Planning and Development Department

LANDMARK DESIGNATION REPORT

LANDMARK NAME: Benjamin Apartments OWNER: Mid-Continent Houston Properties, Ltd APPLICANT: Anna Mod, representing owner LOCATION: 1218 Webster Street – Midtown AGENDA ITEM: II HPO FILE NO: 02PL102 DATE ACCEPTED: Jun-08-2002 HAHC HEARING DATE: Jul-18-2002 PC HEARING DATE: Aug-08-2002

SITE INFORMATION

Lots 4 and 5, Tract 11A, SSBB, City of Houston, Harris County, Texas. The building on the site is a 2-story, masonry brick commercial building.

TYPE OF APPROVAL REQUESTED: Landmark Designation

HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE

The Benjamin was constructed in 1923-24 as an apartment building with four large units, two down and two up. It is one of the few apartment buildings that survive in the South End (Midtown) area where there were many at one time. Its uniqueness also is in its Renaissance Revival detailing. Furthermore, it is one of the few remaining apartment buildings designed in the area by Alfred C. Finn, one of Houston's most prominent 20th-centruy architects. The building was designed for the original owner, Benjamin Cohen, who was not only a friend of Finn's, but is also the namesake of the building ("The Benjamin"). Mr. Cohen himself lived in the building for approximately 20 years.

The Benjamin is an integral part of an important chapter in the story of how housing needs developed in Houston. It offers a visual model of dynamic shifts in aesthetic preferences and architectural styles of early 20th century Houstonians. By the 1920s, South End (Midtown) was home to many of Houston's first apartment buildings. The Benjamin, one of the few surviving examples, is important as it stands today as testimony to this unique living environment in Houston's history.

The Benjamin was built following a decade in which the city's population grew from 78,800 in 1910 to 138,276 in 1920, and it jumped from the 73rd to 45th largest city in the country.ⁱ Construction of the apartments was part of the building boom associated with the city's growth and the need to provide housing for the city's growing professional, trade and business class. Designed by Alfred Charles Finn, one of Houston's premier early 20th-century architects, the building was commissioned by Benjamin Cohen, hence its name. Mr. Cohen was an early 20th-century Houston businessman and founder of The Smart Shop, a Houston fine clothing store, and the Columbia Dry Goods Company. Located just south of downtown, brick apartment buildings of this type began appearing in the teens into what was predominantly a residential neighborhood of frame, single-family dwellings with elaborate mansions lining the major north to south thoroughfares. There are a few remaining examples of apartment buildings of the era in the surrounding area. However, many have been unsympathetically altered, demolished or are in a dilapidated state. The Benjamin Apartments are an excellent example of this building type and period of architectural development in Houston.

The Benjamin Apartment building is located in what today is known as Midtown, a mixed-use neighborhood located south of Interstate 45 (the Pierce Elevated), north of U. S. Highway 59, west of Highway 288, and east of Bagby Street.ⁱⁱ Midtown is centrally located and is south of downtown Houston and north of the Texas Medical Center. The setting is urban with commercial and residential

Archaeological & Historical Commission

development surrounding the property. Midtown Houston became a Tax Increment Reinvestment Zone, or TIRZ, in 1994 by city ordinance. Prior to that time the neighborhood had large parcels of undeveloped land and scattered commercial and residential developments. Since the introduction of the TIRZ, new development, typically suburban in type, has inundated and transformed the area. Large apartment complexes, low-rise commercial development and large-scale parking facilities have dominated the building types new to Midtown. Early 20th-century quadruplexes and other small residential complexes still exist and are scattered throughout the neighborhood.

Houston, founded at the confluence of Buffalo and White Oak Bayous in 1836 by Augustus C. and John K Allen, grew "from a fledging town to the fourth-largest American city by the end of the twentieth century."ⁱⁱⁱ Houston's Midtown neighborhood today, where the Benjamin Apartments are located, contrasts to the neighborhood it was at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries when it was known as the South End.^{iv} Located south of downtown, "the South End originated with the establishment of the Fairgrounds and its subsequent residential portion called the Fairgrounds Addition."^v "The Agricultural, Mechanical and Blood Stock Association of Texas 'laid out a fairgrounds on the outskirts of town off Main Street in 1871, with a one-mile racetrack, grandstand, and exhibition halls."^{vi} An economic downturn and lack of citizen interest lead to the closing of The Fairgrounds in 1878. "The Fairgrounds Addition, developed by the Galveston Houston Investment Company in 1891, was a far-end residential neighborhood that occupied ninety-three acres and supported sizable lots."^{vii}

Houston's South End was made up of "small, individual neighborhoods, which included the Fairgrounds Addition, McGregor, Southmore, Westmoreland, Avondale, and Kenilworth Grove, which later became Empire Addition."^{viii} The major freeways that encircle it largely define the boundaries of Midtown today but present-day Midtown does not incorporate all the historic South End neighborhoods.^{ix}

The South End developed as an exclusive Houston residential enclave and large homes were constructed just south of the center of town as early as the 1850s. Dorothy Knox Howe Houghton, et al, in the book, *Houston's Forgotten Heritage*, mentions one of the first houses built in Houston's South End around 1858: the estate of Edward Hopkins Cushing's named "Bohemia," that "sat on a six-block, ten-acre site bordered by [the present day] Elgin, Holman, Austin and San Jacinto streets."^x In the following decades, other notable grand houses followed in the area. "Even though a few individuals built on the open prairie to the south of town as early as the 1850s, it was only after the establishment of the Fairgrounds during the 1870s that widespread residential construction began to take place in the South End."^{xi}

Despite the Fairgrounds however, the area did not develop until transportation was available south of town. "In 1871 and 1872 a horse-pulled streetcar transported passengers from downtown to the entrance of the Fairgrounds along San Jacinto Street."^{xii} Service was intermittent and was discontinued later the same year. Subsequent attempts were made over the next several decades and all failed to provide the city with reliable streetcar transportation.

"Progress to Houston's mass transportation system arrived in 1891" and on June 12, of that year "Houston converted from mule and horse cars to electric streetcars."^{xiii} "The maiden voyage of the electric streetcar carried passengers from downtown to the Fairgrounds Addition taking a two-mile route travelling south down Fannin Street, west on McGowen Street and returning north from Travis Street."^{xiv} The availability of public transportation opened the way for people to live outside the urban core and commute to work.

Many wealthy Houstonians relocated to the South End in the three decades following the advent of the electric streetcar. Large mansions lined San Jacinto, Main, Fannin, Travis and Milam Streets south of

CITY OF HOUSTON

Planning and Development Department

town. Historic photographs of some of the mansions reveal fanciful high style Victorian and Beaux Arts houses on large lots. Houston's prominent families, including Jesse H. Jones, John Henry Kirby, and Captain James Baker, all lived in the South End.^{xv}

"The South End remained one of the most prominent places in Houston to live until the end of the 1920s and the early 1930s."^{xvi} Competition from other new upscale neighborhoods such as River Oaks (platted in 1924 by brothers Will and Mike Hogg with Hugh Potter), Montrose, and Courtlandt Place, the expansion of Main Street, and the encroachment of commercial institutions along the main streets caused the South End to become a thoroughfare rather than a destination.^{xvii} The proliferation of suburbanization made possible by the automobile helped this effort. The newer neighborhoods offered quiet and were removed from the bustle of town while the South End was now located on busy major traffic arteries clogged with people trying to get out of town.^{xviii} Thus commercial establishments catering to the automobile turned Main Street into Houston's "first suburban retail corridor."^{xix} The South End was "transformed from an elite residential neighborhood around the turn of the twentieth century to a predominately commercial zone between the 1930s and the 1960s", and "certainly lost its grand status and was replaced by new amenable Houston area neighborhoods."^{xxx}

Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from 1924 show the southwest corner of Webster and Caroline as vacant and surrounded by large, frame residential dwellings. On this same map, Main Street shows more evidence of commercial encroachment than the parallel streets. There are two large brick apartment buildings that predate the Benjamin on Main Street on this early Sanborn map: The Savoy (1907) and the Beaconsfield (1910). Both still stand although the Savoy has been altered with a slip cover that hides its historic facade. These two apartment buildings were considered luxury apartments in contrast to the modest Benjamin quadruplex.

Due to the influx of the automobile and the changing nature of the South End, filing stations also begin to appear on Main Street. The 1924 Sanborn map shows a station on the northeast corner of Main and Webster and an auto showroom on the southeast corner of Hadley and Main. The map also shows large 2-story dwellings along Fannin and San Jacinto and two large, 1-story chicken coops on the west side of San Jacinto between Webster and Hadley. Other brick apartment buildings in the neighborhood noted on the 1924 Sanborn map include the southwest corner of Webster and Smith, the northwest corner of Chenevert and Pierce, the northeast corner of Leeland and Caroline (The Leeland Apartments), and the northwest corner of Leeland and La Branch (The Miller Apartments). Other apartment buildings in the neighborhood include: The Burlington Apartments (three-story with basement) on the northwest corner of Webster and Fannin; the Gardens Court Apartments on the southwest corner of Webster and Fannin, and the Sheridan (RTHL, SAL; City of Houston Landmark) on the southeast corner of Milam and McGowan.

Alfred C. Finn designed the Benjamin Apartment building in 1919 for Benjamin Cohen. Research in the Texas General Contractor's Bulletin lists the general contractor for the building as Louis C. Perry. The original concept for the Benjamin shows a three-story elaborate and ornamented scheme that was not realized. These original drawings, signed by Alfred C. Finn, are in the architectural archives of the Metropolitan Research Center at the Houston Public Library. The actual two-story building, constructed four years later, is more restrained architecturally and displays a mass and form typical of small apartment buildings of the period. The cast stone architectural detailing is Renaissance Revival in style and gives the building a fanciful and elegant touch. Benjamin Cohen lived in unit #3 of the building in the 1920s, 1930s and early 1940s.

Archaeological & Historical Commission

Planning and Development Department

The building remained an apartment quadruplex until 1945 when it became a small hospital called the Home Hospital, later renamed the Physicians and Surgeons Hospital. A Sanborn map from the 1950s shows the quadruplex building in use as a private hospital. By this time the neighborhood had changed and several of the nearby residential buildings are now listed as 'office' or as rooming houses. The building stood empty from 1952–59 and in 1960 it was remodeled again for use as a hospital. From 1961–1968 the building again stood vacant. It is presumed that changing code requirements for hospitals and the advent of the Texas Medical Center in the late 1950s detracted from the viability of this small hospital in Midtown. In the late 1960s there was a single apartment rented in the building for two years. In 1970 the building became a private residence for Mr. and Mrs. John W. Bankes. Mr. John Bankes died in 1993 and Mrs. Blanche Bankes continued to reside in the building until February of 1997. In 1998 a law firm purchased the building from the Bankes Estate and some interior demolition work was undertaken. Mid-Continent Houston Properties, LTD., the current owners, purchased the property in 1999 and have successfully rehabilitated the building for use as a single tenant office building.

Architect Alfred Charles Finn was born in Bellville, Texas on July 2, 1883, the son of Edwin E. and Bertha (Rogge) Finn.^{xxi} His training as a draftsman began when he worked for the Southern Pacific Railroad and he later worked in the Dallas, Fort Worth and finally the Houston offices of the architectural firm Sanguinet and Staats. Finn opened his own architectural practice in Houston in 1913.^{xxii} On his first job, the supervision of the construction of the Rice Hotel, he met Jesse H. Jones and there began a life-long association between the two men.^{xxiii} Finn is perhaps best known for his design of the San Jacinto monument (1935–38). Other notable Houston buildings include the Gulf Building (1927–29); the Sam Houston Music Hall and Coliseum (1935–38, demolished 2000); and the Ezekiel W. Cullen Administration Building (1947–50) at the University of Houston's main campus. He is also responsible for many other commercial buildings in Houston including offices, theaters and hospitals as well as commercial and residential projects throughout the state. His long architectural practice, 1913 to this death in 1964, was greatly supported by his association with Jesse H. Jones (1974–1956) for whom Finn worked frequently.^{xxiv}

The Benjamin Apartments are a remaining example of the apartment buildings constructed in the early 20th century south of downtown Houston when there was a great need for housing. There are a few apartment buildings of this era in the surrounding area, the most notable being the Sheridan Apartments (RTHL, SAL) located at Milam and McGowen. However, many of the apartment buildings in the area are in a poor state of repair.

The Benjamin Apartments are an excellent example of early 20th century architecture influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement. Stylistically the building is not classified as Arts and Crafts yet its form and massing and features are indicative of the style. Architectural features common to the Arts and Crafts style include the roof parapet and coping tiles, the modest detailing achieved by a change and color in brickwork, and the abundance of windows that allowed for air circulation before air conditioning. The notable cast stone decorative elements of the building deem its classification as Renaissance Revival, another popular early 20th century architectural style. Interior elements include the wooden floors, decorative molding and 9-foot ceilings.

Texas Historical Commission's State Board of Review approved the National Register nomination for the Benjamin Apartments at their May 2002 meeting in Dallas. The building was nominated under Criterion A and C with significance at the local level. The nomination is currently pending approval by the Keeper of the National Register.

Planning and Development Department

RESTORATION HISTORY & CURRENT CONDITION

The Benjamin Apartments, sensitively rehabilitated in 2001 through the investment tax credit program, retains a high degree of its architectural integrity. The building has a rear porte-cochere, a metal fence surrounding the rear parking area and a dumpster and utility enclosure – all recent additions. The five by four bay, brick veneered, balloon-framed building has cast stone detailing and ornamentation around the central, double entry doors and surrounding the second-story, arched window above. The modest detailing of the primary façade, the soldier course cornice, the 1/1 windows and the regular rhythm of the building, is repeated on its subsequent facades. The interior floor plan circulates in a horseshoe shape around an inner core where the restrooms and maintenance rooms are located.

The building is located on the southwest corner of Webster and Caroline Streets, two blocks south of the I-45 Pierce Elevated and three blocks east of Main Street. The streets in Midtown follow the same grid pattern as downtown Houston, a grid that aligns itself to the curve of the Buffalo Bayou (downtown) rather than true north. The setting of the building is urban and in close proximity to commercial concerns, residential townhouses and a multifamily housing complex. The building has two small adjacent parking lots; one to the west and south. Also in the rear (south) of the building is a large (40") pecan tree. During the recent rehabilitation new paving - stamped gray concrete - was added to the parking lot and continues along the perimeter sidewalk and two driveways (one on Caroline with access to the rear parking and porte-cochere and a second east of the building onto Webster). Loose pavers without grout were used in the rear of the building around the pecan tree to allow drainage into the ground. Landscaping on the east and north sides of the building includes small shrubs with seasonal color.

The five by four bay, balloon-framed apartment building is sheathed with Acme brick that varies in color from red to dark brown to black and is laid up in a stretcher bond pattern. Other elements typical of this early 20th-century housing type include the brick sills, metal lintels and cast stone detailing that surrounds the double front doors and an arched window above. There are two perimeter bands or belt courses that surround the building: the first is just above the concrete foundation at grade, and the second continues the line of the first-floor window sills. The foundation is a system of concrete piers, beams and timber cross-members. A modest cornice, defined by a change in the brick pattern, is visible on the north, west and east facades and wraps around the south (rear) façade. Terracotta, salt-glazed coping tiles cap the parapet. The roof, originally built-up tar, is a two-layer vinyl roofing system (Duro-Last) installed over a Styrofoam sub system.

The first, third and fifth bays of the north façade project slightly from the building plane suggesting an 'E' shape. This idea is repeated on the south façade with the first and fifth bays projecting significantly more to form a modified 'C' pattern: these rear projections originally housed the sleeping porches.

Typical of early 20th-century residential buildings of this type, the building is modestly detailed. The central, paired wooden entry doors have single lights and directly above is a cast stone nameplate that says "Benjamin," a common practice for apartment buildings of this style and era. Above the nameplate is a small cast stone balcony with metal balustrade. Above the balcony, a cast stone molding forms an arch around a window topped with a semicircular decorative relief panel and creates the illusion that the balcony is functional. Large decorative metal lanterns flank the entry doors.

All of the building windows are wooden, 1/1, double hung sash and the majority are replicas installed during the recent rehabilitation. The windows on the five bay north and south facades are grouped in triplet or quadruplet arrangements while the windows on the four bay east and west facades are paired

Planning and Development Department

and placed in a regular pattern with a small single window between the third and fourth bays. Originally the window screens had a 9-light upper sash with a single light or screen below. The new screens installed in 2001 have a 6-light upper and single light below.

The north façade pattern is A-B-C-B-A with the first, third and fifth bays projecting slightly forward of the other bays. The first and fifth bays have triplet-grouped windows on both levels. Flush brick panels, created by a change in the brick coursing, are located between the two window levels in the first and fifth bays only. Additionally in these bays, a brick band surrounds and groups the windows of both levels. This band is detailed with cast stone cornerstones at the second-floor lintel level. The second and fourth bays have quadruplet-grouped windows on both levels with no decorative brickwork. A modest cornice is created by two soldier courses of brick separated by five rows of horizontal coursing the first of which projects slightly. There are small decorative cast iron grills in all but the central bay that provide ventilation to the basement.

The four-bay east and west facades are almost mirror images and have an A-A-B-A pattern. Both facades have paired 1/1 windows and a small single window in the third bay that originally corresponded to the interior bathrooms. Both facades also repeat the banding and cornice of the primary façade. The first bay of the west façade projects slightly and has one additional slim window on each level that faces south. Additionally, the west façade has hooded wooden vent grills at the attic level in the second and third bays.

The five bay south or rear façade pattern is A-B-C-B-A. The first and fifth bays project from the building plane to create a 'C' shape and have triplet-grouped windows at both levels. The second and fourth bays have slender, triplet-grouped windows on both levels. Both levels of the third or central bay have a wooden door with transom flanked by two sidelights, a second door with transom and sidelights followed by a pair of windows. All of the doors are wooden with a solid lower panel and a single light upper and the windows are 1/1 with 6/1 screens. A metal framed, brick veneer porte-cochere and balcony was added in the recent rehabilitation for egress and ADA compliance. This addition extends from the inset of the 'C' shape between the first and fifth bays out into the rear parking area. The color of the porte-cochere brick veneer differs slightly from the brick of the historic building. An ADA accessible lift is incorporated into the porte-cochere addition. There are three cast iron grilles on this façade that ventilate the basement, and two hooded wooden grills near the parapet that ventilate the attic.

The most significant changes to the building during the 2001 rehabilitation are the windows and the interior floor plan. Approximately 90% of the windows were replaced due to their poor condition. The new windows and the reused original windows were retrofitted with 1/4" laminated glass, a specification needed for sound insulation. Originally, each apartment unit ran north to south, one per floor on each side of the central building core. Mr. Benjamin Cohen, the owner and developer of the building, lived in unit 3 (the upstairs east apartment). The original blueprints by Alfred C. Finn are in the collection of the Metropolitan Research Center of the Houston Public Library and show window details of Mr. Cohen's sleeping porch. Notes on the drawings for Cohen's unit 3 sleeping porch read: "This sleeping porch only to be glazed in and to have plastered walls and ceiling, picture mold and base, oak floor." The other sleeping porches of the building show a different fenestration as they did not have windows but only screens. The alterations to Mr. Cohen's unit changed the fenestration on the south façade's fifth bay of the second floor from four screened openings to a group of three single light, double hung sash windows. The first bay of the east façade on the second floor changed from the original three screened openings to paired windows typical of the rest of the building. The remaining screened openings of the

Archaeological & Historical Commission

Planning and Development Department

building's sleeping porches were later poorly retrofitted with glass: four windows replaced four screened openings on the south façade and three windows replaced three screened openings on the east and west facades. The conversion from screens to windows was done haphazardly and poorly — glass was inserted into screened openings that were not sturdy enough to handle the additional weight. During the recent rehabilitation, all the existing windows that were converted from the former sleeping porch screens were replaced with windows following the fenestration from the original design of Ben Cohen's Unit 3. The new windows replicated the pattern set by Mr. Cohen's apartment: on the south façade, the new windows are grouped in three; and on the west and east facades the replica windows are paired.

The interior of the building changed over time. Originally, the apartment units ran north to south with two on each level for a total of four units. The boiler flue was in the center of the building just south of the staircase. Each unit had two bedrooms, one bathroom, a living room, and dining room, breakfast porch, kitchen, sleeping porch and sun porch. Finn's architectural drawings show the same floor plan on each level. Each unit had two means of egress: into the central stairway or out onto the rear balcony and staircase. Sunrooms faced north and were located in the recessed sections of the second and fourth bays. The sleeping porches were on the south side in the projecting first and fifth bays. The kitchens were located towards the rear of the building adjacent to the common wall. The dining and living room were connected with the sun porch that faced north. The bedrooms were located along the east and west exterior walls with a bathroom between them.

In the 1940s the building changed uses and became a small private hospital. The building underwent minor changes: doors were added into the central core to improve circulation between the two halves of the building. Other changes included dividing each of the sunrooms into two separate rooms. On the whole, the hospital fit nicely into the apartment building and used the spaces without much alteration. In the 1960s the building was altered again when it was again opened as a private hospital. Changes were made to the central core again to improve circulation and an HVAC unit and ducting was added.

Modifications to the interior floor layout were made again prior and during the 2001 rehabilitation and some of the interior walls were removed. When the current owner purchased the building all but a handful of the interior and exterior doors were missing, the plaster had been removed from the interior and the staircase balustrade had been removed.

The new interior floor plan is designed in a horseshoe shape around a central core with improved access between the east and west sides of the building so it can function as one unit per floor. The location of the remaining original walls was maintained wherever possible. The new circulation plan retired the central boiler chimney and the HVAC system that was installed in the 1960s. New ADA-compliant restrooms, two per floor, are located in the central core of the building. The new hallways were widened as per city fire code.

Despite the building's dire interior condition in 1999, many features did survive: the tiled entry vestibule, the wood floors, the staircase (minus the balustrade), the brass mailboxes and some of the baseboards and decorative molding. These elements were retained where possible. Missing interior items such as the baseboards and decorative moldings were replicated from the original designs. Access to the original architectural drawings made replication of the staircase balustrade possible. The wooden floors were salvaged and reinstalled first in the public areas such as entry rooms and hallways. Some of the new offices have wooden floors, however, many are carpeted as there was not enough wooden flooring for the entire building. The kitchen has mosaic tile flooring. On the second floor, perimeter offices have a 6/1 window opening to the hallway. All of the new interior doors are modeled on the

CITY OF HOUSTON

Planning and Development Department

historic doors and have a solid wood, lower panel (with metal interior) and a single, laminated glass upper light.

A non-decorative, black metal fence surrounds the rear of the building site. Cars enter the parking area from Caroline and exit onto Webster, both one-way streets. A rear dumpster and utility enclosure is sited along the south property line and has a brick veneer that is different from the brick color of the historic building.

The Benjamin Apartments survived relatively intact the past 76 years yet was in a severe state of deterioration when the current owner purchased the building in 1999. The building retained most of its design, location, materials, workmanship, feeling and association yet to the untrained eye it was a stretch to see its merits. The setting of the building has changed due to the increased number of commercial concerns in the neighborhood. The efforts of the current owner brought back many of the historic features and it is anticipated that the rehabilitation will attract new residents to the neighborhood and aid in the overall revitalization of Houston's Midtown neighborhood.

Planning and Development Department

APPROVAL CRITERIA FOR LANDMARK DESIGNATION

Sec. 33-224. Criteria for designation

(a) The HAHC, in making recommendations with respect to designation, and the city council, in making a designation, shall consider one or more of the following criteria, as appropriate for the type of designation:

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- □ ☑ (1) Whether the building, structure, object, site or area possesses character, interest or value as a visible reminder of the development, heritage, and cultural and ethnic diversity of the city, state, or nation;
- □ ☑ (2) Whether the building, structure, object, site or area is the location of a significant local, state or national event;
- □ ☑ (3) Whether the building, structure, object, site or area is identified with a person who, or group or event that, contributed significantly to the cultural or historical development of the city, state, or nation;
- ☑ □ (4) Whether the building or structure or the buildings or structures within the area exemplify a particular architectural style or building type important to the city;
- ☑ □ (5) Whether the building or structure or the buildings or structures within the area are the best remaining examples of an architectural style or building type in a neighborhood;
- \square (6) Whether the building, structure, object or site or the buildings, structures, objects or sites within the area are identified as the work of a person or group whose work has influenced the heritage of the city, state, or nation;
- \square (7) Whether specific evidence exists that unique archaeological resources are present;
- □ ☑ (8) Whether the building, structure, object or site has value as a significant element of community sentiment or public pride.

STAFF RECOMMENDATION

That the Houston Planning Commission accepts the recommendation of the Houston Archaeological and Historical Commission and recommends landmark designation of the Benjamin Apartments to the City Council.

CITY OF HOUSTON

Planning and Development Department

xx Kirwin, page 17–18.

ⁱ US Historical Census data, http://www.fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/

ⁱⁱ Kirwin, Timothy B., "It was like a neglected beauty": The Redevelopment of One Houston Neighborhood - Midtown." Master's thesis, University of Houston, August 2001, page 11.

ⁱⁱⁱ Johnston, Marguerite, *Houston: The Unknown City, 1836–1946* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1991), page 7. Houston became the fourth-largest city in the United States in 1983. Quote from Kirwin's thesis, p. 8.

^{iv} Kirwin, page 10.

^v Kirwin,, page 10.

^{vi} McComb, David. Houston: A History (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969, 1981). page 41. Noted in Kirwin's thesis, p. 10.

^{vii} Kirwin, page 10.

^{viii} Kirwin, page 10.

^{ix} Kirwin, page 10-11.

^x Kirwin, page 11.

^{xi} Kirwin, page 12

^{xii} Kirwin, page 12.

^{xiii} Kirwin, page 13

xiv Kirwin, page 13

^{xv} Kirwin, page 13.

^{xvi} Kirwin, page 13-14.

^{xvii} Kirwin, page 14

xviii Kirwin, page 14.

xix Kirwin, page 16, as noted by Stephen Fox in *Main Street Houston: An Urban Design Charrette and Exhibition*, AIA- Houston, Rice University School of Architecture, University of Houston College of Architecture and The Museum of Fine Arts-Houston, 1992.

^{xxi} "FINN, ALFRED CHARLES." *Handbook of Texas Online*. http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/FF/ffi32.html [Accessed Sun Oct 28 23:34:02 US/Central 2001].

xxii "FINN, ALFRED CHARLES." Handbook of Texas Online. http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/FF/ffi32.html [Accessed Sun Oct 28 23:34:02 US/Central 2001].

xxiii "FINN, ALFRED CHARLES." Handbook of Texas Online. http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/FF/ffi32.html [Accessed Sun Oct 28 23:34:02 US/Central 2001].

xxiv "FINN, ALFRED CHARLES." Handbook of Texas Online. http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/FF/ffi32.html [Accessed Sun Oct 28 23:34:02 US/Central 2001