NPS Form 10-900b
(Rev. Aug. 2002)

OMB Approval No. 1024—0018
(Expires Jan. 2005)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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

___ New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES, MPS

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

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

Signature and title of certifying official ____________ Date ____________

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government ____________

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

Signature of the Keeper ____________ Date of Action ____________

PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1933-1949

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E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXT

Introduction

The origins of the federal public housing program can be traced to a series of significant government initiatives begun in the 1930s to combat the converging problems of unemployment, expanding slums, and insufficient housing during the Great Depression. Additional government programs in the early 1940s provided housing for defense industry workers and their families in overcrowded manufacturing centers during World War II. Nearly 700 large-scale public housing projects, built either as "low-rent" housing during the Great Depression or "defense" housing during World War II, continue to operate today within the federal public housing program. These projects comprise approximately 125,000 dwelling units and are in the inventories of nearly 250 local Public Housing Authorities in 39 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

The following narrative addresses the political, social, and architectural trends that shaped the program between 1933 and 1949, as well as earlier influences that contributed to federal involvement in the program. In doing so the context report provides an analytical framework for understanding the historic role and significance of individual public housing projects in the United States.

The period under consideration begins with the Public Works Administration's housing construction program undertaken as an unemployment relief effort under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. This program led to the passage of the United States Housing Act of 1937, which established the concept of federal subsidies to local public housing authorities and set the cornerstone of the modern program. The context report continues with a discussion of the relevant government housing programs during World War II, and concludes with passage of the United States Housing Act of 1949. This act renewed federal subsidies to local housing authorities after public housing had languished in the immediate postwar years. The 1949 Act tied public housing construction to urban redevelopment, serving to relocate families displaced by federally funded construction and highway projects. It also began a new era of public housing construction, often characterized in larger urban areas by vast high-rise developments built during the 1950s and 1960s (which are beyond the scope of this context).

Below are some of the key legislative and administrative issues that reformers, legislators, and government housing officials addressed in the early years of the public housing program.

- Should government be involved in the construction of housing, or is that role more properly reserved for private enterprise?
- Should the federal government own and operate public housing directly, or should the federal role be one of subsidization and regulation of local government housing efforts?
- Should public housing replace large, contiguous tracts of inner city slum property, or should it be built on vacant land, whether within a city or surrounding it?
- Should the federal government fund public housing only in times of emergency, such as the Great Depression and World War II, or should it create a long-term program with a permanent stock of government-owned housing?
- Should public housing design meet only the most basic standards of health, safety, and comfort within a carefully prescribed budget, or should innovative housing design be encouraged both for the benefit of the residents and the community as a whole?
- Should the federal government require racial integration in public housing, or should it allow segregation to continue according to local custom, as long as equal public housing accommodations are provided to all races?

The answers that evolved during this period determined the character, design, location, and social impact of the projects built in the 1930s and 1940s and continue to have ramifications on the program today. These and other legislative, design, and social issues are addressed in the course of this report.

Housing Reform Before the Great Depression

Prior to the 1930s, the federal government was removed from the housing debate. Its role in providing for the social welfare of its citizens was limited, with the expectation that local governments and private charities should address such matters. Yet the need for better housing was imperative. State, local, and private housing measures since the mid-nineteenth century had neither improved the dreadful living conditions in the slums nor provided a substantial increase in the supply of adequate new housing available to the poor.

Agitation for reform in American housing, particularly as it applied to accommodations for the poorer segments of the population, generated considerable debate during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Federal efforts, however, to eliminate the nation's slums and to replace them with decent, low-rent housing for the urban poor did not begin until spurred by the Great

Depression of the 1930s. Desperate to boost the stagnant construction industry and to create jobs, the government cleared slums and built housing under President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

A number of factors contributed to the development of public housing in America, some of which had been brewing for more than half a century. The Progressive Era contributed standards of construction, health, and safety which were clearly incorporated into the designs of new housing. The Garden City movement, with its ideal of building new towns for the future, spread from Britain at the turn of the century, and gained many advocates in the United States, who honed their skills in the government-built defense housing projects of World War I and the residential suburban developments of the 1920s. Also, the rational-functional forms of European Modernist housing estates and the work of European Modernist architects became well-known in the United States through the travels of important American writers, and through the Modern Architecture exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in 1932.

Regulation of the Slum

A product of the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the nineteenth century, slums appeared in cities throughout the nation. Social pathologies attributed to the slums--poverty, disease, crime, promiscuity, delinquency--encouraged early reform efforts. This degraded environment seemed to threaten the physical and moral welfare of its residents, and of society as a whole. Cultural differences further provoked concern, as massive waves of immigrants, mostly impoverished and unskilled in industry or modern agriculture, filled the slums of the northeast and north-central industrial centers. The perception arose that these newcomers, if left unassimilated in their miserable surroundings, could erode traditional American values and destroy the existing social order.

Some cities attempted to regulate minimum acceptable building standards to restrict the construction of the worst types of slum housing. New York City had the nation's first tenement house law by 1867, a few years after the bloody Civil War draft riots had erupted among Irish immigrants in the Lower East Side slums. A specially formed Council of Hygiene and Public Health investigating the draft riots in 1865 concluded that the "closely packed houses where the mob originated seemed to be literally hives of sickness and vice."[1] The law set minimum standards for ventilation, fire safety, sanitation, and weather-tightness, and prohibited the

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[1] Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 187.

habitation of windowless cellars.[2] Yet enforcement was ineffective, opposition from property owners was strong, and any resulting improvements merely raised the price of decent housing beyond the ability of the poor to pay. State legislatures in Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia also passed tenement house laws before the turn of the century, with similar results.[3]

New York Tenement House Law of 1901

The legislature of the state of New York made several attempts to amend its Tenement House Law to make it a more effective weapon against the slums. Governor Theodore Roosevelt, who had battled tenement owners during his tenure as New York City's police commissioner, created a State Tenement House Commission in 1900, with Lawrence Veiller as its secretary. The commission recommended a prohibition on air shafts in future tenements, a maximum of 70 percent lot coverage, height restrictions for non-fireproof buildings, and private water-closets for every family. The new legislation created a professional inspection department and required that inspectors evaluate each tenement by an objective set of standards rather than according to personal discretion. It also recommended new standards to modify existing tenements, including the insertion of wall windows in interior rooms and the installation of more satisfactory fire escapes. The legislature passed the commission's proposals into law in 1901.[4]

Veiller established the National Housing Association in 1910, which published a "Model Housing Law" to encourage other states to enact municipal housing codes. Between 1901 and 1917, ten states passed tenement house laws based on New York's model. Veiller was dedicated to the reform of slum housing through regulation of the private market, and he insisted that any attempts to build public tenements would be improper, inefficient, and subject to corruption. He predicted the political manipulation of tenant constituencies under such a program, as well as ponderous contracting processes and a dearth of qualified civil servants able to administer municipal housing. Private enterprise would be "driven out of the field" by public competition,

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[2] Robert W. De Forest and Lawrence Veiller, ed., *The Tenement House Problem* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), pp. 94-96.

[3] Marian L. and Howard A. Palley, *Urban America and Public Policies* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath & Co., 1977), pp. 162-163.

[4] Roy Lubove, *The Progressive and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962), pp. 3-68.

and only city governments would build "accommodations for the poor."[5]

Nineteenth Century Model Tenements

No mechanism was yet in place to ensure that housing built to these new standards would become available to the poor. Some businessmen and philanthropists, especially in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, felt that the private sector could overcome this problem by investing in "model tenements." They believed that well-designed, well-built housing at reasonable rents would ensure full tenancy, and could provide acceptable returns of up to six percent to the benevolent investor. In exchange for superior accommodations, owners insisted that tenants pay their rents promptly, and often required them to abide by strict standards of cleanliness, hard work, and moral behavior.[6] Yet the movement ultimately failed because it did not attract enough investors willing to risk their capital in philanthropic ventures, and because its inherent requirement to provide both a small profit and decent shelter placed it beyond the means of families living at subsistence levels.[7]

A National Reform Movement

As states dealt with the inadequacies of their tenement house legislation and the model tenement movement struggled to provide a trickle of decent housing for the poor, reformers of the Progressive Era focused national attention on the housing problem. Before World War I, the settlement house movement, inspired by Jane Addams in Chicago, Robert Woods in Boston, and Lillian Wald in New York, brought the problems of immigrants in the slums to the attention of middle-class America. Settlement workers provided educational and social services to immigrants, raised money for parks and libraries in the slums, and lobbied for tenement house reform. Reformers in Washington, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and other major cities surveyed the

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[5] Lawrence Veiller, *Housing Reform: A Hand-Book for Practical Use in American Cities* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910), pp. 79-82.

[6] Alfred T. White, *Improved Dwellings for the Laboring Classes: The Need and the Way to Meet It on Strict Commercial Principles in New York, Brooklyn, and Other Cities* (New York: n.p., 1877; New Haven, CT: Research Publications, Inc., n.d., American Architectural Books Based on the Henry-Russell Hitchcock Bibliography, microform series 69000, reel 107, part 1385), pp. 21-27.

[7] J. Paul Mitchell, "Historical Overview of Direct Federal Housing Assistance," in *Federal Housing Policy and Programs Past and Present,* ed., J. Paul Mitchell (New York: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1985), p. 190.

slums, compiling the grim statistics of poverty--overcrowding, mortality rates, crime rates--as quantifiable proof to the public of the horrors faced by the residents.[8]

During the same period, Jacob Riis, a Danish immigrant and photojournalist, chronicled the slums of New York City in *How the Other Half Lives*. Using angry prose and dramatic photographs, Riis described the dangers of slum life to a national audience:

> Tenements . . . are the hot beds of the epidemics that carry death to rich and poor alike; the nurseries of pauperism and crime that fill our jails . . . that turned out in the last eight years a round half million beggars to prey upon our charities; . . . because above all, they touch the family life with deadly moral contagion.[9]

He urged local governments to provide effective tenement regulation, to condemn and destroy the worst neighborhoods, and to ensure proper education and health standards for children.

Federal Government Takes Notice

Spurred on by Riis and other reformers, Congress appropriated $20,000 in 1892 for the Commissioner of Labor to study the slums in the nation's 16 largest cities. The Commissioner wrote a lengthy constitutional defense of the appropriation as an acceptable federal intervention in an otherwise local matter. Inadequate funding, however, forced a reduction in the scope of the investigation. Surveyors compiled statistics on housing quality, public services, employment, immigration, literacy, drunkenness, and disease in parts of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York City, and Chicago.[10] Congress took no further action. The Commissioner submitted another report in 1895 on a study of European slums, which noted the success of model tenements in Europe, and concluded that "proper housing of the great masses of working people can be

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[8] John A. Garraty, *The American Nation: A History of the United States* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 539-540.

[9] Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Dover, 1971), p. 2.

[10] Carroll D. Wright, *The Slums of Baltimore, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia*, Seventh Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 101.

furnished on a satisfactory commercial basis."[11]

In 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt convened the President's Homes Commission for another examination of the slums, this time in Washington, D.C. The commission reported that the slum problem had advanced far beyond the capabilities of any city to rectify it, and it called for an unprecedented federal intervention into local affairs, recommending both purchase and condemnation of slum properties by the federal government, and direct federal loans to property owners to finance reconstruction of urban neighborhoods. The commission believed that "a little government aid extended to these unfortunates to build habitable dwellings would tend immensely toward their uplifting."[12] These zealous recommendations went unheeded.

World War I Housing Programs

The country's mobilization for World War I, rather than the continuing problem of slums, proved to be the direct impetus for the first federal intervention in the private housing market. The enormous increase in industrial production and the resulting concentrations of population near shipbuilding and ammunition production centers created a serious shortage of housing for war workers of moderate income. Congress created the U. S. Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation (EFC) and the U. S. Housing Corporation (USHC) in 1918 to address this shortage. The EFC's charter authorized it to make loans to limited-dividend realty companies incorporated by private shipbuilding firms to construct housing for shipyard employees. The agency supervised the planning, design, and construction of 28 projects in 23 cities, including more than 8,000 houses and 800 apartment units owned by the realty companies under this program. In contrast to the EFC, the USHC had the unprecedented opportunity to undertake direct construction and management of housing for workers at arsenals and navy yards. The USHC built 27 new communities, consisting of nearly 6,000 single-family houses and 7,000 apartments, in 16 states and the District of Columbia.[13]

Following the armistice, Congress acted to remove the federal government from active

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[11] E. R. L. Gould, *The Housing of the Working People,* Eighth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1895), p. 19.

[12] The President's Homes Commission, *Report of the Committee on Social Betterment* (Washington, D. C: The President's Homes Commission, 1908), p. 263.

[13] Robert Moore Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing: Economic Aspects of the Federal Program* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 74-78.

participation in housing and to reaffirm its faith in the ability of private enterprise to fulfill the nation's housing needs. It quickly dismantled the administration and production structures of the wartime housing agencies. Beginning in 1921, the government sold all USHC housing and any EFC housing acquired through mortgage defaults. Many Congressmen demanded that issues of wartime housing and peacetime social reform be kept distinct. Senator William Calder of New York stated his uneasiness toward the "social uplifters and reformers" who seemed to operate the housing program, wondering if they were using the war "to work out some schemes of their own."[14] Yet two important precedents were in place: federal loans to private housing corporations and direct public construction to meet housing needs during a national emergency. These concepts served to broaden federal housing policy during the 1930s.[15]

Emerging National Housing Movement

After the war, many housing experts began to encourage a more active government role in clearing the slums and housing the poor. Awareness was growing that restrictive laws alone could not solve the housing problem. Edith Elmer Wood, who had been active before the war in the effort to eliminate the notorious alley slums of Washington, D.C., presented the first significant challenge to Lawrence Veiller's regulatory approach to housing reform. Writing in 1919, Wood stated that the "best restrictive legislation is only negative. It will prevent the bad. It will not produce the good . . . at a given rental." She blamed the slum problem not on greedy landlords or insufficient housing regulation, but on the inherent abuses of modern industrial society: workers crowded into inner city neighborhoods to be near their employment, but low wages and high property values forced them to accept substandard housing. She called for the control of housing as a public utility, just as the government already controlled the distribution and quality of water, electricity, transit, and education. Only if the "community itself undertakes to provide suitable houses at cost for such of its citizens as need them" could the United States avoid its next great housing problem.[16]

Wood proposed the creation of a national housing commission that could make low-interest loans to local communities and private limited-dividend corporations. She also proposed an

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[14] Harry Bredemeier, *The Federal Public Housing Movement: A Case Study of Social Change* (n.p.: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 43-44.

[15] Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing,* p. 79.

[16] Edith Elmer Wood, *The Housing of the Unskilled Wage Earner* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1919), pp. 20, 60, 239.

amendment to the Federal Reserve Act to allow national banks to supply federally guaranteed loans to home buyers.[17] In 1931, Wood, along with a wide array of social activists, urban planners, and architects, formed the National Public Housing Conference to promote "good housing through government loans and public construction."[18] This group would be instrumental in convincing the federal government to undertake its first experiments in low-rent public housing.

The Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), whose members included writers Lewis Mumford and Catherine Bauer, and architects Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, also helped to bring housing to a national debate in the 1920s. The members of the RPAA were strongly influenced by a number of contemporaneous international developments, including the English Garden City movement, the success of large-scale European housing estates after World War I, and the work of European Modernist architects.

The Garden City model, as first espoused by Englishman Ebeneezer Howard in the late nineteenth century, proposed the establishment of self-sufficient towns to solve the problem of housing affordability with new, nonspeculative forms of real estate. Several Garden Cities were constructed in England in the first quarter of the twentieth century, and the design vocabulary of these new cities was quite influential in the creation of new residential communities in the United States. Features such as winding streets, clearly delineated open spaces, large building blocks closed to vehicular traffic, and a definite hierarchy between major roads and secondary streets, were quickly incorporated into American public and private housing alike.[19]

After World War I, many European cities faced major housing shortages, which they addressed by creating, funding, and implementing extensive housing programs. For example, the Social Democrat-controlled city of Vienna, Austria embarked on an ambitious housing program in 1923, which rehoused nearly 10 percent of the city's population within the next decade. The

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[17] Roy Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's: The Contribution of the Regional Planning Association of America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh: 1963), p. 27.

[18] Eugenie Ladner Birch, "Woman-made America: The Case of Early Public Housing Policy," in *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections,* ed. Donald A. Krueckeberg (New York: Methuen, 1982), p. 161.

[19] Gail Radford, *Modern Housing for America: Policy Struggles in the New Deal Era* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp.31-32.

large apartment complexes of "Red Vienna" included kindergartens, libraries, meeting halls, and health and recreation centers--all collective facilities which reflected the social agenda of the city leaders. Germany also created a great deal of publicly supported housing during this same period, which was generally regarded as more modern and experimental than what was being built in Austria. The German housing estates utilized new building materials, construction techniques, and architectural forms; these materials and techniques often increased amenities while reducing costs. In a novel site plan called *Zeilenbau*, buildings were arranged in parallel rows, so that each individual unit received the maximum amount of natural sunlight.[20]

The work of the European Modernist architects was publicized in America mainly through the writings of housing scholar Catherine Bauer. Bauer spent a year in 1926-27 in Paris after graduating from college, where she first learned of the new developments in European housing and architecture. While in Paris she became acquainted with the work of the leading French Modernist architect Le Corbusier, and with the new technologies and new materials which were transforming the appearance and construction of European housing.[21]

On a second European tour in 1930, which included visits to Sweden, the Netherlands, France, and Germany, Bauer was particularly impressed with the work of German Modernist architect Ernst May, especially as building director for the city of Frankfurt am Maim. In 1925, May created a master plan for the entire metropolitan region surrounding and including Frankfurt, and housing was an integral part of this plan. May's finest accomplishment in the implementation of this plan, which created housing for approximately 10 percent of the city's population, was the suburb of Romerstadt. Located to the northwest of the old city, overlooking the Nidda River valley, the town contained several different types of garden apartment buildings and row housing; Bauer's favorite of these was a two-story rowhouse with a one-story apartment above, and a garden in the rear. The town's 1,200-unit housing development of mostly rowhouses, included shops, day care centers, laundries, and shared gardens.[22]

The work of two additional European Modernist architects also influenced the development of American public housing, again made known to Americans by the writings of Catherine Bauer. German Modernist architect Walter Gropius founded the Bauhaus, the national design school in

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[20] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp. 60-61.

[21] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, p. 65.

[22] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp. 69-73.

Dessau, Germany, in 1918, and he later came to America fleeing the Nazis who had closed the Bauhaus. In 1938 he was appointed chairman of the Harvard School of Design. Gropius is best known for his design of the glass and steel Bauhaus School, and for a number of office and factory buildings in his native Germany.[23] Dutch Modernist architect J. J. P. Oud, while serving as architect in charge of housing for the city of Rotterdam, designed a number of workers' housing complexes.[24]

The Museum of Modern Art held its landmark "Modern Architecture International Exhibition" in the spring of 1932. Beginning at the museum in New York City, and traveling to cities across the nation, including Philadelphia, Hartford, Los Angeles, Buffalo, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Rochester, Toledo, Cambridge, and Worcester, the exhibition served to diffuse the ideals and designs of the Modernist movement.[25] The content of the exhibition was divided into the two distinct areas of architecture and housing. The section on architecture, organized by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr. and Philip Johnson, exhibited the work of important Modernist architects including Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud, Mies van der Rohe, Raymond Hood, Howe & Lescaze, Richard Neutra, and the Bowman Brothers.[26] The smaller section on housing, organized by Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Catherine Bauer, and Lewis Mumford, contained photographs of several German and Dutch housing estates and of only one American example, Radburn, New Jersey.[27]

Influenced by all of these new ideas in architecture and housing, the central goal of the RPAA became making large-scale, planned residential communities accessible to low-income groups. They believed that such developments were essential components of a humane urban environment that should be integrated into all regional planning efforts. To this end they believed that government should concentrate on increasing the supply and reducing the cost of

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[23] John Peter, *Masters of Modern Architecture* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1958), p. 218.

[24] Peter, *Masters of Modern Architecture*, p. 221.

[25] *Modern Architecture International Exhibition* (New York: Arno Press for the Museum of Modern Art, First printed 1932, Reprint edition 1969), p. 3.

[26] *Modern Architecture International Exhibition*, pp. 5-6.

[27] *Modern Architecture International Exhibition*, p. 6.

new housing. Early RPAA recommendations for New York included creation of a central state housing agency, a state housing credit system, and municipal housing boards to acquire land and build housing.[28] To test their planning and development theories, RPAA members formed the City Housing Corporation to design, finance, and build two residential suburbs outside New York City: Sunnyside Gardens in Queens in 1924, and Radburn, New Jersey, in 1928. Each of these communities was an innovative example of Garden City design, intended to draw workers away from the inner city; but the high costs of privately financed, large-scale development prohibited either project from providing affordable housing to low-income families.[29]

Housing Programs in the States

Despite all their efforts, housing reformers failed to convince the federal government of the 1920s to take steps toward a housing program of any sort, whether regulation of the private market or construction of public tenements. Times were too prosperous for the federal government to give serious consideration to housing programs for the poor. After a postwar construction slump, the 1920s proved a boom time for the American housing industry, producing 937,000 units in 1925, a record unsurpassed until 1949.[30] Following World War I, the initiative in housing legislation passed from the federal government back to the states. Yet state programs targeted the middle class; they could not afford to provide housing for a permanent class of the poor.

The Massachusetts state legislature established a Homestead Commission in 1917 to buy land "for the purpose of relieving congestion of population and providing small houses and plots of ground for wage earners." The law required the state to sell these houses at cost, following a warning from the Massachusetts supreme court that a state housing program "not [become] a plan for pauper relief." In 1919, the Commission built 12 houses near Lowell, selling them to workers at long-term, low-interest mortgages. The state soon lost interest and dissolved the program.[31]

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[28] Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's*, pp. 33-34.

[29] Lubove, *Community Planning in the 1920's*, pp. 45-51.

[30] Peter G. Rowe, *Modernity and Housing* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993), p. 103.

[31] Dorothy Schaffter, *State Housing Agencies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 15, 25-33.

The California state legislature enacted the Veterans Farm and Home Purchase Act in 1921 to assist men returning from World War I. The state issued $10 million in bonds to set up a revolving fund allowing veterans or their widows to borrow up to 95 percent of the price of a new house or farm at 5 percent interest.[32] Repayment of the fund by the qualifying veterans assured that taxpayers would not subsidize the program, precluding housing from becoming a public burden. One legislator proudly asserted that the program was "self-sustained and free from any element of charity, while building substantial law-abiding, home-owning citizens."

The New York state legislature made several attempts to stimulate the housing market during the 1920s. The legislature passed a 10-year real estate tax exemption on all new construction completed before April 1924.[33] With no limits on rent or selling price, however, this law produced scant housing for low-income families.[34] In 1922, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company convinced the legislature to amend the insurance code, permitting insurance companies to invest their burgeoning profits in housing. Metropolitan Life Insurance Company opened its first housing development in 1924 in New York City as a direct result of this action.[35] To ensure that this housing would reach the working class, the code required rents not to exceed a very low $9 per month per room, at a time when newly built apartments in New York City rented for at least $15 per room.[36]

The New York State Housing Law of 1926 provided further incentives to private builders. It exempted limited-dividend housing corporations from state and city taxes and granted them the right of eminent domain to condemn and assemble large tracts of land on which to build new housing projects. The act stipulated a maximum of 6 percent return to investors and set specific rent ceilings. Only six corporations in New York City took advantage of this act by 1932,

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[32] Schaffter, *State Housing Agencies*, pp.183-184.

[33] Richard Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City: Dwelling Type and Social Change in the American Metropolis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), p. 150.

[34] Edith Elmer Wood, *Recent Trends in American Housing* (New York: Macmillan, 1931), p. 107.

[35] Plunz, *A History of Housing in New York City*, p. 151.

[36] Louis H. Pink, *The New Day in Housing* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), p. 140.

building 11 garden apartment projects with housing for more than 1,700 families.[37]

Privately financed developers also attempted to address the housing needs of low-income families in a few large-scale projects. In 1928, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., built the Paul Lawrence Dunbar Apartments as New York City's first cooperative development for African Americans.[38] Philanthropists in Chicago built the Michigan Boulevard Garden Apartments and the Marshall Field Garden Apartments in 1929.[39] Despite extremely low profit margins, none of these projects could reduce rents to reach below the economic level of the middle class. Like the projects built under the New York Housing Law of 1926, the high costs of large-scale development prohibited these projects from providing housing to low-income families.

By the eve of the Great Depression, housing reform had reached a turning point. State and local governments clearly had demonstrated that they could not provide adequate housing for the poor, while the federal government was unwilling to fill the void. Private developers, no matter how well-intentioned, could not build decent housing at a price the poor could afford. Edith Elmer Wood expressed the fondest hope of many housing reformers in 1931 when she called for a "major statesman to make housing on the grand scale the chief plank in his platform."[40] Their aspirations came true only when the crushing economic circumstances of the Great Depression forced the federal government to intervene.

Public Housing as Public Works

The Great Depression refocused attention on the inequities of the housing market and on the smoldering slum problems of America's cities, as economic collapse devastated home ownership and the residential construction industry. Housing construction had fallen steadily beginning in the late 1920s to a low of 93,000 units by 1933, down a full 90 percent from the record high in

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[37] Edith Elmer Wood, "A Century of the Housing Problem," in *Urban Housing,* ed., William L. C. Wheaton, et. al. (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 3-4.

[38] Edith Elmer Wood, *Recent Trends in American Housing*, p. 226.

[39] Devereux Bowly, Jr., *The Poorhouse: Subsidized Housing in Chicago, 1895-1976* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), pp. 8-16.

[40] Wood, *Recent Trends in American Housing*, p. 246.

1925.[41] Fourteen million Americans, one-third of them from the building trades, were unemployed, and 273,000 families lost their homes to mortgage foreclosure in 1933 alone.[42] Decaying inner city neighborhoods became even more congested by people forced out of better, less affordable housing. The condition of the already decrepit housing stock available to the poor worsened as property owners deferred maintenance, and new construction came to a near standstill. Migrants from farms and small towns exacerbated the slum problem as they crowded into cities in search of employment or public relief.

A New Deal for Housing

In his first inaugural address in March 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed his firm intention to lead the nation into recovery through unprecedented, but unspecified, government intervention. Although he acknowledged the "tragedy" of foreclosure on small homes and farms, he indicated no particular housing program or plan of attack against the slums. He declared with certainty only that "our greatest task is to put people to work," and called on Congress to provide him with emergency powers necessary to create employment.[43]

The prospect of federal funding inspired the National Public Housing Conference (NPHC) to promote low-rent housing construction and slum clearance as legitimate forms of unemployment relief, creating both much-needed construction jobs and useful permanent dwellings. The NPHC, under the leadership of president Mary Simkhovitch, convinced Senator Robert F. Wagner during the spring of 1933 to include housing activities in any upcoming public works legislation.[44] Wagner, a Democrat from New York who had grown up in the slums of Manhattan, would become the statesman whom housing reform activist Edith Elmer Wood had sought to lead the housing cause.

Congress responded quickly to the new President's request for action, passing the National

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[41] Rowe, *Modernity and Housing*, p. 103.

[42] Gertrude S. Fish, "Housing Policy during the Great Depression," in *The Story of Housing*, ed. Gertrude Fish (New York: Macmillan, 1979), p. 196.

[43] Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, 9 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1941), Volume 2, pp. 11-15.

[44] J. Joseph Hutchmacher, *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p. 206.

Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) in June 1933. Title II of this act allotted $3.3 billion for the formation of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA) to provide "massive work relief activities quickly." True to his word, Senator Wagner inserted authorization for the PWA to include among its lists of projects "construction . . . under public regulation or control of low-cost housing and slum clearance." To this end, the PWA could make loans to limited-dividend corporations, award grants to state or local agencies, or build projects on its own.

Title II provided an additional $25 million to establish a Division of Subsistence Homesteads to build rural communities to provide for the redistribution of the "overbalance of population in industrial centers."[45] When the Resettlement Administration absorbed it in 1935, the Division of Subsistence Homesteads had begun 50 communities to provide for the relocation of urban families from the slums or farm families from submarginal lands. This division also served families displaced by New Deal crop reduction or rural electrification programs, unemployed miners at Arthurdale, West Virginia, and urban working-class African Americans at Aberdeen, Virginia.[46]

PWA Limited-Dividend Housing Program

President Roosevelt placed the PWA within the Department of the Interior and appointed Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes as its Administrator. Ickes established a Housing Division to carry out the PWA's slum clearance and low-rent housing mandate. The primary purpose of the Housing Division was to "reduce unemployment and to restore purchasing power" by employing workers in the construction trades and from the building supplies industry. Beyond this immediate goal, however, the Housing Division also hoped to "awaken . . . a feeling of local responsibility" for the long-term housing needs of the urban poor.[47]

The PWA undertook its first housing projects by providing low-interest loans to limited-dividend housing corporations. This initial PWA program was similar to plans developed under the Hoover administration in 1932. An outgrowth of recommendations from the 1931 Conference

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[45] Hutchmacher, *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism*, p. 208.

[46] Paul A. Conklin, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 332-334.

[47] U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division Bulletin No. 2, *Urban Housing: The Story of the PWA Housing Division, 1933-1936* (Washington, D. C: Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 14-16.

on Home Building and Home Ownership, Hoover's Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) drew in over 600 proposals for possible housing projects, of which only one, Knickerbocker Village in New York City, was built.[48] Successful applicants to the PWA program who agreed to limit their profits could receive federal loans of up to 85 percent of the project development cost at four percent interest over 30 years.[49] Like the RFC, the Housing Division received over 500 requests to finance various types of housing ventures. The Housing Division staff in Washington, D. C. carefully scrutinized the proposals to verify that they met minimum program standards for construction and financing.

Despite the PWA's liberal loan requirements, only seven projects met PWA requirements and eventually received funding [See Appendix II: PWA Limited-Dividend Housing Projects]. These projects, all built between 1933 and 1935, included two unnamed projects in Altavista, Virginia, and Euclid, Ohio; Hillside Homes in the borough of Bronx, New York; the Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Boulevard Gardens in the borough of Queens, New York; Boyland (also called Boylan Housing) in Raleigh, North Carolina; and Neighborhood Gardens in St. Louis, Missouri. Of these seven projects, all were built for white tenants, and all but Neighborhood Gardens were built on vacant land.[50]

Early PWA architecture showed the influence of both the Garden City and the European Modernist movements. Architects for the PWA were encouraged to be creative, and there was little bureaucratic meddling in the design and construction of the limited-dividend housing complexes. As a result, many of the early PWA projects are innovative in their design and use of materials. PWA housing projects had a number of characteristics in common, including a rejection of the rehabilitation of existing slum housing, the use of the superblock to organize neighborhoods, minimal ground coverage by buildings, compact building interiors without corridors, on-site community centers, and a public art component.

The first PWA limited-dividend project to be completed was the Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia, designed by German Modernist architects Oskar Stonorov and Alfred Kastner, and constructed in 1934-35. The plan for the complex placed four three-story buildings in alignment

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[48] Richard Pommer. "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930s," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37 (December 1978), p.236.

[49] U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *Urban Housing*, p. 28.

[50] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, p. 93.

with the sun for maximum natural light. The buildings were "bent" at the ends and indented in the center to create communal courts, with passageways running between them. The units were covered in burnt yellow and orange industrial tiles, which gave the complex a sleek, modern appearance **[Figure 1]**. The interior of the site was enclosed by the buildings, and traffic was restricted from this area.[51] "When completed, the complex contained nearly 300 apartments (most with porches), a pool, an auditorium, underground garages, a nursery school, basement rooms for tenant activities, and rooftop laundry facilities."[52] Like many of the early PWA efforts, the completed design was an important illustration of the compatible molding of European design theories and federal programmatic guidance.

The first apartments at the Carl Mackley Houses were completed in 1935, at which time tenants began to move in. Approximately one-quarter of the complex's early tenants were white-collar workers, as living in the Mackley Houses proved to be too expensive for many of the blue-collar hosiery workers for whom the complex was intended. Rents at the complex were set approximately 20 percent higher than originally planned, in order to pay off the federal loan according to the terms required by the PWA.[53] The early residents did appear to enjoy living in their newly built community, taking advantage of amenities like the swimming pool, nursery school, and cooperative grocery store. The level of activity at the Carl Mackley Houses subsided substantially after World War II; the complex's nursery school closed in 1964, and in 1968 it was sold to private investors, to be operated as a moderate-income commercial rental apartment complex.[54]

Another important PWA limited-dividend project, the 1,416-unit Hillside Homes, in the Borough of Bronx, New York, was built for white tenants on a vacant site. Designed in 1932 by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright, and constructed from 1933 to 1935, the garden apartment complex contained storage, incinerator, boiler, and community rooms; workshops; offices; a playground; wading pools; and a nursery school.[55] As it was created by essentially the same design team, the

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[51] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp. 129-130.

[52] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, p. 130.

[53] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp. 132-133.

[54] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp. 132-141.

[55] Rowe, *Modernity and Housing*, p. 358.

concept for Hillside was similar to that of Radburn, except that Hillside had a higher density. The plan included a neighborhood unit which was superimposed within a superblock of residential streets and open space.[56]

At the time of its construction, Hillside Homes was the largest federal public housing project underway. One of the project's most interesting features was the inclusion of basement apartment units, which were accessed by walking down one-half story from the main entrance. The sides of these units opposite the stair were above ground level, where French doors led to private gardens enclosed by hedges. These units were an excellent way to build the project into the site's existing topography of rolling hills. The plan for Hillside Homes divided the site into five superblocks, and three acres of the project's center block was reserved for recreation fields.[57]

Neighborhood Gardens, the limited-dividend housing project built in St. Louis for the Neighborhood Association provides an example of the coordinated efforts of local and federal agencies that shaped early public housing. The Neighborhood Association was formed in 1911 by the merger of the Self-Culture Hall and the North Broadway Settlement, local Progressive-era organizations dedicated to bettering life in the poorest parts of the city.[58] Local housing studies undertaken in the early twentieth century had revealed a substantial slum problem in the areas of St. Louis known as Wild Cat Chute and Clabber Alley, where wooden shanty towns provided meager shelter to thousands of impoverished residents. Despite a series of reports highlighting the city's growing housing problems, the public attitude toward housing reform was characterized as "lethargic and indifferent."[59] Official government attempts to create housing reform through regulation had proved as ineffective in St. Louis as they had in other urban centers. The attitude of many was that real housing reform would not succeed until proof was available that the private sector could profit from slum clearance and the construction of new housing. The Neighborhood Association saw its task as providing just that proof.

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[56] Rowe, *Modernity and Housing*, p. 202.

[57] Henry Wright, *Rehousing Urban America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), pp. 82-83.

[58] Carolyn H.Toft, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Neighborhood Gardens Apartments," September 1985, page 8.1.

[59] Toft, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Neighborhood Gardens Apartments," September 1985, page 8.2.

In 1930, the Neighborhood Association established a Better Housing Committee and supported a study of low-cost housing in Europe by the Association's Managing Director J.A. Wolf. Upon his return from Europe, Wolf ardently pressed the Association to undertake its own housing construction program, similar to those he had seen in Vienna, Munich, and Frankfurt. Wolf cultivated public interest through articles in the local newspaper and by producing a series of models and drawings for a possible project in association with local architects Hoener, Baum and Froese. P. John Hoener served on the Neighborhood Association's Better Housing Committee as well as the President's Conference on Home Ownership, while his partner Ewald R. Froese had completed his own study of German public housing.[60]

Key to the Neighborhood Association's efforts would be their ability to convince local businessmen to invest in the project through the formation of a limited-dividend housing corporation. In the end, financing was provided by the Neighborhood Association itself with members of the Board putting up $10,000 apiece with the remainder obtained through a PWA loan of $640,000. With PWA funding and project approval in hand, ground was broken for the new housing project in May of 1934. Construction of the 252-unit Neighborhood Gardens housing project occupied a full city block and employed 250 men working 30 hours a week. The three-story brick and concrete buildings **[Figure 2]** were completed in 1935 and conformed to the typical public housing schemes being developed through the PWA program with low-rise construction organized around large open spaces and courts, low site coverage, flat roof, International-style architectural lines, and a number of community buildings and other public amenities.[61]

Like many of the earliest PWA-funded housing projects, the Neighborhood Gardens' imaginative use of materials, detailing, and unit configurations set the project apart as a striking example of modern domestic design, aptly integrating the needs and goals of its social service agency client, the PWA, and the visions of its skilled modernist architects. Even before the construction was complete prospective tenants flooded the offices of the Neighborhood Association. The Neighborhood Gardens project, however, would provide evidence of the financial and logistical problems faced by other PWA limited-dividend projects. While initially intended to serve as replacement housing for the impoverished slum residents displaced during project construction,

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[60] Toft, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Neighborhood Gardens Apartments," September 1985, page 8.2.

[61] Toft, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Neighborhood Gardens Apartments," September 1985, page 8.2-8.3.

the required rents of $19 to $33 per month were beyond the means of the majority of these people. The result was a residential complex providing housing to the "better class families" whose income had been reduced by the Depression.[62]

As seen in the examples above, the PWA limited-dividend projects were of high quality in both design and construction. The overall results, however, were unsatisfactory; rents charged were beyond the means of low-income families, and none of the projects complied with the PWA's objective of creating new housing while at the same time clearing slum areas.[63] Like the RFC before it, the PWA loan program was impractical during the Depression. Most applicants could not bring to their project even the modest 15 percent equity required by the law, and the limited profit requirement proved too burdensome to attract significant interest from private developers.[64] One Housing Division official later explained the failure as an inherent result of limited-dividend financing: without a direct federal subsidy, the projects could not be operated nor their debts liquidated unless rents were charged "which are more than can be paid by persons of truly low incomes."[65] The PWA limited-dividend housing program was an important first step, however, in establishing a federal role in housing reform and in opening new doors to increased local-federal cooperation.

PWA Direct-Built Housing Program

Anxious for more satisfying results while the emergency appropriations were available, Ickes suspended the limited-dividend loan program in February 1934 and announced that PWA would begin the direct financing and development of low-rent housing projects. From this point on the PWA acquired the land, let contracts for slum clearance and construction, and owned and

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[62] Toft, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Neighborhood Gardens Apartments," September 1985, page 8.3.

[63] John Hancock, "The New Deal and American Planning in the 1930s," in *Two Centuries of American Planning,* ed. Daniel Schaffer (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), p. 210.

[64] U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *Urban Housing*, p. 29; Michael W. Strauss and Talbot Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 38.

[65] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 38.

operated the completed housing.[66] By the fall of 1937, when PWA ended its housing responsibilities, the Housing Division had completed or begun construction on 51 projects in 36 cities in the continental United States, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands [See Appendix III: PWA Direct-Built Housing Projects]. Of these 51 projects, 21 were constructed for black tenants only; six contained segregated buildings for black and white tenants; and 24 were built solely for white tenants.[67] Overall, the PWA allotted approximately one-third of its total constructed housing units to black tenants.[68]

The PWA's Housing Division quickly organized their operations to effectively direct the creation of new public housing. By July 1934, the PWA created the Branch of Initiation, staffed mainly by young architects, who began to assess the need within the many cities that had applied for new housing. The primary duty of this branch was to discern where the need for housing was greatest, and where justifiable projects could be built. The limited-dividend program had spotlighted the fact that few areas of the country had the necessary skills or knowledge to wade through the statistical, sociological, and technical information required to intelligently plan for large scale public housing projects.

The Housing Division's project initiators determined exactly where and what to build; their tasks included site selection, choosing the size and type of project, and preparing a detailed program for each complex.[69] Project initiators also investigated typical family sizes and ethnic background in the cities in which their projects were to be built; this helped to determine the size and distribution of dwelling units. The PWA usually recommended units which ranged from two to five rooms in size; and the average unit size in PWA projects ranged from 2.9 rooms in Birmingham's Smithfield Court, intended for black tenants, to 4.1 rooms in Boston's Old Harbor Village, which was occupied largely by Catholic families of Irish, Italian, and Lithuanian descent.[70]

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[66] U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *Urban Housing*, p. 30.

[67] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp. 100-101.

[68] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, p. 104.

[69] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 58.

[70] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 73.

Upon formal approval of a proposed project, the Branch of Land Acquisition was brought in to supervise site development and acquisition; these responsibilities usually lasted anywhere from four to eight months for PWA-built projects.[71] The PWA also created a Branch of Plans and Specifications, staffed by architects, engineers, landscape architects, and cost estimators, who worked closely with the related branches project initiators. As the deficient applications for the PWA limited-dividend projects clearly indicated that most American builders were not yet capable of designing large-scale public housing projects that met the standards of the Housing Division, the Branch of Plans and Specifications was created to assist local architects and engineers in this task.[72] In the fall of 1934, the Plans and Specifications Branch began the preparation of a series of plans for the basic units of public housing complexes, including apartments and rowhouses of all types and sizes **[Figure 3]**. Published by the division in May 1935 in *Unit Plans: Typical Room Arrangements, Site Plans and Details for Low Rent Housing*, these drawings and specifications formed the basis of PWA public housing design, and were used by local architects across the county.[73]

As soon as PWA approval was given for a particular housing project, contracts were let with private architects and engineers chosen from the city involved. Local approval and recommendations by the host city were an important part of the contracting process. To the degree possible, the architectural contracts were made with groups of architects who sometimes formed informal consortiums to distribute the limited design work available during the depths of the Depression. The PWA contracts provided for the preparation of a set of plans and specifications to be developed in cooperation with the Housing Division branch staff, who visited the project sites to monitor progress on a regular basis.[74] As these local architects were more accustomed to designing individual buildings, and had little experience in planning larger sites, the Housing Division also assisted them in handling the planning and the topography of individual sites. Experienced PWA site planners drew sketches that expressed the general ideas

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[71] Horatio B. Hackett, "How the PWA Housing Division Functions," *The Architectural Record* (March 1935), p. 150.

[72] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 66.

[73] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 67.

[74] Hackett, "How the PWA Housing Division Functions," *The Architectural Record* (March 1935), p. 150.

of the division as adjusted to specific sites.[75] The PWA advocated the lowest possible density of development in their public housing complexes; they specified a maximum of four-story buildings covering no more than 30 percent of the site. The only exception to this rule was in New York City (which had the highest land cost in the nation), where high-rise apartments with elevators were allowed.[76]

Many of the PWA specifications were driven by a desire for economy. Attached dwellings were suggested for public housing complexes as they afforded considerable savings over detached housing models. Building attached units halved the necessary exterior wall area, and greatly reduced the length of sewer, water, gas, and electric lines. Suggested materials were based on a number of factors, including whether or not they were fireproof, efficiency, and initial and maintenance costs; the Housing Division thought that it was "economical in the long run to build well."[77]

As a building type, public housing projects constructed in America between 1933 and 1937 are best defined as a grouping of multi-family, low scale, residential buildings which were organized on a site, around large open spaces and recreational areas, as part of a larger and deliberate plan **[Figure 4]**. Typical city blocks were often combined to form superblocks as a way to organize the larger neighborhood, and a clear hierarchy between primary roads and pedestrian thoroughfares were an integral part of the site plan. The buildings usually took the form of several-story walk-up apartments and rowhouses. They were most often constructed of brick, simply designed and generally well-built, and contained modern conveniences in both kitchens **[Figure 5]** and bathrooms. These public housing projects frequently had a non-residential component, including community centers, management offices, recreation and community rooms, nursery schools, and garages.

It appears that the only part of the design of PWA public housing not influenced by the Housing Division was the style in which the buildings were built; this decision was left to the local architect. As PWA public housing scholars Michael W. Strauss and Talbot Wegg wrote:

> The style of buildings, whether they should be "modern," colonial, Spanish, or what-not,

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[75] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, pp. 67-68.

[76] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 69.

[77] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 71.

> was on the whole left to the decision of local architects. They had only one watchword, simplicity. As a result there is, to the layman's eye, great variety in the exterior design of projects. New York, Chicago, Camden, Cleveland, and some others are modern; Jacksonville and Miami are of typical design; Charleston recalls the graciousness of its heritage; Boston is in keeping with the New England tradition; Dallas suggests the distinctive architecture of the Southwest.[78]

As the federal housing program matured, the use of standardized plans and model unit designs became more and more evident. Whereas the earlier limited development projects advanced a certain freedom of design and architectural innovation, later works were increasingly constrained by efforts to speed up development and monitor rising costs. The Housing Division's branches of Construction and Management were responsible for the final aspects of project development, including slum removal, construction supervision, and administration of tenant services.[79] The administration of the PWA's Housing Division was directed by Horatio Hackett, a Chicago architect-engineer with limited experience in housing reform issues before coming to the PWA. Among the consultants on staff were architects, Alfred Fellheimer and Harvard-educated Angelo R. Clas.[80]

In the midst of the Depression, the design, planning, and construction of these projects employed thousands of people, and the projects themselves served to reinforce the concept that there was a role for the federal government in public housing. The PWA direct-built housing projects provided housing for nearly 22,000 families at a cost to the federal government of over $130 million;[81] and the PWA's slum clearance efforts eliminated about 10,000 substandard units.[82]

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[78] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 68.

[79] Hackett, "How the PWA Housing Division Functions," *The Architectural Record* (March 1935), p. 150.

[80] Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930s." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* 37 (December 1978), p. 236.

[81] National Association of Housing Officials, Coleman Woodbury, ed., *Housing Officials' Year Book 1938* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1938), pp. 120-133.

[82] Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing*, p. 90.

The PWA direct-built projects also added considerably to the housing stock of cities across the nation, including Atlanta (1,393 units); Chicago (2,414 units); Cleveland (1,849 units); Detroit (1,478 units); Memphis (1,082 units); and New York City (2,196 units).[83]

The Housing Division opened Techwood Homes in Atlanta as the first federally owned low-rent housing project in the nation on August 15, 1936. Atlanta was the site of two early PWA direct-built public housing projects: Techwood Homes, constructed in 1935-37 and intended for white tenants, and University Homes, constructed in 1935-37 and intended for black tenants. Both projects replaced two of the city's worst slum areas. The 604-unit Techwood Homes project replaced a nine-block area known as Techwood Flats, which was located between the Georgia Institute of Technology and the city's central business district; and the 675-unit University Homes project replaced the Beaver Slide slum, which was located between the campuses of Spellman and Morris Brown Colleges.[84] The major difference between the two Atlanta projects is the type of buildings which were constructed. At Techwood Homes, 13 three-story buildings and seven two-story rowhouses were built; while at University Homes 42 buildings were constructed, with a separate entry and a small plot of land for each unit.[85]

According to Atlanta housing scholar Carol A. Flores, both of these projects exemplify the PWA's attention to health, comfort, and safety. At the University Homes site, central courtyards were provided to give residents access to sunlight and fresh air; while at the Techwood Homes site, the rowhouse units were given private yards, and the apartment buildings were set back from the streets to create open spaces.[86] To assure the comfort of the residents, the units at both projects featured utilities, including hot and cold running water, electricity, and steam heat; modern appliances; well-designed kitchens; closets; and storage space.[87]

Lakeview Terrace, the nation's third PWA direct-built housing complex, was constructed in

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[83] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp. 100-101.

[84] Carol A. Flores, "US public housing in the 1930s: the first projects in Atlanta, Georgia," *Planning Perspectives* 9 (1994), pp. 410-411, 417.

[85] Flores, "US public housing in the 1930s," *Planning Perspectives*, p. 420.

[86] Flores, "US public housing in the 1930s," *Planning Perspectives*, p. 416.

[87] Flores, "US public housing in the 1930s," *Planning Perspectives*, pp. 416-419.

Cleveland, "a city with no tradition in housing and small reputation in architecture, [which] was to become a center of urban housing under the PWA second only to New York."[88] The complex was built in 1935-37 for white tenants on a 22-acre slum area, which was originally part of Old Ohio City, founded in 1854 as the first location for the city of Cleveland **[Figure 6]**. This site, a steep slope overlooking Lake Erie, was a challenging one. Forty-six red brick, International Style, two-and three-story apartment and rowhouse buildings and 118 garages were terraced down the slope **[Figure 7]**. These buildings, containing a total of 620 units, covered approximately 26 percent of the site, and were arranged around a large playground and a community center containing an auditorium, gym, kitchen, club and game rooms, and a nursery school. Lakeview Terrace was the first American public housing complex to include a community center, and was also the first complex to be operated by a female manager, Mrs. Mary C. Maher. The complex included an early example of a retail component, 13 shops which were arranged around a small plaza at the main entrance. These shops were later demolished so that a high-rise building for elderly residents could be built in their place.[89]

Constructed in 1936-37, the 574-unit Harlem River Houses was the first PWA direct-built project to be constructed in New York City. Unlike the majority of the second phase of PWA public housing, the Harlem River Houses was not a slum clearance project; the sloping site in Harlem was vacant prior to the complex's construction. The project, which was the work of the design team of Archibald Manning Brown and prolific New York City apartment house architect Horace Ginsbern, consisted of three distinct groups of four- and five-story red brick, International Style buildings arranged on a 9-acre site for a low-density land coverage of approximately 30 percent. Amenities offered on site included a nursery school, health clinic, social and children's play rooms, and community laundries.[90]

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[88] Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States during the Early 1930s," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37 (December 1978), p. 244.

[89] Jane Lauder, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Lakeview Terrace," September 10, 1971, pp. 7.1, 8.2; C. W. Short and R. Stanley Brown, *Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies Between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration* (Washington, D.C: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 659.

[90] Joan Olshansky, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Harlem River Houses," July 11, 1979, pp. 7.1, 8.1 .

When the Harlem River Houses opened in October 1937, over 14,000 families applied to reside in the 574 apartments. The New York City Housing Authority was given the task of selecting residents, which they did by rating prospective tenants by conducting home visits, interviews, and after making sure that they could pay their rent.[91] Once selected, "new residents could choose to participate in a wide range of social and educational activities. A 1939 management report noted that residents had organized a tenants' association, community newspaper, women's club, mothers' group to support the work of the WPA recreational programs for children, men's club, parent-teachers association of the nursery school, and Boy Scout troop."[92] Early tenants seemed to appreciate living in such high-quality housing. Resident Melvin Ford, when interviewed for a 1939 magazine article, commented that he felt lucky to live at the Harlem River Houses, as he had a nicer place to live than he had before, or than where most people lived.[93]

Constructed in 1936-38, the 274-unit Langston Terrace Dwellings were built on a 13-acre sloping site overlooking the Anacostia River in northeast, Washington, D.C. Like the Harlem River Houses, Langston was a project built for black tenants on a vacant site. The complex comprised attached brick rowhouse units **[Figure 8]**, ranging from 2 to 4 stories in height, which formed 14 separate blocks of housing arranged around a large, rectangular, open, common space. A number of Langston's defining features conformed to the PWA standards which were established in 1935, including the central common, high standards of construction, and low-density site coverage by buildings of 20 percent. A restrictive project budget encouraged the use of readily-available materials, and of basic unit plans that could easily be replicated. Within those constraints project architect Hilyard Robert Robinson was able to create a highly successful Modern design. So well received was his design that Federal housing officials often used the project as a demonstration model for the "possibilities of . . . low-rent housing."[94] Langston Terrace had a particularly fine public art component included in its design. A terra-cotta frieze entitled "The Progress of the Negro Race" crowned the arcade entrance to the complex, and five animal sculptures constructed of reinforced concrete were placed in the playground within the

[91] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, pp.165-167.

[92] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, p.168.

[93] Radford, *Modern Housing for America*, p. 170.

[94] Glen B. Leiner, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Langston Terrace Dwellings," December 1, 1986, pp. 8.1-8.2.

common area.[95]

The entire second phase of PWA projects operated under the terms of the George-Healey Act, which stated that the PWA should fix rents at an amount sufficient to pay for the operation of each project and to repay 55 percent of the total development cost at 3 percent interest over a period of 60 years. The balance of 45 percent was considered an outright federal grant. The act also authorized the PWA, whose federally owned projects were exempt from property taxes, to make annual payments to local governments out of project rent revenues in compensation for municipal services.[96]

The substantial capital subsidy and the longer amortization period did allow the PWA projects to achieve lower rents than had been possible with the limited-dividend program. Total development costs, including site acquisition and clearance, averaged $6,200 per unit. Since rents were based on development costs, however, the PWA projects still were only within the reach of the working poor and were unable to serve the majority of slum inhabitants.[97] The PWA, like all the other low-rent housing ventures before it, would not meet the housing demands of those with the greatest need.

PWA and the Slums

The PWA was determined to prove the feasibility of combining slum clearance with the construction of low-rent housing. Harold Ickes declared that the top priority of the Housing Division was to "seek out some of the worst slum spots on the municipal maps and abruptly wipe them out with good low-rent housing."[98] Through speeches and pamphlets, the PWA showed the public that slums and inadequate housing were problems faced by every community in the nation, not just big cities of the east:

> Popular imagination seized on the noisome Lower East Side with its lung-blocks

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[95] Leiner, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Langston Terrace Dwellings," December 1, 1986, pp. 7.1- 7.2, 8.1-8.2.

[96] Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing*, p. 88.

[97] Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing*, p. 85.

[98] Harold L. Ickes, "The Federal Housing Program," *New Republic* 81 (December 19, 1934), p. 16.

> and Devil's Kitchen as the essence of the American slum. Too frequently it was an American city's boast that "we have no slums in this town" simply because no five-story railroad flats dangled the day's wash over unpleasant back yards. . . . Meanwhile, Memphis and New Orleans had their "Arks," . . . Philadelphia had its picturesque "bandbox" or "high-hat" houses . . . San Antonio found itself with its "Corrals," single rooms inhabited by Mexican families of as many as eight or ten persons. Youngstown had its "Monkeys Nest". . . There seemed to be no definite end in sight; the slums, the appendage of the poor, appeared to possess enduring life.[99]

With Ickes' encouragement, the Federal Civil Works Administration (CWA) conducted a Real Property Inventory in 1934, examining living conditions in 64 cities nationwide. The CWA report declared that much of the nation's housing was "obsolete." It revealed that 2.3 percent of all dwellings were unfit for human habitation; 15.6 percent needed major structural repair; and only 37.7 percent were in good condition. Many units lacked indoor plumbing, were without access to a private toilet, or had no electricity, and one-third still relied on wood- or coal-burning stoves for heat.[100] The inventory gave statistical proof that the nation suffered from a grave shortage of decent housing, a claim that reformers had made long before the Depression. Edith Elmer Wood, now a consultant to the PWA, estimated that fully one-third of all Americans lived in housing so inadequate as to "injure the health, endanger the safety and morals, and interfere with the normal family life of their inhabitants."[101]

The PWA also highlighted the economic costs of slums. Charles Palmer, the prime force behind the Techwood and University Homes slum clearance projects, reported statistics from Atlanta:

> We found that every individual in the slum was costing the government $33 more

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[99] U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division, *The American Program of Low-Rent Public Housing* (Washington, D. C: Government Printing Office, 1935), pp. 1-2, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, Record Group 196, Entry 3, Box 1.

[100] U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *Urban Housing*, pp. 6-7.

[101] Edith Elmer Wood, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United State*, U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division Bulletin No. 1 (Washington, D. C: Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 3.

> than was collected in taxes. Since 60,000 people in Atlanta are inadequately housed, this represents a subsidy to the slums of $2 million, enough to amortize the investment and pay the interest on $50 million worth of homes. . . . We figure it is better business to subsidize housing than to subsidize slums. As slums are eradicated, insurance rates and police and health expenditures go down and property values go up.[102]

In each city where PWA housing was envisioned and eventually built, the initial interest of the Housing Division's project initiators was in slum clearance. Where slum clearance was not possible, however, local sponsors were offered projects on vacant land. In cities where clearing slums was the sole objective, local applicants sometimes refused to sponsor projects on vacant land, and the Division was forced to withdraw. Cities such as Charleston and Louisville achieved limited slum clearance by demolishing a number of slum dwellings which were approximately equal to the number of units provided in the new housing complexes. Despite the PWA's strong commitment to clearing slums, nearly half of the PWA public housing complexes were built on vacant land.[103]

While housing reformers generally agreed on the need for government subsidies to finance low-income housing, they were divided over the issue of slum clearance. Traditional reformers like Wood and Simkhovitch saw slum clearance as an integral component of public housing. Slum clearance would not only eliminate the blight, overcrowding, and disease caused by substandard housing, but its replacement with new low-income housing would allow the poor to continue to live near their places of employment.[104]

Another group, originating from within the Regional Planning Association of America, believed that slum clearance was a waste of time and money. Catherine Bauer characterized slum clearance as benefitting only the real estate industry intent on selling slum property at inflated prices. She contended that new housing built on former slum sites would be so costly as to force "the dispossessed tenants . . . to move into some neighboring run-down district and crowd it

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[102] Charles F. Palmer, *Adventures of a Slum Fighter* (Atlanta: Tupper and Love, Inc., 1955), p. 8.

[103] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age*, p. 62.

[104] Wood, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States*, p. 20.

more thickly than it was before."[105] Lewis Mumford prescribed a government housing program that would allow the poor to relocate to better housing outside of the cities, using Sunnyside and Radburn as models, stating, "if we wish to produce cheap dwellings, it is to raw land that we must turn. . . . The proper strategy is to forget about the slums as a special problem. . . . When we have built enough good houses in the right places, the slums will empty themselves.[106]

Demise of the Housing Division

The legal issues of slum clearance became the greatest challenge faced by the Housing Division. The PWA acquired many of its slum sites by condemnation, invoking the power of eminent domain granted to it by the NIRA. Those sites held by a single owner or a small group of owners usually posed no significant problems. Complications arose as the number of owners multiplied; some slum sites had hundreds of owners with which the PWA had to negotiate.[107] In Atlanta, for instance, the Housing Division placed a blanket condemnation order over the entire 25-acre Techwood site; it paid 120 property owners $450,320 in compensation for property appraised at $558,554.[108]

Inevitably, a few property owners on each site were unwilling to sell their property to the federal government. A disgruntled owner challenged the PWA in 1935 when it attempted to condemn his property at a proposed site in Kentucky. In *United States v. Certain Lands in the City of Louisville*, a federal district court held that the federal government could not acquire slum property by eminent domain. According to the court, it was not a proper "governmental function to construct buildings in a state for the purpose of selling or leasing them to private citizens for occupancy as homes." The NIRA notwithstanding, the judge found that the federal government had no police power in any state allowing it to condemn and destroy properties that it considers

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[105] Catherine Bauer, "Slum Clearance or Housing," *The Nation* 137 (December 27, 1933), pp. 730-731.

[106] Lewis Mumford, "Break the Housing Blockade," *New Republic* 80 (May 17, 1933), p. 8.

[107] Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), p. 225.

[108] *PWA Land Purchase Record*, July 18, 1936, Project 11-1100, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, Record Group 196.

to be a menace to public health or safety.[109] The federal government did not appeal this decision. As a result, the PWA built all subsequent housing on vacant land or on sites for which it could negotiate clear title.[110]

Although the federal government no longer could undertake slum clearance as a legitimate function, state courts posed no comparable legal obstacles to slum clearance carried out by state agencies. The New York Court of Appeals found in 1936 that the state's use of eminent domain for purposes of slum clearance did constitute a public use. In *New York City Housing Authority v. Muller*, the court listed crime, disease, delinquency, and tax loss as "unquestioned and unquestionable public evils" that the state could alleviate through slum clearance. State authorized local agencies should use their right of eminent domain "to protect and safeguard the entire public from the menace of the slums."[111] It became obvious that local governments, working under state enabling legislation, would have to build and operate housing if a federal program was going to succeed.

Adverse court decisions were not the only cause for concern over the continuation of the PWA housing program. The Housing Division also faced budgetary battles with other New Deal agencies as it became evident that housing construction did not generate employment as quickly as other activities. In September 1935, President Roosevelt rescinded the Housing Division's $120 million allotment from the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, which had been passed in April to supplement the NIRA relief agencies. The Administration rechanneled this money to finance other relief efforts, such as the Works Progress Administration, which could employ a greater number of people, on smaller, less costly projects.[112] The President then ordered that funding for the Housing Division be confined to those projects which it could "put into construction expeditiously," effectively curtailing the housing activities of the PWA.[113]

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[109] William Ebenstein, *The Law of Public Housing* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940), pp. 32-34.

[110] Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing*, p. 86.

[111] Ebenstein, *The Law of Public Housing*, pp. 57-63.

[112] Ellis L. Armstrong, ed., *History of Public Works in the United States 1776-1976* (Chicago: American Public Works Association, 1976), p. 529.

[113] U. S. Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, *Urban Housing*, p. 37.

The Housing Division approved only one additional project after 1935--Baker Homes in Lackawanna, New York--using funds in the amount of $1.5 million that were saved from previous appropriations. Lackawanna, an industrial suburb of Buffalo, was suffering from one of the most serious housing shortages in the country. When visiting the town, PWA project initiators discovered crowded slums worthy of clearing, and an overall housing vacancy rate of less than 1 percent. These two factors combined induced the PWA to build new housing in Lackawanna. As clearing the town's crowded slums prior to building additional housing would have left the slum dwellers with few viable housing options, Baker Homes was built in 1937-38 on a 12-acre vacant site. The 24 buildings, consisting of two-story apartments and rowhouses, were constructed of frame with a veneer of brick, for a land coverage of 25 percent. The apartment units had three rooms, and units in the rowhouses ranged between three and six rooms.[114]

Struggle for Local Control

While the PWA developed its centralized low-rent housing program, it also encouraged state legislatures to enact laws that would enable local governments to participate in housing activities. Although Ickes was determined to retain federal ownership as a means of ensuring the quality of the projects and the honesty of the program, he was willing to allow more local control and management.[115] In September 1933, Ohio was the first state to pass legislation enabling its municipalities to clear slums and build and manage housing. Drafted by Cleveland city councilman Ernest J. Bohn in the hope of attracting PWA housing funds, the Ohio law allowed its cities to set up independent housing authorities that might act more expeditiously outside the confines of the municipal bureaucracy.[116] In December 1934, at the request of Secretary Ickes, President Roosevelt wrote the governors of each state to encourage further legislation.[117] By 1938, 30 states, the District of Columbia and Hawaii, had passed enabling

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[114] Strauss and Wegg, *Housing Comes of Age,* pp. 60, 131-132, 207-208.

[115] Charles Abrams, *The Future of Housing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), p. 257.

[116] Mel Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 319-320.

[117] Timothy McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1957), p. 41.

legislation and nearly 50 communities had established housing authorities,[118] and 13 PWA projects were under the management of their local authority.[119]

Local housing officials formed the National Association of Housing Officials (NAHO) in 1933 to provide technical assistance to inexperienced public housing professionals and to encourage states and the federal government to develop long-term housing policies.[120] In Autumn 1934, Ernest Bohn, president of NAHO, conducted three eminent European housing experts on a 14-city tour of the United States to solicit their evaluation of the American housing situation. On a stop in Cincinnati, Sir Raymond Unwin of the United Kingdom tried to allay one of the most-widely held concerns about public housing:

> I know that many persons over here believe that private enterprise is going to be interfered with by this work. Don't believe it . . . You will see that although we have built 800,000 houses in England by public credit and through municipal enterprise, private enterprise has had the era of its life in the last two years.[121]

Immediately following the tour, NAHO convened a housing conference in Baltimore to discuss the Europeans' recommendations. The Baltimore conference produced *A Housing Program for the United States*, which presented the principles that would form the foundation of the permanent federal public housing program. These principles reflected the tested British practices in providing public housing. The document called on the federal government to create a permanent housing agency for coordination and guidance, but emphasized that "housing is essentially a local matter." Ultimate responsibility for planning and management had to rest with local authorities. It recommended that the federal government should provide a substantial subsidy for local construction and that rents should be set according to the tenants' ability to pay.

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[118] Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing,* p. 89.

[119] National Association of Housing Officials, Coleman Woodbury, ed., *Housing Officials' Year Book 1938* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1938), pp. 120-133.

[120] Coleman Woodbury, "The First Year of the National Association of Housing Officials," in National Association of Housing Officials, Coleman Woodbury, ed., *Housing Officials' Year Book 1935* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1935), p. 58.

[121] Scott, *American City Planning Since 1890*, pp. 324-325.

The report recognized slum clearance as an important goal, but recommended that high-cost, inner-city sites be avoided. The final location of housing, however, like all other housing matters, should be a local decision.[122]

The PWA's highly centralized administration came under severe criticism almost from the beginning of the housing program. In *Modern Housing,* published in 1934, Catherine Bauer denounced the Roosevelt administration for having "only a half-hearted desire to tear down a few of the more spectacular slums" with no real commitment to providing a significant number of replacement units. Having just returned from an extensive tour abroad, Bauer praised the European efforts to allow local governments to produce "millions of low-rental, high-standard, modern dwellings in communities planned carefully to provide a maximum of amenity, pleasantness, efficiency, and long-time economy." She called on labor, as both builder and consumer of housing, to insist that government provide for its housing needs.[123]

Drive for National Legislation

The recommendations of the Baltimore conference were crucial in forming a united coalition for public housing and for building support for a long-range federal program. The National Public Housing Conference drafted a bill based on these recommendations; Senator Wagner introduced it before the Senate in 1935. The Labor Housing Conference had drafted a similar bill for Congressman Henry Ellenbogen of Pennsylvania to present before the House of Representatives. Local labor leaders in Philadelphia, under the direction of Catherine Bauer, had formed the Labor Housing Conference in 1934 to stimulate support for housing among local unions. Neither housing bill was acted upon in 1935.[124]

Further support for public housing came when the American Federation of Labor (AFL) endorsed the efforts of the Labor Housing Conference in October 1935. The AFL backed a resolution which took its cues from both *Modern Housing* and *A Housing Program for the United States*. The resolution called for labor to demand better housing, and it urged the government to stop undercutting the federal housing program by treating it as an emergency

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[122] "Summary of a Housing Program for the United States," in National Association of Housing Officials, Woodbury, ed., *Housing Officials Year Book 1935,* p. 54-57.

[123] Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), pp. 241, 90, 255.

[124] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, pp. 88-111.

relief measure. Instead, the government should subsidize local efforts to ensure that large-scale, well-planned, low- and moderate-income housing could be provided for all families. Communities with good labor policies would be given preference in receiving housing subsidies, and only union labor would be employed for construction. The endorsement by organized labor gave the public housing movement the political clout which it desperately needed by engaging a major segment of Roosevelt's political base.[125]

In December 1935, Senator Wagner began another campaign to see the housing bill through Congress. In a speech before the NPHC, he defended his stand on public housing against attack from the right:

> The object of public housing . . . is not to invade the field of home building for the middle class or the well-to-do. . . . Nor is it even to exclude private enterprise from participation in a low-cost housing program. It is merely to supplement what private industry will do, by subsidies which will make up the difference between what the poor can afford to pay and what is necessary to assure decent living quarters.[126]

Opposition began to organize. One of the strongest and most vocal rebuttals to the philosophy of Wagner and his allies came from the president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), Walter S. Schmidt, of Cincinnati:

> It is contrary to the genius of the American people and the ideals they have established that government become landlord to its citizens. . . .There is sound logic in the continuance of the practice under which those who have initiative and the will to save acquire better living facilities, and yield their former quarters at modest rents to the group below.[127]

Other business organizations followed suit, with the National Association of Retail Lumber Dealers, the U.S. Building and Loan League, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce expressing

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[125] Mary Susan Cole, "Catherine Bauer and the Public Housing Movement," 2 vols. (Ph. D. dissertation, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., 1975), Volume 2, pp. 428-431.

[126] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, p. 136.

[127] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, p. 139.

fierce opposition to public housing legislation.

Wagner and Ellenbogen collaborated on another bill in 1936, which easily passed the Senate in June, but again died in committee in the House. Public housing legislation was not a significant issue in the 1936 Presidential campaign, despite Wagner's insertion of a general commitment to housing for low-income families in the Democratic party platform.[128] Yet following his landslide reelection in November, Roosevelt gave his full support to the Wagner-Ellenbogen Bill, especially after the AFL declared that "organized labor is determined to place the United States Housing Bill on the statute books next year."[129]

The President made his intentions clear to the nation in January 1937. He declared to Congress in his State of the Union address that housing was still one of the "far-reaching problems" for which the country had to find a solution. He cited the fact that millions of Americans continued to live "in habitations . . . which not only fail to provide the . . . benefits of modern civilization but breed disease and impair the health of future generations."[130] A week later he wrote a statement for the NPHC in which he characterized the nation's housing situation as an obstacle to "healthy democracy" and "inimical to the general welfare." He promised to help that body bring their cause "before the people."[131]

The President delivered his strongest show of support to public housing in his second inaugural address on January 20, 1937, in which he stated:

> I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope--because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out. . . . The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we

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[128] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, pp. 235-236.

[129] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, p. 238.

[130] Rosenman, *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt,* Volume 5, p. 637.

[131] Rosenman, *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Volume 5, pp. 685-686.

provide enough for those who have too little.[132]

"One-third of a nation" became a rallying cry for the public housing movement.

The efforts of the PWA during the limited-dividend and direct-built programs had served a number of important objectives during the first half of the 1930s. Not only did they provide an important (if limited) source of public employment during the early years of the Depression and help replace a number of the country's worst urban slums with safe, modern housing, but more importantly they set the stage for the development of more extensive public housing programs during the late 1930s and early 1940s. In the end, the PWA Housing Division described its own work during the period as "demonstration projects," proving the essential feasibility of federal involvement in public housing reform. These early projects provided essential opportunities for experimenting with and improving on new construction methods, design theories, and management principles, all of which added substantially to the body of local and federal experience in planning, constructing, and operating large scale public housing in the United States. During the depths of the Depression, the PWA housing programs provided local communities with more than 26,000 units of new public housing.

As has been shown, the design of public housing flourished during the New Deal. Creativity took precedence over cost control, and many fine projects were built by the PWA in an attempt to provide the maximum employment opportunities for architects and construction labor alike. Yet public housing was becoming institutionalized within a large bureaucracy, influenced by the participation of local communities, and subject to the budgetary scrutiny of Congress. Especially after 1937, factors such as cost limitations and standardization of design soon brought a sense of sameness to public housing that continues to be a defining characteristic of the program even today.

United States Housing Act of 1937

With Presidential support behind them, public housing advocates felt assured of ultimate triumph in their pursuit of a sustained federal public housing program. The United States Housing Act of 1937 passed both houses of Congress by a wide margin in November, establishing a firm federal commitment to provide a supply of decent, low-rent housing to America's urban poor. This Act created the federally funded, locally operated public housing program which continues to

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[132] Rosenman, *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Volume 6, p. 5.

function to this day. Enthusiasm for the program was high among local communities, and over the next five years more than 370 housing projects were built by local public housing authorities with federal subsidies.

Wagner-Steagall Housing Bill
Congressman Henry Steagall of Alabama, chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, replaced Henry Ellenbogen as cosponsor of the Wagner Bill in 1937. Steagall personally opposed public housing, and had killed the bill in committee in 1936. He was willing to bring the bill out of committee under his own sponsorship only after the President gave it his unqualified support.[133] Conceding to Catherine Bauer, Steagall reportedly explained his conversion as a simple matter of party loyalty: "I'm against it, it's socialism, it's Bolshevist, it will bankrupt the country, but the leader wants it."[134] Wagner and Steagall reintroduced the housing bill into their respective houses of Congress in the summer of 1937.

Opponents of public housing testified in force before the House Committee. The Chairman of the Committee on Housing for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce declared that:

> the government should [not] build publicly owned houses to improve the conditions of the poorest families, because it is inconceivable that the public can . . . supply the housing required. . . . Such a process will restrain private efforts on which we must rely if accomplishment over the next ten years is to meet requirements.[135]

The Secretary of the National Lumber Dealers' Association felt that the government should restrict its housing activities to those areas in which private enterprise could not participate, stating:

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[133] William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 135.

[134] Eugenie Ladner Birch, "Woman-made America: The Case of Early Public Housing Policy," in *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections,* ed. Donald A. Krueckeberg (New York: Methuen, 1982), p. 169.

[135] U.S. Congress, House Committee on Banking and Currency, *Hearings on (H. R. 5033) (S. 1685), To Create a U. S. Housing Authority* (Washington, D. C: Government Printing Office, 1937; Bethesda, MD: Congressional Information Service, U. S. Congressional Committee Hearings, Microform Y4.B22/1:H81/3/rev, 1983), p. 249.

> When it is clearly demonstrated that the benefits of this legislation will go to wage earners in the group earning between $1,000 and $750 you are coming dangerously close to direct competition with private industry, which can demonstrate to you that it is today building low-cost houses for wage earners in this group.[136]

Many public housing advocates also came forth with their support, including Secretary Ickes, New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, and housing experts Edith Elmer Wood and Catherine Bauer. The most remarkable show of support, however, came from Stewart MacDonald, Administrator of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), the greatest rival of public housing among the federal housing programs. MacDonald admitted the "undeniable need" for slum clearance in the nation's cities and noted the millions of low-income families who could never afford a private home and thus could not partake of the FHA's services.[137] After two years, the Committee finally relented and recommended that the bill be brought before the House for a vote.

Although there was a general feeling of support for the bill in both houses of Congress, there was much quibbling over the details of finance and operation. A group of rural Congressmen expressed concern that only large cities, and Wagner's New York City in particular, would benefit from the housing program. Time and again they charged that the program would "not be of the slightest service to the rural areas or towns or small cities," and that "it would not apply to more than six, eight, or ten cities in the country." Wagner argued that the housing program would "attack poor housing wherever it existed." Holding Wagner to his pledge, critics pushed through an amendment preventing the expenditure of more than 10 percent of USHA funds in any single state.[138]

Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, a staunch supporter of government economy, was only concerned with the cost of the program. He demanded assurances that the public housing program would not repeat the "extravagant" $16,000 per unit construction costs found at the Resettlement Administration's Greenbelt towns. Byrd's amendment limited construction costs on each project to $1,000 per room and $4,000 per unit (excluding land, demolition, and non-dwelling facilities) in cities under 500,000 population, and $1,250 per room and $5,000 per unit

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[136] U.S. Congress, *To Create a U.S. Housing Authority*, p. 273.

[137] U.S. Congress, *To Create a U.S. Housing Authority*, p. 42.

[138] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, p. 355.

in larger cities, a significant reduction from the earlier PWA average project cost of $6,200 per unit.[139]

Senator David I. Walsh, a proponent of slum reform from Massachusetts, added the "equivalent elimination" provision to the bill, which required the local authority to remove substandard slum units from the local housing supply in a "substantially equal number" to the public housing units it built. The local authority could meet this requirement by "demolition, condemnation, and effective closing," of substandard units, or through rehabilitation by "compulsory repair or improvement." Walsh was determined that slum clearance should remain a goal of public housing and not merely an afterthought. This stipulation also ensured that public housing would not add to the total number of housing units in a community, but would merely improve the quality of housing within the existing supply.[140] This stipulation was supported by many commercial landlords, who feared that expanded housing supplies would lower the rents that could be charged for their rental housing properties. A subsequent amendment in the House allowed deferment from the Walsh amendment if a locality could prove that it suffered from a serious shortage of housing.[141]

These modifications placated much of the immediate apprehension in Congress and allowed the Wagner-Steagall Bill to pass the Senate by a vote of 64 to 16 on August 6, 1937. It passed the House on August 18 by the wide margin of 275 to 86. President Roosevelt signed the bill into law on September 1 as the United States Housing Act of 1937.[142]

United States Housing Act of 1937
The United States Housing Act of 1937 established a permanent low-rent public housing program grounded in a partnership between the federal government and local communities across the nation. It declared that the official policy of the United States government would, for the first time, be:

> To promote the general welfare of the Nation by employing its funds and credit . . . to

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[139] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act,* pp. 324-332.

[140] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, pp. 349-350.

[141] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, p. 393.

[142] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act*, p. 402.

remedy the nonsafe and unsanitary housing conditions and the acute shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low-income, in urban and rural non-farm areas.

It established the United States Housing Authority (USHA) within the Department of the Interior to take charge of the federal program.[143] The USHA could not directly build or manage public housing, as the PWA had done; local public housing authorities (PHAs) established under state enabling legislation were given that function.

According to the provisions of the new legislation, the USHA would make 60-year loans to the PHAs for up to 90 percent of the development cost of low-rent housing or slum clearance projects, with local communities responsible for the remaining 10 percent.[144] To raise funds for these loans, the USHA could sell its tax-exempt bonds in amounts up to $500 million.[145] To service the debt on the federal loan, the USHA would make "annual contributions" to the PHAs to "assist in achieving and maintaining the low-rent character of their housing projects." This contribution, determined in a contract between the USHA and the individual PHA would enable the PHA to set rents no higher than necessary to pay annual operating costs of the project.[146] When asked in debate about families whose income would not allow them even to pay rent based on operating costs, Wagner replied "there are some people whom we cannot possibly reach; . . . this bill cannot provide housing for those who cannot pay the rent minus the subsidy allowed."[147]

Congress authorized the USHA to enter into local contracts of not more than $5 million in 1937, and up to $7.5 million for the next two years; additional appropriations from Congress were necessary after 1939. The local government was also required to make a small contribution to the operation of the local public housing authority, equal to 20 percent of the federal contract,

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[143] *United States Housing Act of 1937, Statutes at Large*, 75th Congress, 1st Session, Chapter 896, September 1, 1937, Public Law 412, Sec. 3(a).

[144] *United States Housing Act of 1937, Statutes at Large*, Sec. 9.

[145] McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act,* pp. 395-397.

[146] *United States Housing Act of 1937, Statutes at Large*, Sec. 10.

[147] Lawrence Meir Friedman, *Government and Slum Housing: A Century of Frustration* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968), p. 109.

usually in the form of an exemption for the public housing project from local property taxes.[148]

With these subsidies, the local public housing authority could assure that its housing would be available only to families "in the lowest income group . . . who cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise in their locality . . . to build an adequate supply of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings for their use."[149] It set the maximum income limits for tenants at no more than five times the rent plus utility costs, and six times for larger families.

United States Housing Authority and Its Housing Projects
Although Secretary Ickes had successfully convinced Congress to place the USHA within the Department of the Interior, President Roosevelt chose to appoint Nathan Straus as the USHA administrator. Ickes, who viewed Straus as a "dilettante" with ties to "that group of starry-eyed people in New York" avoided further direct contact with the public housing program.[150] With enthusiastic support from housing reformers, many of whom firmly believed that expanding the total supply of housing in a community would effectively lower the cost for renters in any given locale, Straus changed the emphasis of the federal housing program. He quickly seized on the deferment clause of the Walsh amendment, and gave priority to construction over slum clearance:

> If the public housing program is put first, low income families that now live in the slums will be immediately benefited, the road will be cleared for the acquisition of slum properties at a fair price, and . . . the chief causes of slum and blight, the lack of decent housing at low rentals, will be remedied.[151]

Straus placed an enthusiastic Catherine Bauer in charge of granting deferments. By 1942, the USHA had built more than 100,000 new housing units but had eliminated fewer than 70,000 substandard slum dwellings. The USHA constructed more than one-third of its projects on

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[148] *United States Housing Act of 1937, Statutes at Large*, Sec. 10.

[149] *United States Housing Act of 1937, Statutes at Large*, Sec. 2.

[150] Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, Vol. 2, *The Inside Struggle, 1936-1939* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 218-219.

[151] Nathan Straus, *The Seven Myths of Housing* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), p. 92.

inexpensive, vacant sites outside of the inner city slums, a practice that inspired much protest from the National Association of Real Estate Boards and commercial developers who wanted to reserve such prime parcels at the outskirts of cities for themselves.[152]

Although willing to sidestep the Walsh amendment, Straus was eager to address the concerns of rural Congressmen by encouraging smaller cities to apply for support from the USHA. In testimony before the House, Straus declared that "we do not subscribe to the principle that slum conditions and the ill-housed poor are phenomena existing only in large metropolitan areas." By 1939, smaller communities, such as Paducah, Kentucky, and Twin Falls, Idaho, began applying for and receiving substantial allotments; fully one-fourth of the USHA allotments went to cities with populations under 25,000.[153] The USHA further broadened its political base that year with the establishment of 205 local public housing authorities in thirty-three states.[154]

The USHA was ultimately responsible for supporting the completion of public housing units for nearly 120,000 families at a total cost upwards of $540,000,000. The 370 housing projects ranged in size from the relatively small projects built for Twin Falls, Idaho (28 units), Williamson, West Virginia (38 units), and Montgomery, Alabama (44 units), to the enormous Ida B. Wells Homes in Chicago (1662 units) and Allequippa Terrace in Pittsburgh (1851 units). Urban centers as diverse as Atlanta, New Orleans, Washington, D.C., and Toledo, Ohio each witnessed the local construction of six to seven USHA-sponsored projects during the 1930s. New York City would claim the largest USHA projects with the impressive Red Hook (2545 units) and Queensbridge (3148 units) Houses, both completed in 1939.[155]

Unlike the centralized organization of the earlier PWA Housing Division, which was responsible for every component of project planning and administration, operations at the newly established USHA were increasingly decentralized. The major focus of responsibility now lay with the local PHAs, while the Washington bureaucracy provided program direction, financial support, and

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[152] Roger Biles, "Nathan Straus and the Failure of U.S. Public Housing, 1937-1942," *The Historian* 53 (Autumn 1990), p. 39.

[153] Mark I. Gelfand, *A Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 64.

[154] Biles, "Nathan Straus and the Failure of U.S. Public Housing," *The Historian*, p. 39.

[155] See Appendix IV--Federal Public Housing Projects 1933-1949.

consulting advice. It has been remarked that the federal government moved from the role of builder to that of banker during the period. Local housing authorities were now responsible for initiating, designing, building, and managing the local housing projects, while the USHA acted as the financial agent. Site analysis, land acquisition, tenant distribution, and project design became the direct prerogative of the local community housing agencies within the constraints of the federal program. The USHA furnished technical guidance and design assistance, as well as project review, through the issuance of program standards, management guidelines, design models, architectural standards, and building prototypes.[156]

The passage of the 1937 United States Housing Act, with its stringent new cost guidelines and objective of providing affordable housing to the poorer segments of the population, led to an increased emphasis on economy and greater standardization in American public housing. For example, though the new legislation revived the languishing Red Hook housing project in New York City, it also placed severe cost restrictions on the renewed project. Originally planned in 1935 with a varied combination of three- and four-story apartment buildings separated by broad boulevards; the design was revised to a series of regularized six-story buildings with elevators on the same multiblock site. The result was a total cost per room nearly half that of earlier PWA efforts in New York City, but at a density far exceeding the well-received Harlem River Houses and Williamsburg projects.[157] Among those entering into the debate over how best to provide economical housing was the National Association of Housing Officials, who published their own report on standardized designs and plans for public housing projects in 1938.[158]

The public housing complexes constructed after 1937 with USHA funding were generally built in the International Style, as the USHA found its "no-frills architecture" well-suited to both their agency's legislative and administrative cost restrictions. As a result, flat roofs, uniform fenestration, and little or no exterior ornamentation became defining features of USHA-funded public housing complexes. These later complexes also did not contain as many amenities as did

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[156] "Public Housing," *The Architectural Forum*, May 1938, pp. 345-349.

[157] Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United States," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37 (December 1978), p. 256.

[158] "Housing Standards," *The Architectural Forum*, May 1938.

the earlier PWA complexes.[159] The USHA did, however, approve a limited number of innovations in their projects. For example, Edison Courts, a 345-unit project constructed in Miami, Florida, in 1939-40, included solar panels on its roof to heat water in the complex's laundry room.[160]

An early project funded by the USHA was the 535-unit James Weldon Johnson Homes. Constructed in North Philadelphia and completed in 1940, this was the first public housing project to be built by the Philadelphia Housing Authority. The city's public housing authority was committed to solving the housing crisis for low-income black residents, and the Johnson Homes were significant as the city's first predominantly black housing complex. Planned by architects W. Pope Barney and Frank R. Watson, the complex was modeled after William Penn's concept of a "green country town," containing public courtyards and other more private outdoor spaces. The 18.4-acre site contained a combination of two- and three-story garden apartment and rowhouse buildings which were oriented toward the center of the site.[161]

The establishment and early efforts of the Philadelphia Housing Authority (Authority) reveal a common pattern of local activity and civic activism that accompanied enactment of the Housing Act of 1937 across the country. The Pennsylvania Legislature, in anticipation of the Act, had approved the Housing Authorities Law of Pennsylvania on May 28, 1937. The state law provided for the establishment of local housing authorities in communities that could provide clear evidence of an immediate need for safe, decent low-rent housing. The Philadelphia City Council identified just such a need in August of 1937, citing "numerous unsafe, insanitary, inadequate, or overcrowded dwellings" and an acute "shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings within the reach of persons of low income," and quickly moved to establish a local housing authority under state law. The Philadelphia Housing Authority's first volunteer members included influential local businessmen and professionals, including representatives

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[159]Szylvian, Kristin M., "Bauhaus on trial: Aluminum City Terrace and Federal Defence Housing Policy during World War II," *Planning Perspectives* 9 (1994), pp. 232, 234.

[160]Szylvian, "Bauhaus on trial: Aluminum City Terrace and Federal Defence Housing Policy during World War II," *Planning Perspectives*, p. 234; Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, p. 230.

[161] Carol Benenson Perloff and Abby Victor, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "James Weldon Johnson Homes," March 15, 1995, Revised July 19, 1995, pp. 7.1, 8.5.

from the building and real estate fields, and the President of the Building Trades Council of Philadelphia, James L. McDevitt. Labor had played an important role in the passage of the 1937 Housing Act and local interest in employment generating opportunities like public housing projects was keen.[162]

The Authority's initial efforts focused on identifying the physical and financial needs of the local housing market. Funded with startup money from the City, the Authority undertook a number of studies to assess the most pressing needs of the program, including the location of the city's worst slums, the ethnic and racial dimensions of the housing problem, and the suitability of locations for possible new housing. The Authority evaluated many different factors in choosing possible sites, taking into account zoning regulations, comprehensive planning studies, population distribution, the condition of existing homes, the existence of community facilities such as transportation, schools, churches, and employment opportunities, and the existence of physical elements such as utilities and roads. From an initial list of 23 sites, the Authority eventually selected three sites for proposed low-rent housing projects. Taking advantage of the clause in the U. S. Housing Act that allowed deferring slum clearance in cases where severe overcrowding would result, the Authority was able to initiate housing project plans on vacant or nearly vacant land for two of its first three projects.[163]

Armed with plans for the development of 2,859 units of low-rent housing the Authority approached the USHA for financial assistance and project guidance. By June of 1939, the Authority had contracts with the USHA for $32 million of slum clearance and low-rent housing for Philadelphia. In addition to the James Weldon Johnson project discussed above, the Authority used the USHA money to complete the 1000-unit Tasker Homes in 1941 and the 1324-unit Richard Allen Homes project in 1942. The Authority also took over management of the PWA-built 258-unit Hill Creek housing project, which had been completed in 1938. To adequately handle the influx of applications for apartments in the city's new low-income projects, the Authority established field offices at each project for tenant selection and management. The field offices offered relocation services for those displaced from housing as a

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[162]Carol Benenson Perloff, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Public Housing in Philadelphia," March 15, 1995, pp. E.2.

[163]Perloff, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Public Housing in Philadelphia," March 15, 1995, pp. E.2-E.4; Philadelphia Housing Authority, "Clearing Slums in Philadelphia: First Annual Report of the Philadelphia Housing Authority, (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 17.

result of slum clearance and devised criteria assessing the suitability of applicants for housing units in the different projects. While financial need was the overriding criterion, the Authority, as a matter of policy, sought to make the racial balance of a project compatible with the surrounding neighborhood.[164]

The Authority also saw an important role for itself in fostering public support for its programs and the new housing projects. The Authority took every opportunity to educate the public, potential residents, neighbors, and influential officials in their programs, using city newspapers, ground breaking and dedication ceremonies, tours of sample homes, radio broadcasts, and a host of pamphlets and printed material. The Authority also constructed models of the units to allow interested citizens a first-hand glimpse of the evolving public housing programs being undertaken in their community.[165] The Authority, like housing authorities established in hundreds of other communities during the 1930s, played an essential role in supporting, promoting, and carrying out local public housing reform. The projects they built in association with the USHA represented an enormous outlay of time, effort, and civic resources. In some cases these projects reflected the most significant Depression-era activities undertaken within a local community **[Figure 9]**.

Fostering a sense of community was also important in the public housing financed by the USHA. In 1939-40, the Wilmington Housing Authority in North Carolina constructed two public housing projects, the 216-unit Charles T. Nesbitt Courts, intended for white tenants, and the 246-unit Robert R. Taylor Homes, intended for black tenants. The local housing authority organized a wide variety of social, educational, and recreational events for the residents of the two complexes, held in each neighborhood's community building. Activities at the Taylor Homes included a choir, a nondenominational children's Bible school, card clubs, dancing classes, a nursery school staffed by the Works Progress Administration, and publishing a neighborhood newsletter.[166]

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[164]Perloff, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Public Housing in Philadelphia," March 15, 1995, pp. E.3-E.4.

[165]Perloff, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Public Housing in Philadelphia," March 15, 1995, p. E.5.

[166]Szylvian, Kristin M., "Public Housing Comes to Wilmington, North Carolina," *North Carolina Humanities* 3, 1 (Spring/Summer 1995), pp. 54, 56.

The Ida B. Wells Homes in Chicago, completed by the Chicago Housing Authority in January 1941, was the last of the prewar public housing projects to be constructed as a result of the legislation [**Figures 10 and 11**]. When completed, it was the largest public housing project in Chicago and among the largest in the country. The complex, planned by the PWA and built by the Chicago Housing Authority, contained 868 apartments in three- and four-story buildings and 794 two-story rowhouses, which covered 24 percent of the total land area. The Wells Homes was the first public housing project in Chicago to include a city park within its boundaries.[167]

The USHA surmounted its first political hurdle in 1938 when Congress increased its funding from $500 million to $800 million. With the 1938 election, however, antagonism toward the program began to grow. A downturn in the national economy and a strong anti-New Deal sentiment brought in a Congress much more responsive to the complaints of private enterprise against public housing. Ironically, in 1939, a much brighter economy and a recovery in the construction industry made public housing seem superfluous. In an unusual action, the House of Representatives refused to consider a bill to extend the public housing program beyond its originally mandated three-year period.[168] Congress would extend no further funding to low-rent public housing until 1949.

From an architectural perspective, the increasing USHA emphasis on standardized unit plans and restrictive budgets conspired to significantly inhibit creativity in housing design. Economy of materials and design took precedence over the exploration of new design alternatives, resulting in what some critics have labeled an "unnecessarily barrackslike and monotonous" look.[169] The social-psychological elements of project planning so important in the earlier years were replaced by the goal of meeting minimum human needs of clean air and light within increasingly limited budgets. The result was the completion of substantial numbers of new modern housing units, but each lacking the aesthetic embellishments of earlier models. While the overall architecture of the housing projects built under the USHA did not match that of the PWA---although certain exemplary models were completed--the design work executed during the late 1930's and early

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[167] "Report on Chicago Housing Authority Developments, Eligible for the National Register of Historic Places," April 18, 1994, Section II, Part D.

[168] Nathaniel Keith, *Politics and the Housing Crisis Since 1930* (New York: Universe Books, 1973), p. 38-39.

[169] Pommer, "The Architecture of Urban Housing in the United State during the Early 1930s." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 37 (December 1978) p. 256.

1940s still represents a significant body of modernistic architecture, of a scale and form unlike almost anything built up to that time in America.

During its three-year reign, the USHA greatly expanded the number of public housing units available to low-income residents across the country. These housing projects reflected significant cooperative ventures between local housing authorities and the federal government to reduce slums, provide a much needed economic stimulant to a rebuilding economy, and supply adequate, safe housing to thousands of poor and low-income residents.

Public Housing in World War II

Just as Congressional interest in public housing began to wane at the end of the Great Depression, World War II provided new impetus for the continuation and expansion of federal housing efforts. As German armies swept through western Europe in the spring of 1940 and overwhelmed the opposing French and British forces, the United States quickly turned away from its own domestic problems to confront the ominous threats to its national security. Unlike its reaction to World War I, the nation almost immediately set itself on a course toward war. Industrial capacity increased tremendously, both at established manufacturing centers such as Chicago and Detroit and at new sites on the west coast and elsewhere throughout the nation. A great migration of civilian population moved toward these cities, and the nation's inadequate stock of urban housing soon became a serious threat to the productive potential of America's vital war industries. Decent and inexpensive housing for defense industry workers and their families became as much a part of the wartime construction program as did cantonments for the military or shipyards and factories for manufacturing the tools of war. The federal government revived the public housing program in mid-1940, but changed the goal of the program from that of housing low-income families to housing defense workers on the homefront.

The prewar debate over the propriety of direct government housing construction quickly resumed. Although public housing advocates embraced their new role in the nation's defense effort, they struggled to ensure that the war would not undermine their long-range goal of a permanent low-rent public housing program. They encouraged the federal government to place planning and management responsibilities for defense housing with the United States Housing Authority and its vast network of local housing officials, both to benefit from the experience of the pre-war housing program and to ensure continuation of that program after the war. They also argued for the construction of sturdy, well-designed defense housing projects that would readily convert to low-rent use after the war to meet the inevitable postwar housing shortage.

Private enterprise and its supporters in Congress, on the other hand, once again mounted a vigorous opposition to public housing. They claimed that only private industry could offer the speed and efficiency necessary to meet the immediate demand for defense housing. Government efforts, they argued, should concentrate on loans and mortgage guarantees to support private construction. Public construction should be limited only to temporary, inexpensive accommodations that would pose no competition on the postwar housing market. The success of this argument against government-built defense housing severely limited the extent of the public housing program during the war, and delayed resumption of the program for many years afterwards.

National Defense Act

During the year and a half prior to the United States' entry into World War II in December 1941, an estimated three million war workers and their families--a total of about 8 to 10 million Americans--migrated to jobs in the nation's 200 or so defense industrial centers. Approximately 1.7 million of these workers found accommodations in existing housing, decent or otherwise, leaving 1.3 million families dependent on new construction.[170] Throughout 1940 and 1941, Congress passed a number of laws designed to increase public and private housing construction to meet this staggering demand.

Despite its reluctance to fund the public housing program after 1939, Congress included responsibilities for the United States Housing Authority under the National Defense Act in June 1940. Known as Public Law 671, this act had been proposed at the request of the nation's military leaders and received bipartisan support as a means "to expedite shipbuilding and other purposes" related to the ongoing defense buildup. Much to the chagrin of conservatives in the House of Representatives, however, these "other purposes" included a new and expanded role for public housing in the national war effort.[171] Title II of P. L. 671 authorized the USHA to assist the more than 500 local housing authorities and to cooperate with the Navy and War Departments to make "necessary housing available for persons engaged in national defense activities." These included enlisted military personnel and civilian employees on military reservations, as well as civilian workers with families who were employed in essential defense

[170] Keith, *Politics and the Housing Crisis Since 1930*, pp. 42-43.

[171] "Defense Housing," *Architectural Forum,* 73 (November 1940), p. 441.

industries.[172]

Although P. L. 671 was generally an extension of the United States Housing Act of 1937, it exempted defense housing from several important limitations set by Congress on the original low-rent public housing program. For the duration of the emergency, the act provided the USHA with federal powers of condemnation that would allow it to acquire large parcels of land that it could resell cheaply to local authorities without the threat of costly court battles. It also allowed the USHA to finance 100 percent of individual defense housing project costs, eliminating the requirement that local communities must contribute a 10 percent share to each project.[173] These new stipulations helped to centralize power back to the federal housing agency away from the local authorities, allowing the federal government more control over defense housing allocations.

More significantly, however, P. L. 671 abandoned the two hallmarks of the program which had defined the philosophy of public housing before the war. First, the act waived the low-income requirement for tenancy and made defense housing available to all workers facing the housing shortage. It ordered local authorities to "fix rentals" at variable rates to be within the financial reach of all families engaged in defense activities. Then the new act exempted local authorities from the "equivalent elimination" clause, no longer requiring the demolition of an equal number of slum housing units for all public housing units built.[174] Consciously or not, Congress gave credence to the earlier views of Lewis Mumford and Catherine Bauer that had proven so divisive among public housing advocates before the war. For a while, at least, the war had opened public housing to a wider spectrum of American society, and had shown that slum clearance was expensive, time consuming, and wasteful of available housing in a limited market.

The National Defense Act made no new appropriations for public housing, but instead allowed the USHA to use up to $150 million in unexpended funds from its final $800 million prewar appropriation.[175] All low-rent public housing projects that were in various stages of planning or construction were to be reassessed under P.L. 671 for their possible contribution to the national

[172] *National Defense Act, U. S. Statutes at Large*, 76th Congress., 2nd and 3rd Sessions, Chapter 440, June 28, 1940, Public Law 671, Title II, Sec. 201.

[173] *National Defense Act, U.S. Statutes at Large*, Sec. 204.

[174] *National Defense Act, U.S. Statutes at Large*, Sec.204.

[175] "Defense Housing," *Architectural Forum,* p. 441.

defense program. Only those projects which the President had determined to be in areas with "an acute shortage of housing" would be completed.[176] Projects under construction by local housing authorities in vital defense areas would be converted solely to use by defense industry workers and their families. Other projects in areas which did not suffer from the crush of migrant war workers, but which nonetheless continued to face severe housing shortages, were completed only when the supply of manpower and precious building materials would allow.[177]

Local housing authorities in strategic defense areas quickly converted their unfinished projects from low-rent to defense housing. By the beginning of 1942, more than 65,000 low-rent public housing units which had been under construction or ready for occupancy in late 1940 were converted to defense housing by local housing authorities. In Los Angeles, California, for instance, the local housing authority was operating nine projects with nearly 2,700 units of housing exclusively for workers in the aviation and other defense industries. By contrast, the 610-unit Ramona Gardens, the first public housing project built by the local housing authority in 1940-41, was the only project in Los Angeles to serve the general low-income population during the war. Other housing authorities on the West Coast--San Francisco, Oakland, and Richmond in California and those in and around Seattle, Washington--soon had huge stocks of housing serving the aviation or shipping industries. On the east coast, housing authorities in Virginia, Philadelphia, and Baltimore provided housing for shipyard workers, those in Pittsburgh and Chicago served the steel mills, in Houston the petroleum industry, and in Detroit migrant workers who had come north to build tanks and trucks for the automotive industry.

A representative example of a USHA project which was converted to defense housing was San Felipe Courts, the largest of the four public housing complexes constructed in Houston, Texas, between 1939 and 1944. Built on the site of a former black slum, San Felipe Courts displaced poor black residents in order to create a public housing complex for poor white tenants. The project was designed in 1940, and the first 564 units were constructed between 1940 and 1942. When the United States entered into World War II, the project had to be reclassified to defense housing so that it could be completed. The remaining 436 units were then constructed between 1943 and 1944. The completed complex consisted of 68 two-story housing blocks, 12 three-story blocks, and two two-story Project Center buildings occupying a site of 37 acres. Set in

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[176] *National Defense Act, Statutes at Large,* Sec. 201.

[177] Herbert Emmerich, "Public Housing in 1941," in National Association of Housing Officials, Coleman Woodbury, ed., *Public Housing Officials' Yearbook 1942* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1942), p. 10.

parallel rows of thin rectangular slabs, their long sides facing north and south framing long rectangular garden courts, the buildings were of reinforced concrete and masonry construction **[Figure 12]**. Conceived of as the Housing Authority of the City of Houston's premier housing project due to its size and prominent location, the completed design received critical attention. Architectural periodicals of the time noted the project's well-designed unit's plans, the integration of units of differing size into row houses, and the contrasting three-story blocks which occupied the central area. The project was one of only two Texas low-income developments to receive such recognition. The project architects were Associated Housing Architects of Houston, a consortium of twelve Houston architectural firms formed during the Depression. The lead project architect was Karl Kamrath, a respected modernist architect with the local firm of MacKie & Kamrath. J. Allen Meyers, Jr. was the landscape architect.[178] Because the project was reclassified, and not originally conceived as defense housing, it was better designed and built than other solely defense projects.[179]

The USHA, however, was not content to merely convert existing projects into defense housing. Nathan Straus, chief administrator for the USHA, quickly realized that local housing authorities would have to pursue aggressive construction programs during the war in order to ensure public housing's survival after the war. By February 1941, Straus had approved new loans to twenty housing authorities under the terms of P. L. 671 for the construction of 6,344 units of defense housing. Straus recommended that all local housing authorities look to their postwar needs when planning defense housing. Permanent structures built as integral parts of the local housing program would, according to Straus, become "available to families from the slums on the same low-rent basis . . . as our regular program" after the defense emergency had passed. The first defense housing project, Moreno Court, opened its 200 units to defense workers and their families in Pensacola, Florida, in November 1940, just 87 days after construction had begun.[180]

Wartime construction would introduce significant new problems and urgencies into the national

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[178]Stephen Fox, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "San Felipe Courts Historic District" December 1987, pp. 7.1, 8.1-8.8

[179]Fox, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "San Felipe Courts Historic District," December 1987, pp. 8.1-8.8.

[180] Nathan Straus, "Public Housing, 1940-1941," in National Association of Housing Officials, Coleman Woodbury, ed., *Housing Officials' Yearbook 1941* (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1941), pp. 235-236.

housing picture. The scarcity of construction materials and short time lines required major adjustments from peacetime standards in order to carry out the mandates of wartime housing. Design work, which had already become increasingly standardized under the USHA program, was restrained even more. The well-planned pedestrian courts and varied building units of early housing projects gave way to rows of increasingly severe and regularized buildings lacking all but minor architectural elaboration **[Figures 13 and 14]**. Maximum program efficiency, which allowed the erection of projects like Pensacola's Moreno Court in just 87 days, became the watchword.

Lanham Act

The National Defense Act was merely the first step in the federal wartime housing program. The military looked to the USHA and local housing authorities as the only means available at the time to provide an immediate program of defense housing. It soon became apparent, however, that sufficient production of housing for millions of migrating war workers would require a much greater effort on the part of the federal government, as well as close coordination with private housing activities. Early in July 1940, President Roosevelt appointed Charles Palmer to the newly created position of Defense Housing Coordinator. Palmer was a highly regarded realtor from Atlanta who had been the driving force behind the construction of Techwood Homes, the nation's first direct-built public housing project built by the PWA in 1935-36. It now became his duty to analyze needs and allocate assignments for construction of defense housing by the public and private sectors.[181]

Palmer's office commissioned the Twentieth Century Fund, a prestigious New York research foundation, to undertake a general survey of housing conditions in the United States.[182] *Housing for Defense*, written by Miles L. Colean and published in 1940, soon became the guiding doctrine of the nation's early wartime housing policy as advanced by Palmer. Drawing on the missteps and delays experienced during World War I, Colean insisted that the federal government consider workers' housing as an essential component of the nation's defense program; he recommended that the government act at once to assure an adequate supply of dwelling units conveniently located near industrial activity, before the conflict drew the United

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[181] Philip J. Funigiello, *The Challenge to Urban Liberalism* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1978), p. 80.

[182] Miles L. Colean, *Housing for Defense: A Review of the Role of Housing in Relation to America Defense and a Program for Action* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1940), p. vii.

States in as a full combatant.[183]

According to Colean, however, government's primary role should be to facilitate private housing construction through federal loans and mortgage insurance. He also advised the federal government to coordinate all new industrial construction as much as possible around existing housing supplies and labor surpluses, so as to avoid all unnecessary construction or migration. Only as a "last resort" should the federal government undertake direct housing construction, in order to avoid unnecessary competition with private enterprise. Since wartime wages would be relatively high, Colean felt that the vast majority of defense workers could easily afford housing on the open market. Public housing built by local housing authorities should be limited to its original intent: to provide shelter for those families whose incomes placed them clearly beyond the reach of even the most inexpensive private rental housing. He opposed opening public housing to all defense workers regardless of income, as P. L. 671 had allowed.[184]

Colean's report immediately renewed the confrontation between public housing advocates and private enterprise. Congressional conservatives like Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia and Republicans from rural constituencies were quick to endorse the diminished role of public housing. They did not want defense housing funds to be appropriated to the USHA for its "socialistic experiments" in the big cities. They were more adamant than ever that public housing should not emerge after the war to compete with private enterprise.[185] Palmer declared in the *New York Times* in November 1940 that "sociology" was not part of his job and refused to support any federal efforts that would provide public competition to the postwar housing industry.[186]

In direct opposition to the USHA, Palmer drafted a new housing bill that would severely restrict federal efforts to build public war housing. Introduced in the House on behalf of Palmer by Republican Congressman Fritz Lanham of Texas, the so-called "Lanham Act" was signed into law by President Roosevelt in October 1940. The Lanham Act provided $150 million to the Federal Works Administration to provide massive amounts of federally built housing quickly and

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183 Colean, *Housing for Defense*, p. 126.

184 Colean, *Housing for Defense*, pp. 127-140.

185 *Congressional Record,* October 25, 1940.

186 Funigiello, *The Challenge to Urban Liberalism*, p. 84.

cheaply in the most congested defense industry centers. As can be expected in a wartime crisis, the Lanham Act emphasized both speed in construction and economy of materials. Between 1940 and 1944, the federal government built approximately 625,000 units of housing under the Lanham Act and its amendments with a total appropriation of nearly $1 billion. More than 580,000 Lanham Act units were of temporary construction, such as demountable plywood dormitories and trailers, that would pose no competition to private enterprise either during the war or after.[187]

The Division of Defense Housing of the Federal Works Agency was created in April 1941 to undertake direct supervision of the new defense housing program. The timely completion of defense housing was paramount under the new program and the Lanham Act clearly spelled out maximum unit costs, which were much lower than USHA housing guidelines. As amended, the Lanham Act eventually required that the average cost of all permanent dwelling units be no greater than $3750 per family unit, with no single unit exceeding $4500, including construction costs, contractor's fees, and equipment. Where possible it was assumed that projects would be constructed for less, if local conditions allowed. These severe restrictions placed additional constraints on the architectural design and planning for new housing under the Lanham Act **[Figure 15]**. [188]

While the scale of the new program dictated central control in directing certain aspects of the program, such as the preparation of standard plans, the mass purchase of scarce supplies, and the development of overall program guidelines, the construction and management aspects of the operation were quickly decentralized to regional offices. Wherever possible, local communities and public housing authorities actively participated in determining what type of development would occur in a particular area and the selection of architects. Where this partnering was not possible, the Federal government commissioned architects directly and supervised construction.

In Philadelphia, survey work undertaken by the Regional Defense Housing Coordinator and the Philadelphia Housing Authority determined that the City's long-range needs for low-rent housing dictated that a portion of the defense housing should be of permanent construction, with the idea that it would be converted to low-rent housing at the end of the war. Lanham Act funds for the

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[187] Mary K. Nenno, "Housing in the Decade of the 1940s," in Gertrude Fish, ed., *The Story of Housing*, p. 248.

[188] National Housing Agency, Federal Public Housing Authority, Standards for Defense Housing, Lanham Act Projects, March 1942, p. 2.

construction of 2,400 units of defense housing were subsequently allocated to the housing authority, which was designated as agent of the Federal Works Administrator for the construction and management of the defense projects. The Federal government acquired and retained ownership of the land. The 2400 units of permanent defense housing built in Philadelphia were distributed among four projects: Passyunk Homes, Abbottsford Homes, Bartram Village, and Oxford Village. Earlier construction efforts, funded by the USHA under Public Law 671, were responsible for smaller additions to the James Weldon Homes and Tasker Homes. In 1943, Lanham Act funds were also used to construct four temporary housing projects in Philadelphia, all of which were demolished after the war.[189]

In Philadelphia the architectural design aspects of project planning were managed by contracting with an architectural staff called the Technical Board, which coordinated the work of the various architects and construction contractors hired for the specific projects. The design contracts were awarded to consortiums of architects who could provide the manpower and technical expertise necessary for such large-scale projects. Many of the city's premier designers were involved in the war effort. The results of the severe limitations on budget and time were clearly visible in the built projects, as rather unimaginative, repetitive buildings became more common. A combination of increasing standardization and war-time pragmatism resulted in a de-emphasis on aesthetics in favor of a more utilitarian approach to design and construction. The divergence was most apparent in communities where examples existed of housing projects built during several different eras.[190]

Although many Lanham Act projects were managed by local housing authorities, the Act specifically retained project ownership by the federal government. To restrict the public housing program further, Congress amended the Lanham Act in July 1943 to stipulate that no additional housing could be built under this act after the war was over, and that existing units would be disposed of "within two years after the President should declare an end to the war emergency." It specifically forbade the use of such housing after the war as subsidized housing for low income

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[189]Perloff, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Public Housing in Philadelphia," March 15, 1995, p. E.5-E.6.

[190] Perloff, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Public Housing in Philadelphia," March 15, 1995, p. E.5-E.7.

families.[191]

Public housing supporters quickly spoke out against the Lanham Act. Charles Abrams, of the New York Housing Authority, posed a telling question in the title of an article in *The Nation* published just four days after passage of the Lanham Act: "Must Defense Wreck Housing?" Abrams warned that temporary housing had a bad habit of becoming permanent housing after such previous emergencies as the Galveston flood and the San Francisco earthquake. He predicted that the temporary housing of the Lanham Act would become new slums "of vice and contagion" in the face of a postwar housing "famine." All the valiant work of the New Deal slum clearance program would be reversed by the "short-sighted plans" of real estate interests trying to protect their investments.[192]

Nathan Straus continued to advocate the resumption of the low-rent public housing program after the war. He felt that only by continuing and expanding the wartime program would "community revitalization through slum clearance and the provision of decent inexpensive housing" progress after the war.[193] In testimony before Congress in October 1941, Straus accused Palmer of "heeding the siren song of the speculator" by accepting the "erroneous notion" that private enterprise could provide a large part of defense housing. He declared that Congress should entrust the entire defense housing program to the USHA which, because it functioned through established local housing authorities, could best serve both the federal defense program and the needs of local communities and industry.[194]

Edith Elmer Wood also became an outspoken critic of the early defense housing program. Like Colean, she used the World War I experience to advance her argument, warning that "private

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[191] Paul F. Wendt, *Housing Policy: The Search for Solutions* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963), p. 154.

[192] Charles Abrams, "Must Defense Wreck Housing?," *The Nation* 151 (October 19, 1940), pp. 361-362.

[193] Biles, "Nathan Straus and the Failure of U.S. Public Housing, 1937-1942," *The Historian*, p. 42.

[194] U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *To Transfer from the District of Columbia Departments and Independent Agencies to Other Localities*, H. Res. 209, 77th Congress, 1st Session 1942, Part 8, pp. 138-141.

enterprise will not produce housing for an emergency of uncertain duration . . . because there is too much risk involved."[195] She called on the federal government to place existing dwelling units under strict rent control and to begin a massive program of public housing construction in coordination with the expansion of industry. Graduated rents, according to Wood, could make public housing available to a wider range of defense workers, rather than just to those of the lowest incomes. Looking to the future, she advocated that all new public housing built for the defense program should be well-designed and of substantial construction, so that it could be incorporated into a city's public housing program after the war.[196]

Planning for Postwar Housing

The Lanham Act was clearly a victory for private enterprise and foretold the difficult fight that public housing faced after the war. All told, local housing authorities built only 48,000 new units of defense housing during the war, hardly a dent in the inevitable need for low-income housing after the war. No bills for additional appropriations to the USHA were even suggested to Congress during the war. Private enterprise, on the other hand, flourished during the war. Congress showed itself to be far more favorable to allowing the federal government to provide tents and trailers for temporary accommodations, while private developers received the benefit of an expanded federal mortgage guarantee program in March 1941. Private developers built nearly 900,000 new housing units during the war, primarily small, affordable single family homes built apart from the inner city near the wartime industrial centers. These new developments would form the nucleus of postwar suburbanization, and would further jeopardize the public housing program as it had been originally envisioned.[197]

Nathan Straus resigned in disgust in 1942, with more than a sense of relief from the President. Roosevelt had blamed Straus' stubbornness in the face of an antagonistic Congress for the failure

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[195] Edith Elmer Wood, "Building for Defense," *Architectural Forum,* 75 (April 1941), p. 28.

[196] Edith Elmer Wood, "Public Housing: Defense and Normal," Public Housing Progress 4 (February-April 1941), pp. 1-2.

[197] Nenno, “Housing in the Decade of the 1940s,” in Fish, ed., *The Story of Housing*, pp. 248-249.

of public housing to gain more of the share of federal housing money during the war.[198] The President took the opportunity of Straus' resignation to consolidate the public housing program and 16 other federal housing agencies under the new National Housing Agency (NHA). Under the NHA, the public housing program and the various other federal construction programs were further consolidated under the Federal Public Housing Administration (FPHA). For the rest of the war, the FPHA contented itself with the construction of temporary war housing and the administration of the existing public housing program. Public housing once again seemed to have faded from federal priorities.

Concerns about housing shortages after the war, however, soon brought a revival of the public housing program back into the realm of postwar possibilities. In November 1944, the National Housing Agency had published a preliminary estimate of the nation's postwar housing need. It calculated that 12,600,000 non-farm dwelling units would be needed in the United States during the first ten years after the war. The NHA estimated that 36 per cent of the total number of units required after the war would be needed in the $30 or less per month rent range, which was considered to be low-rental housing for low-income families. The NHA inferred in its report that the nation could not expect private enterprise to supply new units at such a low monthly rent, citing the lack of profit opportunities that would entice private builders to enter this market.[199]

In light of the NHA's pessimistic predictions for the supply of low-rent private housing, the FPHA surveyed local housing authorities to assess the postwar needs for additional public housing. Their survey asserted that no new public housing would be provided where low-rent needs could be met by existing housing or where a substantial gap did not exist between potential and actual rentals charged in public housing. Even with these restrictions, 336 housing authorities proposed the need for 360,000 new public housing units within the next five years, at a total estimated development cost of nearly $2 billion. It was evident, in the opinion of the FPHA, that these estimates were legitimate and that they demonstrated an urgent need for a major postwar program of public housing construction.[200] It was now up to Congress to provide

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[198] Biles, "Nathan Straus and the Failure of U.S. Public Housing, 1937-1942," *The Historian*, p. 45.

[199] National Housing Agency, *National Housing Needs* (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 5-6.

[200] National Housing Agency, *Fourth Annual Report* (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1945), p. 238.

new appropriations to expand the program to meet postwar housing needs.

The inevitable crisis in housing followed the war, with the nation's main focus on returning veterans. Although the G. I. Bill had guaranteed special loans for veterans when it was passed in 1944, the private construction industry was unable to gear up for the massive influx of veterans onto the market at war's end. Public housing was called on to provide a cushion for the veterans until their private housing needs could be met.

An executive order was issued in 1945 to give priority to veterans in disposition of defense housing projects built under Public Law 671. According to the law, these projects would revert to low-income status as soon as it could be determined that they were no longer required to serve specific war needs. Although these projects had remained in the inventories of the local housing authorities, the conversion process was to involve a gradual shift to low-rent status.[201] By February 1946, the FPHA had identified 132 of the 190 defense housing projects as no longer needed for war use. Local housing authorities, at the insistence of the federal government, agreed to make defense housing projects available to veterans regardless of their income status, and immediately began the task of conversion.[202] This conversion process would continue into the 1950s, ending ultimately in the absorption of all P. L. 671 projects into the low-rent housing program.

The second problem facing the FPHA concerned the housing built under the Lanham Act. Although the original intention was to demolish temporary war housing, the extreme housing shortage caused local communities to move more slowly with their disposition. Local housing authorities in Chicago, Detroit, and Washington, D. C., among other cities, continued to operate non-permanent housing projects into the early 1950s, primarily to supplement veterans housing. Although the flimsy, temporary structures were eventually abandoned by local housing authorities, the postwar housing shortage convinced Congress to include a provision in the Housing Act of 1950 for the disposal of permanent Lanham Act housing by the Public Housing Administration, the post-war successor to the FPHA. This act authorized the Public Housing Administration to dispose of emergency war housing through demolition or by sale to

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[201] National Housing Agency, *Fifth Annual Report* (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 238.

[202] National Housing Agency, *Fifth Annual Report*, p. 259.

educational institutions, veterans' groups, nonprofit organizations, or local housing authorities.[203] Over 24,000 dwelling units in 82 projects built under terms of the Lanham Act were transferred to local housing authorities for use in their public housing programs. Housing authorities were required to pay net operating receipts from these units to the federal government over a 40-year period.[204]

Public Housing After 1949

With post-war prosperity at hand, public housing proponents faced a long battle in Congress before they could be assured of its survival. Despite its detractors, however, public housing had become an integral part of federal housing policy, and it continues to be built in the United States to this day. Public housing constructed in the United States after 1949 reflects changes in architecture, architectural theory, and public policy. The overall character of the architecture of later public housing is a striking contrast to the public housing that had preceded it. The humanizing scale of earlier complexes, created by placing low-rise buildings within carefully landscaped settings, was replaced with high-rise towers set in large, open courtyards. The high-rise tower, viewed as a symbol of economic efficiency, social order, and modern design, replaced the low-rise building as the preferred building type for public housing constructed after 1949.[205]

Beginning in the 1950s, many massive public housing projects were constructed across the country in an attempt to create large quantities of much-needed housing at a controlled cost. Subsequent studies showed that these high-rise complexes actually cost more than their low-rise relations, due to the combined costs of purchasing inner-city land, construction, and maintenance. These later projects had a simple, unified appearance, and by virtue of their size and placement, stood apart from their surroundings, in contrast to the earlier small-scale projects that were designed to blend with their surroundings. The monotonous standardization of "stripped modern" exterior architectural detailing gave later public housing a severe, institutional appearance, in contrast to the innovative designs and more residential quality of earlier complexes. Later public housing complexes had much higher site densities than did earlier ones, having both taller buildings with more units, and a greater number of buildings per complex. The interiors of later public housing complexes also contrasted with the earlier ones, having

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[203] *Housing Act of 1950, Statutes at Large,* 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Chapter 94, Public Law 475, April 20, 1950, Title VI.

[204] Fisher, *Twenty Years of Public Housing,* p. 107.

[205] Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, pp. 233-237.

smaller units with smaller rooms, connected by long hallways.[206]

These physical changes in later public housing were mirrored by corresponding shifts in the era's public policy. One important aspect of that policy shift was in the constituency targeted for access to public housing. The early proponents of large scale public housing had envisioned their efforts as contributing to the betterment of low-income wage earners, both black and white. Fostering a "sense of community" among these marginal groups was a critical tenet of the early programs. The very poor and those at the lowest levels of the economic ladder were simply deemed beyond the reach of such housing programs; they would remain the responsibility of charity and social workers, the police, and the courts. In the late 1950s, however, the real possibility of eliminating poverty began to turn federal housing programs from assisting not just the working poor, but also to serving the more economically disadvantaged segments of the urban population. The social, cultural, and economic changes this shift created would have lasting effects on public housing programs.

Among other changes resulting from era policies included the escalation of racial tensions due to the increased enforcement of segregation and the initiation of substantial urban renewal projects during the 1950s and 1960s. Conducted under the 1949 Housing Act and the 1954 Urban Renewal Act, urban renewal projects were seen as a way to correct society's ills with large federal undertakings. Unfortunately, these projects displaced many poor blacks from declining inner-city neighborhoods, adding them to the waiting lists for public housing projects across the country. Where earlier public housing complexes contained a myriad of social and recreational offerings, including nursery schools, recreation centers, and playgrounds, later complexes contained few such amenities. Critics derided the public housing of this period as "warehousing." No longer a temporary respite for people hoping to improve their situations, later public housing complexes became places where people remained for the rest of their lives.[207]

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[206] Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, pp. 233-237.

[207] Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, pp. 233-237.

F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES AND REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS[208]

The organization of this section is consistent with the format established for the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form or Multiple Property Submission (MPS) process. National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form* provides more specific guidance on the MPS documentation process.

Property Type

The *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949* context study has a single property type: the "public housing project." It is the primary unit which should be evaluated for National Register eligibility. As discussed in more detail below, the typical public housing project of the period consisted of a formal assemblage of residential buildings, community structures, and landscape elements such as open recreational spaces and circulation networks designed to operate as an integrated system. An understanding and appreciation of the nature and function of public housing during the historic period is best obtained from the study of those projects that survive as intact, integrated groupings.

For National Register purposes, the "public housing project" property type should be evaluated for its eligibility as a district. The term district refers to a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development. A public housing project district will derive its primary importance from being a cohesive entity, even though it may be composed of a variety of resources. Individual buildings that were once part of large projects will be considered eligible for listing only in rare

[208] The present National Register Registration Requirements are considered a working model. The National Register of Historic Places fully anticipates the content to evolve as comments are received and work proceeds on the National Register evaluation of public housing projects.

instances, where the exceptional importance or fragile nature of the property might merit such designation, or where an individual building is the property most closely associated with a particular historical event or individual.

A public housing project that is eligible for listing in the National Register as a historic district may include resources that may lack individual distinction provided that the grouping as a whole achieves significance within the historic context. The identity of a such a historic district results from the interrelationship of its resources, which convey a visual sense of the overall historic environment. Smaller housing projects may include only a few individual components, but they should nonetheless reflect a unified entity.

Property Type:
- the "public housing project" is the sole property type associated with the historic context;
- the "public housing project" property type should be evaluated for its potential eligibility as a historic district;
- individual buildings will be considered eligible for listing only in rare instances.

Description

The description discussion is used to measure the applicability of the context's registration requirements to the evaluation of specific properties. Properties that reflect the characteristics outlined in this subsection can effectively use the context report to evaluate their eligibility. Associative characteristics generally include such elements as a property's relationship to important activities, persons, or events, and the historic time frame during which these associations were played out. The physical characteristics include such attributes as style, period, method of construction, structural type, size, design, architectural details, siting, spatial arrangement and plan, materials, and workmanship. The elements discussed in this section provide a visual outline of the essential composition of federal public housing during the 1930s and 1940s, including information on variations from program to program over the span of years.

Associative Characteristics

The public housing projects eligible for listing under this context will have been built between 1933 and 1949 under the direction of one of the federal programs for low-rent or defense workers' housing outlined in the Statement of Historic Context (Section E). This includes projects completed by federally subsidized limited-dividend housing corporations, the Public

Works Administration (PWA), or local housing authorities under the United States Housing Act of 1937, Public Law 671, or the Lanham (defense housing) Act. The period 1933 to 1949 was selected because it represents a discrete era in the development of federal public housing programs.

Housing projects built after 1949 or under other housing programs may be able to use components of the current context, but additional study may be necessary to fully understand their significance within their distinct context(s). As later housing projects reach fifty years old, the registration requirements and criteria discussed in this report may become applicable, however, additional study may be necessary to establish significant associations with specific post-1949 federal public housing programs.

Physical Characteristics

The approximately 700 housing projects erected during the historic period 1933 to 1949 represent a significant range of architectural forms, reflecting the work of numerous local and federal architects and planners from across the country. Despite the range of designers involved, the projects themselves reveal a remarkable similarity in overall pattern and character, due in large part to a combination of the emerging design philosophies dominating modern architectural planning during the period and the strict low-cost guidelines set by the federal program directors.

The design of public housing projects from the 1930s and 1940s represents a fundamental ideal of the social housing movement developed in Europe in the 1920s and adopted in the United States in the 1930s. Government-built housing was intended not merely to provide a supply of adequate, low-rent housing for the urban poor. It was also meant to create a new, ordered environment, a clearly distinct alternative to the congestion and squalor of the slums. The site plan, the relationship of the buildings to one another, and the repetition of design and form created a sense of communal identity that clearly distinguished the public housing project as a separate entity, distinct from its surrounding neighborhood.

Typically, a public housing project of this period will consist of an assemblage of multi-family, low-rise residential buildings situated in a deliberate plan around large open spaces and recreational areas **[Figure 4]**. The site itself may reflect the European innovation of the *Zeilenbau,* in which buildings are arranged in parallel rows, to take advantage of maximum light and ventilation. Typical city blocks may have been combined and redeveloped into "superblocks," characterized by limited traffic flow, pedestrian walkways, and park-like open spaces. Other projects may conform to the confines of a number of contiguous city blocks, with residential buildings along the periphery or in parallel rows down the length of the block. Buildings will seldom occupy more than 25 percent of the site.

There is no limit to the number of residential units that may constitute a project, nor is the number of dwelling units per building standardized. Public housing projects erected during the period from 1933 to 1949 range from the 3,148-unit Queensbridge Houses in New York City to the 30-unit Victory Courts project in Conway, Arkansas. Residential buildings are primarily three-to-five story walk-up apartment buildings or two-story rowhouses, although a few projects contain single-family or two-family dwellings. High-rise elevator-accessible projects were only built in New York City during the late 1930s and early 1940s. The primary construction material of most public housing projects is brick, although some wood frame and concrete block buildings also exist. Following the examples set by early, twentieth-century Bauhaus design in Europe, and adhering to the strict low-cost guidelines set by the federal programs, most of these properties are of a functional, utilitarian design featuring long, unembellished lines, flat roofs, and minimal architectural decoration. The few decorative elements that do exist include cantilevered concrete or metal canopies at entries, brick or concrete belt courses, and simple quoining. Some properties employ a differentiation in materials or colors to indicate particular wall details such as windows, entryways, or stair towers. Original windows were either metal casement or wood sashes, many of which have been replaced over the years by wood, metal or vinyl sash. **[For examples of various project designs and materials refer to Figures 1-19]**

The architectural style of the buildings is dominated by the concept of "functional modernism," the belief that the buildings should reflect, to the degree possible, the utilitarian ideals of European architectural precedents in public housing. Where other "decorative" styles are applied, they usually represent minimalistic treatments advanced by local architects in keeping with regionally accepted forms, such as the Colonial, Georgian, or Spanish Colonial Revivals.

A number of the housing projects completed during the early phases of federal involvement in the construction of public housing during the period are widely acknowledged for setting high standards of design, site planning, and construction. Most complexes possessed a liveable human scale and revealed a satisfactory balance between buildings and open space, with attentive detail to landscaping elements. Overall, these initial projects represent perhaps the best amalgam of European design theories and contemporary American housing reform philosophies **[Figures 1-8]**. In contrast, the architectural design of later housing projects has, as a whole, been labeled depressingly monotonous and the site planning increasingly unimaginative. Constrained by increasingly limited budgets, shorter construction time lines, and federal guidance that often emphasized minimal standards, the later housing designs lacked the architectural quality that distinguished the earlier projects **[Figures 9, 10, 13-19]**.

Non-residential buildings are also significant components of any public housing project from this period. Nearly every project included a prominently located community center **[Figure 12]**

usually a one-story building containing management offices, recreation rooms or classrooms, and a large room for community functions such as dances or meetings. As a focal point for community activity, these buildings were usually located near the path of greatest tenant traffic and adjacent to the major access points to the project. Larger projects often included self-contained heating plants, generally characterized by a tall smokestack. Public housing sites may also include maintenance buildings, automobile garages, and buildings originally containing retail or office spaces. In the case of larger housing projects or those placed in more isolated locations, the complement of associated commercial and community buildings often exist as a miniature community within the larger neighboring community.

Careful site planning and landscaping are fundamental components of each housing project design. Many housing projects retain important elements of these design features including parks, circulation patterns, recreational areas, and private and semi-private garden and courtyard areas. Public art is also an important component of the early PWA-era projects and some later designs. The location of the public housing project within the local community varied based on several factors: proximity to work opportunities (civilian/defense), slum clearance, existing transportation and infrastructure development, or availability of sufficient buildable land.

The interior spaces of the individual residential units are of a spartan utilitarian nature, usually consisting of one to four bedrooms, a kitchen, living room, and full bathroom. The room sizes are minimal and the shapes generally regular. The wall finishes consist of painted concrete block or plaster partition walls. Floors feature asphalt tile or linoleum coverings over concrete, with the occasional use of wood parquet where costs and availability permitted. The kitchen was usually supplied with a gas range and electric refrigerator **[Figure 5]**. Kitchen cupboards and closets were often built without doors, to provide additional cost savings. Since interior hallways were considered wasted space, most apartments were designed without them. All apartments, however, were situated to take advantage of maximum natural sunlight and ventilation, and were also arranged to provide utmost privacy to family members. A fundamental stated goal of the designers and planners across the housing programs of the period was assuring that within the constraints of federal cost controls each project met minimum standards of appearance and livability and provided a "quality of domesticity" and human scale that would enhance "the attitude of the families living in the project and increase its economic value to the community."[209] **[Figure 9]**

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[209]National Housing Agency, Federal Public Housing Authority, *Standards for Defense Housing, Lanham Act Projects*, (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 2.

Associative Characteristics:
- built between 1933 and 1949;
- associated with either:
  - -- PWA limited-dividend housing program,
  - -- PWA direct built housing program,
  - -- United States Housing Act of 1937 program,
  - -- Public Law 671 housing program,
  - -- Lanham Act defense housing program;

Physical Characteristics:
- functional, utilitarian designs;
- repetitive building forms;
- low-rise, multi-family residential buildings arranged in highly ordered plans or "superblocks";
- prominent community center/management office buildings;
- substantial open spaces, circulation networks, and recreation areas;
- spartan, functional interiors.

Significance

National Register of Historic Places Evaluations

The National Register Criteria for Evaluation are found under 36 CFR Part 60 and provide Federal agencies, State, tribal and local governments, and others the criteria by which all resources are to be assessed. These criteria and the standards for evaluating the significance of historic properties were developed to recognize the full range of contributions to our country's history and heritage. The principal purpose of the following section is to provide specific guidance regarding the use of the criteria for determining the National Register eligibility of federal public housing resources as they relate to the context *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949*. Additional assistance in understanding how to apply the National Register criteria is provided in National Register Bulletin, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.*

Criterion A: Association with Significant Events

Public housing projects built in the United States from 1933 to 1949 may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A, which recognizes properties associated with events important in the broad patterns of United States history. These events can be one of two types: (1) specific events or (2) patterns of events that occurred over time. As

recounted in the Statement of Historic Context (Section E), the development of federal public housing programs during the 1930s and 1940s represented a crucial event in U. S. history. The efforts of Federal, state, and local agencies and the individuals involved in the establishment of these programs comprised a complex series of political, economic, social, and military events that affected the lives of thousands and changed the face of communities across the nation.

Under National Register Criterion A, it may be shown that a public housing project is associated with the broad pattern of national, local, or, in some cases, statewide history. These patterns of history may include (1) the federal public works efforts of the Great Depression; (2) the earliest federal efforts to assist local communities in slum clearance and low-rent housing construction; and (3) federal efforts to alleviate severe housing shortages in important industrial centers during World War II.

The public housing projects under consideration in this context study were an integral part of President Roosevelt's New Deal federal reform and relief programs and his later programs for military defense preparedness. The resulting housing projects infused communities both large and small throughout the country with thousands of modern and affordable dwelling units and represented significant cooperative efforts by local and government agencies to provide housing and employment during times of desperate need.

The specific areas of significance attributable to public housing projects under Criterion A may include: (1) Social History, because public housing was an outgrowth of the long-held concern that government intervention was necessary to better the lives of the poor living in the nation's slums; (2) Politics/Government, for the federal and local government's acceptance of responsibility, through legislative and direct action, to assist in providing housing for low-income residents during the Great Depression and for World War II industrial workers; and (3) Community Development, where information reveals that public housing served to alleviate a persistent housing shortage among low-income residents during the Great Depression or among migrant defense industry workers during World War II.

A few projects may be significant under Ethnic Heritage as the federal or local government's first attempts to provide adequate housing for African-Americans or Mexican-Americans; such projects often developed into important centers of cultural pride within the minority community. Although segregated, these housing projects were accepted by many African American and other minority leaders as important steps forward in government provision of equal services.

The *Historic Themes and Areas of Significance* provided at the end of this Registration Requirements section provide several possible scenarios for establishing the significance of local

public housing projects. The reviewer will need to develop sufficient materials regarding the history of the particular housing project and the local community or region during the period to be able to address whether any of these possible scenarios might apply to the particular public housing property.

Significance under Criterion A is not predicated on documenting the national importance of each individual site, but may (and most likely will) lie in contributions and associations evaluated as important at the local or state levels. A comparative analysis will be important in circumstances where several properties in a given geographic area relate to the same themes or areas of significance, for example in a community that witnessed substantial infrastructure development in anticipation of the war or a community in which several public housing projects were developed within a short period of time as a result of enthusiastic local community activity. It may be that only certain of these associated resources played truly important roles relative to the historic theme. On the other hand public housing development may have made such an important economic or cultural impact on a community that each example of an associated property type might be considered equally significant. Within the context of local public housing development it may be important to consider examples from the different federal housing programs each within their own context, rather than grouping all housing into a single category.

Criterion B: Association with Significant Persons

The public housing context study concentrates largely on the events and on the design and construction associated with the federal housing programs of the period, rather than on the individuals involved. As a result public housing projects as a whole are unlikely to be eligible under Criterion B, which recognizes a property's association with the lives of significant persons, unless the project was the direct product and major achievement of an individual's career. If research on a particular housing project can demonstrate association with an individual who made important contributions to the local housing effort, the public housing project may be eligible under Criterion B. The individual or individuals in question must have made contributions to history that can be specifically documented and that are directly associated with both the historic context and the historic public housing property under consideration.

For housing projects that can demonstrate such important direct associations the areas of significance would be Politics/Government, Social History, Ethnic Heritage, or Community Planning and Development.

An essential component of the evaluation of properties under Criterion B is establishing the direct link between the important individual and the specific housing project. Public housing projects should not be considered significant under Criterion B for association with persons such

as Senator Wagner or PWA Administrator Ickes based solely on their involvement in the establishment and operation of the nationwide Federal housing programs. Otherwise, all public housing projects would be considered eligible under this criterion. On the other hand a local public housing project that was conceived, planned, and built as the direct result of the single-minded efforts of an individual may qualify for listing under Criterion B, if those direct connections can be authenticated.

To determine if a property is significant within the *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949* context, under Criterion B several important steps will be necessary: (1) determine the importance of the individual; (2) determine the length and nature of the person's association with the public housing property; (3) determine if the person is individually significant within the historic context; (4) determine if the property is associated with the time period during which the individual made significant contributions to history; and (5) compare the property to other properties associated with the individual to determine if the property in question best represents the individual's most significant contributions. Referring to the *Historic Themes and Areas of Significance* provided at the end of the Registration Requirements section may provide possible scenarios for establishing the significance of local public housing projects.

Although many projects are named in honor of famous national or local figures (e.g., Martin Luther King, Jr., Sojourner Truth, Jacob Riis), these are not eligible under Criterion B unless the project's namesake can be shown to have had a direct role in the development of that particular project or lived in the project while achieving his or her most significant work. Criterion B may be applicable if a significant person achieved his or her most important work while living in a particular public housing project, however, only the building that contained that person's home will be eligible for listing, and not the entire project. A public housing project that served as a birthplace or childhood home of a significant person does not qualify under Criterion B, unless that project is the only property remaining to represent that person's life. In these circumstances the areas of significance under Criterion B will depend on the accomplishments of the individual.

Criterion C: Design/Construction

Some public housing projects may be eligible under Criterion C, which recognizes properties that: (1) embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, style, or method of construction; (2) represent the major work of a master architect, planner, or engineer; or (3) possess high artistic value. These properties will normally be significant under the theme Architecture. Community Planning & Development may also apply under Criterion C for the design and construction of innovative planned communities that illustrate significant examples of modern urban planning design theory. Public housing projects, particularly those built as wartime construction, were often characterized primarily by a concern for low cost and rapid construction,

with less concern shown for high aesthetic ideals. A few early housing projects, however, may contain distinctive or major works of public sculpture or murals that could merit evaluation under the theme of Art.

The descriptive information provided in the property type analyses in this section and the Statement of Historic Context (Section E) outline in detail the characteristic design and construction forms that commonly recur in public housing projects built during the historic period. Upon evaluation of a public housing project's physical condition, a property may be found significant as either an intact example of a planned residential community reflecting the important urban planning and housing design theories emerging during the period, or a representation of a distinctive architectural style, such as the International Style. Public housing projects built during the period covered by this context were often at the cutting edge of modern architectural design and planning philosophy. As built, these projects often stood out from the surrounding built environment and as such represented distinctive architectural components.

In a few cases, public housing projects may also qualify under Criterion C (Architecture) as significant "works of a master," which refers to examples of the work of an architect or craftsman of generally recognized greatness. Examples may include the work of prominent engineers and planners as well as architects. To be eligible under this area, a public housing project must be shown to express a particular phase in the development of the master's career, an important aspect of his or her work, or a particular idea or theme in his or her craft. (As an example, I. M. Pei is a recognized master of twentieth century modern architecture. Pei worked on several public housing projects during the early phases of his career, thus establishing his initial reputation and allowing him to work out important architectural themes and urban planning schemes that would play a role in his later career. These projects, if extant and still retaining physical integrity, might qualify under Criterion C.)

The degree of recognition necessary for establishing the "work of a master" need not be at the national level; Criterion C can also be applied to locally or regionally recognized "masters." It is important to remember, however, that not all properties designed by famous architects are necessarily eligible and not every local architect can be considered a "master." The individual public housing project must be examined in the context of the architect's broader work and the work of his contemporaries.

The *Historic Themes and Areas of Significance* provided at the end of the Registration Requirements section provide several possible scenarios for establishing the significance of local public housing projects under Criterion C. Important factors to consider in determining whether a property is architecturally significant within the *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-*

1949 context will include: (1) ascertaining from the historical narrative the distinctive characteristics of the particular property type represented by the housing project; (2) determining if that project still possesses those distinctive characteristics in sufficient condition to convey a sense of the historic period; and (3) comparing the property with other examples of the property type in the appropriate local, state, or national context.

Criterion D: Information Potential
Generally, public housing projects are unlikely to be eligible under Criterion D. In very limited circumstances properties may be eligible for the National Register under Criterion D if they have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history. A building that displays a unique structural system or a rare use of materials (where no construction drawings or other historical records exist to document the fact) could qualify under Criterion D for the information that might result from its detailed study.

Many projects, especially those built as slum clearance projects, may lie over urban archeological sites that may contain potentially significant information on the history of the site prior to the construction of the public housing project. Although these archeology sites may be significant in their own right, they will have no significance to the public housing project itself and are not considered as part of this context. Public housing managers should be aware, however, that archeological concerns, either prehistoric or historic, may arise when undertaking ground-disturbing activities such as new construction.

This report provides a national context for the historic development of public housing in the United States. It should be remembered, however, that individual housing projects need not be nationally significant to be eligible for listing in the National Register. Although closely associated with national programs, individual public housing projects may be eligible for listing at the national, state or local levels of significance. Indeed, as will be discussed in subsequent sections, the majority of the eligible public housing projects associated with this context will likely be significant within their local context.

Significance:
- Criterion A (Social History, Politics/Government, Community Development, Ethnic History);
- Criterion B (Social History, Politics/Government, Community Development, Ethnic History);
- Criterion C (Architecture, Art, Community Planning & Development)

National Historic Landmark Evaluations

Outlined in this section are specific guidelines for evaluating historic public housing projects that may merit designation as National Historic Landmarks (NHL). Nationally significant associations, high integrity, and close relationship to the historic context are the thresholds generally needed for NHL consideration and designation. To be considered a NHL, properties must meet one or more of the six National Historic Landmark criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65.4. Additional guidance in applying criteria and assessing integrity for NHLs is found in the National Register Bulletin *How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations.*

Based on the research conducted for this report, no one single public housing project can be considered the *most* significant one in the Nation. Because of the various overlapping programs historically associated with federal housing activities during the period, it is more likely that several different housing projects may be significant at the national level within their respective programs. And while many public housing proponents, planners, and politicians had widespread local or regional impact, few can be considered nationally significant for their related activities. Equally important, of those that might be considered to have had nationally significant influences few will have had direct association with specific housing projects; their contributions focusing more generally on macro-scale program sponsorship or program operations.

Public housing project properties that may eligible for designation as National Historic Landmarks will, in most cases, be considered under NHL Criterion 1, Criterion 6, and sometimes under Criterion 2.

National Historic Landmark Criterion 1

Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

A public housing project may be eligible under NHL Criterion 1 if it retains high integrity and relates to the Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949 context in one of two ways. First, a property may be connected with a nationally significant event, such as a milestone development in a particular federal housing program or a particular court case. Not all court cases and milestones had national impact, however. The ones that did were ones that had a documented effect in terms of the development, interpretation, repeal, or passage of legislation affecting the operation of federal housing programs. The property must have a direct and meaningful documented association with the event and must be evaluated in context with any other extant resources associated with the same event. An example might include extant housing projects directly associated with the 1935 legal challenge *United States v. Certain Lands in the*

City of Louisville, which denied the federal government the authority to acquire slum land by eminent domain and thus effectively cut the PWA direct-built housing program apart from its earlier important slum clearance role.

Secondly, a property may be importantly representative of a broad pattern of events in some meaningful national context. While, as mentioned earlier, no one single housing project can be said to possess the most significance of any in the nation, several may be designated for their national importance in a representative context. These are properties that vividly represent, through a combination of extant resources possessing high integrity and solid documentation, the crucial contribution of a particular social or political group or government program to the functioning of the Federal public housing program. Techwood Homes in Atlanta (demolished) may have been a prime candidate for such designation before it was demolished in anticipation of the 1996 Olympics. Techwood was the first federally owned low rent housing project to open in the nation and was an exemplary illustration of the PWA's attention to health, comfort, and safety, and the program's early goal of substantial slum clearance. Similarly, the 40-unit Santa Rita Court in Austin, Texas was the first project in the country to go into construction under the United States Housing Act of 1937, and subsequently the first to open for occupancy under that program in 1939.

National Historic Landmarks Criterion 2
Properties that are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.

It is critical to remember that for a property to be designated as an NHL, the person(s) with whom the property is associated must not only be nationally significant within the public housing historic context, but the property itself must be directly associated with that person's productive life and it must reveal a close association with the individual's significant contributions or activities. The Statement of Historic Context narrative reveals several national figures of importance to the public housing context. Individuals such as Catherine Bauer, influential member of the Regional Planning Association of America and a tireless promoter of active federal involvement in public housing, who crusaded extensively to get Federal legislation in place for a national program and had major administrative responsibilities within the USHA. Bauer contemporary Nathan Straus, as chief administrator of the USHA, was responsible for the aggressive development of the Federal government's largest Depression era-public housing construction program and a critical supporter of the resumption of federal low-rent housing programs after World War II. Others in various fields may include activists, prominent local housing authority personnel, labor organizers, and planners influential in directing the physical and administrative form of this country's public housing.

As noted, however, properties eligible for National Historic Landmark designation under Criterion 2 must display a clear and direct association between the person and the specific housing project under consideration. For the most part the contributions of national figures such as Catherine Bauer, Edith Elmer Wood, Nathan Straus, Secretary of the Interior Ickes, or Senators Wagner and Steagall focused generally on larger programmatic issues and operations than on local housing construction or site specific activities. A discussion of the national prominence of an individual in not a sufficient argument that a property meets the criterion. The documentation of the public housing activities of the person must be directly connected to the particular housing project in a concrete way. Proper NHL evaluation will also necessitate a comparative analysis of the public housing project with other extant properties related to that individual.

National Historic Landmark Criterion 4
Properties that embody the distinguishing characteristics or an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style, or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive, and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

Based on the limited research conducted to date and available scholarly evaluations, the most likely candidates for national level significance under Criterion 4 would be those projects built under the Public Works Administration, through either the limited-dividend or direct-built housing programs. These projects were not only the first to serve as government financed low-rent housing, but they were, for the most part, superior examples of the public housing property type. In addition to embodying the principles, policies, and standards of the PWA program, many of these housing projects also reflected the foremost principles of emerging European architectural design and urban planning from the 1930s. These projects embraced stylistic forms, building technologies, and planning theories that would burst forth in later years as the popular International style transformed the face of American cities.

Scholarly evaluation by authorities in the architectural or urban planning fields, either at the time of project completion or more recently, will play an important role in determining which if any public housing projects may be candidates for designation under NHL Criterion 4, as exceptionally valuable examples of a period, style, or method of construction or community planning. The scale and size of a particular project may play a role in such evaluations, but equally important may be an assessment of the impacts of particular project designs on subsequent development. Physical integrity may also come into play in the comparative analysis of similar projects from identical Federal housing programs.

The *Historic Themes and Areas of Significance* provided at the end of this Registration Requirements section provide possible scenarios for establishing the significance of public housing projects under the NHL Criteria.

Registration Requirements

In order to meet National Register Criteria A, B, or C in connection with this context study, a public housing project must have been built and operated as public housing between 1933 and 1949. In addition, the resource must have been conceived as either low-rent or defense workers' housing.

For most of the eligible public housing project properties, the primary historical significance will likely rest in their association with the development of the important federal public housing programs of the 1930s and 1940s. Secondary significance, if present, will likely be found through association with the ideals of modern architecture and urban planning. The chart found at the end of this section outlines some of the possible important areas of significance that public housing projects may represent. The issues discussed below provide further information that can be used for comparing actual historic properties and for making judgements about their relative significance. These themes should be carefully considered when judging a project's potential historical or architectural eligibility.

Issues Related to Evaluating Public Housing Properties
District versus Individual Eligibility. In general, public housing projects first should be evaluated as districts. As noted earlier, the framework established by the historic context for *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949* focuses on the "public housing project" as a discrete identifiable entity. This is due to the nature of the construction efforts and the specific program guidelines associated with federal housing during the period. Public housing projects, even small-scale projects, were designed as interrelated facilities where the component parts functioned in concert to fulfill the purposes of the program. For single, isolated buildings to be individually eligible for listing in the National Register within the context of *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949*, they should clearly and explicitly reflect: (1) the site of a particular significant event; (2) a property directly associated with a significant individual, where the housing project itself does not support direct associations; or (3) an outstanding example of architectural or engineering design.

Levels of Significance. The National Register Criteria for Evaluation define three levels of significance: local, state, and national. The majority of the eligible public housing projects will

be significant at the local level, reflecting the important implementation of federal programs to stimulate the economy, resolve the worsening slum problem, solve a growing local housing problem, or meet local demands associated with the massive defense buildup in anticipation of World War II. Whether or not the particular public housing project under consideration is significant to its community, depends on the historical development and architectural character of that community as well as on the specific attributes of the property itself.

Eligibility evaluations must be grounded in a thorough understanding of the local context in order to fully understand the importance of a particular project. The mere association of a project with one of the Federal public housing programs is not sufficient to justify local significance. For example, a small 30-unit USHA housing complex might be historically or architecturally significant in one town where it is the lone example of its type, while a nearly identical project in a large city like Baltimore, which witnessed the construction of a substantial number of public housing projects during the historic period, might be quite undistinguished. In communities with a wealth of extant military defense or World War II-era industrial resources, the historical significance of federally-subsidized defense workers' housing may require closer scrutiny.

Evaluations of architectural significance will require a sound understanding of the local architectural context. Key questions to ask when considering architectural importance may include how does the housing project compare with other local examples of International Style or contemporary period design? Is this property an exemplary local representation of (federal) design theories regarding large-scale public housing? How did the completion of this public housing project affect later architectural design or planning in this community? Who was the project architect and was this project a significant aspect of his or her career? The importance of contemporary accounts in local publications or architectural journals, and later scholarly research may assist significantly in the evaluation process.

The public housing projects associated with the historic context *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949* often had profound effects on their respective communities. Armed with the contextual information provided in this historic study and local research, it should be possible to identify and establish the potential local significance of particular projects to the community's social and political history, community development, or architecture.

State level significance will be less applicable to public housing, since states themselves had little to do with implementing public housing programs. Only New York State had its own public housing construction program (since absorbed into the federal program), whose properties may qualify for state level significance. In evaluating the potential significance of a public housing project at the state level, it is important to have a thorough understanding of the entire

statewide context for public housing activities during the period. While gathering extensive information on every housing project erected in a state may not be practical, examples of properties significant within a statewide context must be shown to be important to the history of the state as a whole and must be evaluated against other examples of similar properties. The construction of a particular public housing project, for example, may have strongly affected a state's overall political or architectural development. When viewed in context with other public housing projects from the period, the precedents set by this particular project might appear quite outstanding.

Select examples of public housing projects, because of their extraordinary contributions to national programs or outstanding architectural design, will merit consideration at the national level. A distinction should be made between properties that are related to nationwide federal programs and those that are nationally significant. While public housing projects built during the 1930s and 1940s were related to important national programs, not all of the completed projects are nationally significant.

Based on research conducted to date and available scholarly evaluations, the most likely candidates for national level significance would be those projects built under the Public Works Administration, through either the limited-dividend or direct-built housing programs. These projects were not only the first to serve as government funded and built low-rent housing, but they were, for the most part, superior examples of the property type. They initiated the public housing program, helped to convince Congress of the need for a permanent federal role in providing low-rent housing, and convinced local governments to establish housing authorities that could participate in the federal program. In addition to embodying the principles, policy, and standards of the PWA program, many of these housing projects also reflected the foremost principles of architectural design and urban planning of the 1930s.

A few other projects that demonstrate a decisive or pivotal role in the development of the later federal housing programs or in the formulation of U. S. housing policy and standards may also be eligible at the national level. Those examples that were pivotal influences in the development of American architecture or are exceptionally illustrative examples of an architectural style, housing type, or urban design may merit designation at the national level on the basis of their architectural significance. Documentation of architectural significance in contemporary journals or scholarly publications would be essential to justify national significance. All properties considered for such designation must also exhibit a high degree of historic integrity.

Properties Significant Within More Than One Historic Context. Properties may possess significance within multiple historic themes or contexts. Public housing projects should be evaluated holistically, with attention to their interrelated historical associations over time. When

evaluating the potential significance of the public housing property, the period of significance should be defined based on the full range of possible important associations over time. In a housing project, various buildings may illustrate numerous dates of construction, architectural designs, and historical associations. The historic analysis should be defined broadly enough to encompass all of the aspects of the district's significance. For example, a housing project may contain building components built under several different federal public housing programs (PWA, USHA, Lanham Act) during the period 1933 to 1949. A holistic approach would evaluate the entire project as a reflection of the evolution in the federal and local programs that were brought to bear on the housing problems of the period, rather than isolating the individual components in their narrow contexts.

Likewise, significance within one historic context does not limit a property's ability to possess significance within other historic contexts. The historic resources located at public housing projects built in the 1930s may possess local significance within the context of local housing development for the poor during the Depression; they may also possess importance within the context of civil rights activities that took place at a pivotal time in the later 1950s or 1960s. Though a property may be significant within more than one historic context, significance within one context is sufficient for the property to meet the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.

Integrity

Integrity, as defined by the National Register, is the ability of a property to convey its significance. Public housing projects that possess significance in association with one of the identified themes under Criteria A, B, or C may still not be eligible for listing in the National Register if they no longer possess architectural and historical integrity. The integrity of a property is assessed by evaluating its location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and establishing to what degree these characteristics have been altered since the property's period of significance.

Integrity issues will be key to determining a public housing project's eligibility for listing in the National Register and possible designation as a National Historic Landmark.

The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgement, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. To retain historic integrity, a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the characteristic aspects of integrity noted below. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant.

As noted above, historic integrity is the composite of seven qualities:

Location. Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred. Virtually all public housing projects remain on their original locations by virtue of the scale of the developments.

Design. Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property, including such elements as organization of space, proportion, scale, technology, ornamentation, and materials. With regard to public housing projects, integrity of design refers to the overall design of the project--arrangement of buildings, spatial relationships--as well as the design of the individual component buildings.

Setting. Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. It involves how, not just where, the individual housing project components are situated and their relationship to surrounding features, landscape elements, and open spaces. Similar to design, integrity of setting applies to the housing project as a whole. The surroundings outside of the housing project itself are normally not essential considerations when evaluating eligibility, since most public housing projects were expressly designed as discrete, self-sufficient communities.

Materials. Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. In order to be eligible, a public housing property must retain the key exterior materials dating from the period of significance. If the property has been rehabilitated, the historic materials and significant features must have been preserved. Materials may also include the treatment of important landscape elements and outdoor spaces, including ground cover, landscaping, and historic pavements.

Workmanship. Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history. With regard to public housing projects, integrity of workmanship refers to evidence of the specific individual, local, regional, or national technological practices and aesthetic principals associated with large-scale building construction during the historic period.

Feeling. Feeling is the property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a

particular period of time. With regard to public housing projects, integrity of feeling may be associated with the concept of retaining a "sense of place," the notion of the sum total of all of the physical and cultural qualities that defined the housing project.

Association. Association is the direct link between an important historic theme, event, or person and a historic property. Public housing projects will retain integrity of association if they are the direct manifestations of important local, regional, or national events or activities. While many historic events associated with the development of the federal public housing program took place in Congress, city halls, or local planning offices, the housing projects themselves were often the most tangible, physical manifestation of those activities.

The National Register Bulletin, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* describes the following steps in assessing historical integrity: (1) determine the essential physical features that must be present for a property to represent its significance; (2) determine whether the essential physical features are sufficiently visible to convey their significance; (3) compare the property with similar properties if the physical features necessary to convey the significance are not well defined; and (4) determine, based on the property's significance, which aspects of integrity are particularly important to the property in question and if they are intact.

In order to meet the registration requirements for Criteria A, B, and C, a public housing project must retain the defining features and components of the property type. Assessing the physical integrity of a public housing project will involve carefully looking at both the overall character of the project as a planned community of functionally related resources and the physical integrity of the individual building units, analyzing basic elements such as the nature of the project's plan, design, and materials. To be considered eligible, a substantial majority of a housing project's buildings must be intact. Housing projects that retain only a small number of original buildings or whose remaining buildings were substantially altered are unlikely to be eligible. There are very few circumstances under which a single building within a public housing project could be found eligible for the National Register under this context.

Among the essential physical features required for eligibility include:

- substantially intact original site plan, including setting, building orientation, and the relationship between built and open spaces;

- high percentage of original buildings, including non-residential buildings such as community centers and maintenance facilities;
- original building design features, including fenestration patterns and roof configuration (minor features, such as stoops and entry canopies, are not essential);
- original building facade materials, except those for roofs and windows;
- any original architectural ornamentation, such as belt courses or quoins that defined the particular design scheme; (WPA artwork, such as friezes or free-standing statuary, while integral features may not be essential); and
- the basic characteristics and dimensions of representative interior plans (some degree of alteration is acceptable).

With respect to integrity, it is unreasonable to expect public housing projects built more than 50 years ago to remain in pristine condition. Active, dynamic use by residents--matched with the economic constraints that typified much of the original construction--have led to inevitable changes in the physical fabric of many housing projects. Given the more than fifty years of hard service on these buildings, minor renovations and improvements for maintenance and safety will not necessarily compromise the integrity of housing projects. Likewise, replacement of materials and equipment that have outlived their functional usefulness will not result in immediate determinations of ineligibility, unless those replacements destroy essential character-defining features associated with the significance of the resource. The degree to which accumulated changes begin to affect the historic character of a property, however, is a key component of the integrity evaluation.

While many public housing projects may retain a high degree of exterior and site integrity, a majority of their interiors will have been modernized. Buildings that have experienced unsympathetic interior alterations may remain eligible as contributing elements in a historic district. Finally, historic integrity should not be confused with structural condition. While integrity of materials is an important aspect of historic integrity, it is only one component. A property may still be able to convey its historic significance despite severe deterioration of certain elements or construction features.

Two brief examples may provide insight into the integrity assessment process. Cedar Springs Place was a PWA-sponsored public housing project built in Dallas, Texas. Completed between 1936 and 1937, the project consisted of 28 one and two-story residential buildings constructed of

reinforced concrete block masonry with an applied stucco finish and steel casement windows. The project had experienced considerable deterioration over the years, with evidence of considerable spalling and cracking of the exterior stucco coating and boards covering many of the original windows. At the time of its consideration for National Register listing, the project's overall visual condition was very poor. When viewed as a whole, however, the housing project revealed itself to be remarkably intact. Comparison of historic photographs with current views showed an exceptional correlation; all of the original housing units were still in place *(location, design)*, the formal arrangement of buildings, landscaped areas, and circulation networks typical of the housing designs of the period was intact (*setting, design, feeling*), and the buildings themselves, with their flat wall planes, horizontal emphasis, and lack of expressed ornamentation still illustrated the severe, sparse aesthetics of the International Style of architecture that characterized their original design (*design, materials, feeling*). **[Figure 16-17]**

The evaluation of the Cedar Springs Place housing project within the historic context of public housing development and the New Deal programs of the Depression helped reveal the essential physical features important to convey the significance of the property. As a result, the alterations were seen for what they were--evidence of age, lack of adequate maintenance, and natural deterioration. The physical changes evident at the site, while of concern, were not deemed sufficient to remove the project's ability to convey its significance as an exemplary illustration of the new social ideals and planning standards of the New Deal housing programs, nor did they destroy the property's importance as Texas' first low-income housing project and one of the earliest projects completed west of the Mississippi River.

The John Hay Homes in Springfield, Illinois opened in 1942 with 57 low-rise multiple-unit residential buildings laid out in a deliberate, ordered plan. Historical research documented the housing project's important associations with local housing activity during the early 1940s; the Hay Homes represented Springfield's only participation in the federally funded and locally operated programs established by the United States Housing Act of 1937 and served as a significant source of housing for local World War II defense workers and their families. In keeping with the Federal public housing program's guidelines, the apartment buildings were constructed in a utilitarian design: long, two-story brick buildings with stark lines, flat roofs, and a minimum of architectural detail.

By the 1980s, the housing project had been significantly altered. The roof line of the buildings had changed from a flat roof to a gable roof, porch overhangs had been added, and vinyl siding was applied to the second stories of all the units. While the overall plan of the housing project had remained relatively intact (*location, setting*) with the exception of a few demolished units, these alterations dramatically changed the original stark appearance of the individual buildings,

while simultaneously erasing or diminishing the impact of the few distinctive details that originally existed. The cumulative effect of the addition of gabled roofs, vinyl siding, shutters, and entrance porticos, aggravated by window and door alterations, had so changed the character of the John Hay Homes that they no longer retained the integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and feeling required to meet the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. As a result, the housing project was determined ineligible for listing. **[Figures 18-19]**

As a "district" the public housing property type will typically consist of a substantial grouping of resources (for example, apartment units, community buildings, garages, and commercial structures). Within the district grouping there will likely be resources that retain less integrity than other resources. When evaluating integrity the important question is whether the district as a whole retains the integrity sufficient to convey its significance. An eligible historic district may even contain resources that do not contribute to the significance of the property, such as buildings constructed after 1949 that were not part of the complex's original plan. This is acceptable as long as these noncontributing features are few in number and do not adversely affect the ability of the larger district to convey its significance. When evaluating the impact of noncontributing resources and other intrusions on the district's integrity, consideration should be given to the relative number, size, scale, design, and location of the components. A district will not be determined eligible if it contains so many alterations or new intrusions that it no longer conveys the sense of its historic environment.

National Historic Landmark Integrity
As with National Register evaluations, the physical integrity of the public housing projects will play a critically important role in National Historic Landmark evaluations and the designation process. For NHL designation, a property must possess the aspects of the integrity to a *high* degree and the property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic significance.

National Register Registration Requirements:

- built between 1933 and 1949;

- direct association with one of the low-rent or defense workers' housing programs of the 1930s and 1940s;

- established local, state, or national significance under Criterion A, B, or C in association with the themes and areas of significance outlined under the Registration Requirements section:
  -- development of the federal public housing programs of the 1930s and 1940s,
  -- association with significant individuals in the field of public housing, or
  -- association with the ideals of modern architecture and urban planning;

- retains the characteristic aspects necessary for architectural and historical integrity.

National Historic Landmark Registration Requirements:

- built between 1933 and 1949;

- direct association with one of the low-rent or defense workers' housing programs of the 1930s and 1940s;

- established national significance under NHL Criterion 1, 2, or 4 in association with the themes and areas of significance outlined under the Registration Requirements section:
  -- development of the federal public housing programs of the 1930s and 1940s,
  -- association with significant individuals in the field of public housing, or
  -- association with the ideals of modern architecture and urban planning;

- retains the characteristic aspects necessary for architectural and historical integrity at a high level.

Suggested Historic Themes and Areas of Significance That Could Be Applied to Public Housing

Architecture

Criterion C: Serves as a physical symbol within a community of housing design and construction standards developed through the efforts of the housing reform movement.

Represents an important example of a particular architectural style influential to the development of public housing.

Represents a good example of a particular architectural style or building technique important to the local community.

Represents an important example of the work of an architect or builder of national, state, or local prominence.

Contains good examples of design features, facilities, or equipment distinctive to its use as public housing.

Art

Criterion A: Contains significant public sculpture, murals, or other art that had a significant impact or influence on the actions or attitudes of later artists or residents.

Criterion C: Contains fine examples of public sculpture, murals, or other works of art reflecting the work created during the Great Depression under the Federal government's WPA artists' program.

Contains public sculpture, murals or other works of art created by an artist of national, state, or local prominence as an important design element of the overall public housing project.

Community Planning And Development

Criterion A: Represents a community's significant efforts to eliminate its slums and to develop well-planned low-cost housing for the urban poor.

Represents significant federal efforts to encourage community development through the construction of public works projects.

Represents the rapid growth of a community brought about by the development of an important defense industry or military installation during World War II, for which the construction of new housing for migrating civilian workers and their families was imperative.

Is or was perceived as a symbol of community pride and achievement in a particular accomplishment or period of its history.

Criterion B: Is associated with the career of an individual who had an influential role in changing the patterns of local or regional planning through the use of public housing projects.

Is associated with a significant individual who made important contributions to eliminating slums and alleviating persistent housing shortages through public works.

Criterion C: Represents an important or exemplary illustration of early large-scale housing development in which uniformity of design, low ground coverage, and precise spatial relationships and traffic patterns were combined to create a new environment for the urban poor in place of the squalor and congestion of the slums.

Ethnic Heritage

Criterion A: Represents an important local attempt to improve the housing conditions of a specific ethnic group.

Served as an important center of cultural or community activity among a specific ethnic group.

Served as the focus of an important event significant to race relations or the history of a specific ethnic group.

Criterion B: Is associated with the career of a significant cultural or political leader of a specific ethnic group or a person who had a significant role in the development of

public housing for a specific ethnic group.

Politics/Government

Criterion A: Represents an important effort by the federal government to provide local employment opportunities through the construction of public works during the Great Depression.

Represents an early interaction between the federal government and a local community to eliminate slums and to improve the housing available to the urban poor.

Represents an important effort by the federal government and a local community to provide low-cost family housing for workers involved in vital defense industries during World War II.

Represents the influence of a significant political party or group active in the local community during the period.

Represents a project that significantly affected federal, state, or local law, policies, or programs during the period.

Provides an important early example of federal design and construction standards and policies for public housing.

Criterion B: Is associated with the political career of an individual who made important contributions through governmental actions or elected position in providing housing for low-income residents during the Depression or World War II industrial workers.

Social History

Criterion A: Represents the efforts of a significant housing reform organization or movement in a local community.

Exemplifies the social ideals and planning standards of federal public housing at the local level.

Represents important efforts to provide domestic support for migrant defense workers and their families during World War II.

Served as an important focus of community pride and community activity.

Criterion B: Is associated with an individual who made important contributions to the public welfare through the development of public housing.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The scope of this study included the entire United States. The majority of the public housing projects built during the period under study–1933 to1949–were erected in urban areas where housing problems, Depression-era employment-programs, and later military industrial developments were the most concentrated. Extant housing projects from this period, however, exist in the inventories of nearly 250 local public housing authorities and in the hands of private developers in 39 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

H. IDENTIFICATION AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this historic context report is to provide a means to evaluate the historic significance of properties currently operated under the federal public housing program administered by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The period under consideration covers the Great Depression and World War II, beginning with construction of the first federal housing projects by the Public Works Administration under the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. It continues through the establishment of the permanent federal public housing program under the U. S. Housing Act of 1937 and onto the various public housing efforts of World War II. The period concludes with passage of the U. S. Housing Act of 1949, which renewed funding for public housing after a period of inactivity following the war and began a new era of construction.

Research for this project was conducted primarily at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, the Library of Congress, and the Gelman Library at George Washington University in Washington, D. C. The following is a brief evaluation of the materials found at each of these locations. Please note that the bibliography for the current historical context included only those sources cited in the report. The project files, which are housed at the National Register of Historic Places offices in Washington, D.C., contain many other important sources, some of which are discussed below.

The National Archives has organized all of its holdings on public housing in Record Group (RG) 196. This includes documents of the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration from 1933 to 1937, the United States Housing Authority (USHA) from 1937 to 1942, the National Housing Agency during World War II, and the Public Housing Administration in the postwar years. RG 196 includes memos, policy statements, public information bulletins, press releases, speeches, statistical analyses, land acquisition records, and other official documents.

The vast majority of the files in RG 196 consist of the more than 500 applications made by local communities to the PWA loan program in 1933-34, prior to the PWA construction program beginning in 1935. RG 196 contains very few of the official publications of the PWA Housing Division. While PWA Bulletins Nos. 1 and 2, *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States* and *Urban Housing* respectively, are readily available in area libraries, the very rare *Unit Plans* was only available from the Ohio State University Library. The most important documents in RG 196 are the full set of 36 bulletins published by the USHA, which explained federal policy and gave direction to local housing authorities. Copies of the most pertinent bulletins, including those on site selection, tenant selection, slum clearance, and construction standards are available

in the project files located at the National Register.

RG 196 also contains an unpublished treatise from the late 1940s on the history of race relations in public housing, a copy of which is included in the project files. This paper provides a reasonably candid insider's view on the subject written by an African-American official of the Public Housing Administration. The most important contemporary writings on racial policy in public housing are the published works of Robert Weaver, the highest ranking African-American official in Roosevelt's New Deal and, in 1965, the first Secretary of HUD. Weaver's works include his book, *The Negro Ghetto*, and many journal articles, several of which are included in the project files.

The collection at the National Archives does not contain a great deal of information on individual housing projects. While the Cartographic Division has a file of basic site plans for most of the PWA projects, all of the detailed architectural drawings for these projects appear to have been transferred by the federal government to the local housing authorities along with the transfer of the actual PWA housing projects. Original architectural plans for those projects built by local housing authorities after 1937, if they exist at all, are likely located at the local housing authorities. The Photographic Records Division at the National Archives maintains a file of photographs on public housing. Although most of these images document the local slum conditions that public housing was to replace, there are several good photographs of public housing projects built by local housing authorities after 1937.

The best single source for relevant images is the Prints and Photographs Division at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., as several of their collections contain original photographs and/or negatives of projects representing all three phases of public housing covered in this context report. The division has posted portions of several photographic collections on the Internet as part of the American Memory project (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem). These images can be printed directly from the Internet or prints can be ordered for a fee from the library's Photoduplication Office.

The Farm Security Administration Collection contains over 40 images of the Ida B. Wells Homes, a USHA project in Chicago, and the Theodor Horydczak Collection contains a number of images of Langston Terrace, a PWA direct-built project in Washington. The Gottscho-Schleisner Collection has an excellent selection of USHA and defense public housing images, including Ft. Dupont Houses in Washington (USHA); Farnham Court in New Haven (USHA); Red Hook Houses in New York (USHA); seven USHA complexes in Newark; and Parkside, Barry Farms, and James Creek Houses, three defense housing projects located in Washington. This collection also contains images of Williamsburg Homes and the Harlem River Houses, two

direct-built PWA projects in New York City. Additional images from these collections that have not been posted on the Internet can be examined at the Prints and Photographs Reading Room at the Library of Congress. Since only the on-line portions of these collections were examined for the purposes of this study, it is likely that the full collections contain images of additional public housing projects.

One other useful source deserves mention, *Public Buildings: A Survey of Architecture of Projects Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies Between the Years 1933 and 1939 with the Assistance of the Public Works Administration,* which contains images of completed PWA direct-built housing projects in cities as diverse as Omaha, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Boston, New York, Birmingham, Dallas, and Miami.

Secondary sources came both from the Library of Congress and the Gelman Library at George Washington University. While Gelman Library contained only two secondary sources not available at the Library of Congress (both were dissertations), its open stacks and excellent collection on the subject made research somewhat more convenient than at the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress has a superb collection of period journals, which provide excellent insight into the philosophy, politics, and architecture of public housing in the 1930s and 1940s. These include articles in the *Octagon*, the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, and other journals by such important housing advocates as Robert Kohn, Edith Elmer Wood, Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Albert Mayer, Catherine Bauer, and Charles Abrams. *Architectural Record* and *Architectural Journal* carefully followed the progress of public housing construction during the Depression and World War II. These magazines contained many articles on construction methods, financing, and brief descriptions of specific noteworthy projects, often with photographs and examples of plans. The architectural journals also contain a few advertisements in which manufacturers proudly tout the use of their products in public housing construction. Copies of pertinent articles and advertisements are included in the project files.

Works published in the 1930s and 1940s by Edith Elmer Wood, Catherine Bauer, Nathan Straus, and Michael Straus chronicle the social, architectural, and philosophical influences on public housing and are available at the Library of Congress or Gelman Library. The best recent secondary sources include Richard Pommer's article in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* on the architecture of the PWA housing program. Timothy McDonnell's *The Wagner Housing Act* provides a detailed account of the political struggle for the creation of the federal public housing program during the Great Depression. McDonnell provides an especially good synthesis of the Congressional debates on the subject. Books by Gwendolyn Wright, Gerturde Fish, Mel Scott, and Lawrence Friedman provide additional insights into the creation of the program. Philip Funigiello's *The Challenge to Urban Liberalism*

includes an excellent chapter on the influence of World War II on public housing, as does *World War II and the American Dream*, compiled by the National Building Museum to accompany its wartime construction exhibit. Copies of the later two references are included in the project files. Finally, recent scholarship by Gail Radford and Kristin Szylvian provide excellent documentation of specific examples of PWA and defense public housing, respectively.

Other good references to individual public housing projects are located in the National Register property nomination forms and determination of eligibility studies, all of which are included in the project files. A list of the housing projects for which National Register documentation already exists is provided in Appendix I of this report. Richard Plunz's book on housing in New York City and Devereaux Bowly's history of public housing in Chicago also provide comprehensive coverage of the architecture, social history, and politics of public housing in those cities. John Bauman's works on Philadelphia focus less on architecture, but are especially valuable for their discussion of racial policies in public housing. Dominic J. Capeci, Jr., also provides a chapter on race and public housing in *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit*. Arnold R. Hirsch and Raymond A. Mohl do the same for Miami, Florida, in *Urban Policy in Twentieth Century America.*

Other research efforts were less successful than more traditional research at the National Archives and Library of Congress. The National Register call for information and a questionnaire sent to local housing authorities provided minimal information. The questionnaire to the State Historic Preservation Officers provided some information about determinations of eligibility for public housing, although the responses were not as forthcoming as originally hoped. Travel to Atlanta and Chicago provided excellent tours of actual public housing projects. The Chicago Housing Authority was especially accommodating providing tours of every project built during the period under consideration. Research into the files at these housing authorities, however, was less fruitful. Historical data generally was unorganized, unlabeled, or missing. Both the Atlanta and Chicago historical societies have copies of original architectural plans and photographs relating to early public housing in their collections, copies of which may be ordered from these societies. The Ernest Bohn Collection on public housing is maintained at the Case Western Reserve University Library in Cleveland. Bohn was the influential president of the National Association of Housing Officials and the father of Cleveland's public housing programs. Researchers looking for site specific information may want to identify local historical societies in their area as a potential source for organized reference materials. Local newspaper archives are also likely to contain contemporary accounts and documentation.

The database of public housing projects incorporated as Appendix II-IV of this report was compiled using three sources: HUD's current database, HUD's 1975 Consolidated Development

Directory, and the National Housing Agency's comprehensive wartime list of all government housing published in 1943 and available at the Library of Congress. The 1943 book is an invaluable resource for this database as it lists essentially all housing projects relevant to this context (only a handful were built between 1943 and 1949), and provides the name of the government program under which they were built, reliable construction dates, and other pertinent information. All listings were cross checked in the 1943 book with the current HUD database and HUD's 1975 publication in order to determine which projects continue to function under the modern public housing program. The HUD database is not always reliable on exact construction dates, especially with the federal projects built under the PWA and Lanham Act and later transferred into the program. Construction dates for these projects usually reflect the date of transfer from federal ownership to local ownership rather than the date of actual construction. Data for the lists of PWA housing came from the PWA bulletin *Urban Housing* and Straus and Wegg's *Housing Comes of Age*.

The database compiled for this context study that serves as the basis for Appendix II-IV is maintained by the National Register of Historic Places. Queries regarding information in the database can be directed to the National Register office in Washington, D.C.

The Registration Requirements section was developed by a careful review and analysis of the research information compiled as part of this study and the work of other outside researchers. This material was synthesized with information contained in previous National Register evaluations completed by HUD, local housing authorities, state historic preservation officers, and the National Register. The final evaluation discussions borrow from previously completed National Register eligibility studies for public housing sites, National Register studies completed in association with other Federal government programs, and the general National Park Service guidance on applying the Criteria for Evaluation.

This report is a working document that will continue to evolve as research and the evaluation of public housing projects proceeds. As our understanding of the architectural and historical development of public housing expands through the analysis of physical resources, revisions to the context study may be necessary.

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APPENDIX I

PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS LISTED IN OR ELIGIBLE FOR LISTING IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

National Register of Historic Places Listings

Langston Terrace Dwellings, Washington, District of Columbia (1936) (Listed 1987)
Griffin Park Historic District, Orlando, Orange County, Florida (1939) (Listed 1996)
Techwood Homes Historic District, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia (1935) (Listed 1976) (Demolished)
Lockfield Garden Apartments, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana (1935-37) (Listed 1983)
Magnolia Street Housing Project (C. J. Peete Project), New Orleans, Orleans Parish, Louisiana (1941) (Listed 1999)
Neighborhood Gardens Apartments, St. Louis, St. Louis-independent city, Missouri (1935) (Listed 1986)
Harlem River Houses, New York, New York County, New York (1936) (Listed 1979)
Lower East Side Historic District (Boundary Increase) [Vladeck Houses], New York County, New York (1940) (Listed 2006)
Laurel Homes Historic District, Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio (1936-38) (Listed 1987)
Carl Mackley Houses, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania (1934-35) (Listed 1998)
Public Housing Projects in Memphis, Fayette County, Tennessee 1936-1943, Multiple Property Submission:
Lemoyne Gardens Public Housing Project (1941) (Listed 1996); Lauderdale Courts Public Housing Project (1938) (Listed 1996)
Cedar Springs Place, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas (1935) (Listed 1991)
San Felipe Courts Historic District, Houston, Harris County, Texas (1941) (Listed 1988)
Santa Rita Courts, Austin, Texas (1938-39) (Listed 2008)

Determinations of Eligibility

Ida B. Wells Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1939) (Determined eligible 1994)
Francis Cabrini Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1941) (Determined eligible 1994)
Altgeld Gardens, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1943) (Determined eligible 1994)
Jane Addams Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1935) (Determined eligible 1994)
Julia C. Lathrop Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1936) (Determined eligible 1994)
Trumbull Park Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1936) (Determined eligible 1994)
Lockfield Garden Apartments, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana (1938) (Determined eligible 1976)
Cedar Apartments, Cleveland, Cuyahoga County, Ohio (1935) (Determined eligible 1983)

Draft National Register Nomination Prepared

Public Housing in Philadelphia (Draft 1995); Hill Creek (1936); Tasker Homes (1939); James Weldon Johnson Homes (1939); Passyunk Homes

APPENDIX I

Public Housing Projects Listed or Determined Eligible for Listing in the National Register of Historic Places

National Register of Historic Places listings

Langston Terrace Dwellings, Washington, District of Columbia (1936) (Listed 1987)

Griffin Park Historic District, Orlando, Orange County, Florida (1939) (Listed 1996)

Techwood Homes Historic District, Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia (1935) (Listed 1976) (Demolished)

Lockfield Garden Apartments, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana (1935-37) (Listed 1983)

Magnolia Street Housing Project (C. J. Peete Project), New Orleans, Orleans Parish, Louisiana (1941) (Listed 1999)

Neighborhood Gardens Apartments, St. Louis, St. Louis-independent city, Missouri (1935) (Listed 1986)

Harlem River Houses, New York, New York County, New York (1936) (Listed 1979)

Laurel Homes Historic District, Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio (1936-38) (Listed 1987)

Carl Mackley Houses, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania (1934-35) (Listed 1998)

Robert Mills Manor, Charleston, Charleston County, South Carolina (1939) (Listed 1988, Charleston Historic District)

Public Housing Projects in Memphis, Tennessee 1936-1943, MPS

- Lemoyne Gardens Public Housing Project, Memphis, Fayette County, Tennessee (1941) (Listed 1996)
- Lauderdale Courts Public Housing Project, Memphis, Fayette County, Tennessee (1938) (Listed 1996)

Cedar Springs Place, Dallas, Dallas County, Texas (1935) (Listed 1991)

San Felipe Courts Historic District, Houston, Harris County, Texas (1941) (Listed 1988)

Determinations of Eligibility

Ida B. Wells Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1939) (Determined eligible 1994)

Francis Cabrini Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1941) (Determined eligible 1994)

Altgeld Gardens, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1943) (Determined eligible 1994)

Jane Addams Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1935) (Determined eligible 1994)

Julia C. Lathrop Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1936) (Determined eligible 1994)

Trumbull Park Houses, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois (1936) (Determined eligible 1994)

Lockfield Garden Apartments, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana (1938) (Determined eligible 1976)

Cedar Apartments, Cleveland, Cuyahoga County, Ohio (1935) (Determined eligible 1983)

Draft National Register nomination prepared

Public Housing in Philadelphia, MPS (Draft 1995)

- Hill Creek, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania (1936)
- Tasker Homes, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania (1939)
- James Weldon Johnson Homes, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania (1939)
- Passyunk Homes, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania (1941)

APPENDIX II

PWA Limited-Dividend Housing Projects

ST	CITY	PROJECT NAME	LOAN AMOUNT	LEGISLATION	UNITS	DEVELOPER	ARCHITECT
VA	ALTA VISTA	ALTA VISTA HOUSING	$84,000	NIRA	50	HARRY M. LANE	STANHOPE S. JOHNSON & R.O. BRANNAN
NY	NEW YORK CITY	BOULEVARD GARDENS	$3,069,587	NIRA	957	GEORGE C. MEYER	T.H. ENGLEHARDT
NY	NEW YORK CITY	HILLSIDE HOMES	$5,060,000	NIRA	1,416	HILLSIDE HOUSING CORP W/ NATHAN STRAUS	CLARENCE STEIN
NC	RALEIGH	BOYLAN	$198,000	NIRA	54	RUFUS BOYLAN	LINTHICUM & LINTHICUM
PA	PHILADELPHIA	CARL MACKLEY HOUSES	$1,030,000	NIRA	284	AMERICAN FEDERATION OF HOSIERY WORKERS	W. POPE BARNEY WITH OSKAR STONOROV
OH	EUCLID	EUCLID HOUSING	$432,000	NIRA	72	EUCLID HOUSING CORP.	GEORGE MAYER
NY	NEW YORK CITY	KNICKERBOCKER VILLAGE	$8,000,000	ERC	1,593	FRED F. FRENCH CO.	JOHN S. VAN WART & FREDERICK ACKERMAN
MO	ST. LOUIS	NEIGHBORHOOD GARDENS	$632,868	NIRA	252	J.A. WOLF & LEE JOHNSON	HOENER, BAUM & FROESE

APPENDIX III

PWA Direct-Built Housing Projects

ST	CITY	PROJECT NAME	RACE	CURRENT STATUS	APPROPRIATION	UNITS	SLUM/VACANT	ARCHITECT
AL	BIRMINGHAM	SMITHFIELD COURT	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,500,000	544	S	D.O. WHILLDIN
AL	MONTGOMERY	RIVERSIDE HEIGHTS	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$411,000	100	V	AUSFELD & JONES
AL	MONTGOMERY	WILLIAM B. PATTERSON COURTS	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$506,000	156	S	COOPER & SMITH
CT	STAMFORD	FAIRFIELD COURT	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$884,000	146	V	WILLIAM J. PROVOOST
DC	WASHINGTON	LANGSTON TERRACE	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,842,000	274	V	ROBINSON, PORTER & WILLIAMS
FL	JACKSONVILLE	DURKEEVILLE	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$948,000	215	V	MELLEN C. GREELEY
FL	MIAMI	LIBERTY SQUARE	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$969,880	243	V	P.E. PAIST
GA	ATLANTA	TECHWOOD	W	DEMOLISHED 1996	$2,933.500	604	S	BURGE & STEVENS
GA	ATLANTA	UNIVERSITY HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,592,000	675	S	EDWARDS & SAYWARD
IL	CHICAGO	JANE ADDAMS HOUSES	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$7,041,759	1027	S	JOHN A. HOLABIRD
IL	CHICAGO	JULIA C. LATHROP HOMES	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$5,862,000	925	V	ROBERT S. DEGOLYER
IL	CHICAGO	TRUMBULL PARK HOMES	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,038,000	462	V	JOHN A HOLABIRD
IN	EVANSVILLE	LINCOLN GARDENS	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,000,000	191	S	EDWARD J. THOLE
IN	INDIANAPOLIS	LOCKEFIELD GARDEN APARTMENTS	AA	PRIVATIZED AND PARTIALLY DEMOLISHED 1983	$3,207,000	748	S	RUSS & HARRISON
KY	LEXINGTON	BLUE GRASS PARK/ASPENDALE	MX	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,704,000	286	V	HUGH MERIWETHER
KY	LOUISVILLE	COLLEGE COURT	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$758,000	125	V	E.T. HUTCHINGS
KY	LOUISVILLE	LA SALLE PLACE	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,350,000	210	V	E.T.HUTCHINGS
MA	BOSTON	OLD HARBOR VILLAGE	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$6,636,000	1016	V	JOSEPH D. LELAND
MA	CAMBRIDGE	NEW TOWNE COURT	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,500,000	294	S	HENRY C. ROBBINS
MI	DETROIT	BREWSTER	AA	DEMOLISHED 1988	$5,200,000	701	S	GEORGE D. MASON
MI	DETROIT	PARKSIDE	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$4,500,000	775	V	GEORGE D. MASON
MN	MINNEAPOLIS	SUMNER FIELD HOMES	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,632,000	464	S	W.H. TUSLER
NE	OMAHA	LOGAN FONTANELLE HOMES	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,955,000	284	S	WILLIAM L. STEELE
NJ	ATLANTIC CITY	STANLEY S. HOLMES HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,550,000	277	S	J. VAUGHAN MATHIS
NJ	CAMDEN	WESTFIELD ACRES	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,116,160	515	V	JOSEPH N. HETTEL
NY	BUFFALO	KENFIELD	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$4,755,000	658	V	CHESTER OAKLEY
NY	LACKAWANNA	BAKER HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,610,000	271	V	
NY	NEW YORK CITY	HARLEM RIVER HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$4,219,000	574	V	ARCHIBALD M. BROWN
NY	NEW YORK CITY	WILLIAMSBURG	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$13,459,000	1622	S	RICHMOND H. SHREVE
NY	SCHENECTADY	SCHONOWEE VILLAGE	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,435,000	219	S	R.L. BROWN

ST	CITY	PROJECT NAME	RACE	CURRENT STATUS	APPROPRIATION	UNITS	SLUM/VACANT	ARCHITECT
OH	CINCINNATI	LAUREL HOMES	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$7,086,000	1039	S	FREDERICK W. GARBER
OH	CLEVELAND	CEDAR-CENTRAL APARTMENTS	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,384,000	650	S	WALTER R. MCCORNACK
OH	CLEVELAND	LAKE VIEW TERRACE	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,800,000	620	S	JOSEPH L. WEINBERG
OH	CLEVELAND	OUTHWAITE HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,564,000	579	S	MAIER, WALSH & BARRETT
OH	TOLEDO	BRAND WHITLOCK HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,000,000	264	S	HAROLD H. MUNGER
OK	ENID	CHEROKEE TERRACE	W	PRIVATELY OWNED SECTION 8 RENTAL HOUSING	$557,100	80	S	GEORGE BLUMENAUER
OK	OKLAHOMA CITY	WILL ROGERS COURTS	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,000,000	354	V	J.O. PARR
PA	PHILADELPHIA	HILL CREEK	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,110,000	258	V	WALTER H. THOMAS
PA	WAYNE	HIGHLAND HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$344,000	50	S	H. BARTOL REGISTER
PR	CAGUAS	CASERIO LAGRANJA	N/A	TRANSFERRED TO PR REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY 1938	$275,000	78	V	PWA HOUSING DIVISION
PR	SAN JUAN	CASERIO MIRAPALMERAS	N/A	TRANSFERRED TO PR REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY 1938	$500,00	131	V	PWA HOUSING DIVISION
SC	CHARLESTON	MEETING STREET MANOR/COOPER	MX	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,305,000	212	V	SAMUEL LAPHAM, JR.
SC	COLUMBIA	UNIVERSITY TERRACE	W	SOLD TO USC BY PHA 1950S; DEMOLISHED 1995	$706,000	122	S	JAMES B. URQUHART
TN	MEMPHIS	DIXIE HOMES	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,400,000	633	S	G. FRAZIER SMITH
TN	MEMPHIS	LAUDERDALE COURTS	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$3,128,000	449	S	G. FRAZIER SMITH
TN	NASHVILLE	ANDREW JACKSON COURTS	AA	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,890,000	398	S	RICHARD R. CLARK
TN	NASHVILLE	CHEATHAM PLACE	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,000,000	314	S	RICHARD R. CLARK
TX	DALLAS	CEDAR SPRINGS PLACE	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$1,020,000	181	S	WALTER C. SHARP
VI	ST. CROIX	BASSIN TRIANGLE	N/A	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$41,800	30	V	PWA HOUSING DIVISION
VI	ST CROIX	MARLEY HOMES	N/A	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$56,900	38	V	PWA HOUSING DIVISION
VI	ST. THOMAS	H. H. BERG HOMES	N/A	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$98,500	58	S	PWA HOUSING DIVISION
WI	MILWAUKEE	PARKLAWN	W	CONVENTIONAL PUBLIC HOUSING	$2,600,000	518	V	GERRITT J. DEGELLEKE

APPENDIX IV

Federal Public Housing Projects, 1933-1949

ST	HOUSING AUTHORITY/LOCALITY	Project Number	PROJECT NAME (Original Name)	PROGRAM	Units	Building Type	Construction Start Date	Occupancy Date	Termination Date	Cost $000
AL	ANNISTON	AL09P004001	GLENNADIE HOMES	USHA	164	RW	4/1/43	8/1/43		596
AL	BIRMINGHAM	AL09P001001	ELYTON VILLAGE	USHA	863	MX	10/1/39	10/1/40		3953
AL	BIRMINGHAM	AL09P001003R	METROPOLITAN GARDENS (Central City)	USHA	913	MX	6/1/40	7/1/41		4133
AL	BIRMINGHAM	AL09P001004R	SOUTHTOWN	USHA	480	MX	7/1/40	8/1/41		2060
AL	BIRMINGHAM	AL09P001009	SMITHFIELD CT.	PWA	512	MX	4/1/36	2/1/38		2421
AL	DOTHAN	AL09P007001	HENRY GREEN APTS.	DEFENSE	102	RW	1/1/42	9/1/42		446
AL	FAIRFIELD	AL09P010001	FAIRFIELD CTS.	USHA	90	RW	3/1/43	12/1/43		378
AL	GADSDEN	AL09P049005	CAMPBELL CT.	LANHAM	150	SD	4/1/41	10/1/41		479
AL	GADSDEN	AL09P049006	STARNES PARK	LANHAM	100	SD	7/1/41	7/1/42		342
AL	MOBILE	AL09P002001	OAKLAWN HOMES	USHA	100	RW	1/1/40	10/1/40		436
AL	MOBILE	AL09P002002	ORANGE GROVE HOMES	USHA	298	RW	9/1/39	9/1/40		1363
AL	MOBILE	AL09P002005	THOMAS JAMES PLACE	LANHAM	255	SD		12/1/43		
AL	MOBILE Prichard	AL09P002006	GULF VILLAGE	LANHAM	199	SD		12/1/42		
AL	MONTGOMERY	AL09P006001	RIVERSIDE HEIGHTS	USHA	137	RW	8/1/40	2/1/41		538
AL	MONTGOMERY	AL09P006002	CLEVELAND CT.	USHA	150	RW	7/1/40	2/1/41		538
AL	MONTGOMERY	AL09P006005	PATERSON CT.	USHA	44	RW	6/1/45	2/1/46		
AL	MONTGOMERY	AL09P006007	RIVERSIDE HEIGHTS	PWA	100	RW	10/1/35	6/1/37		408
AL	MONTGOMERY	AL09P006008	WILLIAM B. PATERSON CT.	PWA	156	RW	7/1/35	2/1/37		503
AL	PHENIX CITY	AL09P005001R	RIVERVIEW	USHA	216	RW	10/1/39	11/1/40		836
AL	PHENIX CITY	AL09P005002	DOUGLAS	USHA	206	RW	9/1/40	9/1/41		724
AL	SYLACAUGA	AL09P057003	SYLAVON CT.	LANHAM	150	MX	9/1/41	2/1/42		534
AL	TALLADEGA	AL09P105001	CURRY CT.	LANHAM	150	MX	9/1/41	2/1/42		520
AL	TARRANT	AL09P013001	NESTLEWOOD	DEFENSE	52	RW	3/1/42	11/1/42		207
AR	FORT SMITH	AR37P003001	RAGON HOMES	DEFENSE	170	RW	5/1/42	6/1/43		761
AR	LITTLE ROCK	AR37P004001	SUNSET TERRACE	DEFENSE	74	SD	10/1/41	5/1/42		316
AR	LITTLE ROCK	AR37P004002	HIGHLAND PARK	DEFENSE	74	SD	10/1/41	5/1/42		295
AR	LITTLE ROCK	AR37P004003	AMELIA B. IVES (Tuxedo Cts.)	DEFENSE	100	SD	10/1/41	4/1/42		401
AR	N. LITTLE ROCK	AR37P002001	SILVER CITY CTS	USHA	148	MX	1/1/41	1/1/42		599
AZ	GLENDALE	AZ20P003001	FREY FRANCISCO PORRAS	DEFENSE	51	MX	10/1/42	6/1/43		222
AZ	MESA	AZ20P005001	ESCOBEDO HOUSING	DEFENSE	53	RW	10/1/42	6/1/43		240
AZ	PHOENIX	AZ20P001001	MARCOS DE NIZA	USHA	224	MX	9/1/40	1/1/42		728
AZ	PHOENIX	AZ20P001002	FRANK LUKE, JR.	USHA	230	MX	9/1/40	1/1/42		683
AZ	PHOENIX	AZ20P001003	MATTHEW HENSON	USHA	150	MX	7/1/40	10/1/41		513
AZ	TUCSON	AZ20P004001	LA REFORMA	DEFENSE	162		4/1/42	3/1/43	11/1/83	788

ST	HOUSING AUTHORITY/LOCALITY	Project Number	PROJECT NAME (Original Name)	PROGRAM	Units	Building Type	Construction Start Date	Occupancy Date	Termination Date	Cost $000
CA	CONTRA COSTA CO. Martinez	CA39P011001	ALHAMBRA TERRACE	DEFENSE	243	SD	2/1/42	7/1/42		243
CA	CONTRA COSTA CO. Antioch	CA39P011002	LOS MEDANOS PUEBLO	DEFENSE	86	SD	2/1/42	8/1/42		370
CA	CONTRA COSTA CO. Brentwood	CA39P011003	BRIDGEMONT	DEFENSE	36	SD	2/1/42	7/1/42		175
CA	CONTRA COSTA CO.	CA39P011004	LOS NOGALES	DEFENSE	44	SD	9/1/42	3/1/43		195
CA	FRESNO CITY	CA39P006001	(Fairview Heights)	USHA	86		11/1/41	9/1/42	12/1/87	312
CA	FRESNO CITY	CA39P006002	SEQUOIA CTS.	USHA	60	MX	11/1/41	7/1/42		242
CA	FRESNO CITY	CA39P006003	SIERRA PLAZA	USHA	70	MX	11/1/41	8/1/42		253
CA	FRESNO CITY	CA39P006011	FUNSTON PLACE	LANHAM	149	MX	5/1/41	10/1/41		484
CA	KERN CO. Bakersfield	CA16P008001	RIO VISTA	DEFENSE	60	SD	3/1/42	7/1/42		236
CA	KERN CO. Bakersvield	CA16P008002	ADELANTE VISTA	DEFENSE	50	SD	2/1/42	6/1/42		205
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004001	RAMONA GARDENS	USHA	610	RW	3/1/40	6/1/41		2004
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004002	PICO GARDENS	DEFENSE	260	RW	2/1/42	8/1/42		1361
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004003	PUEBLO DEL RIO	DEFENSE	400	RW	10/1/41	11/1/42		1970
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004004	RANCHO SAN PEDRO	DEFENSE	285	RW	11/1/41	9/1/42		1438
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004005	ALISO VILLAGE	DEFENSE	802	RW	12/1/42	3/1/43		4410
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004006	WILLIAM MEAD HOMES	DEFENSE	449	RW	2/1/42	3/1/43		2219
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004007	ESTRADA CT.S	DEFENSE	214	RW	1/1/42	7/1/42		969
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004008	ROSE HILLS CT.S	DEFENSE	100	RW	1/1/42	6/1/42		468
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004009	AVALON GARDENS	DEFENSE	164	MX	10/1/41	6/1/42		691
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004010	HACIENDA VILLAGE	DEFENSE	184	SD	11/1/41	7/1/42		732
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004023	NORMONT TERRACE	LANHAM	400	MX	2/1/42	7/1/42		1389
CA	LOS ANGELES CITY	CA16P004024	DANA STRAND VILLAGE	LANHAM	384	RW	2/1/42	7/1/42		1294
CA	LOS ANGELES CO. Long Beach	CA16P002001	CARMELITOS	DEFENSE	737	WU	9/1/39	1/1/43		2807
CA	LOS ANGELES CO. Lomita	CA16P002002	HARBOR HILLS	DEFENSE	300	WU	2/1/40	7/1/41		1317
CA	LOS ANGELES CO. E. Los Angeles	CA16P002004	MARAVILLA	DEFENSE	504	MX	2/1/42	2/1/43		2408
CA	OAKLAND	CA39P003001	PERALTA VILLAGE	DEFENSE	396	MX	12/1/40	6/1/43		2027
CA	OAKLAND	CA39P003002	CAMPBELL VILLAGE	DEFENSE	154	MX	7/1/41	7/1/41		784
CA	OAKLAND	CA39P003003	LOCKWOOD GARDENS	DEFENSE	372	MX	5/1/42	9/1/42		1484
CA	RICHMOND	CA39P010001	TRIANGLE CT.	DEFENSE	98		11/1/41	7/1/42	6/1/82	388
CA	RICHMOND	CA39P010002	NYSTROM VILLAGE	DEFENSE	102	SD	2/1/42	7/1/42		411
CA	SACRAMENTO CITY	CA30P005001	816 REVERE STREET (New Helvetia)	DEFENSE	310	RW	5/1/41	8/1/42		1247
CA	SACREMENTO CO.	CA30P007001	DOS RIOS	DEFENSE	168	MX	11/1/41	10/1/42		548
CA	SAN BERNARDINO CO Redlands	CA16P019001	LUGONIA HOMES	DEFENSE	50	WU	9/1/42	4/1/43		226
CA	SAN BERNARDINO CO. San Bernadino	CA16P019002	WATERMAN GARDENS	DEFENSE	270	WU	9/1/42	6/1/43		1074

ST	HOUSING AUTHORITY/LOCALITY	Project Number	PROJECT NAME (Original Name)	PROGRAM	Units	Building Type	Construction Start Date	Occupancy Date	Termination Date	Cost $000
CA	SAN FRANCISCO	CA39P001001	HOLLY CT.S	DEFENSE	118	MX	7/1/39	6/1/40		550
CA	SAN FRANCISCO	CA39P001002	POTRERO TERRACE	DEFENSE	469	MX	4/1/40	8/1/41		2085
CA	SAN FRANCISCO	CA39P001003	SUNNYDALE	DEFENSE	772	MX	3/1/40	9/1/41		2780
CA	SAN FRANCISCO	CA39P001004	VALENCIA GARDENS	DEFENSE	246	MX	5/1/41	5/1/43		1247
CA	SAN FRANCISCO	CA39P001008	WESTSIDE CT.S	DEFENSE	136	MX	4/1/42	6/1/43		925
CA	UPLAND	CA16P009002	LOS OLIVOS	DEFENSE	100	MX	3/1/42	11/1/43		415
CO	DENVER	CO06P001001	(Las Casitas)	DEFENSE	195		6/1/41	7/1/42		783
CO	DENVER	CO06P001002	LINCOLN PARK	USHA	422	WU	6/1/40	10/1/42		1972
CO	DENVER	CO06P001003	CURTIS-PLATTE HOMES	DEFENSE	77	RW	7/1/41	5/1/42		380
CO	DENVER	CO06P001004	ARAPAHOE CT.S	DEFENSE	76	RW	2/1/42	7/1/42		387
CT	BRIDGEPORT	CT26P001001	FATHER PANIK VILLAGE (Yellow Mill Village)	USHA	1239	WU	12/1/39	8/1/41		6214
CT	BRIDGEPORT	CT26P001002A	MARINA VILLAGE	USHA	407	WU	9/1/40	1/1/42		2630
CT	BRISTOL	CT26P023001	CAMBRIDGE PARK	LANHAM	200	RW	2/1/42	11/1/42		789
CT	HARTFORD	CT26P003001	NELTON CT.	USHA	156	RW	1/1/40	6/1/41		716
CT	HARTFORD	CT26P003002	DUTCH POINT COLONY	USHA	222	RW	4/1/40	8/1/41		1074
CT	HARTFORD	CT26P003003	BELLEVUE SQUARE	USHA	345	RW	12/1/40	8/1/42		2004
CT	HARTFORD	CT26P003004	CHARTER OAK TERRACE	DEFENSE	1000	RW	2/1/41	3/1/42		4412
CT	MIDDLETOWN	CT26P009001	LONG RIVER VILLAGE	DEFENSE	198	RW	3/1/42	12/1/42		944
CT	NEW BRITAIN	CT26P005001	MOUNT PLEASANT	USHA	340	RW	8/1/40	1/1/42		1529
CT	NEW HAVEN	CT26P004001	ELM HAVEN	USHA	487	MX	4/1/40	6/1/41		2609
CT	NEW HAVEN	CT26P004003	QUINNIPIAC TERRACE	USHA	248	MX	12/1/40	12/1/41		1267
CT	NEW HAVEN	CT26P004004	FARNUM CT.S	USHA	300	WU	4/1/41	3/1/42		1645
CT	NORWALK	CT26P002001	WASHINGTON VILLAGE	USHA	136	MX	3/1/40	5/1/41		626
CT	STAMFORD	CT26P007001	SOUTHFIELD VILLAGE	USHA	250	RW	12/1/40	7/1/41		1200
CT	STAMFORD	CT26P007003	FAIRFIELD CT.	PWA	146	MX	12/1/35	9/1/37		826
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001001	FORT DUPONT DWELLINGS	USHA	326	WU	11/1/39	3/1/41		1616
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001002	ELLEN WILSON DWELLINGS	USHA	217	WU	3/1/40	3/1/41		1237
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001003	JAMES CREEK	DEFENSE	278	RW	3/1/42	10/1/42		1701
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001004	FREDERICK DOUGLASS	USHA	313	RW	8/1/40	9/1/41		1499
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washginton	DC39P001007	CARROLLSBURG DWELLINGS	USHA	314	WU	12/1/40	10/1/41		1817
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001008	KELLY MILLER DWELLINGS	USHA	169	WU	3/1/41	11/1/41		1005
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001009	BARRY FARMS DWELLINGS	DEFENSE	442	RW	5/1/42	6/1/43		2550
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001011	PARKSIDE	DEFENSE	373		8/1/42	7/1/43	6/1/74	2263
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001013	LINCOLN HEIGHTS	USHA	440	RW	2/1/45	12/1/46		

ST	HOUSING AUTHORITY/LOCALITY	Project Number	PROJECT NAME (Original Name)	PROGRAM	Units	Building Type	Construction Start Date	Occupancy Date	Termination Date	Cost $000
DC	Dist. OF COLUMBIA Washington	DC39P001025	LANGSTON TERRACE	PWA	274	WU	2/1/36	5/1/38		1774
DE	WILMINGTON	DE26P001001	E.LAKE	DEFENSE	200	RW	4/1/42	12/1/42		1072
DE	WILMINGTON	DE26P001002	SOUTHBRIDGE	DEFENSE	180	RW	8/1/42	8/1/43		966
FL	DADE CO.	FL29P005001	EDISON CT.S	USHA	345	RW	5/1/39	3/1/40		1369
FL	DADE CO.	FL29P005002	LIBERTY SQUARE	USHA	352	RW	7/1/39	7/1/40		985
FL	DADE CO.	FL29P005003	LIBERTY SQUARE	USHA	378	RW	10/1/39	8/1/40		1017
FL	DADE CO.	FL29P005005	LIBERTY SQUARE	PWA	242	RW	1/1/36	2/1/37		909
FL	DAYTONA BEACH	FL29P007001	BETHUNE VILLAGE (Pine Haven)	USHA	167	RW	6/1/39	5/1/40		501
FL	DAYTONA BEACH	FL29P007001A	BETHUNE VILLAGE (Pine Haven Addn.)	USHA	66	RW	1/1/41	7/1/41		230
FL	DAYTONA BEACH	FL29P007002	HALIFAX PARK	USHA	66	SD	12/1/41	8/1/42		255
FL	FT. LAUDERDALE	FL29P010001	DIXIE CT.	USHA	150	RW	10/1/39	7/1/40		497
FL	FT. LAUDERDALE	FL29P010002	DR. KENNEDY HOMES	USHA	108	RW	4/1/41	11/1/41		410
FL	JACKSONVILLE	FL29P001001	BRENTWOOD PARK	USHA	234	MX	11/1/38	11/1/39		989
FL	JACKSONVILLE	FL29P001001A	BRENTWOOD PARK ADDN.	USHA	368	MX	2/1/40	5/1/41		1238
FL	JACKSONVILLE	FL29P001002	JOSEPH H. BLODGETT HOMES	USHA-WAR	708	RW	3/1/41	11/1/42	6/1/94	2830
FL	KEY WEST	FL29P013001	JOSEPH Y. PORTER PLACE	USHA	136	WU	12/1/40	2/1/42		490
FL	KEY WEST	FL29P013002	FORT VILLAGE	USHA	84	WU	2/1/41	2/1/42		288
FL	LAKELAND	FL29P011001	LAKE RIDGE HOMES	USHA	160	MX	2/1/41	10/1/41		484
FL	LAKELAND	FL29P011002	WESTLAKE	DEFENSE	60	MX	12/1/41	6/1/42		225
FL	ORLANDO	FL29P004001	GRIFFIN PARK	USHA	250	MX	10/1/39	9/1/40		857
FL	ORLANDO	FL29P004002	REEVES TERRACE	DEFENSE	90	MX	4/1/42	1/1/43		399
FL	ORLANDO	FL29P004003	CARVER CT.	USHA	160	MX	4/1/44	7/1/45		
FL	ORLANDO	FL29P004007	ORANGE VILLA	LANHAM	100	SD	3/1/41	9/1/41		284
FL	PENSACOLA	FL29P006001	ARAGON CT.	USHA	120		3/1/40	12/1/40	8/1/82	567
FL	PENSACOLA	FL29P006002	ATTUCK CT.	USHA	120	RW	9/1/39	7/1/40		498
FL	PENSACOLA	FL29P006003	MORENO CT.	DEFENSE	200	SD	7/1/40	11/1/40		648
FL	SARASOTA	FL29P008001	ORANGE AVENUE APTS.	USHA	60	RW	3/1/41	1/1/42		208
FL	ST. PETERSBURG	FL29P002001	JORDAN PARK	USHA	242	WU	4/1/39	4/1/40		974
FL	ST. PETERSBURG	FL29P002001A	JORDAN PARK ADDN.	USHA	203	WU	2/1/41	11/1/41		683
FL	TAMPA	FL29P003001	N. BOULE-VARD HOMES	USHA	534	RW	6/1/39	9/1/40		2136
FL	TAMPA	FL29P003002	PONCE DELEON CT.	USHA	320	RW	6/1/40	4/1/41		1026
FL	TAMPA	FL29P003003	RIVERVIEW TERRACE	USHA	328	RW	4/1/40	2/1/41		1099
FL	TAMPA	FL29P003004	COLLEGE HILL HOMES	DEFENSE	500	RW	3/1/44	5/1/45		
FL	WEST PALM BEACH	FL29P009001	DUNBAR VILLAGE	USHA	246	RW	9/1/39	6/1/40		806

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FL	WEST PALM BEACH	FL29P009002	SOUTHRIDGE	USHA	121	RW	5/1/40	3/1/41		456
GA	ALBANY	GA06P023001	THRONATEESKA HOMES	DEFENSE	40	RW	12/1/41	8/1/42		179
GA	ALBANY	GA06P023002	O. B. HINES HOMES	DEFENSE	56	RW	12/1/41	11/1/42		243
GA	ALBANY	GA06P023006	WILLIAM BINNS HOMES	LANHAM	100	SD	8/1/41	12/1/41		352
GA	ATHENS	GA06P003001	PARKVIEW HOMES	USHA	54	RW	11/1/39	8/1/40		223
GA	ATHENS	GA06P003001A	PARKVIEW HOMES	USHA	100	RW	9/1/40	11/1/41		367
GA	ATHENS	GA06P003002	BROADACRES HOMES	USHA	126	RW	11/1/39	8/1/40		459
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006001	CLARK HOWELL HOMES	USHA	630	RW	9/1/39	1/1/41		3378
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006002	JOHN HOPE HOMES	USHA	606	RW	10/1/39	11/1/40		2767
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006003	CAPITOL HOMES	USHA	616	RW	3/1/40	7/1/41		2986
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006003A	CAPITOL HOMES	USHA	179	RW	9/1/41	7/1/42		873
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006004	GRADY HOMES	USHA	616	RW	6/1/40	9/1/41		2635
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006005R1	EAGAN HOMES	USHA	548	RW	2/1/40	5/1/41		2007
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006005R2	HERNDON HOMES	USHA	520	RW	9/1/40	4/1/42		1989
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006009	TECHWOOD HOMES	PWA	604	WU	2/1/35	8/1/36	7/1/95	2619
GA	ATLANTA	GA06P006010	UNIVERSITY HOMES	PWA	675	WU	4/1/35	4/1/37		2510
GA	AUGUSTA	GA06P001001	OLMSTEAD HOMES	USHA	167	RW	1/1/39	3/1/40		670
GA	AUGUSTA	GA06P001001A	OLMSTEAD HOMES	USHA	88	SD	1/1/42	8/1/42		360
GA	AUGUSTA	GA06P001002	CHERRY TREE CROSSING (Sunset Homes)	USHA	168	RW	3/1/39	3/1/40		701
GA	AUGUSTA	GA06P001003R	GILBERT MANOR	USHA	278	RW	3/1/40	5/1/41		1004
GA	BRUNSWICK	GA06P009001	GLYNNVILLA APTS.	USHA	128	RW	7/1/40	5/1/41		514
GA	BRUNSWICK	GA06P009002	MCINTYRE CT.	USHA	144	RW	7/1/40	6/1/41		519
GA	COLUMBUS	GA06P004001R	GEORGE F. PEABODY APTS.	USHA	360	WU	11/1/39	10/1/40		1351
GA	COLUMBUS	GA06P004001RA	PEABODY HOMES	USHA	150	RW	3/1/41	3/1/42		556
GA	COLUMBUS	GA06P004002	BOOKER T. WASHINGTON APTS.	USHA	288	RW	6/1/39	6/1/40		1055
GA	COLUMBUS	GA06P004002A	BOOKER T. WASHINGTON APTS.	USHA	104	RW	1/1/40	11/1/40		409
GA	COLUMBUS	GA06P004005	WARREN WILLIAMS HOMES	USHA	160	RW	11/1/44	9/1/45		
GA	DECATUR	GA06P011001	ALLEN WILSON TERRACE	USHA	200	WU	12/1/40	11/1/41		762
GA	MACON	GA06P007001	OGLETHORPE HOMES	USHA	188	RW	9/1/39	10/1/40		764
GA	MACON	GA06P007002	TINDALL HEIGHTS	USHA	318	RW	9/1/39	10/1/40		1179
GA	MACON	GA06P007002A	TINDALL HEIGHTS ADDN.	USHA	126	RW	3/1/41	7/1/42		488
GA	MACON	GA06P007003	BOWDEN HOMES	USHA	128	RW	3/1/41	4/1/42		460
GA	MACON	GA06P007005	PENDLETON HOMES	LANHAM	250	RW	6/1/41	12/1/41		791
GA	MACON	GA06P007006	FELTON HOMES	LANHAM	100	SD	6/1/41	10/1/41		310

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GA	MARIETTA	GA06P010001R	CLAY HOMES	USHA	132	RW	10/1/40	10/1/41		499
GA	MARIETTA	GA06P010002	FORT HILL HOMES	USHA	120	RW	10/1/40	11/1/41		414
GA	ROME	GA06P005001	C. A. HIGHT HOMES (DeSoto Homes)	USHA	148	RW	9/1/39	11/1/40		624
GA	ROME	GA06P005002	ALTOVIEW TERRACE	USHA	94	RW	9/1/39	11/1/40		373
GA	SAVANNAH	GA06P002001	FELLWOOD HOMES	USHA	176	SD	9/1/39	7/1/40		734
GA	SAVANNAH	GA06P002002	YAMACRAW VILLAGE	USHA	480	RW	2/1/40	4/1/41		2197
GA	SAVANNAH	GA06P002003	GARDEN HOMES ESTATE	USHA	314	SD	4/1/40	3/1/41		1126
GA	SAVANNAH	GA06P002009	FRANCIS BARTOW PLACE	LANHAM	150	SD	9/1/41	1/1/42		497
HI	HAWAII Honolulu	HI10P001001	KAMEHAMEHA HOMES	USHA	221	SD	8/1/39	7/1/40		1053
HI	HAWAII Honolulu	HI10P001002	KALAKAUA HOMES	DEFENSE	140		3/1/41	12/1/41	9/1/79	581
IL	ALEXANDER CO. Cairo	IL06P007001	ELMWOOD PLACE	USHA	159	RW	2/1/41	9/1/42		727
IL	ALEXANDER CO. Cairo	IL06P007002	MCBRIDE PLACE (Pyramid CT.)	USHA	240	RW	2/1/41	7/1/43		1034
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002001	IDA B. WELLS HOMES	USHA	1662	RW	8/1/39	1/1/41		8817
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002002	FRANCIS CABRINI HOMES	DEFENSE	586	RW	12/1/41	8/1/42		3749
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002003	ROBERT H. BROOKS HOMES	DEFENSE	834	RW	2/1/42	3/1/43		4932
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002004	BRIDGEPORT HOMES	DEFENSE	141	RW	5/1/42	5/1/43		828
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002005	LAWNDALE GARDENS	DEFENSE	128	RW	4/1/42	12/1/42		718
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002007	ALTGELD GARDENS	DEFENSE	1500	MX	10/1/43	8/1/45		9500
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002008	WENTWORTH GARDENS	USHA	422	MX	7/1/45	5/1/47		2933
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002009	DEARBORN HOMES	USHA	800	EL	12/1/48	12/1/49		9809
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002023	JANE ADDAMS HOUSES	PWA	1027	MX	12/1/35	12/1/38		6925
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002024	JULIA C. LATHROP HOMES	PWA	925	MX	1/1/36	2/1/38		5570
IL	CHICAGO	IL06P002025	TRUMBULL PARK HOMES	PWA	462	MX	2/1/36	2/1/38		2865
IL	DANVILLE	IL06P011001	FAIR OAKS	USHA	179	MX	1/1/41	2/1/42		815
IL	DANVILLE	IL06P011002	BEELER TERRACE	USHA	50	MX	1/1/41	11/1/41		246
IL	DECATUR	IL06P012001	LONGVIEW PLACE	DEFENSE	434	RW	3/1/41	9/1/42		1842
IL	E. ST. LOUIS	IL06P001001	SAMUEL GOMPERS HOMES	DEFENSE	264	RW	10/1/41	1/1/43		1550
IL	E. ST. LOUIS	IL06P001002	JOHN ROBINSON HOMES	DEFENSE	143	RW	10/1/41	12/1/42		710
IL	GRANITE CITY	IL06P005001	KIRKPATRICK HOMES	USHA	151	RW	10/1/40	1/1/42		774
IL	HENRY CO. Kewanee	IL06P009001	FAIRVIEW APTS.	USHA	125	RW	1/1/41	2/1/42		535
IL	MADISON CO. Madison	IL06P015001	GARESCHE HOMES	DEFENSE	80	RW	6/1/42	6/1/43		413
IL	MADISON CO. Venice	IL06P015002	VIOLA JONES HOMES	DEFENSE	37	RW	6/1/42	6/1/43		208

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IL	MOLINE	IL06P020001	SPRING BROOK CT.S	DEFENSE	184	RW	3/1/41	10/1/41		827
IL	PEORIA	IL06P003001	WARNER HOMES	USHA	487	MX	11/1/39	10/1/41		2288
IL	PEORIA	IL06P003002	HARRISON HOMES	USHA	606	RW	11/1/39	2/1/42		2764
IL	PEORIA	IL06P003002A	HARRISON APTS.	USHA	240	RW	2/1/41	2/1/43		1050
IL	QUINCY	IL06P016001	INDIAN HILLS APTS.	USHA	200	RW	9/1/41	12/1/42		800
IL	QUINCY	IL06P016002	CAPTAIN FRED BALL APTS.	USHA	49	RW	9/1/41	12/1/42		296
IL	ROCKFORD	IL06P022001	BLACKHAWK CT.S	DEFENSE	200	RW	11/1/41	7/1/42		956
IL	ROCK ISLAND GMAHA Ease Moline	IL06P010001	OAK GROVE	DEFENSE	97	WU	9/1/40	3/1/41		456
IL	SPRINGFIELD	IL06P004001	JOHN HAY HOMES	USHA	599	RW	8/1/40	2/1/42		2670
IN	DELAWARE CO.	IN36P004001	MIDDLETOWN GARDENS	USHA	112	MX	9/1/39	11/1/40		506
IN	EVANSVILLE	IN36P016004	LINCOLN GARDENS	PWA	191	WU	5/1/36	7/1/38		862
IN	FORT WAYNE	IN36P003003	MIAMI VILLAGE	LANHAM	75	SD	9/1/41	1/1/42		334
IN	GARY	IN36P011001	DELANEY COMMUNITY	USHA	305	RW	4/1/40	6/1/41		1238
IN	GARY	IN36P011002	IVANHOE GARDENS	USHA	317	RW	10/1/40	8/1/42		1400
IN	GARY	IN36P011003	DUNELAND VILLAGE	USHA	165	RW	10/1/40	7/1/42		782
IN	HAMMOND	IN36P010001	COLUMBIA CENTER	USHA	400	MX	9/1/40	1/1/42		1759
IN	INDIANAPOLIS	IN36P017006	LOCKEFIELD GARDEN APTS.	PWA	748			8/1/38	6/1/81	3169
IN	KOKOMO	IN36P007001	GATEWAY GARDENS	USHA	176	RW	8/1/39	11/1/40		756
IN	MUNCIE	IN36P005001	MUNSYANA HOMES	USHA	278	RW	11/1/39	6/1/41		1270
IN	NEW ALBANY	IN36P012001	BEECHWOOD	DEFENSE	106	RW	9/1/41	8/1/42		556
IN	NEW ALBANY	IN36P012002	CRYSTAL CT.	DEFENSE	18	RW	4/1/42	8/1/42		100
IN	VINCENNES	IN36P002001	MAJOR BOWMAN TERRACE	USHA	83	RW	5/1/39	4/1/40		319
KY	COVINGTON	KY36P002001	LATONIA TERRACE	USHA	235	RW	11/1/39	3/1/41		1222
KY	COVINGTON	KY36P002002	JACOB PRICE HOMES	USHA	163	RW	11/1/39	2/1/41		10177
KY	FRANKFORT	KY36P003001	LEESTOWN TERRACE	USHA	91	MX	9/1/39	12/1/40		346
KY	LEXINGTON	KY36P004001	FOWLER GARDENS	USHA	86	RW	5/1/40	5/1/41		357
KY	LEXINGTON	KY36P004002	CHARLOTTE CT.	USHA	206	RW	5/1/40	9/1/41		885
KY	LEXINGTON	KY36P004004	BLUEGRASS PARK & ASPENDALE	PWA	280	RW	1/1/36	1/1/38		1610
KY	LOUISVILLE	KY36P001001	CLARKSDALE	USHA	786	MX	1/1/39	10/1/40		4630
KY	LOUISVILLE	KY36P001002	BEECHER TERRACE	USHA	808	MX	6/1/39	2/1/41		4542
KY	LOUISVILLE	KY36P001003	PARKWAY PLACE	USHA	652	WU	2/1/42	9/1/43		2817
KY	LOUISVILLE	KY36P001004	SHEPPARD SQUARE	USHA	423	MX	10/1/41	5/1/43		2148

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KY	LOUISVILLE	KY36P001007	LASALLE PLACE	PWA	210	MX	7/1/36	1/1/38		1230
KY	LOUISVILLE	KY36P001008	COLLEGE CT.	PWA	125	RW	9/1/36	1/1/38		719
KY	MADISONVILLE	KY36P007001	OLD BROWNING SPRINGS	USHA	50	MX	4/1/41	2/1/42		198
KY	MADISONVILLE	KY36P007002	ROSENWALD	USHA	45	MX	4/1/41	1/1/42		166
KY	PADUCAH	KY36P006001	THOMAS JEFFERSON PLACE	USHA	125	RW	12/1/39	1/1/41		532
KY	PADUCAH	KY36P006002	ABRAHAM LINCOLN CT.	USHA	74	RW	12/1/39	12/1/40		360
LA	ALEXANDRIA	LA48P023001	(Fairway Terrace)	DEFENSE	100	SD	11/1/42	6/1/43		465
LA	ALEXANDRIA	LA48P023002	(Carver Village)	DEFENSE	48	MX	11/1/42	4/1/44		264
LA	E. BATON ROUGE Baton Rouge	LA48P003001	MONTE SANTO VILLAGE	USHA	80	SD	8/1/41	2/1/43		324
LA	E. BATON ROUGE Baton Rouge	LA48P003002	CLARKSDALE	USHA	50	SD	10/1/41	7/1/43		188
LA	LAKE CHARLES	LA48P004001	BOOKER T. WASHINGTON CT.S	USHA	72	MX	10/1/41	9/1/42		299
LA	LAKE CHARLES	LA48P004002	HIGH SCHOOL PARK HOMES	USHA	73	SD	10/1/41	8/1/42		295
LA	NEW ORLEANS	LA48P001001	ST. THOMAS STREET	USHA	970	WU	7/1/39	2/1/41		5708
LA	NEW ORLEANS	LA48P001002	C. J. PEETE (Magnolia Street)	USHA	723	WU	5/1/39	1/1/41		4150
LA	NEW ORLEANS	LA48P001003	IBERVILLE STREET	USHA	858	WU	3/1/40	7/1/41		4847
LA	NEW ORLEANS	LA48P001004	FLORIDA	DEFENSE	500	WU	5/1/44	9/1/46		
LA	NEW ORLEANS	LA48P001005	LAFITTE AVENUE	USHA	896	WU	4/1/40	8/1/41		4962
LA	NEW ORLEANS	LA48P001007	B. W. COOPER (Calliope Street)	USHA	690	WU	11/1/39	5/1/41		3480
LA	NEW ORLEANS	LA48P001008	SAINT BERNARD AVENUE	USHA	744	WU	7/1/40	4/1/42		3633
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002001	CHARLESTOWN	USHA	1149	WU	10/1/39	12/1/40		6181
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002003	MISSION HILL	USHA	1023	WU	12/1/39	4/1/41		5659
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002004	LENOX STREET	USHA	306	WU	11/1/39	11/1/40		1670
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002005	ORCHARD PARK	DEFENSE	774	WU	6/1/41	2/1/43		4487
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002007	HEATH STREET	DEFENSE	420	WU	2/1/41	2/1/42		2497
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002008	MAVERICK (E. Boston)	DEFENSE	414	WU	7/1/41	8/1/42		2593
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002023	MARY ELLEN MCCORMACK (Old Harbor Village)	PWA	1016	MX	11/1/35	5/1/38		6245
MA	BOSTON	MA06P002024	OLD COLONY VILLAGE	LANHAM	873	WU	9/1/42	6/1/43		4763
MA	CAMBRIDGE	MA06P003001	WASHINGTON ELMS	USHA	324	MX	3/1/41	3/1/42		1997
MA	CAMBRIDGE	MA06P003005	NEW TOWNE CT.S	PWA	294	WU	6/1/36	1/1/38		2374
MA	FALL RIVER	MA06P006001	SUNSET HILL	USHA	356	WU	1/1/40	5/1/41		1687
MA	FALL RIVER	MA06P006002	HERITAGE HEIGHTS (Harbor Terrace)	USHA	223	WU	8/1/40	12/1/41		1140
MA	HOLYOKE	MA06P005001	LYMAN TERRACE	USHA	167	RW	3/1/40	12/1/40		924

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MA	HOLYOKE	MA06P005002	JACKSON PARKWAY	DEFENSE	219	RW	4/1/42	4/1/43		1096
MA	LAWRENCE	MA06P010001	(Merrimack CT.s)	USHA	292	WU	11/1/40	7/1/42		1663
MA	LOWELL	MA06P001001	N. COMMON VILLAGE	USHA	536	WU	1/1/40	3/1/42		3054
MA	NEW BEDFORD	MA06P007001	BAY VILLAGE	USHA	200	WU	6/1/40	12/1/41		1159
MA	NEW BEDFORD	MA06P007002	PRESIDENTIAL HEIGHTS	USHA	200	WU	10/1/40	11/1/41		913
MD	ANNAPOLIS	MD06P001001	COLLEGE CREEK TERRACE	USHA	108	WU	6/1/39	8/1/40		487
MD	ANNAPOLIS	MD06P001003	BLOOMSBURY SQUARE	DEFENSE	50	RW	6/1/41	12/1/41		247
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002001	LATROBE HOMES	USHA	701	RW	4/1/40	11/1/41		4028
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002002	MCCULLOH HOMES	USHA	434	WU	5/1/40	10/1/41		2364
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002003	PERKINS HOMES	DEFENSE	688	WU	10/1/40	6/1/42		4322
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002004	POE HOMES	USHA	298	RW	10/1/39	9/1/40		1840
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002005	DOUGLASS HOMES	USHA	393	WU	6/1/40	10/1/41		2366
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002006	GILMOR HOMES	DEFENSE	587	WU	3/1/41	9/1/42		3193
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002009	O'DONNELL HEIGHTS	DEFENSE	900	RW	7/1/42	10/1/43		4867
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002010	SOMERSET HOMES	DEFENSE	420	RW	10/1/42	1/1/44		2710
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002011	CHERRY HILL HOMES	USHA	600	MX	6/1/44	9/1/46		
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002020	FAIRFIELD HOMES	LANHAM	300	RW	9/1/41	5/1/42		1265
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002021	BROOKLYN HOMES	LANHAM	500	RW	9/1/41	7/1/42		2124
MD	BALTIMORE	MD06P002022	WESTPORT HOMES	LANHAM	200	RW	10/1/41	5/1/42		866
MD	FREDERICK	MD06P003001	ROGER BROOKE TANEY HOMES	USHA	68	WU	6/1/41	11/1/42		328
MD	FREDERICK	MD06P003002	LINCOLN APTS.	USHA	50	WU	5/1/40	7/1/41		206
ME	PORTLAND	ME36P003001	SAGAMORE VILLAGE	LANHAM	200	SD	9/1/42	1/1/43		1012
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001001	BREWSTER ADDN.	USHA	240		3/1/39	7/1/41	7/1/87	1439
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001002	PARKSIDE HOMES ADDN.	USHA	355	RW	2/1/40	9/1/41		2094
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001004	HERMAN GARDENS	DEFENSE	2150	MX	9/1/40	6/1/43		11754
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001005	CHARLES TERRACE	USHA	440	MX	7/1/40	10/1/41		2345
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001006	SMITH HOMES	DEFENSE	210	RW	4/1/42	1/1/43		1217
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001013	BREWSTER	PWA	701	MX	6/1/37	10/1/38	1/1/88	4642
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001014	PARKSIDE	PWA	775	MX	7/1/37	10/1/38		4176
MI	DETROIT	MI33P001015	SOJOURNER TRUTH	LANHAM	200	RW	9/1/41	3/1/42		990
MI	HAMTRAMCK	MI33P004001	COLONEL HAMTRAMCK HOMES	DEFENSE	300	RW	12/1/40	5/1/42		1477
MN	MINNEAPOLIS	MN46P002005	SUMNER FIELD HOMES	PWA	464	MX	6/1/36	12/1/38		3477

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MO	ST. LOUIS	MO36P001001	CARR SQUARE VILLAGE	DEFENSE	658	RW	3/1/41	6/1/43		3649
MO	ST. LOUIS	MO36P001002	CLINTON PEABODY	DEFENSE	657	RW	5/1/41	12/1/42		3611
MS	BILOXI	MS26P005001	E. END HOMES	USHA	96	WU	2/1/41	4/1/42		405
MS	BILOXI	MS26P005002	BAYOU AUGUSTE HOMES	USHA	96	WU	10/1/40	8/1/41		383
MS	BILOXI	MS26P005003	BAY VIEW HOMES	USHA	96	WU	9/1/40	8/1/41		344
MS	CLARKSDALE	MS26P007001	MAGNOLIA CT.	USHA	120	SD	6/1/41	5/1/42		394
MS	HATTIESBURG	MS26P001001	BRIARFIELD HOMES	USHA	120	WU	12/1/40	12/1/41		466
MS	HATTIESBURG	MS26P001002	ROBERTSON PLACE	USHA	120	WU	4/1/40	5/1/41		403
MS	LAUREL	MS26P002001	BEACON HOMES	USHA	150	RW	12/1/39	12/1/40		564
MS	LAUREL	MS26P002002	TRIANGLE	USHA	125	RW	1/1/40	1/1/41		445
MS	MCCOMB	MS26P003001	BURGLUND HEIGHTS	USHA	76	SD	1/1/40	3/1/41		314
MS	MCCOMB	MS26P003002	HUGH L. WHITE ACRES	USHA	84	MX	6/1/40	5/1/41		325
MS	MERIDIAN	MS26P004001	HIGHWAY VILLAGE	USHA	89	WU	3/1/40	1/1/41		320
MS	MERIDIAN	MS26P004002	FRANK BERRY CT.S	USHA	112	WU	2/1/40	3/1/41		367
MS	MERIDIAN	MS26P004003	MOUNTAIN VIEW VILLAGE	USHA	80	WU	1/1/40	12/1/40		303
MS	MERIDIAN	MS26P004004	GEORGE M. REESE CT.S	USHA	97	WU	3/1/40	4/1/41		334
MS	MERIDIAN	MS26P004005	VICTORY VILLAGE	DEFENSE	79	RW	7/1/42	2/1/43		377
MT	ANACONDA	MT06P005001	HAGAN MANOR	DEFENSE	80	RW	8/1/41	7/1/42		438
MT	BUTTE	MT06P003001	SILVER BOW HOMES	USHA	225	RW	4/1/40	8/1/41		1117
MT	HELENA	MT06P004001	SAMUEL V. STEWART HOMES	USHA	72	RW	5/1/40	1/1/41		342
NC	CHARLOTTE	NC19P003001	PIEDMONT CT.S	USHA	260	RW	12/1/39	1/1/41		837
NC	CHARLOTTE	NC19P003002	FAIRVIEW HOMES	USHA	452	RW	5/1/40	11/1/40		1280
NC	FAYETTEVILLE	NC19P009001	GROVE VIEW TERRACE I (Cross Creek CT.)	DEFENSE	56	RW	10/1/41	8/1/42		208
NC	FAYETTEVILLE	NC19P009002	DELONA GARDENS (Cape Fear CT.)	DEFENSE	55	RW	11/1/41	8/1/42		210
NC	HIGH POINT	NC19P006001	(Clara Cox Homes)	DEFENSE	140	RW	1/1/41	3/1/42		1004
NC	HIGH POINT	NC19P006002	(Daniel Brooks Homes)	DEFENSE	172	RW	1/1/41	4/1/42		783
NC	KINSTON	NC19P004001	(Simon Bright Homes)	USHA	152	RW	9/1/40	5/1/41		549
NC	KINSTON	NC19P004002	(Mitchell Wooten CT.)	USHA	142	RW	4/1/41	1/1/42		520
NC	NEW BERN	NC19P005001	TRENT CT.	USHA	116	RW	9/1/40	8/1/41		500
NC	NEW BERN	NC19P005002	CRAVEN TERRACE	USHA	253	RW	1/1/41	1/1/42		1027
NC	RALEIGH	NC19P002001	CHAVIS HEIGHTS	USHA	231	RW	3/1/40	2/1/41		995
NC	RALEIGH	NC19P002002	HALIFAX CT.S	USHA	231	RW	8/1/39	7/1/40		1000

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NC	WILMINGTON	NC19P001001R	(Nesbitt CT.)	USHA	216	WU	12/1/39	11/1/40		901
NC	WILMINGTON	NC19P001002R	(Robert R. Taylor Homes)	USHA	246	RW	9/1/39	9/1/40		1034
NE	OMAHA	NE26P001001	SOUTHSIDE TERRACE HOMES	USHA	522	RW	6/1/39	4/1/40		2679
NE	OMAHA	NE26P001002	LOGAN FONTENELLE ADDN.	USHA	272	RW	4/1/40	1/1/41		1304
NE	OMAHA	NE26P001006	LOGAN FONTENELLE	PWA	284	RW	8/1/36	3/1/38		1790
NJ	ASBURY PARK	NJ39P007001	ASBURY PARK VILLAGE	USHA	126	RW	12/1/39	2/1/41		753
NJ	ASBURY PARK	NJ39P007002	WASHINGTON VILLAGE	DEFENSE	59	RW	10/1/42	8/1/43		325
NJ	ATLANTIC CITY	NJ39P014001	JONATHAN PITNEY VILLAGE	USHA	333	RW	3/1/40	5/1/41		1995
NJ	ATLANTIC CITY	NJ39P014004	STANLEY S. HOLMES VILLAGE	PWA	277	RW	12/1/35	4/1/37		1485
NJ	BEVERLY	NJ39P018001	DELACOVE HOMES	USHA	71	RW	9/1/40	9/1/41		366
NJ	BURLINGTON	NJ39P020001	COLONEL EDWARD B. STONE VILLAGE (Dunbar Homes)	DEFENSE	90		2/1/42	8/1/42		443
NJ	CAMDEN	NJ39P010001	BRANCH VILLAGE	USHA	279	RW	5/1/40	7/1/41		1410
NJ	CAMDEN	NJ39P010002	ABLETT VILLAGE	DEFENSE	306	RW	6/1/42	7/1/43		1586
NJ	CAMDEN	NJ39P010006	WESTFIELD ACRES	PWA	514	WU	9/1/36	5/1/38		2933
NJ	ELIZABETH	NJ39P003001	MRAVLAG MANOR	USHA	423	WU	5/1/39	8/1/40		2121
NJ	ELIZABETH	NJ39P003002	PIONEER HOMES	USHA	405	WU	6/1/40	6/1/41		2239
NJ	HARRISON	NJ39P016001	HARRISON GARDENS	USHA	214	WU	3/1/40	3/1/41		1070
NJ	JERSEY CITY	NJ39P009001	LAFAYETTE GARDENS	USHA	490	WU	7/1/40	11/1/41		2365
NJ	JERSEY CITY	NJ39P009002	MARION GARDENS	DEFENSE	462	WU	11/1/40	5/1/42		2208
NJ	JERSEY CITY	NJ39P009003	BOOKER T. WASHINGTON APTS.	DEFENSE	234	WU	10/1/41	1/1/43		1391
NJ	JERSEY CITY	NJ39P009004	HUDSON GARDENS	DEFENSE	224	WU	5/1/42	11/1/43		1399
NJ	JERSEY CITY	NJ39P009005	HOLLAND GARDENS	DEFENSE	192	RW	5/1/42	11/1/43		1210
NJ	LONG BRANCH	NJ39P008001	GARFIELD CT.	USHA	127	WU	9/1/39	8/1/40		630
NJ	LONG BRANCH	NJ39P008002	GRANT CT.	DEFENSE	82	WU	10/1/42	10/1/43		451
NJ	NEW BRUNSWICK	NJ39P022001	ROBESON VILLAGE	USHA	60	WU	8/1/45	9/1/46		
NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002001	SETH BOYDEN CT.	USHA	530	WU	9/1/39	5/1/41		2769
NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002002	PENNINGTON CT.	USHA	236	WU	6/1/39	3/1/40		1261
NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002005	BAXTER TERRACE	USHA	613	WU	3/1/40	9/1/41		3855
NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002006	STEPHEN CRANE VILLAGE	USHA	354	RW	9/1/39	1/1/41		1635
NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002007	HYATT CT.	USHA	402	WU	1/1/41	5/1/42		2204
NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002008	FELIX FULD	USHA	300	WU	11/1/40	4/1/42		1791

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NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002009	ROOSEVELT HOME	USHA	275	WU	6/1/45	3/1/47		
NJ	NEWARK	NJ39P002014	JOSEPH P. BRADLEY CT.	LANHAM	301	WU	4/1/41	2/1/42		1307
NJ	N. BERGEN	NJ39P004001	MEADOW VIEW VILLAGE	USHA	172	WU	8/1/39	7/1/40		984
NJ	PATERSON	NJ39P021001	RIVERSIDE TERRACE	DEFENSE	300	MX	5/1/42	7/1/43		1510
NJ	PERTH AMBOY	NJ39P006001	WILLIAM DUNLAP HOMES	USHA	258	RW	11/1/39	4/1/41		1259
NJ	PHILLIPSBURG	NJ39P024002	HECKMAN TERRACE	LANHAM	250	SD	9/1/41	2/1/42		1233
NJ	TRENTON	NJ39P005001	LINCOLN HOMES	USHA	118	MX	10/1/39	10/1/40		643
NJ	TRENTON	NJ39P005002	DONNELLY HOMES	USHA	376	MX	10/1/39	1/1/41		2017
NJ	TRENTON	NJ39P005003	PROSPECT VILLAGE	DEFENSE	120	MX	12/1/43	2/1/45		
NY	BUFFALO	NY06P002001	LAKEVIEW HOMES	USHA	668	MX	10/1/38	12/1/39		3774
NY	BUFFALO	NY06P002002	A. D. PRICE CT.S (Willert Park)	USHA	173	MX	1/1/39	1/1/40		915
NY	BUFFALO	NY06P002003	COMMODORE PERRY	USHA	772	MX	6/1/39	9/1/40		4390
NY	BUFFALO	NY06P002004	A. D. PRICE CT.S EXT.	DEFENSE	300	WU	1/1/43	6/1/44		1780
NY	BUFFALO	NY06P002010	KENFIELD	PWA	658	MX	7/1/36	10/1/37		4503
NY	BUFFALO	NY06P002011	LASALLE CT.S	LANHAM	206	RW	6/1/41	10/1/41		843
NY	BUFFALO	NY06P002012	LANGFIELD HOMES	LANHAM	594	RW	6/1/41	1/1/42		2114
NY	ELMIRA	NY06P030001	HOFFMAN PLAZA	LANHAM	144	RW	5/1/41	10/1/42		633
NY	LACKAWANNA	NY06P029001	BAKER HOMES	PWA	271	RW	7/1/37	7/1/38		1537
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005001	RED HOOK HOUSES	USHA	2545	EL	7/1/38	7/1/39		12240
NY	NEW YORK CITY Queens	NY36P005002	QUEENSBRIDGE HOUSES	USHA	3148	EL	11/1/38	10/1/39		13741
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005003	VLADECK HOUSES	USHA	1531	EL	12/1/39	8/1/40		8191
NY	NEW YORK CITY Queens	NY36P005004	S. JAMAICA HOUSES	USHA	448	WU	9/1/39	7/1/40		2196
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005005	E. RIVER HOUSES	USHA	1170	EL	5/1/40	4/1/41		5580
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005006	KINGSBOROUGH HOUSES	USHA	1166	EL	9/1/40	8/1/41		5410
NY	NEW YORK CITY Bronx	NY36P005007	CLASON POINT GARDENS	USHA	400	RW	3/1/41	11/1/41		2107
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005008	JACOB RIIS HOUSES	USHA	1190	EL	3/1/47	1/1/49		13506
NY	NEW YORK CITY Richmond	NY36P005009	EDWIN MARKHAM GARDENS	DEFENSE	360	RW	4/1/42	6/1/43		2372
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005041	WILLIAMSBURG	PWA	1622	WU	9/1/36	4/1/38		12917
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005042	HARLEM RIVER HOUSES	PWA	576	WU	7/1/36	10/1/37		4105
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005181A	FIRST HOUSES	NYCHA	123	WU	3/1/35	5/1/36		1384
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005181B	VLADECK HOUSES	NYCHA	240	EL		10/1/40		1269
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005181C	JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOT HOUSES	NYCHA	608	EL		7/1/47		2046

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NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005181D	JACOB RIIS HOUSES	NYCHA	578	EL		1/1/49		6339
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005213A	WALT WHITMAN HOUSES (Fort Greene Houses)	NYS	1636	EL		2/1/44		19788
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005213B	R. V. INGERSOLL HOUSES (Fort Greene Houses)	NYS	1800	EL		2/1/44		
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005213C	LILLIAN WALD HOUSES	NYS	1861	EL		10/1/49		22160
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005213D	BROWNSVILLE HOUSES	NYS	1338	EL		4/1/48		12563
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005213E	ABRAHAM LINCOLN HOUSES	NYS	1286	EL		12/1/48		14215
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005213F	MARCY HOUSES	NYS	1717	EL		1/1/49		19082
NY	NEW YORK CITY Brooklyn	NY36P005213G	GOWANUS HOUSES	NYS	1139	EL		6/1/49		11695
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005213H	JAMES WELDON JOHNSON	NYS	1310	EL		12/1/48		14615
NY	NEW YORK CITY Manhattan	NY36P005220A	AMSTERDAM HOUSES	NYS	1084	EL		12/1/48		12120
NY	SCHENECTADY	NY06P028001	SCHONOWEE VILLAGE	PWA	219	RW	6/1/37	7/1/38		1351
NY	SYRACUSE	NY36P001001	PIONEER HOMES	USHA	678	MX	1/1/39	2/1/40		139
NY	UTICA	NY36P006001	ADREAN TERRACE	USHA	213	MX	5/1/39	6/1/40		539
NY	YONKERS	NY36P003001	EMMETT BURKE GARDENS (Mulford Gardens)	USHA	552	WU	7/1/39	8/1/40		739
OH	AKRON	OH12P007001	ELIZABETH PARK HOMES	USHA	276	RW	4/1/40	11/1/40		440
OH	AKRON Barberton	OH12P007002	NORTON HOMES	USHA	219	RW	1/1/41	8/1/42		141
OH	AKRON	OH12P007004	EDGEWOOD HOMES	USHA	274	RW	11/1/40	5/1/42		1140
OH	BUTLER CO. Hamilton	OH10P015001	BAMBO HARRIS	USHA	141	RW	2/1/42	10/1/42		242
OH	CINCINNATI	OH10P004001	WINTON TERRACE	USHA	750	RW	6/1/40	12/1/41		640
OH	CINCINNATI	OH10P004002	ENGLISH WOODS	USHA	750	RW	11/1/40	6/1/42		1140
OH	CINCINNATI	OH10P004003	LAUREL HOMES ADDN.	USHA	264	WU	12/1/39	12/1/40		1239
OH	CINCINNATI	OH10P004004	LINCOLN CT.	USHA	1015	MX	5/1/41	3/1/43		85
OH	CINCINNATI	OH10P004008	LAUREL HOMES	PWA	1039	WU	1/1/37	8/1/38		6794
OH	COLUMBUS	OH16P001001	POINDEXTER VILLAGE	USHA	426	RW	6/1/39	7/1/40		2144
OH	COLUMBUS	OH16P001002	LINCOLN PARK HOMES	USHA	340	RW	12/1/40	3/1/42		1312
OH	COLUMBUS	OH16P001003	RIVERSIDE HOMES	USHA	252	RW	12/1/40	1/1/42		1078
OH	COLUMBUS	OH16P001004	SULLIVANT GARDENS	USHA	334	RW	9/1/40	9/1/41		1360
OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003001	VALLEYVIEW HOMES	USHA	581	RW	5/1/39	8/1/40		3538
OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003003	OUTHWAITE HOMES	USHA	449	MX	10/1/40	4/1/42		2864
OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003004	WOODHILL HOMES	USHA	568	MX	6/1/39	10/1/40		2974
OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003007	CARVER PARK	USHA	1287	MX	12/1/41	7/1/43		7711

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OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003008	RIVERSIDE PARK APTS.	DEFENSE	440	RW	3/1/43	6/1/44		1876
OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003014	OLD CEDAR APTS. (Cedar-Central Apts.)	PWA	654	WU	6/1/35	8/1/37		3313
OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003015	OUTHWAITE HOMES	PWA	579	MX	10/1/35	8/1/37		3382
OH	CUYAHOGA CO. Cleveland	OH12P003016	LAKEVIEW TERRACE	PWA	620	MX	11/1/35	10/1/37		3684
OH	DAYTON	0H10P005001	PARKSIDE HOMES	USHA	604	RW	7/1/40	11/1/41		2269
OH	DAYTON	0H10P005002	DESOTO BASS CT.S	USHA	310	RW	4/1/39	3/1/42		1467
OH	DAYTON	0H10P005003	SUMMIT CT.	USHA	139	RW	7/1/41	12/1/42		669
OH	DAYTON	0H10P005004	EDGEWOOD CT.	USHA	138	RW	7/1/41	1/1/43		710
OH	LUCAS CO. Toledo	0H12P006001	CHARLES F. WEILER HOMES	USHA	384	WU	1/1/39	3/1/40		1922
OH	LUCAS CO. Toledo	0H12P006002	BRAND WHITLOCK EXT.	USHA	112	WU	1/1/40	11/1/40		477
OH	LUCAS CO. Toledo	0H12P006003	RAVINE PARK VILLAGE	USHA	212	WU	10/1/41	12/1/42		1034
OH	LUCAS CO. Toledo	0H12P006004	ALBERTUS BROWN HOMES	USHA	134	WU	10/1/40	10/1/41		738
OH	LUCAS CO. Toledo	0H12P006005	PORT LAWRENCE HOMES	USHA	195	WU	12/1/41	12/1/42		1126
OH	LUCAS CO. Toledo	0H12P006006	BIRMINGHAM TERRACE	USHA	138	WU	4/1/41	1/1/42		626
OH	LUCAS CO. Toledo	0H12P006008	BRAND WHITLOCK HOMES	PWA	264	WU	7/1/36	3/1/38		1861
OH	PORTSMOUTH	OH16P010001	WAYNE HILLS	USHA	260	MX	6/1/40	2/1/42		1138
OH	PORTSMOUTH	OH16P010002	GEORGE W. FARLEY SQUARE	USHA	135	RW	4/1/41	10/1/42		618
OH	TRUMBULL CO. Warren	OH12P008001	TRUMBULL HOMES	USHA	224	SD	4/1/41	1/1/42		1139
OH	YOUNGSTOWN	OH12P002001	WESTLAKE TERRACE	USHA	618	RW	2/1/39	7/1/40		3165
OH	ZANESVILLE	OH16P009001	COOPERVILLE MANOR	USHA	324	MX	2/1/40	6/1/41		1648
OK	OKLAHOMA CITY	OK56P002001	WILL ROGERS CT.S	PWA	354	RW	6/1/36	12/1/37		1957
OR	CLACKAMAS CO. Oregon City	OR16P001001	CLACKAMAS HEIGHTS	DEFENSE	100	SF	1/1/42	7/1/42		332
OR	CLACKAMAS CO. Milwaukie	OR16P001003	HILLSIDE PARK	DEFENSE	100	SF	11/1/41	6/1/42		385
OR	PORTLAND	OR16P002001	COLUMBIA VILLA	DEFENSE	400	SF	5/1/42	12/1/42		1805
PA	ALLEGHENY CO. McKees Rocks	PA28P006002	MCKEES ROCKS TERRACE	DEFENSE	288	RW	5/1/40	4/1/41		1306
PA	ALLEGHENY CO. Rankin	PA28P006003	HAWKINS VILLAGE	DEFENSE	182	RW	7/1/41	6/1/42		1031
PA	ALLEGHENY CO. Duquesne	PA28P006004	BURNS HEIGHTS	DEFENSE	182	RW	3/1/42	10/1/42		1016
PA	ALLEGHENY CO. Duquesne	PA28P006005	COCHRANDALE	DEFENSE	83	WU	6/1/42	5/1/43		536
PA	ALLENTOWN	PA26P004001	HANOVER ACRES	USHA	322	RW	4/1/39	6/1/40		1607
PA	ALLENTOWN	PA26P004002	RIVERVIEW TERRACE	DEFENSE	104	RW	4/1/42	5/1/43		489
PA	BEAVER CO. Aliquippa	PA28P014001	LINMAR TERRACE	DEFENSE	104	RW	3/1/42	3/1/43		572
PA	BEAVER CO. Aliquippa	PA28P014002	GRIFFITH HEIGHTS	DEFENSE	50	RW	4/1/42	7/1/43		300

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PA	BEAVER CO. Beaver Falls	PA28P014003	MORADO DWELLINGS	DEFENSE	142	RW	5/1/41	5/1/42		672
PA	BEAVER CO. Beaver Falls	PA28P014004	HARMONY DWELLINGS	DEFENSE	50	RW	5/1/41	3/1/42		271
PA	BEAVER CO. Ambridge	PA28P014005	ECONOMY VILLAGE	DEFENSE	72	RW	7/1/42	5/1/43		404
PA	BETHLEHEM	PA26P011001	PEMBROKE VILLAGE	DEFENSE	202	RW	3/1/42	12/1/42		1047
PA	BETHLEHEM	PA26P011003	S. TERRACE HOMES	LANHAM	320	RW	5/1/41	1/1/42	6/1/82	1206
PA	BETHLEHEM	PA26P011004	PARKRIDGE HOMES	LANHAM	168	RW	6/1/41	2/1/42	6/1/82	640
PA	CHESTER CITY	PA26P007001	LAMOKIN VILLAGE	DEFENSE	350	RW	7/1/40	8/1/41		1652
PA	CHESTER CITY	PA26P007002	WILLIAM PENN HOMES	DEFENSE	300	RW	5/1/41	3/1/43		1800
PA	CHESTER CITY	PA26P007003	MCCAFFERY VILLAGE	DEFENSE	350	RW	2/1/42	12/1/42		1756
PA	DELAWARE CO. Darby Twp	PA26P023001	CALCON HOOK GARDENS							
PA	DELAWARE CO. Wayne	PA26P023002	HIGHLAND HOMES	PWA	50	RW	8/1/36	3/1/38		337
PA	DELAWARE CO. Upland	PA26P023003	UPLAND TERRACE	LANHAM	100	RW	11/1/42			468
PA	DELAWARE CO. Chester Twp.	PA26P023004	FAIRGROUND HOMES	DEFENSE	200	RW	12/1/42	10/1/44		1645
PA	ERIE	PA28P013003	FRANKLIN TERRACE	LANHAM	500	RW	4/1/41	10/1/41		1881
PA	ERIE	PA28P013001	HARBOR HOMES	DEFENSE	224	RW	2/1/42	10/1/42		1087
PA	ERIE	PA28P013002	LAKE CITY DWELLINGS	DEFENSE	40	RW	6/1/42	11/1/42		226
PA	FAYETTE CO. S. Uniontown	PA28P015001	BIERER WOOD ACRES	DEFENSE	200	RW	2/1/42	6/1/43		1033
PA	FAYETTE CO. S. Uniontown Twp	PA28P015002	CROSSLAND PLACE	DEFENSE	40	RW	3/1/42	1/1/43		217
PA	FAYETTE CO. Connellsville	PA28P015003	GIBSON TERRACE	DEFENSE	150	RW	3/1/42	2/1/43		783
PA	HARRISBURG	PA26P008001	W. HOWARD DAY HOMES	USHA	225	RW	11/1/39	8/1/40		1021
PA	HARRISBURG	PA26P008002	GEORGE A. HOVERTER HOMES	USHA	236	RW	3/1/40	12/1/40		1028
PA	JOHNSTOWN	PA28P019001	PROSPECT HOMES	DEFENSE	111	RW	5/1/42	1/1/43		567
PA	JOHNSTOWN	PA28P019002	OAKHURST HOMES	DEFENSE	100	RW	7/1/42	6/1/43		536
PA	LAWRENCE CO. Ellwood City	PA28P026003	WALNUT RIDGE	LANHAM	100	RW	4/1/41	8/1/41		413
PA	MCKEESPORT	PA28P005001	E. R. CRAWFORD VILLAGE	USHA	206	RW	2/1/40	2/1/41		1137
PA	MCKEESPORT	PA28P005002	R. B. HARRISON VILLAGE	DEFENSE	50	RW	5/1/42	1/1/43		281
PA	MCKEESPORT	PA28P005003	E. R. CRAWFORD VILLAGE	DEFENSE	150	RW	5/1/42	7/1/43		774
PA	MONTGOMERY CO. Pottstown	PA26P012002	BRIGHTHOPE ESTATES	DEFENSE	117	RW	4/1/43	6/1/44		600
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002001	JAMES WELDON JOHNSON HOMES	USHA	535	RW	5/1/39	12/1/40		3209
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002002	TASKER HOMES	USHA	1000	RW	8/1/39	6/1/41		5345
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002003	RICHARD ALLEN HOMES	USHA	1324	WU	10/1/40	6/1/42		7448
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002007	TASKER HOMES ADDN.	DEFENSE	54		3/1/43	12/1/43	2/1/92	329

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PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002008	TASKER HOMES ADDN.	DEFENSE	77	RW	3/1/43	12/1/43		463
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002029	HILL CREEK	PWA	258	RW	8/1/36	3/1/38		1971
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002030	ABBOTTSFORD HOMES	LANHAM	700	RW	9/1/41	9/1/42		3359
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002031	BARTRAM VILLAGE	LANHAM	500	WU	9/1/41	8/1/42		2377
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002032	OXFORD VILLAGE	LANHAM	200	RW	9/1/41	5/1/42		971
PA	PHILADELPHIA	PA26P002052	PASSYUNK HOMES	LANHAM	1000	WU	4/1/41	6/1/42		4405
PA	PITTSBURGH	PA28P001001	ADDISON TERRACE	USHA	802	WU	8/1/39	1/1/41		4569
PA	PITTSBURGH	PA28P001002	BEDFORD DWELLINGS	USHA	420	MX	7/1/39	11/1/40		2440
PA	PITTSBURGH	PA28P001003	ALLEQUIPPA TERRACE (Wadsworth Terrace)	USHA	1851	WU	2/1/40	11/1/41		9829
PA	PITTSBURGH	PA28P001004	ARLINGTON HEIGHTS	DEFENSE	660	WU	3/1/42	10/1/43		3525
PA	PITTSBURGH	PA28P001005	ALLEGHENY DWELLINGS	DEFENSE	282	WU	1/1/42	3/1/43		1630
PA	PITTSBURGH	PA28P001006	BROADHEAD MANOR	DEFENSE	448	RW	3/1/43	11/1/44		2905
PA	PITTSBURGH	PA28P001010	GLEN HAZEL HEIGHTS	LANHAM	999	WU	8/1/41	9/1/42		4812
PA	READING	PA26P009001	GLENSIDE HOMES	USHA	400	RW	11/1/39	5/1/41		1957
PA	WASHINGTON CO. Washington	PA28P017001	MAPLE TERRACE	DEFENSE	100	RW	1/1/43	4/1/44		531
PA	WASHINGTON CO. Washington	PA28P017002	LINCOLN TERRACE	DEFENSE	46	RW	1/1/43	3/1/44		275
PR	PUERTO RICO Guayama	RQ46P003014	FERNANDO CALIMANO	USHA	146	WU	9/1/46	9/1/48		
PR	PUERTO RICO Catano	RQ46P003015	ROSENDO MATIENZO CINTRON	USHA	160	WU	8/1/45	11/1/46		
PR	PUERTO RICO Mayaguez	RQ46P004001	COLUMBUS LANDING	USHA	476	WU	8/1/40	4/1/42		891
PR	PUERTO RICO Ponce	RQ46P001001	PONCE DE LEON	USHA	300	WU	12/1/39	2/1/41		524
PR	PUERTO RICO Ponce	RQ46P001002	SANTIAGO IGLESIAS	USHA	280	WU	2/1/48	6/1/49		
PR	PUERTO RICO Ponce	RQ46P001003	CARIBE	USHA	116	RW	9/1/40	8/1/41		258
PR	PUERTO RICO Ponce	RQ46P001004	PORTUGUES	USHA	152	WU	5/1/40	5/1/41		285
PR	PUERTO RICO San Juan	RQ46P002001	LAS CASAS	USHA	420	WU	12/1/39	6/1/41		810
PR	PUERTO RICO San Juan	RQ46P002002	SAN ANTONIO	USHA	132	WU	2/1/41	3/1/42		400
PR	PUERTO RICO San Juan	RQ46P002003	PUERTA DE TIERRA	USHA	484	WU	1/1/42	9/1/51		
PR	PUERTO RICO San Juan	RQ46P002004	SAN AGUSTIN	USHA	84	WU	9/1/40	8/1/41		246
RI	NEWPORT	RI43P005001	PARK HOLM	DEFENSE	262	MX	11/1/40	8/1/41		1189
RI	NEWPORT	RI43P005003	TONOMY HILL	LANHAM	538	MX	4/1/41	1/1/42		1941
RI	PAWTUCKET	RI43P002001	PROSPECT HEIGHTS	USHA	310	RW	11/1/40	6/1/42		1437
RI	PROVIDENCE	RI43P001001	CHAD BROWN	DEFENSE	312	RW	4/1/41	8/1/42		1538
RI	PROVIDENCE	RI43P001002	ROGER WILLIAMS	DEFENSE	744	WU	7/1/41	5/1/43		3655

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RI	WOONSOCKET	RI43P003001	MORIN HEIGHTS	DEFENSE	300	WU	2/1/42	5/1/43		1441
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001001	ROBERT MILLS MANOR	USHA	140	RW	2/1/39	11/1/39		724
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001003	ANSON BOROUGH HOMES	USHA	162	SD	9/1/39	6/1/40		701
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001004	WRAGG BOROUGH HOMES	USHA	128	SD	3/1/40	10/1/40		640
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001005	GADSDEN GREEN HOMES	USHA	172	RW	4/1/41	2/1/42		747
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001006	ROBERT MILLS MANOR EXT.	USHA	129	RW	8/1/40	7/1/41		620
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001010	MEETING STREET MANOR (& Cooper River CT.)	PWA	212	MX	3/1/36	8/1/37		1244
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001011	GEORGE LEGARE HOMES	LANHAM	600		3/1/41	1/1/42	1/1/85	1710
SC	CHARLESTON	SC16P001012	KIAWAH HOMES	LANHAM	60	SD	5/1/42	12/1/42		261
SC	COLUMBIA	SC16P002001	GONZALES GARDENS	USHA	236	RW	11/1/39	9/1/40		981
SC	COLUMBIA	SC16P002001A	GONZALES GARDENS EXT.	USHA	44		5/1/42	12/1/42		195
SC	COLUMBIA	SC16P002002	ALLEN BENEDICT CT.	USHA	244	RW	2/1/40	11/1/40		984
SC	GREENVILLE	SC16P004001	MOUNTAIN VIEW HOMES	DEFENSE	88	RW	9/1/42	2/1/43		463
SC	SPARTANBURG	SC16P003001	TOBE HARTWELL CT.S	USHA	150	SD	9/1/40	8/1/41		518
SC	SPARTANBURG	SC16P003002	HUB CITY CT.S	USHA	120	SD	11/1/40	9/1/41		428
TN	CHATTANOOGA	TN37P004001	COLLEGE HILL	USHA	497	MX	6/1/39	10/1/40		2447
TN	CHATTANOOGA	TN37P004002R	E. LAKE CT.S	USHA	437	MX	8/1/39	8/1/40		1852
TN	DAVIDSON CO. Nashville	TN37P005002	J. C. NAPIER HOMES	USHA	332	RW	3/1/40	6/1/41		1343
TN	DAVIDSON CO. Nashvill	TN37P005002A	J. C. NAPIER HOMES ADDN.	USHA	148	RW	2/1/41	1/1/42		627
TN	DAVIDSON CO. Nashville	TN37P005011	CHEATHAM PLACE	PWA	314	RW	2/1/36	2/1/38		1889
TN	DAVIDSON CO. Nashville	TN37P005012	ANDREW JACKSON CT.S	PWA	398	RW	5/1/36	6/1/38		1767
TN	JACKSON	TN37P007001	ALLENTON HEIGHTS	USHA	100	RW	12/1/40	9/1/41		412
TN	JACKSON	TN37P007002	MERRY LANE CT.S	USHA	96	RW	12/1/40	9/1/41		351
TN	KINGSPORT	TN37P006001	ROBERT E. LEE HOMES	USHA	128	RW	2/1/40	11/1/40		452
TN	KINGSPORT	TN37P006002	RIVERVIEW HOMES	USHA	56	RW	8/1/40	6/1/41		181
TN	KNOX CO. Knoxville	TN37P003001	WESTERN HEIGHTS	USHA	244	MX	6/1/39	10/1/40		1251
TN	KNOX CO. Knoxville	TN37P003002	COLLEGE HOMES	USHA	320	MX	5/1/39	9/1/40		1559
TN	KNOX CO. Knoxville	TN37P003003	AUSTIN HOMES	USHA	200	RW	1/1/40	5/1/41		871
TN	MEMPHIS	TN37P001001	LAMAR TERRACE	USHA	478	MX	6/1/39	8/1/40		2519
TN	MEMPHIS	TN37P001002	FOOTE HOMES	USHA	900	MX	8/1/39	2/1/41		4446
TN	MEMPHIS	TN37P001004	LEMOYNE GARDENS	USHA	500	MX	7/1/40	12/1/41		2073
TN	MEMPHIS	TN37P001004A	LEMOYNE GARDENS	DEFENSE	342	MX	6/1/42	8/1/43		1554

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TN	MEMPHIS	TN37P001009	DIXIE HOMES	PWA	636	RW	5/1/36	2/1/38		3237
TN	MEMPHIS	TN37P001010	LAUDERDALE CT.S	PWA	449	RW	5/1/36	2/1/38		3069
TX	AUSTIN	TX59P001001	CHALMERS STREET	USHA	87	RW	2/1/39	1/1/40		659
TX	AUSTIN	TX59P001001A	CHALMERS	USHA	77	RW	2/1/40	1/1/41		
TX	AUSTIN	TX59P001002	ROSEWOOD	USHA	60	RW	11/1/38	9/1/39		514
TX	AUSTIN	TX59P001002A	ROSEWOOD	USHA	70	RW	2/1/40	1/1/41		
TX	AUSTIN	TX59P001003	(Santa Rita)	USHA	40	RW	11/1/38	7/1/39		143
TX	BAYTOWN	TX24P012001	(Houston CT.s)	USHA	30		10/1/40	8/1/41	12/1/81	116
TX	BAYTOWN	TX24P012002	(Lincoln CT.s)	USHA	30		10/1/40	9/1/41	12/1/81	121
TX	BROWNSVILLE	TX59P007001	BUENA VIDA	USHA	149	MX	11/1/39	9/1/40		594
TX	BROWNSVILLE	TX59P007002	BOUGAINVILLEA	USHA	49	MX	1/1/41	8/1/41		189
TX	BROWNSVILLE	TX59P007003	VICTORIA GARDEN	DEFENSE	46	MX	1/1/44	6/1/44		
TX	BROWNWOOD	TX21P021001	PARK HOMES	DEFENSE	84	WU	4/1/42	9/1/42		379
TX	CORPUS CHRISTI	TX59P008001	WIGGINS HOMES	USHA	158	RW	6/1/39	12/1/40		593
TX	CORPUS CHRISTI	TX59P008002	NAVARRO PLACE	USHA	210	RW	2/1/40	4/1/41		750
TX	CORPUS CHRISTI	TX59P008003	D. N. LEATHERS	USHA	122	RW	2/1/40	12/1/40		432
TX	CORPUS CHRISTI	TX59P008004	LA ARMADA I	DEFENSE	250	RW	8/1/40	2/1/41		1018
TX	DALLAS	TX21P009001	ROSELAND HOMES	USHA	650	MX	1/1/41	9/1/42		2890
TX	DALLAS	TX21P009002	LITTLE MEXICO	USHA	102	WU	9/1/41	11/1/42		519
TX	DALLAS	TX21P009003	CEDAR SPRINGS PLACE ADDN.	DEFENSE	220	MX	10/1/41	1/1/43		1023
TX	DALLAS	TX21P009004	WASHINGTON PLACE	DEFENSE	234		8/1/41	3/1/43	3/1/84	1053
TX	DALLAS	TX21P009005	FRAZIER CT.S	USHA	250	MX	10/1/41	12/1/42		1076
TX	DALLAS	TX21P009012	CEDAR SPRINGS PLACE	PWA	181	MX	1/1/36	10/1/37		948
TX	EL PASO	TX21P003001	ALAMITO	USHA	349	RW	10/1/39	9/1/40		1332
TX	EL PASO	TX21P003002	TAYS PLACE	USHA	311	RW	5/1/40	4/1/41		1292
TX	FORT WORTH	TX21P004001	RIPLEY ARNOLD PLACE	USHA	252	RW	7/1/39	10/1/40		1193
TX	FORT WORTH	TX21P004002	BUTLER PLACE	USHA	250	RW	7/1/39	10/1/40		1057
TX	GALVESTON	TX24P017001	OLEANDER HOMES	DEFENSE	206	RW	5/1/42	4/1/43		908
TX	GALVESTON	TX24P017002	PALM TERRACE	DEFENSE	228	RW	11/1/41	4/1/43		1038
TX	HOUSTON	TX24P005001	CUNEY HOMES	USHA	360	RW	9/1/39	12/1/40		1495
TX	HOUSTON	TX24P005001A	CUNEY HOMES	USHA	204	RW	8/1/40	9/1/41		724
TX	HOUSTON	TX24P005002	KELLY VILLAGE	USHA	333	RW	9/1/40	2/1/42		1557

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TX	HOUSTON	TX24P005004	ALLEN PARKWAY VILLAGE (San Felipe CT.s)	USHA	564	MX	3/1/41	1/1/43		2372
TX	HOUSTON	TX24P005005	IRVINTON VILLAGE	USHA	318	RW	5/1/41	11/1/42		1191
TX	HOUSTON	TX24P005007	ALLEN PARKWAY VILLAGE (San Felipe CT.s)	DEFENSE	436	MX	6/1/43	9/1/44		2000
TX	LAREDO	TX59P011001	COLONIA GUADALUPE	USHA	272	RW	4/1/40	9/1/41		908
TX	LUBBOCK	TX21P018001	HUB HOMES	DEFENSE	130	MX	3/1/42	9/1/42	1/1/94	516
TX	SAN ANTONIO	TX59P006001	ALAZAN CTS	USHA	932	WU	12/1/39	5/1/41		4073
TX	SAN ANTONIO	TX59P006001A	APACHE CTS	USHA	248	WU	11/1/40	4/1/42		1108
TX	SAN ANTONIO	TX59P006003	VICTORIA CTS	USHA	796	WU	11/1/40	1/1/42		2907
TX	SAN ANTONIO	TX59P006004	WHEATLEY C.S	USHA	236	WU	8/1/40	8/1/41		750
TX	SAN ANTONIO	TX59P006005	LINCOLN HEIGHTS CT.S	USHA	342	WU	9/1/40	12/1/41		1114
TX	TEXARKANA	TX21P014001	BOWIE CTS	USHA	140	RW	12/1/40	1/1/42		544
TX	TEXARKANA	TX21P014002	STEVENS CTS	USHA	124	RW	12/1/40	1/1/42		466
TX	WACO	TX21P010001	KATE ROSS HOMES	USHA	102	WU	10/1/40	9/1/41		413
VA	ALEXANDRIA	VA39P004001	(John Roberts Homes)	USHA	130		3/1/41	1/1/42	6/1/83	552
VA	ALEXANDRIA	VA39P004002	(Grace Parker Homes)	USHA	110		3/1/41	12/1/41	8/1/84	476
VA	ALEXANDRIA	VA39P004003	SAMUEL MADDEN HOMES	USHA	166	RW	8/1/44	6/1/45		
VA	ALEXANDRIA	VA39P004005	RAMSEY HOMES	LANHAM	15	RW	11/1/41	5/1/43		80
VA	ALEXANDRIA	VA39P004006	CAMERON VALLEY HOMES	LANHAM	328		10/1/41			
VA	BRISTOL	VA36P002001	RICE TERRACE	USHA	136	WU	3/1/40	4/1/41		543
VA	BRISTOL	VA36P002002	JOHNSON CT.	USHA	68	WU	3/1/40	3/1/41		244
VA	HOPEWELL	VA36P005001	DAVISVILLE	USHA	96	RW	10/1/40	8/1/41		339
VA	NEWPORT NEWS	VA36P003001	HARBOR HOMES	USHA	252	RW	9/1/40	6/1/41		985
VA	NEWPORT NEWS	VA36P003002	MARSHALL CT.S	DEFENSE	353	RW	9/1/40	5/1/41		1356
VA	NEWPORT NEWS	VA36P003003	ORCUTT HOMES	DEFENSE	148	RW	12/1/40	6/1/41		599
VA	NORFOLK	VA36P006003	ROBERTS PARK	DEFENSE	230	RW	2/1/42	11/1/42		1058
VA	NORFOLK	VA36P006012	OAK LEAF PARK	LANHAM	300		7/1/41	2/1/42		1145
VA	PORTSMOUTH	VA36P001001	DALE HOMES	DEFENSE	300	RW	8/1/40	2/1/41		1142
VA	PORTSMOUTH	VA36P001002	SWANSON HOMES	DEFENSE	210	RW	11/1/40	5/1/41		904
VA	RICHMOND	VA36P007001	GILPIN CT.	DEFENSE	301	WU	9/1/41	3/1/43		1447
VI	VIRGIN ISLANDS St. Thomas	VQ46P001004A	H. H. BERG HOMES	PWA	58	RW	12/1/35	9/1/37		99
VI	VIRGIN ISLANDS St. Croix	VQ46P001004B	BASSIN TRIANGLE	PWA	30	WU	12/1/35	9/1/37		42
VI	VIRGIN ISLANDS St. Croix	VQ46P001004C	MARLEY HOMES	PWA	38	RW	12/1/35	9/1/37		57

ST	HOUSING AUTHORITY/LOCALITY	Project Number	PROJECT NAME (Original Name)	PROGRAM	Units	Building Type	Construction Start Date	Occupancy Date	Termination Date	Cost $000
WA	BREMERTON	WA19P003001	WEST PARK	DEFENSE	600	RW	12/1/40	6/1/41		2202
WA	CLALLAM CO. Port Angeles	WA19P004002	MOUNT ANGELES VIEW	DEFENSE	40	SF	8/1/42	3/1/43		185
WA	EVERETT	WA19P006001	BAKER HEIGHTS	DEFENSE	250	RW	3/1/43	12/1/43		850
WA	KING CO. Black Diamond	WA19P002001	(Black Diamond)	DEFENSE	50		11/1/41	5/1/42		172
WA	SEATTLE	WA19P001001	YESLER TERRACE	USHA	690	WU	2/1/41	4/1/42		3236
WA	SEATTLE	WA19P001004	(Sand Point)	DEFENSE	200		11/1/40	10/1/42		839
WA	SEATTLE	WA19P001005	YESLER TERRACE	DEFENSE	178	WU	1/1/42	8/1/42		739
WA	TACOMA	WA19P005003	SALISHAN	LANHAM	512	RW		10/1/43		
WI	MILWAUKEE	WI39P002001	HILLSIDE TERRACE	USHA	232	MX	2/1/48	4/1/50		
WI	MILWAUKEE	WI39P002007	PARKLAWN	PWA	518	MX	1/1/36	6/1/37		2443
WI	SUPERIOR	WI39P001001	PARK PLACE HOMES	DEFENSE	153	RW	4/1/42	10/1/42		749
WV	CHARLESTON	WV15P001001	WASHINGTON MANOR	USHA	304	MX	10/1/39	2/1/41		1517
WV	CHARLESTON	WV15P001002	LITTLEPAGE TERRACE	USHA	170	MX	5/1/39	6/1/40		872
WV	HUNTINGTON	WV15P004001	WASHINGTON SQUARE	USHA	80	WU	6/1/39	8/1/40		425
WV	HUNTINGTON	WV15P004002	N.COTT CT.	USHA	136	WU	6/1/39	8/1/40		622
WV	HUNTINGTON	WV15P004003	MARCUM TERRACE	USHA	284	WU	6/1/39	9/1/40		1288
WV	MARTINSBURG	WV15P006001	ADAMS STEPHENS HOME	USHA	48	RW	8/1/40	4/1/42		184
WV	MARTINSBURG	WV15P006002	HORATIO GATES VILLAGE	USHA	52	RW	8/1/40	2/1/43		199
WV	MOUNT HOPE	WV15P007001	STADIUM TERRACE	USHA	70	RW	9/1/39	6/1/40		310
WV	WHEELING	WV15P003002	GRANDVIEW MANOR (Vineyard Hill Homes)	USHA	302	WU	8/1/40	8/1/42		1269
WV	WILLIAMSON	WV15P008001	VICTORIA CT.	USHA	72	RW	9/1/40	10/1/41		282
WV	WILLIAMSON	WV15P008002	WILLIAMSON TERRACE	USHA	38	RW	9/1/40	10/1/41		169

C. FORM PREPARED BY:

Name: Paul R. Lusignan, National Park Service; Judith Robinson and Laura Bobeczko, Robinson & Associates, Inc.; and Jeffrey Shrimpton, National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers

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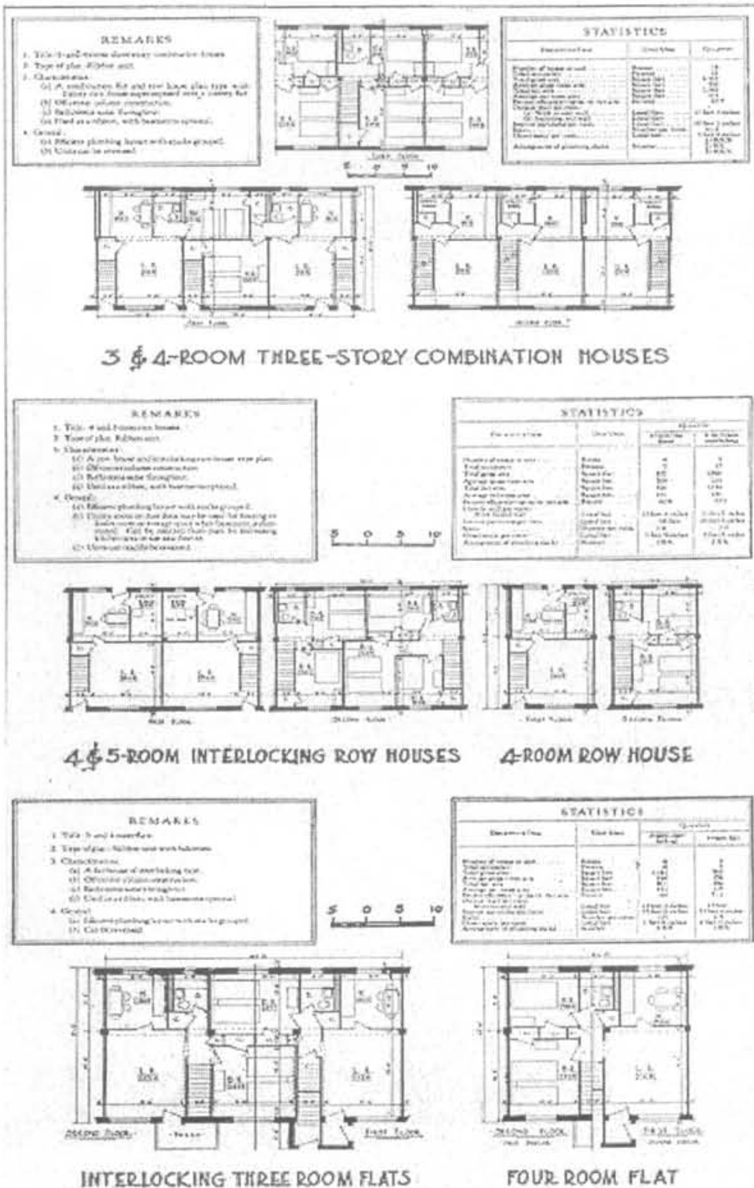
Figure 1 - A representative building at the 284-unit Carl Mackley Houses in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the first PWA limited-dividend project completed in 1935. The buildings, covered in burnt yellow and orange industrial tiles, were particularly modern in appearance. (National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1998)

Figure 2 - A representative building at Neighborhood Gardens in St. Louis, Missouri, a PWA limited-dividend public housing project completed in 1935. The 252-unit complex's three-story brick and concrete buildings featured flat roofs and International Style architectural details, common characteristics of the era's early public housing. (National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1985)



Housing

Surveys indicate that one-third of the population of the cities and towns in all parts of our country are housed in substandard dwellings and that this condition contributes a menace to health, morals, comfort, and to the happiness of this considerable part of our population. It is further shown that wherever these slum areas occur, the municipal costs of police and fire protection, the courts, and health and hospital services are excessive.

In 1933 the Federal Government attacked the housing problem for the first time, which private enterprise had never been able to solve successfully, and financed 52 demonstration projects through the P. W. A. to house approximately 22,000 families. In addition to this, 7 limited-dividend (privately owned) projects were financed through the P. W. A.

Following this and as a result of it, the United States Housing Authority was created, and low-rent housing for low-income families thus moved beyond the first experimental stage. The Wagner-Steagall housing bill legislation in 1937 launched a long-range program of Federal aid to State and local governments and other local agencies for housing and slum clearance, and thus decentralized authority replaced the central control that had been necessary to carry out the original demonstration projects.

The growth of slum areas in our cities and the continuation of their existence have been due, at least in great part, to the following causes:

(*a*) Low-rent housing was usually regarded purely as a commercial enterprise, often without regard for its social aspects.

(*b*) Constantly changing character of neighborhoods due to shifting population.

(*c*) Lack of city plans and misuse of land with resulting high land values.

(*d*) Excessive taxation of dwellings.

(*e*) Lack of interest on the part of landlords in keeping dwelling houses in proper condition with resulting lack of interest on the part of tenants in keeping them neat.

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Figure 3 - Several of PWA's Branch of Specifications and Plans standardized unit plans for public housing complexes. Plans such as these were used by local architects across the country. (Short and Brown, *Public Buildings*, 1939)

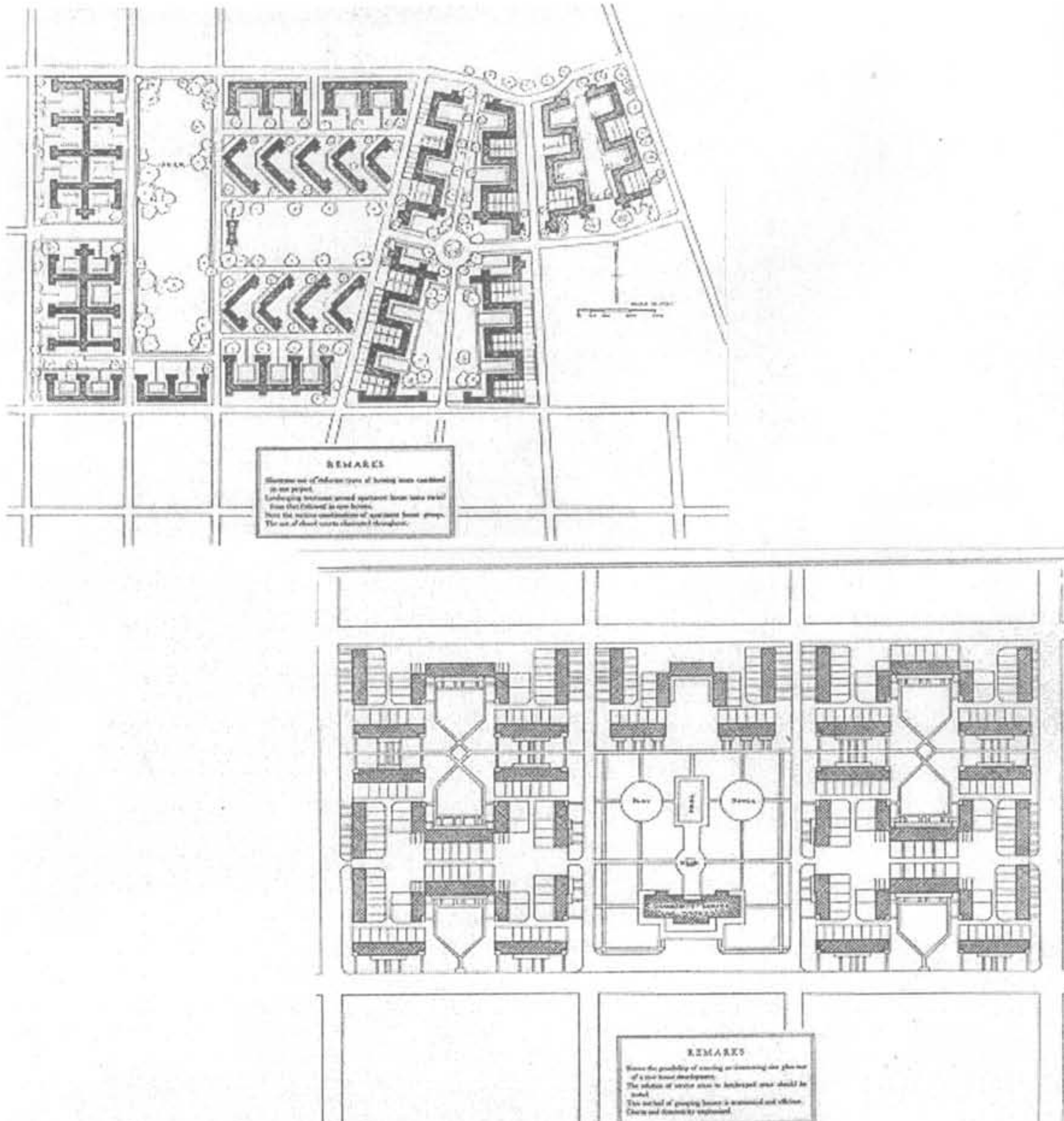

Figure 4 - Two of the PWA's Branch of Specifications and Plans standardized site plans for public housing complexes. These plans were modified for use at specific sites by architects across the country. (Public Works Administration, *Unit Plans: Typical Room Arrangements, Site Plans and Details for Low Rent Housing*)

Figure 5 - Representative kitchen interior, located at the 1,622-unit Williamsburg Homes in Brooklyn, New York, a PWA direct-built public housing project completed in 1938. (Short and Brown, *Public Buildings*, 1939)

Figure 6 - Aerial view of the 620-unit Lakeview Terrace in Cleveland, Ohio, a PWA direct-built public housing project completed in 1937. Highly ordered and wholly planned, public housing complexes such as this stood out from their sprawling city surroundings. (Short and Brown, *Public Buildings*, 1939)

Figure 7 - Representative buildings at Lakeview Terrace featuring brick construction, flat roofs, casement windows, and stripped architectural details. (Short and Brown, *Public Buildings*, 1939)

Figure 8 - Detail of building at Langston Terrace in Washington, D.C., a PWA direct-built public housing project completed in 1938, showing typical PWA-era details, including stripped, modern design, brick construction, and casement windows. This complex also featured a significant public art component, a terra-cotta frieze entitled "The Progress of the Negro Race." (National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1986)

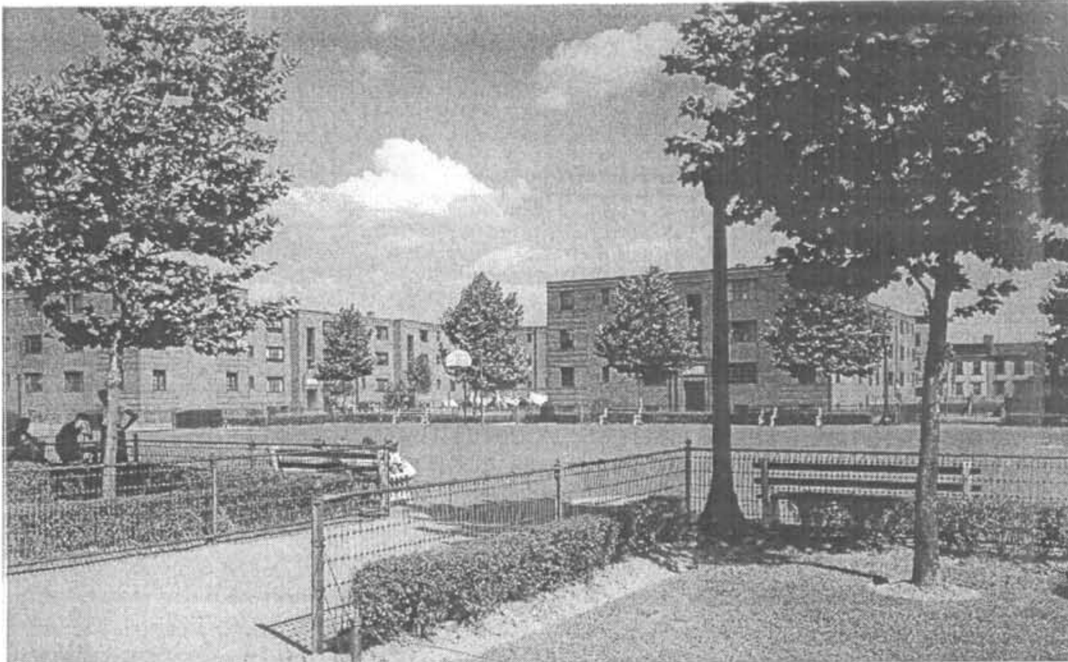

Figure 9 - Pennington Court in Newark, New Jersey, a 236-unit USHA public housing project completed in 1940. The agency's emphasis on unit plans and restrictive budgets resulted in an increasing standardization in both the plan and form of USHA public housing. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection)

Figure 10 - Views of buildings arranged around an interior courtyard at the 1,662-unit Ida B. Wells Homes in Chicago, Illinois, a USHA public housing project completed in 1941. At the time of its completion, it was the largest public housing complex in Chicago, and one of the largest in the country. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Farm Security Administration Collection)

Figure 11 - Interior view of the living room of the Vaughn family apartment at the Ida B. Wells Homes. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Farm Security Administration Collection)

Figure 12 - The community center at San Felipe Courts in Houston, Texas, a USHA housing complex that was converted to defense housing during World War II. The first 564 units were completed as public housing from 1940 to 1942, and the remaining 436 units were completed as defense housing from 1943 to 1944. (National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1988)

Figure 13 - An individual building at the 442-unit Barry Farms Dwellings in Washington, D.C., a defense housing project completed in 1943. Housing of this era became increasingly severe and regularized and featured little architectural ornament. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection)

Figure 14 - An individual building at the 278-unit James Creek Houses in Washington, D.C., a defense housing project completed in 1942. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection)

Figure 15 - A streetscape view of the 301-unit Joseph P. Bradley Court in Newark, New Jersey, a Lanham Act housing project completed in 1942. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Gottscho-Schleisner Collection)

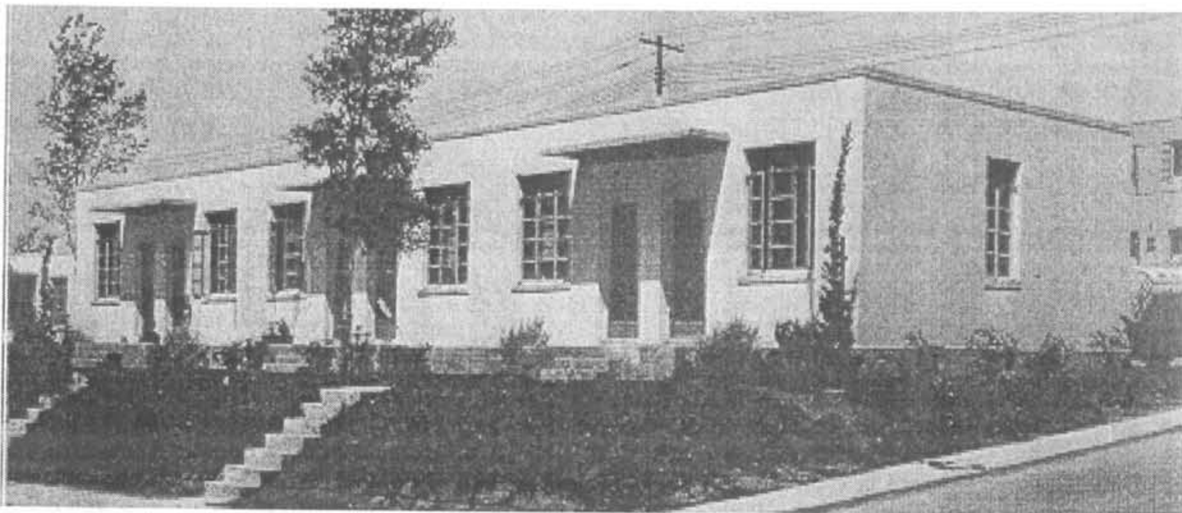

Figure 16 - An individual building at Cedar Springs Place in Dallas, Texas, soon after the PWA direct-built public housing complex's completion in 1937. (Short and Brown, *Public Buildings*, 1939)

Figure 16 - A contemporary view of an individual building in Cedar Springs showing subsequent deterioration. (National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1991)

Figure 18 - View of a model for an individual building at the John Hays Homes in Springfield, Illinois, a USHA public housing complex completed in 1942. (National Register for Historic Places Determination of Eligibility, 1997)

Figure 19 - Present-day view of an individual building at the John Hays Homes. Modern alterations intended to improve the complex have unfortunately compromised its historic appearance and integrity. (National Register of Historic Places Determination of Eligibility, 1997)