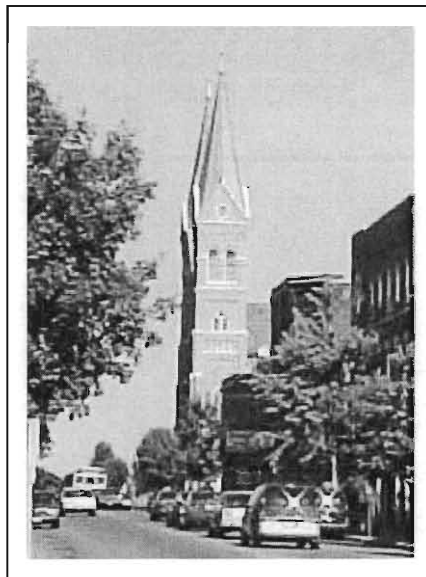


# Cultural Resource Survey

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## OLD DUTCHTOWN AND BENTON PARK WEST SURVEY



Prepared for

The City of St. Louis, Missouri

By

Historic Preservation Services, LLC

AUGUST 30, 2003

# Cultural Resource Survey

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## OLD DUTCHTOWN AND BENTON PARK WEST SURVEY



Historic Preservation Fund Grant Project #29-02-17555-577

Prepared for

The City of St. Louis, Missouri

By

Sally F. Schwenk

Of

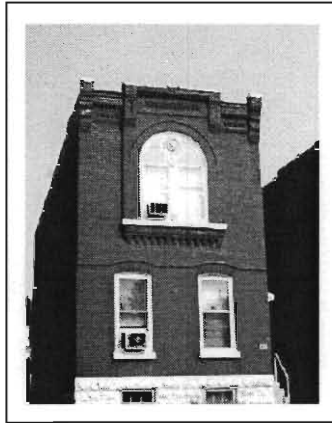
**HISTORIC PRESERVATION SERVICES, LLC**

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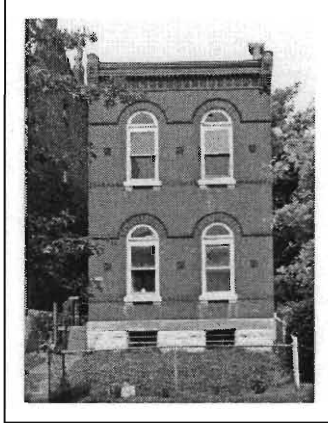
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# INTRODUCTION

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## PROJECT BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 2001, the City of St. Louis Planning and Urban Design Agency Cultural Resources Offices initiated an effort to conduct a cultural resource survey of approximately 5,000 principle buildings, sites, and structures; prepare a survey report; and, ultimately, prepare a National Register Multiple Property Submission for the Old Dutchtown, Gravois Park, and Benton Park West neighborhoods.<sup>1</sup> Elected representatives of the ninth and tenth wards of the City provided partial funding of this project (\$75,000). As a result of meetings with the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) staff, the Cultural Resources Office of the City of St. Louis sought a Historic Preservation Fund grant to supplement the limited City funding and to provide an opportunity for the SHPO to oversee the survey and survey report components of the project to assure that the eventual Multiple Property Submission (MPS) would be written under the SHPO's supervision. The Survey Report and the MPS will enable property owners and developers to nominate additional districts, as necessary, with minimal effort and to capitalize on federal and state tax credits.

## GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND JUSTIFICATION

The survey area contains approximately 5,000 residential, commercial, and institutional buildings located in an area bounded by Gravois Avenue on the northwest, South Jefferson Avenue on the east, South Grand Boulevard on the west, and Meramec Street on the south. Gravois Avenue is a major arterial street and historically served as a wagon, streetcar, and vehicular transit corridor. As such, residential neighborhoods and commercial enclaves evolved in physical relation to the thoroughfare. South Jefferson Avenue is also a major transportation corridor. The eastern edge of the project boundary (the west side of South Jefferson Avenue), which runs parallel to South Jefferson Avenue, has the greatest loss of historic/architectural integrity and does not relate to the east side of South Jefferson Avenue. Moreover, South Jefferson Avenue is the western boundary of Benton Park, a National Register District. South Grand Boulevard, like Gravois Avenue, is a historic transportation corridor predating residential development in the area and is a major

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<sup>1</sup> These neighborhoods and their boundaries are the result of modern city planning neighborhood designations and are not based on historic contexts or nomenclature. They comprise a larger area that includes the shared historic contexts, architectural styles/vernacular forms, levels of integrity, and dates of construction.

arterial street. The loss of historic integrity on the south side of Meramec Street serves as the justification for the southern boundary of the project area.

Resources within these defining boundaries have a high degree of integrity and contain similar property types that record the evolution of working-class housing in the survey area. Furthermore, the grid street system and dense assembly of red brick buildings with ornamental brickwork provides a cohesive character to the project area. The dates of construction of the properties within the project area range throughout three periods of significance identified by the City of St. Louis Preservation Plan: "The Walking City," "The Victorian and Streetcar City" and "The Worlds Fair and Automobile City."

Potential for listing in the National Register of Historic Places was also a consideration for the determination of the survey area. The area has been assessed numerous times under Section 106 review conducted by the Local Government under the 1995 Programmatic Agreement as a result of possible housing development proposals or demolition proposals, federal Community Block Grant, and/or HOME funds. The area was also surveyed extensively during preparation of the City's 1995 Preservation Plan (Volume One, Section Two, St. Louis Property Types). In 1998-1999, the City conducted a citizen-based architectural survey of the project area. Citizen participation was extensive and enthusiastic and, through photographic documentation, identified more of the property types identified in the 1995 Preservation Plan than had been expected given the current accelerated rate of disinvestment in the area. Further influencing the determination of the survey area was a concern about the deterioration of these neighborhoods (which have a low demolition rate and a high degree of integrity) and the number of vacant and abandoned historic buildings.

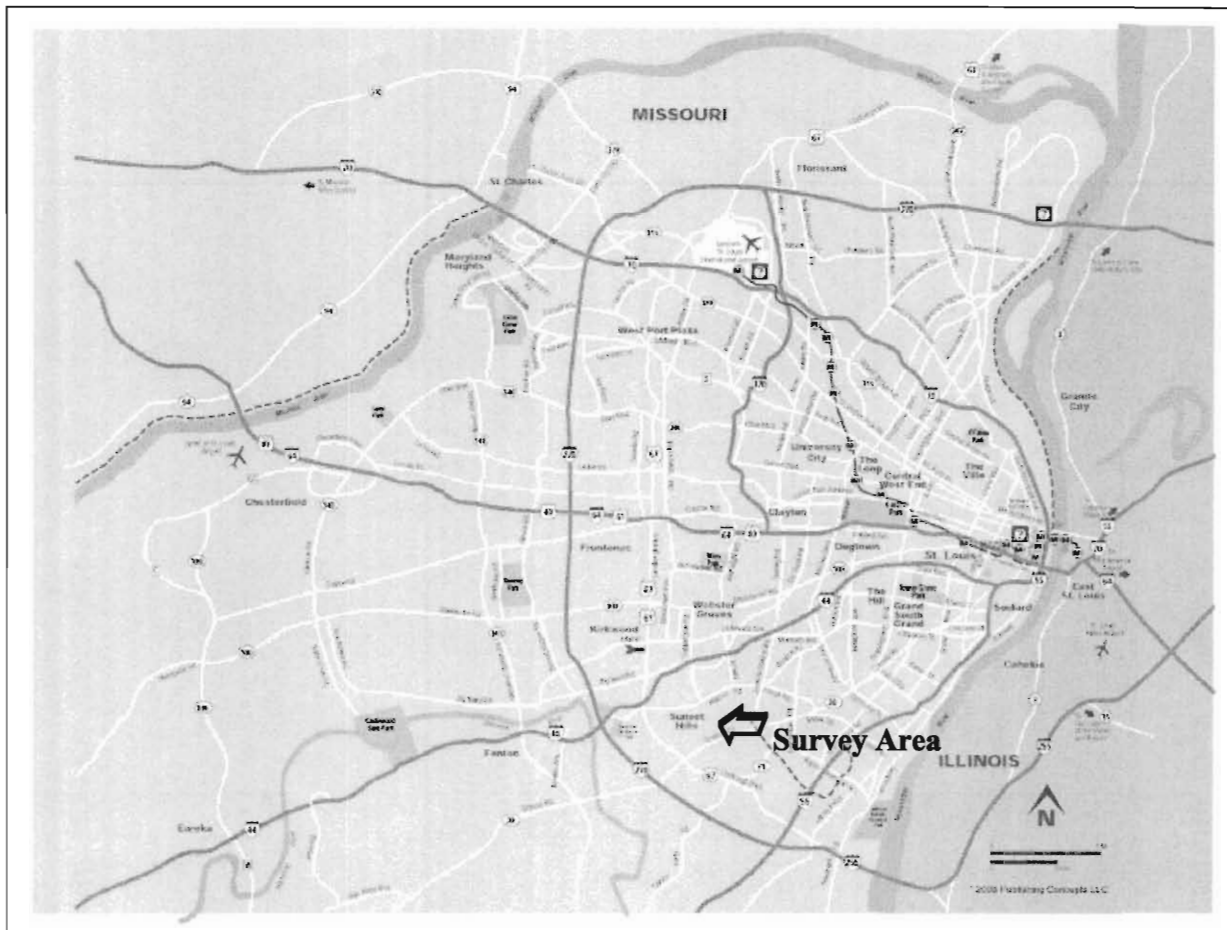
## **PROJECT PERSONNEL**

Historic Preservation Services' preservation consultant, Sally F. Schwenk, assisted by Cathy Ambler, Kerry Davis, and Anne Schwenk conducted survey activities beginning in August of 2002. The City of St. Louis provided photographs, field documentation of the architectural characteristics of the surveyed properties, and a base map of the survey area.

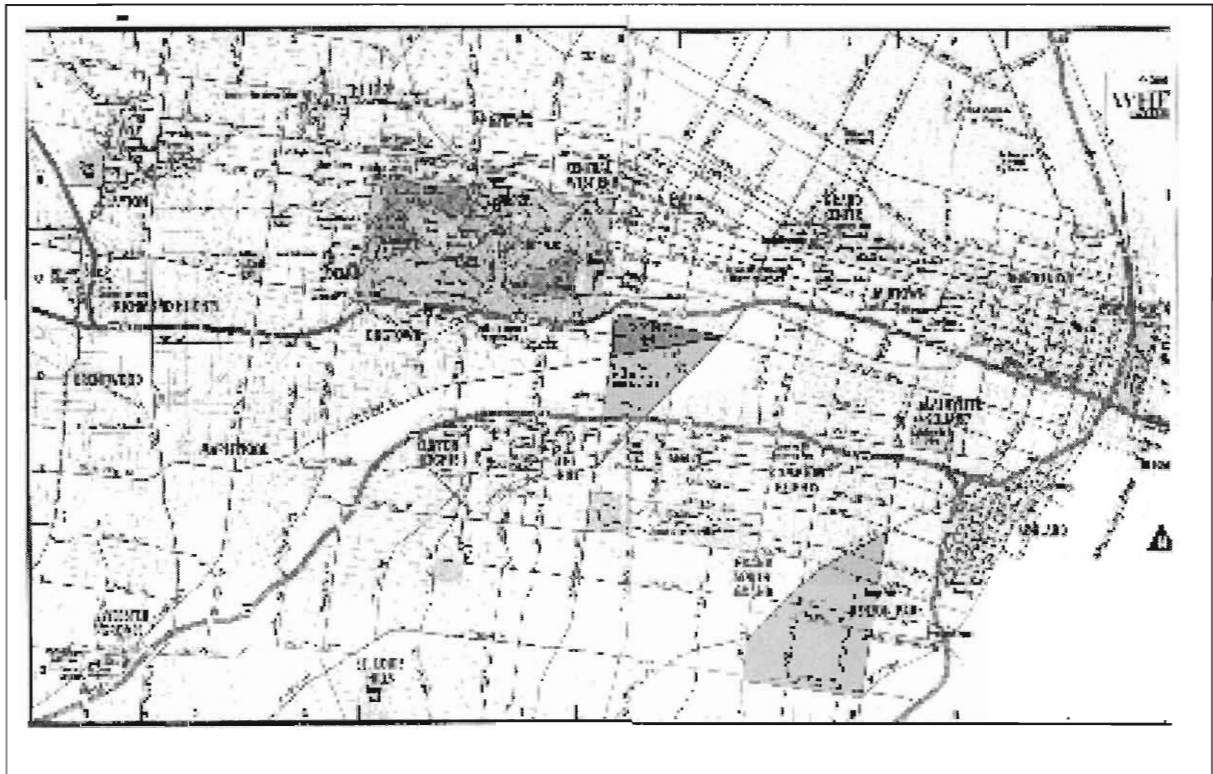
The survey provided sufficient information relating to historic contexts and property types as well as integrity to suggest that a high percentage of the buildings could be nominated as part of a multiple property submission to the National Register. These properties – individually, as part of streetscapes, and as groupings of contiguous properties – retain a distinct historic sense of place and contain identifiable property types that have associations with the evolution of architectural styles in St. Louis, as well as associations

with the City's suburban development and lower- and middle-class housing that meet one or more National Register criteria.

**Figure 1:**  
**CITY OF ST. LOUIS**  
**Survey Area**



**Figure 2:**  
**CITY OF ST. LOUIS**  
**Survey Area**



# METHODOLOGY

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## OBJECTIVES OF THE HISTORIC/ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY

The objective of the survey was the identification and evaluation of cultural resources within the project area and the preparation of a survey report that documents the findings and provides recommendations for nominating significant properties or groups of properties to the National Register of Historic Places utilizing the Multiple Property Submission format. This includes:

- preliminary identification of all historically and/or architecturally significant sites, objects, buildings, structures, and/or districts;
- preliminary identification, where possible, of each resource's architectural style or design, period of construction, architect, builder, property type, and integrity;<sup>2</sup>
- establishment of thresholds of integrity that will translate into the registration requirements of a Multiple Property Submission;
- synthesis of previously gathered field data with research;
- determination of the relevant broad patterns of development that will include historic contexts, cultural themes, geographical limits, and chronological limits; and
- interpretation of the history; important patterns, events, and individuals; socio-economic trends; and cultural and aesthetic values.

## STANDARDS

Historic Preservation Services completed the Old Dutchtown and Benton Park West Survey in conformance with the procedures for reconnaissance level survey outlined in the *National Register Bulletin 24, Guidelines for Local Survey: A Basis for Preservation*

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<sup>2</sup> Architectural descriptions and property histories will be added as National Register nominations are produced.

*Planning.* Evaluation of resources for significance was in accordance with *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. In addition to these guidelines, the consultants relied on guidelines established by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Program's "Minimum Guidelines for Professional Surveys of Historic Properties" and "The Missouri Historic Property Inventory Form Instructions" as adapted to the project after consultation with the SHPO survey and National Register staff.

The determination of style and building form utilized nomenclature and classifications established in *National Register Bulletin 16A*. Determination of building type, style, form, and design was based, as applicable, on *The Buildings of Main Street* by Richard Longstreth, *What Style Is It?* by John Poppeliers, S. Allen Chambers, and Nancy B. Schwartz; *A Field Guide to American Houses* by Virginia and Lee McAlester; and architectural style/vernacular property types identified in the City's *1995 Preservation Plan* (Volume One, Section Two, St. Louis Property Types). The National Park Service's *Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (1996) provided a guide to the identification and discussion of significant cultural landscape features.

The *National Register Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places; A Preservation Plan for St. Louis*,<sup>3</sup> and the chronological contexts established in *Where We Live: A Guide to St. Louis Communities*<sup>4</sup> formed the basis for analysis, development, and discussion of historic contexts. In certain instances, the chronological development of architectural and neighborhood development contexts did not follow the dates of the broader thematic, chronological eras established in these academic works. In such instances, the contexts were discussed within the earliest general chronological era and elaborated upon as a preface to the ensuing era.

## METHODOLOGY

Because the survey area is so large, it was necessary to take an approach that first targeted the most intensive aspect of the work and provided an expeditious means to gather information and to facilitate nomination(s) to the National Register of Historic Places. As a result, project staging addressed not only data collection about individual resources, but

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<sup>3</sup> *A Preservation Plan for St. Louis* (St. Louis: Heritage and Urban Design Division City of St. Louis, Missouri, 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Tim Fox, *Where We Live: A Guide to St. Louis Communities*. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1995.)

also the necessity to complete research and verification of integrity in order to identify how to proceed with the nomination process. Thus, the scope of work required:

- compilation of existing data on the history and architecture of the City of St. Louis and the survey area;
- field inspection of all properties in the survey area;
- compilation of data on a database;
- analysis of data gathered;
- preparation of a report and maps that summarize the findings; and
- identification of properties and districts that are potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places

Based on consultation with the SHPO staff, the following chronological approach was developed to achieve the above-referenced goals:

- Development and approval of a research design.
- Production of maps showing subdivision development for the survey area and maps indicating integrity, and dates of construction for approximately 2,300 properties previously field surveyed by the City.
- Production of maps of the survey area showing integrity, dates of construction, and functional property type; CD-ROM of the database, and digital photographs of the properties.
- Meetings of the SHPO staff, City staff, and consultant to discuss findings –to date.
- Preparation of draft historic contexts.
- Preparation of printed copies of survey forms and photographs.
- A survey report that incorporates historic contexts, identifies potential historic districts, and establishes thresholds for integrity.

## **FIELD SURVEY**

Student interns and City staff under the supervision of Jan Cameron, Preservation Administrator of the Planning and Urban Design Agency of the City of St. Louis,

photographed each building and completed a systematic (street-by-street) and intensive (building-by-building) inspection of all major resources within the survey area boundaries.

In August 2002, Kerry Davis of Historic Preservation Services conducted a building-by-building field inspection of each major building or structure in the survey area and verified addresses using the base map provided by the City and conducted a historic architectural integrity assessment of each building/structure.

## **DATA COLLECTION AND RECORDATION**

The two-pronged approach to data collection resulted in two databases. The City created a database that included the following fields:

- the address of each property;
- architectural style and/or vernacular type;
- number of stories;
- wall materials;
- other materials;
- roof shapes;
- roof materials;
- roof features;
- structural systems;
- foundation materials;
- porch types; and
- overall building plan.
- 

Historic Preservation Services created a database that included the following fields:

- the address of each property;
- county;
- city;
- zip;
- potential areas of significance/contexts;
- verification of architectural style or vernacular type;
- historic function and sub-function;
- resource type;
- property type;
- integrity;
- National Register eligibility;
- architect/builder; and
- date/period of construction.

Anne Schwenk of Historic Preservation Services merged the databases prior to the production of final survey forms, maps, and the survey report. The master database provides an individual survey form for each property within the survey area based on the



Architecture/Historic Inventory Survey Form fields developed by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Program guidelines and adapted to the parameters of the scope of work. The City provided field survey data to the consultant in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet format. Historic Preservation Services merged this with data gathered by their staff into a final Microsoft Access 2002 master database. The database fields record each building's physical features (e.g., description, plan, height, materials, style); historical information (e.g., date of construction, original use,) and notations relating to information sources. Because of isolated disparity between the addresses on buildings assigned by the United State's Postal Service that was noted in the fieldwork and the addresses assigned in the platting and replatting of certain blocks, there were some instances where several buildings shared the same address and parcel numbers. An effort to compare the field descriptions of the buildings with photographs solved some of these discrepancies. In other instances, because of the reconnaissance nature of the survey and grant milestone parameters, there was not sufficient time to reconcile these differences. These areas appeared as voids in the mapping of dates of construction and property types, and, to a lesser extent, integrity. The low percentage of the occurrence of such conflicting data did not impede interpretation of the data. Nevertheless, documentation for National Register applications will require revisiting these problem areas.

## **RESEARCH**

A literature search and archival research focused on the preparation of historical contexts for the time periods in which the survey area developed, on the identification of dates of construction, and documentation and analysis of architectural and functional property types having associations with the historic contexts. In addition to City and County records, the consultant used the archival and research collections of the City of St. Louis, the Missouri Historical Society, the Landmarks Association, the St. Louis Public Library, the St. Louis Mercantile Library, and the Washington University Libraries to conduct research.

### **Determining Dates of Construction and Architect/Builder**

Research to determine the dates of construction of properties in the project area and architect/builder included extant building permits, and subdivision plats and maps. For properties in which a specific date of construction could not be determined, consultants used a circa "c." designation to designate a ten year date range. Historic Preservation Services' consultant, Cathy Ambler, identified inconsistencies among the various documents relating to subdivisions. City block books in the Assessor's office at City Hall show the subdivisions that are on a block. These books have been updated through at least

the 1980s. There are also old City subdivision maps from 1881 and circa 1906 that do not coincide with the block book boundaries for the subdivisions. The Wayman Maps, developed by Norbert Wayman in the 1960s, consist of four maps showing subdivision boundaries, their names and dates, and which cover the St. Louis city limits. These do not always coincide with either the block maps or the city subdivision maps. Eric Sandweiss, in his study of the urbanization of St. Louis, used the Wayman Maps to show the progression of subdivisions within the study area. However, the book reproduces some of the same errors from the Wayman Maps. Ambler compared these maps to the index of subdivision names in the Recorder's office. This repository had both a block number index and a name index. Unfortunately, these did not always coincide. In deciding which resource to use, Ambler relied on the city block books and the listed subdivisions since they seemed to have the most current information. There were times, however, when Ambler used the Wayman Maps because they showed subdivision boundaries that were not clear in the block books. Ambler noted these decisions in the database of blocks she prepared. This information resulted in the development of a map showing dates of subdivisions in the survey area. Although this information was valuable in understanding the history of the area, the scattered platting over a long period of time indicated no sequential pattern of development, as land was often platted and then stood vacant for decades.

The dating of buildings thus depended heavily on the City's microfilm collection of building permits. City and Historic Preservation Services staff made photocopies of all building permits relating to properties within the survey area. Historic Preservation Services staff entered information from the building permits into the database. Where exact dates of construction could not be substantiated by building permits, they relied on Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. The earliest date of Sanborn Maps for the survey area was 1903. If a building appeared on a site at this date, the date "1903" was added to the database for this site. Another field includes the source of construction dates. During the field verification for integrity, Historic Preservation Services staff noted all modern buildings that appeared to date from the post-World War II period. If they replaced an earlier building as indicated by building permit or Sanborn Map, the database entry was corrected to reflect this infill construction. After receipt of all photographs, Historic Preservation Services staff reviewed all properties for which a date had not been determined and made adjustments based on the architectural characteristics of the buildings compared to similar buildings that had a building permit date of construction. The consultants relied on information about builder, architect, original function, and functional property type as documented in the extant building permits. A few properties have the appearance of later alterations; an effort to identify the time of these changes involved the use of building permit information. Other properties appear to have incorporated isolated elements such as foundations and walls

into a new building. In these instances, the date of construction is based on the appearance of the building as a whole, not the older elements. Some buildings may encapsulate significant portions of original buildings. When the newer edifice is significantly larger and communicates only the later time period, it is dated from the latter time.

### **Development of Historic Contexts**

Cathy Ambler and Sally Schwenk established historic contexts and evaluated resources using maps, plats, atlases, comprehensive plans, preservation plans, neighborhood histories, historic city planning reports, subdivision records, building permits, general histories, and pictorials. The bibliography includes these sources. Ambler served as the project's research historian and developed the history of the survey area and its evolution. Based on a cursory review of the City's patterns of development, it became apparent that the survey area was among the first tier of suburban development that occurred in the late nineteenth century.

The City's Preservation Plan identified a number of contexts applicable to the survey area to assist in evaluating the properties, including:

- Architecture — styles and design treatments that combined to create the mix of buildings and structures in St. Louis;
- Property Types — classifications based on similar architecture or utilitarian function;
- Business, Industry, and Commerce — the relationship between economics, community growth, priorities, and changes in St. Louis;
- Community Planning — layers of ideas, trends, and technology that were the foundation for managing City growth;
- Peopling of St. Louis — waves of immigration and how each group of arrivals made its mark on the St. Louis landscape;
- Religious Life — houses of worship and the impact of people of faith and religious institutions upon St. Louis;
- Transportation;
- The Victorian City and the Streetcar;
- World's Fair City and the Automobile;
- Central St. Louis: The Nineteenth-Century City;

- Urban Neighborhoods: Early Twentieth-Century Boom Years; and
- Evolution of Neighborhood Design: 1850-1930.

Research questions related to the pre-identified historic contexts included:

- What were the growth and development trends for blue-collar housing?
- What was the history and evolution of development of the neighborhoods in the survey area?
- How do these development trends relate to the development of the City's transportation system?
- What are the property types found in blue-collar housing? Are they architectural or functional?
- Was there a causal relationship between industrial and other work sites and working-class housing development? What examples apply to the survey area?
- What was the causal and physical relationship between residential development and commercial development?
- How did religious institutions affect development in the survey area?
- Were there any racial, ethnic, or immigrant groups that located in enclaves in the survey area?
- What factors affected the style/design and appearance of the built environment in the survey area?
- How does the survey area reflect the first suburban development in the City?
- What is the evolution of multi-family housing in the City?
- What are the development patterns and appearance of middle- and upper-middle-class neighborhoods developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century? How do they compare with the working-class housing in the survey area?
- How did speculative development for multi-family housing occur in the City and in the survey area?

The Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) "Historic Residential Suburbs in the United States, 1830- 1960" prepared by the National Park Service identifies two stages of

urban development applicable to the survey area. Each stage corresponds to a particular chronological period and is named for the mode of transportation that predominated at the time and that fostered the outward growth of American cities. The stages are “Railroad and Horsecar Suburbs, 1830-1890” and “Streetcar Suburbs, 1888 to 1928.” This MPDF provided an analysis of trends in urban and metropolitan transportation, suburban land development practices, subdivision and house design, as well as associated property types. The *National Register Bulletin Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (hereafter referred to as “National Register Historic Suburbs Guidelines”) provided an overview of suburbanization in the United States, an analysis of residential suburbs as cultural landscapes, and guidelines for identification, evaluation, documentation, and registration of historic suburbs.

## **ANALYSIS OF DATA, MAPPING, AND REPORT PREPARATION**

After compiling and reviewing the results of the field survey and completing the archival research, the consultants identified the broad patterns of development of St. Louis and contexts particular to the survey area. At the same time, work on developing architectural contexts began with the review of photographic documentation and database information relating to the survey area. Review of the survey data revealed not only the architectural style and functional property types, it also provided information for mapping to reveal development patterns and chronology.

In order to make management recommendations, the consultants conducted preliminary evaluations for the inventoried properties according to the criteria and standards for historic resources established by the Secretary of the Interior.

Properties listed in the *National Register of Historic Places* must meet certain criteria of historic significance. Historic significance is the importance of a property to the history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, or culture of a community, a state, or the nation. To be listed, properties must have significance in at least one of the following areas.

- Criterion A: Association with events, activities, or broad patterns of history
- Criterion B: Association with the lives of persons significant in our past
- Criterion C: Embodiment of distinctive characteristics of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values; or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction
- Criterion D: Has yielded, or is likely to yield information important in prehistory or history

These standards also conform with the criteria specified in the City of St. Louis, Missouri's ordinances relating to local designation of Landmarks and Historic Districts.

In considering National Register eligibility for early suburban development areas, the National Register Historic Suburbs Guidelines require the following determinations:

- how the district illustrates an important aspect of America's suburbanization and reflects the growth and historic development of the locality or metropolitan area where it is located; and
- whether the district possesses 1) the physical features characterizing it as a historic residential suburb and 2) attributes of historic integrity conveying its association with important historic events or representing significant aspects of its historic design.

All properties eligible for listing in the *National Register of Historic Places*, whether for individual significance or as contributing<sup>5</sup> elements to a district, must retain sufficient architectural integrity to convey the period of time in which they are significant. There are seven areas of integrity and a property must retain integrity in a majority of these areas.

- Location
- Design
- Setting
- Materials
- Workmanship
- Feeling
- Association

The consultants visually inspected the exterior of each of the buildings in the survey area. Each building received an integrity rating of Excellent, Good to Fair, or Poor based primarily on how much of the building's original design, workmanship, exterior materials, and overall feeling of a past period of time remained. The following criteria served as the basis for rating architectural integrity and serve as the general basis for registration requirements.

## **Excellent**

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<sup>5</sup> A contributing property to a historic district does not have to meet the threshold for individual significance, but it must contribute to the district's area of significance. Properties contributing to a district's significance for architecture must retain a higher degree of architectural integrity than in a district significant for associations with an important individual or with historical events or patterns of history.

- The majority of the building's openings/fenestration are unaltered or altered in a sensitive and appropriate manner, using similar materials, profiles, and sizes as the original building elements;
- The exterior cladding material has not been altered;
- Significant decorative elements are intact;
- Design elements intrinsic to the building's style are intact;
- The overall feeling or character of the building for the time period in which it was erected is intact. Changes over a period of time are sympathetic and compatible to the original design in color, size, scale, massing, and materials;
- Character-defining elements from the time period in which the building had significant associations with events or important individuals remain intact; and
- If over fifty years in age, the building is individually eligible for listing in the *National Register of Historic Places* or would be a contributing element to a historic district.

### **Fair to Good**

- Some alteration of original building openings or spaces occurred using new materials and profiles but not causing irreversible damage to the original configuration of openings and spaces;
- Exterior cladding material has been altered or added, however there is some indication upon visual inspection that if removed, enough of the original cladding material might remain that the property could be restored to its original appearance;
- Significant portions of original exterior cladding material remain;
- Significant decorative elements remain intact;
- Alterations to the building are reversible and the historic character of the property could be easily restored;
- Additions to a secondary elevation are in an appropriate manner, respecting the materials, scale, and character of the original building design and, if removed, the essential form of the building remained intact;
- The historic feeling or character of the building is slightly weakened by change or lack of maintenance; and
- The building would be a contributing element to a historic district
- Historic feeling or character of the building is compromised, but the property could be restored although reversal of alteration and removal of inappropriate materials could be costly; and
- If restored in conformance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*, and if the property has associations with a district's area of significance, the property might be a contributing resource to a historic district.

### **Poor**

- The majority of the building's openings, such as windows and doors, were altered in an inappropriate manner using new materials, profiles, and sizes;
- Removal, alteration, or covering of original exterior materials is irreversible.
- Alterations are irreversible or would be extremely difficult, costly, and possibly physically damaging to the building to reverse;
- Later additions do not respect the materials, scale, or character of the original building design;

- The overall historic feeling and character of the building is significantly compromised; and
- Property no longer conveys feelings and associations with the historic contexts of the survey area and is not eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

The consultants used five categories of data to identify contiguous historic districts, thematic districts, and/or individual properties that are potentially eligible for National Register and/or Historic District listing. The five categories address issues important in determining the significance of a property for listing in the National Register. The categories are:

- Architectural Integrity
- Date of Construction
- Original Building Use/Function
- Architectural Style/Property Type
- Architect, if known

## **SURVEY REPORT**

After analysis of the data and development of historic contexts, Sally Schwenk prepared a survey report providing information on the project methodology, associated historic contexts at a level acceptable for completion of a National Register Multiple Property Survey (MPS), identification of property types and sub-types, thresholds of integrity that will translate into registration criteria for the MPS, and recommendations for nomination of qualifying properties for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. A statement of significance for each potential historic district describes its architecture, history, and importance within the developed contexts based on National Register criteria. Illustrating the report are footprint maps that present the buildings by date of construction, property type, architect/builder, and integrity (potential register eligibility).



# HISTORIC CONTEXTS

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## PREFACE

The survey area appears to have significant associations with patterns in local and national city growth found in urban areas with rapidly expanding populations at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.<sup>6</sup> The *National Register Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* notes that social historians and scholars of the American landscape and built environment attach great importance to suburban development for its significance in social and cultural history and significance in design in several areas, including community planning and development, architecture, and landscape architecture.

To fully understand the findings of the survey, it is important to interpret survey information in context with the development of the survey area and in relationship to the forces that influenced the development of the City of St. Louis in general. The National Park Service defines historic context as “. . . a broad pattern of historical development in a community or its region that may be represented by historic resources.” The development of a historic context identifies important connections between local, regional, state, and national history and that of a defined sub-area. When survey findings are viewed in relationship to a broader historical context, it is possible to apply the criteria for evaluating eligibility for designation to the National and/or local historic registers.

The historic contexts developed in this survey use the conceptual framework of chronological periods based on developments in transportation technology and on subdivision planning based on the previously referenced Multiple Property Submission “Historical Residential Suburbs in the United States, 1830-1960” prepared by the National Park Service. This document focused on residential historic districts and associated suburban resources such as schools, churches, parks, and shopping centers. In addition,

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<sup>6</sup> It meets the National Park Service definition of a historic residential suburb because it is a geographic area located outside the central city that was historically connected to the city by one or more modes of transportation; subdivided and developed primarily for residential use according to a plan; and possessing a significant concentration, linkage, and continuity of dwellings on small parcels of land, roads and streets, and utilities and community facilities. This is an area defined by the historical events that shaped it and by its location in relation to the existing city. David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland. *National Register Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places*. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service National Register History and Education, 2002); available from <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/intro.html>; Internet; accessed 1 July 2003.

the consultant team developed contexts within the general chronological contexts established in the St. Louis Preservation Plan and in *Where We Live A Guide to St. Louis Communities* published by the Missouri Historical Society.

Decisions concerning significance and integrity are best made when based on factual information about the history of a neighborhood and knowledge of local patterns of suburbanization. Such information may be organized into historic contexts defined by theme, geographic area, and/or chronological period. One or more historic contexts can be developed for a metropolitan area or a locality within it to bring together information about important events in transportation, ethnic heritage, industry, architecture, and community development that shaped its growth and development and influenced its suburbanization. For the purposes of this study, and in accordance with one of the recommended approaches to be followed in developing historic contexts for a suburban area, this study includes local contexts for the survey area that identify local patterns of historic suburban development in transportation, community planning, architecture, and social history and relates these local patterns to both the broad national trends and the specific events that influenced the growth of the metropolitan area of which it is a part.

The following historical narrative establishes historic contexts for defined chronological eras. Within these time periods, it identifies important development patterns including geographic limits, historical themes, and an overview of architectural styles and vernacular property types. Specific data from the survey are then related to this contextual information. Because of the geographical boundaries of the survey area and its period of development, the survey does not fully address many of the established historical contexts for St. Louis in general.

## **LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES**

First appearing in the mid-nineteenth century, residential suburbs in America reflect important aspects of the decentralization of American cities. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, new suburban neighborhoods extend America's cities outward. The stages of outward growth correspond to the evolution of transportation systems to and from earlier city centers and new residential enclaves, provided successively by the horse-drawn carriage, steam-powered train, horse-drawn omnibus, cable car, electric streetcar and finally, the mass produced gasoline-powered automobile or motor bus.<sup>7</sup> Thus,

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

transportation played an integral role in the suburbanization of the United States and in shaping its physical character.

As the country industrialized after the end of the Civil War, American cities grew rapidly. In response to the crowded and polluted conditions of the older city core, a growing middle class demanding affordable housing in a healthy environment and advances in transportation set the stage for suburban development. In particular, the introduction of the electric streetcar in 1887 and the mass production of gasoline-powered automobiles after 1908 allowed an increasingly broad spectrum of households to establish residence on the fringes of an outwardly expanding city. This rapid outward growth continued in the twentieth century. In 1910, the U.S. Census identified forty-four metropolitan areas where the population of the central city and an area within a ten-mile radius exceeded 100,000. By the 1920s, suburban areas grew at a faster rate than central cities.<sup>8</sup>

## **TRENDS IN URBAN AND METROPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION**

The evolution of American suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be divided into four stages, each corresponding with a particular chronological period and named for the mode of transportation development of residential neighborhoods.

- The Railroad and Horsecar Suburbs, 1840 to 1890
- Streetcar Suburbs, 1888 to 1928
- Early Automobile Suburbs, 1908 to 1945
- Post-World War II and Early Freeway Suburbs, 1945-1960

New transportation routes using new technologies spurred the outward movement of suburban development as new circulation patterns formed the skeleton around which new land uses and suburbs became organized. The Old Dutchtown and Benton Park West survey area reflects the second of these eras — the Streetcar Suburbs, 1888 to 1928.<sup>9</sup>

## **LAND USE AND DEVELOPERS IN THE ERA OF THE STREETCAR SUBURB**

The residential subdivision forms the building block of the America's suburb. Its origins are in the eighteenth-century suburbs of London and the romantic landscape movement of the mid-nineteenth century in the United States. These two precedents comprise the design prototype of the modern, self-contained subdivision where single-family houses were part of a "natural," landscaped environment. By the late nineteenth century, the American ideal of suburban life was a self-contained, semi-rural subdivision away from the noise,

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ames and McClelland, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part1.html>

pollution, and activity of the crowded city core, but close enough to maintain a sense of community. At this time, suburbanization became a dominant trend in American history and cut across lines of social and economic class, extending from the wealthy to the working classes.<sup>10</sup>

Until the early twentieth century most subdivisions, such as those found in the survey area, were relatively small and tended to expand in increments as developers subdivided adjoining parcels of land, extending the existing grid of streets outward. The subdivider usually planned and designed these parcels as a single development, filing a plat, or general development plan with the local government authority, indicating their plans for improving the land with streets and utilities. Within these subdivisions, different builders and/or the developer/owner often built the residential dwellings.<sup>11</sup>

The developer (subdivider) acquired and surveyed the land, developed a plan, and laid out lots and roads. Improvements varied but often included utilities, graded roads, curbs and sidewalks, storm-water drains, and landscaping. The developer then sold lots either to prospective homeowners, who would contract with their own builders. Or, they would sell to builders buying several parcels at once to construct residential units for resale, or to speculators intending to resell the land when land values rose. Most developers operated on a small scale — developing only a few subdivisions a year. For larger parcels, however, groups of investors usually formed land improvement companies to organize and supervise the subdivision. By the turn of the century, developers began to erect residential buildings on a small number of lots in their subdivisions. During real estate boom periods, there was widespread speculation and fraud. The appearance of residential units in speculative subdivisions signaled to the potential buyers that the plan on paper would materialize into a neighborhood.<sup>12</sup>

## **SOCIO-ECONOMICS OF EARLY SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT**

Although suburban life historically attracted all socioeconomic groups, the middle class comprised the largest group to establish homes in suburban neighborhoods. Beginning as semi-rural, landscaped, single-family enclaves erected for the upper-middle classes, suburban subdivisions quickly became the homes of the middle and working classes, particularly as advances in transportation systems lowered the time and cost of commuting to work in the city. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, even those families of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., <http://www.cr.nps.gov.nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part2.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

modest incomes could afford a small detached house or a fairly spacious flat in a detached duplex or flour-plex with a small yard and set on narrow lots of rectilinear streets extending from the city's gridiron plan.<sup>13</sup>

Several factors influenced the evolution of suburban residential design in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

- The lowering of construction costs, accomplished with the invention of the balloon-frame method of construction in the 1830s and successive stages of standardization, mass production, and prefabrication
- The translation of the suburban ideal into the form of an individual dwelling, usually on its own lot in a safe, healthy, and park-like setting
- The design of an efficient floor plan believed to support and reinforce the ideal family.<sup>14</sup>

The development of streetcar suburbs in American coincided with fundamental perceptions of the ideal family that evolved during the Progressive Movement at the turn of the century. Progressive ideals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century emphasized simplicity and efficiency and called for residences that reflected less formal hierarchical relationships and promoted a more relaxed lifestyle than the idealized versions of domesticity and formalized social customs of the early Victorian era. In addition, technological innovations of the era defined the plan of middle-class housing. For example, the introduction of indoor plumbing resulted in the stacking of bathrooms over kitchens at the rear of the house. Because central heating, hot water heaters, indoor plumbing, and electricity increased the cost of construction, standardized plans that reduced floor space emerged, which helped offset the rising cost of home construction, allowing residences with features that improved domestic life to be in reach of more Americans.<sup>15</sup>

## **The Emergence of Middle-Class Multi-Family Housing**

The growing popularity of multi-family housing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries corresponds to the era between the Civil War and the Great Depression, a time when towns became cities and the majority of the nation's citizens became an urban people. Despite the European tradition of communal living, in antebellum America the idea of sharing a roof, front door, and a staircase with other families was distasteful. Initially, traditional values held that multi-family dwellings were the purview of the lower classes.

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/intro.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part3.html>.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

As communities grew after the end of the Civil War, the establishment of the duplex or apartment house as a significant part of a city's housing reflects a number of factors, the foremost of which was a rapidly growing population and limited land mass near centers of economic activity and transit systems. In particular, the growing numbers of working-class and middle-class bachelors and single women arriving in cities to take jobs as clerks, salesmen, ministers, teachers, librarians, middle managers, secretaries, and stenographers created a demand for affordable housing, without the responsibilities and costs of home ownership.

## **EARLY SUBURBAN STREETSCAPES**

Streetcar suburbs had a distinct appearance as they developed as a result of the streetcar lines that helped form the city's initial transportation system and overlaid the grid plan of streets, creating a geometric patchwork of major arterial routes. Thus, in these early suburbs, the gridiron plan remained the most efficient and inexpensive way to subdivide and sell land in small lots. Rectilinear suburbs, such as the survey area, located apart from the center city and accessible by some form of horse-drawn or mechanized transportation, originated in the early nineteenth century on the East Coast.<sup>16</sup>

These suburban neighborhoods possessed distinct visual characteristics that typically resulted from a process that incorporated selection of location by a developer; platting, overall design of the residential structures, and spatial arrangement with other residences; and construction of buildings, either through contract or for speculation. They also relied on easy access to public utilities including water, sewer, electricity, natural gas, and telephone service as well as good maintenance of nearby arterial roads and transportation systems.

Existing principals of city planning and landscape design usually determined the spatial organization of new subdivisions. In some places, such as the survey area, the developer simply extended the gridiron plan of the city outward, linking preexisting rectilinear streets to new blocks of uniform lots. In others, developers designed more discreet enclaves away from busy thoroughfares that utilized the tenets of landscape architecture in the layout of streets and lots to incorporate the existing topography.

Predominantly residential in use, suburban subdivisions contained both single-family houses and multiple family housing or a combination of the two. In addition, the subdivision or the neighborhoods that composed it, contained facilities associated with

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., <http://www.cr.nps.gov.nr.publications/bulletins/suburbs/part2.html>.

domestic life, such as shops, business services, parks and playgrounds, community buildings and social halls, and schools and churches.

Depending on their period of development, the organization of the residential suburban streetscapes consisted of a common or similar spatial arrangement of yard, residential building, garage/shed/carriage house in relationship to the street, common areas, walks, alleys, driveways, and the division of front, back, and side yards.

## **THE EVOLUTION OF ST. LOUIS' OLD DUTCHTOWN AND BENTON PARK WEST SUBURBS**

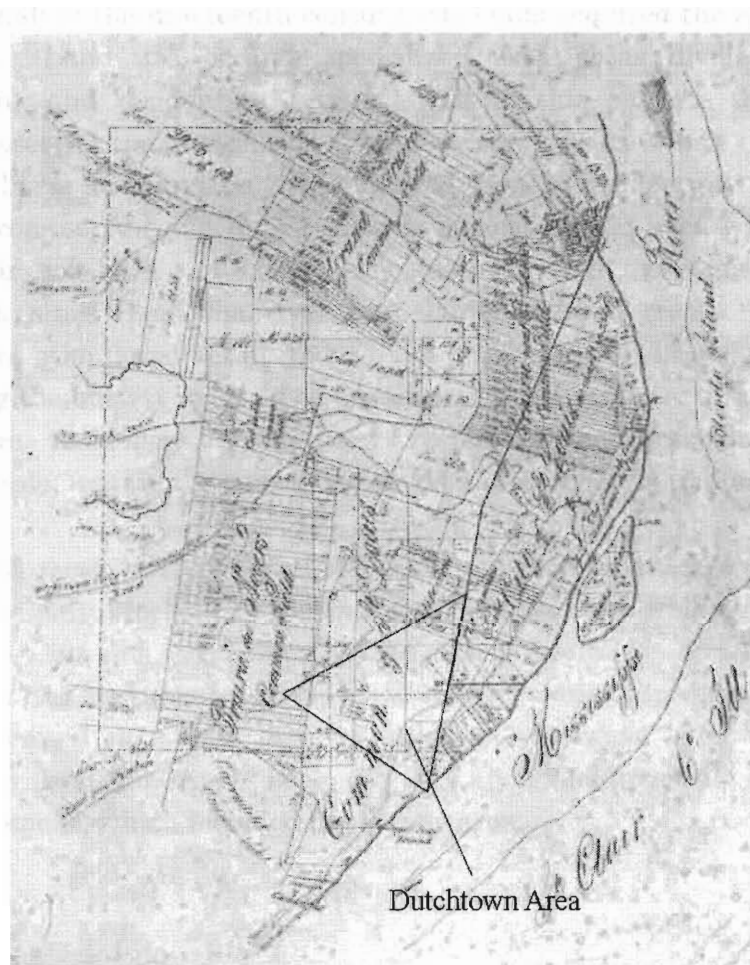
The early history of the survey area is critical in its impact on its development in the context of the larger city's planning and development. An understanding of the historic contexts represented by the extant resources of the survey area requires an understanding of the survey area's evolution within that of the City. Historians divide the development of St. Louis into five temporal classifications: 1) "Original Urban Landscape" — communities founded in the Colonial period before the Louisiana Purchase of 1803; 2) "Central St. Louis" — the older neighborhoods closely clustered around downtown; 3) "Spreading Metropolis" — more distinct urban neighborhoods built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; 4) "The Suburbs" — newer towns outside the city limits; and 5) "Communities Beyond" — smaller communities that have remained outside the urban region.

### **THE ORIGINAL URBAN LANDSCAPE**

The development history of the survey area begins with its geological past as a karst plain along the Mississippi River. From 1764 to 1803, St. Louis was a European outpost with only minimal planning at the edge of a wilderness. The first Euro-American inhabitants relied on their common traditions in the design of their village and in the conveyance of property. Their traditional town plan was an integrated arrangement of public and private spaces with both rural and urban functions. Although Auguste Chouteau platted the first blocks of the village of St. Louis in 1874, the area beyond followed traditional European agricultural patterns. The earliest farmers laid out long, narrow, commonly held agricultural fields between present-day Grand Avenue and Kingshighway Boulevard in the 1760s. Today, the irregular streets north of Arsenal reflect the arrangement of these fields. Later in 1836, the City designed the area south of it on a grid with Arsenal as one axis. These two designs converge at Grand Avenue, accounting for changes in direction of some streets and the skewed grid in some areas. Developers started dividing the prairie in 1805,

but people moved into pockets near work sites such as coal mines or along transportation corridors.

The survey area was originally part of the commons land owned by the City of St. Louis. The City's commons system originated from the earlier European patterns of land allotment established in St. Louis by the French in 1764. All residents held common rights to the land for pasturage and wood lots, although the City, through informal or deeded agreements, sometimes assigned some of the land to residents for their personal use. The common land allotments ran in long narrow fields west from the Mississippi River. There were originally five sets of common fields surrounding the City, and the survey area lies within areas of the Petite Prairie and the Commons of St. Louis. An 1847 map of St. Louis shows a triangle in the lower middle portion, which is the general survey area.



**Figure 3: Common Fields and Survey Area<sup>17</sup>**

<sup>17</sup> Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 30.



The City first authorized the sale of large blocks of common land in March 1835.<sup>20</sup> Laid out in a grid of forty-acre areas, each divided into four ten-acre blocks, the area auctioned ran from the edge of *Prairie des Noyers* (Grand) and Jefferson avenues, and from Chouteau Avenue to its intersection with the river. The survey area within this tract is highlighted by black lines in Figure 2.



**Figure 4: Common Lands Surveyed and Approximate Survey Area<sup>21</sup>**

The City held its first auction, the First City Subdivision land auction in 1836, but results were hardly successful. The City's decision to auction forty tracts made it difficult to secure successful bidders who would not eventually default on their agreements to purchase. With such large parcel sizes, few single owners could afford such purchases. In 1843, the City tried again with slightly better results; thus, in 1845 the City still held vast amounts of land. The location of this land, as well as the tract size, was part of the problem. The more than three-mile distance between the land being sold in south St. Louis and the City's downtown commercial area diminished interest.

In 1854, the City organized the Second City Subdivision land auction differently. Instead of offering forty-acre blocks, the City divided these into smaller blocks, street grids and alleys, and twenty-five foot building lots that were more typical of most American city grids. These divisions fit the City's needs much better because they created a means of nurturing

<sup>20</sup> In 1836, the City stopped disputed land claim inquiries that had resulted from decisions made by three different countries: France, Spain, and the United States. This was essential before there could be legal new owners in land sales.

<sup>21</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 53. City surveyor Charles DeWard surveyed this area in 1836.

the speculative nature of home building. Grid divisions also created a uniformity of the landscape, which assured equal, uniform, and similar results block by block in the development process. The results determined the survey area's spatial layout as well as its appearance, creating a distinct sense of place. The City's use of blocks with narrow lots in its platting prior to sale of the land defined a definite pattern for the area and also created an emphasis on an eventual north and south traffic flow through the survey area from the City's center. The City's involvement was crucial to the future of the development in the survey area because instead of developers deciding how a subdivision would be divided among house lots, the City made those choices. A welcome benefit to the City's determination of the landscape pattern was the inclusion of two neighborhood parks from reservations in the old commons — Gravois and Laclede parks.<sup>22</sup>

The Second City Subdivision sale was more successful. Buyers could purchase small blocks or blocks of lots, making investment possible for single owners with more modest capital. The sale took place in South St. Louis with purchasers assuming that the City would eventually provide the necessary infrastructure of streets, sewers, and water lines to guarantee the area's success as a residential area.

In 1855, the Third City Subdivision sale took place and bidders this time tended to be craft workers and small-time shopkeepers, much the same population that already inhabited closer-in districts on the south side of town.<sup>23</sup> Most purchased small properties just south of Arsenal Street and along Gravois Avenue. Within a week, all lots in the Third Subdivision were sold. Figure 5 shows the location of the Second and Third Subdivisions.<sup>24</sup>

The sale of common lands caused the district to have a checkerboard disbursement of small subdivision plats. Instead of subdivisions tending to spiral outward from the core of the City, the dates of subdivisions in the survey area were not necessarily determined by their proximity to the downtown core. The map of subdivisions and their locations shows that subdivisions platted in 1855 often were next to ones platted in 1907.

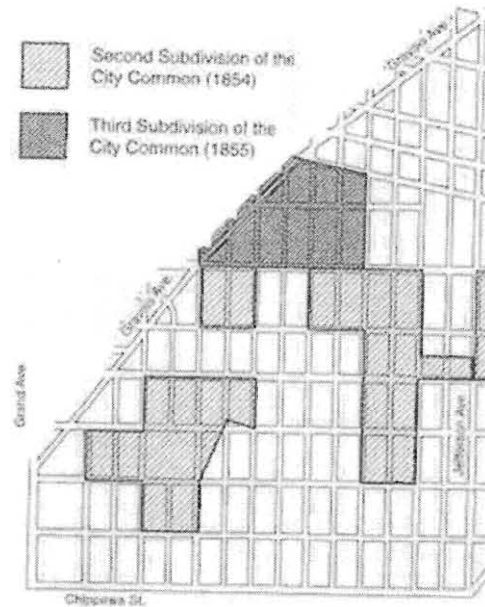
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<sup>22</sup> Norbury L. Wayman, *History of St. Louis Neighborhoods*, "Marquette-Cherokee Neighborhood." (St. Louis: St. Louis Community Development Agency, 1978), 5. Marquette Park at Osage Street and Minnesota Avenue was acquired in 1915 from the Board of Children's Guardians. The City acquired Minnie Wood Memorial Playground at South Broadway and Meramec streets as a gift in 1925.

<sup>23</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 69.

<sup>24</sup> Besides the First, Second, and Third Subdivisions, there is four-block area just south of Marquette Park that was in the Fifth City Subdivision land sales in 1863. There were no other Second and Third Subdivision areas in Dutchtown south of Chippewa Street.

It took time for interest to develop in the area between 1836 and 1855 for several reasons, but during these twenty years, the rapid rise in the City's population helped set the stage for later development in the survey area.



**Figure 5: Second and Third City Subdivision Areas<sup>25</sup>**

Between 1830 and 1880, the City grew from approximately 8,000 to over 350,000 as the population spread outward, in a fan shape, from the center into new residential areas, causing the City to increase its boundaries in 1841, 1855, 1870, and 1875.<sup>26</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population<sup>27</sup></u>
<u>1830</u>	<u>8,316</u>
<u>1840</u>	<u>16,439</u>
<u>1850</u>	<u>77,860</u>
<u>1860</u>	<u>160,773</u>
<u>1870</u>	<u>310,864</u>

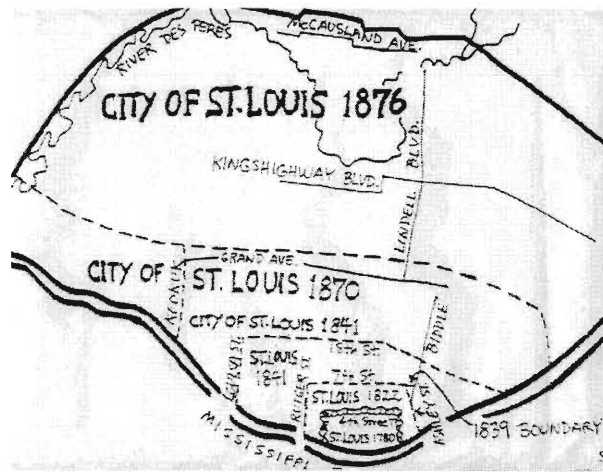
**Figure 6: St. Louis Population**

<sup>25</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 70.

<sup>26</sup> Sandweiss, Eric, "Paving St. Louis's Street," *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, ed. Andrew Hurley (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1977), 90.

<sup>27</sup> Frederick Anthony Hodes, "The Urbanization of St. Louis: A Study in Urban Residential Patterns in the Nineteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1973), 41; and James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 143.

In the survey area, the 1855 expansion included an area just past Grand Avenue on the west, and south to Keokuk Street, within the northern part of the district.



**Figure 7: Expansion of City Limits<sup>28</sup>**

The expansion helped broaden the City's tax base but the press for infrastructural improvements increasingly burdened the City with each addition. While private initiative through the subdivision process eventually helped determine the City's form in the twentieth century, in the survey area, colonial-era patterns and the sale of the commons based on a grid resulted in its unique arrangement of subdivisions.

While the sale of common lands allowed the area to pass into the hands of private owners, the process of populating the area was a lengthy one. When looking at the many early dates of recorded subdivisions within the survey area, one should not assume that a rush of housing began shortly after purchasers bought land and recorded plats.<sup>29</sup> Platting dates for subdivisions within the survey area are misleading, as landowners could hold property for decades, sell it to others, or plat a subdivision and see little happen. By studying the dates of construction in the survey area's residential housing stock, it is evident that, in many cases, decades passed after the initial platting before building activity occurred.<sup>30</sup> Important factors affecting community planning and growth in the survey area were:

<sup>28</sup> St. Louis City Hall Archives, courtesy of Dusty Reese, archivist.

<sup>29</sup> Between 1836 and 1874, thirty-nine were platted, including four city subdivisions. Between 1875 and 1884, nine; between 1885 and 1894 twenty-two; between 1895 and 1904 nine; between 1905 and 1914 eight; and between 1915 and 1924 four more were platted. Between 1925 to present, there have been about fifteen new or replatted areas.

<sup>30</sup> The majority of buildings date from the 1880s through World War I.

- sinkholes that pockmarked the district;
- only a few transportation routes connected the survey area to the City center, with extremely slow development of routes to north St. Louis;
- public transportation was sparse; and
- rural small farms and dairies persisted for years before there was interest in extensive housing.

Sinkholes pockmarked the district. St. Louis, located between prairie and woodland forests, sits on a karst plain of limestone constantly undermined by water in cave springs. Eventually, rock collapsed and caused cave-ins. Deep pits, sometimes dozens per square mile, appeared in this plain. Besides the obstacles they caused in efficient use of the land, early St. Louis residents used sink holes as trash pits and sewers, despite the fact that their interconnected nature caused the spread of serious pollution and disease.<sup>31</sup> Camille Dry's 1875 *Pictorial St. Louis* provides useful visual evidence of their presence in the survey area.

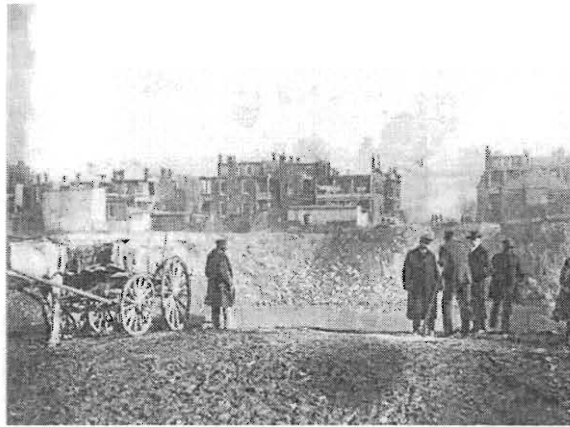


**Figure 8: Sinkholes Near Jefferson and Cherokee Streets, 1875<sup>32</sup>**

Figure 9 shows such a sinkhole and it is easy to see why these areas became an impediment to development.

<sup>31</sup> Walter Schroeder, "The Environmental Setting of the St. Louis Region," *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, ed. Andrew Hurley (St. Louis, MO: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1977), 18-19.

<sup>32</sup> Camille N. Dry, *Pictorial St. Louis, the Great Metropolis of the Mississippi Valley: A Topographical Survey Drawn in Perspective, A.D. 1875*, designed and edited by Rich. J. Compton (St. Louis: Knight Publishing, Harry M. Hagen, 1971; reprint, Saint Louis, MO: Compton, 1876), Plate 35.



**Figure 9: Unidentified Sinkhole in 1910<sup>33</sup>**

The survey area was also sandwiched between two major streets or roads that once were main transportation routes in and out of town. Gravois Road first provided access to the common fields, grazing areas, the Gravois settlement, and farmlands in the Meramec River Valley. It began as a trail to a salt spring and ferry, near present-day Fenton in about 1804, and appears on many early St. Louis maps. Gravois Road, particularly, drew commercial uses along it as a farm-to-market road. City surveyor Charles DeWard originally planned Jefferson Avenue as a street that ran south from Chouteau Avenue (southern edge of the Chouteau Mill Pond Tract) to termination by the river. For a long time, Jefferson Avenue was undeveloped and disconnected from other roads. These two transportation routes provided the main means of moving north through the core of the City from the south. Therefore, those living in the survey area had limited and inconvenient access to the rest of the City. It could take a day, even with the eventual arrival of streetcar lines, to reach the northern side of St. Louis.

Streets in the area were a problem. By 1870, street improvement ordinances enhanced only four short blocks of Cherokee Street, five blocks of Chippewa Street, and two blocks of Jefferson Avenue, although there were twenty-six petitions by local residents for street improvements.<sup>34</sup> The lack of paved roads, discontinuous connections among roads and streets, distant streetcar lines on Seventh Street and South Carondelet Avenue (now Eighteenth Street) fostered a sense of isolation in the area. Street paving in unimproved or remote sections of the City, such as the survey area, where the landscape was rough and property values low, would take a substantial investment at public expense and a commitment by the City that was not there until the last two decades of the nineteenth

<sup>33</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 178.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 101-102

century. Moreover, the lack of improved streets delayed the improvement of other streets around them.<sup>35</sup>

Prior to the arrival of the automobile, the movement of moderate to lower income residential areas away from a downtown's core depended upon public transportation. While the well-off could keep or hire their own carriages and drivers, those without needed to live within a reasonable walking distance of their places of employment. In 1880, the streetcar serviced the northern part of the survey area only along Gravois Road and only as far south as Arsenal. There were several industries nearby that attracted residents. Lemp's Brewery was established on Cherokee Street by 1864, the Missouri Glassworks was just west of Cherokee Park, a ropewalk was near Arsenal and 18<sup>th</sup> Street, and several brickyards were nearby.<sup>36</sup>

The Seventh and Carondelet streetcar lines intersected Jefferson Avenue only at Chippewa Street. In Figure 10, black lines in the lower central area outline the survey area. The transportation routes in dark grey document the lack of public transportation in the surrounding area.



**Figure 10: 1880 Dutchtown Streetcar Lines<sup>37</sup>**

<sup>35</sup> Sandweiss, "Paving St. Louis Streets," 103.

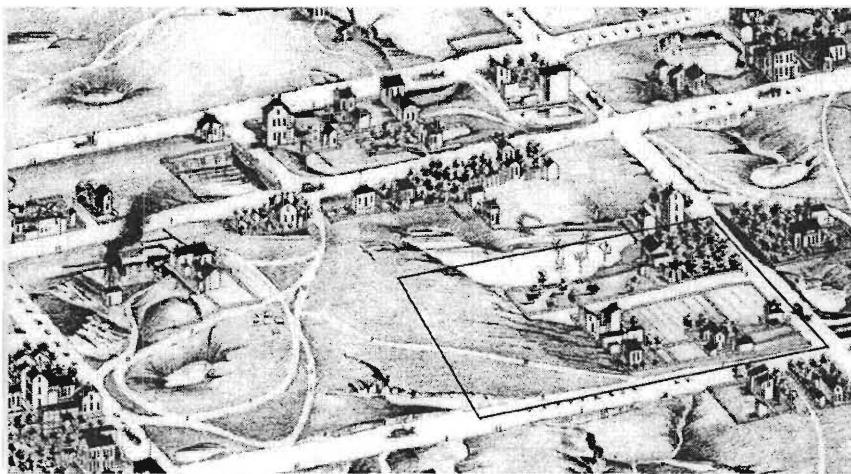
<sup>36</sup> National Register Nomination Benton Park Historic District, Section 8, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 102.

By 1851, railroad tracks filled the Mill Valley Pond, an early obstruction to reaching the south side. However, the tracks themselves became a barrier to streetcars and to later cable car lines because the rail tracks could not intersect and, hence, required a viaduct to cross over them.<sup>38</sup>

Small farms and dairies remained in the survey area for years before there was much interest in extensive residential development. While housing was fairly dense east of Jefferson Avenue by 1875, the area south of Chippewa Street, in particular, remained rural with farms, dairies, orchards, and grape arbors. Even in 1908, there were still at least fifteen dairies in the survey area, indicative of an incomplete transition from a rural past.<sup>39</sup>

In the period before 1854, there was only one subdivision, Laclede's, platted in 1846, on Jefferson Avenue between Wyoming and Utah streets. Dry's 1875 *Pictorial St. Louis* again confirms visually that little development occurred in Laclede's subdivision despite nearly thirty years with a recorded plat. One can see in the greater area sinkholes, patches of housing, and empty space with meandering roads. Platted city streets are missing in this rural area.<sup>40</sup>



**Figure 11: Laclede's 1846 Subdivision, Shown in 1875<sup>41</sup>**

Despite the number of plats recorded by 1875, *Pictorial St. Louis* conveys a rural character and feel. Gravois was at this time an important farm-to-market road; there was only a short section of a streetcar line on Jefferson Avenue. A smattering of housing areas

<sup>38</sup> Hodes, 155.

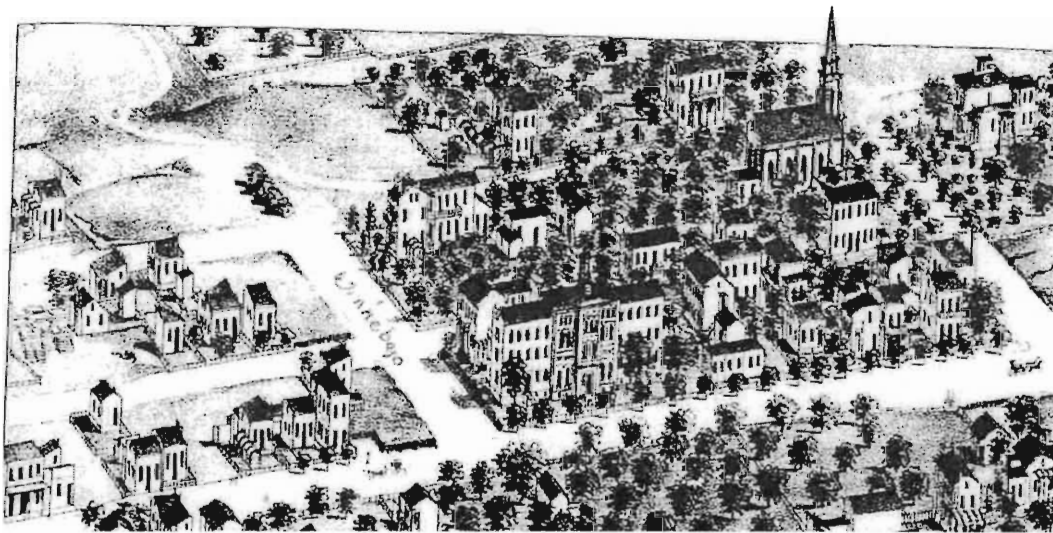
<sup>39</sup> This count was from 1903, 1908, 1909 area Sanborn Maps.

<sup>40</sup> Dry, plate 53.



scattered over the survey area with a few pockets of density. For example, in one area along Jefferson Avenue, between Miami and Winnebago streets, Lutherans established Concordia Lutheran Seminary in 1849. Built by Germans from Saxony as a religious center for the education of ministers, they also constructed the Holy Cross Church here in 1867, as well as a printing plant.

As the survey area developed, there is little evidence that the presence of the church actually stimulated or enhanced the way the district evolved.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the church was an important institution that served the German-speaking population residing in Benton Park, a middle- and upper-middle-class neighborhood across Jefferson Avenue to the east.



**Figure 12: Concordia Lutheran Complex at Jefferson Avenue and Winnebago Street, 1875<sup>43</sup>**

This appears to be true with regard to other mostly self-contained institutions. Alexian Brothers Hospital, now a large, modern complex on Jefferson Avenue, dates to 1870. St. Anthony's Hospital began in 1873 in Carondelet, but the Franciscan Sisters moved the hospital to St. Louis and, in 1900, relocated it at 3520 Chippewa Street. The medical center and 1924 convent are no longer extant. The Home for the Friendless, a private home for

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., plate 35.

<sup>42</sup> Robert E. Hannon, "Lafayette Square and Benton Park" and "Marquette-Cherokee" *St. Louis: Its Neighborhoods and Neighborhoods, Landmarks, and Milestones*. (St. Louis: Regional Commerce and Growth Association, 1986), 55-57.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Plate 32.

elderly, impoverished women, founded in 1853, was on South Broadway and Osceola streets in a vacated Swiss Protestant College. Marysville College of the Sacred Heart had a campus bounded by Meramec and Osceola streets and Minnesota and Nebraska avenues. This boarding school academy is no longer extant. Other institutions in the survey area were the rest home of Our Lady of Perpetual Help at 3439 Gasconade Street, originally built in 1858, and the Little Sisters of the Poor home for the aged established at Grand Boulevard and Cherokee Street in 1900.

## **THE SPREADING METROPOLIS: 1880-1930**

The City's first suburban neighborhoods emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century during the era of the "Spreading Metropolis." These were urban neighborhoods of more moderate-income residents located within the City limits, several miles away from the City's historic civic and commercial core. Whatever the socio-economic composition, residential development near the City's expanding edges in St. Louis resulted in the same conditions that stimulated the growth of hundreds of other suburban tracts in American cities across the country during the same time period. The growing population and crowded, noisy, and polluted conditions of the older city core made new neighborhoods appealing to city residents. While the survey area's history is framed by factors that delayed rapid growth, it eventually filled with housing of middle- and lower-income residents, many of German descent, in the period of the "Spreading Metropolis." Although platted and sparsely settled in an earlier era, the survey area became one of St. Louis' first areas to experience suburban development.

### **Immigrants and Dutchtown<sup>44</sup>**

Immigrants, especially Germans, are associated with the survey area, leading to its naming in modern times as "Dutchtown." Their presence in the area is part of the movement of this cultural group out of the areas of their initial settlements within St. Louis wards into new neighborhoods on the City's expanding rim. The first small group of about eighteen German families came to St. Louis in the mid-1830s. Only four years later, there were nearly six thousand. Most came looking for land to escape crowded conditions at home, crop failures, and religious and political unrest; others were lured to Missouri by romanticized descriptions of the state by an immigration society, which described the area as the American Rhineland.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Areas where German immigrants lived were not just German. They shared wards not only with Bohemians, but also Irish, Canadians, Swiss, and British. In 1900, St. Louis was still a place of rich ethnic diversity and only about one-third of the City was white, native-born Americans with native parents. Primm, 338.

<sup>45</sup> *A Preservation Plan for St. Louis*, "Peopling of St. Louis: The Immigration Experience" (St. Louis: City of St. Louis, 1996); available from <http://stlouis.missouri.org/government/heritage/history/>

These immigrants were extremely diverse, a heterogeneous migration of persons from fourteen German states and municipalities, who embraced every economic and social class and various religions affiliations. No country in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century was as fragmented socially and culturally as Germany. Therefore, a protestant from northern Germany would have little in common with a Roman Catholic farm worker from Bavaria.<sup>46</sup> With such diversity, there was little to unite them in St. Louis.

As they arrived, and depending on their skills and education, Germans started all kinds of new businesses and industries, including mills, chemical and drug manufacturing, brewing, cotton pressing, and iron works. Other German craftsmen and skilled workers found employment within businesses run both by Germans and Americans.

With commerce still mostly focused toward the river's edge in the last half of the nineteenth century, Germans established themselves in neighborhoods up and down the riverfront where they could live within walking distance of their place of employment. Small shop owners and craftsmen had their businesses and homes in the neighborhood of their customers.<sup>47</sup> Ward One, the southern most City ward in 1850, roughly encompassed the area from the river to Carondelet Avenue, and from Arsenal to Chouteau streets, contained a population of two-thirds German-born in 1850, although in St. Louis as a whole, one in every three residents was German born.<sup>48</sup> General retail trade centered in Wards Three and Four along Second Street. Mostly native-born Americans lived west of the retail area. Irish immigrants clustered in the Third and Fourth Wards, although they were interspersed with Germans in every ward.<sup>49</sup> Ward Two was the beginning of old Frenchtown, but was populated with immigrants of other nationalities. Many Germans found their first shelter in the lodging houses in this ward, but few owned property and many would eventually settle south and west of the area.<sup>50</sup>

The clustering of Germans in the First Ward gave south St. Louis its association with the "Dutch," a misuse of the word "Deutsch" for German. In 1870, the wards' shape reflected colonial land allotment divisions as they ran in strips east and west. Regardless of their westward extension, most residents still clustered near the river.

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immigration.htm; Internet; accessed 04 April 2003

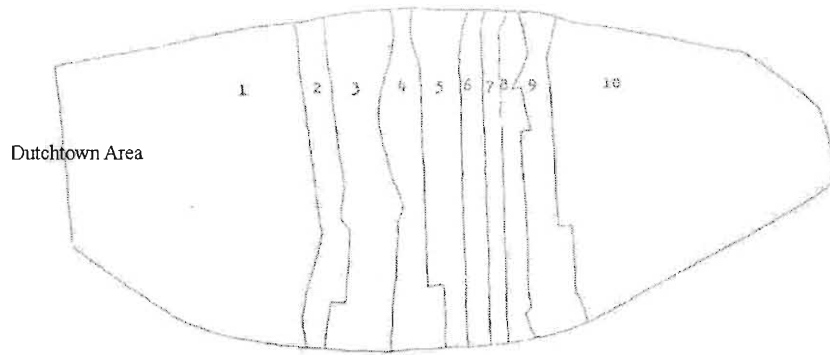
<sup>46</sup> Detjen, David W., *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality and Assimilation*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), 17.

<sup>47</sup> Olson, Audrey, "St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and its Relation to the Assimilation Process," (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1980), 19.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 58

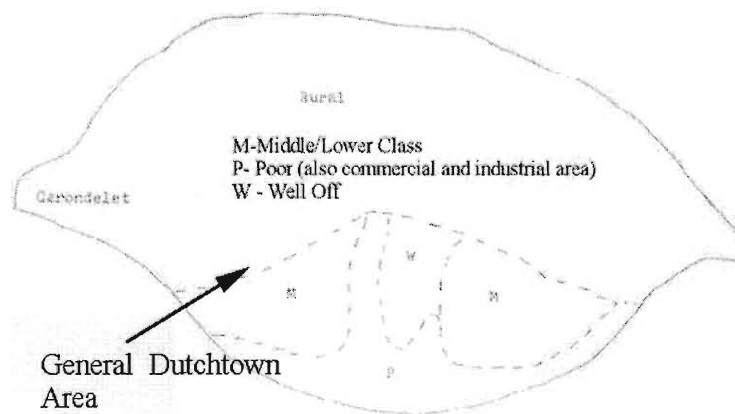
<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 23-24.



**Figure 13: 1870 Ward Divisions<sup>51</sup>**

By 1880, St. Louis was a divided city with neighborhood residents that tended to share economic position and ethnic origin or a mixture of both. German-born inhabitants numbered 54,901 out of the town's population of 350,518.<sup>52</sup> Immigration reached a peak in 1882 as an industrial depression in Europe and a desire to escape military service prompted their continuing departure for the United States.

Incoming Germans continued to live in the sections where the immigrants who had arrived before the Civil War settled, although they found residences in all the wards where they lived with other nationalities. As the City began to grow toward the west, many residents of the same ward followed new subdivision development and moved outward from the City center. With residents generally moving west in a fan shape, the survey area became populated with the middle- and lower-middle-class workers.

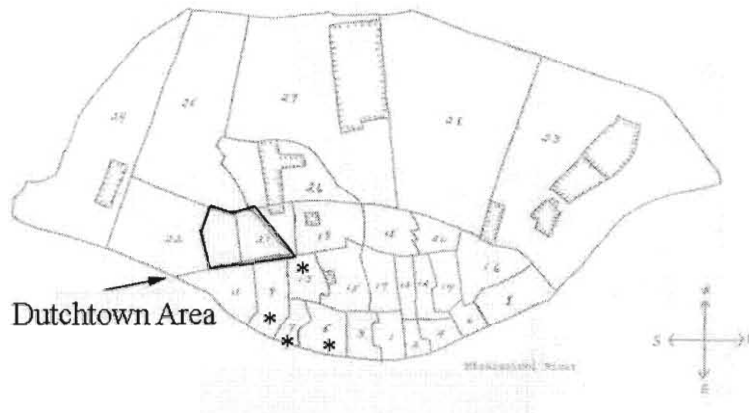


**Figure 14: 1880 Economic Residential Patterns<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>51</sup> Hodes, 39.

<sup>52</sup> Olson, 11.

In the 1880s, what became known as the Dutchtown area was mostly in Ward Twenty-one and the northern part of Ward Twenty-two. Of Ward Twenty-one's sparse 4,200 residents, one in every four was German born, though they comprised only 2 percent of the City's total population. Ward Twenty-two had about 17 percent German born, but only 1 percent of the City's population.<sup>53</sup> This ward was more sparsely settled than Ward Twenty-one, with a large number of farmers still engaged in agriculture.



**Figure 15: Dutchtown Area Wards, 1880<sup>54</sup>**

According to Audrey Olson, who extensively researched the German presence in St. Louis, Germans migrated into the survey area through a natural expansion to the west from a concentration in the older river wards. Wards Twenty-one (outlined) and Thirteen (see Figure 15) became the homes of Germans who moved west out of the 1880 wards (Five, Seven and Nine [starred]), where many previously lived in boarding houses or shared living quarters. A sample of the occupations of those who moved reveals that most who moved into Ward Twenty-one were laborers or craftsmen and those in Ward Twenty-two were mostly craftsmen.<sup>55</sup> Olson's research into areas of German residency is helpful in understanding why the area became known as Dutchtown. Nevertheless, she also found that while Germans tended to live both in the south and north, they resided throughout the City. Thus, German settlement patterns in St. Louis differed little from other citizens of the City.

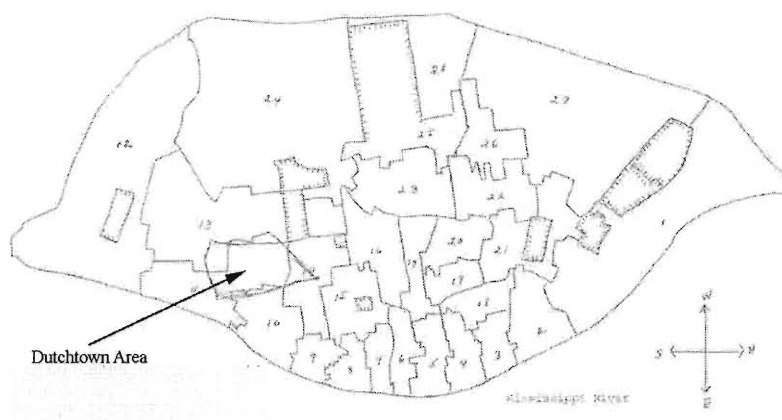
By 1910, the number of German-born residents decreased from about 15 percent of the population to about 7 percent. In 1910, due to redistricting of wards by population, most of the survey area was in Ward Eleven, but also was in small parts of Wards Ten, Thirteen,

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 48

<sup>55</sup> Hodes, 103; Olson, 61-62.

and Fourteen (see Figure 16). While these wards contained German-born residents, the number of second-generation Germans was greater than or almost equal to native-born residents with native parents.



**Figure 16: Dutchtown Area Wards, 1910<sup>56</sup>**

Most people residing in the survey area in 1910 came west from other German residential areas on the south side. While it is sometimes assumed that ethnic self-consciousness caused groups to remain situated within areas, Germans in St. Louis did not fit this hypothesis. Every class of Germans and German-Americans moved in a pattern similar to, and simultaneous to, other American-born residents as they moved westward from the City's core.<sup>57</sup> To emphasize the extent of their mobility, between 1910 and 1914, at least one-third of all Germans moved, and many moved more than once.

Although Germans lived in the survey area in noticeable numbers, ethnicity does not appear to have played a strong part in determining a particular "German" character. While ethnicity is sometimes used as a criterion for measuring isolation, assimilation, and tenacity within a culture, in such a large and diverse population of German immigrants as was found in St. Louis, cultural traditions, religious practices and philosophies, politics, education, and economic status are so disparate that it became difficult to associate such diversity with any particular space or place. These cultural, social, and religious differences among Germans discouraged a sense of shared identity and any united front to resist assimilation. Thus the Germans of Dutchtown, in particular, and the City, in general, were an amorphous group, with few barriers between them and native-born Americans. Most had English-speaking neighbors, lived in English-speaking parts of the City, and had employment in firms where English was spoken. Many of their children

<sup>56</sup> Olson, 73.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 85.

attended public schools where English was the language of instruction or attended parochial schools affiliated with their churches.<sup>58</sup>

Important institutions such as churches sometimes tie ethnic groups together through language and religious preference to traditional pasts; however, it is difficult to assess how influential the presence of a particular church was in a survey area that was so diverse. These churches, some established quite early prior to much settlement, served various German faiths of Benton Park to the east and of the Dutchtown neighborhood as it became more densely settled. The diversity of churches in the area reflects the diverse population that frequented them.

- Holy Cross Lutheran — German-speaking Lutherans established this church on Jefferson Avenue in 1858.
- St. Anthony of Padua — German-speaking Catholics attended this church at Meramec Street and Michigan Avenue. The church was established in 1863 by Franciscan Fathers and was completed in 1869.
- St. Thomas of Aquinas — English-speaking Catholic members of St. Anthony's parish attended this church. Located at Osage Street and Iowa Avenue, this church was completed in 1883. This group originally worshiped at Alexian Brothers Hospital, which was established in 1870.
- Lutheran Church of Our Redeemer — English-speaking Lutherans formed this membership in 1892 for South St. Louis. This group first had a chapel at California Avenue and Juniata Street in 1897, but moved to Utah Street and Oregon Avenue in 1901 even though the area was sparsely settled at the time. The present church was constructed in 1908.
- Winnebago Presbyterian — attended by German-speaking Presbyterians, this church was established first as a mission of the First German Church in 1897. A church was formally organized in 1902 at Winnebago Street and Tennessee Avenue. The area surrounding this church only developed after the 1904 Louisiana Exposition and the present church was constructed in 1910.
- St. Matthew's United Church of Christ (German Evangelical Lutherans) — Organized in 1875, this church included a German-speaking membership. Located at Jefferson Avenue and Potomac Street, the present church was built in 1888.

Residents of another immigrant group – the Bohemians – also settled in Dutchtown. Upheavals in Austria in 1848-1849 brought the first Bohemians to the United States.

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<sup>58</sup> Detjen, 18-19.

Prompted by reports of free land by the Czech press, many immigrated to St. Louis, attracted by a sense of association with the City's large German population. Bohemia, part of the Austrian Empire since 1620, had been "Germanized" and the Czechs felt comfortable within the St. Louis German community. Most Bohemian immigrants were craftsmen and farmers. When they arrived in St. Louis, they settled mostly on the near south side, between Park, Allen, Broadway, and Eighteenth streets, in a German residential area where they made up about 16 percent of the immigrant population. Some also lived in Ward Twenty-one where they constituted 7 percent of the immigrant population living there in 1880.<sup>59</sup> Many lodged with German families or resided in boarding houses and found work in factories and coal mines. Although they were Roman Catholic through a national Austrian church, some broke from their roots or joined existing protestant churches. They, as did the Germans, established their own clubs, newspapers, societies, and labor organizations. Although also heavily German, the area they lived in was known as Bohemian Hill and it attained its peak of cultural identity in the mid-1890s. Residents moved away from Bohemian Hill just as other immigrant groups did and they filtered into the Dutchtown area as far south as Cherokee Street and California Avenue. St. Wenceslaus Church, established in 1895, served Bohemian Catholics at its location at Oregon Avenue and Arsenal Street.<sup>60</sup>

## THE EMERGING SUBURBAN LANDSCAPE

Residential growth and commercial activity continued to slowly increase in the survey area during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. As noted previously, prior to the areas' incorporation into the City in 1876, the area had a large population of farms and dairies. In 1880, between the connection of Gravois and Jefferson avenues and south to Chippewa Street, there were only four groceries and six saloons. The 1883 *Hopkins Atlas* shows about 650 structures in the survey area at that time, approximately half of which were outbuildings. Most development in the district concentrated along Jefferson, Gravois, Chippewa, Arsenal, California, Ohio, Keokuk, Gasconade and Cherokee. The east-west streets of Arsenal, Cherokee, Miami, and Chippewa were important for the flow of traffic west from Carondelet Road because there were few other ways to reach the west side of the City directly from the east. A commercial nucleus became established at this time at Grand and Gravois, with construction along Gravois to the east.<sup>61</sup>

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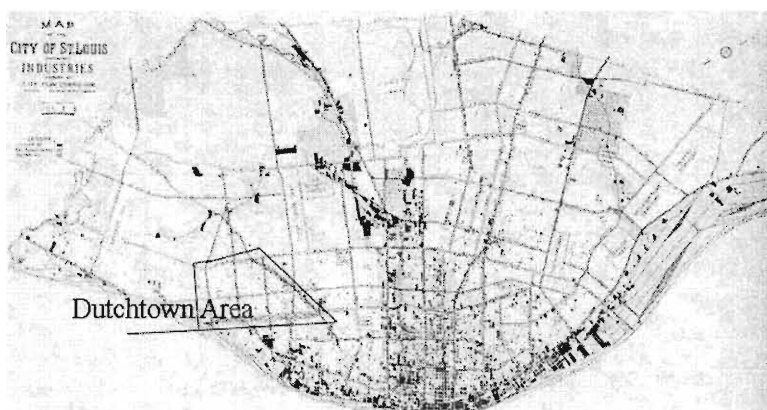
<sup>59</sup> Hodes, 56.

<sup>60</sup> Patricia L. Jones, "Whatever Happened to Bohemian Hill?" *Gateway Heritage: Quarterly Journal of the Missouri Historical Society*, 5 (1984-5): 22-31.

<sup>61</sup> Wayman, Marquette-Cherokee, History of St. Louis Neighborhoods; available from <http://stlouis.missouri.org/neighborhoods/history/marquette/index17.htm>; Internet.



**Figure 17: 1919 Industrial Development in Dutchtown**



The only industrial sites of note in 1883 were a lumberyard and the Cherokee Brewery.<sup>62</sup> This, however, had little to do with any lack of industrialization in St. Louis. By 1880, St. Louis had all the characteristics of a commercial-industrial complex as manufacturing of tobacco, dresses, furniture, boots and shoes, and lumber as well as book publishing and job printing, led the City's commercial production.<sup>63</sup>

Because of industrial expansion, land in the City's core became less desirable for residential living and large segments of the population began to move west of Grand Avenue. The survey area was particularly attractive because there would never be heavy industry in the southern part of the City, chiefly because pollution was already a problem. The Board of Health restricted the establishment of any pollution-creating industries in this area because the prevailing summer winds spread any airborne stench over the rest of the City.<sup>64</sup>

Several events related to transportation affected the future development of the survey area as well. In 1849, the State chartered the Pacific Railroad to cross Missouri from St. Louis, which eventually connected with the transcontinental railroad. The Hannibal & St. Joseph already existed, as the first railroad chartered by the State of Missouri in 1847. In the spring of 1849, St. Louis suffered a cholera epidemic. Prevailing medical opinion at the time erroneously blamed miasmas emanating from unsanitary bodies of water as the cause. Health officials identified Chouteau's Pond, which by mid-century was an open sewer, as the culprit. The City drained and filled it in 1851-1852 and soon rail lines crossed over the

<sup>62</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 102.

<sup>63</sup> Primm, 327, 331.

<sup>64</sup> Hurley, Andrew, "Regulation of Nuisance Trades in St. Louis," *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, ed. by Andrew Hurley (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1977), 155-156.

site of the former pond, forming a prime connection between Downtown and the route to Cheltenham. The tracks, however, were as much a source of division as of connection. Without viaducts to allow road access over the tracks, the area became a large, uncrossable zone that divided north and south St. Louis into two fairly distinct communities. That division remained as railroad lines filled the valley. Thus, first separated from the city core by the Mill Tract (Chouteau's Pond) in the late eighteenth century, the survey area remained separated when the railroad tracks became the deterrent to easy movement in and out of the survey area from the inner city and consequently delayed the arrival of public transportation to the area.

Public transportation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was crucial to the development of spreading residential areas in St. Louis and the general lack of such a public service in the survey area affected how property in the Dutchtown and Benton Park West areas developed. Streets were slow to open and the few connected streets within the survey area led to the core of the City, creating a sense of isolation and contributing to the district's slow pace of development.

Within the larger City, streetcars made it easier for people to live farther from the central core and to commute to work every day. Beginning in 1859, the Missouri Railway Company ran horse-drawn streetcars, or "herdics," on narrow-gauge rails from near Grand and Olive to Normandy, then to Florissant in 1878. The street railway facilitated suburbanization northward as well as the expansion already evolving toward Kirkwood. Residential neighborhoods sprouted on the City's fringe with streetcar connections. Residents of these "streetcar communities" traveled to other parts of the City for employment and many services. Cable-powered cars appeared in 1886, but the switch to electric streetcars transformed the system. By the turn of the century, the Wellston Loop ranked among the largest streetcar transfer points in the United States.

Streetcars also transformed main thoroughfares into commercial zones. Rows of shops, eateries, and businesses, hoping to increase business through convenience for so many potential customers, lined streets such as Grand, Jefferson, and Gravois. Signs became larger and more plentiful now that they had to be read from a streetcar window.

By 1910, streetcar lines reached the undeveloped areas along California and Jefferson avenues, Chippewa Street, and the southern part of Gravois Road. The expanded streetcar service was important for the residents living in the area and spurred further development for the next decade or so. The increasing number of housing starts helped stimulate demand for easily accessible goods and services so that there were twenty-three saloons, and forty grocery stores along the more traveled streets. On Gravois Road, there was a

planning mill, brewery, and lumberyard. Commercial facilities clustered at intersections and along more heavily traveled routes were typical of neighborhoods with an increasing population.<sup>65</sup> In Figure 18, black lines outline the survey area and the streetcar lines are in dark gray.



**Figure 18: South St. Louis Street Car Lines, 1880 and 1910<sup>66</sup>**

The 1903-1908 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company maps indicate small businesses in the survey area such as drug stores, bakeries, greenhouses (many of which had been left from the nineteenth century truck farms), a few coopers, laundries, two small sausage factories, overall and broom factories, and liverys. In 1907, the city directory showed thirty-four dairies still operating in the area. The area had more of the feel of a real residential neighborhood by 1910 instead of that of a developing area of the City. At this time, there were several meeting halls at various locations. One remaining hall, the Turnhalle at Ohio Avenue and Potomac Street, was one of the City's German *Turnvereins* or athletic and social clubs. One of its main buildings dates to 1899.

A City map from 1919 (Figure 17) shows the east-west cross streets and Jefferson and Gravois lined with a small number of businesses and industry, while the area, as a whole, was now residential.<sup>67</sup> One favorite remaining rural spot in the survey area was Cherokee

<sup>65</sup> Ames and McClelland, <http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/intro.html>.

<sup>66</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 124.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

Garden at Cherokee Street and California Avenue, a public garden with a reputedly excellent kitchen and picnic areas.<sup>68</sup>

## **Economic Factors**

Development in the survey area had as much to do with the ability to finance construction and provide mortgages as it did with physical factors. Subdivision development generally depended on speculative developers to provide the initial capital for homeowners or homebuilders to purchase property and construct houses. Prior to 1850, the concept that land was a commodity that could be bought and sold for a profit was not widely held. It took some time for the idea to take root that land could be used as a source of income rather than a method for accumulating capital.<sup>69</sup>

Germans were involved in speculative land ventures as were older Creole families and native-born Americans. Typical of early developers in the area were four Germans – Edward Haren, Friedrich Kretchmar, August W. Fisher, and Felix Costes – who operated real estate agencies in the City in the 1850s.<sup>70</sup> Both native-born Americans and German-born realtors advertised in local newspapers and they included inducements to attract German immigrants. When developers had difficulties selling lots, they argued that if some of the land was outside city limits it would be free of taxes, or that it offered investment opportunities and perhaps might even become “industrialized.”<sup>71</sup>

Three German developers exemplify the different types of landholders subdividing land in the survey area. Lorenzo E. Anderson subdivided blocks 1571-1574 in 1890. Anderson was typical of the owners of the larger builder/developer businesses. He was on the board of Guaranty Trust Company, which consolidated title investigating firms.<sup>72</sup> He also helped establish the real estate department of the Mercantile Trust Company.<sup>73</sup> Henry Elbreder, a truck farmer, was typical of the small subdivider. In 1895, he platted Elbreder's Subdivision in Block 1619, around his home.<sup>74</sup> Theodore Hemmelman was a real estate agent and platted his subdivision in 1898.<sup>75</sup> All are indicative of a land development community that had loosened considerably from its earlier highly defined character to

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<sup>68</sup> Ernst D. Kargau, *The German Element in St. Louis*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, trans. William G. Bek (Baltimore: Clearfield Press, 2000), 152. Kargau's book was originally in German, *St. Louis in Former Years: A Commemorative History of the German Element*, and published in St. Louis in 1893.

<sup>69</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 76-77

<sup>70</sup> George H. Keller, “The German Element on the Urban Frontier: St. Louis, 1830-1860,” (Ph.D diss., University of Missouri, Columbia, 1973), 131.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>72</sup> Kargau, 141.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-4.

<sup>74</sup> Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution*, 80.

include a range of men that more closely resembled the population of the area at large. These developers borrowed from a variety of sources. A small number of private banking houses that operated outside of state mandated restrictions provided most early loans on an annual basis.<sup>76</sup> Building and loan institutions changed the home mortgage market. Large-scale developers capable of offering easy terms to working-class homebuyers also acted as financing sources. In the late 1870s, most of the working classes did not have access to bank loans for housing, so many received a mortgage from the seller and sometimes borrowed again from a relative, neighbor, or local businessman. Building and loan organizations gradually systematized this informal community of borrowing and lending that sprang up outside the bank-based lending industry. By the 1890s, such changes meant a typical homebuyer was a working-class man of modest means.

Residents moving into the survey area's newer residential streets at the turn of the century chose it for its distinct sense of place. With the City's carefully defined segmented landscape of streets, city blocks, and building lots, this cityscape and its dense placement of brick housing, erected within the previous decade, provided a physical distinctiveness from older parts of the City. When development in the survey area reached its physical limits in the 1920s, the majority of its built environment reflected layers of development phases during the past three decades adapted to a preexisting grid of narrow lots, in a somewhat difficult but mixed topographic land area. Only a few buildings and structures remain from the City's Colonial period. The extant resources reflect City decisions about and the evolution of public transportation, the location of industry, and infrastructure development. The large number and appearance of the multi-family residential structures clearly identify the survey area as one of the City's early working-class suburbs.

### **LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY WORKING - AND MIDDLE-CLASS HOUSING**

St. Louis' population grew from approximately 350,518 in 1880 to 821,960 in 1930, and as the City evolved as an urban center, its land values rose proportionately. Residential neighborhoods expanded during boom periods, as waves of cheap residential building occurred. Evidence of the growing numbers of middle-class workers moving from the City's industrial core were the rows of quickly-built houses and residential multi-family blocks that began to appear near older residential neighborhoods and the blocks of simple, utilitarian, detached flats in newly developing neighborhoods along transportation corridors at the City edges.

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<sup>75</sup> Kargau, 134.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 77.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population<sup>77</sup></u>
<u>1880</u>	<u>350,518</u>
<u>1890</u>	<u>451,770</u>
<u>1900</u>	<u>575,238</u>
<u>1910</u>	<u>678,029</u>
<u>1920</u>	<u>770,177</u>
<u>1930</u>	<u>821,960</u>

**Figure 19: St. Louis Population**

Most of City's residential neighborhoods that appeared in the last decades of the nineteenth century through the onset of World War I were the result of subdividers who purchased undeveloped land from owners and sold individual lots to small builders, who in turn rented or sold their completed houses and flats to occupants or investors. Because of the costs associated with this system, construction for owner occupancy was financially difficult and single-family housing for many low- and middle-income city dwellers was an expensive proposition, particularly during real estate booms. The cost of a lot was sometimes more than the average middle-class worker's annual income. This and the cost of the house itself rendered a new house in a recently platted subdivision beyond the means of most of the City's workers. Thus, speculators purchased the majority of vacant lots and quickly erected modest brick dwellings as rental property and most of the City's residents rented their living quarters.<sup>78</sup>

The cost of living did not change in the ensuing decades. In 1900, the annual average income was \$400 to \$500. In 1912, social workers estimated that a family of four needed an annual income of at least \$600 to maintain an adequate standard of living.<sup>79</sup> At the low end of the middle-class spectrum was the cook, shop girl, or laborer who earned around \$260 a year. Among the upper-middle class, a college professor earned a salary of \$2,000 to \$3,000.<sup>80</sup>

As a result, to the majority of the growing working and middle classes, the multi-family residential unit offered affordable, decent housing for those wishing to become established

<sup>77</sup> Hodes, 41 and Primm, 143.

<sup>78</sup> William S. Worley, *J.C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City Innovation in Planned Residential Communities*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 3-4, 16-23.

<sup>79</sup> Sherry Lamb Schirmer and Richard McKinzie, *At the River's Bend An Illustrated History of Kansas City Independence and Jackson County* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, Inc., in association with the Jackson County Historical Society, 1982), 65.

in a career before marrying or having children, for the retired and for the spinster, widow, widower, or bachelor. The largest of these groups renting apartments initially were bachelors, reflecting the emergence of the single workman as the dominant element in the workforce. By the onset of World War I, wage-earning single women also began to rent apartments rather than residing in boarding houses or with their families.

During this period, the City's largest employer continued to be manufacturing industries, followed by those engaged in trade and transportation. In addition to the laborers in these industries and craftsmen, a growing segment of the working classes were white-collar clerks and stenographers. These groups provided an important segment of the base market for apartments built for the working classes in the early twentieth century.

The established forms of multiple family residential units in St. Louis' historic central city included boarding houses converted from large single-family houses, tenements<sup>81</sup> erected or converted from larger buildings, small detached dwellings such as duplexes, living quarters over commercial shops, and modest attached Row Houses that housed the City's lower and working classes. Two factors established a widespread market for suburban neighborhoods of multi-family dwellings. The first was sufficient population density of middle-class residents who preferred or required multi-family rental units as opposed to the detached residence. The second was, as noted previously, the cost of the owner-occupied single-family house.

## **RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE SPREADING METROPOLIS**

One characteristic of the City's first suburban neighborhoods associated with the era of "The Spreading Metropolis," was a recognizable, more uniform appearance due to more homogenous architecture and land uses than those found in the older central city. "Most of these neighborhoods were exclusively residential, reflecting conscious efforts to separate business and industry from residential streets and allocate them in their own defined areas. Houses and apartments often built a block or more at a time reflected the work of builders and developers who sought to supply their clients with a tidy, quiet environment

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<sup>80</sup> Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Big Change America Transforms Itself 1900-1950* (New York: Harper & Row, 1952), 49-43, 51-52.

<sup>81</sup> The term tenement in the mid-to-late nineteenth century generally applied to any multiple family rental building. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it was also used to refer to any residential building in a slum. However, this latter reference occurred at a time when prize-winning tenement designs were developed for housing the lower working classes. Thus, the term also applied to large, new, multi-family buildings erected for the working poor in the first decades of the twentieth century. As used here, it references simple, functional, and often hastily built multi-family buildings erected for the working classes, usually near industrial and manufacturing areas.

free from the noise and soot of downtown.”<sup>82</sup> At the edges of such developments, busy streets like Gravois Avenue and South Jefferson Avenue provided commercial corridors and employment making City residents even less dependent on downtown services.

Like most of the City's residential neighborhoods prior to the adoption of a zoning ordinance in 1918,<sup>83</sup> title covenants associated with the platting of subdivisions dictated set-backs from the street, a two-story height limit, and masonry construction. This is important in understanding the architectural context of the survey area. It was not until almost three decades after development truly began in the area, that the City enacted zoning plans mirroring the self-imposed "restrictions" that the survey area's real estate developers enacted to protect their investments. It is even more significant in view of the fact that St. Louis was second only to New York among the major American cities to adopt industrial/residential zoning, something the developers in the survey area consciously established in the late nineteenth century.

The houses and multi-family dwellings erected in the nation's new suburban subdivisions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century offered improvements over the residential building stock in the older city neighborhoods. They often provided front yards, individual street-front entrances and porches, carriage houses and, later, garages, as well as fashionable architectural detailing. Their architectural styles and the stylistic adaptations of local builders reflect the dynamic tension in the early twentieth century between traditional and progressive styles. Americans responded to nostalgia as represented by the popularity of English prototypes and the American styles of the eastern seaboard. The European-based revival styles represented tradition, affluence, and good taste, while the American Colonial styles provided practical restraint. The new "honest" and "useful"<sup>84</sup> styles, such as the early twentieth century Prairie and Craftsman houses associated with the Modern American Movement in architecture, reflected a utilitarian practicality, particularly in the design of the homes of the American working- and middle-classes. Both the traditional revival and the modern Arts and Crafts-based styles were a reaction to the excessive and eclectic ornamentation of the Victorian Era.

Designed for the City's growing middle-class workers and built by developers who anticipated the desirability of the area as a place of residence and neighborhood commerce, all of these buildings reflect the evolution of architectural styles and the technological

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<sup>82</sup> Fox, 4.

<sup>83</sup> The Missouri Supreme Court ruled the ordinance unconstitutional six years later.

<sup>84</sup> *Urban Oasis* (St. Louis: Boar's Head Press, 1979), 1.



changes in construction that occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to these forces, they reflect architectural practices unique to St. Louis.

Just as important as the architectural styles in defining the character of the survey area are the building plans, forms, and materials. The vast majority of the residential buildings in the survey area are variations on recurring architectural themes. Almost all are brick and, with the exception of one-story “shot-gun” folk house forms, the majority of the area’s residences are two-story buildings with two- or three-bay façades. The height of the buildings reflects the fact that before the creation of zoning ordinances after World War I, there was a height limitation of two floors for residential structures. The use of brick dates back to the 1850s, when a fire destroyed blocks of buildings and caused millions of dollars in damage. After that, the City required masonry construction of its buildings.

Simple National Folk House forms traditionally housed the nation’s working classes in both rural and urban areas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the United States. After the Civil War, there was an explosion in the scale of houses, as well as the varieties of house design. This was particularly true of the affluent citizens of St. Louis who wanted their houses to reflect their economic status. Their new, detached residences reflected popular architectural styles. At the same time, housing for the City’s middle classes mimicked that of the affluent on a smaller scale. The Queen Anne cottage – a one-story house with restrained Queen Anne massing and details – appeared in middle-class neighborhoods. The shotgun house also continued to house the City’s working class. Its late Victorian version often borrowed high style architectural elements, but retained its traditional folk house form and plan. In St. Louis, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century versions often had higher roofs, creating a story-and-a-half attic use.

Working-class neighborhoods established in St. Louis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century included both single- and multi-family housing. The simple, single-family residence was a detached building that resembled a federal townhouse; the primary façade, usually composed of two bays, one of which incorporated an entrance. The detached one-family dwelling was not, however, the home of most of the nation’s wage earners. The two- to six-family flat and Row Houses housed thousands of families. And, by the early decades of the twentieth century, multi-family “walk-ups” and Low-Rise Apartment Buildings appeared. The large number of multi-family units in the survey area reflects the prevalence and variety of the multi-family working-class housing type erected in St. Louis from the late 1880s through the 1920s.

Much of multi-family housing designs in American cities at this time have their origins in Europe and the East Coast. The Row House was one of the earliest multi-family housing units in the largest cities on the East Coast. The French flat, with one apartment per floor, became established in New York in the mid-1870s. This form adapted easily to the City's long, narrow lots that previously accommodated Row Houses. At this time, the modest two-story, two-family flat and the Boston "triple-decker" style apartment building plan, which consisted of three units, one per floor, appeared. Its larger counterpart, the "double triple-decker" building plan consisted of six units – two per floor and three per side – connected by a central stair hall. Both building types appeared as a detached house. These plans became a model for the "walk-up" apartment flats that continued in popularity throughout the twentieth century in the United States.

Variations of the East Coast apartment building prototypes appeared in the mid-1880s in the Midwest. From these models, local developers and architects developed their own unique apartment variants in response to specific conditions of local needs, tastes, and restrictions. In St. Louis, the ubiquitous deed restrictions requiring masonry construction and height restrictions of two stories resulted in a preponderance of brick two-, four- and six- family flats, the latter capturing two units in "attic" space within mansard roof designs. City permits variously define these buildings as "dwellings," "tenements," and "flats."

The majority of the multi-family residential buildings found in the survey area are flats — two-family flats (duplexes), three-family flats (triplexes), four-family flats, and six-family flats – all of which feature a plan with all rooms in a unit on one floor. With the exception of the side-hall townhouse prototype, those found in the survey area usually feature separate individual entrances. The typical arrangement is a door on the front façade that opens directly into the first floor flat, while a separate door on the same façade accesses the upper floor unit by an interior stair. The smaller number of Row Houses in the survey area reflects a common design found in other neighborhoods in the City. Multi-Family Walk-Ups, such as those found in the survey area, became common in St. Louis during the first two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>85</sup> They have a single, common, central entrance and may have two, four, or six units composed of stacked one-floor units with a common central interior stair hall. There are a few Low-Rise Apartment Buildings erected in the southern portion of the survey area after World War I that are larger, but not taller, than the Multi-Family Walk-Up. These buildings feature a common entrance with apartments accessed off a long, double-loaded corridor. Larger versions can have several common entrances to the building.

## **LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY ARCHITECTURE AND TECHNOLOGY IN ST. LOUIS**

### **Late Nineteenth Century Architectural Trends**

In American cities in the last half of the nineteenth century, immigrants, laborers, and newly arrived rural white and black factory workers crowded into shacks lining ravines, tall tenements, and boardinghouses. Those with better paying jobs lived in Row Houses and small "flats," while the increasing number of the middle- and upper-classes opted for detached cottages, town houses, rural villas, or substantial masonry mansions.

The urban population explosion following the Civil War continued until the twentieth century and resulted in rapidly changing architectural styles. The rich and robust Italianate, Second Empire, and Romanesque styles with their exuberant designs appealed to the citizens of the prosperous post-Civil War period. In city or town, there was a perceived and psychological need to make order from the chaos of the war and the early settlement period. In rural and urban communities, elected officials commissioned the leveling of bluffs, the erection of bridges, and the paving of streets. Citizens voted bond issues to install gas, electricity, and telephone lines. New concerns for public health and safety resulted in fire and building codes and the creation of water and sewer systems. Innovations – indoor plumbing, central heat, and gas light – created a demand for change.

This level of construction was possible because of the increasing industrialization of building technology and a newly developed rail freighting system that transported materials for long distances from their manufacturing centers. Mass-produced building materials included brick, cut stone, pressed brick, plate glass, terra-cotta, cast iron, gingerbread, and turned, cut, and pierced wood. Architects and the popular builders' guides utilized both traditional and new materials in a variety of combinations to create a rich and dramatic effect.

As in the past, in addition to folk house and vernacular design, St. Louis homebuilders erected high style residential, institutional, and commercial buildings in the Italianate, Second Empire, Queen Anne, and Romanesque and Renaissance Revival styles. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, stylistic interpretations of older Euro-American period houses gained popularity. The historic eclectic movement began when European-trained architects began to design houses for wealthy clients in the United States based on relatively pure copies of earlier styles. The architecture of the Colombian Exposition of 1893 further accelerated this movement. By the first decades of the twentieth century,

Colonial and Classical Revival styles as well as adaptations of Mediterranean and French styles enjoyed increasing popularity.

Each architectural sub-type had its own combination of materials and treatments. Popular wall materials during this period included dark-red, industrially produced brick; dark glazed brick and pressed brick; pale blue, tan, gray and frosty white limestone, brownstone, and dark granite – carved and incised, smooth or rough-faced – as well as horizontal clapboard and ornamental shingles. Decorative materials included terra-cotta cast in decorative patterns and incised, chamfered, carved and turned wood; gray, green, blue, and red slate tiles; and wrought and cast iron.

Architectural styling for even the simplest of the residential buildings erected in St. Louis in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century was closely aligned with the prevailing architectural styles of the day. The buildings in the survey area represent a typical cross-section of styles found in the late nineteenth century and the first thirty years of the twentieth century in Midwestern communities. Identified by their plan and form, the vast majority of these buildings feature little, if any, academic architectural styling. Even the larger buildings had simple treatments, although ornamentation alluded more strongly to a specific architectural style.<sup>86</sup> This was true throughout the United States, where the majority of residential neighborhoods of the period, were distinguished by a variety of styles drawn from many stylistic traditions, a number of which had little association with the cultural identity or traditions of the region.

### **Early Twentieth Century Architecture**

The rapidly expanding industrial economy at the turn –of –the century created burgeoning job opportunities throughout the nation, which created a growing middle-class consumer generation. The new lifestyles and the effects of the machine age created nostalgia for traditional decorative arts and a quest for new ways of relating interior and exterior space. At the same time, there was a return to the simple architectural styles of the eighteenth century. These trends reflected diverse undercurrents combining the Arts and Crafts movement in England, the availability of mass-produced building materials, Japanese aesthetic principles, and a repudiation of the excesses of Victorian art and architecture.<sup>87</sup>

During the early years of the twentieth century, the new and distinctly American Craftsman and Prairie School styles also appeared. Unlike their predecessors, the form

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<sup>86</sup> Specific examples of the various styles and building types are referenced in the description of the survey area in Section 7, and include references to photographs of representative buildings.

<sup>87</sup> Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 319.

and ornament of these residences was devoid of historical references. One- and two-story treatments, usually applied to the twentieth century Prairie four square and bungalow residential forms, successfully competed with the historically based revival styles between 1900 and 1920. The Prairie School style developed from the work of a creative group of Chicago architects influenced by the early designs of Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan. The work of two Californians – Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Green – inspired the design of the popular Craftsman house. The brothers practiced architecture together from 1893 to 1914. Around 1903, they began to design simple Craftsman type bungalows based on the designs and treatments of the English Arts and Crafts Movement. Popular architectural publications and pattern books quickly popularized the style and the one-story Craftsman house becoming the most popular and fashionable smaller house in the country.<sup>88</sup>

Many of the buildings in the survey area reflect the influence of the popular Prairie School and Craftsman residential style executed on both late nineteenth century multi-family forms as well as new plans such as the bungalow house. Many buildings utilize stylistic elements of the two styles such as horizontal emphasis, hipped roofs, exposed rafter ends, battered porch supports, and vertical muntins.

By 1900, the decline of the major Victorian architectural styles became apparent in St. Louis. Beaux Arts, Arts and Crafts, Tudor and Georgian Revival styles began to replace the Italianate, Second Empire, and Romanesque Revival models for high style designs. Beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century, many of the City's wealthier homeowners began to choose Chateausque style architecture based on French Renaissance models for their new homes. Others built grand mansions in the style of the Beaux-Arts Classicism popularized by the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago and reinforced at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. The more modest middle-class and working-class housing, however, reflected other revival styles.

Perhaps the most popular of the early twentieth century styles was the Colonial Revival Style, which came to prominence in the United States during the last decades of the nineteenth century and remained a popular source of residential design thereafter. In the survey area, there are a number of residential buildings that reflect Colonial Revival influences, particularly in the design elements used in porch structures. Typical Colonial Revival motifs include an end-bay entrance portico with plain or fluted, round or square wood columns; doors with fanlight transoms and sidelights, pronounced cornices with

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 440, 453.

dentils, and pedimented roof dormers and windows with segmental or flat arches, often with keystones.

The Tudor and Jacobethan Revival styles, with their origin in English architecture of the sixteenth century, featured houses and apartment buildings clad in brick with a prominent front gable roof, dormers, and casement windows. An identifying element of style is the use of decorative half-timbering applied to stucco-sheathed walls, referencing the heavy timber framing in medieval designs. The use of false half-timbers, particularly in gables and bay windows, became widespread in the early twentieth century and appeared in the design of residential buildings of all sizes and forms. A few of the multi-family buildings in the survey area have a prominent front gable with half timbering. A few of the single-family and duplex residences in the survey area are Tudor Revival style buildings.

Closely related to the Tudor style in its origins and use of materials is the Jacobethan Revival style. It is a hybrid, combining elements from Elizabethan and Jacobethan buildings of England. Defining characteristics include brick walls with stone trim and distinctively shaped windows, gables, chimneys, and parapets. In the survey area, references to the style occur in the use of brick walls with stone trim, crenellated parapets, and decorative stone tabs.

Late Gothic Revival style churches are the only representation of this refinement of the mid-nineteenth century Gothic Revival style found in the survey area. The Late Gothic Revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is a more subdued and smoother design than those of the earlier High Victorian Gothic. Silhouettes are simpler with an emphasis on perpendicularity. The variant of the Gothic form has its antecedents in the French and English idiom, where the influence of the Italian Gothic can be found in designs of previous eras.

The Spanish and Mission Revival styles have their origins in the seventeenth century Spanish Colonial missions of the southwest. Its most prominent features are low-pitched, red tile roofs with curvilinear shaped parapets, and stuccoed wall surfaces. In the survey area, this revival style is referenced in the use of low-pitched, false-front structural elements with red tile and an absence of sculptural ornament applied to the brick elevations. There are no examples executed with stucco wall surfaces.

In addition to buildings with high style architectural treatments, the majority of the residential buildings in the survey area reflect the restrained stylistic treatments applied to

housing for the working classes during this period. In addition, there are a number of buildings that have no stylistic references, but instead include National Folk House forms.

Although a wide variety of new building materials emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century, middle- and working-class residential architecture did not use the handcrafted ceramic tile, leaded and stained glass, wrought iron, and hand-finished wood ornament that were popular Arts and Crafts building materials. And, even though industrial technology made poured concrete, concrete cinder blocks, stucco on metal lath, steel framing, glass blocks, and other mass-produced materials affordable, most dwellings continued to be built of traditional materials in traditional ways.

### **Local Stylistic Adaptations**

The St. Louis Preservation Plan identifies a classification of single-family houses called "Shaped Parapet Single-Family Houses" that it defines as "a brick one-story house type with a front shaped parapet" with one or two bays. The plan notes that they enjoyed popularity between 1900 and 1920, and that "the earliest have recessed entries and Romanesque Revival detail; later houses feature a small one-story porch. A distinctive feature of these houses is the use of decorative or glazed bricks to enliven the front facade."<sup>89</sup> Examples of residences incorporating these identifying characteristics, in particular the use of a shaped parapet in front of a flat roof and decorative glazed bricks in the façade, are common among buildings with Late Victorian and Revival style references. The use of decorative parapets is a significant component in the streetscapes of the survey area, reinforcing its cohesiveness. There are also a significant number of single-family residential units that incorporate side parapet walls. Other popular forms include one-story and two-story adaptations of the Second Empire style.

### **Early Suburban Auxiliary Buildings and Landscape Features**

During the survey area's initial period of development, indoor plumbing, central heating, electric wiring, and gas stoves changed the lives of not only the wealthy but also of the middle-class and lower-class wage earners. Room arrangements put the kitchen of the working-class household in communication with other private spaces and opened house interiors to space, light, and garden views. And, as the privy and the barn for horse and dairy cow disappeared, the back yard featured some amenities such as small garden plots and seating areas along with the coal shed and clothesline. By the 1920s, the automobile garage replaced the carriage house.

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 241.

## NEIGHBORHOOD COMMERCIAL ARCHITECTURE IN THE ERA OF THE SPREADING METROPOLIS

Commercial buildings erected in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century followed many general forms and patterns. They fall into two distinct design categories — those that reflect popular academic or “high style” designs and those that feature simple utilitarian styles.

Growth and prosperity in the United States during this period brought a variety of robust, popular nineteenth century styles for commercial and industrial buildings — Italianate, Queen Anne, Renaissance Revival, Second Empire, Romanesque Revival, and Classical Revival. Less important buildings erected during this period alluded to their high style counterparts in the use of restrained simple ornament and character-defining elements.

Many of the commercial buildings can also be identified by the arrangement of their façade. One- and two-story commercial retail and specialty service buildings usually feature a separate storefront and upper façade. The uniform use of this hierarchy created a certain density to commercial corridors. Most of the commercial buildings in the survey area featured a separate storefront and upper façade. Storefront designs included either flush or recessed entrances, usually centered with rectangular transoms over wood doors. Display windows, resting on frame-paneled bulkheads flank the door. Over the window are large multi-light transoms. The design of masonry buildings frequently included cast iron columns or masonry piers that supported the storefront elements. Upper façades incorporated a variety of treatments and their form and design usually defined the buildings.

Two major classifications that denote late nineteenth and early twentieth century commercial buildings in neighborhood commercial districts such as those found in the survey area are the “False Front Victorian Functional and “Urban Commercial Forms” that include the One-Part Commercial Block and Two-Part Commercial Block. These classifications can be further divided to include corner entrance, single entry with display windows, broad-front, artistic-front, and multiple entries with display windows variants.

Indigenous styles applied to the false-front form and the one-part and two-part block forms characterize the most common commercial building of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Designed for narrow deep lots, these rectangular buildings used faint echoes of high style architecture in an eclectic use of ornamental details such as door paneling, lintel shape, and brick patterning.



Every commercial area by the late nineteenth century boasted of some types of academic or “high style” architectural designs that reflected a defined style distinguished by special characteristics. In St. Louis’ first suburban areas, these were usually large corner buildings, often rising three stories, which extended down the block in both directions for a number of lots. These buildings reflect styles that enjoyed wide public support and that are easily defined by their form, spatial relationships, and embellishment, and are contemporaneous with the residential buildings within the adjoining blocks. Those commonly found in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include Italianate, Romanesque Revival, Queen Anne Renaissance Revival, Colonial Revival, Classical Revival, and Arts and Crafts styles.

Commercial buildings erected in the late nineteenth century displayed a wide variety of traditional and innovative materials often used in combinations to create a striking effect. During this period, dark red or brown brick, limestone, and slate were favorite materials. The use of cast iron, both structurally and for decoration, became popular during the 1870s and continued to be used throughout the remainder of the century. Zinc, galvanized iron, and pressed tin also came into use during this period. The ever-present concern for fire safety popularized the use of pressed brick, ceramic tile and, after the turn of the century, reinforced concrete. To enliven building surfaces, architects and builders favored the use of brick corbels as well as the use of terra-cotta cast in panels, moldings, and columns.<sup>90</sup>

New tools, new materials, and new processes emerged during this period with staggering rapidity. The industrialization of glass production led to the use of large, plate glass windows in the late nineteenth century. The use of iron and then steel as structural building components transformed construction technology. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the nation’s increased capacity to supply structural steel in a range of shapes and forms led to the demise in the use of the less satisfactory wrought iron and cast iron. In particular, as steel succeeded iron in the 1880s and 1890s, the method of steel framing called “skeleton construction” eliminated the use of timber and masonry materials as structural building elements. At the same time, the manufacture of Portland cement in 1870 gave impetus to the use of brick and stone masonry for the walls of large buildings. The advent of steel skeleton buildings and the accompanying prospect of fireproof construction stimulated, in turn, new developments in ceramic and clay products.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Carole Rifkind, *A Field Guide to American Architecture* (New York: Times Mirror New American Library, 1980, 194.

<sup>91</sup> James Marston Fitch, *American Building The Historic Forces That Shaped It* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), 168.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, architects often referenced the revival styles through the merging of vague historic motifs with utilitarian commercial building forms. Nevertheless, classically inspired architectural elements adorned many of the buildings erected during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Such embellishments, including the use of rusticated plinths, pilasters, columnar entrances, and classical cornice treatments, reflect the Revival styles that began in the late nineteenth century and lasted into the 1920s.

The types and styles of commercial buildings erected after World War I and before the Great Depression reflected both national trends and the unique circumstances of the neighborhood and community itself. Most had minimal architectural ornament, patterned brickwork, and sparse terra-cotta details. The simple cubic forms and flat surfaces of the Art Deco and Modern styles quickly found a place in commercial areas. The simplicity of the styles, popular from 1925-1940, proved to be quite adaptable to low simple buildings that housed business offices, showrooms, and even storage facilities. These streamlined buildings had simple cubic forms and flat surfaces with little or no ornamentation. The Moderne variation of these Modern Movement buildings featured banded windows of metal and glass. The linear Art Deco style had a pronounced verticality and featured geometric ornamentation that utilized faceted surfaces, zigzags, and chevron patterns.

Although the palette of the turn-of-the-century City Beautiful Movement brought white and light-gray marble, limestone, and buff masonry materials to the nation's boulevards and commercial corridors, the use of dark brick continued in neighborhood commercial areas. Architects often used specialty metals such as bronze, steel alloys, copper, and brass for ornament. Following World War I, the use of pastel-colored terra-cotta and unglazed bricks with soft yellow and russet tones created a rich tapestry-like effect on masonry walls. By the 1930s, poured concrete construction and cast concrete ornament came into common usage. Materials associated with the Art Deco style included black glass and marble, neon tubes, and bronze and terra-cotta in decorative grilles and panels. The Moderne style employed large expanses of glass, glass brick, chrome, and stainless steel.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Rifkind, 218.

# SURVEY FINDINGS

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## PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY AREA

### LOCATION AND SETTING

The Old Dutchtown and Benton Park West Survey examined resources in an area roughly bounded by Gravois Avenue on the northwest, South Jefferson Avenue and South Broadway Street (south of Chippewa) on the east, South Grand Boulevard on the west, and Meramec Street on the south. Gravois Avenue is a major arterial street and historically served as a wagon, streetcar, and vehicular transit corridor. South Jefferson Avenue also was and is a major transportation corridor. Historically, residential neighborhoods and commercial enclaves evolved in a causative physical relationship to these preexisting thoroughfares. The eastern edge of the project boundary, which runs parallel to South Jefferson Avenue, has the greatest loss of historic/architectural integrity and does not relate to the east side of South Jefferson Avenue. Moreover, South Jefferson Avenue is the western boundary of Benton Park, a National Register District that contains different socioeconomic property types and development patterns as an early suburban enclave than that of the survey area. South Grand Boulevard, like Gravois Avenue, is a historic transportation corridor predating residential development in the area and is a major arterial street. The loss of historic integrity on the south side of Meramec Street serves as the justification for the southern boundary of the project area.

Mixed commercial, institutional, and residential use along these major City thoroughfares visually and historically defines the survey area. Its setting retains its overwhelming residential land use and its buildings and streetscapes retain a high degree of historic architectural integrity. The building stock contains similar functional and architectural property types associated with the evolution of early working-class housing and related commercial and institutional property types typically found in early middle-class suburbs in St. Louis. The vast majority of these buildings are one- and two-story brick buildings spaced on narrow urban lots on a cohesive grid system platted in blocks bisected by brick alleys. Every two to three blocks there are east-west commercial streets, such as Cherokee, Chippewa and Meramec streets, lined with pedestrian scale buildings that form neighborhood commercial enclaves. Scattered throughout the neighborhood are neighborhood commercial nodes at intersections of residential streets. It is not unusual for corner commercial buildings to rise to three stories. All of the commercial two- and three-

story buildings have retail space on the ground floor and residential or office spaces above. The style and materials of the commercial buildings in these neighborhood shopping areas reflect that of the surrounding residential neighborhood, contributing to the uniform appearance of the survey area.

In addition to the grid street system, uniform lot size, sidewalks, alleys, and building setbacks, there are continuous rows of one- and two-story residences that share the same scale, massing, and repetition of architectural styles and ornamentation. Together they provide a cohesive character to the survey area. The dense assembly of red brick buildings built in a thirty-year time span for similar costs further contributes to the integrated nature of this early suburban area's streetscapes. The retention of the original brick paving in alleys and on east-west streets, as well as granite curbs further reinforces this cohesiveness.

Due to these interrelated land use patterns, architecture, and landscape features, the survey area's appearance is different than that of older residential neighborhoods in the City's historic core. Moreover, the major thoroughfares that form the survey area's boundaries, visually and historically, separated it from other adjacent residential neighborhoods on the east and the west. This separation and the survey area's shared topographical conditions determined a temporal period and pattern of development that is different from that of adjacent neighborhoods. And, although it has many functional and architectural building types found in other working-class neighborhoods, the mixture of these building types – the inclusion and exclusion of certain types, as well as their patterns – reflect a distinct sense of place that is subtly different yet discernible from other contemporaneous working-class suburbs in the surrounding area. For example, many of the plans and architectural treatments found in the survey area are similar to those found in Forest Park Southeast and Tower Grove, yet there are discreet differences – in lot size, density, number of two-family vs. four family residences, location of commercial nodes, etc. – that create a definitive sense of place.

The survey area includes a high number of residential buildings with a high degree of integrity and density that reflect a variety of modest single- and multi-family, working-class residential building types and styles that evolved in St. Louis during the first decades of the twentieth century. The district's dwellings, often constructed in a random checkerboard pattern within preexisting vacant subdivisions, reflect the demands for types of housing that met working-class family needs. Although most of the buildings within the survey area are not particularly noteworthy as individual structures, as a whole they comprise an architecturally significant collection of small-scale residential, neighborhood

commercial, and institutional buildings types harmoniously designed over a defined period of time.

Although platted at irregular intervals over a fifty year period beginning in the 1860s, development actually occurred in a progressive manner beginning in the late 1880s and continuing through the early 1920s. Moreover, once development began, it did not occur in an orderly directional pattern. A review of the computer-generated map showing decades of construction shows a uniform pattern of mixed development that dates primarily from 1890 to 1920. This “uniform” mixture contributes to the homogeneous appearance of the survey area. However, it is evident that a larger number of the resources south of Osage Street date from the post-World War I period. In particular, the predominant use of gable front residential designs departs from the shaped parapet and mansard roof prototype dominating the designs in the area to the north.

The vast majority of the residential buildings in the survey area are variations on recurring architectural themes and includes detached single-family houses, multi-family flats, Row Houses, Multi-Family Walk-Ups, and a few Low-Rise Apartment Buildings. With the exception of one-story “shot-gun” folk house forms (which extend from the late nineteenth century through to the 1950s HUD-financed designs), the majority of the survey area’s residences are two-story buildings with two- or three-bay façades. The height of the buildings has direct associations to their period of construction and reflects the fact that, before the creation of zoning ordinances after World War I, there was a height limitation of two floors for residential structures. All have narrow fronts and long, side elevations in keeping with the narrow lots. All but a few are masonry structures; the overwhelming number is of dark brick. The use of brick in St. Louis as a predominant residential building material dates back to the 1850s when a fire destroyed blocks of buildings and caused millions of dollars in damage. After that, the City required masonry construction of its buildings. Before the advent of zoning and building codes in the twentieth century, property deeds in many new developments in the City required masonry construction. Consequently, the survey area as whole visually conveys feelings and has direct associations with the preponderance of brick structures dating from the mid-nineteenth century that shaped the City’s appearance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>93</sup>

The extant garages and storage sheds in the survey area provide clues to the evolution of the outbuildings from fuel storage sheds and shelters for animals and carriages to meeting the needs of the automotive age. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century,

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<sup>93</sup> Little and Bass, 5-6.

building permits for the demolition of wooden sheds and the construction of brick garages began to appear. At the same time, building permits for new residential units include detached garages. The size of these ancillary buildings reflects the units for which they were built. Detached single-family houses have small, one-bay garages. Duplexes have two-bay garage buildings. Four-Family Flats have parking structures to accommodate four cars. Like their predecessors, the carriage house and barn, they are oriented to the brick alleys that bisect each block.

## **HISTORIC PROPERTY TYPES**

A property type is a grouping of individual properties based on shared physical or associative characteristics. Property types link the events incorporated in the historic context(s) with actual historic properties that illustrate those themes and events. To assist in developing historic property types for the survey area, the consultant identified resources according to original function and architectural style — thus including both shared associative (function) and physical (architectural style/building form/type) characteristics. They are listed in the survey data fields under “architectural style” and/or “property type.”<sup>94</sup>

### **ORIGINAL BUILDING FUNCTION PROPERTY TYPE**

Drawn from the National Register sub-categories for function and use, the survey process identified eight different major categories of building function for properties in the survey area. The functions of some buildings changed from their original use, but for the purpose of this analysis, they are recorded according to their original use. The three major functional property types are Domestic: Multiple Family, Commerce Trade: Specialty Stores, and Domestic: Single Family. The vast majority of these buildings date from circa 1890 to circa 1920. The breakout in the order of frequency includes the following:

<b>DOMESTIC: Multiple Family</b>
<b>COMMERCE TRADE: Specialty Store</b>
<b>DOMESTIC: Single Family</b>
<b>COMMERCE TRADE: Other</b>
<b>RELIGION: Religious Facility</b>
<b>COMMERCE TRADE: Professional Offices</b>
<b>EDUCATION</b>
<b>RECREATION AND CULTURE</b>
<b>OTHER</b>

<sup>94</sup> Property type designation is based on the form/function of the building using appropriate nomenclature as defined by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources Vernacular Affinity Codes and the City of St. Louis Preservation Plan classifications.

## **Domestic Residential Building Functional Property Type**

The residential building property types found in the survey area derive their significance from the information they impart as to the continuum of single-family and multi-family dwellings erected in St. Louis' first tier of streetcar suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries during the era of the "Spreading Metropolis." In particular, they reflect the residences erected for middle-class and working-class families. This property type is found in the popular "high style" architectural styles and in the vernacular and folk house building forms. Only a few of these property types appear to be the work of architects; the majority are popular utilitarian plans erected by contractors, master carpenters, and brick masons. Most are detached dwellings located on rectangular lots with narrow frontage platted on a grid system. With minor exceptions, they are one- or two-story buildings constructed on limestone foundations with brick wall cladding. Generally, those erected before World War I have flat roofs with shaped parapets or mansard roofs with side parapets, while those erected after the end of the war feature gable-front roofs. Domestic Residential Building Functional Property Types identified in the survey area include the following:

- Single-Family Houses
- Shotgun Houses
- Townhouses
- Row Houses
- Two-Family Flats (Duplex)
- Three-Family Flats (Triplex)
- Four-Family Flats
- Six-Family Flats
- Walk-up, Low-Rise Apartment Buildings
- Double-Loaded Corridor Apartment Buildings

In addition, there are a number of historic domestic ancillary buildings found behind the dwellings that front onto the alleys and include carriage houses, small sheds, fuel storage buildings, and garages.

## **Commercial Building Functional Property Type**

The commercial building property types found in the survey area reflect a variety of property sub-types. The majority has retail sales or services functions typically found in early suburban neighborhood commercial streets and nodes. They include business houses

designed for small business operations providing financial, legal, and other professional services; retail sales services, and restaurants and saloons. Usually sited on one or two lots, they have a rectangular plan with the short side facing the street. Their design incorporates public space on the first floor and storage or secondary space on the upper floors. They are usually one or two stories in height, with corner buildings sometimes rising to three stories. One defining feature of this commercial property sub-type is a well-defined ground floor “storefront” that is distinctly separate from the upper stories and reflects a difference in public/private uses. Private use may pertain to storage space, office space, or residential space. Storefront space indicates retail vending space, lobby space, restaurant and saloon services, showrooms, or office space. A significant percentage of this property sub-type features high style architecture popular in the era in which they were built. They typically have a flat roof and masonry construction. Depending on the date of construction, structural elements include the use of load-bearing brick walls and cast iron or steel construction. Similarly, storefronts incorporate combinations of brick, cast iron, and wood.

Because of specialized commercial functions, a number of the commercial buildings, particularly those located on arterial streets that border the survey area, have their own distinctive plan. The survey identified several funeral parlors, automobile-related buildings, large office buildings, banks, restaurants, and warehouses,

### **Industrial Property Types**

Along the periphery of the survey area are a number of small historic and modern industrial buildings engaged in small-scale light manufacturing, some of which contain various types of storage and shipping facilities. They range in size from one to three stories in height and generally have a footprint that encompasses several lots facing onto the arterial streets.

### **Institutional Property Types**

The survey also identified historic and contemporary religious, educational, and healthcare institutional buildings. All but a few of the buildings are executed in popular architectural styles of the period of their construction and are located on or near the edges of the survey area on large lots. Both the historic and modern buildings generally contrast with the residential area in their size, scale, and massing.



## **Social Halls**

Several buildings in the survey area served as meeting halls for fraternal and ethnic groups. These buildings are located along or near the arterial streets bordering the survey area.

## **Landscape Elements**

Elements that create the cultural landscape of the survey area include open park space associated with outdoor recreation in the following areas:

- One square block park bounded by Louisiana and Compton avenues and Potomac and Miami streets that has a historic bandstand;
- Irregular park bounded by South Broadway and Gasconade streets that has a historic gateway structure; and
- Two adjacent, one square block parks bounded by Gasconade and Osage streets and Louisiana and Minnesota avenues and divided by South Compton Avenue. The western block has playing fields and a high style Renaissance Revival historic park concession building. The eastern block has the historic Marquette pool and associated parks buildings. A modern one-story learning center runs parallel to Gasconade Street.

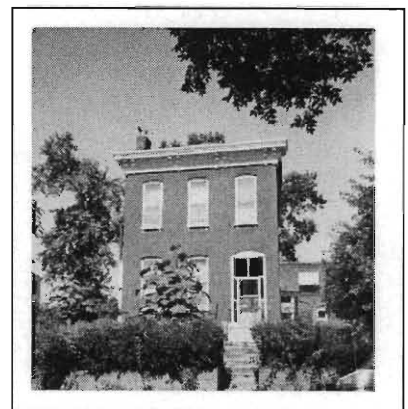
## **ARCHITECTURAL PROPERTY TYPES**

### **ROMANTIC PERIOD (1820-1880)**

During the Colonial era, one or two styles tended to dominate each colony for an extended period of time. By the 1840s, the cottage designs in the Italianate, Gothic Revival, and Exotic Revival styles, first published by Andrew Jackson Downing in his popular pattern book, became popular design choices for American homeowners. The simultaneous popularity of several architectural styles from this point forward persisted as a dominant theme in American housing. All of the Romantic styles originated and grew to popularity in the decades before 1860 and appear both as highly detailed and less elaborate interpretations as late as the 1880s.

### **Italianate Style**

The survey revealed vestiges of the Italianate style as adapted to the single-family or Two-Family Flat Townhouse (Side Hall Plan) property type. The Italianate style dominated American houses constructed between 1850 and 1880. It was particularly common in the expanding towns and cities of the



Midwest as well as in many older, but still growing cities of the northeastern seaboard. Those that appear in the survey area date from the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a period in which their popularity waned. They are rare in the survey area and are restrained versions of the original style, identified predominately by their one- or two-bay, symmetrical façades; side hall plan; tall, narrow windows; and wide eave supported by decorative brackets located on the primary façade parapet.

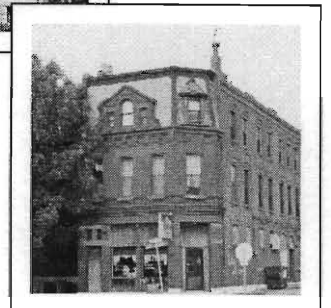
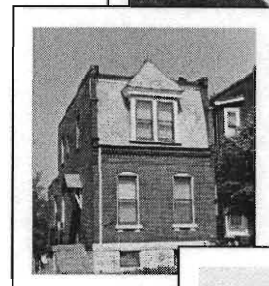
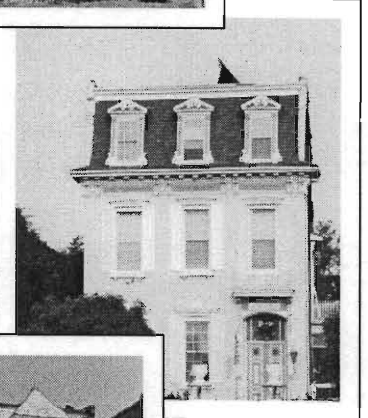
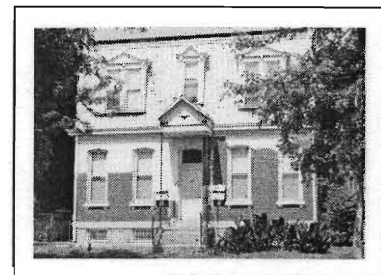
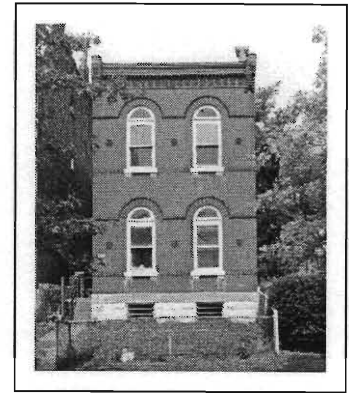
## **VICTORIAN PERIOD (1860-1900)**

During this period, increasingly accessible builder's pattern books spread the latest trends in house designs and styles to the population in growing communities throughout the country. The expansion of the railroad system after the Civil War made building materials, including milled lumber and mass-produced nails, accessible to anyone living in relative proximity to a rail line. Milled lumber included decorative turned and cut pieces that conveyed ornate Victorian motifs.

### **Second Empire Style**

During the late Victorian period in St. Louis, the size and design of residences expanded. Replacing the popular and entrenched Italianate style, the Second Empire style became established in the City in the 1870s for both residential and neighborhood commercial buildings. The defining element of the style is the mansard roof — a double-pitched roof that has a flat upper slope and steep lower slants that terminate in a decorative cornice. Dormers are often present in the steep roof, which had slate shingles. Although the style declined at the end of the century, a number of adaptations continued to occur in commercial and multi-family buildings. In the survey area, examples can be found dating from the late 1880s through the turn of the century.

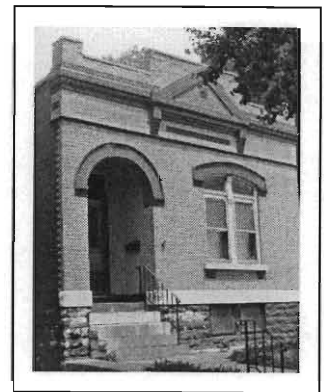
The use of the mansard roof on residential buildings created an additional attic story that extended a short distance toward the back of the building; enough to create additional space in a neighborhood that had a residential height restriction of two stories. Unlike the single-family detached house, the Second Empire multi-family unit usually had a true mansard only at the front



façade; parapet walls continued up a full story on each side elevation. Both two-story and one-story examples feature designs incorporating living space within the attic area created by the roof form. In addition to this treatment, many of the flat roof buildings featured mansard-like roofs applied as a decorative treatment to the parapet area.

### **Romanesque Revival Style**

In the 1880s, the Romanesque Revival style began to appear in large, single-family residences, townhouses, Row Houses, and multi-family flats. The early examples incorporated a variety of full arches at the windows, doors, and cornices, and usually had dark red brick walls, and high dressed limestone foundations and sills. By the last decade of the century, the Romanesque Revival residence became more restrained. As applied to multi-family buildings, brickwork and narrow stone courses, as well as the ever-present full arch recessed entrance and window surrounds became the character-defining elements of the style. All feature the use of dark brick walls, elegant brickwork, and contrasting light limestone foundations, sills, and belt courses. Restrained versions of vernacular plans that reference the style include the use of full arch windows, a recessed entrance on the first story, and segmental or flat arch fenestration on the second story.

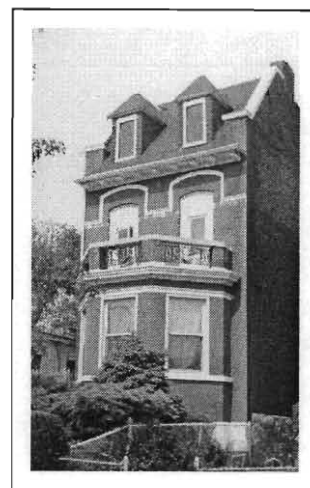


Romanesque Revival was perhaps the leading architectural style for the Town House (Side Hall Plan) design at the end of the nineteenth century. Unlike Richardsonian Romanesque designs, the main feature of a Romanesque Revival town house is the use of arched brickwork motifs around doors and windows without the deep recesses and rough-cut stone of the Richardsonian version. The style was particularly popular in St. Louis for multi-family middle- and working-class housing. A cadre of talented masons vied with each other to produce unusual and inventive designs, using a profusion of masonry patterns. Romanesque Revival single-family and Two-Family Flat Town Houses were characteristically detailed with an ornate brick cornice, and windows with decorative brick arches. Often, the openings featured paired windows with elaborate wood mullions. Variations on this style often appeared in rows of town houses containing single-family and multi-family flats. Arches of the recessed entries and first-story windows have brick archivolt molding; the second-story windows are interspersed with slender engaged columns leading to a heavy brick cornice and frieze, created by a variety of molded brick patterns.

## Queen Anne Style

The Queen Anne style also became popular in the City in the 1880s. While brick houses of this style were rare in most cities due to city fire ordinances, because of the availability of brick and the high number of skilled brick masons in St. Louis, most Queen Anne houses in the City were brick. Like their popular frame cousins, they feature an asymmetrical façade, a variety of roof forms, projecting bays, turrets, and elaborate combinations of brickwork, pressed brick, and terra-cotta. Vernacular multi-family housing found in the survey area dating from the turn of the century contain elements that reference the style through brickwork, the asymmetrical arrangement of the façade, a full height projecting bay window culminating in a turret, steep roofs, exaggerated pediment dormers, and sometimes a gable-front bay.

Queen Anne Town Houses (side hall plan), which often housed up to three flats, are rarer in St. Louis than Second Empire townhouses. Generally, the Queen Anne design lent itself to larger, more elaborate houses in which the full expression of decorative treatments and roof configurations could be used. Nevertheless, restrained elements of the style can be found in single-family and two-family flats in middle- and lower-middle-class neighborhoods. These two- to two-and-a-half-story brick buildings often featured an entry under a decorative porch at the far left of the front façade, balanced by a large stylized window under a basket arch. A recessed porch at the second story might have a railing of honeycomb brickwork. The residence had an asymmetrical roof configuration often with a slate shingled front gable.

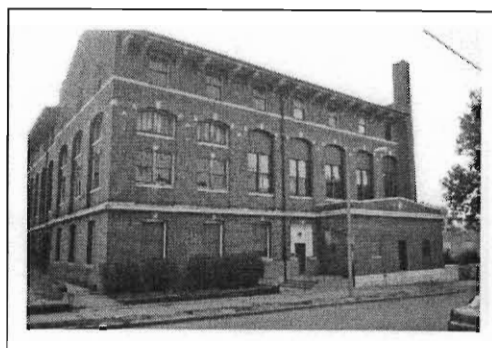


## ECLECTIC MOVEMENT (1880-1940)

The Eclectic Movement drew inspiration from American Colonial-era architecture as well as the architecture of Europe. Designs emphasized strict adherence to stylistic traditions and minimal variation and innovation. At the same time, and in contrast to the European and Colonial American-influenced designs, uniquely American styles appeared. Buildings in this subcategory represented the burgeoning efforts of the Arts and Crafts Movement, Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie School, and European Modernism in the early twentieth century.

### Italian Renaissance/Renaissance Revival Style

Italian Renaissance/Renaissance Revival buildings appeared in St. Louis near the end of the nineteenth century. Their popularity was due to the growing popularity at this time of all revival styles.<sup>95</sup> Residential versions are rare in the survey area. There are a number of institutional buildings executed in the design, including a park recreational building. Commercial examples include a large funeral home. The symmetrical design sometimes features a slightly projecting center entrance bay. Brickwork often mimics quoins and appears at corners and in the foundation area



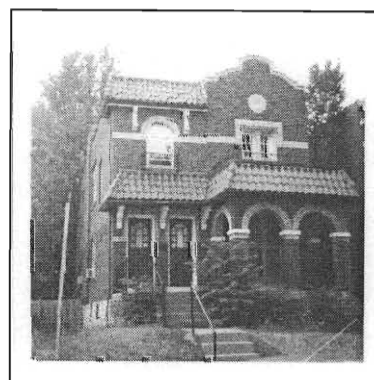
### Tudor Revival

Loosely based on a variety of late medieval English prototypes ranging from small cottages to manor houses freely mixed with American eclectic expressions, the Tudor Revival style incorporates a steeply pitched, front-facing gable. About half have ornamental false half-timbering applied over stucco masonry and/or masonry walls. The style rarely occurred before World War I, but enjoyed widespread popularity during the 1920s and 1940s.



### Spanish/Mission Revival

These buildings have their origins in the architecture of the Mediterranean as adapted and influenced from Spanish Colonial architecture in the Americas. In commercial designs, tiled roofs, shaped "false front" parapets, arches, and smooth stucco and masonry wall surfaces are freely adapted to traditional forms. After the Panama-California Exposition, held in San Diego in 1915, more precise imitations of elaborate Spanish prototypes began to appear. Both residential and commercial examples show a wide variety of design applications.

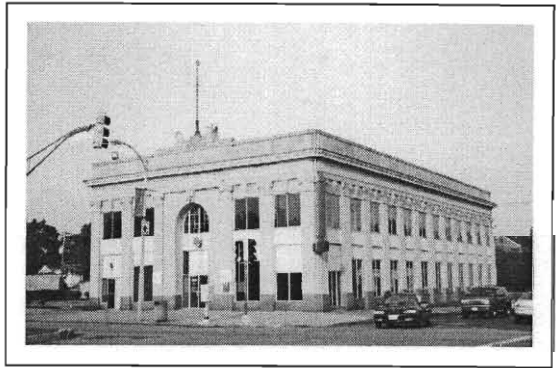


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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 192.

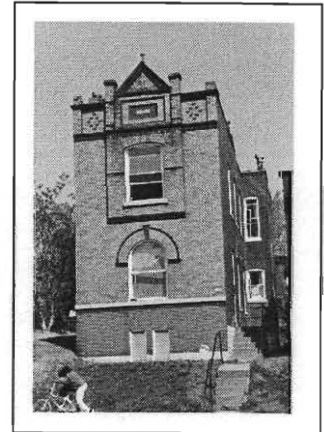
### Beaux Arts

Buildings in the Beaux Arts style are usually architect-designed landmarks and were built principally in the prosperous urban centers where turn-of-the-century wealth was concentrated. The style is based on classical precedents with elaborate decorative detailing. The survey identified only one example of this style, a bank building, located on a major City thoroughfare.



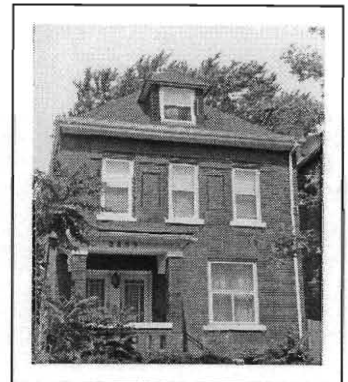
### Eclectic "Mixed" Style

With the wide variety of Victorian and Revival styles popular in St. Louis at the end of the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that architects and builders combined these elements in their designs for middle- and working-class housing. Because late Victorian architecture was a reaction to the rigidity of the earlier Georgian and Greek Revival architecture, architects and builders alike felt comfortable mixing different architectural styles, particularly in the design of residences.



### Prairie School

Prairie School houses found in the survey area reflect one of the few indigenous American styles. Popular from 1900-1920, the style evolved from the work of Chicago architects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In particular, Frank Lloyd Wright's early work in this style influenced its use for important commissions. The examples found in the survey area are simple gable-front and hip roof versions that are the earliest Prairie School form. Prairie School designs are excellent examples of the vernacular form that spread throughout the country

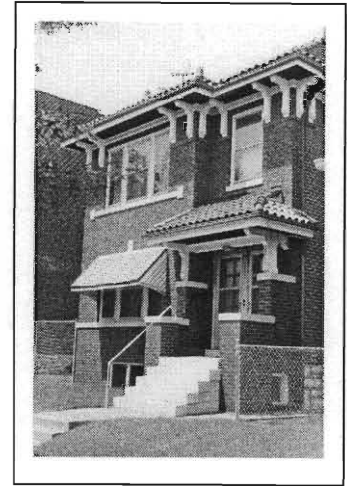


### Craftsman

The survey area includes a significant number of Craftsman (Arts and Crafts) style residences. They include modest and dramatic examples of the side-



gable and gable-front roof variants. Simple vernacular examples are often called bungalows or the Bungaloid style. This was the dominant style for smaller houses built throughout the country during the period from about 1905 until the early 1930s. The Craftsman style originated in southern California and quickly spread throughout the country by pattern books and popular magazines. Important stylistic elements found in the survey area are the porch roof supports, which are typically short, square upper columns resting upon more massive piers or upon a solid porch balustrade. Commonly, the piers or columns have sloping (battered) sides. The roof usually has a wide eave overhang, along the horizontal edges are rafter ends, and Craftsman doors and windows feature vertical muntins.



## **NATIONAL FOLK HOUSE AND VERNACULAR RESIDENTIAL FORMS**

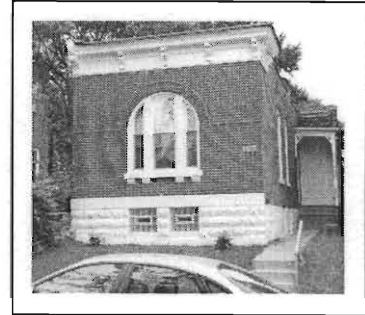
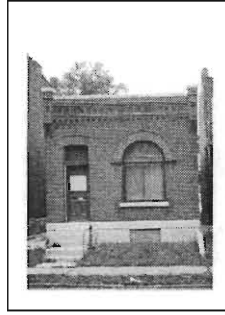
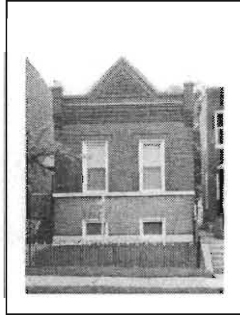
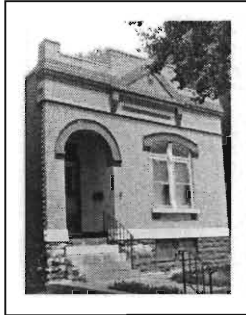
Many of the dwellings in the survey area are simple Folk House dwellings defined by their form and massing but lacking significant stylistic attributes. Even after communities became well established, these folk house designs remained popular as an affordable alternative to more ornate and complex architectural styles. The nature of American folk housing changed dramatically as the nation's railroad network expanded in the decades from 1850 to 1890. Despite changes in building technique and materials, the older folk house shapes persisted. During the late nineteenth century, local vernacular adaptations of older styles and folk house forms appeared in working- and middle-class neighborhoods. Within the survey area, there are a few scattered examples of the French Colonial (locally referred to as Creole) houses that predate suburban development. There are only a few examples of the Pyramid Square folk house, the Gable-Front-and-Wing, Saddlebag, Hall and Parlor, and Center Hall folk house forms, all of which appear to predate suburban development and reflect the agrarian nature of the survey area prior to development beginning around 1885. Common folk house forms found in the survey area include late nineteenth and early twentieth century adaptations of the Shotgun and Gable-Front property types.

### **Shotgun Houses**

The Shotgun House, a National Folk House form, remained popular in St. Louis during the late nineteenth century on into the twentieth century as single family and duplex units. Many borrowed elements from contemporaneous high style buildings for their exterior design or reflect the talents of local brick masons. In the Late Victorian shotgun house, the roof is sometimes higher, allowing use of a second floor. The defining feature of the



Shotgun House – its floor plan – remained unchanged. These houses usually featured a flat roof with decorative parapet; a mansard roof, alluding to the Second Empire style; or a cornice with either a stoop porch or a small decorative entrance porch. In St. Louis, many incorporate the local tradition of a recessed side ell entrance or stoops located at the side, particularly for two-family dwellings. During the post-World War II era, federally financed infill housing incorporated the shotgun form with the modern Ranch style designs.

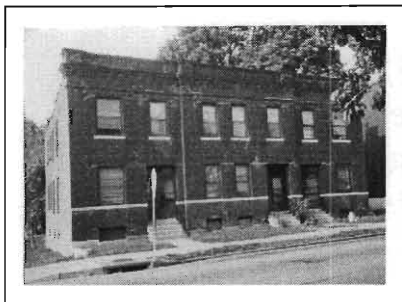


## Gable-Front Houses

Gable-Front Houses found in the survey area have their beginnings in the Greek Revival style, which dominated American residential design from 1830 to 1850. This style used the front gable shape to echo the pedimented façade of Greek temples. It was a dominant folk house form until well into the twentieth century. Gable-Front Houses were well suited for the narrow urban lots in rapidly expanding cities. Most are narrow, two-story houses with relatively steep roof pitches. (The gable-front Shotgun House is the one-story prototype). An additional wave of popularity of the form resulted from its use in early twentieth century craftsman dwellings.

## Vernacular Housing Forms

In addition to traditional folk house forms, a number of vernacular forms developed in St. Louis that were used for working-class housing and which appear in the survey area. They include the Row House, the Townhouse Property type and Two-Family Flat subtypes, the Three-Family Flat (Triplex), the Four-Family Flat, the Six-Family Flat, the Walk-Up Apartment Building, and the Double-Loaded Corridor Apartment Building.



### Row Houses

Row Houses are one of the earliest American forms of multi-family housing. They are composed of at least two single-family dwelling units sharing a common wall. Typically, they present a narrow street front façade, usually with the

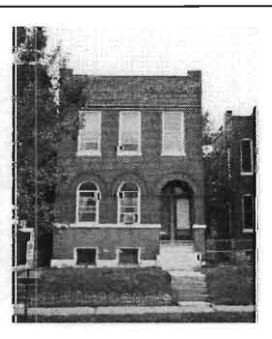
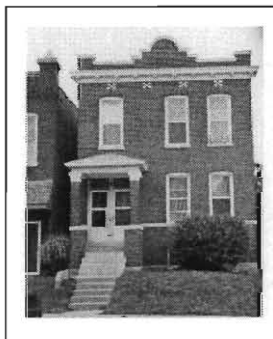
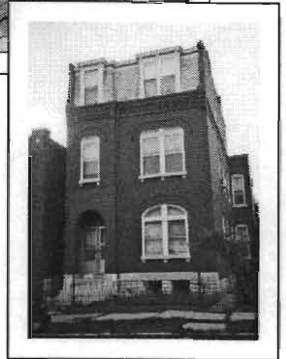
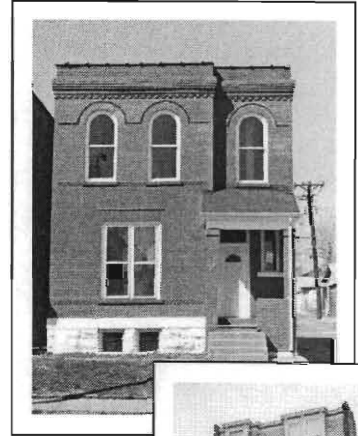


entrance in a side bay. They are usually two or three stories in height, sitting on an elevated basement. Floor plans usually consist of a stair hall, kitchen, and one or two other rooms on the first floor, and two or three bedrooms and bath on the upper floors. The façade often references architectural styles popular during the period of construction, but they are usually of brick construction and generally sited on narrow city lots occupying the front of the lot with little or no set-back. They often possess a flat roof with parapet wall or false-faced roof. One St. Louis variant is the two- and three-story Row House that is actually conjoined two-, four- and six-family flats rather than the townhouse floor plan.

#### Townhouses Plans — Two- and Three-Family Flats

Another vernacular house type that appeared in the late nineteenth century in St. Louis working-class neighborhoods is the two- and three-story Town House plan. Although the townhouse frequently was a single-family dwelling, these dwellings generally were two- and three- family flats. They use a variety of high style treatments on the narrow, front façades, which face the street.

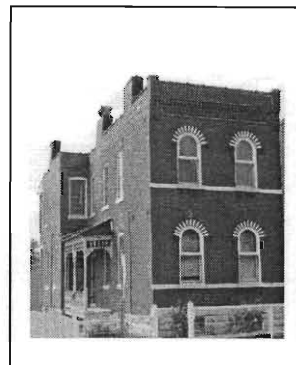
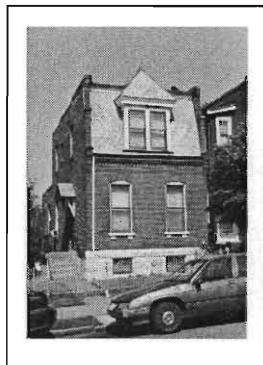
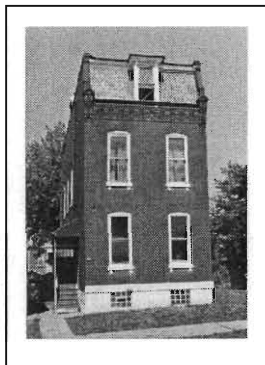
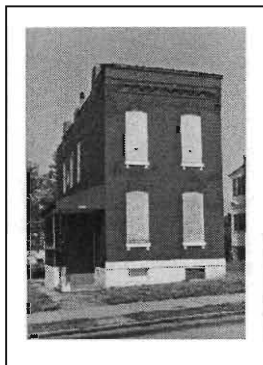
The large majority of the two-story residential buildings in the survey area are very simple two-family units that resemble the early nineteenth century Federal style townhouses in that they have a single entrance. The greatest concentration of the earliest versions of this property sub-type is in the northeast portion of the survey area. Nevertheless, very simple versions of this plan extend into the first decade of the twentieth century and examples from several decades can be found scattered throughout the survey area. This vernacular subtype features a single entrance into a side bay that opens into a side stair hall. A large number of these side-hall plan buildings are difficult to categorize as either single-family or duplex units when viewed only from the exterior. Many of the side hall variants have a third story, creating a triplex.



Another sub-type of the Townhouse plan features a dual entrance in the side bay of the primary façade. This sub-type is noted as a Two-Family Flat or Triplex property type on the survey forms. Both versions differ only in the use of single or paired doors in the side bay. They are two or three bays wide with a single flat on each floor and feature a shotgun floor plan three or four rooms deep.

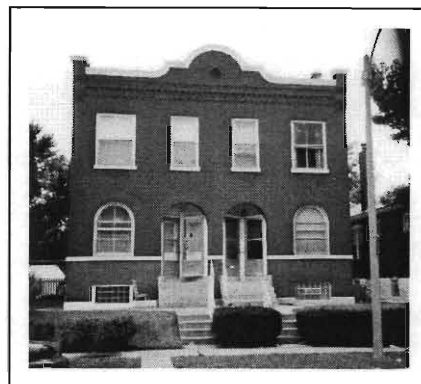
### Side Entry Townhouse Plan

The side entry Townhouse plan appears in two-and three-story versions as well as a story-and-a-half plan. All are two to three bays wide on the façade and stretch to the rear of the narrow lots. Among this sub-type is the Saint Louis Ell, which features a narrow façade presented to the street with a shallow two-story, side entrance wing. A variation includes two entrances on the side, creating two-story duplex units. The earliest were similar in appearance to Federal style vernacular town houses. Over time, the size of the building began to increase, with more and larger units in each building.



### Four- and Six -Family Flats

The survey area contained a significant number of multi-family buildings with two apartment units per floor that have a shotgun floor plan three or four rooms deep. Those found in the survey area are two or two-and-a-half stories and from four to six bays wide. The overall building shape is rectangular and units correspond to the originally platted narrow lots. The entrances usually are a group of three or four adjoining doors, centrally located so that two

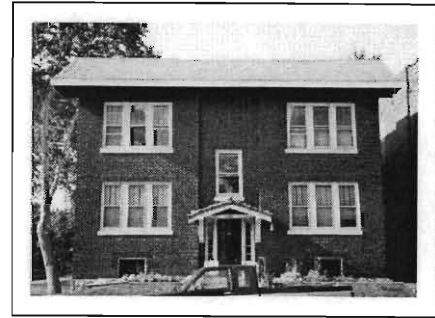


stairwells to the upper floors adjoin each other. There are, however, variations on this theme that incorporate the use of end bays as stair halls. Other versions feature second floor access to rear entrances.

### Walk-Up

A later version of the multi-family flat is the walk-up. The versions of this sub-type found in the survey area date from the post-World War I period. These buildings are one apartment deep with two units in width across the façade.

The façade has a central entrance into an interior stairway with two apartments opening off each landing. They often have porches on the primary façade and may feature a raised basement.



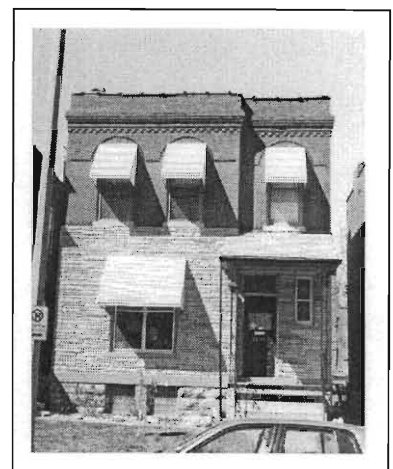
#### Double-Loaded Corridor Apartment Buildings

Several apartment buildings in the survey area feature a double-loaded corridor. These are long rectangular buildings with a central corridor running the length of the building and providing access to apartments on either side. Most have stairways at both ends of the corridor, although some also have stairways set to one side or have multiple openings.

### **Residential Property Type Integrity**

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, the characteristics and qualities described above must be sufficiently illustrated and the degree of integrity required must be sufficient to support the significance of the building's specific contribution to one or more historic contexts. Aspects of integrity to be considered include location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, associations with established historic contexts, and ability to convey feelings relating to its associative, artistic, and/or information value.

Generally, this requires that a residential property type in the survey area retain the architectural composition, ornamental details, and materials of its original primary exterior elevation. Because the property type is defined by its brick walls and primary façade treatment, the retention of these defining elements and their component parts is required. Due to the age of these buildings and their continued use primarily as multi-family rental housing, a certain degree of deterioration and loss is to be expected. Alterations, such as the loss or removal of minor ornamental detailing, replacement of doors, window sashes and framing elements, and porch elements are common and do not necessarily diminish a building's contribution to the historic contexts. In particular, loss of original window sashes and exterior doors is not unusual. Nor is the loss of wooden side and back porches and stairways. The most significant loss of integrity of residential buildings in the survey area is the application of a veneer of "PermaStone" on buildings. This treatment is not reversible and where it covers at least 10 percent of the primary façade, it constitutes a loss of integrity.

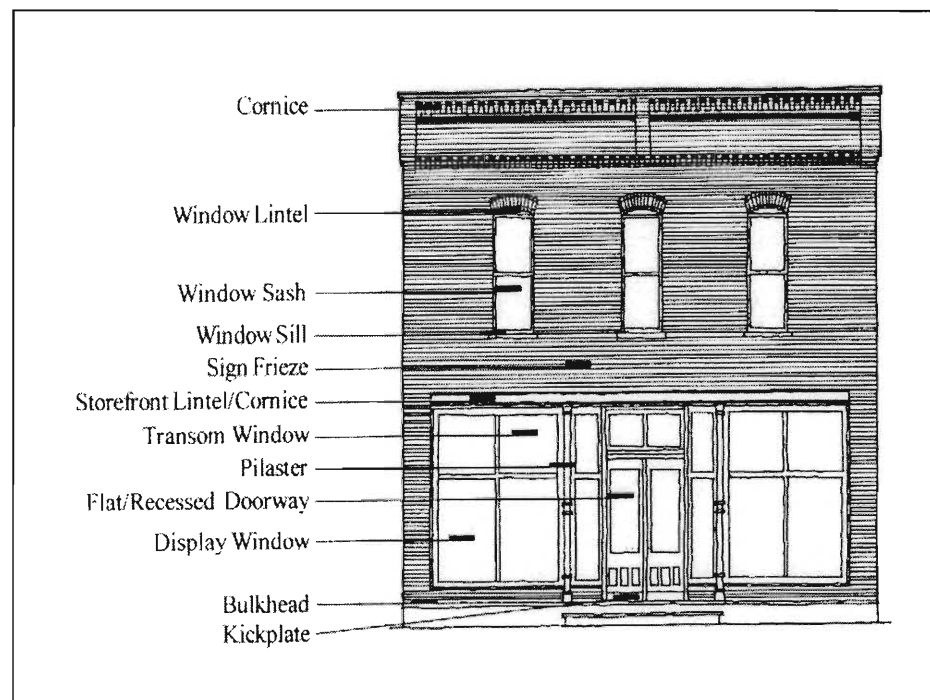


Interior changes, including the loss of ornamental detailing and trim, specific architectural elements, and even the wholesale rearrangement of floor plans may not be significant to the building's perceived contribution to certain historic contexts, if the defining exterior design elements, location, setting, siting, or contribution to the streetscape remains intact. Buildings that are identified for their contribution to the understanding of interior spatial arrangements should retain significant defining architectural features.

## COMMERCIAL BUILDING ARCHITECTURAL PROPERTY TYPES

Commercial buildings and the streetscapes they create define both the functional and visual character of the City's neighborhood commercial enclaves. While most of Old Dutchtown and Benton Park West's commercial buildings are simple structures of one or two stories, a high percentage feature high style designs or artistic fronts. It is not unusual for corner buildings to rise to three stories. Depending on their location, they usually reflect the style, materials, and architectural treatments of the adjacent residential neighborhood. Those located on east-west streets are on narrow lots that extend back to an alley separating the commercial streetscape from the adjoining residential streetscape. Commercial and Institutional property types on the major thoroughfares bounding the survey area often do not conform in size, scale, or massing to the "interior" residential streetscapes. The traditional nineteenth and early twentieth century building material is dark red brick, while buff brick appears in some buildings built during the early to mid-twentieth century.

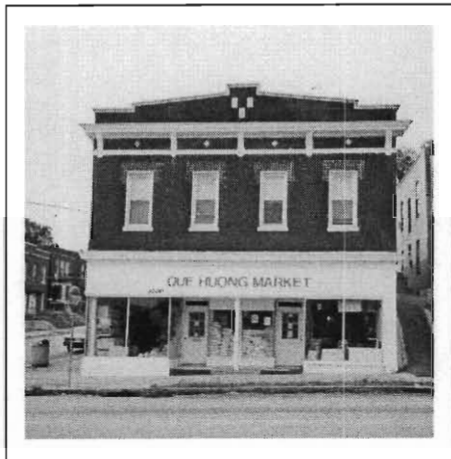
Commercial architecture is distinguished first by building form and secondly by its architectural style. Due to their functional nature, many commercial buildings exhibit restrained architectural details. The first-story storefront is the most prominent and distinctive feature of a commercial building and is an important



merchandising element. The rest of the commercial building's key design elements visually relate to it. Important character-defining elements are display windows, signs, doors, transoms, kick plates, corner posts, and entablature. Commercial buildings found in the survey area comprised two basic forms — the One-Part Commercial Block and the Two-Part Commercial Block.

### **One-Part Commercial Block**

This basic commercial building form is one story in height and generally housed a single business. Simple architectural styling emphasizes the storefront window glazing. Other stylistic applications included date stones or panels near the roofline and glazed brick laid in decorative patterns.



### **Two-Part Commercial Block**

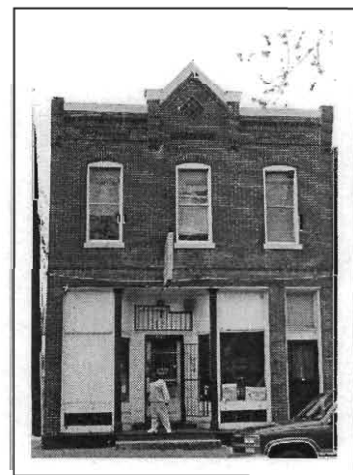
Slightly more complex than their one-story cousins are the Two-Part Commercial Blocks. These buildings typically are two to four stories in height and there is a clear visual separation of use between the first-story customer services and the upper-story office, meeting room, or residential uses. Styling on the first story focuses on the storefront glazing and entrance(s). Design of the upper stories identifies the building's architectural influences.

### **SPECIALTY STORES**

Design treatments for these basic forms vary and can be further classified by the arrangement of their storefronts.

#### Victorian Functional

Dating from 1870 to the 1940s, Victorian Functional commercial buildings are one- to two-story buildings built in rectangular plans with flat, gable, or hipped roofs. Their storefronts have central or offset entrances, display windows, and transoms on the first story, and simple detailing on the upper façade. Upper stories generally have simple cornices,



rectangular windows, and detailing. The late nineteenth century form continued well into the mid-twentieth century. These buildings are distinguished by their arrangement of architectural features rather than architectural style.

### False Front

False Front commercial buildings were quite common in small towns. These buildings are generally one to two stories in height, have frame construction with wood cladding or brick veneer, and have gable or flat roofs hidden behind the false fronts on the primary façade. These false fronts have a flat roofline and a stepped or shaped parapet.



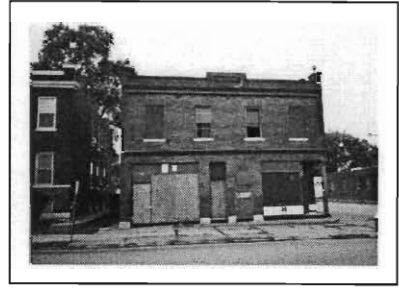
### Artistic Front Store

This is a group of stores and offices integrated by one design concept. Sometimes the group of storefronts reflects a particular quality of craftsmanship that set it apart from its neighbors, or the buildings' motifs, surface treatments, and patterns reflect an academic style. Most occur at intersections and stretch around corners. A decorative motif unifies and subsumes the individual storefront units. Much of this kind of commercial development was at a residential scale so that the stores seemed to fit into the community and the shopping area looked and functioned something like a village.



### Multiple Entry

This storefront design features display windows set in a double-wide brick front with two stores down and two apartments above.



### Corner Entrance

Throughout the survey area, both simple and high style corner buildings, some rising to three stories, appear at intersections along the commercial streets or in residential settings. The storefront design of the buildings incorporates display windows as well as a corner entrance. The design treatment of the façades facing the streets retains the same degree of ornamentation and architectural elements.



### Other Vernacular Buildings

Other vernacular commercial buildings found in the survey area include warehouses and light manufacturing buildings. There appear to be livery and blacksmith shops in the northern portion of the survey area. Automobile-related buildings first appeared in the early twentieth century to meet the growing needs of automobile and truck owners. Those identified in this survey include gas service stations and service facilities. The function of gas service stations – providing fuel, routine service, and repairs – determined the design. One or more drive-through garage bays with a small office at one end dominated these functionally designed buildings. Styling ranged from picturesque to the utilitarian. Closely associated with the service station is the auto specialty store. Buildings that house business and professional offices are found in a variety of forms and plans. They include larger multi-story edifices and smaller one-story blocks.



### Integrity

Many of the façades of commercial buildings have alterations or inappropriate sidings. The majority of changes are due to the modernization of the first-story display windows and



entrances. In particular, the replacement of display windows, the installation of certain types of canopies/awnings, and the covering of transom windows are the most conspicuous alterations. Many of these modifications leave the original openings and spatial relationships of the storefront intact. Other changes, such as the addition of awnings and applications of wood or metal sheathing over original openings, are reversible.



As with residential buildings in the survey area, many have inappropriate applications of irreversible PermaStone. The second stories often retain their original integrity and are the only principal means to identify the original appearance and style.

### **INSTITUTIONAL BUILDING PROPERTY TYPES AND SPECIALIZED COMMERCIAL BUILDING PROPERTY TYPES**

Institutional buildings and certain types of specialty commercial buildings are often more architecturally expressive than residential and neighborhood retail and service commercial buildings, although they are generally conservative in their selection of an architectural idiom. Classical motifs and traditional styling with historical antecedents are the most common stylistic treatments. As such, they reflect conscious design intent and the widespread use of popular architectural styles in public architecture. Institutional sub-types identified in this survey include religious and educational buildings. Commercial sub-types include banks, automobile related buildings, and funeral parlors.

### **ARCHITECTS AND BUILDERS**

Because of the limited number of architect/builders listed in extant building permits, it was not possible to ascertain substantive patterns relating to specific architects and/or builders throughout the survey area. Building permits did however identify sufficient numbers of architects and/or builders as designers who contributed to the design of the buildings in the survey area to discern local development patterns. At most, the documentation showed that the largest number of properties developed by one individual/concern was approximately twenty. This usually occurred over a five to ten year period. Most appear to have been small-scale developers who erected buildings over a decade or more. In a few instances, building permit dates show a particular developer erecting dwellings on an entire block during the same period of time. With the exception of individuals who hired



local contractors to erect buildings in the district, the majority of the buildings were part of speculative efforts. In a few instances, the name of a real estate or building company, rather than individual builders, is listed. Based on this information, it does not appear that a thematic nomination could be developed for resources with associations to particular architects or developers.

## **DATES OF CONSTRUCTION**

Using the information provided by building permits and Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, as well as assigned circa dates based on the appearance of the buildings compared to like resources with established building dates, the consultants entered actual and estimated dates of construction in the database. The City then developed a computer generated map based on this data that assigned each building to time periods based on decades beginning with 1870. Dates of additions and alterations were not considered in the analysis. Patterns emerged that assisted in analysis of the resources and their associations. Throughout the survey area, particularly in the east and south, there are scattered dwellings dating prior to the development of the area beginning in the 1880s. These buildings occupy the center of lots with a different set-back from later development patterns. Many are distinguishable by their side parapet walls. Most development in the 1880s and 1890s was on a small, individual scale. Corner commercial buildings appear to be the first in a newly developing neighborhood, and the residential development that followed could occur on several blocks for over a decade. Beginning around 1910, whole blocks of buildings developed at the same time. More post-World War I resources occur in the southern portion of the survey area. Analysis of subdivision platting dates and construction dates indicates that there is no associative basis to substantiate nomination of properties by sub-division or by date of construction.

## **ARCHITECTURAL INTEGRITY**

As noted in the Methodology section, all properties eligible for listing in the *National Register of Historic Places* and for local designation as Landmarks or Historic Districts, whether for individual significance or as contributing<sup>96</sup> elements to a district, must retain sufficient architectural integrity to convey the period of time in which they are significant. Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. The evaluation of a property's historic integrity must be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical

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<sup>96</sup> A contributing property to a historic district does not have to meet the same threshold as properties having individual significance, but it must contribute to the district's area of significance. Properties contributing to a district's significance for architecture must retain a higher degree of architectural integrity than in a district significant for associations with an important individual or with historical events or patterns of history.

features and how they relate to its significance. The National Register program recognizes seven aspects or qualities that, in various combinations, define integrity:

- Location
- Design
- Setting
- Materials
- Workmanship
- Feeling
- Association

Ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the identity for which it is significant. The consultants, in assessing the integrity of properties, utilized the following steps:

- Determined the essential physical features that must be present for a property to represent its significance.
- Determined whether the essential physical features are visible enough to convey their significance.
- Determined whether the property needs to be compared with similar properties.
- Determined, based on the significance and essential physical features, which aspects of integrity are particularly vital to the property and if they are present.

The consultants visually inspected the exterior of each of the buildings in the survey area. Each building received an integrity rating of Excellent, Good to Fair, or Poor based primarily on how much of the building's original design, workmanship, exterior materials, and overall feeling of a past period of time appeared to remain. This, coupled with their age and areas of significance, provided the following general integrity thresholds.

For a building to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places individually under Criteria C in Architecture, the following criteria apply:

- the majority of the building's openings on the primary façade should be unaltered or altered in a sensitive and appropriate manner, using similar materials, profiles, and sizes as the original building elements;
- the exterior brick masonry should remain intact and exposed;
- significant, character-defining decorative elements should be intact;
- design elements intrinsic to the building's style and plan should be intact;

- the overall feeling or character of the building for the time period in which it was erected should be intact; and
- changes over a period of time in color and materials should be sympathetic and compatible to the original design.

For a building to be listed under Criteria A for associations with patterns in the history of St. Louis, individually or as a contributing element to a district, and/or under Criteria C as a contributing element to a district, some alteration of original building openings or spaces using new materials and profiles is permitted if it does not cause irreversible damage to the original fenestration openings and of spaces. Moreover, the following conditions must be met:

- the building should retain significant portions of the original exterior brick walls, in particular on the primary façade;
- significant, character-defining elements should remain intact;
- alterations to the building should be reversible and the historic character of the property could be easily restored;
- additions are confined to the rear elevation and should be executed in an appropriate manner, respecting the materials, scale, and character of the original building design and, if removed, the essential form of the building remains intact; and
- change or lack of maintenance should only slightly weaken the historic feeling or character of the building.

Buildings that reflect a serious loss of integrity are not eligible for listing in the National Register if:

- the majority of the building's openings were altered in an irreversible manner using different materials, profiles, and sizes than the original;
- the exterior brick masonry has been altered or is missing on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations;
- non-historic cladding has been added on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations unless there is sufficient indication upon visual inspection that, if removed, enough of the original brick walls remains to restore the original appearance;
- exterior alterations are irreversible or would be extremely difficult, costly, and possibly damaging to the building to reverse; and

- non-historic additions do not respect the materials, scale, or architectural character of the original building design.

In addition to the above requirements, each sub-type must be evaluated individually to ensure that the physical characteristics that contribute to the historic context are sufficiently intact to merit listing in the National Register and that no building is rejected inappropriately. The survey area enjoys a high degree of integrity and mapping of levels of integrity based on the database can provide the analysis necessary to develop strategies for nomination using geographic boundaries based on integrity.

## **ASSOCIATIONS WITH HISTORIC CONTEXTS**

### **ETHNICITY**

Although individuals from German and Bohemian cultural groups lived in the survey area in noticeable numbers, ethnicity does not appear to have played a strong part in determining a particular “German” or “Bohemian” character. While ethnicity is sometimes used as a criterion for measuring isolation, assimilation, and tenacity within a culture, in such a large and diverse population of German immigrants as was found in St. Louis, cultural traditions, religious practices and philosophies, politics, education, and economic status were so disparate that it is difficult to associate such diversity with any particular space or place.

### **COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT**

The survey identified buildings that retained sufficient historical/architectural integrity to demonstrate their associations with the history of the community, in particular, with the development of the City’s first suburban tier of working-class neighborhoods resulting from the City’s expanding streetcar system. These resources have significant associations with significant national and local urban development patterns — emigration to the suburbs. Specifically, the survey area represents the late nineteenth and early twentieth century phenomenon of the working-class quest for relief from the crowded and polluted conditions in older residential sections of St. Louis. As a surviving working-class enclave located adjacent to public transit lines several miles from the original downtown commercial and government center, it reflects a significant development pattern in the City. Due to its density, variations in common popular architectural themes from a finite time period, and exclusive concentration of working-class residential property types, it has a distinctly

homogeneous appearance that differentiates it from older residential neighborhoods in the City's historic core, as well as from contemporaneous working- and middle-class neighborhoods in the immediate area. The survey area is also significant in its representation of the conscious effort to separate commercial and manufacturing facilities from residential streets and to relegate them to defined areas that began during this period. Moreover, it is an important reminder that segregation of residential enclaves from other land uses occurred in the creation of working-class neighborhoods as well as in upper- and upper-middle-class neighborhoods.

## **ARCHITECTURE**

The survey area has significant associations with the number and variety of modest residential building types and styles it contains that collectively represent an important facet in the evolution of the City's residential architecture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The area's residential buildings, often designed as cohesive units and built a block or more at a time, reflect the work of builders and developers who responded to a growing middle-class housing market. In particular, the dwellings in the survey area represent the gamut of late nineteenth and early twentieth century working-class residential building types, including popular academic styles, folk house forms, and vernacular treatments adapted to single-family, shotgun houses, town houses, Row Houses, and two-, four-, six- and eight-family flat plans. In particular, the high number of multi-family residences in the survey area provides a unique concentration of this property type erected during a specific period. Although only those buildings with the highest degree of integrity within the survey area are particularly noteworthy as individual structures, as a group, a high percentage of the buildings in the survey area comprise an architecturally significant collection of small-scale residential and neighborhood commercial and institutional building types harmoniously designed over a forty-year time period. The integrity and dense, homogeneous streetscapes created by uniform lot size and building setbacks, as well as contiguous rows of residences that share the same scale, massing, materials, and repetition of architectural styles and detailing are important character-defining elements that have associative value in understanding the continuum of architecture in St. Louis. Whether expressing conservative design traditions or current architectural fashion, the quality of the brick and stonework and other architectural detailing distinguishes the vast majority of the buildings. In particular, the predominant use of dark brick with contrasting light-colored terra-cotta, wood, or stone embellishments contributes to the cohesive appearance of the survey area.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

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Based on an analysis of the data collected and using the methodology outlined in this report, the consultants offer the following recommendations for nomination to the *National Register of Historic Places* and/or designation as local Landmarks or Historic Districts.

## **NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBILITY: EARLY STREETCAR SUBURB**

As noted in the previous chapter, the survey area retains a high degree of architectural integrity and has significant associations with the early suburbanization of St. Louis. Based on recent National Park Service guidelines for identifying and evaluating properties related to America's suburbanization, the historic contexts developed and survey findings meet the two thresholds established by the agency:

- how the survey area illustrates an important aspect of America's suburbanization (The Streetcar Suburbs 1888 to 1928) and reflects the growth and historic development of the locality or metropolitan area where it is located (The Spreading Metropolis), and
- whether the district possesses 1) the physical features characterizing it as a historic residential suburb and 2) attributes of historic integrity conveying its association with important historic events or representing significant aspects of its historic design.

Per National Park Service guidelines, research and physical examination of the area identified and documented the survey area as an early suburban enclave in St. Louis. For the purposes of the National Register program, a historic residential suburb is classified as a historic district and is defined as:

*A geographic area, usually located outside the central city, that was historically connected to the city by one or more modes of transportation, subdivided and developed primarily for residential use according to a plan and possessing a significant concentration, linkage and continuity of dwellings on small parcels of land, roads and streets, utilities and community facilities.* <sup>97</sup>

This definition applies to a broad range of residential neighborhoods, which by design or historic association illustrate significant aspects of America's suburbanization. The survey area meets this definition in four of six aspects established by the National Park Service.

- Residential neighborhoods that through historic events and associations have achieved a cohesive identity
- Groups of contiguous residential subdivision that are historically interrelated by design, planning, or historic associations
- Residential clusters along streetcar lines or major thoroughfares
- Concentrations of multiple family units such as duplexes, double and triple deckers, and apartment houses

In addition, in accordance with National Register criteria relating to historic suburbs, the survey area contains the following nonresidential resources located within and adjacent to the Old Dutchtown and Benton Park West historic neighborhood that are integrally related to the neighborhood by design, plan, or association and share a common period of historic significance.

- Commercial shopping centers
- Institutions and facilities that supported and enhanced suburban domestic life — schools, churches, stores, community buildings, parks, and playgrounds
- Transportation facilities associated with daily commuting

The National Park Service Bulletin notes that a historic suburb is defined by the historical events that shaped it and by its location in relation to the existing city, regardless of current transportation modes or the city's legal boundaries. It notes that this applies to densely built streetcar suburbs such as the survey area even though the streetcar and trolley tracks that created them have disappeared.

By design, this survey effort was to develop the necessary historic contexts and property types as well as integrity thresholds to assist the City of St. Louis in preparing a Multiple Property Submission.

## **SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUAL PROPERTIES**

Properties that appear to meet the criteria to have potential for listing in the *National Register of Historic Places* as individual properties as part of the planned Multiple Property

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<sup>97</sup> Ames and McClelland, <http://www.cr.nps.gov.nr.publications/bulletins/suburbs/intro.html>.

Submission include all properties that have been allocated an excellent integrity assessment in the survey process. They include three distinct types of resources:

- High style academic designs for residential, religious and educational, and specialized commercial properties. These resources are significant under National Register Criterion A for their associations with the suburban development of the survey area and Criterion C for their embodiment of distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction and which possess high artistic values.
- Resources that retain such a high degree of integrity of their vernacular and/or folk house forms and stylistic treatments that they serve as a representative example of the distinctive characteristics of a specific type, period, and method of construction, and incorporate a design treatment that reflects the application of aesthetic preferences unique to the architecture of St. Louis.
- The five parks in the survey for their significance under Criterion A for their associations with Community Planning and Development and associations with Recreation and Culture in St. Louis and Criterion C for their urban landscape designs.

## **POTENTIAL HISTORIC DISTRICTS**

### **Residential Districts**

Because of the similarity of the resources, the homogeneous nature of the survey area in relation to its property types and their integrity, it does not appear that there is a viable way to nominate specific residential enclaves within the survey area as districts because the survey area has no internal contextual boundaries. As noted in the findings chapter, there appears to be no definitive boundaries that can be drawn based on shared dates of construction or platting, for associations with master builders or architects, or as distinct enclaves of particular residential property types. Nor are there substantive visual divisions of the survey area based on a decline in the concentration of contributing resources.

There is, however, one subtle visual change in the character of the survey area due to different architectural property types and periods of construction. There is a visual shift south of Osage Street to resources dating predominately from the twentieth century, with a significant number dating from the period after World War I. These resources have roof shapes and variations in brick color, wider lots, and changes in set-back that create a subtle but distinct sense of place that differs from the area north of Osage Street. Moreover, the



area includes four of the historic parks in the survey area. The historic buildings, structures, and objects in these parks date from the second decade of the twentieth century as well.

### **Commercial Districts**

There are also in the survey area clearly differentiated patterns of historical development in relation to commercial versus residential property types. Due to their historic commercial property types, architecture, and integrity, a number of commercial streetscapes and commercial nodes at intersections of residential streets form identifiable settings with a distinct visual character that have associations with the larger area and could be nominated as districts as part of a Multiple Property Submission.

Based on these considerations, which form the National Register criteria for selecting boundaries for historic district, it is recommended that the districts that can be nominated as part of a Multiple Property Submission to the National Register of Historic Places are:

- Historic commercial districts on the east-west streets of the survey area (Cherokee, Chippewa, Meramec streets)
- Commercial nodes located at intersections in residential areas
- Residential resources located south of Osage Street, between South Broadway Street and South Grand Boulevard.
- Residential resources located north of Osage Street between South Jefferson Avenue and South Grand Boulevard/Gravois Avenue (eastern and western boundaries to be drawn according to integrity considerations)

### **MULTIPLE PROPERTY SUBMISSION ALTERNATIVE**

The establishment by the National Park Service of a Multiple Property Documentation Form "Historic Residential Suburbs in the United States, 1830-1960, MPS" under which related properties may be nominated presents an opportunity to nominate the resources in the survey area as one district. Based on the established historic contexts, related property types, and boundary considerations, this approach bears investigation by the City of St. Louis in consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer and National Register staff.

## **NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBILITY: OTHER HISTORIC CONTEXTS**

The survey identified a number of large, high style, single-family residences on South Jefferson Avenue that do not appear to have associations with the survey area's development as a working-class suburb. An examination of the history of the development of the areas adjacent to South Jefferson Avenue to the east indicates contextual associations with the Benton Park neighborhood, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and contains similar property types. These buildings, while not part of the historic contexts and property types of a Multiple Property Submission relating to the development of the area as a working-class suburb, do merit individual listing for their significance in architecture for their Queen Anne and Romanesque style designs.

As noted in the findings section, there are a number of scattered residential buildings in the survey area that have associations with the survey area as a rural farming area prior to suburban development and with the developing arterial streets bordering the survey area that retain an excellent degree of integrity. These resources are rare in the survey area and appear to date from the end of the Civil War through the 1880s. They are significant for their distinct architectural styles or folk house forms and as rare resources within the community.

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