

December, 1967

CAPITOL HILL PROSPECTUS

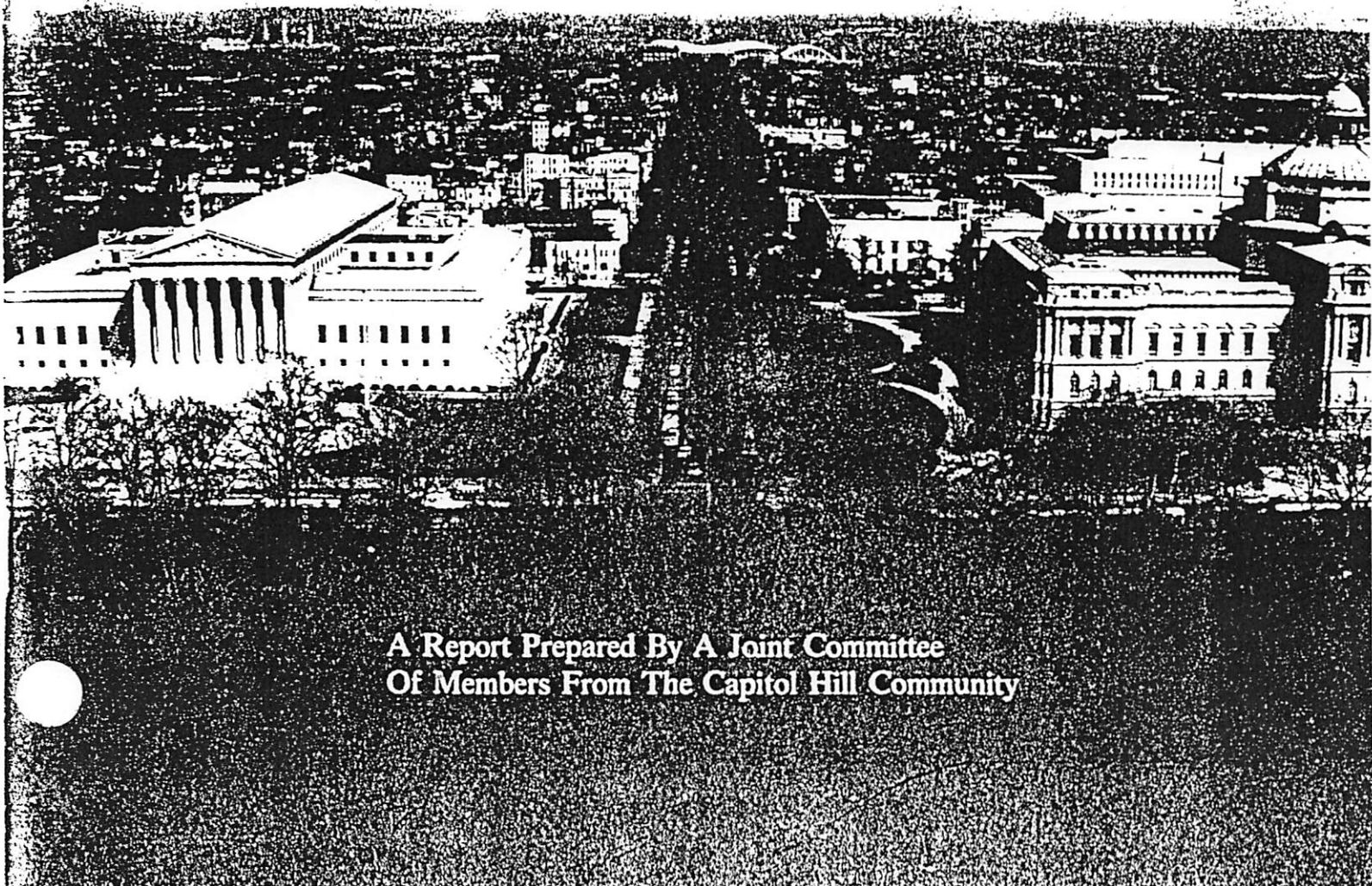


A Report Prepared By A Joint Committee
Of Members From The Capitol Hill Community

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EDWARD G. GRUIS
ATTORNEY AT LAW
326 SECOND STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

December 28, 1967

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson,
Committee for a More Beautiful Capital,
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

The accompanying report, "Capitol Hill Prospectus," is hereby submitted with reference to Lawrence Halprin's Report to your Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, which dealt with beautifying and improving the Capitol Hill area; it is also in response to an inquiry made several months ago by Mrs. Polly Shackleton and Mrs. Sharon Francis, from the Committee, for some kind of citizens' assessment of the Capitol Hill Community. What "Hill" residents regard as their chief neighborhood problems, and their reaction to various government planning objectives for the area, seemed to be of particular interest to Mrs. Shackleton and Mrs. Francis, and these we have particularly sought to present here.

In searching out ways for compiling such information, the undersigned met with seventeen recognized community leaders from virtually all the major civic and social organizations on Capitol Hill, as shown in the appendix of the report. These leaders, who are knowledgeable in the broad spectrum of Capitol Hill's economic and social composition, agreed to work together as a Joint Committee to prepare this report on their understanding of the thinking, needs and wishes of the community's citizens.

Joint Committee members know of no similar study that has been made of "Hill" neighborhoods. For this reason, they have endeavored to present information which will provide citizens of Capitol Hill with a better picture of their community, and which will give planners, government officials and non-"Hill" people a closer, sharper insight into our community's structure, resources and needs.

This effort, I believe, illustrates the intense interest of the Joint Committee members in the overall welfare and advancement of the Capitol Hill community. That such civic

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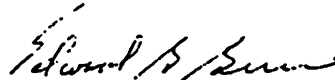
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concern is also widely held by citizens throughout the entire community is reflected by the action of the Capitol Hill Restoration Society, which, while having no hand or voice in the preparation of the report, agreed to sponsor and pay for its publication as a general service to the community.

Speaking for the Joint Committee then, I am hopeful that this citizens' study of Capitol Hill will not only be of assistance to your Committee, but will also be a basic aid to the understanding which any government office or agency must have if they are to plan wisely toward the future development of our community.

Yours very truly,



Edward G. Gruis,
Joint Committee Member

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CAPITOL HILL RESTORATION SOCIETY
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INTRODUCTION

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Few, if any other, communities in the United States can match the racial and economic blend of the residential population found on Capitol Hill. Owners of elegantly restored town-houses, the predominating middle-income residents and public housing families are all equally served by the same stores, community organizations and facilities. This intergrated urban community of all income levels represents a sharp contrast to Washington's Northwest "white corridor" and its counterpart in Northeast; Urban Renewal's antiseptical "modern" Southwest; and our city's socially- or economically-typed suburbs. Residents of Capitol Hill, generally, are both dedicated and committed to participating in making the nation's Capital an attractive and suitable city in which to live. In furtherance of this belief, they have endeavored in their area, by individual and organizational means, to correct faults and vices associated with "big city" living, and to build a strong, cohesive community of conscientious and responsible citizens. They are equally conscious, almost to the point of frustration, of their inability or incapacity under present Federal and District limitations, restrictions and thinking to bring about significant improvements in their schools, streets, parks and other recreational centers, and police protection. And this bears directly on how much can be done, either individually or collectively, to improve general appearances and living conditions on Capitol Hill.

Capitol Hill and its adjacent communities, which are inseparable for understanding and planning purposes have of late repeatedly served as target areas for numerous proposals by city, social, educational and recreational planners. Yet, many of the proposals for our area, being limited in their respective objectives, are made with little regard to the character and composition of our neighborhoods and the course of our area's future development. Frequently, proposals have run counter to the normal trend of neighborhood development. On other occasions a lack of coordination has placed one proposal in direct conflict with another to the complete bewilderment of area occupants, who have then justifiably inquired whether the planners really know or understand what is happening in our neighborhoods. Because no recent studies or comprehensive examinations have been made of our area's totality, there is even among residents uncertainty as to the make-up of our community and its future direction. For example more and better recreational facilities are needed, but so are school and shopping facilities. But such neighborhood needs cannot be satisfactorily planned for and realized until there is unanimity of agreement as to "when", "where" and "how" among area residents, planners and government agencies.

A recent proposal for beautification of our area submitted to Mrs. Johnson's Committee for Beautification of the Nation's Capitol (The Halprin Report) and activities by our local Emergency Recreational Council (ERC) has generated a sudden and widespread interest in a self-appraisal as to what are we? Where are we? Where are we going? To arrive at some answers to these questions, Mr. Edward G. Gruis, President of the Capitol Hill Restoration Society (The Restoration Society), called together 18 community leaders from the different areas and organizations on Capitol Hill for their views. This report is the product of their joint effort.

As shown by the biographies at the end of the report, Joint Committee members represent a rather complete cross-section of our community. For this reason, there were differences of opinion in preparing this Capitol Hill survey by Joint Committee members, who should not be regarded as individually endorsing or agreeing with all of the views and conclusions presented in this report.

THE PROSPECTS

A great variety of proposals have been made in recent years for changing the face of Capitol Hill. By no means have these all been constructive, but they have reflected real pressures for new federal buildings, highway and transit systems, expansion of public recreational space and even enlargement of the Capitol grounds. Some of these pressures have equally conspired against a community more than a century old, that serves as the front yard for our nation's Capitol. The 19th century environment of Capitol Hill is not replaceable, yet today, it is in jeopardy of being destroyed. With it will go a historic legacy that now stands at the potential heart of the visitors' Washington.

Citizens of Capitol Hill are determined to conserve their community not only for themselves, but for the benefit of their fellow Americans as well. Authentic and beautiful 19th century environments are rapidly disappearing from the American scene. Few such communities remain that serve as a complimentary setting for nationally-treasured historic buildings and landmarks. A Capitol Hill community, rejuvenated, enlivened and preserved by private initiative is now intact. Its neighborhoods contain the ingredients and the spirit to make it a model American community—fully diverse in all of its social facets. What more fitting a centerpiece could Americans ask for our Capitol?

THE CAPITOL GROUNDS

The cornerstone of the Capitol Hill community is the Congress, which draws national and worldwide attention to our neighborhoods. It has been a chief benefactor for the community's economic and social vitality. Numerous Congressional members and employees, in addition to many whose occupations depend upon or are oriented around the activities of Congress, live and shop in our neighborhoods. A few of our areas have also prospered in a limited way from the atmosphere and trade created by visiting constituents, students, and various other domestic and foreign visitors. What these visitors see and hear in passing through or in making side trips to historic Capitol Hill sites and attractions, of course, influence their impressions of our city and our government. This in itself would seem to be reason enough for encouraging and assisting our neighborhoods to become truly representative of the "American Way of Life."

In solving its past expansion problems, however, the Congress has also been responsible for the disappearance of some of Capitol Hill's and Washington's oldest and most historic areas. Whole blocks of late 18th and early 19th century dwellings have been demolished to make way for

additional Congressional buildings, garages and park areas. As Congressional responsibilities respond to the increasing complexities and growth of America's population, the Congress will be inevitably faced with the problem of further expanding its facilities. The direction for new Congressional building, however, need not penetrate further eastward into Capitol Hill's settled residential neighborhoods. As a reasonable alternative, there is much to recommend future Congressional expansion along South Capitol Street to Virginia Avenue, S.E. Lateral growth by Congress in this southward direction would uproot comparatively few Capitol Hill and no Southwest families. The Capitol Power Plant is already a part of the Capitol grounds, and bridging under or in the "air rights" over the Interloop or Freeway and the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks with imposing Congressional Buildings would subdue the present prominence of these elevated road and rail structures that scar the vista of southern approaches to the Capitol. It would, moreover, enhance and give balance to more comprehensive schemes now under consideration for the beautification and development of this part of Washington.

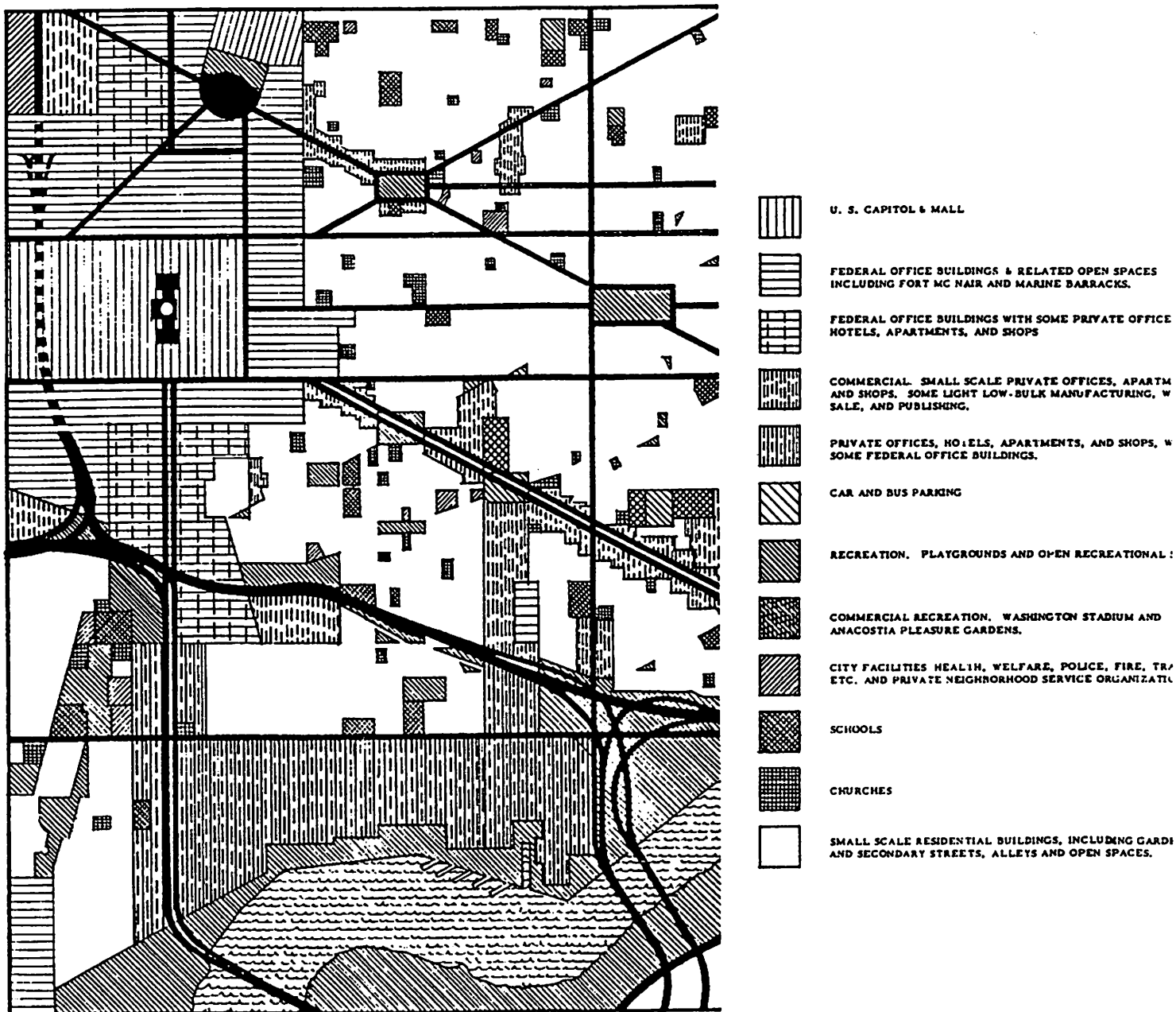
SOUTH CAPITOL STREET

While South Capitol Street's potential merits careful attention for future Congressional expansion, one South Capitol Street proposal now being discussed would seriously endanger the community structure and social environment of Capitol Hill and our city. Envisioned by this proposal is a South Capitol Street completely flanked by a Federal office building mall from the Capitol grounds to the Anacostia River. With the appearance of barriers created by such Federal buildings entirely along South Capitol Street, social exchanges and community relations between 19th century Capitol Hill and "modern" Southwest would be sharply curtailed if not completely halted. Our public housing families near South Capitol and M Streets, who have already been partly separated from the community by the Freeway, will be more tightly circumscribed and isolated. Indeed, any planning of this type for South Capitol Street would further draw and quarter Washington's quadrants into completely separate communities.

To the Joint Committee, the South Capitol Street development should be aimed at bonding rather than severing south Washington's community structure. A bridge of residential and light commercial facilities below the Freeway along South Capitol Street to the Federal Employment Center planned for the Navy Yard area would link Southeast to Southwest Washington neighborhoods, (Figure No. 1). Such a development would provide a lively and human setting for the monumental Capitol building structures to the north and the office building concentrations

Figure No. 1

Existing and Proposed Land Use and Development for National Visitor Center and South Capitol Street Areas



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of the Federal Employment Center to the south. It would also save South Capitol Street from becoming another nighttime area of desolation like the Federal Triangle.

Consideration should also be given to including motor hotels and tourist accommodations within this community corridor as well as at intermittent points along South Capitol Street to the Anacostia River. Restaurants, lodgings and other attractions for visitors interspersed among the government building complexes scheduled for the Navy Yard and Federal Employment Center would help to transform these locations into areas of full time use and activity. Such tourist facilities would also humanize the stark institutional atmosphere that characterizes areas of Federal office building concentration.

Additionally, some thought should be given to expanding hotel and tourist accommodations north of the Capitol Building in the vicinity of the new National Visitor Center now being planned for Union Station.

Moderately-priced lodgings and tourist facilities at these points along Capitol Hill's western borders would attract both vacationing families and students to stay at center-city locations while in Washington, and would augment the present limited number of District accommodations for such visitors. Properties so used in these areas would be tax-producing and would provide a broader range of job opportunities for the District's less skilled citizens. Such visitor developments would undergird in a most significant way our city's tourist trade.

THE VISITORS' WASHINGTON

Considering the importance of tourism to Washington's economy, the visitor's experience should be of concern to planners. To identify South Capitol Street for tourist accommodations is simply to recognize this area's central location for the "Visitors' Washington". The location is ideal for the visitor and his family who would be lodging right down the street from their nation's Capitol. They would be near the riverside amusements and activities of both Southwest and Anacostia shorelines. The subway proposed along M Street would be conveniently available for rapid transportation to other parts of our city. From this location, the tourist could enjoy short-run minibus service that would circle both historic Capitol Hill and the Mall. With the addition here and there of pedestrian and bicycle bridges, these nearby areas could be enjoyed by the visitor in the most intimate and natural way.

Ribboned through the "Hill's" warm, park-like, 19th century row house neighborhoods one can foresee sparkling, revitalized marketing areas along 8th Street, Pennsylvania Avenue and near the East-

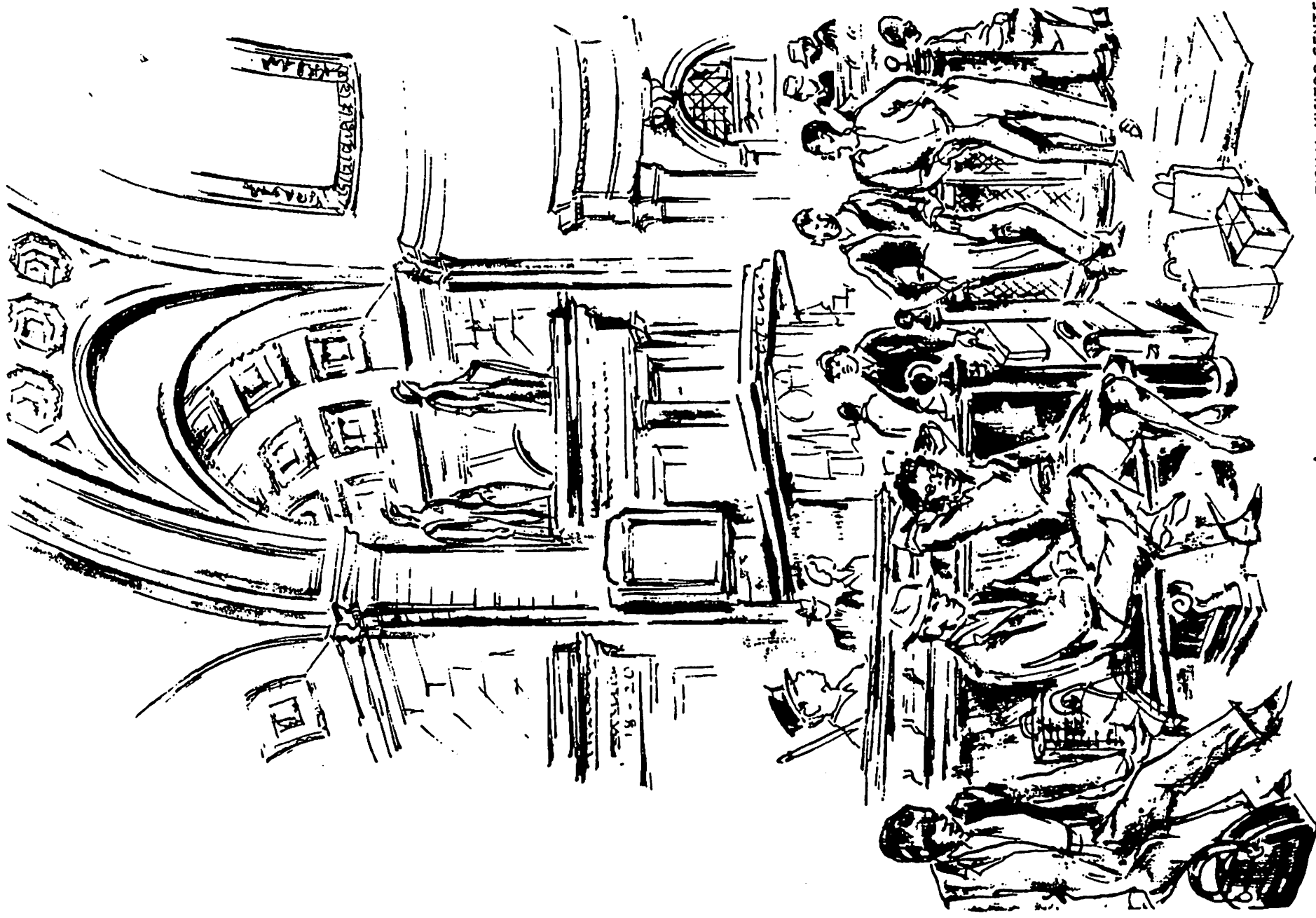
ern Market. Here, quiet neighborhoods of comfortable, human scale provide a welcome contrast for those visitors who are inclined to immerse themselves in experiences of nature and of history. It is this presence of an American community, diverse and harmonious, that should be made the perfect linchpin for the visitor's experience.

Figure No. 2 illustrates the apparent value of Capitol Hill as the future heart of the visitors' Washington. It is poised advantageously near key places that attract one here — the Arboretum and the Capitol grounds itself. To the north there is soon to be added the National Visitor Center, filling Union Station to the brim with excitement. And to the west a lively new waterfront is being planned for Southwest where there is to be a shop-filled foot bridge like the Ponte Vecchio in Florence, Italy (although we understand this is now being reconsidered), connecting restaurants and amusements with a grand new National Aquarium. In addition, the First Lady's wish is for a second delight-filled waterside park. This would form a crescent along the south edge of Capitol Hill from the Southwest along the Anacostia's shores past the Naval museums to the ferris wheels and entertainments of a new island park like Copenhagen's Tivoli, at the eastern edge of the Capitol Hill community. Add to all this the stadium and the armory to the east and the wealth of outstanding attractions surrounding the Mall to the west, and the visitor will find himself inescapably surrounded by the splendor and magnitude of America's capital city.

OTHER CAPITOL HILL PROSPECTS

Capitol Hill residents must also recognize that the Navy Yard and Federal Employment Center complex will be locations for employment of tens of thousands of government workers. Large numbers of these Federal employees are likely to be commuters from other parts of Washington and from the suburbs, who will place reasonable demands upon the subway service proposed for that area. While these commuters may swell the day-time population of some of our neighborhoods, they will also generate traffic that will unquestionably overburden the adjacent limited automobile access to the inner loop and to the elevated Freeway. The Southwest part of the community, therefore, may anticipate for years to come day-time traffic and parking congestion, and accompanying egregious air pollution.

The National Capitol Planning Commission, by projecting relatively low population densities for the District of Columbia in its 1967 Plan, reflects the hard learned awareness that neighborhoods need to be conserved even when renewed. The Joint Committee supports such an objective as it relates to our neighborhoods, but we question the consistency of this concept with



UNION STATION (c. 1901) in the above drawing by Lily Spandorf is to be developed into a NATIONAL VISITOR CENTER on Capitol Hill to accommodate more than half of the 96,000 daily visitors expected in Washington by 1976. According to the Report of the National Visitors Center Study Commission, House Committee on Public Works, 90th Cong., 1st Sess., Sept. 1967, a specific Center goal will be "... to assist the visitor to acquire a better understanding of the heritage of the Nation in his visits to the monuments, public buildings, museums, parks, historic homes, and churches in the area."

INTRODUCTION

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other ideas NCPC has for our community. The 1967 Plan shows a grouping of medium-density or high-rise structures around Barney Circle and the 8th and Pennsylvania Avenue subway stops now being proposed in our area. It is clear that once the "high rise movement" starts, it will spread until neighborhoods of the Capitol Hill community are first choked off from one another and then completely displaced by multi-storied apartment and office building complexes. As later reflected in this report, Capitol Hill citizens can-

not reconcile high-rise development with their classic 19th century neighborhoods, which are becoming to be so revered as a part of the national landscape.

Having thus reviewed some of Capitol Hill's potentialities as well as some of the threats to its preservation and the course of its present development, attention is now given to the physical and social fabric of our community as it exists today.



MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART at 316 A Street, N.E., is located in one of Capitol Hill's many historic residences. This building, dating back to the 1870's, was the first Washington residence of the abolitionist orator-publisher, Frederick Douglass, "precursor of the Civil Rights Movement," and today houses an important collection of traditional African sculpture, the Institute of Negro Arts and History, and exhibits on the contribution of the Negro to the development of the United States.



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THE AREA

Although these neighborhoods are in a sense centers of ethnic, historic or social identification, their boundaries are virtually meaningless in terms of school districts, church parishes, recreational and shopping areas. Localized civic action groups may operate in one or in several of these different neighborhoods.

The service areas of our two settlement houses are divided by East Capitol Street with the north-east section being served by Christ Child House at 6th and Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., and the south-east section by Friendship House at 619 D Street, S.E. East Capitol Street has also been the dividing line for some degree of community sectionalism in communication and cooperation between our north-east and southeast neighborhoods on matters affecting the whole or a part of the Capitol Hill community.

Several major avenues and streets transverse our community. East Capitol Street, Constitution, Independence, Maryland and Pennsylvania Avenues radiate eastward from the Capitol Building and serve as primary arterials through the east portal to Washington, D.C. In addition to Capitol Street, the community's main north-south streets are 4th, 6th, 8th, 11th, 13th and 17th. State-named diagonal thoroughfares, such as Kentucky, Massachusetts, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee Avenues, are also routes of heavier traffic through the area.

HISTORY

The names of several of our neighborhoods, parks and streets indicate our community's genesis during the early history of Washington, D.C. It started in 1791 with Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant's master plan for the city and his section of "Jenkins Hill" as the site for "Congress House", which later was to become the Capitol Building — the apex of the Capitol Hill community. Jenkins Hill along with vast expanses of land in our southern area were then owned by Daniel Carroll as a part of his "Cerne Abbe Manor" estate, which was comprised of land grants known in 1670 as New Troy, Duddington Manor (roughly covering an area from west of North and South Capitol Streets to 15th Street, east, and from Stanton Park to the Anacostia) and Duddington Pastures in Washington's South-west quadrant. Other grants making up today's Capitol Hill were Isherwood, The Nock, Chance, Hog Pen Enlarged, and Hop Yard (lying to the east of Cerne Abbe Manor).

BOUNDARIES

The Capitol Hill community embraces roughly the area east of North and South Capitol Streets, south of E Street, N.E., and the Anacostia River (See Figure 3). These boundaries, even as dealt with in this report, are neither fast nor firm, but approximate a section of Washington popularly described as near Southeast and Northeast and arbitrarily designated as "Capitol East/Southwest" by the National Capitol Planning Commission (NCP.C). In actuality, this community consists of a number of interlocking and overlapping neighborhoods, some of which are currently identifiable as Arthur Capper Dwellings, Barney Circle, Capitol Hill restoration area, Kingman Park, Lincoln Park and the Navy Yard. Occasional references are still made to Carrollsbury (South Capitol Street and the river), the Isherwood section (north and east of Stanton Park) and the northeast Rosedale area (between Lincoln Park and the D.C. Stadium). Even within these larger recognized neighborhoods, there is some sectional identity such as the Christ Church area, Philadelphia Row and the Marine Barracks in the Capitol Hill restoration area. Other neighborhoods pockets, such as the area south of Garfield Park and the Expressway, have no commonly referred to identity.

Figure No. 3
Capitol Hill Neighborhoods, 1967



Carroll's first home at a point close to New Jersey Avenue and Second Street, S.E., conflicted with L'Enfant's design for the "Hill" area, and after intervention by President Washington, Carroll relocated his home in 1793 further to the east in an area now bounded by E, F, and Second Streets and New Jersey Avenue, S.E. William Tunnicliff of Georgetown was the proprietor from 1794 to 1804 of one of the Hill's earliest hotels, "Capitol Hill Tavern", at the southeast corner of First and A Streets, N.E., and later operated "Tunnicliff's Tavern" (razed in 1932) on the southeast corner of Ninth and Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.

Barney Circle, named after Commodore Barney, the officer commanding marines and sailors who valiantly opposed the British at the Battle of Bladensburg in 1814, is located just southeast of the old Congressional Cemetery established in 1807. Down the street from the United States Naval Hospital, built in 1861 at Ninth and Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., is today's unnamed square at the intersection of South Carolina and Pennsylvania Avenues, S.E., which was once bordered on the north by Wallach Public School, erected during the Civil War. The Commandant's House, dating from 1805, is from the original structures forming the Marine Barracks (C and Eighth Streets, S.E.) that served as headquarters for British troops under Major General Ross during their 1814 occupation of Washington. The Navy Yard at M and Eighth Streets, S.E., where construction was begun in 1801, has retained only a few of the original structures designed by Benjamin H. Latrobe, one of the early noted architects of the Capitol Building.

Figure No. 4
Land Ownership on Capitol Hill, 1790

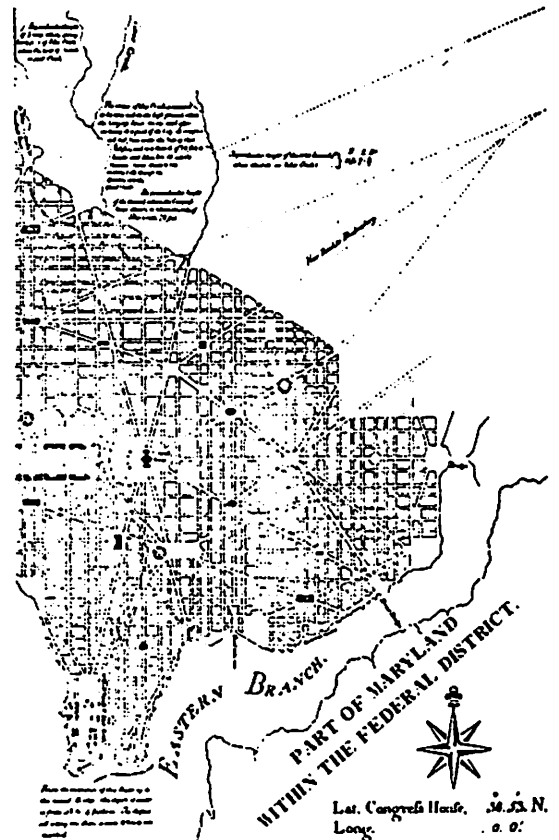
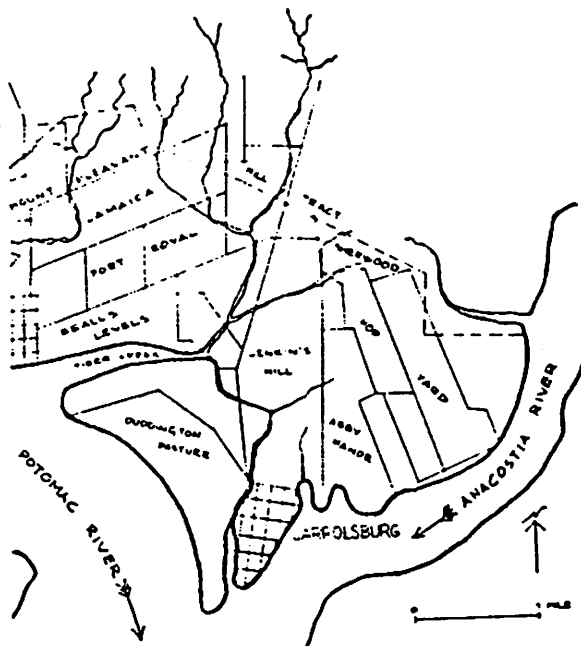


Figure No. 5
L'Enfant Plan for Capitol Hill, 1791

Two of our martyred presidents were honored in the naming of Lincoln and Garfield Parks. President Lincoln's Secretary of State, William Henry Seward, and Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, lent their names, respectively, to one of our squares and one of our parks. Uncertainty clouds the derivation of Marion Park's name, but Folger Park was named after President Arthur's Secretary of the Treasury, Charles James Folger.

A substantial loss of residential areas on Capitol Hill has resulted from the erection of government buildings, successive expansions of the Capitol grounds, and the extension of the Southwest Freeway through our community. Originally, the Capitol grounds were confined to the area between A Streets, N.E. and S.E. and First Street. Several historic houses were sacrificed in constructing today's Union Station plaza. Rooming houses that served as lodgings for many early American statesmen occupied an area that is now part of the Capitol grounds or the sites of Congressional office buildings, the Supreme Court and the Library of Congress.

Among the earliest houses still left standing are "The Maples" (Friendship House) at 619 D Street, S.E., erected around 1795; and the Alva Belmont House at 144 Constitution Avenue, N.E., and the Watterson House at 224 Second Street,

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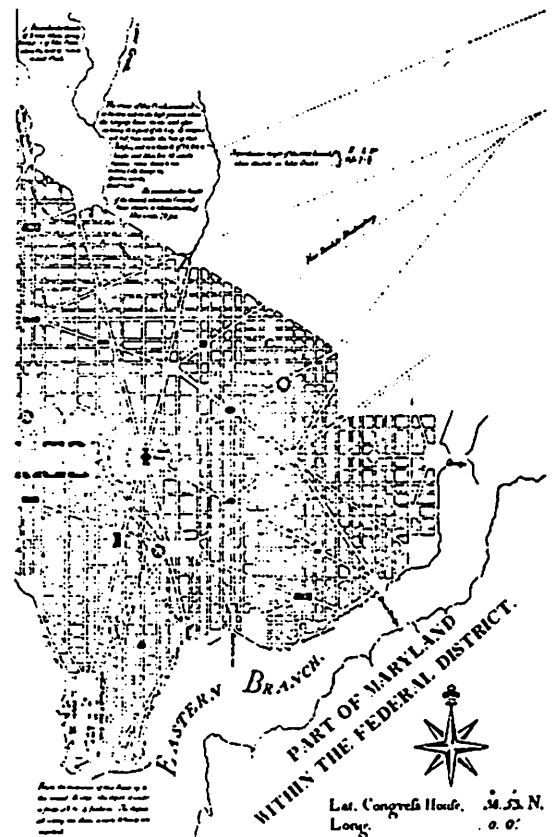
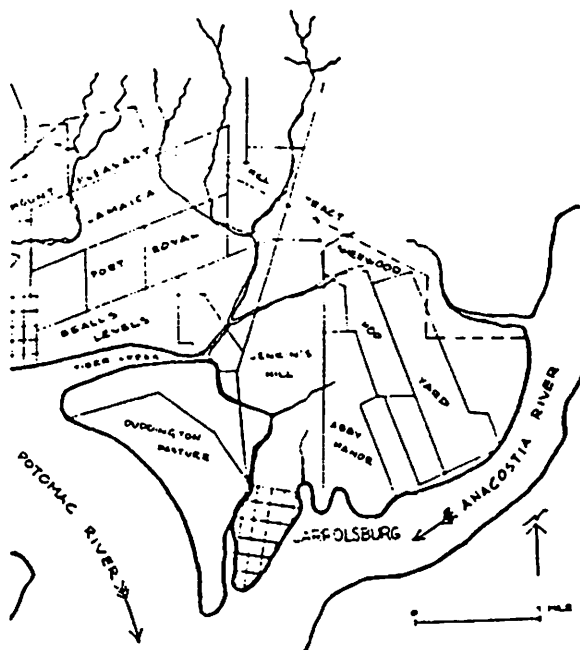


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S.E., both dating from the early 1800's. The community's oldest church, Christ Church at 620 G Street, S.E., was built in 1807, and a couple of the "Hill's" present day church congregations (St. Peter's Catholic and Ebenezer Methodist) were also established around this time.

The remainder of our buildings are from later periods. Beyond Fourth Street, most residential construction came after the Civil War. Buildings in areas surrounding the Navy Yard, however, were contemporary to the Capitol Building. A number of the older buildings south of Virginia and Potomac Avenues have been destroyed and today their sites are occupied by public housing and the Freeway.

It is worthy of note that when the railroad tracks were laid along Virginia Avenue in the early 1900's, the area was still fashionable enough to cause railroad companies to tunnel below ground from New Jersey Avenue to Eleventh Street, S.E.

Building after the Civil War continued in a fairly deliberate fashion and a number of fine homes were soon clustered around Lincoln Park. Until around 1910, these and other gracious homes on Capitol Hill, were the residences of Senators, Congressmen, Justices and other major public

Figure No. 6
Friendship House (The Maples), c. 1795
619 D Street, S.E.

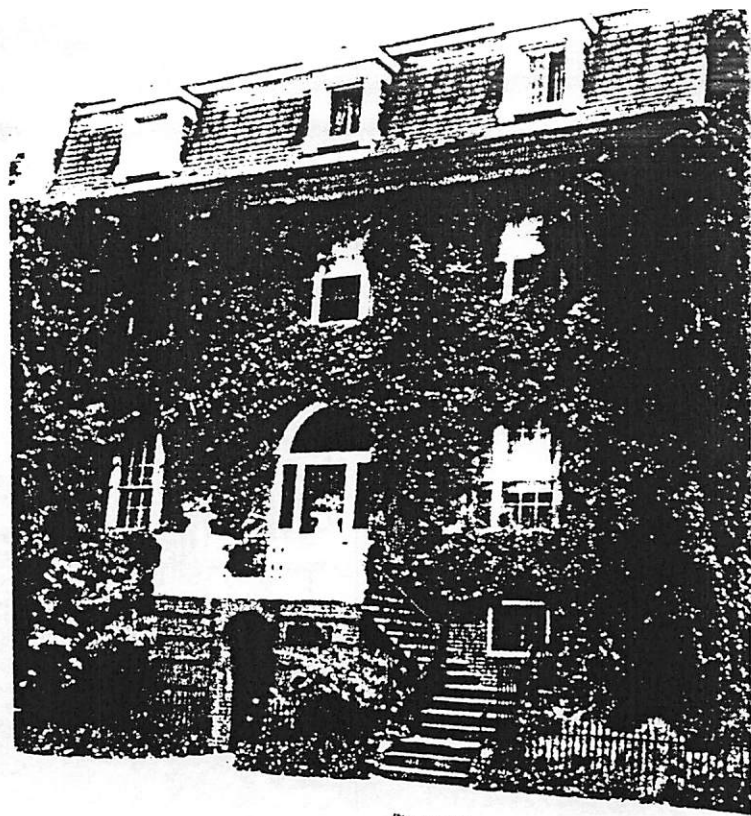
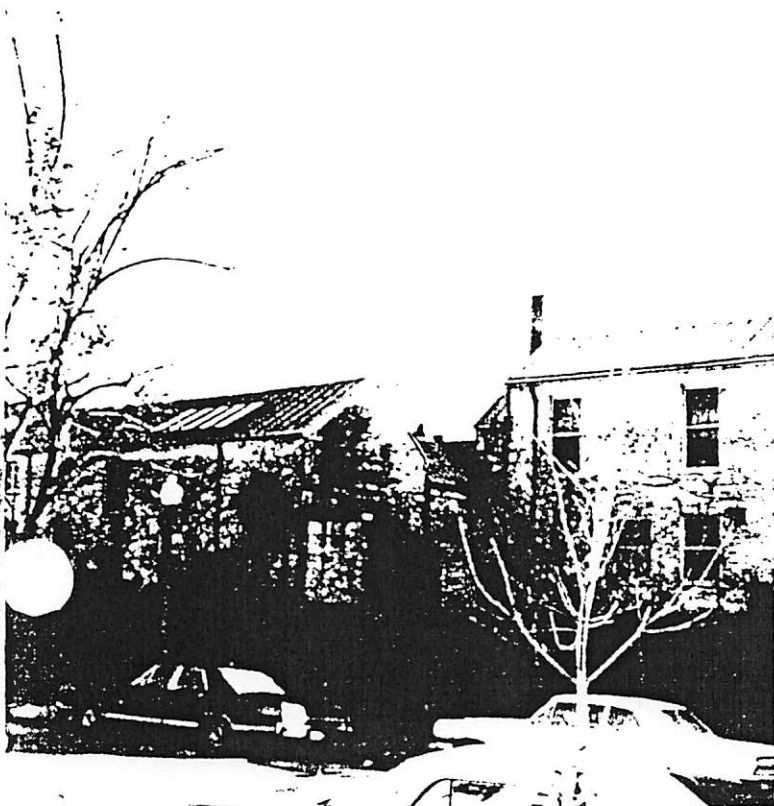


Figure No. 7
Sewall-Belmont House, c. 1799
144 Constitution Ave., N.E.

officials. With the arrival of the motor car, the "Hill" began losing some of its wealthy and prestigious citizens to the fashionably developing Northwest section of Washington. The departure by established and respected Capitol Hill families to Northwest and to the suburbs increased during the 1920's when houses, mainly those around the northeast rim of the Capitol buildings, were taken by the government and rented at reduced prices to depression-plagued families. Slum conditions that had developed in this area began to reach out and blight other sections of Capitol Hill.

During the mid-1930's, our alley dwellings with their outside plumbing facilities were among some of the most decayed and squalid housing to be found in Washington — a factor leading to the creation in 1934 of the "Alley Dwelling Authority", later redesignated the "National Capital Housing Authority", for eliminating such sub-standard living conditions. Crowded housing and disreputable neighborhood conditions accelerated the flight of "Hill" residents to the suburbs after World War II and this trend continued until around the late 1940's, when the present-day restoration movement first caught hold in blocks near the Capitol buildings.

Before concluding this area commentary, the Joint Committee believes that attention should be called to the lack of popular and readily available literature accurately chronicling historical events and sites on Capitol Hill, and its evolution as a community. Surely the heritage and understanding



Figure No. 8
Christ Church, c. 1807
620 G Street, S.E.

of our area deserves better treatment than it has received in fuzzy, inaccurate and conflicting reference materials that are being used today to tell the story of our neighborhoods. Among positive

steps that could be taken to remedy this, the Joint Committee suggests:

1. That the Northeast Branch (7th and Maryland Avenue, N.E.), or the Southeast Branch (7th and D Streets, S.E.) of our Public Library arrange for a section or space containing books and reference materials dealing with the Capitol Hill community, its history, people and neighborhoods.
2. That arrangements be made with either the Library of Congress or the Smithsonian Institution for a special exhibit or display on the origins, developments and highlights of our community.
3. That community organizations and interested individuals, either privately or in conjunction with governmental or private Foundation assistance, prepare carefully researched studies and reports concerning different aspects of Capitol Hill's neighborhoods. Some effort in this direction has already been made by the Restoration Society.
4. That some instruction be included in our area schools, particularly at the high school level, on Capitol Hill's historical, social and political significance to engender some awareness and civic pride in children for their community.

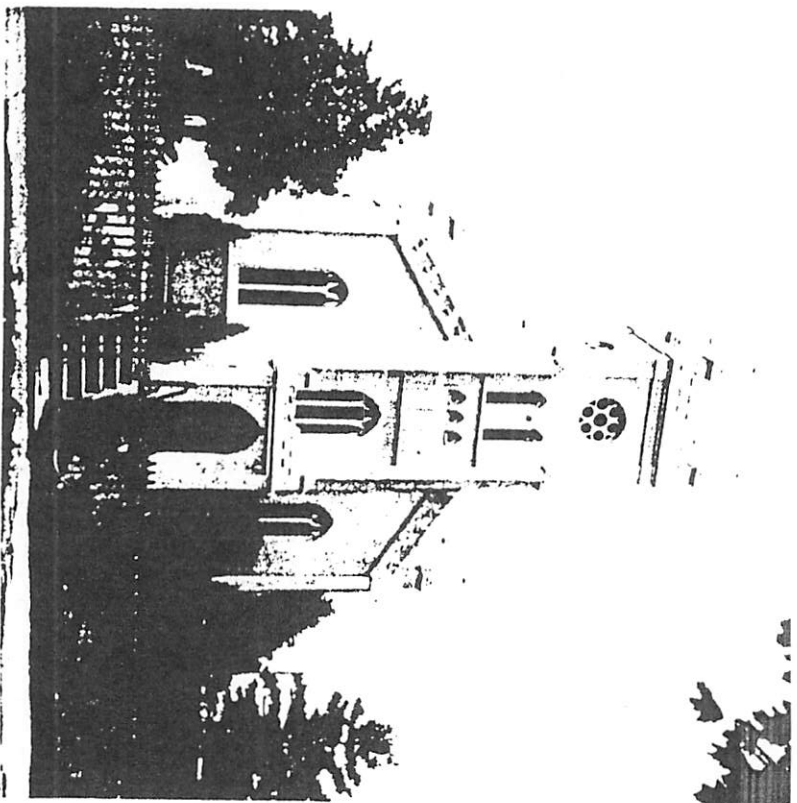


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THE PEOPLE

To have some appreciation and understanding of the present population and the racial and economic blend of people living in the Capitol Hill community, comparative data should first be considered. From 1940 to 1960, the growth rate of Metropolitan Washington was about the same as Dallas, Texas, and immediately behind the two United States leaders, Houston, Texas and Los Angeles, California. The Metropolitan Washington area's total population in 1960 was reported as 1,989,377, and in the District of Columbia proper, as 763,956. While the population of Metropolitan Washington is expanding rapidly, that of the District has been fairly constant since 1950 even though changes have occurred in racial distribution.

The District's *non-white population grew from 281,000 in 1950 to 412,000 in 1960, and to 488,000 in 1965. The proportion of non-white population changed from 35 percent in 1950 to 54 percent in 1960, and to 61 percent in 1965. District areas where non-whites have been replaced notably by whites during the five years ending in 1965 include the Burleith-Glover Park area (Census Tract 3); the Kalorama Triangle (Census Tracts 13 and 15); and in apartment redevelopment areas from Massachusetts Avenue and 15th Street, N.W. to Rock Creek Park and the Mall. Sections of Washington proper where a significant change has occurred from less than one percent non-white in 1940 to over 60 percent non-white in 1965 include the northwest areas of Brightwood and Perworth, and the northeast Brentwood Village, Edgewood, Langdon and Woodbridge. Only in southeast's Randle Highlands and Hillcrest areas, which had less than one percent non-white in 1940, was the non-white population reported to be less than 10 percent in 1965.

Washington's 1965 census figures show that in southwest Census Tracts 60, 61 and 63, which have been subject to redevelopment (Tract 62, because of urban renewal, was then unpopulated), the population was about one-third non-white. Unredeveloped areas of both southwest and southeast below the Freeway (Census Tracts 64 and 72) indicate the population to be about 95.4 percent non-white.

* The Joint Committee is highly critical of and reluctantly follows, because of the absence of more exact basic statistics, the present practice of certain government agencies in reporting the 1960 census and school data in such imprecise and misleading categories as "white" and "non-white".

CAPITOL HILL'S POPULATION

In 1965 the Capitol Hill community consisted of a population of about 101,800 persons of which nearly 82 percent were non-white, as shown in adjoining Figure Nos. 9 and 10. In areas contiguous with the Capitol grounds (Census Tracts 65, 66 and 82), whites outnumbered non-whites by more than 3 to 1, and these areas have been experiencing a reduction in total population. These tracts, together with Census Tracts 67, 69 and 70, include most of the "Hill's" restoration area. While whites were replacing non-whites in Census Tracts 65, 66 and 82 between the years 1960 and 1965, this trend was not true for the remainder of the Census Tracts in our community where majority percentages of the non-white population increased during this period.

The decided and substantial shift in whites displacing non-whites within a semicircular area eight blocks from the Capitol is directly attributed to the "restoration movement", and it today appears that this non-white displacement will continue in the path of the movement, as later discussed, as it proceeds eastward and southward. The reduction in population density in restoration areas has only been partly offset by lesser population increases in our southern and easterly neighborhoods. The in-

Figure No. 9
Census Tracts on Capitol Hill, 1965

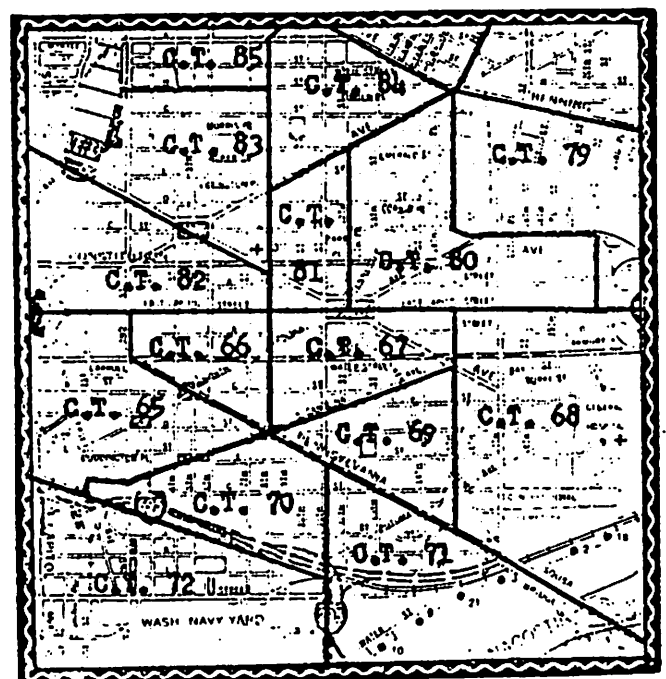


Figure No. 10

CAPITOL HILL'S POPULATION COMPOSITION 1960 and 1965

CENSUS TRACT (C.T.)	POPULATION July 1, 1965		CHANGE FROM April 1, 1960			COMPOSITION April 1, 1960		
	Total	N.W. ^{1/}	Total	W. ^{2/}	N.W. ^{1/}	Pre- school	6-18 years	65 yrs or more
72	5,100	92.1%	-500	-100	-400	26.1%	20.9%	5.3%
65	4,600	30.7	-100	+700	-800	9.5	15.1	10.5
66	3,100	14.3	+100	+400	-300	8.7	13.1	14.3
82	3,800	15.6	-500	-100	-400	8.3	10.5	6.7
67	6,900	78.7	-100	-600	+500	14.6	21.6	7.4
69	5,000	88.4	+100	-300	+400	15.2	25.9	7.7
70	5,400	73.2	-600	-400	-200	14.0	23.2	8.2
68	10,400	88.4	+100	-800	+900	13.4	18.5	5.5
71	4,100	86.5	+100	-500	+600	16.8	23.5	7.0
83	10,300	86.2	+300	-300	+600	15.0	20.3	6.7
81	5,600	79.3	0	-100	+100	16.1	17.7	6.7
79	9,500	98.4	-200	-100	-100	15.6	18.9	4.3
80	12,600	96.8	+300	-600	+900	15.8	20.9	5.6
85	7,000	97.8	-200	-300	+100	14.2	21.6	8.6
84	8,400	93.5	+800	-200	+1,000	14.7	19.1	7.3
	101,800	81.8	-400	-3,300	+2,900			

^{1/} N. W. - Non-white ^{2/} W. - White

crease in such neighborhoods is believed to have resulted from: a) large, non-white families replacing one- and two-member, older, white, middle-income families attracted to the suburbs or to other areas of Washington; and b) the influx of underprivileged households, primarily non-white, in the public housing developments that have been built in our community since 1956.

Figure No. 10 reflects that for restoration area Tracts 65 and 66, more than 10 percent of the population is 65 years of age and older, and less than 10 percent of the population consists of pre-school aged children — facts to be kept in mind for any school or recreational planning for our community. All the other Tracts except two show populations 65 years of age and older of less than 7.7 percent, and populations of children of pre-school age of 14.2 percent or more. Restoration Tracts 65, 66 and 82 indicate that children of school age average less than 13 percent, whereas each of the remaining Tracts exceed 17.6 percent for this population category.

Medium income levels as set forth on Figure No. 11 are highest in two restoration Tracts ad-

joining Capitol grounds and in the Kingman-Northeast Lincoln Park areas (Census Tracts 79 and 80). More specific income statistics are not available, and this Census method of averaging is somewhat deceptive when it is known that some of our most economically destitute families live virtually side-by-side with higher-income households on the borders of the restoration areas. In the southeast neighborhoods beyond the main restoration area; namely, Census Tracts 67 to 72, about 26.1 percent of the families were reported to have had an annual income of less than \$2,000 in 1960. A study of 7,414 families in these latter areas by the United Planning Organization (UPO) in 1967 listed 3,246 of these families with incomes of less than \$4,000 annually. These southeast neighborhoods also showed an infant mortality rate of 3.3 percent in 1962, and out-of-wedlock births averaged 35 percent in 1964. This latter 1964 average for the entire Capitol Hill community ranged from 20 to 43 percent.

OCCUPATIONS

As Joint Committee member Father Jesse Anderson pictures our community: "The areas'

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66	3,100	14.3	+100	+400	-300	8.7	13.1	14.3
82	3,800	15.6	-500	-100	-400	8.3	10.5	6.7
67	6,900	78.7	-100	-600	+500	14.6	21.6	7.4
69	5,000	88.4	+100	-300	+400	15.2	25.9	7.7
70	5,400	73.2	-600	-400	-200	14.0	23.2	8.2
68	10,400	88.4	+100	-800	+900	13.4	18.5	5.5
71	4,100	86.5	+100	-500	+600	16.8	23.5	7.0
83	10,300	86.2	+300	-300	+600	15.0	20.3	6.7
81	5,600	79.3	0	-100	+100	16.1	17.7	6.7
79	9,500	98.4	-200	-100	-100	15.6	18.9	4.3
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Figure No. 11

SELECTED DATA FOR THE CAPITOL HILL COMMUNITY BASED ON APRIL 1, 1960 CENSUS

Census Tract (C.T.)	Median Educat. (1/)	Median Income (2/)	Good Housing (3/)	Home Owners (4/)	Single Family (5/)	Crowded (6/)	Median No. Persons Per Household
72	8.7 yrs.	\$2,665	68.8%	5.8%	39.3%	31.4%	3.8
65	10.9	4,539	68.2	25.4	30.3	11.8	2.0
66	10.3	3,811	82.1	24.1	31.1	11.3	1.9
82	12.0	4,157	91.6	20.7	29.4	9.0	1.7
67	8.9	3,791	67.2	31.0	51.5	22.6	2.8
69	8.7	3,552	62.6	35.8	67.2	25.8	3.4
70	8.4	3,249	68.9	23.1	53.9	23.2	2.8
68	9.3	3,672	86.0	39.9	53.1	20.1	3.3
71	8.3	3,955	76.1	30.2	61.6	26.6	3.4
83	8.7	3,542	68.8	30.4	67.0	25.1	2.9
81	8.9	3,756	75.0	29.6	45.8	24.9	2.8
79	9.8	4,233	85.0	36.1	48.8	20.7	3.0
80	8.8	4,066	73.6	38.4	54.9	26.2	3.5

1/ Median education of all persons ages 25 and older in census tract.

2/ Median income of all families and unrelated individuals (e.g., heads of households) in census tract.

3/ Number of sound housing units divided by all housing units in census tract multiplied by 100

4/ Number of owner occupied housing units divided by all occupied housing units in census tract multiplied by 100.

5/ Number of single-family housing units divided by all housing units in census tract multiplied by 100.

6/ Number of units with over 1.0 persons per room divided by all occupied housing units in census tract multiplied by 100.

people are diverse, from upper-middle class to those in the poverty or culturally deprived class, and the military. One can find professionals, government specialists, unskilled laborers, welfare recipients, and unemployed. Education levels range from illiterates to college graduates."

The backgrounds, professions and occupations of Capitol Hill residents are indeed many and exceedingly varied. Mainly because of the Library of Congress' foreign language sections and foreign-born spouses of some of our citizens, and perhaps because of the restoration area's similarity to European city layouts and living, restored "Hill" areas contain a good number of foreign nationals. Otherwise, national origins of our community's whites are no longer easily identifiable and a considerable diffusion occurs in the different white origins throughout sections of Capitol Hill. Pocket settlements of Italian and Irish families formerly found in "old southeast" are non-existent in today's "Hill" neighborhoods.

Our community's proximity to the Capitol buildings, Supreme Court, Library of Congress, government buildings in the Federal Triangle,

and along Independence Avenue, S.W., Government Printing Office and Main Post Office is undoubtedly responsible for the saturation in our neighborhoods of professional, skilled and semi-skilled government workers. Congressional members and staff personnel are found in large numbers in our restoration neighborhoods along with a substantial proportion of newspaper people, writers, artists, musicians and academicians, the latter because of the Library of Congress and Folger Shakespeare Library. Perhaps the restoration challenge also accounts for the many architects, contractors and real estate people who have selected this area for their homes.

Nearly all neighborhoods in our community are generously endowed with persons of highly skilled and professional occupations. Members of the military, both retired and on active duty — but not necessarily at the Marine Corps Barracks or Navy Yard — are found in significant numbers in virtually all of our neighborhoods. Residents employed in unskilled and semi-skilled capacities are scattered throughout "Hill" areas, with the heavier concentrations found in and near our public housing developments.

To predict affirmatively the future course or shifts that may occur in the population of our community and its different neighborhoods would be foolhardy, as we hope many planners for our area have learned and are continuing to learn. If, for example, the Capitol Hill community is to be deluged either with additional public housing or with government-oriented policies or programs to favor greater social or economic disparity, the trend of our present population could abruptly change. In the event present trends continue, nearly all of the Joint Committee members foresee a more fully integrated community socially, economically and racially. The reservation by two members of the Committee is only that the risk is high for polarization between white and non-white neighborhoods unless non-white families show more interest in locating in the more

developed restoration areas, and better lines of communication and effort are established between our different neighborhoods.

Areas near the Capitol buildings will probably continue to attract middle and upper-middle income families. Fringe restoration neighborhoods are likely to retain their appeal for younger, less-affluent white families and an increasing number of Negro households. The Joint Committee believes that the overall community may experience a slight percentage increase in white population. Also, there is likely to be a gradual leveling off of the "Hill's" general population decline unless: a) present poor school facilities are continued or worsen; b) solutions are not found for the declining availability of low-cost housing units (other than public housing); and c) police protection further diminishes or civil unrest increases.

To predict affirmatively the future course or shifts that may occur in the population of our community and its different neighborhoods would be foolhardy, as we hope many planners for our area have learned and are continuing to learn. If, for example, the Capitol Hill community is to be deluged either with additional public housing or with government-oriented policies or programs to favor greater social or economic disparity, the trend of our present population could abruptly change. In the event present trends continue, nearly all of the Joint Committee members foresee a more fully integrated community socially, economically and racially. The reservation by two members of the Committee is only that the risk is high for polarization between white and non-white neighborhoods unless non-white families show more interest in locating in the more

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ORGANIZATIONS

Quoting Joint Committee member Robert T. Adams, "Probably no community in Washington has so many budding leaders and so much group vitality."

Unquestionably, a large measure of this vitality and interest in and by community organizations springs from the lack of general suffrage or "home rule" in the District. Many of our citizens feel that only through organizational strength is there a chance that Federal and District governing officials will note, and act upon our community's needs and grievances. Other citizens have reacted to the District government's failure to act by organizing into self-help groups to try and correct and improve community conditions. Still other local associations of interested persons are oriented to support or to work at specific objectives like gardening (Capitol Hill Garden Club), recreation (ERC), rehabilitation of former prisoners (Second Chance Club), restoration (The Restoration Society) and school conditions (School Action Committee for Capitol East (SACCE)).

CIVIC AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Joint Committee members (still another organization, incidentally), estimate the number of community citizens actively participating in "Hill" organizations to range from 2 to 5 percent of our population, and the number of actively operating organizations probably to exceed 100. Some of these groups have large, active memberships (The Restoration Society with over 500 members); some are small (Block clubs averaging from 5 to 50 members); and some contain a central organization structure for affiliated membership organizations (ERC). There is considerable duplication in the membership of these organizations — many of the same people belong to several different groups. And it is also common for the leaders of one group to occupy official positions in another or several other organizations. Therefore, any representation made as to who, how many, or what part of our community is represented by a particular organization must be eyed with the greatest circumspection.

The formation of civic organizations in our community dates back 50 years to when neighborhoods were divided geographically into white Citizens Associations and Negro Civic Associations. As the move of the white population from Capitol Hill progressed during the forties and fifties, Citizens Associations merged and dwindled until today only one such association remains, the relatively large Capitol Hill Southeast Citizens Association, which maintains a segregated white membership. The Capitol Hill Southeast Citizens

Association is the "Hill's" representative and spokesman in the District's Federation of Citizens Association.

A number of Capitol Hill civil associations are members of the District's integrated Civic Federation; among these are the South East Civic, the Public Interest Civic of Northeast and the Kingman Park Civic Associations, and the Capitol Hill Community Council. The South East Civic Association, after a recent stormy history with Julius Hobson's ACT organization, has reorganized and of late has greatly expanded its membership. The foregoing civic organizations represent local interests of their respective neighborhoods, and provide a fairly broad representation of community interest in District matters. The membership of both the Citizens and Civic groups consist of established community families of widely varying income levels.

The Restoration Society is neither a citizen nor a civic organization, but is essentially dedicated to the promotion of restoration, the preservation of historic buildings and sites and the general enhancement of property values. It is a sustaining member of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. It has no racial barriers, a large membership and is another of the major representative groups on the "Hill".

DENOMINATIONAL

Churches on Capitol Hill are of many denominations, and those which observe parish boundaries (the Catholic and to a lesser extent the Episcopal) generally have congregations which reflect racial and economic composition of their neighborhoods. Most other church denominations have substantially segregated memberships (white and Negro), and many of the white churches of the same denomination have consolidated over the past few years into a single church on Capitol Hill. For those of the Hebrew faith, the Southeast Hebrew Congregation at 417 9th Street, S.E., is the only place of worship on the "Hill".

Unfortunately, a good many of our churches are quite inactive in community matters, possibly because their congregations consist of many former "Hill" residents who now live outside our area. Others are completely withdrawn from community affairs, and therefore manifest no impact upon their neighborhoods. A few of our churches, however, have concerned themselves with a city mission. The Lutheran Church of the Reformation at 212 East Capitol Street, Capitol Hill Presbyterian Church at 4th and Independence Avenue, S.E., St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church at 313 Second Street, S.E., and the Episcopal Diocese of Washington have special clerical staff members as-

signed to missions for the poor. Ingram Memorial Congregational Church at 914 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., and the Washington Church of the Brethren at 4th and North Carolina Avenue, S.E., have concerned themselves with tutoring disadvantaged school children.

Several of Capitol Hill's churches have instituted nursery school and day care centers, including a Montessori School program up through the kindergarten level. Such centers are located at Ebenezer Methodist Church at 5th and D Streets, S.E.; Liberty Baptist Church at 527 Kentucky Ave., S.E.; Mount Jethro Baptist Church at 501 E Street, S.E.; St. Monica's Episcopal Church at 1340 Massachusetts Avenue, S.E.; St. Marks Episcopal Church at 3rd and A Streets, S.E.; and the previously mentioned Capitol Hill Presbyterian Church, and The Lutheran Church of the Reformation.

Catholic parishes and several of our Protestant churches are also providing some neighborhood children and teen-age program services, but the youth program of one of our area churches is aimed primarily at suburban neighborhoods.

OTHER GROUPS

The "Hill's" political organizations have been best organized by the Democratic party, which reflects the political alignment of the overwhelming majority of the people in our community. Parent Teachers Associations (PTA's) are also found in the Capitol Hill area, but are widely regarded as being relatively ineffectual. The weak structure and voice of the PTA's is generally attributed to

the District school system, itself, which is later dealt with in this report, and to a certain parental lack of participation in school matters by families, primarily from the lower-income level.

Neighborhood service institutions are the previously mentioned settlement houses, Christ Child House and Friendship House, and the Eastern Branch of the Boys Club of America at 17th and Massachusetts Avenue, S.E. Also, Friendship House has a number of affiliated groups such as The Congressional Circle and The Circle-on-the-Hill; and this settlement house, by its participation in the Office of Economic Opportunity's (OEO) Neighborhood Development Program, is identified with several local Anti-Poverty Program organizations.

The Joint Committee, which consists of officers and spokesmen from most of the foregoing major organizations, deems it inappropriate to express any views on the groups identified in this report. In an overall appraisal, however, we recognize that there is considerable duplication in effort between our different organizations, as well as serious weaknesses in our channels of communication and therefore a corresponding inability to present a united front on matters of general community concern. There is also the decided tendency for the membership in our respective groups to follow "go-it-alone" policies. While Joint Committee members concur in the belief that our organizations will continue to move and to work closer together, we differ as to whether any forum or common ground has presented itself, or foreseeably will, for bringing all of our major organizations together at the same council table.

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HOUSING

Residential and housing development on Capitol Hill is regarded by some as a phenomenon, and by others as a paradox. The restoration movement, which, today, is thoroughly entrenched over a square mile area of the Capitol Hill community, began nearly twenty years ago with the restoration, or more factually, with the remodeling of a few houses on blocks in the immediate proximity of the Capitol grounds. As this movement caught on and gained momentum, low-income housing succumbed to the hammer and saw of enthusiastic restorers. Since that time, the restoration movement has on occasion waned, but has never stopped.

The phenomeonal feature of this movement, which in a short space of time checked and transformed a neighborhood approaching the serious slum proportions of Washington's old Southwest, is that today's restored Capitol Hill was not done or organized by government or corporate developers, but by the industry and enterprise of private individuals. One collateral benefit of this movement was the hope given to some people who continued to live in the area during its downhill slide, and who, when they could afford to do so, joined the restoration concept by "sprucing up" and by maintaining their homes better. But another resulting consequence of the movement has been the reduced availability of low-cost housing units — hence the paradox. How is Capitol Hill to maintain low-cost housing in its community balance if the restoration movement continues?

THE RESTORATION AREA

The effect of restoration has been to induce or force low-income people to move out of neighborhoods being restored. For such people, prices offered for their homes were too tempting for them to continue to live in an unrestored house. They could, and did, replace their living accommodations on the "Hill" with more modern houses in other areas of our city. If they were tenants they had little choice in the matter; and generally, they moved out of active restoration areas because rentals were increasing with rising house prices. The pressure of this is not as noticeable today as it was in earlier years, because in the active areas the houses that can be sold easily have been already. Owner-occupied houses in "good" locations now come on the market one by one — many times as a result of the death of the owner.

In considering the upgrading of housing in the restoration areas we should not overlook the substantial, well-constructed and well-maintained houses in our community's Kingman Park area and in other eastern border neighborhoods. Although the incidence of good housing units is highest near Stanton Park in Census Tract 82 (See Figure No. 11) and along our eastern border in

Census Tract 68, it is reported that 67.2 percent of the housing units are good in all of our neighborhoods, with the exception of Census Tract 69 (centering around 14th and E Streets). Owner-occupied homes are, of course, minimal in the Arthur Capper Dwelling area, and are generally fewer in restoration areas than in other parts of our community. And, except for less crowded conditions in restoration areas near the Capitol buildings, more than 20 percent of the dwellings are reported to be overcrowded in the rest of our neighborhoods.

In 1955 most of the restored homes were clustered around the Capitol's Cannon and Longworth buildings. Many of these early restored homes are now gone as a result of Federal condemnation for the Rayburn Building parking garages (the two squares between C and D, First and South Capitol Streets, S.E.), and for the proposed James Madison Memorial Library between Independence Avenue and C Street, and First and Second Streets, including Carroll Street, S.E. Several restorable houses were also demolished in clearing the site for the New Senate Office Building. In addition to the "close in" blocks, restoration was also under way in 1955 in the 600 block of G Street, S.E. (the Christ Church area), the 300 block of A Street, N.E., and the 100 block of 11th Street, S.E. (Philadelphia Row).

By 1960 the movement had pushed eastward to 8th Street and southward to South Carolina Avenue (mainly the 200 and 300 blocks), the 100 block of F Street, S.E., and Duddington (Heckman) Place, S.E., on the south. G Street, S.E., was moving

Figure No. 12
Philadelphia Row, c. 1856
100-Block of 11th Street, S.E.



ahead along with Constitution Avenue in northeast. Even then, there were pockets of restoration beyond these eastern, southern and northern boundaries.

At the present time most of the restoration activity extends as far as 10th Street on the east, with spot restoration beyond that as far as 12th Street, and around Lincoln Park (noticeably in the 100 block of Kentucky Avenue, S.E.). Some restoration is in progress beyond the southern G Street boundary (the 700 block of 9th Street, S.E., behind the Marine Barracks, is about 80 percent restored). Considerable restoration is also underway on Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., and Maryland Avenue, N.E. as far out as 10th Street, N.E.

Despite the fact that many of the older homes in our Northeast neighborhoods are structurally sounder than those in the Southeast, and may not require as extensive restoration, Joint Committee members Boswell and Roback believe that the houses in Southeast are likely to continue in the main current of restoration activity, because they are older, more interesting, and due to their ramshackle conditions, are generally less expensive to buy. Also, Southeast houses offer variations in the same block — some frame, some brick — and they are set on lots in less uniform patterns. Unless houses are distinguished rows of flat fronts like Philadelphia Row and the 300 block of 2nd Street, S.E., or contain wide bays with side gardens, or have special characteristics such as Duddington Place, S.E. (a captive block-long street with architecturally uniform, but intimate appearing row houses), most restorers favor blocks with more variety.

Now, who are the restorers of Capitol Hill homes? Actually, they are a highly diversified group that may be generally categorized as follows:

1. Young people with limited funds; single women and men; and young families; all of whom are willing to do a lot of the work themselves, except for repairs or replacements requiring licensed workmen. Most of these people have good incomes for their age brackets, but not necessarily a lot of capital. Many of them are attorneys, government employees, assistants to Members of Congress, artists, decorators, architects, newspaper employees, and staff members of the Library of Congress and the Folger Library.

2. Middle-aged people, who, since their children are no longer living with them, want to return to urban living. Many buy restored houses, but there are a few who have the urge to "do" a house. Because they have substantial incomes and savings (or have just sold a house in the suburbs and have ready cash), they are likely to buy a house that has already been restored; or, if the house is unrestored, they may hire architects and contractors to do the restoration work.

3. Retired people, usually past middle age, buy already restored houses. As a group they, like many of the middle-age group, seek "good" and "safe" locations, as close to the Congressional Office Buildings as possible — or at least in blocks where houses have been mostly restored. They tend to buy the more expensive, two-bedroom houses.

4. People in positions subjecting them to transfer, such as Foreign Service, military, etc., who restore, or purchase restored homes, do so with the aim of renting the property during their absences, and hope that the property will appreciate in value over the years. In their view, the purchase of a restored home is a quasi-investment.

5. Professional restorers are becoming less in number as the "Hill" becomes more restored. This is due, in part, to the increase in prices of houses suitable for restoring. Although their finished product can usually be sold for more than their investment, the restorers are faced with having considerable funds tied up during the period of the restoration, and the risks of investment recovery and reasonable profit becomes greater as price tags get higher on houses they have restored. The caliber of professional restorers working on the "Hill" today has become higher than in the earlier years. As the movement continues, people seem to be demanding more refinements and better workmanship in restored homes.

As shown earlier in commenting on population distribution in our community, restored housing until very recently has appealed to, and has been undertaken almost completely by white families and individuals. Negroes who can afford to buy and restore houses on Capitol Hill have not been inclined to do so. Some attribute this to today's much discussed "class" distinction growing within the ranks of America's Negro population in which the socially-conscious and affluent seek separation from their racially related less-fortunates. Others attribute it to the prevalent idea that success is the ability to move away from humble community origins. Also, there are those who simply do not wish to become embroiled in the social pressures generated in an integrated community. The very few Negroes who become a part of the restoration movement, either by purchasing a renovated house or renovating one themselves, have been joined within the past year by several others who have bought new townhouses in the \$42,000-\$45,000 price range. Whether these Negro "restorers" are forerunners or exceptions in the future restoration trend cannot be foreseen at this time.

Members of the Joint Committee believe that the restoration trend in our community will follow the paths of least economic resistance into adjoining neighborhoods containing interesting and potentially attractive properties. On the basis of present day values and locations, the movement

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