve critical mass, Washington's Progressive-influenced housing reform movement scored some early successes. In 1892, Congress restricted the construction of dwellings on alleys less than thirty feet wide, without utilities, or lacking ready egress to city streets.[32] In 1894, a number of leading citizens formed a non-partisan group called the City Center, whose committee on housing conducted a field survey and issued several influential reports on public health and alley dwelling conditions in conjunction with the Women's Anthropological Association.[33] Another outgrowth of the Progressive reform effort was the City Beautiful movement, which stressed the improvement of living conditions through the construction of parks, playgrounds, and aesthetically-accomplished public buildings and open spaces. Congress's adoption of the McMillan Plan in 1902 ensured that City Beautiful planning principles shaped Washington planning efforts for decades.

Activists from Southwest played a major role in Washington housing reform. In April 1896, a committee of the South Washington Citizens' Association petitioned the District Commissioners to improve conditions in an alley on the current site of Town Center Park. After the Commissioners failed to act, the association vowed to "make a fight for the betterment of the sanitary conditions of the place."[34] After the turn of the twentieth century, the most prominent leaders of the citywide reform movement were Charles and Eugenia Weller, the founders of the Neighborhood House, a settlement house which occupied the Greenleaf Syndicate's Duncanson-Cranch and Lewis Houses on N Street SW.

The Wellers and other Washington reformers initially focused on publicizing squalid conditions, engaging Jacob Riis to photograph Washington's alley dwellers in 1904. In 1908, the Wellers published *Neglected Neighbors,* with an introduction by President Theodore Roosevelt and

photographs by Lewis Hine, which presented both voluminous data and dramatic anecdotal case studies to convey the living conditions of alley families whose overcrowded spaces often adjoining stables and workshops and lacked running water and indoor plumbing.[35] The Wellers' account gained power by largely avoiding middle class reformers' stereotypically judgmental descriptions of the poor as "wretched and miserable" people who lived "huddled together in blocks of closely packed houses … that smelled from refuse and too many people in too small a space.[36] Although *Neglected Neighbors'* focus was city-wide, the Wellers and Hine unblinkingly acquainted readers with the realities of life in such Southwest neighborhoods as shanty-lined Van Street, overcrowded Willow Tree Alley, and the environs of the "notorious, malodorous, deadly James Creek Canal."[37]

The reformer's tactics won numerous important victories both across the city and in Southwest. Between 1906 and 1908, 545 insanitary dwellings, including some of the city's "worst shanties," were demolished. A report from a coroner's jury that included Charles Weller led to the covering of the James Creek Canal, scene of ten drownings a year, from G to N Streets SW by 1908.[38] By 1911, reformers had succeeded in gaining a $78,000 Congressional appropriation to clear and redevelop Willow Tree Alley SW as a playground. First Lady Ellen Wilson led the citywide reform coalition that sought legislation to end alley dwelling, which was passed in 1914 and finally went into effect in 1918.[39]

However, policies that relied on the demolition of substandard housing created a conundrum, as decreasing the supply of affordable housing simply increased competition and raised the rents for the remaining units. Who would carry out Charles Weller's mandate to "build two for each one demolished" for tenants of limited means?

The Sanitary Housing Movement Comes to Southwest

In the early twentieth century, Southwest became a major stage for the builders of affordable, high quality affordable housing in Washington. The building of such working class housing had had a long history in England, where it included such early experiments as the industrial housing managed by Robert Owen in New Lanark, Scotland in 1820 and the 1857 model tenement block in London's Columbia Square financed by Countess Burdette-Courts at the instigation of her friend Charles Dickens. Because they maintained rents a level street vendors and other workers with irregular incomes could afford, these projects earned a below-market rate of return and were considered "semi-philanthropic" rather than "business" investments.[40] However, by the later nineteenth century, "philanthropic housing" corporations were constructing large-scale working-class housing projects designed to yield a maximum dividend of 5%, which was closer to the market rate. These projects combined "building forms that incorporated higher standards of health and safety, financing that linked traditional private philanthropy and innovative limited-dividend companies, and management techniques that protected investments."[41] Among these techniques was the tenant management system instituted by Octavia Hill (1838-1912), which employed female rent collectors who provided tenants friendly domestic and hygienic advice, thereby improving their lives while enlisting their cooperation in paying rent and maintaining the properties.[42] By the 1890s, similar companies were building model tenements in Boston and New York.

Philanthropic housing came to the District in 1897 with the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company (WSIC), founded under the auspices of the Civic Center, the Board of Trade, the Central Relief Committee, and the Women's Anthropological Society. The company, authorized to raise up to $500,000 and to pay a dividend of 5 percent, to be incorporated in Virginia because of limitations in District law.[43] Fully one quarter of its early stockholders was women. Its board elected General George Sternberg, a physician who had just completed a distinguished Army career and a stint as Surgeon General of the United States, as its first president. Sternberg's work on contagious diseases had convinced him that improved housing for the poor was a necessary precondition for control over infectious disease in the civilian population. His perspective contrasted with many reformers' harsh view of the poor as often to blame for their problems:

> The acute stage of overcrowding in this city was probably reached during and immediately after the Civil War. It is estimated that from 30,000 to 40,000 negroes [sic] from neighboring states came to this city at that time. These unfortunate and ignorant people were obliged to avail themselves of any kind of shelter they could find... Industrious colored men, whose labor would only command from a dollar to a dollar and a half a day and hard working colored women whose lives have been spent over a washtub have been obliged to pay year after year for shelter of the most indifferent kind, an amount which has yielded the landlord twenty percent or more on his investment.[44]

Although Sternberg set quickly to work, The WSIC immediately encountered some constraints on its building program. European cities frequently sold philanthropic companies land at reduced rates, while the WSIC was forced to purchase sites at market rates. Washington's land and constructions costs dictated that, even with reduced dividends, the company could not build high quality housing at rents affordable to the very poor. Sternberg later noted that, "while the original intention was to provide homes for the alley resident and thereby remove the slums," building for the stable, employed working class tenant would trigger what has been called the "filtering effect."

> It was considered best to begin the movement by providing dwellings for the better class of wage earners, in the belief that houses vacated by them would be rented by the next grade and so on until the bottom of the ladder was reached. It is confidently believed that in work of this character, it is always best to begin at the top.[45]

A disagreement about the best type of affordable housing arose between Sternberg and his long-time collaborator, Dr. George Kober, former dean of the Georgetown University Medical School. While Sternberg believed that building centrally-heated two story multi-unit buildings offered economic advantages, Kober argued that individual homes would avoid the "degrading influences" of tenements. After Kober conducted Dr. and Mrs. Sternberg on a tour of the Douglas Flats, a notorious tenement in Northwest, they agreed on a compromise plan that the WSIC would build two-story duplex units with separate egress and yard for each family.[46]

Within months of its incorporation, the WSIC was building its initial development of eight

duplex houses on Bates Street NW. During the next five years, it erected 168 more duplexes along the nearby North Capitol Street corridor. These early houses were rented to whites, although ultimately almost half the city's sanitary housing units would be erected for African-American tenants.

In 1904 Sternberg and his associates formed the Washington Sanitary Housing Company (WSHC), which lowered the its maximum annual return to four percent to allow it to charge lower rents. According to General Sternberg, the new company was needed:

> To build sanitary houses for a deserving class of the population which cannot afford to pay the rentals of from ten to sixteen dollars per month, which the better class of wage-earners pays for the flats of the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company. To bring the rentals within the reach of this class, it is necessary to build on cheaper land, and to leave out certain features – bay windows and cellars – which add to the expense of construction.[47]

The WSHC's first project was a row of 20 duplex houses constructed in 1904 for rental to African-Americans, which replaced a row of wooden shanties built as Civil War barracks on the notoriously squalid Van Street SW.[48] On their completion, Sternberg urged "all citizens who are interested in the sanitary and moral improvement of the laboring classes to visit the houses on Van Street – between M and N Streets and Third and Four and a Half Streets, SW," to see:

> The contrast between the two sides of the street… as the insanitary shacks have been demolished, because after the introduction of water and sewerage into the street consequent upon the erection of the company's houses, the owners of these 'tumble down frame shanties' under the law were obliged to provide water and sewer connections, and obviously preferred to demolish them.[49]

Between 1907 and 1914, the WSIC and WSHC embarked on their greatest building program. Besides a smaller development near 14th and L Streets SE and additional construction in Northwest, the companies built over 150 duplexes for African-American tenants in Southwest. These which filled the 1200 blocks and parts of the 1400 blocks of Carrollsburg Place, Half Street, and South Capitol Street, as well as the unit blocks of M and N Streets. These construction projects resulted in very little direct demolition of substandard units, as they were built in squares that had almost entirely undeveloped land.

Although its buildings' dimensions and levels of embellishment varied, sanitary housing shared key characteristics whether it was erected by the WSIC or WSHC. Built on city streets rather than alleys, each standardized duplex was constructed from concrete block with brick veneer and contained two apartments ranging from three to five rooms, which included baths and kitchens.[50] These duplexes were called "sanitary" because each unit provided running water, indoor plumbing, adequate ventilation, and relief from the crowded living conditions that were endemic to the working class housing of the time.[51] On Half Street SW, each house was two stories tall and 20 feet wide by 36 or 40 feet deep, with one flat per floor. Each flat had its own entrance, bathroom, back porch, and yard. Rooms were large, with front rooms of approximately 180

square feet, 12 by 13 feet bedrooms, and 125 square foot kitchens, equipped with a sink that provided hot water and a stove. Sanitary housing did not neglect the psychological benefits of aesthetically-pleasing architecture. Even the less embellished facades of the WHSC houses in Southwest were not entirely plain, as their facades included modest aesthetic detailing that included corbelled cornices and arched door and window apertures.

The sanitary housing companies relied on the management techniques of philanthropic housing companies, as well as the scientific principles of hygienic architecture. As an incentive to care for their units, tenants received a rebate of one month's rent if no repairs were necessary at the end of the year, a practice pioneered by Octavia Hill.[52] For each block of houses the company allotted a flat to a tenant manager or sub-manager, another practice recommended by Hill.[53] According to a 1907 report from the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, the tenant the company appointed for 214 "colored" units was an African-American woman.[54] These practices were apparently successful. Writing to his investors, Sternberg observed that:

> Our tenants, all of whom belong to the class of day-laborers and some were formerly inmates of these shanties, have responded promptly to improved environments, and under the guidance of the sub-agents, have taken good care of their homes.[55]

Whether built by the WSIC or WHSC, virtually all sanitary housing units were designed by Appleton Clark (1866-1955), one of the city's most prominent and prolific architects. Clark, a native Washingtonian, designed numerous office, public, and commercial buildings, as well as mansions and other dwellings during a more than 60 year career. Among his most prominent buildings are the old Washington Post Building at 1337 E Street NW, the Langston School in Shaw near the original WSIC houses, and the Foundry Methodist Church, Clark was also noted for the 27 apartment houses he designed, including the Roosevelt and the Brittany on 16th Street NW.[56]

Clark viewed architecture as a vehicle for social betterment,[57] and, in addition to his architectural practice and a career as a hotel executive, found time to be active in civic affairs. He was a director of the WSHC from its inception in 1904 and served as its president and executive director during the late 1930s and early 1940s.[58] Clark designed three homes for children and wrote book on the principles of constructing them. On his death in 1955, the *Washington Post* eulogized him as the "dean of Washington architects." [59]

The Eclipse of Sanitary Housing

After the completion of its burst of building in Southwest in 1914, sanitary housing construction fell dormant. This hiatus was presumably partially due to the death of Sternberg, who had been the movement's prime figure, in 1915. However, although both the WSHC and WSIC operated at a surplus, continued to pay regular dividends, and owned real estate whose value far exceeded their debt, changing times discouraged expansion. Building materials were in short supply during the war years, and the prosperous 1920s offered more lucrative investment opportunities than limited dividend corporations could offer. Although the WHSC had raised its dividend to 5% in 1911 to attract more capital, by the 1920s it had still sold only about $200,000 of the

$500,000 worth of stock it was authorized to issue. Its surpluses were invested to cover depreciation of its building stock. The WSIC trustees considered new projects, but noted that the rising cost of land and materials meant that comparable units would have to command twice the rents of existing ones, putting them beyond the reach of their target clientele. After a full decade of inactivity, the WSIC built eight additional duplexes on Bates Streets NW in 1924. Designed by Speiden & Speiden, these were the city's first sanitary housing not designed by Appleton Clark.[60] Otherwise, the sanitary housing companies restricted themselves to making such improvements as electrifying the earliest Bates Street houses, and adding porches and garages to existing units through the end of the 1920s.

The Sanitary Housing Renaissance

While the Great Depression did not hit Washington with the same force as most cities, it caused serious economic distress and a severe downturn in residential construction. At the same time, the city's population increased as job seekers flocked to the capital. Given the increased demand for affordable housing, as well as the drop in land and construction costs, the sanitary housing companies began building again. They were able to do so because they free of debt from over-expansion based on optimistic pre-Depression projections of future revenue and remained financially healthy and credit-worthy. As foundation executive and planning advocate Charles F. Lewis wrote in 1938:

> Let us take, in the City of Washington, the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company, which with assets of nearly $I,500,000 can boast that from 1897 to 1923 it paid an annual dividend of five percent, and from then, straight through the depression, of six per cent. Or the Washington Sanitary Housing Company which has paid five per cent per annum without interruption since 1927.[61]

The WHSC's first project in more than fifteen years was the construction of twenty-six duplexes in the 1400 blocks of Carrollsburg Place and Half Street SW in 1931, the year of Kober's death. Designed by Appleton Clark, now the company's president, and financed by the American Security and Trust Company, these buildings contained modestly-sized three room apartments.[62] The next year, the WSIC built a single four-unit, two-story apartment house near First and Q Streets. Designed by G.E. Locknane, it greatly resembled the early sanitary hosing duplexes in the area.[63]

Subsequent sanitary housing projects broke with the companies' architectural traditions. Sanitary housing developments of the later 1930s incorporated many principles espoused by the Garden Cities movement, whose advocated health-promoting buildings surrounded by green space "that provided "superior air circulation, more pleasing views, and enhanced light in each apartment. "[64] Rather than block-long strings of row houses, the new sanitary housing developments were garden apartments, which James Goode has defined as "a group of three or more two or three-story buildings without lobbies or elevators... arranged together in a landscaped setting."[65] Garden apartments had first appeared in Washington in 1921, with the construction of Petworth Gardens in the unit block of Webster Street NW.[66] Subsequent developments ranged from moderately-priced to upscale, and some garden apartment design

principles were incorporated into luxurious elevator apartment buildings, including the Tilden and Sedgwick Gardens complexes on Connecticut Avenue NW.[67]

During the late 1930s and early 1940s, the garden apartment complex would become a favored architectural form for affordable housing, with the sanitary housing developments representing its initial adaption for this purpose. Each of the three garden apartment complexes erected by the sanitary housing companies between 1935 and 1939 realized its goal of providing health-enhancing, aesthetically-pleasing housing at an affordable rent that yielded a reasonable rate of return. However, the complexes differ significantly in plan and style, and each reflects a different role in the development of the surrounding community.

In April 1934, the WSIC obtained permits to build 22 two-story, four unit buildings in Square 4052 in the Trinidad section of Northeast Washington. These buildings, built on lots on Raum Street, Simms Place, and Trinidad Avenue NE owned by the WSHC, abandoned the simple facades, cheek-by-jowl lot placement, small private yards, and traditional row house styling of the sanitary duplexes, instead providing such colonial revival touches as gabled roofs, elaborately patterned lintels, and arched doorways with fanlights, as well as communal open spaces. The Trinidad development's buildings followed two basic configurations. Most were attached twin four-unit, gable-roofed buildings, with high brick gable-ends incorporating two brick chimneys on their outer sidewalls. Others were plainer, pyramidal-roofed, four-unit buildings which lacked such decorative lintels and high gable-end walls. (Image 2E) As the *Washington Post* noted, "instead of building in rows, as formerly, the company is making a departure by arranging smaller group units with open spaces on all sides," and leaving a 'parked space" in the center of the complex for recreation.[68]

Sanitary Housing in Southwest and the Building of Kober-Sternberg Courts

In July1936, sanitary housing development returned to Southwest, when the WSHC purchased the former Washington Brick and Terra Cotta Company plant site, which comprised the full area of Square 547E, bounded by Canal, Third, O and P Streets SW. In March 1937, the WSHC applied for permits to erect the 15 two-story "flats" on the site that became Sternberg Court.[69] These buildings featured brick foundations with brick party walls and cinder block with an outer layer of brick on the external walls of their first and second stories.

Sternberg Court, designed by Appleton Clark and named in honor of the sanitary housing companies' first president and long-time leader, was called a "model project" by the *Washington Post*.[70] However, construction proceeded slowly at first, because of the municipal building inspector's objections to some technical details about Clark's plans. However, after Clark wrote to the Chief Inspector on April 12, 1937, most were resolved in his favor. After the conclusion of some grading work during May, construction by the Martin Brothers Company proceeded rapidly. By early June, footers were approved for some of the buildings, and, by the later part of that month, brickwork was well underway. By late July, porches were being inspected, and by mid-August, framing was being checked. By late September, trimming and plastering were well underway, and by October, several of the buildings were occupied.[71]

, it was completed in approximately six months and dedicated on November 26, 1937, about one month after it had opened at full occupancy. The dedication, held in the courtyard, involved numerous Southwest civic leaders and housing activists, including Sternberg Court resident Harry Wender, president of the Southwest Citizens Association, who had attended the day nursery at the Wellers' Barney Neighborhood House. Speaking from the rear balcony of Wender's apartment at 1414 Third Street, Appleton Clark extolled General Sternberg's vision of using the private market to creating to create high-quality affordable housing with a reasonable rate of return. Ellen Vinson of the Barney Neighborhood House Board stressed the importance of housing to social reform by stating "we want families with children to have the advantages these apartments offer." The ceremony was of sufficient importance that Eleanor Roosevelt had agreed to attend, although another commitment kept her away at the last minute.[72]

Like the Trinidad sanitary housing development, Sternberg Court originally had only white residents. In August, 1938, less than a year after Sternberg Court opened, the WSIC applied for permits to construct a complex of multi-unit buildings in the 1400 block of Half and unit blocks of O and P Streets SW which would rented to African-American tenants.[73] This complex in Square 654, which ultimately received permits as ten individual buildings, included a row of four adjoining multi-unit two story buildings from 1405 through 1415 Half Street, bracketed by a detached two-story four-unit building at either end. On March 1, 1939, the WSIC filed for a permit to construct pairs of "semi-detached" three-story, nine unit apartment houses at 34 and 38 O Street and 35 and 39 P Street SW.[74] Appleton Clark's plan organized these buildings around a courtyard, which was open on its west end.[75] His design further simplified or eliminated many of the colonial revival details found at the Sternberg Courts, including corner quoins, fanlights, and triangular pediments. The buildings' doorways were, however, framed with quoined borders and, at the O and P Street buildings, were topped by a striking ocular window in an octagonal concrete block frame. (IMAGE 2F)

On April 19, 1939, the WSIC filed plans for what would become Washington's final sanitary housing project as well as the last project of Appleton Clark's long architectural career. On May 1, 1939, the WSIC received a permit to build a single three- story, fifty-one unit apartment house at 221 O Street SW on land deeded to the Washington Sanitary Housing Company.[76] This apartment house, built by the Martin Brothers Construction Company in three wings around a landscaped forecourt, was called Kober Court and became a second module of what became known as the Sternberg-Kober Courts. Constructed of red brick, it featured combination of pitched and flat roofs, as well as a brick foundation on a concrete slab floor. Unlike the adjoining buildings in the Half Street row, it did not incorporate party walls.[77]

Construction of Kober Court proceeded rapidly, with each of the three wings being constructed on the same schedule. By late May, a municipal building inspector reported that brick work was underway on the foundation, By June, structural steel framing was in place and by mid-July, roof framing was in process. By early September, plastering was 95% complete, and the building was open for occupancy a short time later.[78]

The 1940 Census reveals that the Kober-Sternberg Court, which still had only white tenants, was fully occupied. About half the tenant families had children, many of whom were under the age of

ten. While the buildings included tradesman and other blue collar workers, the majority had clerical occupations such as office clerk, sales person, bookkeeper, or telephone operator. The appearance of a few professional workers such as a pharmacist testified to the lingering effects of the Great Depression on income.

The End of Sanitary Housing and the Formation of the St. James Mutual Homes

The end of the sanitary housing companies' building program can be traced to a variety of factors. One is the entrance of government into the housing market for middle, moderate, and low-income tenants. In Washington, the Alley Dwelling Authority, established in 1934, began demolishing substandard housing and replacing it with modern units. After the passage of the Wagner-Steagall Act of 1937 allowed local housing agencies to apply for federal funds to build housing, its projects burgeoned. In July 1937, the ADA received a permit to build its first publically-owned housing in Southwest, a single two-story apartment house for white tenants at 623 K Street SW.[79] While the coming of the war limited the availability of building materials, in 1942 the ADA received priority supplies to construct the James Creek Homes to house African-American war workers, who would have been a key constituency for sanitary housing developments. After the war, widespread uncertainty about the direction redevelopment in Southwest would greatly limit construction in the quadrant.

Although they built no additional buildings, the sanitary hosing companies remained profitable. In 1951, economic historian Ernest Fischer noted that the WSHC had paid uninterrupted dividends of 8 percent throughout the Depression and 10% since 1941. The WSIC had similarly more than doubled in asset value and paid uninterrupted dividends of 5% from 1908 through 1944 and 6% in 1945.[80] These disbursements had not been made as the cost of deferring maintenance. Fisher commented that:

> Both companies have provided well-built, attractive, and adequately maintained apartments at rents which made them available to low-income groups. Older dwellings have been modernized, and those recently constructed have been equipped with central heating, electric refrigerators, and other modern conveniences. Tenant turnover has been considerably below average. Roughly 60 percent of the dwellings are available for white and 40 percent for Negro occupancy.[81]

Nonetheless, perhaps in response to the uncertainty of what course Southwest redevelopment would take, the sanitary housing companies appear to have begun selling off duplexes in the early 1950s. In 1954, real estate entrepreneurs Fred Smith and William Calomaris, who had tendered an offer that totaled $1,000,000 for all outstanding WHSC stock, were elected president and vice-president of the company.[82]

On January 13, 1955, the Kober-Sternberg Courts were deeded to Southwest Properties, a firm associated with Calomaris, who soon afterwards announced he was considering a bid to become developer of Southwest Redevelopment Area B.[83] After the New York firms Smith & Schauer and Webb & Knapp were selected as the exclusive redevelopers of Southwest, Calomaris held Kober-Sternberg Courts for about four years before selling it to the Redevelopment Land

Agency in 1959. By that time, the RLA had made the controversial decision that only open market-rate housing would be built in the urban renewal area. As Francesca Ammon's history of Southwest Redevelopment notes;

> Although new housing in Southwest was originally intended to span virtually a range of income levels, from lower middle income to upper income, the majority of housing constructed was oriented toward middle or upper income residents. The redevelopment plan for Project Area B had included an early provision for rental housing priced at $17 per room per month, but that stipulation was removed in 1959 when it proved to costly and difficult to enact. Advocates of the revocation also cited the fact that alternative housing was already available in the city for this $4,500 to $8,000 annual income group. Only in 1966 did the RLA first turn its attention to dealing with this economic class, through construction of the Channel Square complex and rehabilitation of the St. James Mutual Homes.[84]

Apparently the relative youth and quality of the Kober-Sternberg Courts had caused the RLA to decide that they would be among the small handful of buildings to survive urban renewal, and perhaps blunt criticism of its failure to provide new affordable housing. Although it cannot be determined when the Kober-Sternberg Courts began renting to African-Americans, the RLA operated under requirements that forbade discrimination on grounds of race, color, or creed in federally-funded projects.

The RLA reported that it was obligated to purchase the complex because of its mandate to acquire all parcels in the Redevelopment area, and that it intended to sell the complex back to Calomaris, who held a contract to manage the property in the meantime. However, in 1962, the RLA was embarrassed by 21 Health Department citations for the still-unsold property.[85] By 1963, the RLA changed tactics, announcing that the Kober-Sternberg Courts would be sold to a new cooperative formed by the Foundation for Cooperative Housing, which had developed the adjacent middle-income River Park cooperative, with current residents having first purchase priority.[86]

After the RLA announced plans to develop the moderate income affordable project that became Channel Square in 1964, it proposed to sell the Kober-Sternberg Courts to the St. James Mutual Home Cooperative for $700,000.[87] In 1966, the RLA cut the purchase price to $500,000 to allow rents to remain low after the cooperative had renovated the property. [88]

Rehabilitation was finally completed in August 1967, when residents began moving back into the complex. At the time, 98 of the 107 apartments had been sold, most to former tenants.[89] Since that time, the St. James Mutual Homes has remained one of the city's oldest and most successful cooperative communities.

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Moore, Elizabeth A. and McNett, Charles W., eds., *Archaeological Survey of the Southwest Quadrant of the District of Columbia* (SHPO Archeological Report 440, unpublished, 1992)

Rosner, David. "Spanish Flu, or Whatever It Is, The Paradox of Public Health in a Time of Crisis," *Public Health Reports*, Supplement 3 (New York: Columbia University, 2010)

Sakolski, Morton. *The Great American Land Bubble.* (Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1966)

Sternberg ,George. *Annual Report of the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company*, 1908,

Weller, Charles Frederick and Welle, Eugenia *Neglected Neighbors: Stories of Life in the Alleys, Tenements and Shanties.* (Philadelphia: Winston and Company, 1909)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

____ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
____ previously listed in the National Register
____previously determined eligible by the National Register
____designated a National Historic Landmark
____ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #_____
____recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
____ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

____ State Historic Preservation Office
____ Other State agency
____ Federal agency
____ Local government
____ University
____ Other
Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

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10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property _____

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates
Datum if other than WGS84:_____
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1. Latitude: 38° 52' 23.99" N (38.87333) Longitude: 77° 0' 51.89" W (-77.014414)
2. Latitude: 38° 52' 20.01" N (38.872226) Longitude: 77° 0' 52.23" W (-77.014507)
3. Latitude: 38° 52' 20" N (38.872223) Longitude: 77° 0' 53.87" W (-77.014964)
4. Latitude: 38° 52' 22.04" N (38.87279) Longitude: 77° 0' 53.81" W (-77.014947)
5. Latitude: 38° 52' 22.06" N (38.872795) Longitude: 77° 0' 51.42" W (-77.014284)

Or
UTM References
Datum (indicated on USGS map):

☐ NAD 1927 or ☐ NAD 1983

1. Zone: Easting: Northing:
2. Zone: Easting: Northing:
3. Zone: Easting: Northing:
4. Zone: Easting : Northing:

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

St. James Mutual Homes occupies lot 23 in Square 547. Its boundaries are the 200 block of P Street SW to the south, the 1400 block of Third Street SW and property line with the River Park Cooperative to the west, the River Park Cooperative property line and Delaware Avenue SW to the north, and Canal Street SW to the east.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

These are the boundaries of the property that the St. James Mutual Homes complex occupies.

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11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Douglas Peter Sefton (for St. James Mutual Homes)
organization:
street & number: 19 East Chapman Street
city or town: Alexandria state: VA zip code: 22301
e-mail psefton@comcast.net
telephone: 703-836-2015
date: May 5, 2015

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log - See Attached

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).
Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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[1] Emily Eig and Laura Hughes. "Apartment Houses of Washington, DC, 1880-1945," (Unpublished Multiple Property Designation Form, July 1993), on file with the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office.
[2] DC Building Permit 201606, April 20, 1937.
[3] These buildings originally had the addresses 1411 and 1413 Canal Street SW.
[4] DC Building Permit 222993, May 18, 1939.
[5] A very small number of municipal buildings, including Thomas Jefferson Junior High School, and commercial buildings, including the former Wenner Warehouse on the Junior High School's grounds, survived urban renewal but remain undesignated. The former Delaware Avenue Baptist Church, at 1107 Delaware Avenue SW in the same square as the Greenleaf Gardens Public Housing Development, is not considered to be within the urban renewal area. See Francesca Russello Ammon. *Southwest Washington, D.C., Urban Renewal Area (*HABS No. DC-856) (Unpublished report of the Historic American Buildings Survey, National Parks Service) on-line at http://lcweb2.loc.gov/master/pnp/habshaer/dc/dc1000/dc1017/data/dc1017data.pdf for a discussion of the Greenleaf tract and the redevelopment area boundaries.
[6] Ammon, 4.
[7] James Goode. *Best Addresses*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987). 184.
[8] Elizabeth A. Moore and Charles W. McNett, eds., *Archaeological Survey of the Southwest Quadrant of the District of Columbia* (SHPO Archeological Report 440, unpublished, 1992),, 289.
[9] Ammon, 69
[10] Don Alexander Hawkins, "The City of Washington in 1800: A New Map," in "Washington History: Coming into the City: Essays on Early Washington D.C. Commemorating the Bicentennial of the Federal Government's Arrival in 1800, Vol. 12, No. 1, (Spring/Summer, 2000), 74.
[11] Don Alexander Hawkins, "The Landscape of the Federal City: A 1792 Walking Tour," in Washington History, Special Bicentennial Issue: Washington D.C., 1791-1991 (Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring/Summer, 1991), 24
[12] Moore and McNett, 78-79.
[13] Aaron Morton Sakolski. *The Great American Land Bubble*. (Ludwig von Mises Institute, 1966), 161.
[14] "L'Enfant's Report Accompanying his First City Plan to the President. Georgetown, June 22, 1791," quoted in Cornelius W. Heine. "The Washington City Canal" in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society,* Vol. 53/56, (Washington, D.C., Columbia Historical Society, 1953/1956), 2.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Heine, 3
[17] http://dcsymbols.com/ovason/ellicotts.htm
[18] Heine, 3-4.
[19] Heine, 5-8.
[20] Heine, 21. See also Hawkins, A Walking Tour," 31-32.
[21] Heine, 9-11.
[22] Heine, 21.

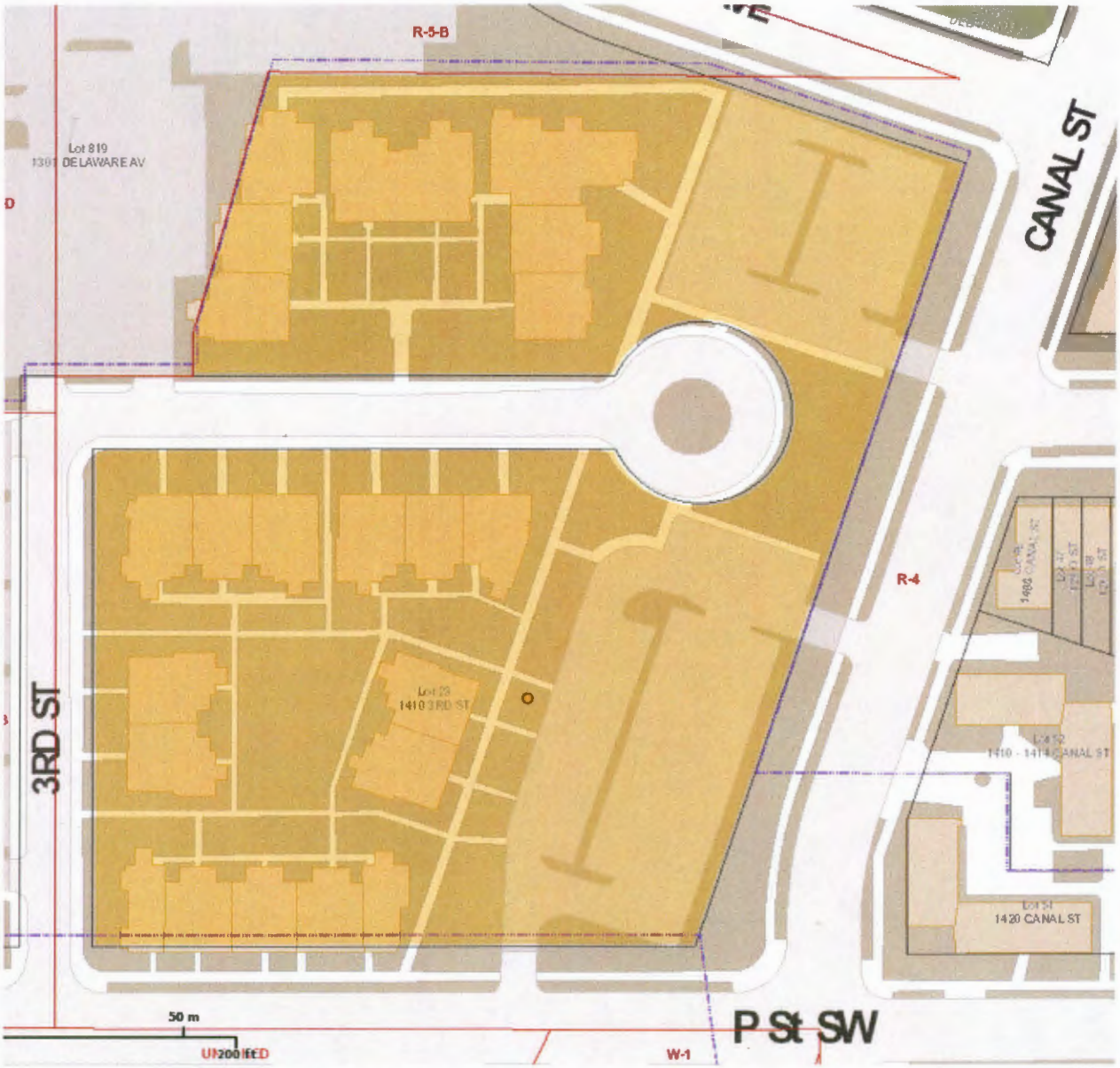
[23] Heine, 24 and 26.
[24] Paul A. Groves. "The Development of a Black Residential Community in Southwest Washington: 1860-1897," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C. Vol. 49*, (1973/1974), (Washington, DC: Columbia Historical Society, 1974), 264.
[25] Groves, 265 (table).
[26] "The Building Of Houses.: What Has Been Done During the Past Week -- Improvements Contemplated," *Washington Post*; June 22, 1884; 8.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Groves, 264.
[25] James Borchert, "The Rise and Fall of Washington's Inhabited Alleys: 1852-1972," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.*, Vol. 71/72, (1971/1972), pp. 268-270
[30] Borchert, 274.
[31] Borchert, 275.
[32] Borchert, 277.
[33] George Martin Kober, *The History and Development of the Housing Movement in Washington* (Rptd Nabu Press, 2012), 7-8.
[34] "Bring on Another Pie," *Washington Post,* April 7, 1896.
[35] David Rosner, "Spanish Flu, or Whatever It Is, The Paradox of Public Health in a Time of Crisis," *Public Health Reports*, Supplement 3 (New York: Columbia University, 2010), 41.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Charles Frederick Weller and Eugenia Weller. *Neglected Neighbors: Stories of Life in the Alleys, Tenements and Shanties.* (Philadelphia: Winston and Company, 1909), 243.
[38] Weller, 244.
[39] James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1980), 46-48.
[40] Eugenie Ladner Birch And Deborah S. Gardner."The Seven-Percent Solution: A Review of Philanthropic Housing,1870-1910," *Journal of Urban History*, Volume 7, No 4, (August, 1981), 410.
[41] Birch and Gardner, 409 and 432-433.
[42] Birch and Gardner, 412.
[43] Elizabeth Hannold, "Comfort and Respectability: Washington's Philanthropic Housing Movement," *Washington History*, 4, 2 (Fall/Winter, 1992/1993), 28.
[44] Birch and Gardner, 432.
[45] George Sternberg. Annual *Report of the Washington Sanitary Improvement Company*, 1908, 25, quoted in Birch and Gardner, 437.
[46] Kober, 43.
[47] Kober, 38.
[48] "Houses For The Poor: Sanitary Structures Will Be Built on Van Street," *Washington Post*; Jun 3, 1904; 12.
[49] Kober, 39.
[50] Hanold, 30-31.
[51] Hannold, 27-28.
[52] Kober, 25-27.
[53] *The Southern Workman*, 44 (1907), 591.
[54] Ibid,
[55] Kober, 39.
[56] Goode, 221.
[57] "Appleton Clark, 89, Dean of Architects" (obituary). *Washington Post*; March 27, 1955; B2.
[58]. "Business Briefs of DC Interest," *Washington Post;* May 23, 1944; 8.
[59] Clark Obituary, *Washington Post;* March 27, 1955; B2.

[60] DC Permit # 10988, 6/16/1924
[61] Charles F. Lewis. "Large-Scale Rental Developments as an Alternative to Home Ownership," in *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Vol. 5, No. 4, Home Financing (Duke University School of Law, Autumn, 1938), 606.
[62] "More Southwest Sanitary Housing," *Washington Post*; Sep 6, 1931; R2.
[63] DC Permit 158368, 10/19/1932.
[64] Eig and Hughes, E52.
[65] Goode, 183.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Eig and Hughes, E54.
[68] "Apartments Constructed In Group Units: Washington Sanitary Co. to Provide Moderate Rental Housing," *Washington Post;* Apr 22, 1934; R2.
[69] DC Building Permit 201606, April 20, 1937.
[70] "Model Housing Project to Open: House-Warming Is Slated on Friday Afternoon at Sternberg Court," *Washington Post;* Nov 19, 1937; 17
[71] DC Building Permit 201606, aee attached inspection reports.
[72] "Low-Cost Home Group Opened In Capital Area: Sternberg Courts Realize Dream of Former Surgeon-General," *Washington Post*; November 27, 1937; 15 and "Model Housing Project to Open," *Washington Post;* November 19, 1937; 17.
[73] DC Permits 215349, 8/3/1938 and 220471, 3/1/1939.
[74] The four adjoining buildings from 1405 through 1417 Half Street SW are now three stories tall. Multiple entries on their permit, issued on 8/3/1939, state that they were planned to be two stories tall, and there are no revisions to the building height noted in the inspection notes and other documents. These buildings were likely added at a later date, perhaps as early as the construction of the pairs of three story buildings on O and P Streets in 1939, although no permits have yet been added.
[75] This courtyard now faces the parking lot in the interior of the Syphax Gardens public housing development across an alley.
[76] DC Permit 222993, May 1, 1939
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid. Attached inspection notes.
[79] DC Permit 205204, July 30, 1937.
[80] Ernest M. Fisher. *Urban Real Estate Markets: Characteristics and Financing* (Washington, DC: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1951), 123.
[81] Fisher, 123-124.
[82] "Million Dollar Deal: DC Housing Firm Sold," *Washington Post;* October 5, 1954; 33.
[83] "D.C. Builder May Bid on SW Project," *Washington Post;* June 18, 1955; 18.
[84] Ammon, 56.
[85] "Violations Laid to RLA Apartments: 21 Housing Code Infractions Cited At Old SW Project," *Washington Post;* Sep 9, 1962; B1.
[86] "RLA Acts on Renewal Housing," *Washington Post;* Nov 7, 1963; D26.
[87] "$1 Million Tract Goes To Hill-Free," *Washington Post;* Feb 4, 1965; D2.
[88] "RLA Cuts Sale Price Of SW Project Again To Bring Rent Down," *Washington Post;* Aug 20, 1966; B2.
[89] "Apartments Rehabilitated For Low-Income Families," *Washington Post;* Aug 5, 1967; C7.

Attachment 1: Illustration List and Photo Log – St. James Mutual Homes

Image	Title	Camera Facing	Photographer/ Source	Date
Documentary Photographs				
1A	201 to 217 P St. SW, Full Row	NE	D.P. Sefton	4/1/2015
1B	209 P St. SW, Front Façade	N	D.P. Sefton	4/1/2015
1C	Duplex Building at 201 P St. SW, Front Façade	N	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1D	1410-1414 Third St. SW, Front Facades	E	D.P. Sefton	4/1/2015
1E	212 through 220 O St. SW, Showing Chamfered NW Corner.	SE	D.P. Sefton	4/1/2015
1F	St. James Mutual Homes from Canal St. SW, with 200 Through 208 O St. SW in Center Background	SW	D.P. Sefton	4/1/2015
1G	200 Through 208 O St. SW Row, Showing Chamfered NE Corner.	SW	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1H	1411 and 1415 James Creek Pkwy. SW, Front Facades	W	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1I	St. James Mutual Homes' Former "Sternberg Court" Section Courtyard, Showing Rear Porches.	SW	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1J	Entrance Decoration, With Fanlight on O St. SW and Door Detailing With Pediment on James Creek Pkwy SW.	S (Fanlight) W (Doorway)	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1K	Front Facade of Former "Kober Court" Building, 215 Through 229 O St. SW.	NW	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
IL	East Wing of Former "Kober Court" Building, 215 Through 221 O St. SW.	E	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1M	North Wing of Former "Kober Court" Building, 221 and 223 O St. SW...	N	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1N	West Wing of Former "Kober Court" Building, 225 Through 229 O St. SW...	NW	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1O	Rear of East and North Wing of Former "Kober Court" Building, Showing Porches, From Delaware Ave. SW	SW	D.P. Sefton	4/17/2015
1P	Trinidad Sanitary Housing Development – 1240 and 1280 Raum Street NE	NE	D.P. Sefton	2/15/15
1Q	Square 654 Sanitary Housing – 1415 Half Street SW and 35-39 P Street SW	W	DC MAR (1415 Half) D.P. Sefton (35-39 P)	9/27/04 4/17/15
Historic Images				
2A	Excerpt From *Baist's Real Estate Atlas* Map, 1960 Edition, Updated Circa 1970		Library of Congress	
2B	Excerpt From Boschke's *Topographical*		Library of	

	Map of the District of Columbia (1856-59)		Congress	
2C	Excerpt From *Baist's Real Estate Atlas,* Volume 2, Plate 8, (1903)		Library of Congress	
2D	Excerpt From *Baist's Real Estate Atlas,* Volume 2, Plate 8, (1919)		Library of Congress	
2E	Site Plan. Sternberg Court, 1937		DC Building Permit 201606	4/20/37
2F	Site Plan, Kober Court, 1939		DC Permit 222993	5/ 1/39



Proposed boundary map, Lot 23 in Square 547

IMAGE 1A: St. James Mutual Homes: P Street Row

IMAGE 1B: St. James Mutual Homes: 209 P Street Facade

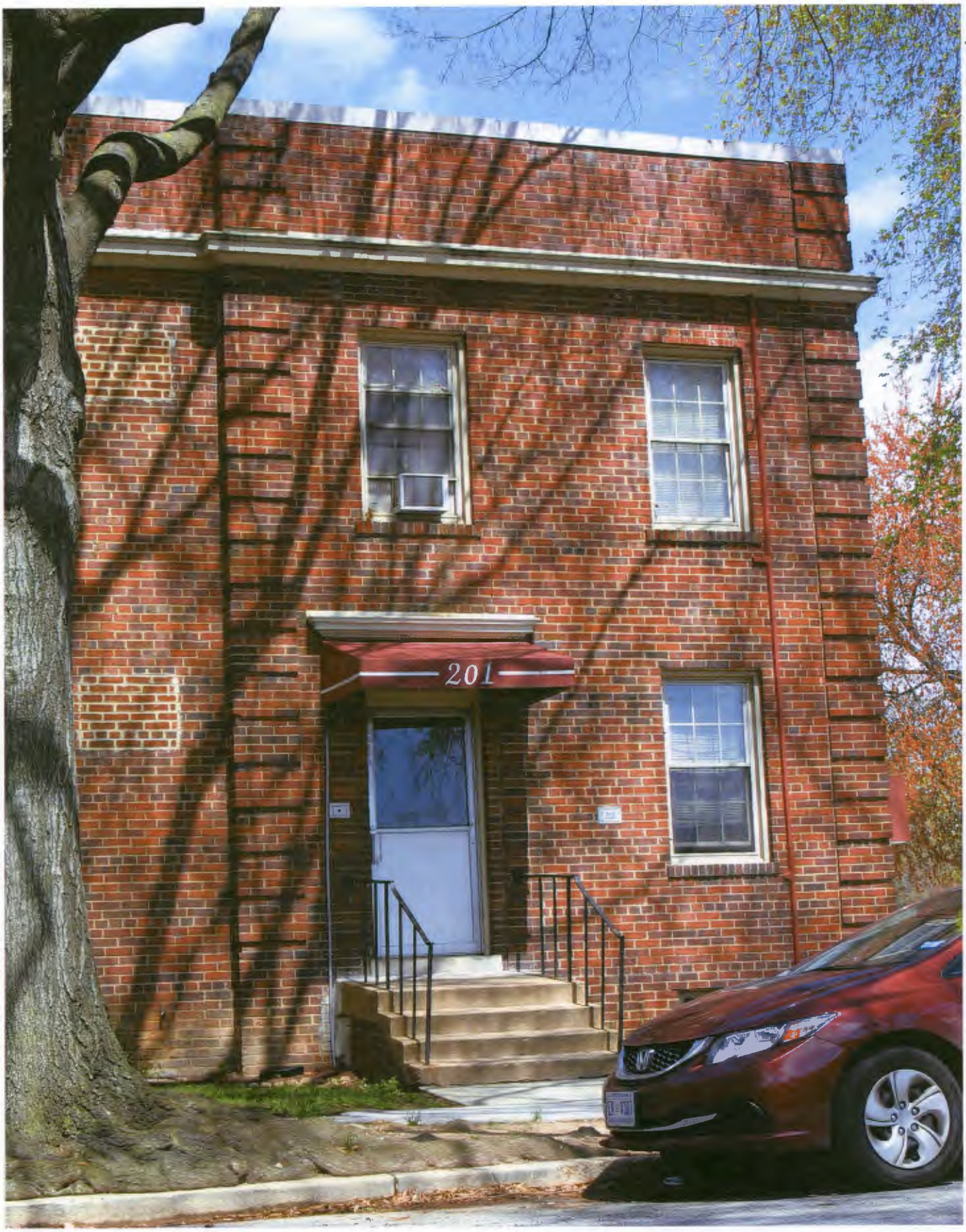


Image 1C: Duplex Building at 201 P Street SW

IMAGE 1D: Third Street Row Front Facades

IMAGE 1E: 212 through 220 O Street SW, Showing Chamfered NW Corner.

IMAGE 1F: St. James Mutual Homes, looking Southwest from Canal Street SW, with 200 through 208 O Street SW Row in Center Background.

IMAGE 1G: 200 Through 208 O Street SW Row, Showing Chamfered NE Corner.

IMAGE 1H: James Crek Parkway SW Row

IMAGE 11: St. James Mutual Homes' Former "Sternberg Court" Section Courtyard, Showing Rear Porches.

IMAGE 1J: Entrance Detailing, With Fanlight on O Street and Door Surround With Pediment on St. James Parkway.

IMAGE 1K: Front facade of St. James Mutual Homes' former "Kober Court" Building at 215 Through 229 O Street SW.

IMAGE 1L: East Wing of St. James Mutual Homes Former "Kober Court" Building (215 Through 221 O Street SW).

IMAGE 1M: North Wing of St. James Mutual Homes' Former "Kober Court" Building (221 and 223 O Street SW).

IMAGE 1N: Rear of East and North Wing of St. James Mutual Homes' Former "Kober Court" Building, Showing Porches.

IMAGE 10: Rear of East and North Wing of St. James Mutual Homes' Former "Kober Court" Building, Showing Porches.

Image 1P: Trinidad Sanitary Housing (1934) 1240 Raum Street NE (above) and 1280 Raum Street NE (Below)

Image 1Q: Square 654 Sanitary Housing (1938-39) 1415 Half Street SW (above) end 35-39 P Street SW (below)

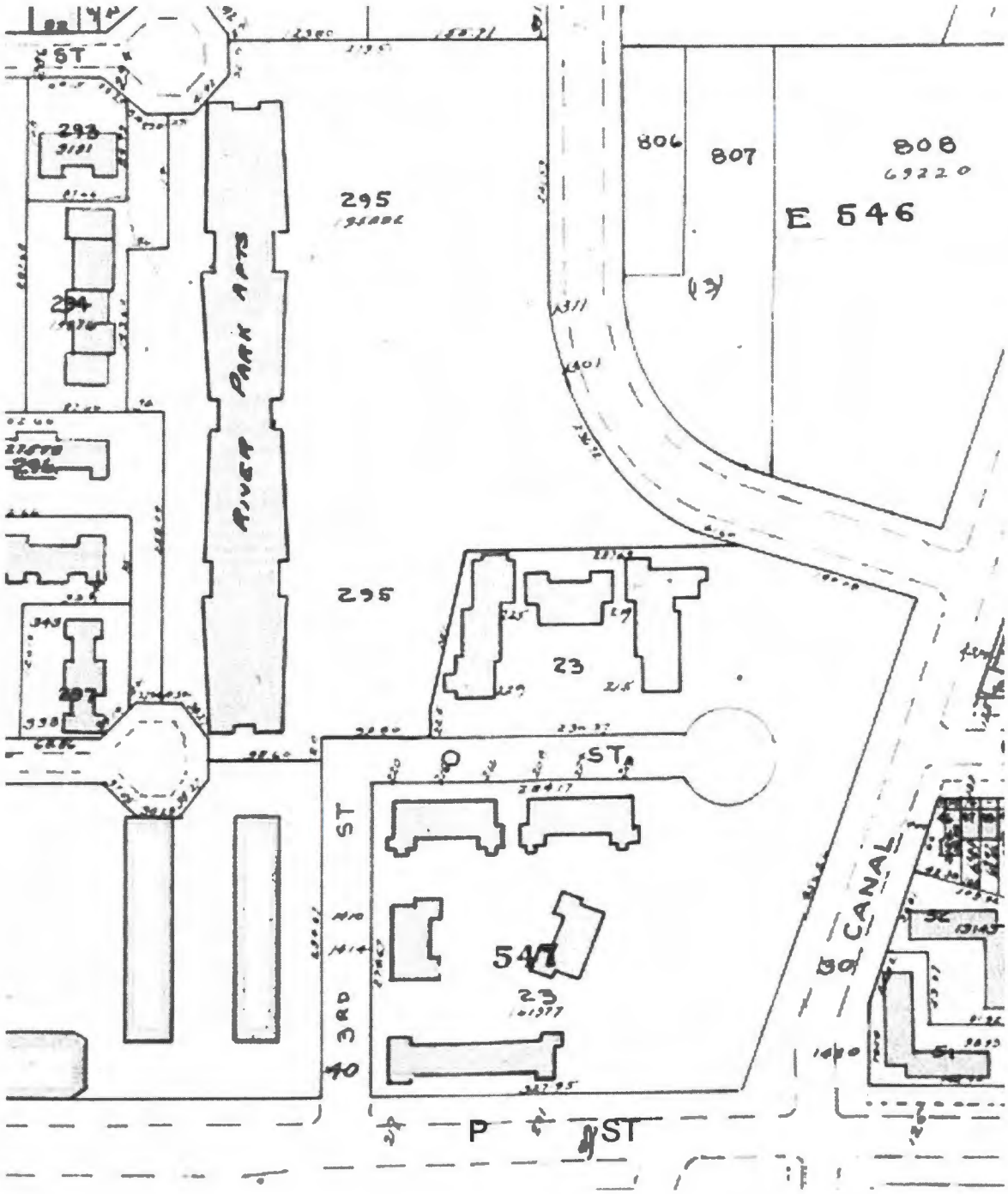


IMAGE 2A: Excerpt from Baist's Real Estate Atlas (c.1970), showing location of St. James Mutual Homes

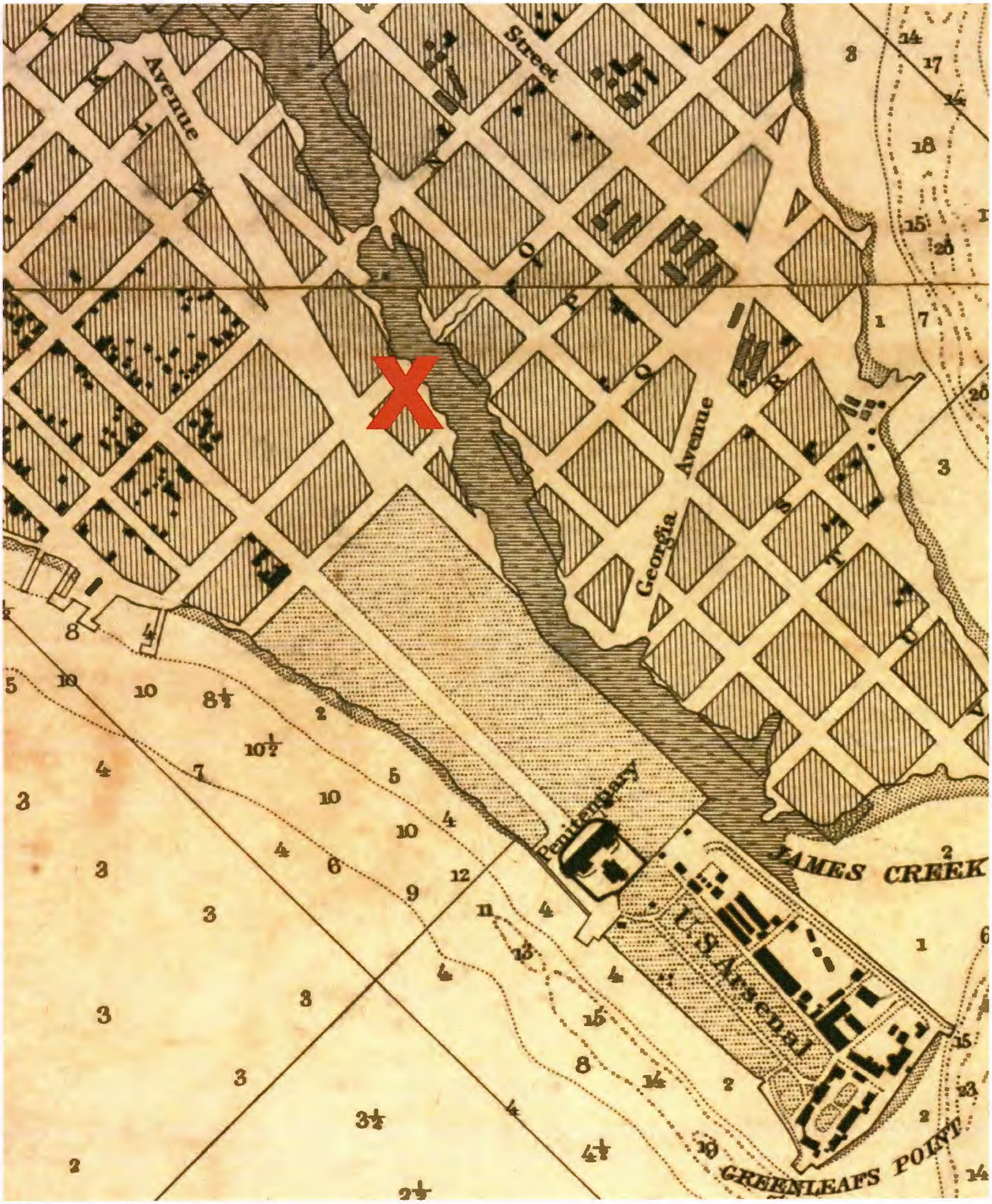


IMAGE 2B: Excerpt from "Boschke's Map of Washington" (1857), showing future location of St. James Mutual Homes

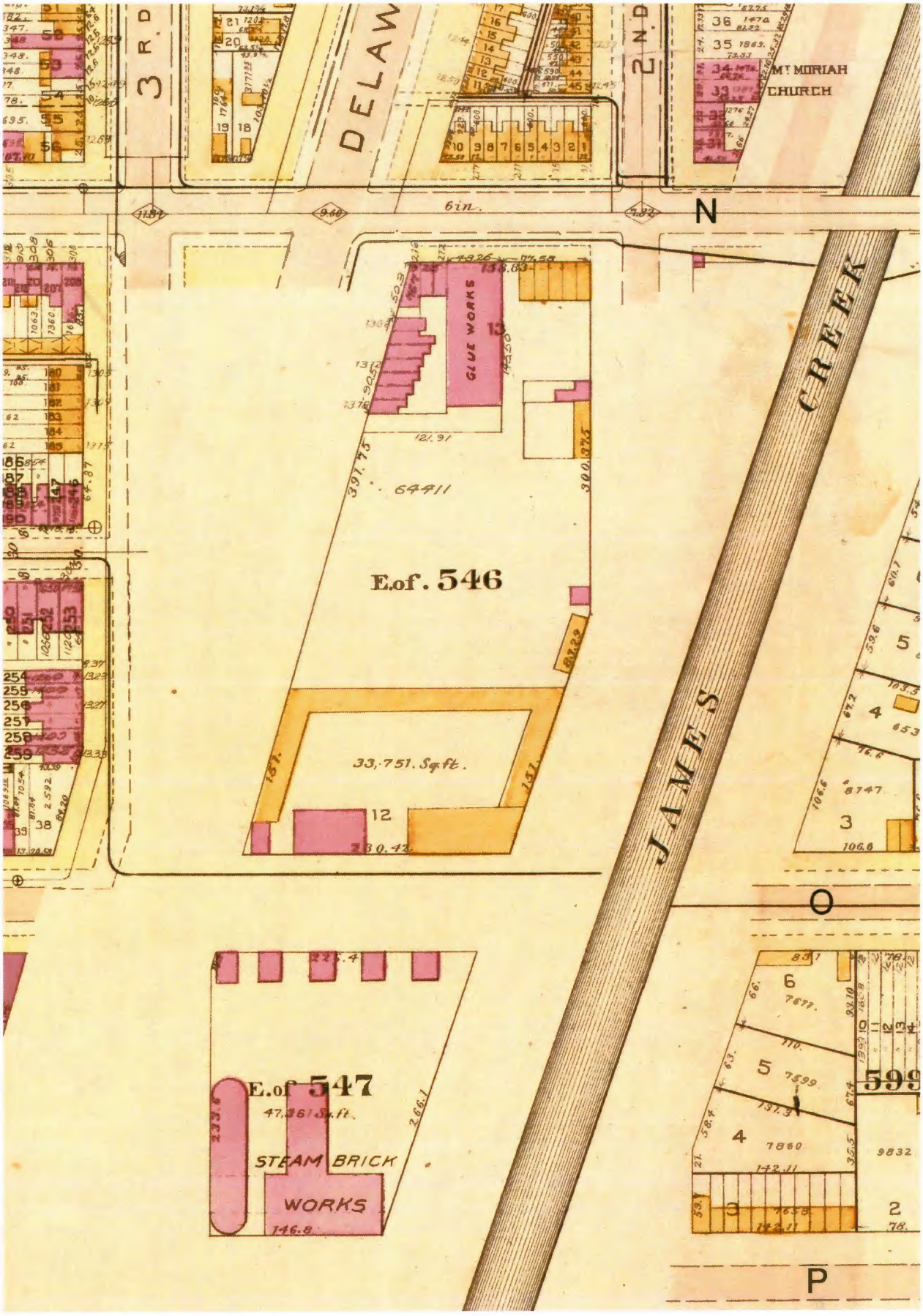


IMAGE 2C: Excerpt from Baist's Real Estate Atlas (1903), showing future location of St. James Mutual Homes

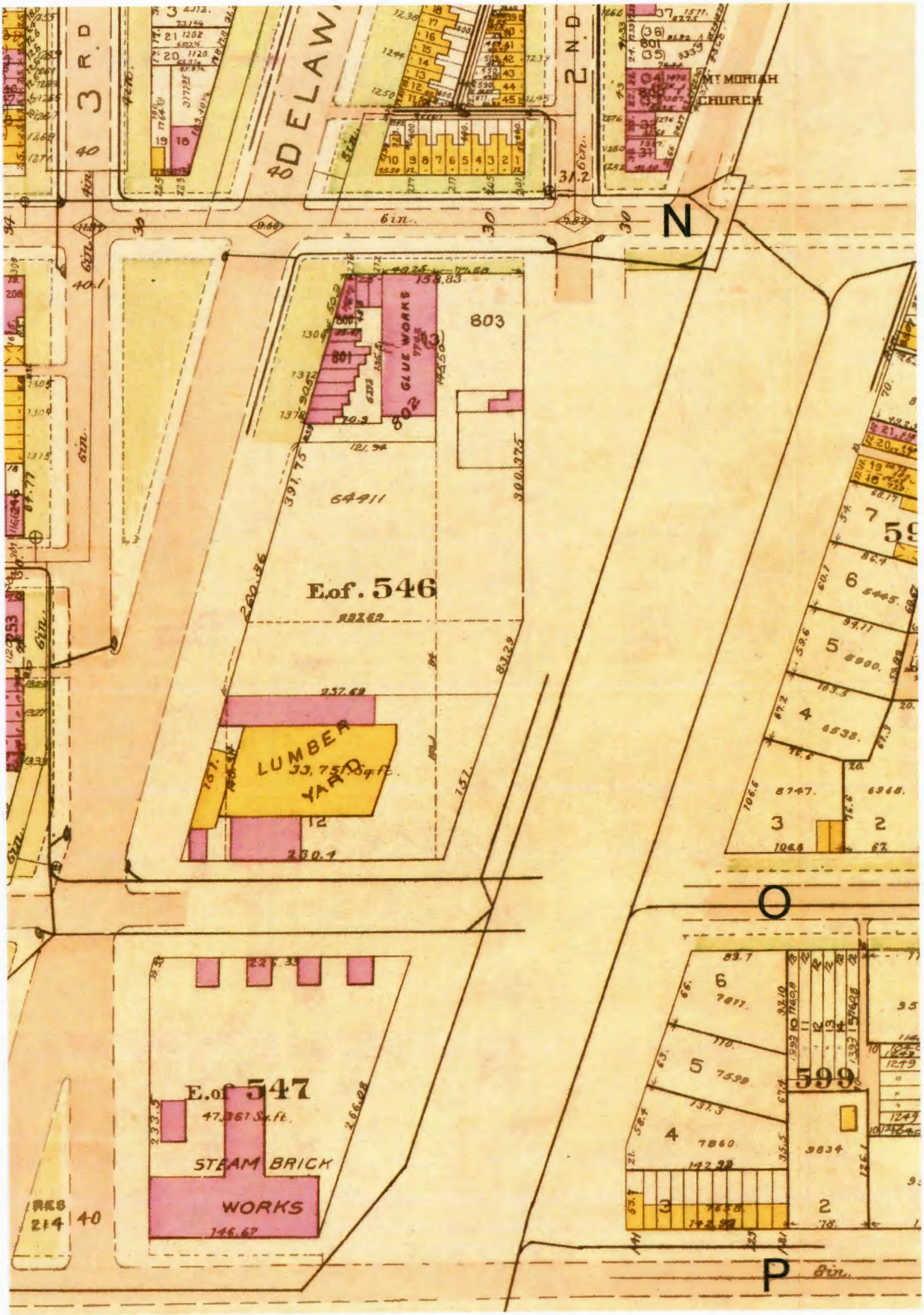


IMAGE 2D: Excerpt from Baist's Real Estate Atlas (1919), showing future location of St. James Mutual Homes

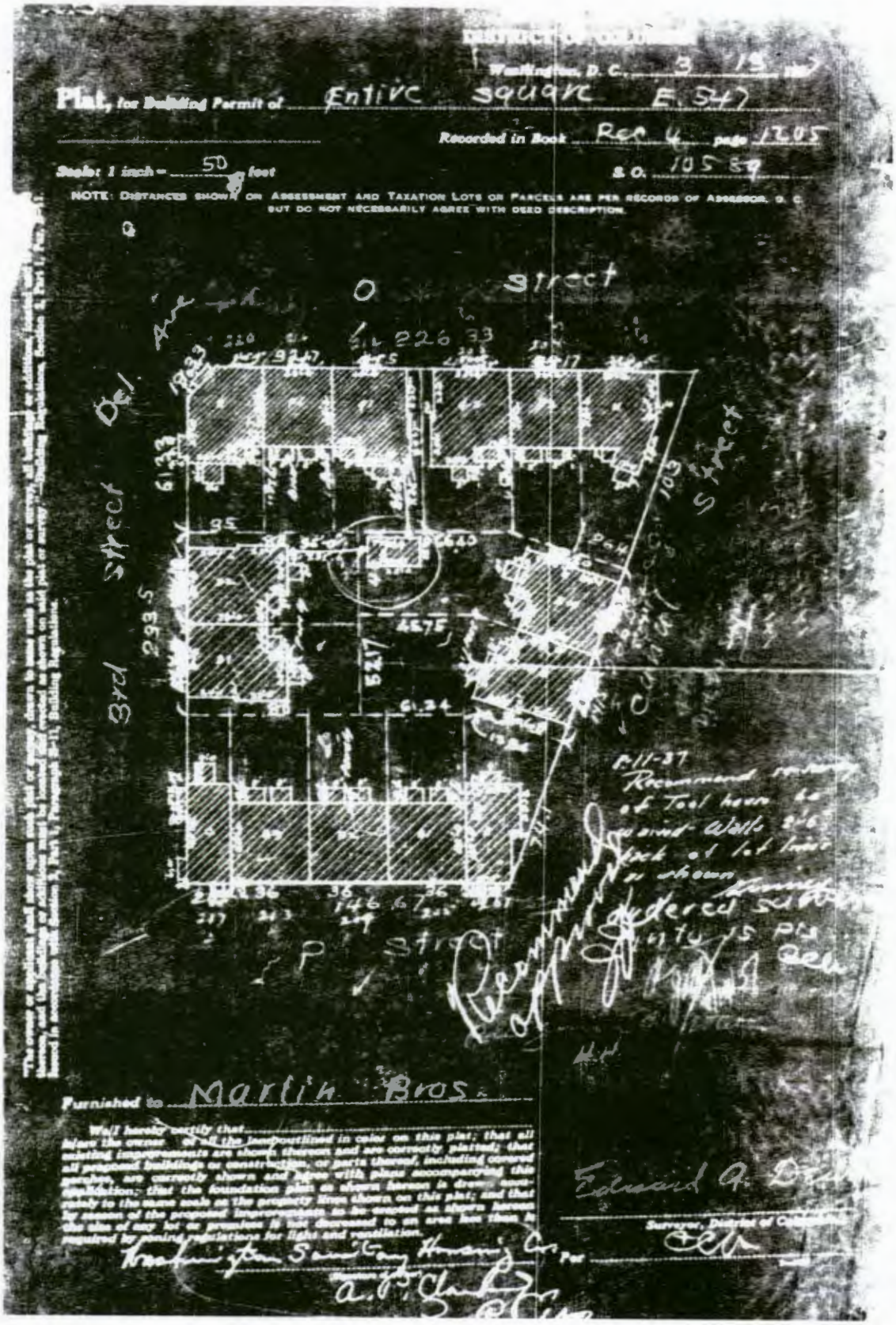


Image 2E: Sternberg Court Site Plan, 1937

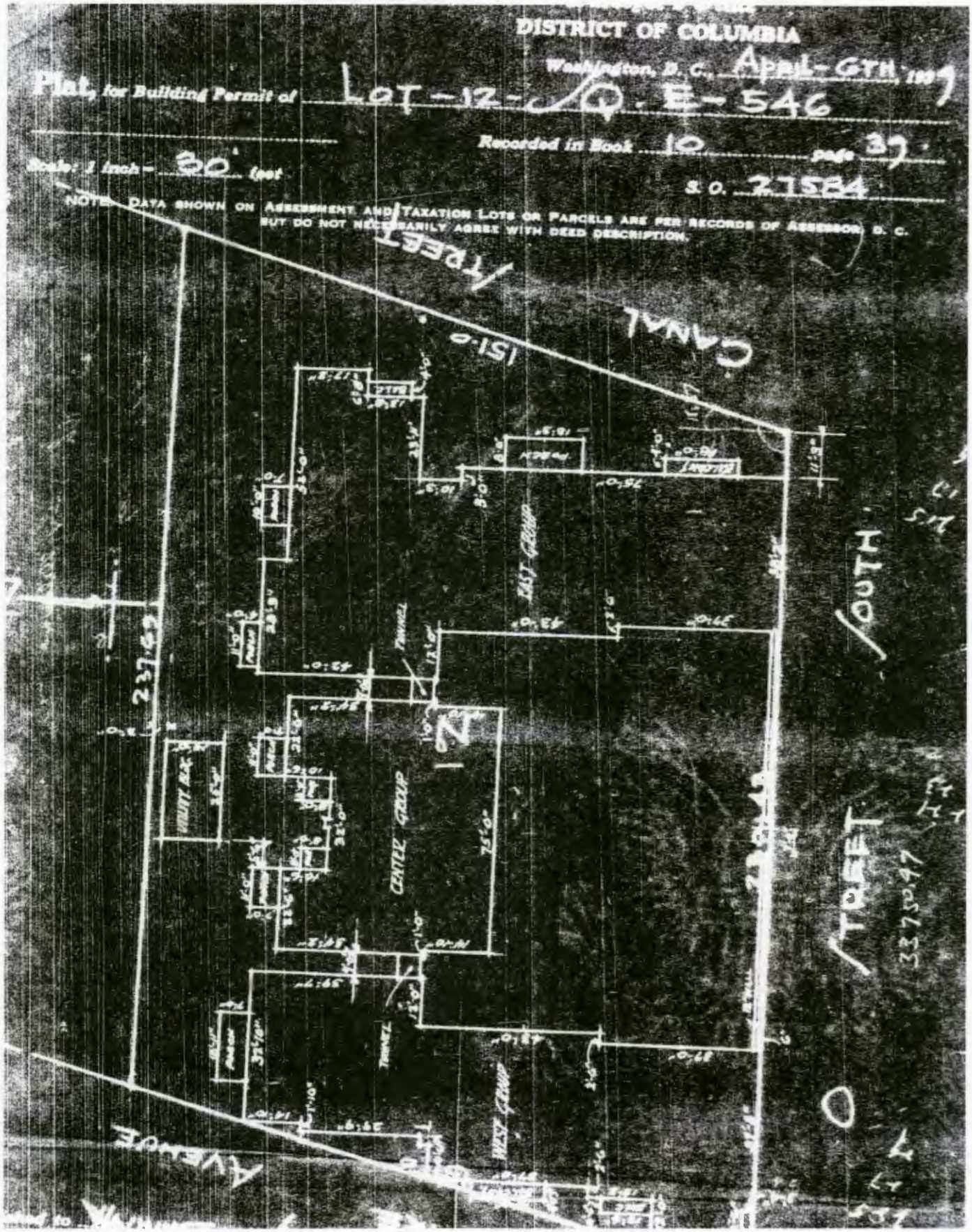
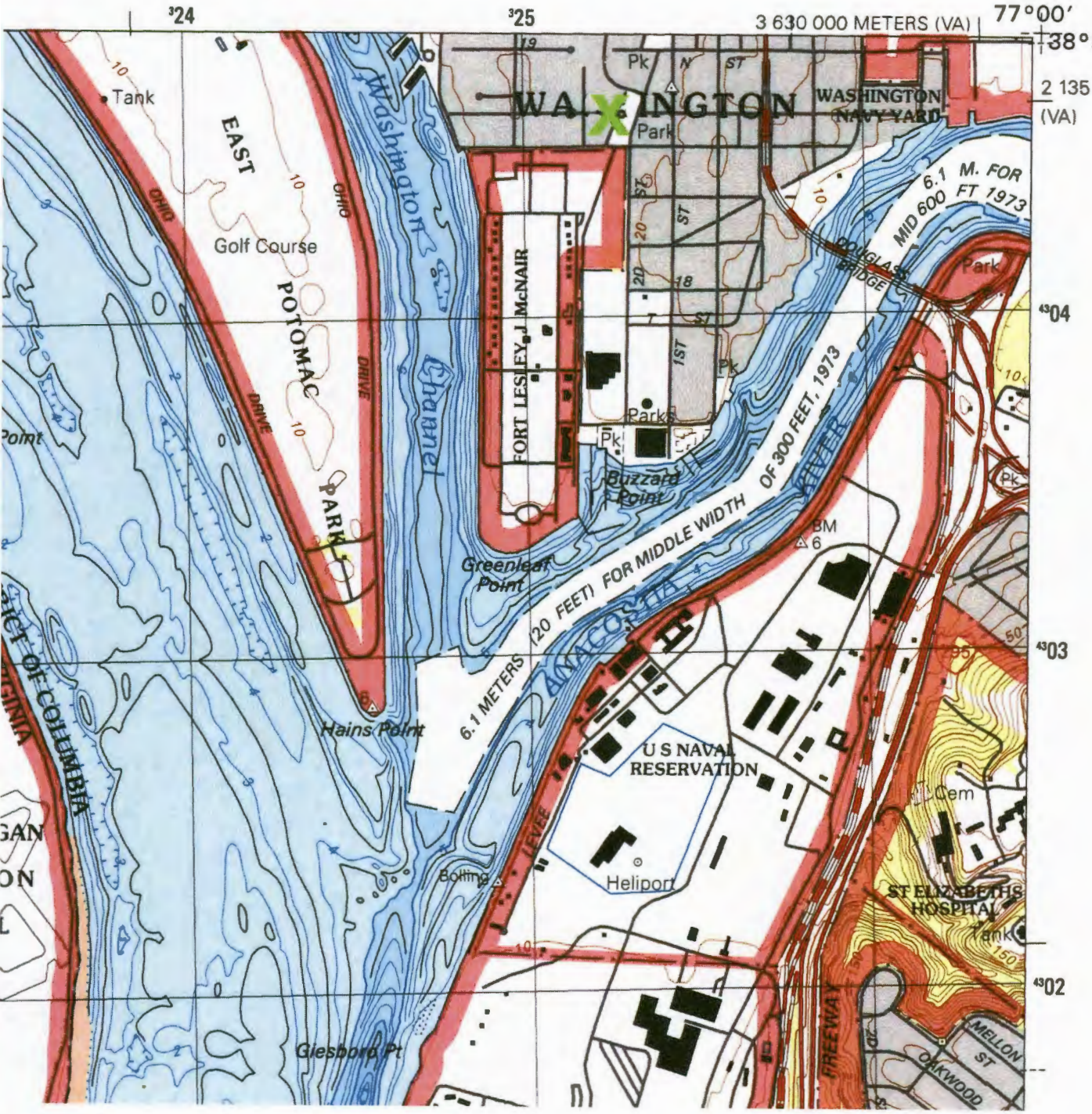


Image 2F: Kober Court Site Plan, 1939

ALEXANDRIA QUADRANGLE

VIRGINIA-DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA-MARYLAND
7.5-MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC - BATHYMETRIC)