

I. CAPITOL HILL 1870-1900

1. ALEXANDER “BOSS” SHEPHERD AND THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS, 1871-1874

Stimulated by the activities of the Civil War, growth in Washington, D.C. continued at a rapid rate in the post-war period. The District's 1860 population of 75,000 had grown by 76% to 132,000 in 1870. This sharp increase in the number of residents created a pressing need for infrastructure, including water, sewer, street paving, and other amenities, in all areas of the federal city.¹ Yet, by June 1870, “some two hundred miles of streets were still unpaved and more lacked sewers.”² Congress was parsimonious in its funding for the District of Columbia, forcing Washingtonians to seek greater local autonomy to address the burgeoning problems. Accordingly, on February 21, 1871, Congress passed an act establishing the Territorial Government for the District of Columbia, thereby creating a single governmental entity for the city, Georgetown, and Washington County. The new government was comprised of a governor, legislative assembly, and a five-member Board of Public Works. Alexander Robey Shepherd was appointed co-chairman, wielding unprecedented power to reshape the city.³ The short-lived public works experiment, which lasted three years until 1874, served as a catalyst for large-scale infrastructure improvements that modernized Washington, D.C. in the post-Civil War era.⁴

With more ambition than planning, Alexander Shepherd launched a costly scheme of laying water pipes and sewers, grading and paving streets and sidewalks, and planting curb trees.⁵ The improvements were intended to extend these resources to areas of the city that were not yet improved, or only partially developed, thus opening the way to extensive new speculative building. Because of the need for housing and development, there was reason to think that Capitol Hill, east of 6th Street, might become a fashionable residential neighborhood because the area was virtually a blank canvas open for development.⁶ However, the Board of Public Works concentrated most of its improvements in the northwest quadrant, which was not only the most thriving part of the city, but

also where Shepherd's own speculative properties were concentrated and where most of those of his friends were located. Comparatively little was actually done to benefit the northeast, southeast, and southwest quadrants, other than a new iron bridge for the 11th Street crossing of the Anacostia River and the grading of a few streets. While some new infrastructure was installed in the western part of Capitol Hill to serve the neighborhoods surrounding the Capitol and Navy Yard and along H Street, N.E., it was much less extensive than the installations in northwest Washington, and almost no improvements were made east of 11th Street.

Because of its role as a major transportation corridor, H Street, N.E., was paved in stone by 1872 from 1st Street to its eastern terminus at Boundary Street (near 15th Street), which was renamed Florida Avenue in 1890. Maryland Avenue was also paved in stone because it was the primary road leading to H Street, the road to Benning's Bridge (now Benning Road), and the City of Baltimore. Stone was also used as paving for 11th Street, S.E., from Pennsylvania Avenue to the Navy Yard Bridge. East Capitol Street, between the Capitol grounds and Lincoln Park, was covered in wood planks. Wood was also laid over parts of Pennsylvania Avenue, New Jersey Avenue, and 8th Street, S.E. Gas lines followed a path very similar to street paving.⁷ In addition, some water mains were installed, including along East Capitol Street to 11th Street. Water lines were extended south from Pennsylvania Avenue along 11th Street and parts of 12th and 13th Streets to the area developing around the Navy Yard, and on H Street, N.E.⁸ But effectively all of Capitol Hill to the east of 11th Street and north of D Street, S.E. was still without water in 1873. Sewer lines also followed a similar pattern, serving some streets from 12th Street west to the Navy Yard and Marine Barracks. Virtually no water or sewer lines were constructed between C and H Streets, N.E., with the exception of some service in the vicinity of Stanton Park and the area bounded by H Street and Maryland Avenue between 7th and 10th Streets, N.E.⁹

Alexander Shepherd's focus on improvements in Northwest Washington, which

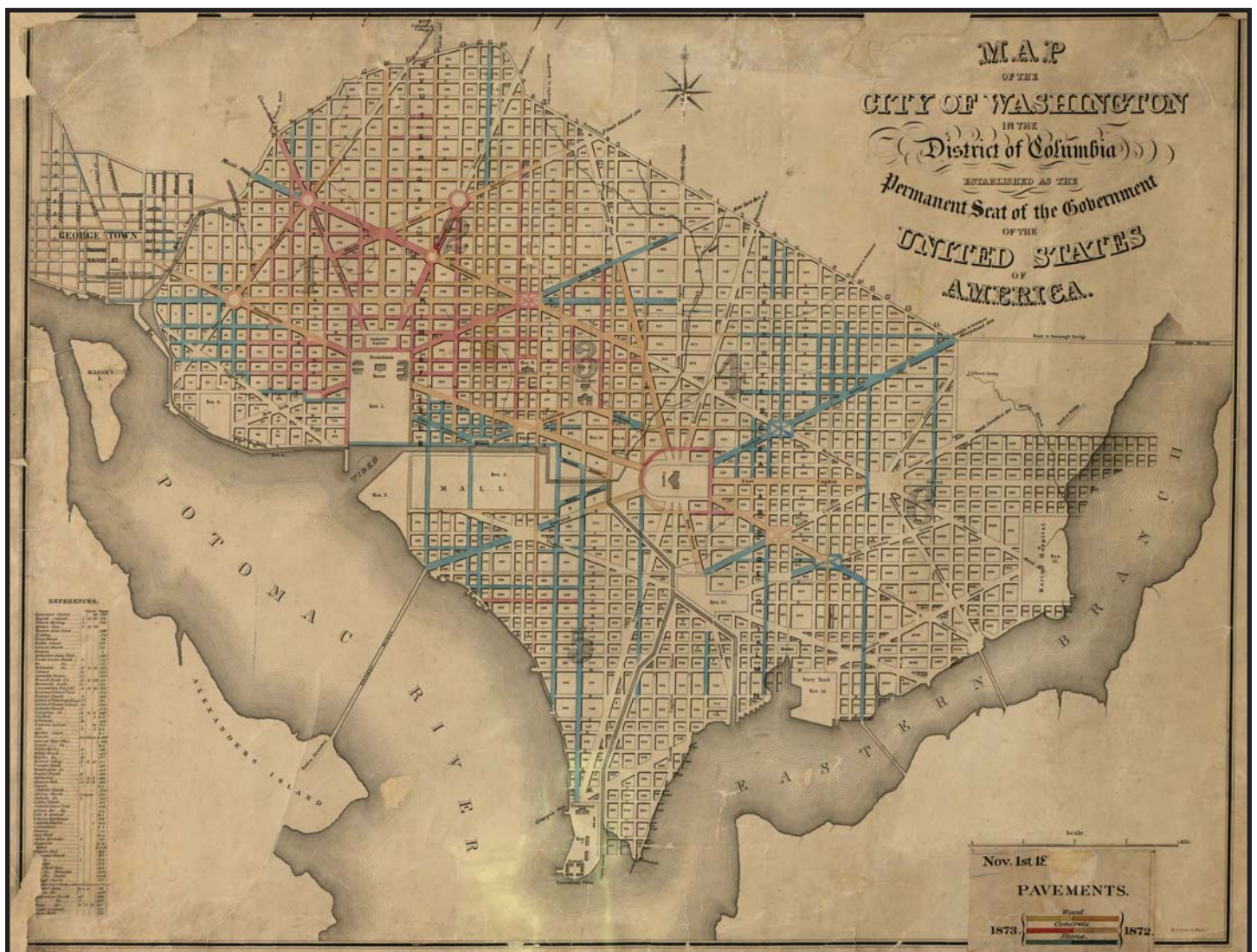


FIGURE 24: J.F. Gedney, *Map of the City of Washington in the District of Columbia Established as the Permanent Seat of the Government of the United States of America*, 1873. (Courtesy of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress)

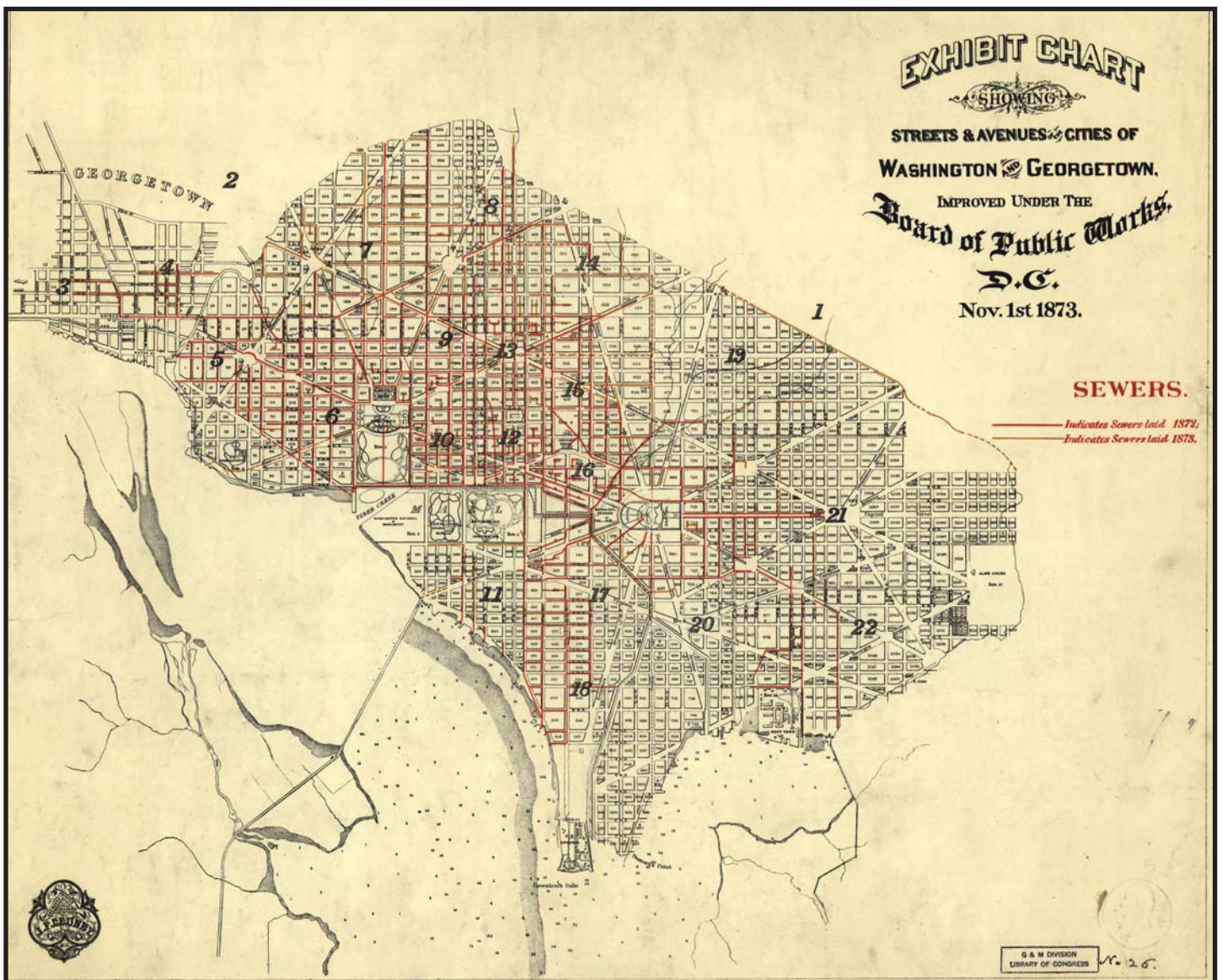


FIGURE 25: J.F. Gedney, *Exhibit Chart Showing Streets and Avenues of the Cities of Washington and Georgetown Improved Under the Board of Public Works, 1873.* (Courtesy of Prints and Photographs, Library of Congress)

were intended to make it more attractive to investors, many of whom were his friends, established a pattern of greater public investment in that quadrant of the city than in the others. This had immediate and long-term effects on the development of Capitol Hill, reprising many of the factors that stymied growth following the founding of the city in 1791:

As the major trend of residential development turned elsewhere, Capitol Hill evolved into a type of community that went largely unnoticed in this city of wealth and fashion—it became a simple and stable middle class society isolated from and largely untouched by the lavish life of the major residential district in the northwest.... [V]arious factors acted to perpetuate the residential patterns as they were set during this period. One of these was the physical isolation of Capitol Hill. Its isolated position on the hill and its location at what quickly came to be considered the “back” of the Capitol had both a physical and psychological effect of separating it from the rest of the city and preventing this district from combining with the more fashionable sections of the city.¹⁰

2. BUILDING REGULATIONS AND CODES, 1871-1878

One of the primary responsibilities of the newly created Board of Public Works was the regulation of new construction. Although there had been some minimal regulation of the building industry in earlier years following guidelines set down by George Washington, in 1871, the Board addressed health and safety concerns in a comprehensive set of regulations for the first time in the city’s history. Many of the new regulations would focus on the prevention of fire, which could devastate a populated area in minutes. The regulations severely limited wood-frame construction, banned combustible roofing materials, and required party walls to extend above rooflines.¹¹ Several of these mandates are evident on Capitol Hill from this period onward, while others were not always enforced, especially in the

eastern part of the neighborhood. Building permits were also required for the first time in the history of the city, but none survive from before 1877.

In 1871, the municipal government enacted legislation on building projections that would define the character of Washington's streets for the remainder of the nineteenth century. The law permitted the extension, first, of bay windows, and, later, of other types of projections four feet beyond the front edge of the lot line into public space. An 1887 revision to the regulations allowed for the construction of oriel windows, which projected above first stories.¹² Architectural historian Alison K. Hoagland observed that the incorporation of projecting bays into domestic architecture was as much a practical outcome to capture additional square footage as it was an aesthetic one for builders and buyers. Therefore "by the 1880s, few residential buildings were built without some projection beyond the building line."¹³ Projecting bays and oriel windows became the norm of late-nineteenth-century buildings on Capitol Hill, especially to the west of 15th Street where numerous rows of high-style houses of brick were constructed during that time.

Safety issues such as party walls, chimneys, and flues were addressed by the Board of Public Works in 1872. This placed further restrictions on the construction of wood-frame buildings. Within the limits of Georgetown and the federal city, wood structures could not be erected within 24 feet of a building constructed of brick or other noncombustible material. Rowhouse party walls had to extend above the roofline and shingle or other combustible roofing materials were prohibited for such buildings. In densely populated parts of the city, construction of wood-frame dwellings and commercial buildings was altogether prohibited.¹⁴

As expected, particularly in the northwestern part of the city, Board of Public Works' improvements encouraged real estate development by providing essential infrastructure, while the regulations adopted in the early 1870s influenced the choice of forms and materials for new buildings. Yet, development on Capitol Hill

continued to lag well behind that in other parts of the city. For example, in 1875, in the fashionable Logan Circle area, 32 of the area's 70 squares were improved with 20 or more brick dwellings while in the 495 squares east of North and South Capitol Streets only 19 squares had as many as 20 or more brick dwellings.¹⁵ The District Commissioners' report for 1875 documented the existence of 23,121 houses in the city of Washington.¹⁶ There were approximately 2,700 houses in the area from the Capitol east to 6th Street; 62% of these dwellings were constructed of wood frame. In the larger area from 7th Street to the Eastern Branch, the fledgling neighborhood of Capitol Hill was home to 2,379 houses, of which 74% were wood frame.¹⁷ Although the number of dwellings in the area to the east of 6th Street had increased fourfold—from 571 to 2,379—since Montgomery C. Meigs's water survey in 1853, it was still largely undeveloped. With its large number of unimproved lots, its proximity to the developed areas of Capitol Hill, the advent of public transportation and incremental improvements implemented by Alexander Shepherd's Board of Public Works, the area from 6th Street east to the vicinity of Lincoln Park and 12th Street was ripe for growth.

The District Commissioners, who succeeded the Territorial Government in 1874, issued new building regulations in 1877 that set height limits for the first time. The new regulations also elaborated on the types, sizes, and permissible locations of projections, and introduced corner towers and expansive show windows. Fire regulations prohibiting the construction of wood-frame buildings were expanded to include all of the federal city.¹⁸ However, the regulations were revised in 1881 to exclude Capitol Hill east of 11th Street and south of I Street, S.E., which was an area that was neither developed nor afforded the necessary infrastructure to encourage growth.¹⁹

The 1878 passage of the Organic Act, which created a municipal corporation form of government for the District of Columbia, would prove to be a significant stimulus for development of the city, including Capitol Hill. Prior to its enactment, there was recurring speculation that as the country expanded westward,

Congress would relocate the nation's capital to a more central location. The act obligated the federal government to pay half the expenses of the District of Columbia, which ensured a steady source of funding for city improvements, in addition to easing the tax burden on residents. More importantly, this commitment to financing improvements reassured potential investors—both large-scale speculators and individual homebuyers—that the federal presence was permanent, and the future value of their investment was secure.²⁰

The Civil Service Reform Act enacted in 1883 helped to create a more stable federal work force. Prior to that time, a spoils system dominated federal employment, with jobs distributed by the political party in power. The 1883 legislation created a Civil Service Commission and a system of competitive examinations open to all citizens. Initially only about 10% of federal jobs were insulated from the spoils system but the proportion of secure federal jobs expanded over time. Civil servants, with the prospect of long-term employment, had more incentive to settle in Washington, D.C. and purchase rather than rent their housing.

3. CAPITOL HILL BEYOND 6TH STREET, 1880-1900

The population of Washington, D.C. increased substantially following the improvements of the Board of Public Works, growing from 178,000 in 1880, to 279,000 by 1900.²¹ The federal government, growing as the nation expanded, provided opportunities for both white- and blue-collar workers. Industrialists who had made vast fortunes were drawn to the seat of national power and the accepting atmosphere of Washington's society. Newcomers, who would have been ignored in cities dominated by established elites, were welcomed in the nation's capital by its historically transient population. With broad, paved, tree-lined streets replacing the dust and mud of the Civil War years, Washington, D.C. had become an attractive place to live. Speculative developers erected thousands of row houses throughout the federal city. The variety of popular row house forms allowed builders and architects to design two- and three-story, brick

structures with minimal ornamentation for the city's working and middle classes, as well as large, individualized, high-style urban houses for wealthier residents. Hundreds of builder- and architect-designed row houses were constructed in the neighborhood immediately surrounding the Capitol, providing permanent housing for many of the city's professional residents.

By the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Capitol Hill neighborhood began to gradually develop beyond 6th Street. The availability of land, as well as some public infrastructure, motivated expansion as far as 11th and 12th Streets at Lincoln Park. The development was generally urban in form with row houses on narrow lots, generally less than 20 feet wide. North of North Carolina Avenue, N.E., development had reached east as far as 15th Street, N.E., with wood-frame houses standing individually, in pairs, and in small groupings or complete rows.²² Brick construction generally did not extend east of 12th Street until the end of the nineteenth century. One rare exception was a row of 12 shotgun houses, each one story high and 25 feet deep, constructed in 1886 in the 1300 block of C Street, N.E.²³ To the south of Lincoln Park, development steadily marched to 12th Street, jumping several squares to sporadically improve the 14th Street corridor. The 1887 Hopkins map shows that this development was almost entirely wood frame. In the area of the Navy Yard, construction consisted of both wood-frame and brick buildings standing side by side. The squares framing Pennsylvania Avenue, especially between D and G Streets, S.E. (1100 and 1200 blocks), were lined primarily with row houses and east of 12th Street most were wood frame. South of G Street, S.E., the buildings were typically freestanding or paired, with the majority of wood-frame construction. East of 13th Street, S.E., construction was sporadic, consisting primarily of wood-frame buildings and a few brick houses. Most of the dwellings on Capitol Hill from this period were rectangular and were augmented by projecting bays on the façade and ells extending from the rear elevations.²⁴

On Capitol Hill between 6th and 13th Streets, S.E., construction materials

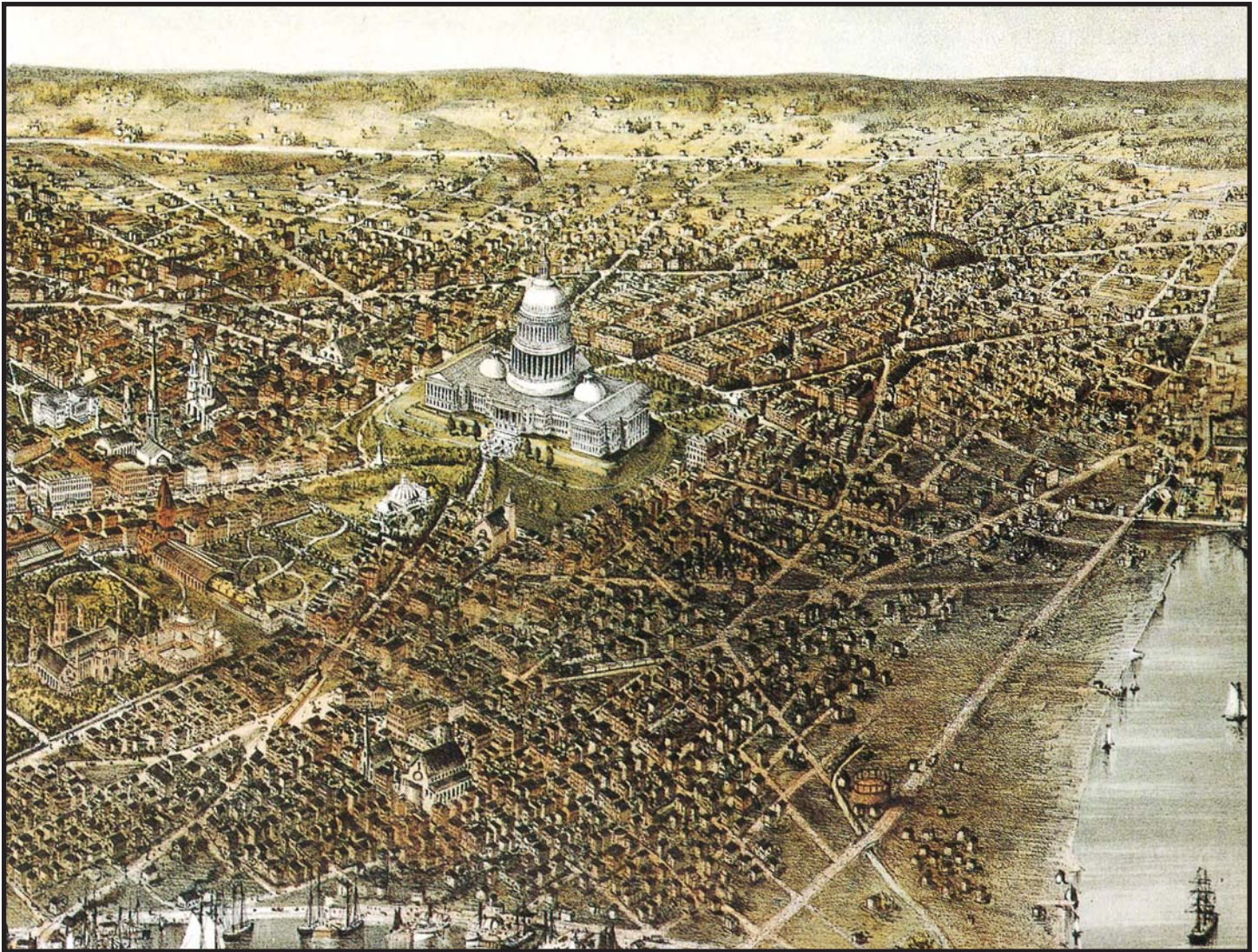


FIGURE 26: Charles Parson, *The City of Washington, Bird's-Eye View from the Potomac_Looking North*, 1892. From Joseph R. Passonneau, *Washington Through Two Centuries: A History in Maps and Images* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2004), 87.

included both wood frame and brick until the late 1880s. The 1872 building regulations had permitted the construction of wood-frame dwellings in the less populated areas of the federal city as long as they were a minimum of 24 feet from any noncombustible (brick or stone) building. The 1877 revision of the regulations tightened the restrictions to prohibit wood-frame construction altogether within the federal city.²⁵ This was done principally to protect and encourage investment in brick and other noncombustible construction which was considered more permanent and substantial than wood frame construction. However, in May 1881, at the urging of Building Inspector Thomas A. Entwistle, the District Commissioners modified the prohibition to permit the construction of wood-frame buildings on Capitol Hill east of 11th Street and also south of I Street, S.E. as long as they were not within 24 feet of noncombustible buildings. This was done to promote development of Capitol Hill East. According to a *Washington Post* article, Entwistle “contended that the owners of the commons thus thrown open to any sort of safely-constructed building were owned mostly by poor men, who could in many cases put up a frame house of their own while it would take years more of hard saving to afford a brick. He declares these shanty builders to be the pioneers of the city, and dislikes to see them restricted in a locality where they will perform their legitimate function of colonizing and preparing the way for more pretentious buildings.”²⁶

In 1887, when development had moved eastward, the fire limit was moved east to 15th Street running from Florida Avenue south to Potomac Avenue at the request of the East Washington Citizens Association.²⁷ An examination of building permit records indicated that there were some wood-frame buildings constructed within the fire limits of Capitol Hill, especially in the vicinity of the Navy Yard throughout the late nineteenth century. Outside the fire limits, particularly east of 13th Street, wood-frame houses were built with more regularity than brick dwellings. Wood construction also dominated in the area north of C Street and east of 13th Street, N.E., where Rosedale and Isherwood were platted.²⁸

As Thomas Entwistle anticipated, much of the first generation wood-frame construction on Capitol Hill East has been replaced by brick row houses. A rare example of a pre-Civil War freestanding wood-frame dwelling survives at 530 Tennessee Avenue, N.E.²⁹ A Civil War-era row of more modest dwellings also stands at 904-908 13th Street, S.E. An early post-Civil War example of wood-frame row houses is located at 1345-1353 K Street, S.E. Surviving examples of wood-frame construction exist throughout Capitol Hill East and are distinguished by their flat-fronted form and modest stylistic expressions.³⁰ Their placement or siting is notably diverse as many were constructed before uniformity of lot sizes and setbacks had been regulated. Many of the extant wood-frame dwellings have been covered with stucco or synthetic materials, and commonly have been altered to include a one-story, full-width porch.³¹ The largest number of wood-frame dwellings, dating from the late 1880s and the 1890s, survive in Rosedale, which, having been beyond the boundaries of the federal city, was outside the fire limits in those decades.

Although some of the late nineteenth century development of Capitol Hill East was conducted by large-scale builders such as Charles Gessford, who had begun his career as a carpenter, by that time the construction industry had attracted businessmen from various other occupations.³² Ranging from clerks to congressmen, these men invested in real estate, and worked with architects and builders to construct housing on a larger scale than had been previously built. For example, the brothers Thomas H. and Charles R. Pickford, who supported themselves as a grocer and store manager, respectively, were responsible for the development of Square 913, bounded by F, G, 12th and 13th Streets, N.E. The square had been divided into 14 lots, which the brothers subdivided further, and improved with dwellings in 1896-7. Prominent Washington, D.C. architect, B. Stanley Simmons designed the two- and three-story brick houses in the fashionable Italianate style. Those along Pickford Place were twin dwellings, with flat facades and primary entries on the modest side elevations. Others were more high style, replete with projecting bays and complex rooflines. At the time the

Pickfords were developing Square 913, they lived in the northwest section of the city. After the turn of the twentieth century, they moved to Capitol Hill, where most of their investment property was located.

On 3rd, G, and H Streets, N.E., John Sherman oversaw construction of two-story brick dwellings in Square 752. Sherman, nicknamed “The Ohio Icicle,” served his fellow Ohioans in both the House of Representatives and Senate. He would also act as Secretary of Treasury under President Rutherford B. Hayes, and as Secretary of State for President William McKinley. Sherman, the brother of Civil War General William Tecumseh Sherman, lived at 13th and K Streets, N.W. Although the vast majority of his investment property was located in Northwest Washington, Sherman was responsible for the construction of 33 dwellings in Square 752 between 1889 and 1897, as well as three houses nearby at 207-211 Maryland Avenue. The buildings in Square 752 were designed by well-known local architects Frederick G. Atkinson and T. Franklin Schneider and reflected the Italianate and Romanesque Revival styles of the late-nineteenth-century Victorian era.³³ The buildings were marked by projecting bays, dormers and roof towers, asymmetrically placed window openings of varying widths, and chamfered corners with corbelling and string courses.

Alley Dwellings

The great need for modest, inexpensive housing throughout the federal city resulted in the creation of alley dwellings, defined by the Alley Dwelling Act of 1934 as:

...any court, thoroughfare, or passage, private or public, thirty feet or more in width, that does not open directly with a width of at least thirty feet upon a public street that is at least forty feet wide from building line to building line.³⁴

Although the division of squares to create interior alleys was not detailed in Pierre L'Enfant's original plan for the federal city, alley communities were the unintentional result of his design as large city squares were divided into multiple lots, and in many cases subdivided several more times. Most of the resulting lots were deeply narrow and many irregularly shaped, thereby creating smaller interior lots and rear parcels with limited use because of accessibility. Reached only by narrow, unpaved alleys, the interior lots were improved in the early to mid-nineteenth century with inadequate housing intended for slaves and the working-class poor who needed to live within walking distance of their masters and employers.

As of 1858, most of the inhabited alleys were concentrated in the northwest quadrant of the city.³⁵ After the Civil War, as the city's population began to expand, "developers responded to the population growth by building on both a street and its alley nearly simultaneously. Their implicit assumption seemed to be that the middle classes would live on the streets, while working-class people would reside in the alleys."³⁶ The form of low-cost housing constructed within the alleys offered great potential for profit, while at the same time directing the character of the city's built environment. James Borchert's study of alley life in Washington, D.C. shows that alley dwellings continued to be concentrated, at an even greater density, in the northwest and southwest quadrants of the city. Despite early development around the U.S. Capitol and Navy Yard, alley communities in this area were limited with only nine located to the east of 1st Street, N.E. by 1871. The only inhabited alley in Capitol Hill East was located in Square 1054 at 14th and 15th Streets north of C Street, N.E. Yet, by 1880, no additional alley communities were documented east of 12th Street, while a greater concentration had developed immediately to the north of the Capitol grounds.³⁷

By 1897, the number of inhabited alleys in Capitol Hill had risen to thirty-five. To the east of 12th Street in Capitol Hill East, the number remained minimal with only eight alley communities. The alley in Square 1030, bound by E, D, 13th,

and 14th Streets N.E., was occupied by white residents, while African Americans occupied alleys in 1027 (Linden Court), 1041 (Harrison Court), 1042 (Guethler's Court), and 1060 (King's Court).³⁸

Citywide, by the late nineteenth century, the squalid and unsanitary living conditions commonplace in alleys and the concern for their impoverished inhabitants had spawned a housing reform movement. Congress had enacted legislation in 1892 that imposed new requirements governing the construction of alley dwellings including setbacks to provide a minimum alley width of 30 feet and provision of water mains, sewers, and lights.³⁹ The legislation did little to improve living conditions and the existence of alley dwellings continued.

1880 Statistical Maps

In 1880, the District Commissioners published a series of statistical maps of the federal city that recorded the city's development at that time. The 12 maps show everything from land values, street paving, and placement of schools, to the location of water mains, sewers, lighting, and street trees. They clearly document that the city administration, congressional appropriations, and investor interest were focused primarily in the northwest quadrant, and that infrastructure improvements lagged greatly in other parts of the city. Areas along the Anacostia River, except for the Navy Yard and its immediate vicinity, were the least developed.

The maps depicted H Street, N.E., by then a primary transportation corridor leading into the city, surfaced in large part with cobblestones and blue rock, and macadamized between 1st and 4th Streets. Neighboring north/south streets stretching south to North Carolina Avenue were only graveled, if improved at all. East Capitol Street, to its intersection with 9th Street, and those streets immediately surrounding the Capitol grounds were paved in asphalt and concrete. Wood planks served as paving on the arterial streets to the south of East Capitol Street,

roughly north of D Street, S.E. Further, to the south, cobble stones and blue rock covered 4th Street; parts of 3rd and 8th Streets were granite and trap block; and sections of 6th and 11th Streets were macadamized.⁴⁰ With the exception of E Street, S.E., which accessed Reservation 13, and Maryland Avenue, no streets on Capitol Hill to the east of 11th Street were paved. In contrast, the majority of streets in the developed sections of Northwest Washington were paved with asphalt or concrete.⁴¹

One of the more popular improvements undertaken by the Board of Public Works and recorded on the Statistical Maps was the planting of shade trees, an endeavor that gave Washington, D.C. the appellation “City of Trees.” While almost every street in the northwest and southwest sections of the city was shaded by trees, Capitol Hill was only partially dressed with foliage. Elm trees were planted within and around the Capitol grounds, with poplar trees running along South Capitol Street. Many of the east-west streets and larger roads, like Maryland Avenue, were lined in part with maple trees. Massachusetts Avenue, seven blocks of 5th Street, and five blocks of D Street, S.E. were shaded by linden trees. Poplar and elm trees alternated along East Capitol Street to Lincoln Park, which was not depicted on the maps as shaded by foliage. Pennsylvania Avenue had an outer row of maples edged by various species of trees. In the northeastern part of Capitol Hill, there were no shade trees east of 10th Street. No trees were planted in the southeastern part of Capitol Hill east of 11th Street, with the exception of a few along 12th Street between Pennsylvania Avenue and K Street.⁴²

By 1880, the placement of gas lamps on Capitol Hill outlined the greatest concentration of development, as well as anticipated growth for the near future. In the northeastern section of Capitol Hill, lamps lined all of H Street and the northern side of Maryland Avenue. The squares between these two primary roads from 8th to 10th Streets were also illuminated. To the south of Massachusetts Avenue, which ran diagonally, gas lamps had been placed at most intersections, with the greatest concentration on Pennsylvania Avenue. Additional lamps were

focused around Stanton Park, Lincoln Park, and Seward Park, all of which were shown on the maps as landscaped with walking and carriage paths. E Street to Reservation 13 had a few lamps, and 11th Street from Lincoln Park to the Navy Yard Bridge was brightened with gas lamps. The rest of Capitol Hill lay in darkness, while nearly all of Northwest Washington was illuminated.⁴³

According to historian Melissa McLeod, “Capitol Hill residents were the last to have water pumped to them, and they often received dirty water or no water at all.”⁴⁴ Although residents of the northwest quadrant of the city had received water from the Washington Aqueduct by 1863, the Army Corps of Engineers did not begin work until 1883 on the connection of the reservoir near Howard University to Capitol Hill. That project was not completed for 20 years—until 1903—because of lack of funding. By 1881, the few water lines laid on Capitol Hill followed the same paths as the gas lamps. The exceptions led directly to Reservation 13, along B and E Streets, S.E. Water lines also extended from B Street along Tennessee Avenue and C Street, N.E. to the Rosedale and Isherwood neighborhoods, which, being outside the federal city, were not plotted on the Statistical Maps.⁴⁵

Nearly 45 miles of pipe-and-brick sewer lines were laid under the six blocks surrounding both sides of the Capitol. This area was referred to on the map as “Tiber valley.” A brick line traveled down Maryland Avenue, from Florida Avenue to 7th and 8th Streets, and Massachusetts Avenue to Lincoln Park. The area to the south of North Carolina Avenue between 1st and 12th Streets, S.E. was haphazardly serviced by sewers, the majority being metal pipes rather than brick lines. Again, the area of Capitol Hill roughly east of 11th Street was not provided with any sewer drainage.⁴⁶

Although limited to the western half of Capitol Hill, an area generally west of 12th Street, these public improvements provided inexpensive, developable lots for speculative builders. Most of the land, especially east of 8th Street to

the Anacostia River where little or no infrastructure had been constructed, was assessed at less than 50 cents per square foot. Immediately surrounding the Capitol, west of 4th Street between B Street, N.E. (now Constitution Avenue) and C Street, S.E., land was valued between one to three dollars per square foot because of its proximity to the government building and existing development. The area roughly from 4th Street eastward to 8th Street, south from A Street, N.E. to D Street, S.E., was assessed at 50 cents to one dollar per foot. A three-block section fronting 8th Street, S.E. was similarly assessed between 50 cents and one dollar per foot because of its location on Navy Yard Hill. Comparatively, property values in Northwest Washington reached up to five dollars per square foot.⁴⁷

Notations on the 1887 G.M. Hopkins map document that undeveloped, subdivided lots in Squares 1032, 1054, and 1055 along 14th Street, N.E., between Constitution Avenue and D Street were owned by Howard University. Stephen Flanagan, who lived in Philadelphia rather than the District of Columbia, and had constructed Philadelphia Row on 11th Street in 1862, was the only other owner recorded on the map in that Capitol Hill neighborhood.⁴⁸ In 1889, he conveyed “a million square feet lying in fourteen squares and situated in the immediate vicinity of Lincoln Park at the termination of East Capitol street [sic]. A considerable portion of the tract fronts directly on the north and south sides of the park.... The price paid for the property was from thirty to thirty-five cents per square foot. The total amount of the transaction is nearly \$350,000;” which is equivalent to nearly 9 million dollars today.⁴⁹ The sale was “one of the largest transactions that ha[d] ever been known in real estate circles of this city.”⁵⁰ The undeveloped property was purchased by Leo Simmons for the Washington Real Estate Company, which proclaimed “it a good investment.” The development company believed they could sell some of the subdivided lots for a sizeable profit and “improve the remainder by the erection of houses worth about \$4,000 each.”⁵¹ In hope of improving the investment, John H. Walter, president of the real estate company, alleged “that East Washington is the best place for the site of the Exposition of 1892. The land between Lincoln Park and the Eastern Branch

is high and could be purchased...at prices ranging from ten to thirty cents per square foot. It is also easily accessible to the Baltimore and Potomac and Baltimore and Ohio Railroads, any point being able to be reached by a switch from the Baltimore and Potomac railroad.”⁵² Walter also hoped “to try to get the Metropolitan Street Railroad to extend its line down Eleventh street [sic] and Kentucky avenue [sic] to the Eastern Branch.”⁵³

The development of Capitol Hill, which accelerated in the late 1880s and early 1890s, was almost entirely residential but did include churches, a few schools, and small commercial establishments that served the local population. While H Street, N.E., and Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., provided mercantile options that catered to residents of the northern and eastern parts of Capitol Hill, shops that met daily needs, such as grocery stores, bakeries, drug stores, barbers, and cobblers, were scattered throughout the neighborhood. Grocery stores were the most common form of business and they increased in number during each of the last three decades of the nineteenth century. By 1899, most squares had at least one corner store. Some commercial buildings were purpose built while others were found within converted residences. Most had living quarters above the stores.⁵⁴

Under the Board of Public Works, the city built a public market—Eastern Market—to serve the residents of Capitol Hill. It was designed by Adolph Cluss, the engineering commissioner on the Board of Public Works and one of the city’s leading architects. Constructed in 1871-3 at 7th and C Streets, S.E., Eastern Market was the first of several public neighborhood markets built by the city government after the Civil War. It replaced the Eastern Branch Market at 6th, 7th, K and L Streets, S.E., which had been founded in 1806. The new market “was to be located at about the center point of the nodes of development that were within approximate walking distance of the site in 1871.... The new market acted as both an anchor to keep residents from leaving Capitol Hill for a neighborhood with better civic services and as a magnet that would [draw] new people to it.”⁵⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century, the highly successful market was no longer sufficient to meet the needs of Capitol Hill's growing population, and additions had to be constructed in 1908. Now known as the Center and North halls, the additions were designed by Snowden Ashford, who was the District's Inspector of Buildings responsible for designing the city's public buildings; he soon thereafter was given the title Municipal Architect.⁵⁶

With the growth of Capitol Hill's population in the post-Civil War years, new churches of various denominations were founded. The Douglas Memorial United Methodist Church, now located at 11th and H Streets, N.E. was established in the 1870s and its congregation worshipped in a wood-frame chapel on Maryland Avenue at 10th Street. When Maryland Avenue was graded, leaving the chapel high on an embankment, the congregation moved to H Street and, in 1878, built a new church at H and 11th Streets.⁵⁷ For the first seven years of its existence, the congregation was associated successively with Providence, Hamline, McKendree, and North Capitol Street churches. However, by 1885, the church was independently recognized and began construction of their present structure in 1898. The church, located on the site of the first structure, was dedicated in 1907. This Romanesque Revival-style church, standing just one story on a partial basement, was built by John C. Yost following the plans of architect Joseph C. Johnson.⁵⁸ The 1887 G.M. Hopkins map shows that Methodists also worshipped at the East Washington Methodist Episcopal Church (1868) at 439 12th Street, S.E. on Square 992 and at the Free Methodist Church (1884) on 11th Street in nearby Square 995.⁵⁹ Both were wood-frame buildings.⁶⁰ Bradburn Memorial Methodist Church, originally known as the K Street Methodist Church, began in 1887 as a mission to serve residents of the area of southeast east of 11th Street, S.E., and south of Pennsylvania Avenue. Ground for a modest church building (now altered) was broken in 1893 at 1341 K Street, S.E.⁶¹

The Maryland Avenue Baptist Church, sited at the intersection of the Avenue and 14th Street, N.E. was organized in 1890. The stone church was constructed that

same year, with Appleton P. Clark, Jr. as architect. The African American Baptist church, organized in 1876 as the Israel Baptist Church, oversaw the erection of its first church at 632 11th Street, N.E., between F and G Streets by 1891.⁶² Catholics worshipped at several churches near the Capitol but as the population grew and expanded eastward, a new Catholic parish, Holy Name of Jesus Christ Catholic Church, was founded in 1891. The congregation oversaw construction of a church at 918 11th Street, N.E.⁶³ St. Cyprian's parish was founded in 1893 for African American Catholics and the parish church was built at 13th and C Streets, S.E., in 1894.⁶⁴ St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church was organized in 1894 through the efforts of the pastor of the Grace Lutheran Church in Northwest in order to serve the numerous Germans who lived in Northeast Washington. In 1900, the congregation built a church on D Street, between 10th and 11th Streets, N.E., and offered services in both German and English.⁶⁵ Louis F. Stutz served as the architect of the original building, which was replaced in 1930.

In the largely uninhabited area to the east of 12th Street there were a few industrial enterprises. The 1887 G.M. Hopkins map shows the brick works of Isaac and Jacob Childs on Tennessee Avenue between C and D Streets, N.E. (Square 1031), and a brewery on D Street, S.E., between 13th and 14th Streets.⁶⁶ A brewery had operated at this location on Square 1042 since the 1850s.⁶⁷ In January 1890, the Hygienic Ice Company was incorporated for the purpose of "the manufacture and marketing of ice..." The board of trustees, consisting of several prominent Washington, D.C. businessmen, "secured the famous Isherwood springs, in square seven and a half [later Square 4544], between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets east, and south of north E street, within three squares of the asphalt pavements of H street and Maryland avenue." The property was described further:

The square of ground containing these springs has long been unavailable, and the springs have proved a detriment to adjoining properties, but from the time this vast outflow of pure and phenomenally cold water will be utilized, and of its unfailing and

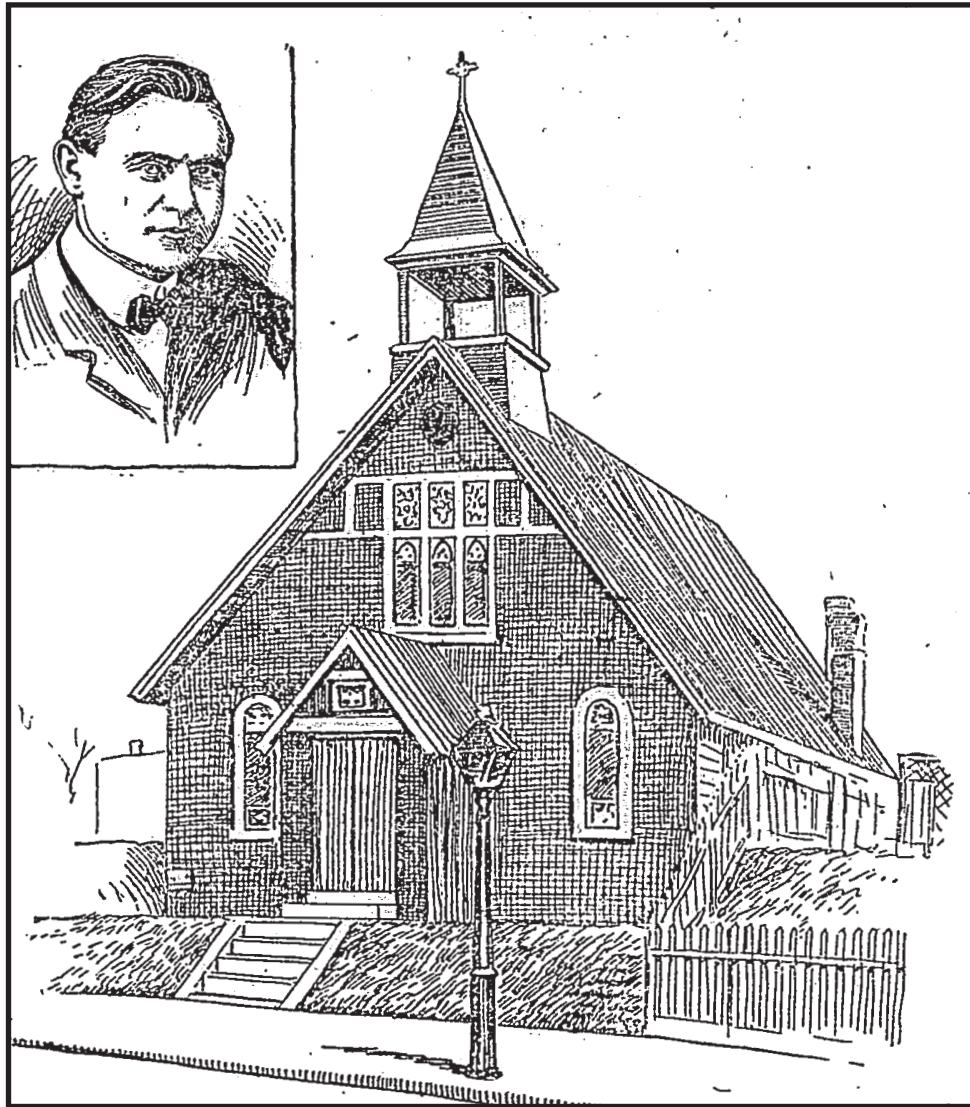


FIGURE 27: *Rapid Rise in Decade: History of St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church.* (Washington Post, February, 28, 1902. Proquest Historical Newspapers) p. 11

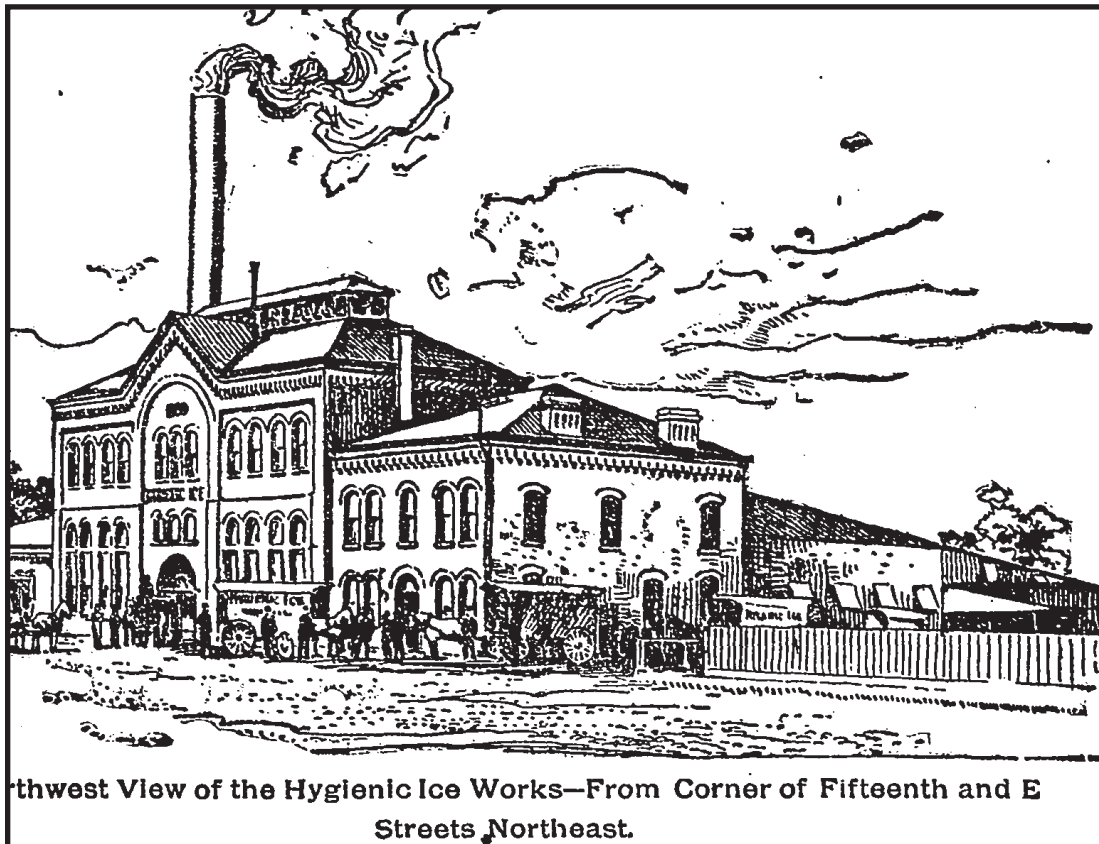


FIGURE 28: *Display Ad 23, Washington Post, 3 May 1891, 14, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. (Washington Post, February, 28, 1902. Proquest Historical Newspapers) p. 11*

abundant supply this city can henceforth partake in the shape of clear and absolutely pure ice, which it is proposed to manufacture in buildings near and around the springs. The work upon these buildings has been begun, advantage having been taken of the recent good weather, and contracts for most of the costly machinery have already been entered into. From all parties to these contracts guaranties as to the time have been exacted, and a daily output of sixty tons is promised by May 1, and of double this amount within thirty days thereafter.

...For some years past, to a limited extent, ice has been manufactured in this city, but without the facilities and effective machinery that will be introduced by the Hygienic Company. No other ice so far has been made from distilled water. The remarkably low temperature of the Isherwood springs will result in great economy in fuel.... The total output from these springs has been shown by recent measurement to exceed the enormous amount of seven hundred gallons a minute, an output excelling that of all the other springs in or near the city combined.⁶⁸

4. IMPEDIMENTS TO DEVELOPMENT

Throughout the late nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, the eastward expansion of the Capitol Hill neighborhood was inhibited both by the lack of infrastructure, and by the perceived undesirability of the area east of about 12th Street. This was the area closest to the Anacostia River marshland and the federally owned Reservation 13, with its penal institutions and hospital for the contagious and indigent.

The Threat of Disease: Tiber Creek and Anacostia Flats

During much of the nineteenth century, residents of Washington, D.C. were plagued by endemic malaria. Long before mosquitoes were recognized as the carrier for this disease, people associated malaria with the damp night air rising from low-lying marshes, described as miasmas. Still and polluted waters were also associated with diseases such as typhoid.

Tiber Creek, traversing the center of the federal city and emptying into the Potomac River, was believed to be one of the primary sources of disease, especially for residents of Capitol Hill. One branch of the creek ran along F Street, N.E., from 12th Street to Delaware Avenue, where it flowed to the southwest around the Capitol grounds. Because of the significant lack of sewer lines, especially in this northern part of Capitol Hill, the creek had essentially become an open gutter. Its polluted waters were recognized as a source of infection and provided a marshy habitat for mosquitoes. In the early 1870s, Alexander Shepherd's Board of Public Works channeled Tiber Creek into a covered culvert, which emptied into the city's canal system. Impounding Tiber Creek and its tributaries and sending them underground was a widely welcomed improvement that removed one major impediment to development to the northeast of the Capitol.

The eastern half of Capitol Hill, which was still largely undeveloped, was also considered unhealthy because of its proximity to the Anacostia Flats, the tidal marshy land at the Anacostia River's edge. Over time, the health hazards presented by the flats increased as farming and development within the river's watershed intensified the silting up of the river, making it shallower and enlarging the area of the flats. Further, the river was increasingly polluted, both by sources upriver and by the channeling of the city's raw sewage into the river.

The newly constructed East Boundary Sewer disgorged directly into the Anacostia River at the end of East Capitol Street. It had actually been intended to promote growth in Capitol Hill East, being touted by the Engineer Commissioners office as "a very desirable improvement."⁶⁹ Yet, the extension of the sewer required

the condemnation of property owned by Hendrick M.F. Von Stump along with Simon Wolf, Julius Lansburgh, Almon W. Clapp, Daniel Birtwell, and others, all of whom were adamantly against the project for the sewer right-of-way. The *Washington Post* reported in 1891 that Von Stump, owner of “considerable real estate” in the Rosedale and Isherwood subdivision through which the sewer extended, had sued the District government for \$35,000 because, with the “construction of the northeast boundary sewer the cuts and gulleys [sic] and

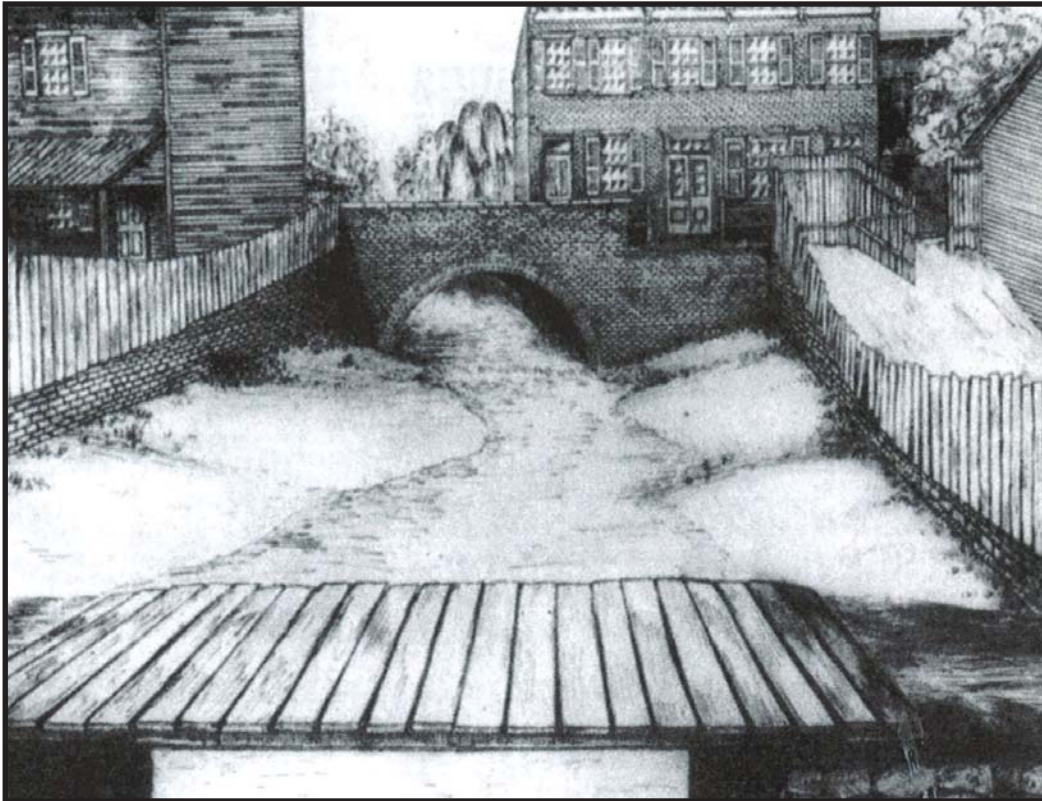


FIGURE 29: *Sketch of Tiber Creek, Undated*. From Joseph R. Passonneau, *Washington Through Two Centuries: A History in Maps and Images*. (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2004), 87.

noxious vapors arising therefrom, his property has become unwholesome and unhealthy, and that he is prevented from improving his lots and bringing them into the market for sale.”⁷⁰

A report prepared by the East Washington Citizens Association stated that since the sewer had been built the “overflow at high tide spread the sewage twice a day over 300 acres of flats.”⁷¹ Accordingly, in 1895, the District’s Engineer Commissioner announced a plan to “relieve temporarily the unhealthy conditions of the section around Rosedale and Isherwood” by digging a trench from the sewer outlet at 18th and E Streets, N.E., half a mile southeast to the point where East Capitol Street met the Anacostia River. Although a positive step in the future development of the far northeastern corner of Capitol Hill East, it was only “temporary relief” to the hazardous situation.⁷²

The sewers emptying into the Anacostia River and enlarging of its flats were perceived as contributing to the spread of malaria. A Board of Trade member investigating the situation reported that “60 per cent [sic] of the inmates of the jail were afflicted with malaria. The windows were kept closed on one side to keep the malaria out. A gentleman who had a brick yard near the Eastern Branch [said] his men were almost invariably attacked by malaria sooner or later. The malarial region had been gradually driven to the east by the construction of sewers. Until the Anacostia River was dredged malaria would remain there.”⁷³ In 1900 alone, over 5,850 malaria cases were reported, prompting the *Washington Post* to report that “although malarial diseases are distributed generally throughout the city, they are more numerous and more fatal on the two sides of the Anacostia River.”⁷⁴ The unresolved threat of contracting infectious diseases greatly impeded growth and development on Capitol Hill east of 12th Street.⁷⁵

Federal Reservation 13

Another inhibiting factor to the eastward progression of Capitol Hill’s development

was Federal Reservation 13. The presence of less-than-desirable institutions on Reservation 13 had a negative effect on land values and development beyond 12th Street. A large and remote parcel of land intended for government use, it became the site for the institutions that no neighborhood wanted within its boundaries. The Ellicott map depicted Reservation 13, for a time known as Marine Hospital Square, as the potential site of a large, U-shaped complex facing converging avenues, now Massachusetts and Potomac Avenues. Initially, the site was to be ornately landscaped with rings of walking paths. Instead, in 1861, the Boschke map documented powder magazines belonging to the Army and Navy that had been constructed on the southern half of the reservation, and the Washington Asylum was sited to the north of the avenues, with scattered outbuildings placed haphazardly around it.⁷⁶ Construction of the asylum began in 1843, and grew to include an infirmary, an almshouse for the destitute, and a workhouse for the criminal.⁷⁷ Previously the Washington Asylum (founded in 1806 as the Washington Infirmary) had been more centrally located within the residential neighborhood at 6th and 7th Streets, N.W., between M and N Streets. When Congress authorized the construction of a new jail in 1872, the northwestern portion of Reservation 13 was selected as a suitable site because of its related activities and location well beyond established residential development.⁷⁸

By 1880, these facilities in Reservation 13 were seriously overcrowded. In that year over 2,000 prisoners, most serving short terms for disorderly conduct or vagrancy, passed through the workhouses, which housed a day-to-day population of about 150 including some children. Because of lack of space, female convicts were housed in the almshouse with the poor. With expansion of the Navy Yard, the land in the southern half of Reservation 13 was no longer occupied by the Army and Navy, and was transferred to the Washington Asylum. The existing magazines on the site were converted for use as female workhouses.⁷⁹ The number of institutions on Reservation 13 for the poor, the sick, and the criminal continued to expand over time, despite frequent calls from Capitol Hill residents for their removal.

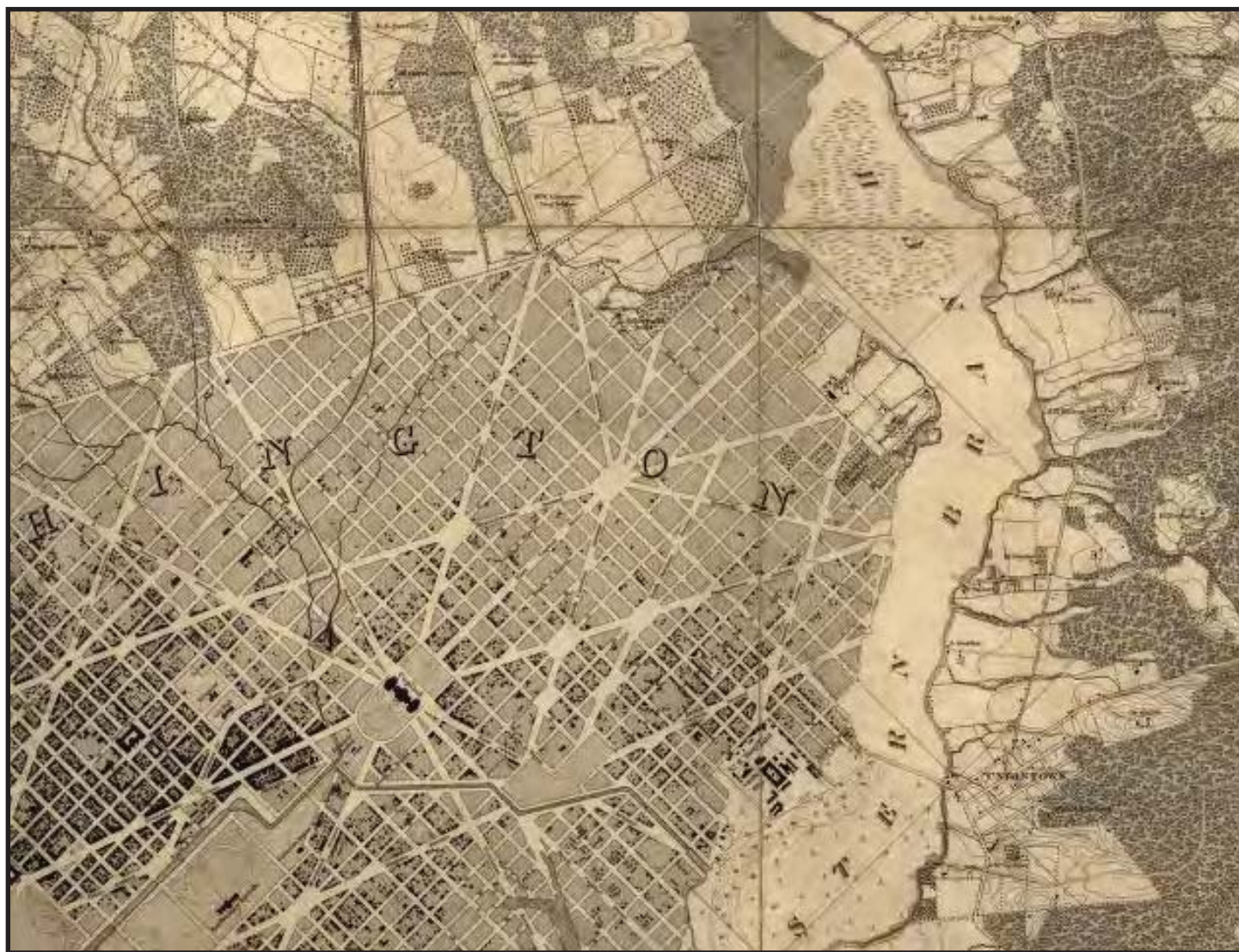


FIGURE 30: A[ibert] Boschke, *Topographical Map of the District of Columbia, Surveyed in the Years 1856-1859, 1861*. (Courtesy of Geography and Maps, Library of Congress)

In addition to the negative associations of the jail and workhouses, Reservation 13 continued to be associated with disease because the Washington Asylum served patients with contagious diseases, including smallpox. Moreover, the potter's field (1853) was used for the interment of smallpox victims, among others, with about 500 indigent dead buried annually. The interments were at the expense of the city, and were often "in a haphazard manner. Bodies sometimes la[id] four deep with little earth on top, and caskets and human bones were often exposed. Graves, many marked by a stone at the head, were arranged in long rows. Some remains were buried in barrels. Caskets often were so near the surface that rain sometimes washed away the earth around them.... The burial ground became a Mecca for grave robbers who primarily supplied cadavers to the local medical schools."⁸⁰ The dreadful condition of the cemetery forced the superintendent of the Washington Asylum to declare it full in 1890, and "an adjunct burial area, established to the south of the original field, began about 1907."⁸¹ This second cemetery ceased operations about 1913.

Cemeteries of Capitol Hill East

In addition to the potter's field on Reservation 13, several of the nearby squares had been dedicated as cemeteries in the nineteenth century. Yet, the growth of the city, and the lack of maintenance at many of the cemeteries, often required the reinterment of earlier burials.

Old Ebenezer Cemetery (also known as Ebenezer Methodist Cemetery and Eastern Methodist Cemetery), established in 1824, was located at 17th and D Streets, S.E. (Square 1102).⁸² However, by the end of the nineteenth century, trustees of the Fourth Street Methodist Church, who owned the property, described it as unsightly and a nuisance. The subsequent relocation of the vast majority of its graves to the nearby Congressional Cemetery, and sale of the property for development was viewed by many lot holders as "real estate speculation with the ultimate object[ive] of rebuilding the church [near the Navy

Yard] with the proceeds of the sale of the cemetery.”⁸³ Some of the graves at the Ebenezer AME Cemetery in nearby Square 1089, between 16th and D Streets, were also relocated to Congressional Cemetery, possibly in 1892.⁸⁴

Graceland Cemetery, located at H Street, N.E. just beyond the federal city boundaries, had been established in 1872 as a public burial ground, replacing Eastern and Holmead Burial grounds. The growing population residing in the area claimed that the marshy conditions of the hillside cemetery were draining to the south of Benning Road, where many residents depended on well water. Having fallen into disuse, and viewed as a site of disease, Graceland Cemetery was condemned by the city in 1894, although burials continued unofficially. Proponents for removal argued that the cemetery’s presence would interfere with the growth of the city, while cemetery lot holders protested that land speculation was the motive for the closing of the cemetery.⁸⁵ Most of the 6,000 interments from Graceland were relocated to Woodlawn Cemetery unsystematically during the four years between 1895 and 1898.⁸⁶ Today, Woodlawn Cemetery is part of the D.C. African American Heritage Trail.

Despite residents’ demands that the burial grounds on Capitol Hill be removed, Congressional Cemetery, situated south of E Street and east of 17th Street, S.E., remained intact. The cemetery’s acreage was expanded to accommodate the increasing number of interments, as well as reinterments from several obsolete cemeteries. The cemetery expanded to its present size of 32.5 acres in 1875, “with roads, paths, and rows of gravesites in a closely-spaced grid pattern of straight lines and right angles. This pattern was continuously used despite the fact that the trend in American landscape design in the early- to mid-nineteenth century moved away from the rational geometry of the Enlightenment to the romanticism of English picturesque landscapes. At Congressional, the only romantic characteristics of the landscape in the nineteenth century were the view of the Anacostia River, the trees and plantings, and the variety of funerary monuments and lot furnishings that decorated individual burial lots.”⁸⁷ The

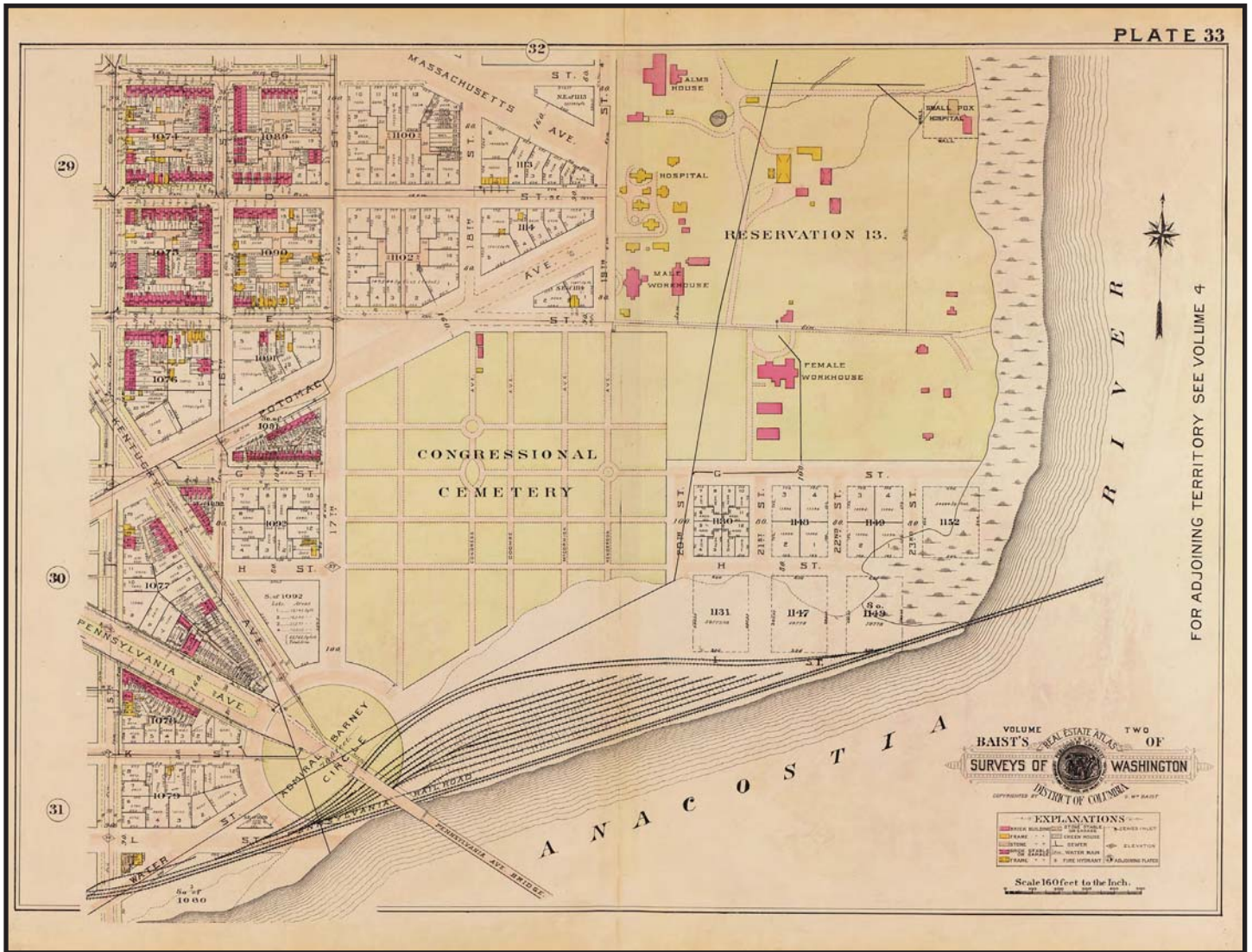


FIGURE 31: George William Baist. *Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, D.C.*, Vol. 2, Plate 33. 1915. (Courtesy of Geography and Maps, Library of Congress)

cemetery, long celebrated by the neighborhood as a landmark and honored as a National Historic Landmark in 2011, is the final resting place for over 55,000 persons, and is still offering interment.⁸⁸

In her history of the cemetery, Cathleen Breitreutz documents several of the more prominent persons buried at the cemetery:

Among those buried at Congressional Cemetery in the nineteenth century were sixteen Senators, sixty-eight members of the House, and Vice Presidents Elbridge Gerry and George Clinton. Congressional Cemetery is also the final resting place of many other notables including Tobias Lear, personal secretary to George Washington; Commodore Thomas Tingey, first commandant of the Washington Navy Yard; William Wirt and William Pinkney, Attorneys General of the United States; Generals Jacob J. Brown and Alexander Macomb of the U.S. Army; General Archibald Henderson, commandant of the Marine Corps for thirty years; William Thornton, architect of the U.S. Capitol; George Watterston, first Librarian of Congress; Robert Mills, architect of the Washington Monument; and ten mayors of the City of Washington. Several prominent Native Americans who died in Washington during diplomatic missions were buried at Congressional Cemetery, including Pushmataha, Chief of the Choctaws, who held the rank of General in the U.S. Army, and Kan-Ya-Tu-Duta (Scarlet Crow), a delegate of the Dakota Sioux. The public receiving vault at Congressional—built with money from Congress—temporarily held the remains of Presidents John Q. Adams, William H. Harrison, Zachary Taylor, as well as First Ladies Dolley Madison and Louisa Adams.⁸⁹

Public Transportation

Technologies for motorizing streetcars were developed in the late 1880s, opening the way to the expansion of street railways. Congress accelerated experimentation with new technologies and the mechanization of street railways in the District by mandating the elimination of horse-drawn railcars by 1892, and in 1902, banning use of overhead wires on routes within the original federal city (south of Florida Avenue). Street railway companies experimented with storage batteries, compressed air, cable, magnetic surface contact, and gas/oil motors. The underground electric conduit proved the most successful, and soon became the citywide standard, opening up much of the northwestern quadrant and outlying Maryland suburbs by the turn of the twentieth century.

Most of the trustees of the railway companies servicing Capitol Hill were not directly involved in the development of the surrounding area, as was often the case with suburban streetcar lines serving the northwestern section of the city and outlying suburbs. Rather, their investments were limited to the railway lines and imposing car barns placed at the terminuses. The car barns were strategically located at the very edge of residential development where expansive undeveloped squares could be cheaply purchased. The work of prominent local architects, the buildings were industrial in function, but high style in architectural design. Although not intended to spur development because of their industrial nature, the extension of the railway lines to their car barn terminuses encouraged growth, albeit within just a few blocks.

The oldest railway line on Capitol Hill, founded in 1862, was the Washington & Georgetown Railroad Company. Its route ran from Georgetown, via Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol, skirted the grounds of the federal building on B Street, S.E., and then traveled along Pennsylvania Avenue to 8th Street, and ended at the entrance to the Navy Yard. The Navy Yard Car Barn on M Street was erected by the railway company in 1891.⁹⁰ Similarly, the Metropolitan Railroad

Company, chartered in 1864, had by 1880 constructed a line from the northwest that framed the Capitol grounds on the north side, and ran along East Capitol Street to 9th Street. The line was extended to reach the high-style car barn at 14th Street in 1896.⁹¹ The Anacostia and Potomac River Railroad Company crossed the Navy Yard Bridge, and proceeded along M Street to allow transfers with the Metropolitan line on 5th Street, S.E. The Columbia Railway Company, chartered in 1870, ran along the length of H Street, N.E. Initially a horse-car line and then cable driven, before converting to electric power, the railway company built a power house and high-style brick car barn (1894) at the corner of Benning Road and 15th Street.⁹²

Nonetheless, street railway service on Capitol Hill was limited in the nineteenth century, ignoring much of the fledging neighborhood east of 8th Street and thereby impeding development. In January 1891, it was estimated that “there were nearly 20,000 people east of Eighth street [sic] totally unsupplied with street-car facilities.”⁹³ The Columbia Railway line along H Street was too far north to serve most residents of Capitol Hill. The Washington & Georgetown Railroad Company, which linked the Navy Yard to the western part of the city, ignored pleas to extend its route eastward beyond 8th Street along Pennsylvania Avenue, and across the new bridge extending over Anacostia River until development proved its necessity after the turn of the twentieth century. The Metropolitan Railroad Company’s line along East Capitol Street was extended from 9th Street to serve the Lincoln Park residents by 1900, but never went east of the car barn at 14th Street. All of these lines served only the periphery of Capitol Hill East.

A Proponent for Change: The East Washington Citizens Association

The East Washington Citizens Association was formed in 1871 to advocate for the interests of residents living east of the U.S. Capitol before the District Commissioners and Congress, in order “to secure for East Washington a fair share of public improvements.”⁹⁴ Newspaper accounts of the meetings and activities of

the Association indicate that it was involved with many of the same issues year after year, including the need to improve streets, water, sewer, and other utilities; the favoritism shown to the northwest quadrant of the city; the presence of the institutions on Reservation 13, and the health hazards of the Anacostia Flats.

In 1893, when Reservation 13 was proposed as the site for a contagious diseases hospital, representatives of the East Washington Citizens Association protested to the District Commissioners, saying that residents of the area “had submitted to the jail and the almshouse without a murmur, but they did seriously object to East Washington being made a dumping ground for the whole city.”⁹⁵ Newspaper coverage of Capitol Hill residents’ opposition to the siting of a hospital in their neighborhood revealed the perceived social divide between East Washington and Northwest Washington. After Brainard Warner, a prominent real estate investor, spearheaded a recommendation from the Greater Washington Board of Trade that the hospital be placed on Reservation 13 rather than the contemplated Mount Pleasant site, residents at an East Washington Citizens Association meeting talked of the “vile conspiracy on the part of Mr. Warner and other people of the northwest,” and of “refusing to bow their heads to the silk-stocking brigade.”⁹⁶ One argument used in the course of the discussions was that “the statute dedicating the reservation as a potter’s field would probably preclude the establishment of the hospital there.” Moreover, the proposed Capitol Hill location along the Anacostia Flats was known for its malarial influences, which were believed to impede the curing of disease. A spokesperson for the Association said the area was known for its pestilence because of the nearby flats, where “generally malaria and kindred diseases prevailed before the Tiber had been bridged over.” The *Washington Post* reported that citizens of East Washington “sympathized with the sick, and wished for something better than the shed in which the present smallpox hospital was placed for the reception of patients.”⁹⁷ Despite the pleas, in late January 1895, Congress supported the proposal to construct the contagious hospital on Reservation 13; nevertheless, the argument over the site continued, and other locations were examined.

Street improvements were another issue on which the disparity between Northwest Washington and the eastern half of the city was keenly felt by Capitol Hill residents. The issue of street improvements was tied to property assessments, and the legislation that created the Board of Public Works authorized the Board to pay for one third of the cost of improvements through assessments of the owners of the adjoining properties. The system of assessments outlasted the Board of Public Works, and the administration of assessments was a point of contention with the residents of Capitol Hill for decades. They objected both to the disproportionate investment in Northwest Washington, and differences in assessments for paying for improvements. For example, in January 1891, the East Washington Citizens Association complained that legislation pending in Congress showed that “a very effective pair of shears had been used in cutting down the [street improvement] schedules” and that estimates for the “eastern section had been cut down from \$200,000 to \$61,000” with “not a cent for Pennsylvania Avenue extended.”⁹⁸ In December 1891, the association opposed the levying of special assessments for needed street improvements “as it would be unjust to the eastern section owing to the fact that 70 per cent [sic] of the work had been done in Northwest Washington without cost to the property holders and only 20 per cent in the two eastern sections.”⁹⁹

Turning Tide: Anticipating Development

Since the city’s founding in 1791, many impediments had obstructed eastward development of the Capitol Hill neighborhood. The nationwide depression that began in 1893 with the collapse of railroad construction and bank failures contributed to slow growth across the city. Nevertheless, there were incremental improvements to the infrastructure of Capitol Hill and indications that property owners and investors were anticipating residential development of the neighborhood beyond 12th Street in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Although little building had taken place, there had been numerous subdivisions

creating small building lots on vacant or largely vacant squares.

In 1887, the East Washington Citizens Association successfully fought to have the boundary of the city's fire limits extended eastward from 11th Street to 15th Street. These limits, which prohibited the construction of wood-frame buildings, were designed to protect residents from the danger of conflagrations in urban neighborhoods and to protect investments in brick or other noncombustible buildings that were generally regarded as more substantial and desirable than wood-frame dwellings. At this time, more than 80% of the buildings east of 6th Street were wood frame, so the extension of the limits would have been principally for the protection of anticipated investments.¹⁰⁰ Little construction existed beyond 11th Street, with the exception of 13th Street, S.E. to the south of D Street, along 14th Street, N.E., and H Street, N.E. At least 25 wood-frame structures were noted in the center of the streets, predating the laying of the roads beyond 17th Street, north of East Capitol Street. Among these structures was Isherwood Farm on D Street, N.E., just east of 15th Street.¹⁰¹

Two significant infrastructure improvements occurred on Capitol Hill in 1890 that greatly changed the development landscape. First, the U.S. Corps of Engineers installed a 30-inch water main along East Capitol Street, which made water available to the area east from 11th Street all the way to the Anacostia River.¹⁰² The second improvement was the opening of a new bridge across the river at Pennsylvania Avenue, replacing the span that had burned in 1845. An improvement long sought by the East Washington Citizens Association, the bridge enhanced the importance of Pennsylvania Avenue as a primary artery from the White House to the developing neighborhoods of Capitol Hill and Anacostia (known as Uniontown until 1886). The celebration marking the opening of the new Pennsylvania Avenue Bridge was noted in the *Washington Post*, "with flags and cannon and fireworks, and speech making and brass bands, it in a small way rivaled the other end of town at inauguration times."¹⁰³

Also in 1890, Congress authorized Lt. Col. Peter C. Hains of the U.S. Corps of Engineers to develop a comprehensive plan to address both the navigational and sanitation problems that the Anacostia River presented.¹⁰⁴ This was the first significant step taken to deal with the worsening conditions of the Anacostia Flats. Hains reported that, “Nearly one-half of the sewage of the city is discharged into this stream. As the city grows, the amount will increase.... The sewage will spread out on the flats, and...the odors from them will increase until a large part of the city bordering on it will be rendered unhealthy, if not uninhabitable.”¹⁰⁵ He recommended dredging the Anacostia River, and filling in the flats with the dredged material, beginning at the Navy Yard and moving upstream in stages to Benning Bridge.

The East Washington Citizens Association became a vocal advocate for the implementation of Hains’s recommendations, seeing the elimination of the area’s health hazards as essential for growth on the eastern half of Capitol Hill. A July 1894 Association report stated that, “Our further development is arrested until this eye-sore and plague spot is removed. The beautiful heights must remain as they now are until these marshes are drained and made healthy and habitable. The citizens living upon their borders must continue to be subjected to malarial fevers until these miasmatic flats are converted into deltas, and these shoal waters into commercial channels.”¹⁰⁶

The plans to dredge the river and fill in the flats gave area investors hope, although progress proved to be much slower than anticipated. The problems of clearing titles to the land in the area of the flats and the lack of Congressional appropriations delayed implementation for years. In 1898, Hains’s recommendations were updated by Lt. Col. Charles J. Allen, and Congress appropriated funds to begin work in the area of the Navy Yard in 1902. However, it was not until 1916 that significant work began upriver from the Navy Yard, and that was soon delayed by the United States’ entry into World War I.

In anticipation of the development on Capitol Hill, the city government oversaw the building of new school buildings. At the time of their construction, many of these schools were located on the periphery of the developed areas they served, where sufficient vacant land was available to accommodate a large building and accompanying school grounds. Of the 75 public schools existing within the boundaries of the federal city in 1880, just 19 were located east of North and South Capitol Streets. Of these, only nine were in purpose-built buildings owned by the District of Columbia. Although the areas around H Street, N.E. and west of 6th Street developed earlier than the area to the east, the majority of public schools were located in the vicinity of the Navy Yard. Between 6th and 12th Streets, three buildings were leased as white schools, three elementary schools had been purpose-built for white students, and there were no schools for white students east of 12th Street.¹⁰⁷ The purpose-built schools were Wallach (1864) in the 700 block Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., McCormick (1870) on 3rd Street between M and N Streets, S.E., and Cranch (1872) on the corner of 12th and G Streets, S.E.¹⁰⁸ The 1880 map shows two city-owned schools, both east of 12th Street, were designated for African American students: Lovejoy (1872) constructed as a schoolhouse at 12th and D Streets, N.E., and a school on 18th Street between B and C Streets, S.E.¹⁰⁹ By 1896, the development of Capitol Hill was illustrated in the growth of the number of public school buildings. Rented facilities had been replaced by purpose-built schools including three elementary schools constructed for white students east of 12th Street: Maury (1886) at 13th Street and Constitution Avenue, N.E.; Pierce (1894) at 14th and G Streets, N.E.; and James Buchanan (1895) at 13th and E Streets, S.E., Lovejoy continued to serve African American pupils and Payne (1896) was constructed at 15th and C Streets, S.E., replacing the earlier school for African American pupils located on 18th Street.

Long Meadows: Rosedale and Isherwood

With Washington, D.C. thriving and new construction expanding beyond

the boundaries of the federal city, the area in the northeasternmost corner of Capitol Hill East—historically within Washington County—was ripe for residential development. However, despite the valuable springs that ran through it, the Long Meadows tract was still largely overlooked. The area lacked any type of infrastructure, which even in the larger Capitol Hill neighborhood was minimal to the east of 12th Street. The nature of the tract's development was shaped by its location outside Pierre L'Enfant's plan for the capital city and beyond the fire limits that restricted wood-frame construction until the early twentieth century.

Having been sold to private investors, who like their predecessors hoped to capitalize on development opportunities, Long Meadows was platted in part as Rosedale and Isherwood on December 8, 1876. The investors included S.H. Kaufman, Edward Clark, Lewis Clephane, and W.H. Clagett. An addition was platted by Job Barnard, as trustee, W.H. Clagett, and the Columbia Railway Company.¹¹⁰ The subdivision was comprised of 30 blocks bounded on the north by Benning Road, on the west by 15th Street and on the south by C Street, N.E.¹¹¹ On the east it was edged by 21st Street between C and D streets and by the property line of Laura Miller running northeasterly from 21st Street to Benning Road. Blocks 25 and 27, bounded by Gales Street to the north, Clagett Street to the east, and 16th Street to the west where Kramer and Rosedale Streets and the Rosedale playground are located, were not subdivided.

The area in its entirety was noted on the 1887 G.M. Hopkins map, which documented that three east/west streets had been laid from 15th Street to about 21st Street. Six north/south streets had also been created, but only three extended the full distance from C Street to Benning Road. The new streets could have continued the road system planned in 1791 by Pierre L'Enfant, but were actually laid just slightly to the east and south of the existing routes, at a somewhat diagonal alignment. Because the streets had been platted before 1893, they were not subject to the Highway Commission's development of a citywide system for extending the original street plan to areas that had once been part of Washington County. The specific paving type was not documented on the Hopkins map. But because those streets to the west and south of Rosedale and Isherwood were not paved, it is highly likely these new roads were also unpaved.

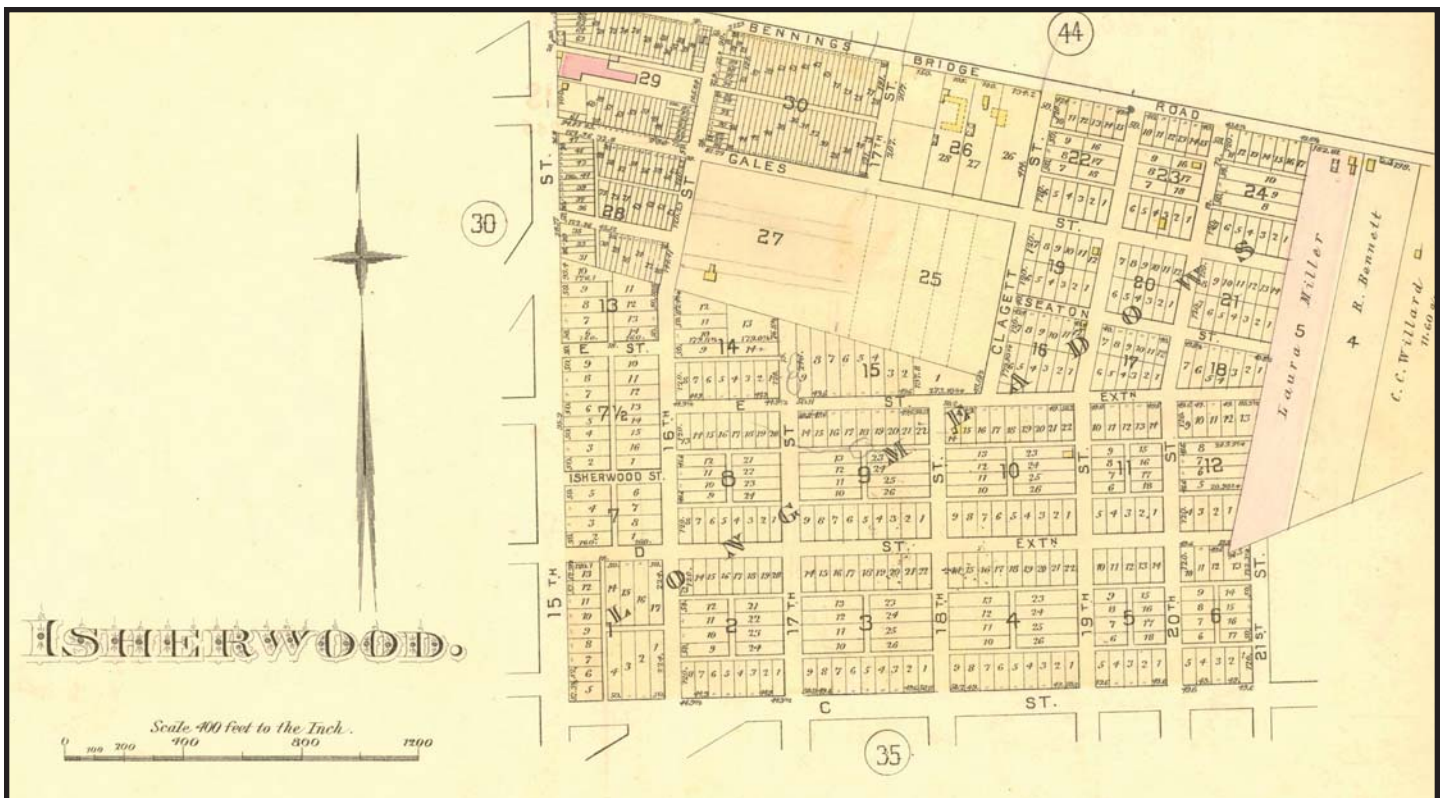


FIGURE 32: Hopkins, *A Complete Set of Surveys and Plats of the Properties in the City of Washington, District of Columbia*, plate 41, 1887.

The first building permit of record for this area—now more commonly known as just Rosedale—dates from 1880, documenting the construction of a wood-frame house for James N. Bradley, a foreman. The modest building was located at 513 18th Street, N.E.¹¹² The next permit for construction in this area was granted in 1885 to John H. Clark, who built a house at 1565 Benning Road, N.E. The small wood-frame structure had an estimated construction cost of \$750, which was \$50 more than Bradley’s house five years earlier.¹¹³ The extensive construction of the modest, vernacular housing that characterized the first phase of Rosedale’s development began about 1888, mostly in the form of two-story, flat-fronted, wood-frame row houses.



FIGURE 33: Coast and Geodetic Survey, “Topographical Survey of the District of Columbia, Sheet No. 27,” (1888), Image Archives of the Historical Map & Chart Collection, Office of Coast Survey/NOAA, <http://www.nauticalcharts.noaa.gov>.



FIGURE 34: Coast and Geodetic Survey, “Topographical Survey of the District of Columbia, Sheet No. 28,” (1888), Image Archives of the Historical Map & Chart Collection, Office of Coast Survey/NOAA, <http://www.nauticalcharts.noaa.gov>.

NOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 26.
2. Green, *Washington: A History of the Capital, 1800-1950*, 1: 319.
3. For this reason, Shepherd was popularly known as “Boss Shepherd.”
4. William M. Maury, “Alexander R. Shepherd and the Board of Public Works” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 48 (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1971-1972), 402.
5. Maury, “Alexander R. Shepherd and the Board of Public Works,” 402.
6. Charles O. Paullin, “History of the Site of the Congressional and Folger Libraries” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 37-38 (Washington, D.C.: Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C., 1971-1972), 402.
7. Rees, *Washington on View: The Nation’s Capital Since 1790*, 191.
8. J.F. Gedney, “Exhibit Chart Showing Streets & Avenues in the Cities of Washington and Georgetown Improved under the Board of Public Works, D.C., Nov. 1st, 1873” (Washington, D.C.: 1873).
9. Gedney, “Exhibit Chart Showing Streets & Avenues in the Cities of Washington and Georgetown Improved under the Board of Public Works, D.C., Nov. 1st, 1873.”
10. Susan H. Myers, “Capitol Hill, 1870-1900: The People and Their Homes,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, vol. 49 (Washington, D.C. The Columbia Historical Society, 1973-1974), 280-281.
11. Alison K. Hoagland, “Nineteenth-century Building Regulations in Washington, D.C.” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C.*, vol. 52 (Washington, D.C.: Washington Historical Society, 1989), 61.
12. Hoagland, “Nineteenth-century Building Regulations in Washington, D.C.,” 72-74.
13. Hoagland, “Nineteenth-century Building Regulations in Washington, D.C.,” 73.
14. Hoagland, “Nineteenth-century Building Regulations in Washington, D.C.,” 60-61.
15. Statistics based on Commissioners of the District of Columbia, *Annual Report, 1875* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), 278-309.
16. These figures do not include Georgetown or Washington County. Commissioners of the District of Columbia, *Annual Report, 1875*, 278-309.
17. Commissioners of the District of Columbia, *Annual Report, 1875*, 294-308.
18. Hoagland, “Nineteenth-century Building Regulations in Washington, D.C.,” 66 and 72.
19. “The Fire-Limits,” *National Republican*, 12 May 1881, 4.
20. Myers, “Capitol Hill, 1870-1900: The People and Their Homes,” 279.

21. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975), 26.
22. The 1887 Hopkins map shows the rows of wood frame dwellings on Park Street (1100 block) as the most extensive wood frame rows east of 11th Street at that time.
23. The buildings at 1339-1345 C Street, N.E. were owned, designed, and built by Charles Gessford.
24. Griffith M. Hopkins, *A Complete Set of Surveys and Plats of the Properties in the City of Washington, District of Columbia* (Philadelphia, PA: G.M. Hopkins, 1887).
25. Hoagland, "Nineteenth-Century Building Regulations in Washington, D.C.," 65-66.
26. "The Building of Houses," *Washington Post*, 22 June 1884, 8.
27. "Fire limit" was the term used to define the areas within which combustible (generally wood-frame) buildings could not be constructed. Eleventh Street, and later 15th Street, was the principal eastern line of the fire limits but the line zigzagged in a few locations, most notably skirting the federally owned Navy Yard but including the areas around it. The area south of Potomac Avenue and east of 11th Street also remained outside the fire limits. "At the District Buildings: The Fire Limits in East Washington Extended," *Washington Post*, 13 July 1887, 3.
28. Kraft, *Building Permits Database*.
29. This altered Italianate-style dwelling, now clad in Permastone, dates from circa 1856. EHT Traceries, "Architectural Survey of Capitol Hill Northeast," prepared for the Capitol Hill Restoration Society, January 2011, 7.
30. Examples include 717-719 10th St., N.E. (ca. 1870) and 1119-1121 and 1203-1205 G St. N.E. (ca. 1874)
31. The buildings at 700 and 702 19th Street, N.E. are examples of wood-frame dwellings subsequently clad in stucco and brick, respectively.
32. *Washington at Home: An Illustrated History of Neighborhoods in the Nation's Capital*, ed. Kathryn Schneider Smith, (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publication, Inc., 1988), 39.
33. Atkinson designed the rows on H Street (demolished) and 3rd Street and Schneider designed the row on G Street.
34. Public, No. 307, 47 Stat. 930, approved 12 June 1934.
35. James Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980), 23.
36. Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington*, 17.
37. Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington*, 24 and 42.
38. Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington*, 44.

39. Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington*, 40.
40. Granite or trap rock (various forms of igneous rock, including lava) was cut into nearly cubical blocks ranging from 5” to 7” for use as paving stones. Often referred to as Belgian paving, these stones provided a smoother surface than cobblestone.
41. “*City of Washington, Statistical Maps*,” Compiled by Lieut. F.V. Greene, assistant to the Engineer Commissioner, 1 July 1880, Washington, D.C., Map No. 3: Street Pavements.
42. “*City of Washington, Statistical Maps*,” Compiled by Lieut. F.V. Greene, assistant to the Engineer Commissioner, 1 July 1880, Washington, D.C., Map No. 4: Shade Trees.
43. “*City of Washington, Statistical Maps*,” Compiled by Lieut. F.V. Greene, assistant to the Engineer Commissioner, 1 July 1880, Washington, D.C., Maps No. 5: Gas Lamps.
44. Melissa McLeod, “Craftsmen and Entrepreneurs,” *Housing Washington: Two Centuries of Residential Development and Planning in the National Capital Area*, Richard Longstreth, editor, (Chicago, IL: Center for American Places, 2010), 68.
45. “*City of Washington, Statistical Maps*,” Compiled by Lieut. F.V. Greene, assistant to the Engineer Commissioner, 1 July 1880, Washington, D.C., Maps No. 6: Water Mains.
46. “*City of Washington, Statistical Maps*,” Compiled by Lieut. F.V. Greene, assistant to the Engineer Commissioner, 1 July 1880, Washington, D.C., Map No. 7: Sewers.
47. “*City of Washington, Statistical Maps*,” Compiled by Lieut. F.V. Greene, assistant to the Engineer Commissioner, 1 July 1880, Washington, D.C., Map No. 1: Valuation of Real Property.
48. Stephen Flanagan together with his brother James M. Flanagan, owned S. & J.M. Flanagan. The company was involved in real estate and a variety of shipping related activities. *Gopsill’s Philadelphia City Directory* (Philadelphia, PA: James Gopsill’s Sons, 1887), 573.
49. The sale, finalized in December 1889, included parts of Squares 968, 988, 989, 990, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1058, 1061, and 1075. “Real Estate Transfers,” *Washington Post*, 24 December 1889, 7.
50. “A Real Estate Deal: Washington Capitalists Buy Several Squares of Northeast Property,” *Washington Post*, 23 July 1889, 7.
51. “Buying a Million Feet of Land,” *Washington Post*, 15 September 1889, 7.
52. Walters referred to the World’s Columbia Exposition, which was held in Chicago in 1892.
53. The railway company did not extend its line to either street. “Buying a Million Feet of Land,” *Washington Post*, 15 September 1889, 7.
54. Nancy Schwartz, et al, “Near Northeast Study, 2002,” 26 and 34-35.
55. National Register of Historic Places, Eastern Market, Washington, District of Columbia, National Register #71000998.
56. The building was greatly damaged by fire in 2007, but was reconstructed and

reopened in 2009. It was listed in the National Register in 1971.

57. Nancy Schwartz, et al, "Near Northeast Study, 2002," 25-26.

58. According to a date plaque, the current structure was "rebuilt" in 1937 and raised to three stories (including the basement), and "renovated" in 1992 after a destructive fire; "Douglas Memorial to Hold Dinner To Mark 80th Birthday of Church," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, 10 May 1958, B6.

59. East Washington Methodist Episcopal Church was also known as the Twelfth Street Mission Church. Free Methodist Church, razed ca. 1897 for the construction of the Wilson Memorial Methodist Church, was also known as the People's Tabernacle; Pamela Scott, "Places of Worship in the District of Columbia" (Washington, D.C.: Pamela Scott, 2003, third edition).

60. Hopkins, *A Complete Set of Surveys and Plats of the Properties in the City of Washington, District of Columbia*; Pamela Scott, "Places of Worship in the District of Columbia."

61. Beth Purcell, "Notes on Hill East History, Architects and Builders," 6: 5-6; Scott, "Places of Worship in the District of Columbia;" "Entered a New Field: Bradburn Methodist Church Started as a Mission," *Washington Post*, 31 October 1903, 14.

62. *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia*, 1896 (Washington, D.C.: William H. Boyd, 1896), 1011-1016; Scott, "Places of Worship in the District of Columbia." The building was replaced in 1924.

63. Scott, "Places of Worship in the District of Columbia." The building was severely damaged by fire in 1929 and reconstructed.

64. This parish combined with Holy Comforter parish in 1966 and St. Cyprian's Church was demolished.

65. "Rapid Rise in Decade: History of St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church," *Washington Post*, 28 February 1903, 11.

66. Hopkins, *A Complete Set of Surveys and Plats of the Properties in the city of Washington, District of Columbia*.

67. Donna Hanousek and Beth Purcell, "A History of the Washington Brewery," *Hill Rag*, January 2011, 76.

68. "Pure Ice At Low Figures," *Washington Post*, 19 January 1890, 6.

69. "For Tax-Payers' Eyes," *Washington Post*, 14 December 1890, 4.

70. "Wants \$35,000 from the District," *Washington Post*, 15 February 1891.

71. "People's Voice Raised: Rousing Meeting of East Washington Citizens. Reclamation of Anacostia," *Washington Post*, 5 April 1895, 4.

72. "Need a Sewer Outlet," *Washington Post*, 13 June 1895, 10.

73. "A Wrathful Protest: East Washington People Fighting the Hospital Site,"

Washington Post, 29 December 1894.

74. "Board of Trade Acts," *Washington Post*, 21 December 1900, 2.

75. Miller, *Washington in Maps, 1606-2000*, 100.

76. Boschke, *Topographical Map of the District of Columbia/Surveyed in the years 1856 '57 '58 & '59*.

77. Green, *Washington: A History of the Capital, 1800-1950*, 1: 319.

78. "Fixed: The Site of the New Jail" *Daily National Republican*, 21 September 1872.

79. Report of the Commissioner and Intendant of the Washington Asylum, September 11, 1880 in U.S. House of Representatives, *Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia for the year ending June 30, 1880*, 46th Cong., 3d Sess., 1880, 160-168.

80. Sluby, *Bury Me Deep: Burial Places Past and Present in and nearby Washington, D.C.*, 111.

81. Sluby, *Bury Me Deep: Burial Places Past and Present in and nearby Washington, D.C.*, 111.

82. The property was noted on the 1887 Hopkins map as "Methodist Grave Yard." The map showed the square's original lots and that no improvements had yet been constructed on it.

83. "Trouble over the Dead: Removal of Bodies from the Ebenezer Burying Ground," *Washington Post*, 4 October 1892, 5. And Sluby, *Transcribed Ledger of the Eastern Methodist Church (Old Ebenezer) 1823-1893, Washington, DC* (Washington, DC: Columbian Harmony Society 1981, p. 23) that states "The vast majority of the bodies were removed to Congressional Cemetery." But he did not say "all."

84. Sluby, *Bury Me Deep: Burial Places Past and Present in and nearby Washington, D.C.*, 97.

85. "Against Graceland Cemetery: The Commissioners Recommend that Interments Therein," *Washington Post*, 8 February 1893; "Removed to Other Graveyards: Graceland Cemetery Will Soon Be Available for Other Purposes," *Washington Post*, 11 November 1897.

86. Sluby, *Bury Me Deep: Burial Places Past and Present in and nearby Washington, D.C.*, 84-85.

87. Bretkreutz, "The Developmental History of Congressional Cemetery," 1.

88. Congressional Cemetery was entered in the National Register of Historic Places in 1969.

89. The remains of several congressional representatives and Vice President Clinton were later reinterred elsewhere. Bretkreutz, "The Developmental History of Congressional Cemetery," 1.

90. In 1895, Rock Creek Railway acquired the Washington & Georgetown Railroad, and was renamed the Capital Traction Company. It was renamed the Capital Transit Company

in 1933, and by 1956, the line was operated by D.C. Transit Company. The Navy Yard Car Barn continued to be used as originally designed—with the addition of bus storage—until January 1962. It was then sold to private developers for commercial use in the 1960s. The building was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2006.

91. In 1933, the Washington Railway & Electric Company combined with the Capital Traction Company to become the Capital Transit Company. With the ending of the streetcar era in 1962, the car barn was used to store buses, and eventually sold to private developers. The building was subsequently rehabilitated for residential use (condominiums). The East Capitol Street Car Barn was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

92. The Columbia Railway Company, following the financial default of several holding companies that had acquired interest, became part of the Washington Railway & Electric Company in 1902. Service along H Street, N.E. ended in 1962 and the car barn was razed in 1973.

93. “The Assessment Bill: It Is Criticized by the East Washington Citizens’ Association,” *Washington Post*, 6 January 1891.

94. “No Longer A Minor: The East Washington Citizens’ Association’s Twenty-first Anniversary,” *Washington Post*, 7 October 1892; “It Was East End Day: Thousands Take Part In The New Bridge Celebration,” *Washington Post*, 26 August 1890.

95. “Capitol Hill Is Aroused: Will Fight the Hospital Site in Court if Necessary,” *Washington Post*, 2 June 1893.

96. “A Wrathful Protest: East Washington People Fighting the Hospital Site,” *Washington Post*, 29 December 1894.

97. “A Wrathful Protest: East Washington People Fighting the Hospital Site,” *Washington Post*, 29 December 1894.

98. “The Assessment Bill: It Is Criticized by the East Washington Citizens’ Association,” *Washington Post*, 6 January 1891, 6.

99. “Change Of Government: East Washington Citizens’ Association In Favor Of The Municipal,” *Washington Post*, 4 December 1891.

100. Fire limits were perceived as protecting brick dwellings, which represented a greater investment than wood frame structures, from the danger of fires spreading from the more flammable wood structures.

101. Hopkins, *A Complete Set of Surveys and Plats of the Properties in the City of Washington, District of Columbia*.

102. McLeod, “Craftsmen and Entrepreneurs,” 68.

103. “It Was East End Day: Thousands Take Part In The New Bridge Celebration,” *Washington Post*, 26 August 1890.

104. Martin K. Gordon, “The Origins of the Anacostia River Improvement Project,”

Water Highlights 1 (Winter 1989), D.C. Water Resources Research Center, College of Life Sciences, University of the District of Columbia.

105. "Reclaim The Marshes: Citizens' Association Pleads for Anacostia Flats," *Washington Post*, 6 July 1894.

106. "Reclaim The Marshes: Citizens' Association Pleads for Anacostia Flats," *Washington Post*, 6 July 1894.

107. "City of Washington, Statistical Maps," Compiled by Lieut. F.V. Greene, assistant to the Engineer Commissioner, 1 July 1880, Washington, D.C., Maps No. 8: Public Schools.

108. Board of Trustees of Public Schools of the District of Columbia, *Second Report, 1875-'76* (Washington, D.C.: R. Beresford, 1877), 86.

109. "City of Washington, Statistical Maps," Maps No. 8: Public Schools.

110. Matthew B. Gilmore and Michael R. Harrison, "A Catalog of Suburban Subdivisions of the District of Columbia, 1854-1902," *Washington History 14*, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2002), 50. Equity Case #7577: Wm. E. Clark vs. Albina Siebert, et al.

111. Hopkins, *A Complete Set of Surveys and Plats of the Properties in the City of Washington, District of Columbia*, plate 41.

112. The house is believed to have been razed for construction of the Mildred E. Gibbs Elementary School and playground in the mid-1960s.

113. The house was razed to allow for the construction of apartment buildings in 1948.