

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary Increase, City of Richmond, DHR No. 127-0352

The St. Luke Building was previously listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register (1981, #127-0352) and the National Register of Historic Places (1982) as an individual resource. This nomination update and boundary increase extends the listing to include 902-904 St. James Street, a two-unit rowhouse that was historically and functionally associated with the Order of St. Luke and its headquarters in the St. Luke Building, 900 St. James Street. Many African American fraternal organizations were founded in the mid-nineteenth century and at first focused mainly on providing sick benefits, monetary support for widows and orphans, and burial funds. In the years following the Civil War, the organizations increasingly provided for members' economic and social needs in post-slavery, pre-civil rights America. Fraternal organizations acted cooperatively to provide African Americans with access to education, healthcare, banking, and insurance, among other services. The St. Luke Building once served as the national headquarters of the Independent Order of St. Luke. The Order's mission to foster African-American economic independence was largely realized through enterprises housed in the St. Luke Building, including the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, printing facilities for the *St. Luke Herald*, and offices for the Order.


The St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary Increase is eligible for listing in the Virginia Landmarks Register and the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A (History) and C (Architecture) at the local level of significance, with a period of significance of 1877-1967. The St. Luke Building was previously listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register (1981, #127-0352) and the National Register of Historic Places (1982) as an individual resource. This nomination extends the listing to include 902-904 St. James Street, a two-unit rowhouse that was historically and functionally associated with the Order of St. Luke and its headquarters in the St. Luke Building, 900 St. James Street.

**St. Luke Building 2017 Update
and Boundary Increase**
City of Richmond, 127-0352

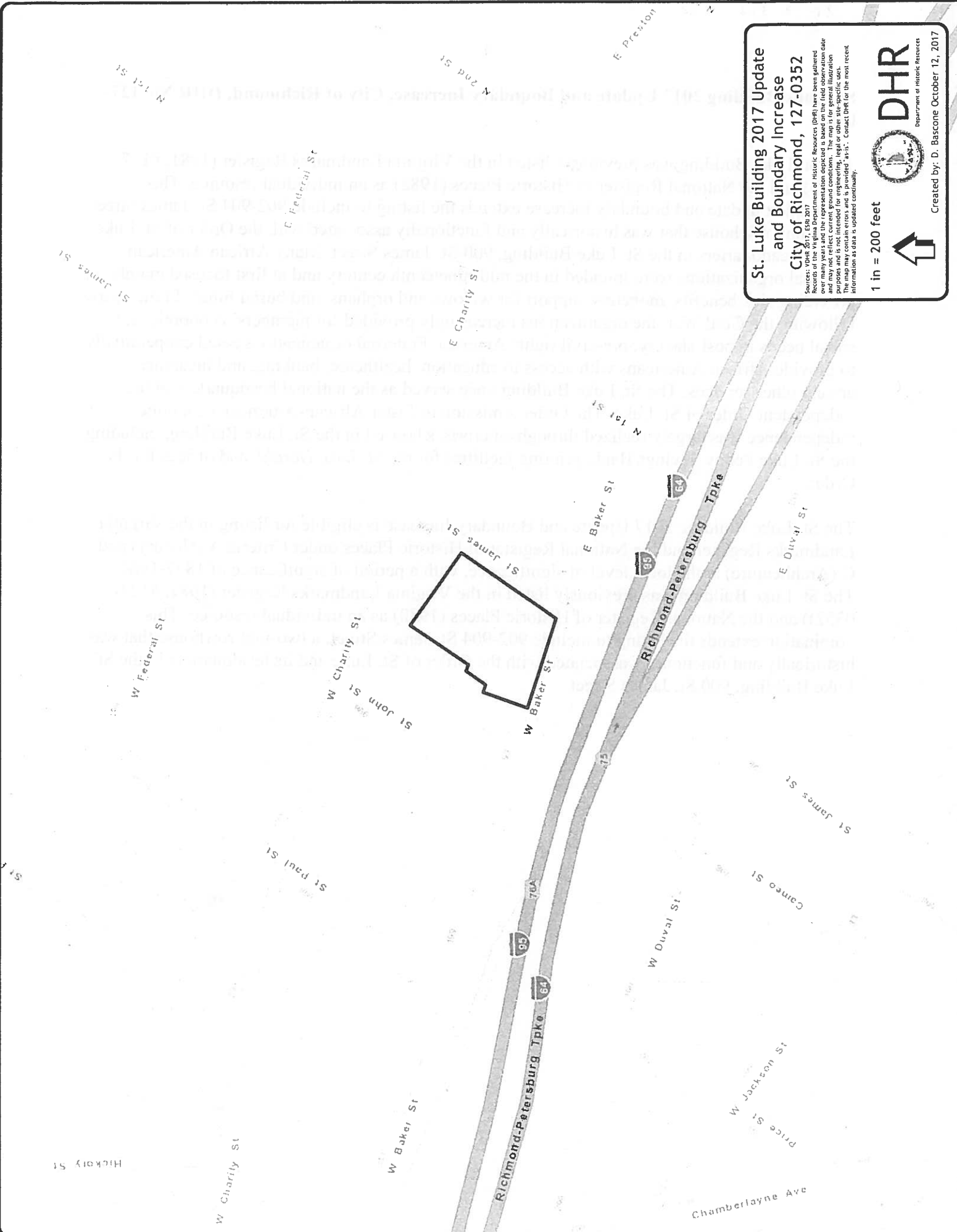
Sources: DHR 2017, ESP 2017
The map is a representation of the current ground conditions and may not reflect current ground conditions. The map is for general illustration purposes and is not intended for engineering, legal or other site-specific uses. The map may contain errors and is provided "as is". Contact DHR for the most recent information as data is updated continually.

DHR
Department of Historic Resources

1 in = 200 feet



Created by: D. Bascone October 12, 2017



0352 United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary Increase

Other names/site number: DHR# 127-0352

Name of related multiple property listing:

N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing NA)

2. Location

Street & number: 900-904 St. James Street

City or town: City of Richmond State: VA County: _____

Not For Publication:

N/A

Vicinity:

N/A

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A B C D

<p>_____ Signature of certifying official/Title: Date <u>Virginia Department of Historic Resources</u> State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</p>	
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<p>In my opinion, the property <input type="checkbox"/> meets <input type="checkbox"/> does not meet the National Register criteria.</p>	
<p>_____ Signature of commenting official: Date</p>	
<p>_____ Title : State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government</p>	

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
- determined eligible for the National Register
- determined not eligible for the National Register
- removed from the National Register
- other (explain:)

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	buildings
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	sites
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	structures
<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	objects
<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 1

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

COMMERCE/TRADE: Business: Office Building

DOMESTIC: Single Dwelling: Rowhouse

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

VACANT/NOT IN USE

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase
Name of Property

City of Richmond, VA
County and State

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

LATE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY REVIVALS: Classical Revival

LATE VICTORIAN: Italianate

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: BRICK

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The St. Luke Building was previously listed in the Virginia Landmarks Register (1981, #127-0352) and the National Register of Historic Places (1982) as an individual resource. This nomination update and boundary increase extends the listing to include 902-904 St. James Street, a two-unit rowhouse that was historically and functionally associated with the Order of St. Luke and its headquarters in the St. Luke Building, 900 St. James Street. Many African American fraternal organizations were founded in the mid-nineteenth century and at first focused mainly on providing sick benefits, monetary support for widows and orphans, and burial funds. In the years following the Civil War, the organizations increasingly provided for members' economic and social needs in post-slavery, pre-civil rights America. Fraternal organizations acted cooperatively to provide African Americans with access to education, healthcare, banking, and insurance, among other services. The St. Luke Building once served as the national headquarters of the Independent Order of St. Luke. The Order's mission to foster African-American economic independence was largely realized through enterprises housed in the St. Luke Building, including the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, printing facilities for the *St. Luke Herald*, and offices for the Order.

Narrative Description

Setting

The St. Luke Building is located on a lot in the southeast corner of a block defined by St. James Street to the east, West Baker Street to the south, St. John Street to the west, and West Charity Street to the north. The lot is grassy with concrete sidewalks located along the east and south

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

borders of the lot. There is a chain link fence between the lot and the south sidewalk and telephone poles along St. James Street. A large tree is located at the southeast corner of the building and several mature trees are located west of the building. South of the building is the circular concrete base of a former fountain, now infilled with soil and grass. A concrete path leads from the east and south sidewalks to the south entry.

St. Luke Building, 900 St. James Street (Contributing Building)

St. Luke Building Exterior

The east (primary elevation) exterior walls are built of a pressed, beige brick, with the 1903 and 1918 brick being slightly different colors. On the first floor of the east elevation, the storefront consists of four wood-frame, single-fixed pane storefront windows topped by transoms. The storefront windows were modified several times, with the most recent modification in the 1970s. The south elevation is constructed of yellow brick (similar, but not identical to the beige brick on the original portion of the building), with each bay and story defined by brick pilasters and brick string courses. The west (rear) elevation is constructed of red brick and has a stepped parapet that is higher at the south end. The north elevation is constructed of red brick. The first two stories are obscured at the east end by the adjoining building. Fenestration throughout consists of two-over-two wood sash with transoms and one-over-one wood sash of varying sizes, with one window in each bay of each story, except the easternmost bay. All windows are contained within segmental-arched openings, have stone sills, and are typically either partially or fully boarded up.

A metal-wrapped wood cornice tops the east (primary) elevation. Signage consisting of letters spelling "St Luke Building" is attached to the masonry walls between the second- and third-story windows of the east elevation. The building is covered by a flat membrane roof that slopes down from south to north. The north end of the roof has a stepped, red brick parapet and the south end has a flat brick parapet. Both parapets are partially coated with concrete. There are four brick interior chimneys: one at the southwest corner of the roof, and three along the north elevation. An elevator overrun is located in the southeast corner of the roof and the roof access is located just west of the overrun along the south elevation.

On the east (primary) elevation all four entries contain double wood-framed doors with transoms. The main entrance in the southernmost bay contains a flat, steel-framed, wood-clad, suspended entry canopy. On the south elevation, a bricked-up, canopied entry is located in the second bay from the west and appears similar to that of the front (east) elevation. The entry has a short flight of concrete steps with a metal rail. A narrow basement areaway, accessed by a flight of concrete steps with a metal rail, runs the width of the elevation. The west (rear) elevation doors, located in the second and third bays from the north, each contain a modern metal door. The southernmost door has an exterior metal vestibule accessed by a concrete ramp. Each door took the place of a window, the former openings for which are bricked up above each door.

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

An exterior metal stair with a corrugated metal canopy leads from a second-story door to the south side of the building. The second-story door is metal, and has a boarded-up window and a large, segmental-arched, boarded-up transom. On the north elevation, metal fire escape stairs descend diagonally from approximately the center of the fourth story to the west end of the second story. The fire escape is a later addition, as evidenced by three former window openings that have been modified into door openings with transoms at each level. Each opening contains a set of narrow wood double doors, each leaf of which contains one light over one panel. The fourth-story door has a nine-light transom, the third-story a six-light, and the second-story a twelve-light. The second-story door is blocked at the interior by a fixed wood panel, which also covers broken glass at the doors.

A basement is located under the 1918 addition and the southeast corner of the original building; the rest of the space consists of crawlspace only. The basement contains three rooms, including a furnace room at the west end, a hall with stair at the east end, and a vault behind the stair. An elevator is located behind the vault. Typical finishes include concrete floors, plaster or exposed brick walls, and plaster or poured-in-place concrete ceilings. Plumbing is exposed throughout much of the basement, and is mostly concentrated in the furnace room, where there is a water heater and other mechanical equipment.

St. Luke Building Interior

The ground floor originally housed shops that were accessed from St. James Street. The current configuration, modified most recently in the 1970s, consists of four rooms that are accessed by an entry hall that is open except for two stair halls flanking the elevator shaft and a restroom at the west (rear) end. A short flight of stairs (dating to the 1970s modification) leads from the 1903 section to the 1918 addition near the east end of the building. Floor finishes include small ceramic tiles and vinyl composition tile (VCT) laid over wood strip flooring. A concrete ramp, also dating to the 1970s, connects the 1902 section to the 1918 addition. The hallway at the base of the southeast stair has a painted, coffered wood ceiling; the remaining ceilings are typically plaster covered with later gypsum board. The original large, arched opening at the south wall of the northwest room is now infilled with gypsum board with a modern door. Metal doors, dating to the 1970s, access two separate rooms along the west wall.

The second floor of the building consists of seven rooms accessed by a hallway containing two sets of stairs along the south wall flanking the elevator shaft. The two stairs are currently divided by a modern gypsum board fire wall. A restroom is located at the west (rear) end of the hallway. The original wood strip floors are covered with VCT throughout. The 1902 section has a pressed tin ceiling that is divided at intervals by large structural beams and extends to form a crown molding at both the walls and the beams. The framework for a suspended acoustical tile ceiling is found in most rooms. The exterior walls are of plaster and all interior partition walls are of modern gypsum board, with interior walls finished with either beadboard (historic) or particle board (non-historic) wainscoting. At the west wall, some window openings were bricked in and replaced with the existing, smaller windows.

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

The third floor of the building consists of seven rooms accessed by a hallway containing two sets of stairs along the south wall flanking the elevator shaft. The two stairs are currently divided by a modern gypsum board fire wall. A restroom is located at the west (rear) end of the hallway. The ceilings are of plaster that, in some of the rooms of the 1902 section, has been damaged, exposing underlying wood lath. The plaster ceilings are typically covered with modern gypsum board, large sections of which are damaged or missing. The plaster walls of the 1902 section's southeast and southwest rooms are covered with painted, faux wood paneling.

The fourth floor of the building consists of large open area that formerly housed the insurance society, accessed by a hallway containing two sets of stairs along the south wall flanking the elevator shaft. The two stairs are currently divided by a modern gypsum-board fire wall. A restroom is located at the west (rear) end of the hallway. The former insurance area is a large, open space with low, modern gypsum-board partition walls enclosing offices along the east and north walls. The outer walls of this section are of plaster with a beadboard wainscot. Ca.1918 paneled wood partition walls form a room at the southwest corner. Four-light, pivoted transom windows are placed continuously along these paneled partition walls. The south wall features two storefront windows with painted glazing, fluted pilasters, a dentil cornice, and multi-light transom windows with painted glazing. Toward the west end of the same wall is a doorway, missing its door, with a surround in the same style as the teller area. The ceilings are finished with pressed tin that, as with the second-floor ceiling, extends to form a crown molding. A central structural beam supported by five square wood columns runs east-west at the ceiling of the original section and is also covered with tin. A paneled wood teller's cage with metal cage doors is located near the southeast corner of the 1902 section and is original to the building. It adjoins the south wall, where a teller counter opens to the south 1918 section. Another teller counter opens to the north.

902-904 St. James Street (2 Contributing Buildings)

902-904 St. James Street Exterior

902-904 St. James Street is a two-unit rowhouse with the primary entrances for each unit facing St. James Street. 902-904 St. James Street contains a symmetrical pair of two-story residential units with a standing-seam metal roof. The footprint of the rowhouse measures 40'6" by 31'2" feet, with each unit containing approximately 1,300 square feet of enclosed space for a total of 2,600 square feet of enclosed space. On the ground floor, the two units are separated by a passageway that extends through the building. On the second floor, a single window is located above the ground-floor passageway. 902-904 St. James Street was built as early as 1877 in a vernacular Italianate style. The rowhouse has been modified over time, with the most significant modification being the loss of the front porch over the two entry doors. The porch, recorded in historic photographs, was covered and also of vernacular Italianate style.

The exterior walls are brick, laid in Flemish bond on the east (primary) elevation, and common bond on the north, west (rear), and south elevations. The bay spacing on the primary elevation is

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

idiosyncratic: on the ground floor, each unit contains three bays (two six-over-six wood windows in the outermost east and west bays and two doors on the innermost bays, with a lowered central open passage dividing the two units. On the second floor, on the outer two north and south bays, six-over-six wood windows align vertically with the first floor windows. There are no windows above the doors, and a single six-over-six wood window is centered over the central passage. A simple wood cornice wraps the top of the second floor of the building.

902-904 St. James Street Interior

The plan of each of the two residential units is symmetrical. Each unit consists of two rooms on each floor with a small side stair rising laterally between the two rooms (rotated 90 degrees from the side passage) to the second floor. The side passage runs parallel to the front room, and opens directly into the rear room. On the second floor, the two rooms are arranged similarly, except that the area over the open ground floor central passage is enclosed on the second, with the resulting space added alternately to the front and rear rooms of the two residential units.

The interior walls are plaster on wood furring strips attached to the masonry, and the floors are hardwood placed directly upon joists. The first and second floor ceilings are plaster on wood furring strips attached to the joists. The interior spaces are badly damaged by water penetration, as the units have not been occupied for at least twenty years. All mechanical systems, as well as kitchen and bathroom fixtures, have been removed. While the building materials on the first floor are in fair condition, much of the second floor in the southern unit is badly damaged, with the joists mostly compromised. Historically, the spaces were heated by fireplaces, and the simple Tuscan mantelpieces for each room survive.

Inventory of Resources

Resource	Designation	Date	Contributing or Non-contributing
900 St. James Street	St. James Building	1903; 1918	Contributing (1)
902-904 St. James Street	Rowhouse	1877	Contributing (2)

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

ARCHITECTURE

COMMERCE

Period of Significance

1877-1967

Significant Dates

Ca. 1877 (earliest possible construction date of 902-904 St. James Street)

1903 (initial construction of St. Luke Building)

1915-20 (expansion of St. Luke Building)

1921-23 (acquisition of 902-904 St. James Street)

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

NA

Cultural Affiliation

NA

Architect/Builder

White, John H.

Russell, Charles T.

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

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Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

Introduction

The St. Luke Building once served as the national headquarters of the Independent Order of St. Luke, a mutual aid society founded in 1869. The Order's mission to foster African-American economic independence was largely realized through enterprises housed in the St. Luke Building, including the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, printing facilities for the *St. Luke Herald*, and offices for the Order. The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank would later move into its own building at 112 East Broad Street.

Many African American fraternal organizations were founded in the mid-nineteenth century and at first focused mainly on addressing immediate financial needs within the community. Early mutual aid societies provided sick benefits, monetary support for widows and orphans, and burial funds to its members in exchange for nominal contributions. In the years following the Civil War, however, such organizations increasingly provided long-term economic and social support in post-slavery, pre-civil rights America. Fraternal organizations acted cooperatively to provide African Americans with equal access to education, healthcare, banking, and insurance, among other services. African-American fraternal organizations formed in both northern and southern states in the mid-nineteenth century; however, most were headquartered in the south, where discrimination was widespread.¹ The United Order of True Reformers was established in Kentucky in 1872 as an offshoot of the Independent Order of Good Templars, an all-white organization. The Grand United Order of Odd Fellows was established in 1842 in New York, and the first African American chapter of the Knights of Pythias was formed in 1880 in Mississippi. These organizations all shared common goals of economic uplift of the African American community and providing for members in times of need. They also accumulated numerous investments, including property, and typically published their own newspapers to connect members across the country. Newspapers also kept members up to date on current events, particularly the organizations' efforts to fight discriminatory Jim Crow legislation.

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

The Independent Order of St. Luke

Mary Prout founded the Baltimore-based United Order of St. Luke in 1867 as a women's mutual insurance society that provided sick and burial benefits to its members.² The organization was initially limited to women but later opened to men. In 1869, a factional dispute caused a group of members led by William M. T. Forrester to split off and create the Independent Order of St. Luke.³ The new Order took its name from Luke of the Gospels, and taught such moral values as brotherhood, thrift, and self-reliance, in addition to providing mutual aid benefits.⁴ Forrester led the new Order until 1899, when he abandoned it, fearing its financial demise. It was at this time that Maggie Lena Walker took over the organization as Grand Secretary.

Maggie Lena Walker

Maggie Lena Walker (née Mitchell) was born July 15, 1864, at the Van Lew Estate in Richmond. Her mother, Elizabeth Draper, worked as an assistant cook for abolitionist and Union spy Elizabeth Van Lew, and her biological father was Eccles Cuthbert, an Irish-American abolitionist and *New York Herald* reporter.⁵ No records exist to show that Draper and Cuthbert were ever married, and Virginia laws forbade interracial marriage.⁶ Draper married William Mitchell, a butler for the Van Lews, soon after Walker's birth. The couple had a child, Walker's half-brother Johnnie, in 1870, and Mitchell became headwaiter at the St. Charles Hotel, providing enough income for the family to rent their own small house in College Alley near the Medical College of Virginia.⁷ In February 1876, however, Mitchell was found dead in the James River, sending the family into poverty. Draper started her own laundry business to provide for her family, and Walker assisted with delivering laundry to white patrons.⁸ Walker attended Lancaster School and in 1883 received a teaching degree from the Richmond Colored Normal School. She returned to Lancaster School to teach for three years, then married Armstead Walker Jr., a construction worker, in December 1886.⁹ Laws at this time prohibited married women from teaching, forcing Walker to resign from her teaching position.¹⁰ Walker and her husband had two sons: Russell Eccles Talmadge Walker (born 1890) and Melvin DeWitt Walker (born 1897). A third son, Armstead Mitchell Walker, was born in 1893 and died in infancy. The couple also adopted Polly Anderson, Armstead Walker Jr.'s distant cousin, who took on child-rearing and housekeeping duties.¹¹

Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of St. Luke

Maggie Walker joined the Independent Order of St. Luke in 1881, while she was still in school. After leaving her teaching position, she devoted herself to the Order and rose steadily through its ranks. She established the Juvenile Branch of the Order in 1895 while serving as grand deputy matron. This branch encouraged education, community service, and thrift in young members. Children were required to pay dues for membership and insurance, teaching fiscal responsibility.¹² When the organization was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1899, Walker was elected to replace William M. T. Forrester as Right Worthy Grand Secretary, a position she held

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

until her death in 1934. As Grand Secretary, Walker guided the Order to financial success and greatly increased its membership and resources.¹³

Beginning in 1897, the headquarters of the Independent Order of St. Luke operated out of the former home and office of Dr. George H. Bright at 900 St. James Street.¹⁴ An imposing two-and-one-half-story, brick mansion constructed in 1815 by James A. Grant,¹⁵ who lived there until 1851, when it became the headquarters of the Male Orphan Asylum. In 1870, the asylum relocated to the suburbs of Richmond and Dr. Bright purchased the building for the Independent Order of St. Luke.¹⁶ After five years, however, the minutes of a September 5, 1902, council meeting indicate that the building no longer met the Order's needs.¹⁷ A committee was appointed to report on the new building, architect John H. White was hired to draw up the plans, and a resolution was passed allowing the building committee to borrow money for construction.¹⁸

Construction of the St. Luke Building

At the August 1901 Independent Order of St. Luke convention, Maggie Walker gave a momentous speech to the council in which she outlined her vision for improvements and expansion of the organization. This vision hinged on the creation of a bank, newspaper, and department store to serve the African American community, all of which would be run by members of the Order.¹⁹ The committee passed her recommendations unanimously. The new St. Luke Building (originally known as St. Luke Hall) was constructed adjacent to the Bright house in the spring of 1903. The building served as the Order's new headquarters, with dedicated space for offices and newspaper printing operations at the first floor; an assembly hall seating over 500 at the second floor; and council meeting rooms at the third floor.²⁰ The first issue of the *St. Luke Herald* was published on March 29, 1902, and publication of the newspaper continued at the new building once it was complete in 1903.²¹ The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank opened in the new St. Luke Building in November 1903, and the St. Luke Emporium department store opened at 112 East Broad Street in November 1905.²²

The new building's completion was heralded with a week-long series of dedication ceremonies beginning on July 6, 1903. The St. Luke Association raised a record-breaking \$3,678.98 in visitor donations during the dedication week.²³ The first convention of the Independent Order of St. Luke was held in the new building that year.²⁴ According to the Order's 1917 *Fiftieth Anniversary Golden Jubilee* report, the new St. Luke Building cost \$15,000, not including the cost of steam heat and furniture, and was outfitted with "electric light and all modern improvements."²⁵ The Order's 1925 *Journal of Proceedings* notes that the building provided "comfortable, suitable office space" and five lodge rooms for the St. Luke Councils and other organizations.²⁶ The auditorium at the second floor was to be used for biennial meetings of the Order and for the public.²⁷

The St. Luke Building was very similar, both in the mission of the St. Luke Association that it supported, and in terms of its ambitious architectural agenda, to its predecessor, the demolished

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

True Reformers Hall, formerly located at 604 North Second Street, Richmond (built 1891-95; demolished ca. 1955). Under the leadership of William Washington Browne (1850-1897), an advocate of African-American self-reliance, the Grand Fountain, United Order of True Reformers, financed and constructed the True Reformers Hall. While designed by a white architect, Bernard Black, an African American contractor from Richmond, George Boyd, built it, at a cost of \$24,000. The ambitious brick Romanesque building contained four stories, as did the final version of the St. Luke Building. The first floor contained the lobby of the True Reformers Bank, the offices of the Grand Fountain, and other commercial tenants, similar to the St. Luke Building (though St. Luke contained commercial offices on the first floor and, after the addition of the fourth floor, the insurance company lobby and offices were located there). The second floor contained meeting rooms (as did the St. Luke Building), and the third and fourth floor contained a two-story, galleried concert hall. The St. Luke Building and the True Reformers Hall in Washington, DC, both constructed in 1903, are similar in both mission and architectural agenda to the True Reformers Hall in Richmond.²⁸

The *St. Luke Herald*

Publication of the *St. Luke Herald* was essential to the growth of the Independent Order of St. Luke. The St. Luke Printing Department was first established to produce ceremonial objects sold to members and the general public to generate revenue for the Order.²⁹ The department began production of the weekly *St. Luke Herald* before the new headquarters were completed, and printing operations moved to the first floor of the new building in 1903. Soon, the department was producing not only the *Herald*, but also regalia and all other print requirements for the Order.³⁰ This versatility was an indicator of self-sufficiency and thus a particular point of pride for the Order.³¹ At the August 1901 convention, Maggie Walker stated that she intended the newspaper to “herald and proclaim the work of the Order.”³² The *St. Luke Herald* achieved this goal while reaching new audiences, connecting members and coordinating councils nationwide, and serving as an outlet for African-American political activism.

The *St. Luke Herald* soon became one of the leading African-American newspapers in Richmond, alongside the *Richmond Planet*, the *Reformer*, and the *Virginia Baptist Reporter*.³³ The *Herald* focused largely on Order-specific news: meetings and conferences, economic stability, member obituaries, and the activities of the juvenile division were frequent subjects.³⁴ Outside of Order news, however, the *Herald* kept readers informed of rampant civil rights abuse of the African American community and was an active participant in protests. In 1904, the *Herald* ran an editorial campaign against segregation of the Richmond trolley car system, encouraging African Americans to boycott streetcars and walk instead. The boycott was a serious financial blow to the trolley company, which was forced into receivership.³⁵ The number of subscriptions to the *Herald* grew with increasing membership in the Order, and by 1929, the *Herald* had become Richmond’s leading African American weekly newspaper.³⁶

The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

The establishment of the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank in 1903 fulfilled another of Maggie Walker's main objectives for the Independent Order of St. Luke. The bank was essential to the Order's mission of uplifting the African American community, as it represented financial success, fostered economic independence, and provided an escape from the overt racism of white-owned banks.³⁷ The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank joined other prominent African-American banks including those of the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers and the Mechanics Savings Bank. St. Luke attorney James Hayes drew up the charter for the bank, and it was approved on July 28, 1903.³⁸ The bank opened at the new St. Luke Building on November 2, 1903, with Maggie Walker as president, R. H. Cooley as vice president, and Emmett C. Burke as cashier.³⁹ Walker was the first woman in American history, white or black, to establish and serve as president of a bank. The eagerly anticipated opening of the bank was celebrated with speeches and music, and about 300 customers including members of the Order stood in line on opening day to open bank accounts.⁴⁰ At the end of the day, the bank had acquired over \$8,000 in deposits and had sold \$1,247 in stock.⁴¹

Maggie Walker spent much of the following year traveling to recruit new members for the Order and raise money for the new bank.⁴² As patronage of the bank continued to grow, Walker envisioned an expansion of the Independent Order of St. Luke empire. At the August 1904 meeting of the bank board, she proposed purchasing a building at 112 East Broad Street as a new location for the bank and a department store, to be called the St. Luke Emporium.⁴³ In the fall of 1904 the bank purchased the three-story building for \$13,500, and undertook renovations including the installation of a brick vault for the bank and an elevator for the store.⁴⁴ The bank moved to 112 East Broad Street in October 1905 and the Emporium opened in the same building one month later.⁴⁵ Like the bank, the Emporium was symbolic of African American economic independence. In particular, it made affordable goods more accessible to the African American community and provided much-needed employment for African American women, who formed almost the entirety of its workforce. Maggie Walker served as the store's president and Joseph Meyers as vice president. Unfortunately, the store struggled to make a profit for a variety of reasons, including organized opposition from white retailers and a financial panic in 1908.⁴⁶ African American consumers also continued to patronize white stores, possibly fearing repercussions if they did otherwise. Perhaps in response to the impending closure of the Emporium, the bank's Board of Directors voted in 1910 to construct a new bank building at the corner of First and Marshall Streets.⁴⁷ The new bank building was designed by Charles T. Russell and opened in November 1911; Russell would later design the expansion of the St. Luke Building.⁴⁸ The Emporium closed that month.

Expansion of the St. Luke Building

From the time of the new St. Luke Building's construction, the Right Worthy Grand Council of the Independent Order of St. Luke had paid rent to the St. Luke Association for use of the building. On January 13, 1911, the Council purchased the building and "an old building on the corner" (likely referring to the Bright house) from the Association at the suggestion of the insurance commissioner.⁴⁹ Maggie Walker's report to the 1915 convention of the Order declared

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

that the property stood “on the books of the R.W.G. Council, I.O. of St. Luke, valued at \$26,500, corner of St. James and Baker Streets, free of debt, and bringing an interest yearly to the treasury of the organization from this investment.”⁵⁰ Despite the value of the property, however, Walker had concerns as to its suitability for the expanding needs of the Order. In her 1910 convention address, she observed that the “dangerously crowded and insanitary conditions of this hall are illegal. The want of space makes our meetings uncomfortable, and actually perilous. We should not further tempt fate and impose upon that Providence which has safeguarded us so far.”⁵¹

As a solution to the inadequate conditions at the existing St. Luke Building, Maggie Walker proposed tearing down the Bright house and constructing a new building in its place.⁵² The exact date of the Bright house’s demolition is unclear, but was sometime between 1913 and 1925.⁵³ Increased inflation during World War I, however, led the Order to abandon plans for a new building in favor of renovations and additions to the existing St. Luke Building.⁵⁴ Charles T. Russell, architect of the new St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, was hired to design the building and J. Henry Moore served as general contractor.⁵⁵ Russell was the first African-American architect in Richmond and helped to transform the Jackson Ward neighborhood, of which the St. Luke building is a part, into a successful business district. Russell’s design for the St. Luke Building was implemented between 1915 and 1920, resulting in the addition of a fourth floor and expansion of the entire building by the width of one bay. This bay, located at the southern end of the building, contained a fireproof hall, two fireproof stairs, and an Otis elevator accessing each floor. The existing front-elevation parapet inscribed with “I.O. of St. Luke 1902” was removed with the addition of the fourth floor, and a heavy, dentiled cornice and a plain parapet adorned the new roofline. New lettering reading “St. Luke Building” was installed above the second-story windows at the front elevation, and canopies were installed above the front and south entries. The additions were lit by 1/1 or 2/2 hung wood windows with transoms, located in each bay and each story.

Maggie Walker delivered her address to the 1919 Independent Order of St. Luke convention from inside the new, enlarged second-floor auditorium, which was capable of seating 800 people. Walker asserted that the modifications to the building were “modern in every particular, and designed to give as much comfort possible to the occupants of the building.”⁵⁶ She proudly described the new uses of each floor: the concrete basement contained the boiler room and storage, the first floor (formerly office space) contained the printing plant and filing room, the second floor contained the new auditorium, the third floor was enlarged and cut into five lodge rooms with anterooms, and the fourth floor contained office space.⁵⁷ The varied uses of the office space included Walker’s private office, accounting, correspondence, printing, and stenography, among others, and a linotype machine was located in the basement.⁵⁸ Other updates included remodeling and increasing the capacity of the heating equipment, installation of gas outlets at each floor, updating and expanding electrical wiring, and installation of new restrooms at each floor.⁵⁹ The total cost of the St. Luke Building modifications was just short of \$100,000, two-thirds of the projected \$150,000 cost of a new building.⁶⁰ Walker noted that approximately 300 individuals worked on the building, half of whom were African American, including the largest sub-contractor, Thomas R. Davis.⁶¹ She also noted that the modifications

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

were done “with the view of any additions that might be made in the future,” alluding to her plans for continued expansion of the St. Luke empire.⁶²

St. Luke and 902-904 St. James Street: Other Economic Programs

Like much of north Jackson Ward, the 900 block of St. James Street was once lined with rowhouses and other dwellings that have since been demolished. Adjoining the St. Luke Building’s north elevation are 902 and 904 St. James Street, two rare surviving examples of historic housing stock in this part of Jackson Ward. Two vernacular Italianate, brick, two-story residential units are symmetrical in plan and form a single brick rowhouse, which could have been constructed as early as ca. 1877. Simple detailing, including a dentiled wood cornice and one-story, centered front porch (now missing), was typical of other rowhouses in the 900 block. A late-nineteenth-century photograph of the George Bright house⁶³ depicts an empty lot north of the building, and what appears to be 902-904 beyond the empty lot. A 1903 photograph of the Bright house⁶⁴ shows that this building’s north wall either adjoined or nearly touched the newly constructed St. Luke Building. The St. Luke Building was wedged between the Bright House and 902-904 St. James Street, filling the only empty lot on the west side of the block and creating a continuous row of buildings. A 1905 Sanborn map⁶⁵ confirms this configuration.

The Independent Order of St. Luke began acquiring additional property at the west side of St. James Street between Baker and Charity Streets beginning ca. 1921.⁶⁶ By 1923, the Order owned six adjacent buildings on this side of the street, from number 900 to number 910.⁶⁷ The Order’s *Journals of Proceedings* for the biennial conventions of 1921 and 1923 detail the purchase of these properties and reveal that they were then rented to tenants, providing a significant source of income for the organization.

Complicating these descriptions in terms of identifying individual buildings, however, was a change in the buildings’ addresses due to the 1903 construction of the St. Luke Building. Originally, the Bright house was number 900, the adjoined rowhouses were 902 and 904, and the numbers likely continued regularly to 916 at the end of the block. The 1905 Sanborn map⁶⁸ reveals that the newly constructed St. Luke Building was assigned numbers 902 and 904, the adjoined rowhouses became 906 and 906 ½, and two additional buildings were assigned half numbers. These numbers appear to have continued until the circa-1920 demolition of the Bright house, when number 900 disappeared and both the St. Luke Building and the adjoined rowhouses were assigned numbers 902 and 904.⁶⁹ The St. Luke Building and adjoined rowhouses were assigned their current numbers – 900, 902, and 904, respectively – sometime after 1952.

Maggie Walker purchased a building in the 900 block of St. James Street in 1913 before selling it to the Independent Order of St. Luke in 1921, but exactly which building is unclear due to changes of address. Walker purchased number 906 St. James Street from P. W. Woodson and Queen E. Johnson in August 1913.⁷⁰ It is possible that the adjoined rowhouses (today numbers 902 and 904) maintained the 906 and 906 ½ addresses found in the 1905 Sanborn map until the

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

ca. 1920 demolition of the Bright house. However, a fire insurance policy in Walker's name from the Milwaukee Mechanics' Insurance Company dated October 30, 1913, covered a two-story frame (not brick) building with a tin roof at 906 St. James Street.⁷¹ The same property was transferred from Walker to the Independent Order of St. Luke on November 26, 1921; however, the 1921 *Journal of Proceedings* claims that the adjoined rowhouses were purchased from the St. Luke Bank.⁷² The property in question was transferred from the St. Luke Council to Whitney Bullock, a known occupant of today's 904 St. James Street, on July 9, 1946.⁷³

Maggie Walker's report in the 1921 *Journal of Proceedings* discusses the purchase of numbers 902 through 910 St. James Street.⁷⁴ Walker describes "No. 902-904" as a single property separate from the St. Luke Building, implying that, by this time, the Bright house had been demolished and the adjoined rowhouses reassigned numbers 902 and 904. According to this report, the St. Luke Bank had recently sold 902-904 St. James Street to the Independent Order of St. Luke for \$5,000. Soon after, number 908 was purchased for \$1,850, number 910 for \$1,250, and plans were in place to purchase number 906. The properties were viewed as a wise investment for the Order. Walker notes that the Advisory Board considered the purchase of 902-904 "a most excellent speculation," and that "the Executive Board feels that the Order should purchase as much of the property surrounding [the St. Luke Building] as it can secure."⁷⁵ The properties also brought in rental income for the Order. The adjoined rowhouses (902-904) together rented for \$30 per month, number 908 for \$20 per month, and number 910 for \$15 per month.⁷⁶ The Order may later have purchased additional adjacent buildings, as Walker stated that "only a few other houses on the block [were left] to purchase."⁷⁷

By 1923, the Order owned building numbers 900, 902, 904, 906, 908, and 910 St. James Street, and annual rental income from the properties equaled \$9,577.16.⁷⁸ The Order's land, buildings, and improvements on St. James Street had a combined value of \$139,707.37.⁷⁹ The 1925 *Journal of Proceedings* breaks out this combined value by address, revealing that 902 St. James Street was the most valuable building by far at \$128,000.⁸⁰ This report also records the amount of rent collected from the properties for each month from August 1923 to July 1925. The detail with which such information was recorded indicates that the properties were important investments and sources of income for the Order. It appears that the Order owned 902 and 904 St. James Street from approximately 1921 to 1946, when Whitney Bullock purchased number 904 and Hattie L. Bland purchased number 902.⁸¹

Occupants of 902-904 St. James Street

The occupants of 902 and 904 St. James Street were almost exclusively African American, working-class families that changed frequently, consistent with rental properties. From 1924-1935, number 902 appears to have been split into two units: 902 and 902A (possibly corresponding to upstairs and downstairs).⁸² Typically, only one tenant was listed in city directories for either 902 or 902A, while the other unit was not listed or recorded as vacant. A similar arrangement was found at number 904, which was split into 904 and 904A between at least 1925 and 1929. During the Independent Order of St. Luke ca. 1921-1946 period of

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

ownership, renters at number 902 were Robert Allen from 1912-1926, Early A. Powell from 1927-1929, Ernest Gardner from 1932-1934, and John Williams from 1935-1946.⁸³ In 1934, Gardner and his family lived in 902, while Maria Jenkins lived in 902A. Renters at number 904 were Arthur W. Henley from 1920-1931, Sallie Henley (widow of Arthur) from 1932-1933, and Whitney Bullock from 1934 to at least 1956 (Bullock purchased number 904 in 1946).⁸⁴

According to the 1920 United States Census, Robert Allen was a cemetery laborer and Arthur Henley a laundry laborer.⁸⁵ Allen shared number 902 with his wife, Charlotte, and five children, and Henley lived at 904 with his wife Sallie and brother Joseph. The 1930 census lists Sallie Henley as a servant for a private family.⁸⁶ The 1940 census lists John Williams as a cook at a school cafeteria, living with his wife Jeannette in number 902.⁸⁷ City directories indicate that Williams was formerly a fireman.⁸⁸ Whitney Bullock is listed in the 1940 census as a restaurant chef, living with his wife Sallie, fourteen-year-old son Melvin, and twenty-five-year-old sister-in-law Lelia Saunders. Bullock worked in several different restaurants, including Mrs. Cook's Cafeteria, Old Plantation Restaurant, Union Stockyard Restaurant, and Royall's Restaurant.⁸⁹ Ernest Gardner was a waiter at the Hotel John Marshall, and his wife Martha Gardner was a maid at Long's Beauty Shoppe.⁹⁰ Early Powell was a helper at American Laboratories, Inc.⁹¹ Adult female occupants of 902 and 904 typically had no occupation listed or served in domestic roles, such as maids or laundresses that were not specified in the city directory.

None of the occupants of 902-904 St. James Street during the Independent Order of St. Luke ownership of the buildings appears to have had any affiliation with the organization. Outside of this time period, however, several occupants were connected or possibly connected with the order. In 1908 and 1909 city directories, Edward James is listed as a janitor for St. Luke Hall living in number 906 (at this time, the adjoined rowhouses were assigned numbers 906 and 906 ½).⁹² Peter Singleton lived in the same building from 1903 to 1904.⁹³ Though not affiliated with St. Luke, Singleton was a driver for the Grand Fountain of the United Order of True Reformers, another prominent African American fraternal organization. Hattie L. Bland was a teller for Consolidated Bank & Trust, which was formed by the 1930-1931 merger of St. Luke Penny Savings Bank with two other banks.⁹⁴ She purchased number 902 from the Independent Order of St. Luke in 1946, and lived there until ca. 1950.⁹⁵

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase
Name of Property

City of Richmond, VA
County and State

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St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

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St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested

previously listed in the National Register

previously determined eligible by the National Register

designated a National Historic Landmark

recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____

recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office

Other State agency

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

Federal agency

Local government

University

Other

Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): 127-0352

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property .777 acre

Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Latitude: 37.551466 | Longitude: -77.437033 |
| 2. | Latitude: 37.551337 | Longitude: -77.436615 |
| 3. | Latitude: 37.550873 | Longitude: -77.436950 |
| 4. | Latitude: 37.551081 | Longitude: -77.437504 |
| 5. | Latitude: 37.551277 | Longitude: -77.437421 |
| 6. | Latitude: 37.551268 | Longitude: -77.437365 |
| 7. | Latitude: 37.551342 | Longitude: -77.437293 |
| 8. | Latitude: 37.551321 | Longitude: 77.437164 |

,-
Or

UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

NAD 1927 or NAD 1983

1. Zone: Easting: Northing:

2. Zone: Easting: Northing:

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

3. Zone: Easting: Northing:

4. Zone: Easting: Northing:

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The boundaries consist of 900-904 St. James Street, Richmond, VA, City of Richmond Parcel ID N0000107015, a .77-acre parcel. Because of the fused parcels, the legal boundary contains several vacant lots, now under common ownership with 900-904 St. James Street.

The boundary begins at the northwest corner of the vacant lot 910 St. James Street, and follows the northern boundary of that lot to the northwest corner of the lot, its intersection with St. James Street. The boundary continues southwest until the intersection with West Baker Street. From the intersection of St. James Street and West Baker Street, the boundary extends northwest to the western edge of the vacant lot 910 West Baker Street. From that point, the boundary follows the western boundary of 910 West Baker Street to the its northwest corner, at which point it follows the northern boundary of the parcel until its intersection with an interior Parcel, 6A West Baker Street, a small parcel with no street frontage. The boundary moves slightly north and then slightly east to include 6A West Baker Street, at which point it moves to the northeast, following the western boundary of 902-910 St. James Street, until it reaches the north to the northwest corner of 910 St. James Street, the beginning of the verbal boundary description.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries are the historic boundaries that include 900-904 St. James Street. The slightly larger footprint included is a result of the fusion of several parcels of vacant land into a single parcel containing 900-904 St. James Street.

11. Form Prepared By

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organization: Commonwealth Architects
street & number: 101 Shockoe Slip, Third Floor
city or town: City of Richmond state: VA zip code: 23220
e-mail: bgreen@comarchs.com
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date: 22 August 2017

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary Increase

Photographs

Richmond, VA

Bryan Clark Green, Photographer

29 March 2017

Photo 1 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_St.LukeBldg_0001
View: St. Luke Building, East Elevation, camera facing southwest

Photo 2 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_St.LukeBldg_0002
View: St. Luke Building, East Elevation, camera facing northwest

Photo 3 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_St.LukeBldg_0003
View: St. Luke Building, South Elevation, camera facing northeast

Photo 4 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_St.LukeBldg_0004
View: St. Luke Building, West Elevation, camera facing southeast

Photo 5 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_St.LukeBldg_0005
View: St. Luke Building, West Elevation, camera facing northeast

Photo 6 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_St.LukeBldg_0006
View: St. Luke Building, North Elevation, camera facing south

Photo 7 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_St.LukeBldg_0007

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

- View: St. Luke Building, North Elevation, camera facing southeast
- Photo 8 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902-904StJames_0008
View: 902-904 St. James Street, East Elevation, camera facing west
- Photo 9 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902-904StJames_0009
View: 902-904 St. James Street, East Elevation, camera facing west
- Photo 10 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902StJames_0010
View: 902 St. James Street, East Elevation, camera facing southwest
- Photo 11 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902-904StJames_0011
View: 902-904 St. James Street, East Elevation, camera facing west
- Photo 12 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_904StJames_0012
View: 904 St. James Street, East Elevation, camera facing northwest
- Photo 13 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_904StJames_0013
View: 904 St. James Street, East Elevation, camera facing west
- Photo 14 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902-904StJames_0014
View: 902-904 St. James Street, West Elevation, camera facing east
- Photo 15 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902-904StJames_0015
View: 902-904 St. James Street, North Elevation, camera facing south
- Photo 16 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902-904StJames_0016
View: 902-904 St. James Street, North Elevation, camera facing south
- Photo 17 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_902 904StJames_Historic_MAWA
NPS_0017
View: 902-904 St. James Street, East Elevation, camera facing northwest (historic
photograph from Maggie Walker National Historic Site)
- Photo 18 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_MAWA
NPS_0018
View: St. Luke Building, East Elevation, camera facing northwest (historic photograph
from Maggie Walker National Historic Site)
- Photo 19 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_MAWA
NPS_0019
View: St. Luke Building, East Elevation, camera facing west (historic photograph from
Maggie Walker National Historic Site)

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

Photo 20 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_1903_George
Bright House_MAWA NPS_0020

View: The George Bight House, 900 St. James Street, demolished ca. 1920, East
Elevation, camera facing northwest (historic photograph from Maggie Walker National
Historic Site)

Photo 21 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_1905
Sanborn_LVA_0021

View: 900 Block of St. James Street, Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1905

Photo 22 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_1925
Sanborn_LVA_0022

View: 900 Block of St. James Street, Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1925

Photo 23 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_1950
Sanborn_0023

View: 900 Block of St. James Street, Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1950

Photo 24 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_1952
Sanborn_0024

View: 900 Block of St. James Street, Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1955

Photo 25 of 25: VA_RichmondCity_StLukeHD_StLukeBldg_Historic_L19C_George
Bright House_Scott p 298_0025

View: The George Bight House, 900 St. James Street, demolished ca. 1920, East
Elevation, camera facing northwest (historic photograph from Mary Wingfield Scott)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

ENDNOTES

¹ Wesley Borucki, "Fraternal Organizations, African American," in vol. 2 of *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1896 to the Present: from the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Paul Finkelman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 270.

²Muriel Miller Branch, "Maggie Lena Walker (1864-1934)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, 12 July 2016, https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Maggie_Lena_Walker_1864-1934 (accessed 2 June 2017).

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

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⁴ David Beito, "From Mutual Aid to Welfare State: How Fraternal Societies Fought Poverty and Taught Character," *The Heritage Foundation*, 27 July 2000, <http://www.heritage.org/political-process/report/mutual-aid-welfare-state-how-fraternal-societies-fought-poverty-and-taught> (accessed 2 June 2017).

⁵ Branch.

⁶ Branch.

⁷ Branch.

⁸ Branch.

⁹ Branch.

¹⁰ *Museum Collections: Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Museum Management Program, National Park Service*, https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/Maggie_Walker/index.html (accessed 2 June 2017).

¹¹ *Museum Collections: Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Museum Management Program, National Park Service*, https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/Maggie_Walker/index.html (accessed 2 June 2017).

¹² *Museum Collections: Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Museum Management Program, National Park Service*, https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/Maggie_Walker/index.html (accessed 2 June 2017).

¹³ Branch.

¹⁴ Mary Wingfield Scott, *Old Richmond Neighborhoods* (Richmond, VA: William Byrd Press, Inc., 1984), 299.

¹⁵ Scott, 299.

¹⁶ Scott, 299.

¹⁷ *R. W. Grand Council I. O. of St. Luke, Fiftieth Anniversary Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917, Richmond, Virginia* (Richmond, VA: Everett Waddey Co., 1917), 72. Accessible at Maggie Walker National Historic Site (MAWA) Archives.

¹⁸ *Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917, 72.*

¹⁹ Branch.

²⁰ Gertrude Woodruff Marlowe, *A Right Worthy Grand Mission: Maggie Lena Walker and the Quest for Black Empowerment* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 2003), 89.

²¹ "The St. Luke Herald – The Trumpet of Progress," *Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, National Park Service* <https://www.nps.gov/mawa/learn/historyculture/st-luke-herald.htm> (accessed 2 June 2017).

²² Marlowe, 99.

²³ *Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917, 73.*

²⁴ *Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917, 27.*

²⁵ *Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917, 72.*

²⁶ *Journal of Proceedings of the Fifty Eighth Annual and Fourth Biennial Session of the R. W. G. Council, I. O. of St. Luke and Matrons' Conference of the Juvenile Department, August 17-20, 1925, 36.* Accessible at MAWA Archives.

²⁷ *1925 Journal of Proceedings, 36.*

²⁸ Tyler Potterfield, "True Reformers Hall," in Bryan Clark Green, Calder Loth, and William M.S. Rasmussen, *Lost Virginia: Vanished Architecture of the Old Dominion* (Charlottesville, Howell Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 2001), 189.

²⁹ "The St. Luke Herald – The Trumpet of Progress."

³⁰ "The St. Luke Herald – The Trumpet of Progress."

³¹ "The St. Luke Herald – The Trumpet of Progress."

³² *Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917, 23.*

³³ Marlowe, 85.

³⁴ "The St. Luke Herald – The Trumpet of Progress."

³⁵ "The St. Luke Herald – The Trumpet of Progress."

³⁶ "The St. Luke Herald – The Trumpet of Progress."

³⁷ "The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank," *Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, National Park Service* <https://www.nps.gov/mawa/the-st-luke-penny-savings-bank.htm> (accessed 2 June 2017).

³⁸ Marlowe, 91.

³⁹ "The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank." Marlowe, 91-92.

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

- ⁴⁰ "The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank."
⁴¹ "The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank."
⁴² Marlowe, 95.
⁴³ Marlowe, 95.
⁴⁴ Marlowe, 96.
⁴⁵ Marlowe, 99.
⁴⁶ Branch. Marlowe, 111.
⁴⁷ "The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank."
⁴⁸ "The St. Luke Penny Savings Bank."
⁴⁹ *Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917*, 55, 73. Marlowe, 115.
⁵⁰ *Golden Jubilee, August 20-24, 1917*, 55.
⁵¹ *Journal of Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Session of the R. W. G. Council, Independent Order St. Luke, Convened in St. Luke Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, August 16th, 17th, & 18th, 1910* (Richmond, VA: St. Luke Herald Press, 1910), 38-39. Accessible at MAWA Archives.
⁵² 1910 *Journal of Proceedings*, 38.
⁵³ An August 15, 1913, deed from the Right Worthy Grand Council (RWGC) of the Sons and Daughters of St. Luke to the RWGC Independent Order of St. Luke (IOSL) contains a sketch of the property showing the Bright house (see Maggie Lena Walker Family Papers, IOSL Records, Folder Title: Deeds 1914-1926, Box 12, Folder 3, Maggie Walker National Historic Site, National Park Service, Richmond, VA). The Bright house is missing in the 1925 Sanborn map. Mary Wingfield Scott's *Old Richmond Neighborhoods*, page 298, estimates the demolition date at 1920.
⁵⁴ Marlowe, 174.
⁵⁵ *52nd Anniversary and First Biennial Session of the R. W. G. Council, I. O. St. Luke, Convened in St. Luke Auditorium, Richmond, Va., August 18, 19, and 20, 1919*, 11. Accessible at MAWA Archives.
⁵⁶ *52nd Anniversary and First Biennial Session...*, 11.
⁵⁷ *52nd Anniversary and First Biennial Session...*, 11. 1925 *Journal of Proceedings*, 37.
⁵⁸ Selden Richardson, *Built by Blacks: African American Architecture and Neighborhoods in Richmond, Virginia* (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 2007), 59.
⁵⁹ *52nd Anniversary and First Biennial Session...*, 11.
⁶⁰ Marlowe, 184. *52nd Anniversary and First Biennial Session...*, 11.
⁶¹ *52nd Anniversary and First Biennial Session...*, 11.
⁶² *52nd Anniversary and First Biennial Session...*, 11.
⁶³ See attached historic images, Photo No. 25.
⁶⁴ See attached historic images, Photo No. 20.
⁶⁵ See attached historic images, Photo No. 21.
⁶⁶ *Journal of Proceedings of the Fifty-Fourth Anniversary and Second Biennial Session of the R. W. G. Council, I. O. St. Luke and Matrons' Conference of the Juvenile Department, Convened in St. Luke Auditorium, Richmond, Va., August 15, 16, 17, 18, 1921*, 12. Accessible at MAWA Archives.
⁶⁷ *Journal of Proceedings of the Fifty-sixth Anniversary and Third Biennial Session of the Right Worthy Grand Council, Independent Order Saint Luke and Matrons' Conference of the Juvenile Department, Saint Luke Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, August 20-23, 1923*, 46. Accessible at MAWA Archives. The 1921 *Journal of Proceedings*, page 12, notes that the Order owned "from the corner of St. James and Baker Streets, to No. 912..." However, number 912 is not mentioned in the 1923 *Journal*.
⁶⁸ See attached historic images, Photo No. 21.
⁶⁹ See attached historic images: 1925, 1950, and 1952 Sanborn maps (Photo Nos. 22, 23, and 24).
⁷⁰ Card No. 2859 for 1925 Sanborn map, revised 1952-1956, Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, VA.
⁷¹ Insurance policy from Milwaukee Mechanics' Insurance Company to Maggie L. Walker for 906 St. James Street, 30 October 1913, Maggie Lena Walker Family Papers, Oversize Storage, Box 37, Folder 3, Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, National Park Service, Richmond, VA.
⁷² Card No. 2859 for 1925 Sanborn map, revised 1952-1956, Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, VA. 1921 *Journal of Proceedings*, 12.

St. Luke Building 2017 Update and Boundary
Increase

City of Richmond, VA

Name of Property

County and State

- ⁷³ Card No. 2859 for 1925 Sanborn map, revised 1952-1956, Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, VA.
- ⁷⁴ 1921 *Journal of Proceedings*, 12.
- ⁷⁵ 1921 *Journal of Proceedings*, 12.
- ⁷⁶ 1921 *Journal of Proceedings*, 12.
- ⁷⁷ 1921 *Journal of Proceedings*, 12.
- ⁷⁸ 1923 *Journal of Proceedings*, 46.
- ⁷⁹ 1923 *Journal of Proceedings*, 46.
- ⁸⁰ 1925 *Journal of Proceedings*, 37.
- ⁸¹ Card Nos. 2859 and 60257 for 1925 Sanborn map, revised 1952-1956, Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, VA.
- ⁸² Richmond, VA, Directories 1924-1935 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁸³ Richmond, VA, Directories 1912-1946 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁸⁴ Richmond, VA, Directories 1920-1956 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁸⁵ "United States Census, 1920," *FamilySearch*, <http://FamilySearch.org>, NARA microfilm publication T625 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), accessed 2 June 2017.
- ⁸⁶ "United States Census, 1930," *FamilySearch*, <http://FamilySearch.org>, NARA microfilm publication T626 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2002), accessed 2 June 2017.
- ⁸⁷ "United States Census, 1940," *FamilySearch*, <http://FamilySearch.org>, NARA digital publication T627 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2012), accessed 2 June 2017.
- ⁸⁸ Richmond, VA, Directories 1936-1938 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁸⁹ Richmond, VA, Directories 1934-1950 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁹⁰ Richmond, VA, Directories 1933-1934 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁹¹ Richmond, VA, Directory 1929 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁹² Richmond, VA, Directories 1908-1909 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁹³ Richmond, VA, Directories 1903-1904 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁹⁴ Richmond, VA, Directories 1947-1950 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).
- ⁹⁵ Card No. 60257 for 1925 Sanborn map, revised 1952-1956, Valentine Richmond History Center, Richmond, VA. Richmond, VA, Directory 1947-1950 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.). Richmond, VA, Directories 1947-1950 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc.).

