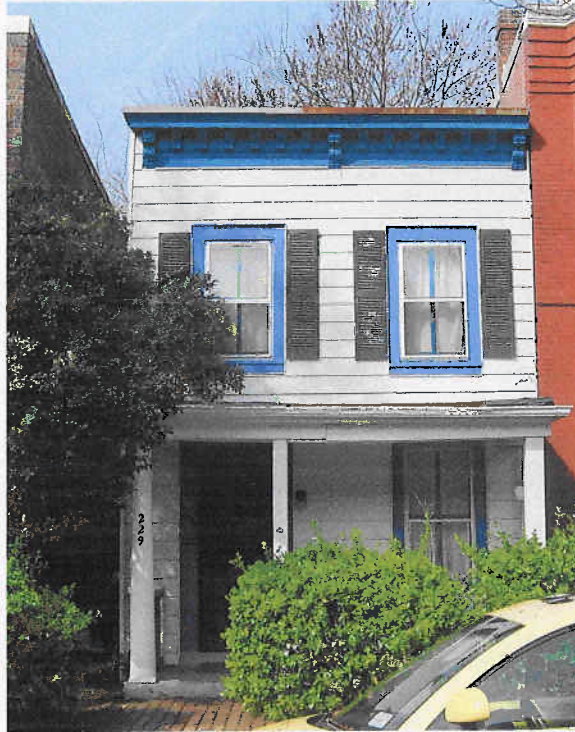


229 10th Street, SE



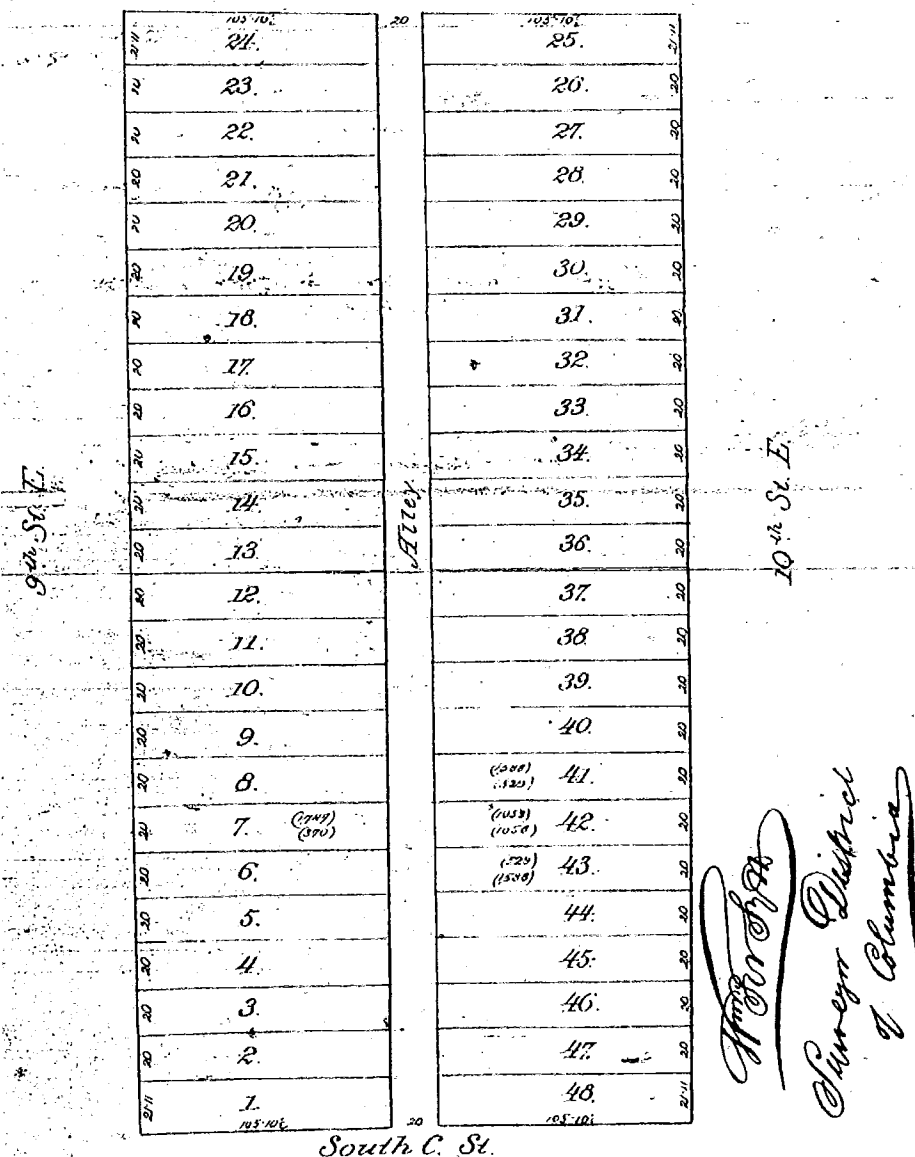
Land was cheap when the little house at 229 10th Street, SE, was built. Now, in 2016, the land is dear and more valuable than the house that sits on it. Prohibitions of the Capitol Hill Historic District usually prevent our modest residential buildings from being razed for more luxurious structures, but there are other ways to erase a little old house. Before that happens it would be worth remembering how it connects us to our history as a neighborhood.

The house is sited on lot 39 of the Van Horn and Metcalf subdivision, square 944. Squares are parcels of land surrounded by the streets of L'Enfant's grid of the old city, numbered to facilitate sales to speculators in 1791. Real estate investors John Van Hook and William W. Metcalf acquired the still-vacant square in 1863 after its investor-owner had been sent to prison for his support for the Confederacy.¹ They anticipated demand for housing in this area with the end of the Civil War. Earlier the city had developed to the west, but there were features here that would be attractive to a growing number of working and middle class buyers. Two of the city's biggest employers were nearby—the Navy Yard and the Government Printing Office, as well as the Capitol. Another attraction was the route of the city's new street railways. Passengers could board a horse-drawn car at the corner of 8th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, to ride to the Navy Yard or, in the other direction, past the Capitol to Georgetown with the agencies, offices and shops in between. By 1864 another line ran west along East Capitol Street. Also on Pennsylvania Avenue, between 7th and 8th, there was the new state-of-the-art Wallach School for white children.

Van Hook and Metcalf proceeded to subdivide the square into 48 lots arranged on either side of a 20' wide north-south running alley. All except the slightly wider corner lots were also 20' wide.

944.

South B. St.



J. K. Van Hook Subd. Square into lots 1-48, June 13, 84.

Plat for Square 944, Van Hook and Metcalf Subdivision. Real Estate Directory of the City of Washington, D. C., Vol. 3, E. F. M. Faehtz and F. W. Pratt, 1874.

When he became "financially embarrassed," Van Hook sold out to Metcalf, who continued to market the lots with another partner.²

LOTS FOR SALE ON LIBERAL TERMS—
BEAUTIFULLY LOCATED; one square from
 street cars on Capitol Hill; only \$40 down and
 small monthly payments required; 4 years time
 given. Lots 20 by 100 feet deep to a 20 foot alley.
 Call at once if you would secure one.
STARR & METCALF,
 (Plant's Building,)
 je 5-tf New York ave. and 15th st.

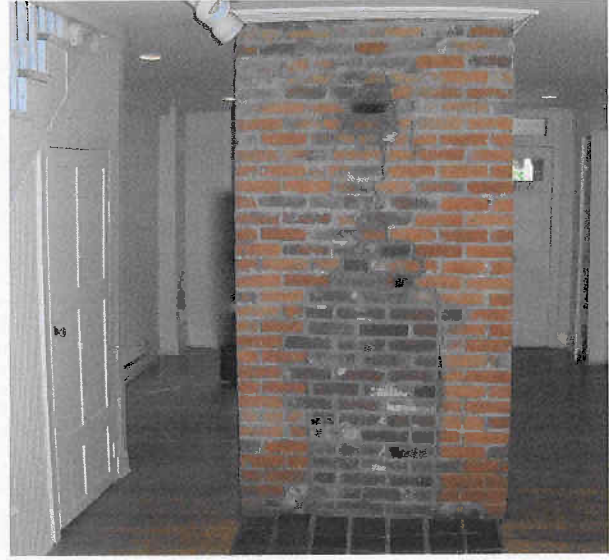
Evening Star, June 10, 1867, and other dates during that month. (In fact the lots are 105' deep.) Metcalf did not exaggerate proximity to street cars. It was customary at the time to express distance by squares. Standing at the southwest corner of square 944 and then walking diagonally across the next square, one arrives approximately at the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and 8th Streets. The advertised liberal terms weren't a very good deal and best avoided if possible. Monthly payments were for interest, with a balloon payment due for the sales price at the end of the four years.

Although a few of the houses on square 944 are documented to have been built by Metcalf, he was primarily interested in selling the vacant lots, which he priced at \$250 each, a bit more for corners. Early buyers on the 10th Street side of the square included Thomas Somerville, founder of today's eponymous regional distributor of plumbing, heating and air conditioning supplies. He built his mansion, as it was known, at 243 and moved his family in by late 1865.³ Most of Metcalf's buyers were of more modest means, though—iron molders, workers in the building trades, or clerks—and their wood frame one or two-story houses reflected their circumstances.

On October 8, 1868, William Metcalf sold lot 39 to Francis E. Boyle as trustee "to hold the property for the sole use and benefit of Hannah Brierton."⁴ Francis E. Boyle was the priest at St. Peter's Catholic Church on 2nd Street, SE, and Hannah Bryerton (as the spelling was eventually standardized) was a parishioner. It's not known why the trust arrangement was made. It may have had to do with doubts about Hannah's husband; in a few years he would disappear from the picture.

Hannah Bryerton was an Irish immigrant, as was her husband. When she bought the lot through Father Boyle she was about 42 years old. The earliest city record of her life in Washington located by this research is the marriage between Patrick Brardon and Johanna Craven on May 18, 1857. This would have been her second marriage. Her eldest child, Daniel F. Craven, was born in Connecticut, but nothing is known of his father and Hannah's first husband, Thomas Craven.

The two-story wood frame house that Hannah built was typical for the block and for neighborhood working and middle class families of the time.⁵ The interior arrangement was two rooms upstairs over two rooms downstairs (the main block) with a narrower one-story kitchen ell at the rear (the "back building," as old city building permits termed the ell)⁶. Steep narrow stairs against the north wall ran from the back of the rear room of the main block up to the second floor. One feature of the house was less typical for new construction in the post-war period: a large central brick chimney that could have vented wood or coal burning stoves in both of the first floor main rooms of the uninsulated house. There was no basement, attic or porch.⁷



At left, chimney facing front of house. Fireplace opening and mantle are not original. At right, chimney facing rear with repairs visible. Originally the front and rear rooms would have been separated by a wall to the side of the chimney. (Barry's photographs)

The pre-1873 houses on the west side of the block were sited to allow side passages from the street to the back yard. No. 229 is the only one remaining that has not been expanded to close the passage (as of May 2016)⁸. A water main wasn't laid until 1872 and a sewer sometime later. Residents relied on public pumps or hydrants and used box privies. The alley at the time probably existed mainly on paper, thus the side passages were useful for removing contents of the privy boxes, refuse and ashes from the back yards. Even when "Potomac water" and sewerage became available, residents didn't rush to install indoor plumbing. Many types of fixtures were still suspect and trouble-prone, and water pressure on Capitol Hill remained very poor until after the turn of the century. An 1894 map shows five houses on this square still having box privies.⁹

In 1868 the 200 block of 10th Street, SE, was the edge of town. There were ten or eleven wood frame houses on the west side, some of them only a single story high. Across the dirt road there was an antebellum tenement. Otherwise the view to the east was mainly of a vacant scrub-covered "commons," as the empty land was called, with two significant exceptions – the substantial brick houses of Philadelphia Row on 11th Street, SE, and the buildings of the vast former Lincoln Hospital (east of today's Lincoln Park), which would not to be demolished until the following year.

The first city directory to list Patrick Bryerton living on the block was compiled late in 1869, but the family wasn't new to the neighborhood. The 1860 census had enumerated them in the 6th Ward under "Brearton." (You can hear the Irish brogue in the spelling variations.) The directory for that year places them at "486 L south" and later directories on 6th Street, SE.

The family was enumerated here in 1870. Patrick was listed as a laborer, a vague label that encompassed both skilled and unskilled workers. Hannah was keeping house for the family. Patrick and Hannah are both listed as having personal estates of \$100, which included such valuables as "bonds, stocks, mortgages, notes, live stock, plate, jewels or furniture."¹⁰ Only one

other woman on the block, a widow, and only half the male heads of the other (by then) fourteen households claimed to have a personal estate worth \$100 or more. Hannah and Patrick had three daughters: Ann, 12; Maria, 9; and Margaret, 7, all in school. Hannah's restive son Daniel Craven was enumerated here also, but in fact he was far away at sea.

Daniel had an uneasy childhood in Washington. He was a newsboy in 1863 when he ran away from home and was taken in by a kindly woman from whom he subsequently stole money. Arrested and released, he promised to make restitution. The next year, barely 12, he was enlisted as "a boy bound to learn music" at the Marine Barracks on 8th Street. The Marine Band apprentice program indentured boys to the Corps until they were 21. During that time they agreed to serve their master, officially the Drum Major of the Corps, foregoing vices and matrimony. They were trained in music and military discipline and attended a school on the barracks grounds. Some boys were known to have lived at home, and Daniel probably did, too. If so, Hannah likely received an allowance for his board.¹¹

Many of the boys were the sons of band members and went on to become accomplished professional musicians later. One of Daniel's young fellow apprentices was John Philip Sousa. Daniel, however, had no particular aptitude for music. In 1869 he shipped out aboard the flagship of the South Atlantic squadron as a drummer. Honorably discharged from the Marine Corps two years later, he returned to Washington to live at 229.¹²

Hannah and Patrick Bryerton separated and began listing themselves at different addresses in the 1872 city directory. Daniel gave his occupation as plumber, but it's doubtful that he had acquired any skill in the trade. To support her young daughters, Hannah opened a grocery store in the house. Turning the front room of one's home into a little store was a step sometimes taken by women facing hard times. Hannah was in business here for about five years.

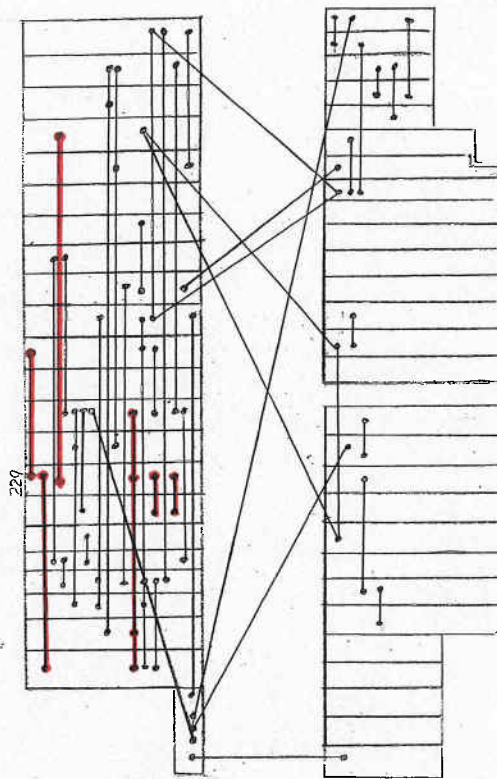
Possibly discouraged by his prospects as a civilian Daniel Craven enlisted in the Navy. When he came home again the family's situation was starting to improve. By the 1880 census everyone except Hannah, who had been able to give up the grocery, was working and contributing income to the household. Daniel, 28, had secured a position with the District's fire department, "a gallant fire laddie as well as an excellent gentleman."¹³ Daughter Ann, 22, was a dressmaker. Minnie (Maria), 20, always an outstanding student, had completed normal school and was teaching at the Adolf Cluss designed Cranch School, 12th and G Streets, SE. Margaret, 17, was a clerk in a confectionary store.

After Father Boyle, Hannah's trustee, died in March 1882, his sister deeded the house to Daniel as the new trustee for his mother. That May the family suffered a harsh blow when bright and popular Minnie died of meningitis. The funeral began at 229 and proceeded to St. Peter's for a requiem mass where the church was filled with flowers and crowded with her friends. Cranch School closed for the day in her honor.

The Bryertons left 229 later that year, moving to 6th Street, SE. They did not sell the house, however. It remained in the family until the last Bryerton, Margaret, sold it 60 years later. Meanwhile, the house became a rental property, and in that capacity it supported the social fabric prized by Capitol Hill old timers and newcomers through the 20th century.

Washington has always had a low rate of homeownership, and in Capitol Hill many residents moved frequently among rented quarters. Transience was not an indication of community instability, however. Renters usually moved within the neighborhood or even within the same

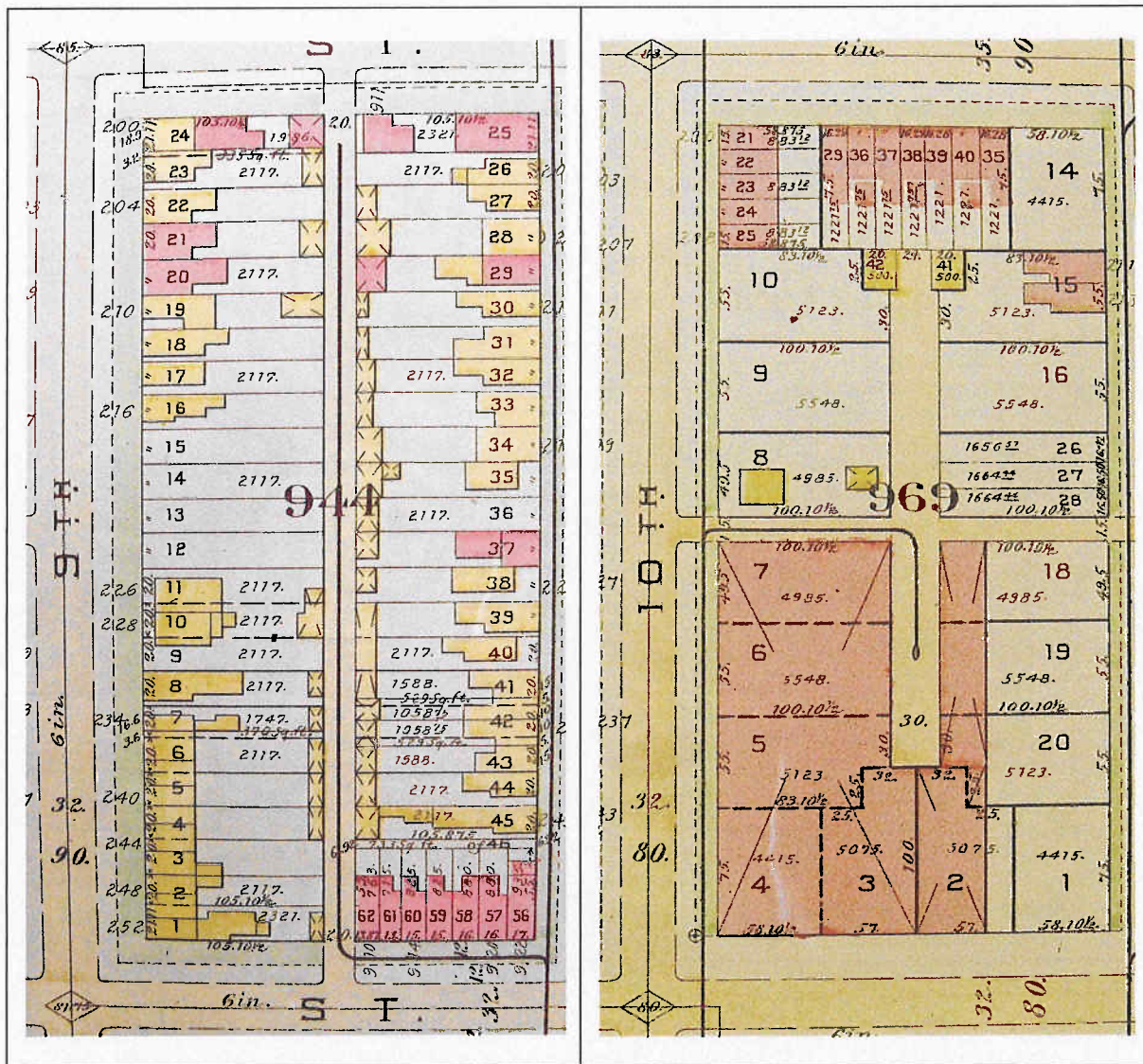
block, and they were as fully engaged with the community as property owners. In fact, tenants were likely to be friends or relatives of the landlords. Children grew up here and married neighbors, then raised their own families near their parents, siblings and familiar institutions, renting when they couldn't or didn't want to buy. The Capitol Hill community was also racially mixed and economically diverse. White and black residents often lived next door to or across the street from each other. Financially secure families lived near others scraping by. White collars mixed with blue. Rental properties accommodated residents in a variety of circumstances. However, as houses aged, if they weren't maintained or modernized to keep pace with advancing domestic technology and the amenities available in competitive new construction, their rental value declined. Such old houses were more and more likely to become shelter for poorer residents who were often African American. This would be 229's story for many years, as well as the story of the block.



Houses of the 200 Block of 10th Street, SE. Lines and dots represent historical family connections of ownership or tenancy among the houses. The red lines show connections for 229 and its place within the block community.

For many years the Bryertons kept 229 tenanted with the families of white skilled workers, salesmen, or store clerks who were their friends and Capitol Hill neighbors. The apparent absence of newspaper advertising suggests that the house was passed around through word of mouth. The first tenants, for example, were fellow parishioners of St. Peter's. They were followed by a young, newly married daughter of the Daughton family at 241, who, like the Bryertons, were original residents of the block. Other Daughton relatives lived here later.

The house was also attractive as a dwelling for drivers of the Herdic Phaeton Company, which had built an enormous 200-horse stable across the street. The company was in business at this location until 1897 and employed scores of men. Some of the coach drivers were glad to find convenient housing here that was affordable on their salaries of about \$1.80 per very long day.



Hopkins Real Estate Atlas, 1893. Yellow signifies frame construction. Red signifies brick. There are a few errors, some corrected in later editions. In square 944 the house at 229 occupies lot 39, with a frame fuel shed on the alley. The Herdic stable is on the south end of square 969. Two-horse coaches left the C Street entrance, ran up 11th Street and turned left onto East Capitol Street to begin the route west. The stable also housed workshops for coach building and varnishing. It was torn down in 1900.

In June 1900 the census enumerator found 229 being used as a boarding house. City directories that bracket the census date indicate the business was very short lived, however, less than a year. Neither the widowed boarding house keeper, her five boarders nor her African

American servant can be traced reliably through other city records before or after their residence here. Two of the three adult male boarders had been unemployed for several months. (The other two were a wife and 3-year old child.)

Luther W. Reiley moved his large family into 229 on the heels of the departing boarding house keeper. Typically, they were Capitol Hill residents who moved among rentals. Luther Reiley listed himself as a contractor in directories, and all of the adult males of the extended family were employed in building trades or blue collar government jobs. Given children, stepchildren and another relative or three, there may have been ten to twelve people living here at one time. Requirements for personal space were different from today's, but the house was crowded even by old standards.

A tailor, George P. Braugh, and his family followed the Reileys. The Braughs were another Capitol Hill family; they moved here from the 200 block of 9th Street, SE. When they were enumerated here in 1910, George Braugh, 45, was described as a "tailor-merchant." His parents were from Germany, but he himself had been born in Maryland. His wife Mary was 49. They had two daughters, Ruth, 17, and Freda, 13. A son, Frederick, was 10. All were DC natives. Their social activities, usually involving church programs, were sometimes reported in newspapers.

By the time the Braugh family moved on in 1913, 229 had become less desirable housing. As any owner of an aging wood frame house will attest, upkeep is endless. However, city records show no permits issued for repairs to the house, not even for the inevitable and commonly permitted work of repairing or replacing siding, framing, or roof. Work might have been done without permits, of course, or records misplaced and lost. But the absence of repair records on file for so long a period is unusual.

Also, the house still did not have an indoor toilet or a bathtub. After the Braughs left, the house was advertised for rent among a list of offerings by John F. Donohoe & Sons, a Capitol Hill real estate company, as five rooms for \$13.00 a month, the next cheapest house among the listings. Significantly, the description omits any mention of a bath, a feature always cited in rental offerings if it existed.¹⁴ The box privy would have already been replaced by an outside toilet connected to the sewer, though not necessarily to the city water supply. However, bringing a toilet, a bathtub, and a sink—the minimum equipment that met urban middle-class expectations—inside the small house was problematic. There was the matter of piping, drainage and a source for hot water (though at this time many were still resigned to hauling hot water from the kitchen or heating a kettle on a tiny stove in the bathroom itself). Most owners of the old houses on the block's west side faced a choice of building additions to accommodate the bathroom or retrofitting it into scarce existing space. Of four other houses with some documentation of bathroom installations, three owners built additions by expanding to fill in the side passageway and/or by making a second-story extension over the rear kitchen ell (in 1899, 1928 and 1931)¹⁵. One family chose to partition off a corner of one of the two bedrooms to make a windowless and unventilated space for a toilet and tub and attached the sink to the wall on the landing of the stair hallway.¹⁶ The Bryertons wouldn't or, more likely, couldn't shoulder the expense. By then only Daniel Craven and Margaret Bryerton were left. Daniel had joined the Navy again and Margaret was a printer's assistant at the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. She was boarding at a house on A Street, SE.

As down-scale as 229 was, though, its continued availability as shelter for people who needed cheap rent worked to ensure the diversity of the neighborhood. Across the street and in the surrounding blocks new brick houses were being built with all the modern conveniences and

fashionable finishes, usually for the white middle class market. On the east side of this block some of the original frame houses were expanded and renovated, and a few were being replaced by brick houses. These were occupied by both whites and African Americans of middle class status. The old unimproved or marginally updated houses were becoming homes for domestics and unskilled laborers.

Some long-term renters moved in late in 1918, John B. Burch and his family, who were described as mulatto, or light skinned, in the 1920 census. That year, John Burch was 39 and his wife Gertrude was 37. They had two children, Mary, 18, and William, 16. Gertrude's 63-year old widowed mother also lived with them. The Burches had come to the city from La Plata, MD, where John had been a farm laborer. In Washington he worked as a laborer for the District's highway department, a hard physical job that at least had some security. Later census reports show that he kept the job even during the depression years and that the salary then was a bit above the average earnings by men nationally. In 1920 neither his wife nor mother-in-law reported an occupation, but earlier directories show that Gertrude Burch sometimes had worked as a laundress. Both of the Burch children were working, Mary as a domestic and William as a porter for a club.

Ten years later John and Gertrude Burch moved down the block to one of the three flats carved from the old Somerville mansion. Their move might have been precipitated by Margaret Bryerton's decision to rent the property on a more lucrative multi-family basis, as some other landlords were doing. The 1930 census shows two unrelated families in residence. Given the interior arrangement of rooms, they might have had joint use of the kitchen. Charles Williams, a hotel porter, and his wife Martha were paying \$22.50 per month. A younger couple, Ralph and Janie Thomas, with their four-year-old son and a sister-in-law, were paying \$15.00. Ralph Thomas was a laborer on street construction. Neither of the women worked outside the home. Although they were doubled up in an old house, individually the families' housing costs were low for the block at the time. The frame house at 203, for example, which had been expanded recently for a modern bathroom, was then rented to an African American family for \$50.00. The only cheaper rents were to be had at a notorious dump next door or another house that squeezed in three families. The multi-family arrangement was brief, though. Within a year the house was again tenanted only by single families.

The house had had a Catholic history through the Bryertons and other renters who were members of St. Peter's. The African American families who lived here during the 1930's continued the tradition, but they were members of St. Cyprian's Roman Catholic Church. While the Catholic Church in Washington was racially integrated, participation by its African American members in worship, leadership roles and social activities was restricted. On Capitol Hill, black parishioners of St. Peter's had succeeded in establishing their own parish, St. Cyprian's, in 1893. They built a beautiful stone church at 13th and C Streets, SE, and later a handsome parish house and a rectory. Children were educated at St. Ann's parochial school on the southeast corner of 8th and C Streets, SE. St. Cyprian's was a unifying force for the black community and a source of immense pride. Many who wanted to live close to their church owned or rented houses on this block and in the immediate neighborhood.¹⁷

In 1940 the residents at 229 were Hester Proctor and three of her children. Ten years earlier Hester, her husband Charles, and their four children had been living in Prince Georges County where Charles farmed rented land. Hester Proctor came to Washington in 1932, probably upon the death of her husband, and moved among various houses near St. Cyprian's church and school. She had moved to this house by September 1937, when *The Washington Post* reported that her eldest daughter and fiancé were to be married by the parish priest.

The informative 1940 manuscript census opens a small window to the financial situation of the Proctor family. Hester, 49-year-old widow and head of the household, was paying \$23 per month for rent. She had a 7th grade education and reported her occupation as practical nurse in a private home. Her income from that work for all of 1939 had been only \$100. Most recently, she had been without employment for six weeks and was looking for work. She did, however, report that she had another, unspecified, source of income greater than \$50.

Daughter Edith, 24, was a high school graduate with a government job. She currently had full-time employment with the Social Security Administration as a card puncher. During 1939 she had earned \$750. The two younger children were both attending school. Harold, 16, had already completed three years of high school. Paulina, 14, had finished 6th grade.

The family's 1939 income seems shockingly low, but in 1940 the Works Project Administration reported that 64% of American families had an average annual income of \$826.¹⁸ A year's rent at 229 cost the Proctors only a third of their total reported income, roughly the portion sometimes advocated today for low income families, but the balance would have stretched very thin to cover other living expenses. The unspecified other source of income and perhaps relief through a new welfare program might have helped. There were hopeful signs for the future. Edith's income was dependable and both younger children, Harold in particular, were able to continue their schooling.

During the late 1930's there had been changes afoot next door at 231 that would affect 229. The original frame house at 231 was rented to poor African Americans when it became exhibit A in a Senate investigation into dilapidated city housing. The owner, who eventually tore it down, sold the empty lot to Herbert V. Hudgins. In 1939 Hudgins was pursuing a career as a building contractor when he constructed the current house at 231 for himself and his family.

In 1942 Margaret Bryerton sold 229 to Hudgins. He immediately obtained permits to raze the house and build in its place a three-story cinderblock building for six three-room apartments. Hudgins' plans were thwarted by World War II restrictions on building materials, however. Resigned to continue renting the house, he took out a permit to install the indoor bathroom in space partitioned from the back bedroom. The bathroom consisted of a bathtub, basin and water closet (toilet) with hot water to be provided by a new range boiler. Total estimated cost for the modernization was \$250.¹⁹

Not long after, the house figured in a scandal reported in the city's newspapers.²⁰ In the fall of 1943 Hudgins' tenant was a young white woman whose husband was serving in the Navy in Seattle. She took in a roomer who was pregnant but unmarried. An agreement was reached whereby the roomer would pose as the Navy wife to obtain free medical care and then give the baby to the wife. The fallout after the baby arrived and the new mother reneged was arrival of police at the door, arrests of the women and charges of assault, kidnapping and conspiracy. Hudgins washed his hands of the rental property when he sold it and moved to Arlington the following year.

The new owner in 1944 was Lonnie A. Horton, an African American widow who made the house her home, the first owner occupant since the Bryerton family left in 1882. Not much is known of Lonnie Horton, including her maiden name. She appears in city directories about 1922, already widowed. Originally from North Carolina she had made her way to the city in the Great Migration and worked variously as a cook and hairdresser. When she bought 229 she was about 66 years old. Before moving here she had been living near 1st and H Streets, NE, at the

same address as Cuba Gordon Skipwith, a waiter. He joined her here, and they were married by 1952 when his name was added to the deed.

During their time at 229 the Skipwiths saw changes in the neighborhood exemplified by transformation on their own block. By the time Lonnie moved here, most residents on the west side of the block were black, whereas all residents on the east side were white. The block's racial makeup had been stable for many years, and many of the families, both white and black, were long-time residents. After the Second World War some of residents of the east side, many of whom were elderly, began to move away or died. The owners or tenants who took their place were usually African Americans who held low-paying jobs and needed inexpensive housing. The change was slow, one or two houses a year, but eventually the racial and economic make-up of the block shifted to majority working class African American.

Institutions that the neighborhood had depended on for years were in decline. The Gun Factory at the Navy Yard, source of many blue collar jobs, experienced a massive reduction in 1954 and effectively closed in 1961. Stores in the 8th Street shopping district closed and few took their place. Eastern Market was nearly vacant and scheduled for demolition. Now considered blighted, the neighborhood was eyed by city planners for destructive projects that would benefit other parts of the metropolitan area. Two projects would essentially eliminate the 200 block of 10th Street, SE. One, the East Mall, would create a swath of federal buildings and parking lots on the land from the Capitol to the Anacostia between Constitution and Independence Avenues. The other was the 6-lane leg of a freeway system that would run between 10th and 11th Streets. Both projects were finally defeated after years of neighborhood opposition, but those were years of stress and uncertainty for residents.

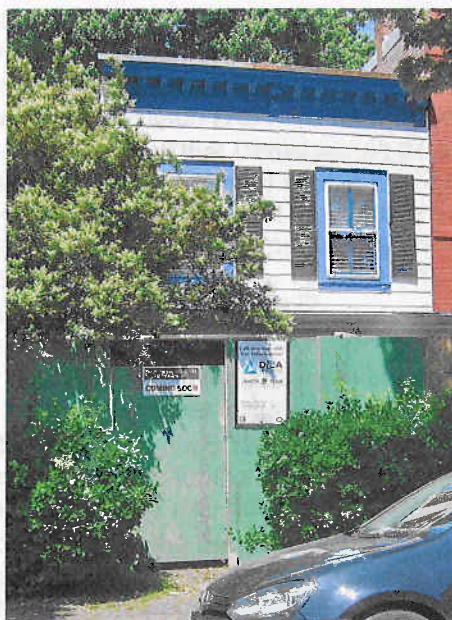
As the Skipwiths aged, their house must have fallen into disrepair as is often the case with elderly homeowners faced with infirmity and low income. It was condemned by the city in 1959 about the time the Skipwiths were pursuing a series of loans.²¹ When the 1960 city directory was canvassed the house was listed as vacant, presumably while serious repairs were taking place. That year the couple took advantage of the city's Old Age Assistance program that provided permanently deferred loans at very low interest rates. The Skipwiths returned to their house for their last years.

Both Cuba and Lonnie Skipwith died in February 1964, less than two weeks apart. In 1961 they had signed a quit claim deed to a relative, who apparently settled the loan with the city. She rented the house to an African American family until she sold it in 1979, taking advantage of another demographic change that had come to the block.

Beginning in the early 1960's young white professionals had begun to move here and renovate their houses, increasing their value. Some of the renovations were ambitious, but most concentrated on structural repairs and upgrades to electrical, plumbing and HVAC systems, with varying degrees of cosmetic enhancement. Changes to 229 made by the new owner fell into the low end of the latter category. With minimal upgrades, 229 more or less continued its life in its historical niche—a modest little rented house relatively affordable for people who couldn't pay higher prices in a neighborhood where bigger and more fashionably turned-out spaces were proliferating.

By the end of 2016, though, 229 will have moved far into the upscale market. Developer plans are for an expansion from two bedrooms to four with three and a half bathrooms, living room, family room, kitchen, dining room, and another two-level, one bedroom living space with second kitchen, connected to the house by a covered walkway. Just as long time residents on this

block in the '60's and '70's saw renovators improve and sell houses at values neither they nor their children could afford, 229 will be improved beyond the reach of today's long time neighbors and their children. The plans for 229 aren't unique in the neighborhood, however. This old house has been propelled into the trend toward another demographic change.



¹ Liber NCT 11, folio 70. William T. Smithson had influential friends who prevailed upon President Lincoln for his release and pardon in 1864. Meanwhile, his trustee auctioned the square to high bidder John Fox for \$4,600. Fox in turn assigned the purchase to Van Hook and Metcalf. Fox and Van Hook were original developers of Uniontown, today known as Anacostia.

² Liber ECE 13, folio 155.

³ Somerville's frame house still stands, divided into condos, behind the 1966 brick facing.

⁴ Liber D2, folio 200. Consideration was \$250, indicating a vacant lot.

⁵ Assigning neighborhood residents to one class or another can be misleading. Many of the men held blue collar jobs in factories or had other physical, skilled or semi-skilled jobs. Occasional reports in the social columns of the day indicate that they and their families enjoyed a middle-class lifestyle. They had pianos in the parlor and oil paintings on the walls. They had hobbies, took vacations and entertained guests at parties in their homes.

⁶ Building permits were first issued by the Board of Public Works in 1872, but none were saved until late 1877, or at least they haven't been found. Construction dates before that, though, can be estimated by the dates of habitation via city directories, tax and assessment records and, occasionally, by mention in newspapers.

⁷ The existing porch was a later addition of unknown date. Also, the original frame kitchen ell was razed and replaced by cement block construction, apparently on the same footprint of the original. There are no building permits in the historical file for these changes before 1950. DCRA files for work after that date also yielded no applicable permits.

⁸ Some of the houses have been razed and replaced. Today's 213, which does have a side passage now, wasn't built until 1895, displacing a c.1866 house that was moved and attached to its rear. The side

passage for 243 was not part of the original lot on which the house stands. It was reserved for 243 when the vacant end lots were subdivided for houses facing C Street in 1887.

⁹ Serial Set Vol. No. 3192, S. Rpt. 623, July 20, 1894 (a report on trunk sewers in the District of Columbia), Map No. 4.

¹⁰ Quoted from instructions to Assistant Marshals, 1870 census. \$100 was the minimum threshold for reporting.

¹¹ *Evening Star*, September 4, 1863; Muster Rolls of the U.S. Marine Corps, RG 127, and Navy Survivors' Pension Files, RG 15, NARA; Preston, Katherine K., *Music for Hire: A Study of Professional Musicians in Washington (1877 – 1900)*, Pendragon Press, 1992.

¹² Simple math shows that Daniel wasn't 21 at the time of his honorable discharge. There is evidence in his pension file that he claimed to be over 14 when he entered the band's apprentice program. The extra years would have given him the earlier discharge date. When he joined the Navy in 1873 he gave his correct age. The discrepancy apparently created confusion that contributed to his loss of a small disability pension in the 1890's. At that point, he re-enlisted in the Navy until retirement. He returned to Washington where he died in 1922.

¹³ Critic-Record, "East Washington," April 29, 1884.

¹⁴ Early on, "bath" could mean a room that held only a bathtub. By this time, however, it was the term used to mean a room that included at least a toilet as well.

¹⁵ The 1928 (no. 203) and 1931 (no. 233) building permits both specify that the outside toilets will be removed. Floor plans for the 1899 expansion (no. 241) shows a bathtub and toilet in a new room at the top of the stairs in the side addition.

¹⁶ Photographed by the owners in 1975.

¹⁷ It's hard to overstate the importance of St. Cyprian's to the Capitol Hill African American community during the era of segregation. In an area of the city that had few places of entertainment that catered to blacks, unlike the Howard or U Street neighborhoods in northwest, it provided an important social outlet. According to *A History of Holy Comforter Saint Cyprian Parish* (Holy Comforter St. Cyprian Parish, Taylor Publishing Company, 1996): "Weekend social activities were held at the parish hall and those that were not were still usually sponsored by the church. Saturday night dances, Sunday evening potluck dinners, and organized card games, wedding receptions, summer picnics, monthly amateur plays, and day-long excursions gave everyone something to do. The May procession (that wound through the neighborhood) was a major community event.... Everyone in the St. Cyprian parish neighborhood enjoyed the annual block party, held each autumn." Adults joined numerous social and beneficial societies. Children participated in church sponsored sports teams, scout troops and arts and crafts programs. Today there are Barrett Linde townhouses on the church and school sites. In 1966, when the church needed expensive repairs, the archdiocese closed it and merged St. Cyprian's with the declining white Holy Comforter parish in its church building on East Capitol Street. St. Cyprian's buildings were razed and the land sold for development.

¹⁸ *The Washington Post*, April 23, 1940. A 1938 city survey by the WPA calculated minimum living costs in Washington to be \$1,461, with housing costs here considerably greater than other cities.

¹⁹ Building permit 257723, December 12, 1942.

²⁰ *The Washington Post*, September 30, October 1 and November 4, 1943. *Evening Star*, September 29, 1943.

²¹ Thanks to Johanna Bockman for her research in RG 351, NARA.