NPS Form 10-900-b
(Jan. 1987)

OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

JUN 26 1989

NATIONAL REGISTER

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1865
Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914
Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929

C. Geographical Data

The 1930 city limits of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri, bounded roughly by Karnes Road on the north; 36th Street on the east; Highway Loop 229, 6th Street, and Joseph Street on the south; and the Burlington Northern Railroad, the Missouri River, and 2nd Street on the west.

☐ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

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

Claire F. Blackwell — 25 April 1989

Signature of certifying official Claire F. Blackwell — Date

Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

State or Federal agency and bureau

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

Beth Boland — 8/3/89

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register — Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

The multiple property listing, "Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri" is organized around the residential architecture of the city up to 1930. Three historic contexts and seven residential property types are developed for this listing. Several other historic contexts and property types were identified but not explored fully here, either because too few resources remain from the period, the resources have yet to be surveyed, or the theme did not fall within the scope of this listing. Future amendments to this nomination will develop many of these themes. The identified historic contexts and their associated property types are outlined below. An asterisk indicates those developed for this listing.

CONTEXT	PROPERTY TYPE
Exploration and Fur Trading in St. Joseph, 1799-1826	
Early Settlement and Trading in St. Joseph, 1826-1843	
Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1865	*Vernacular Greek Revival Residences
Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914	*Residences of Wholesale Company Owners & Investors *Victorian Style Single-Family Residences *Duplex Residential Structures *Multiple Family Residential Structures *Vernacular Residential Structures
Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929	*Popular Style Houses Revival Style Houses
Meat Packing and Agricultural Processing in St. Joseph, 1846-1930's	
Religious Development in St. Joseph, 1844-1930	
Institutional & Educational Development in St. Joseph, 1857-1930	

For reference in reading, the approximate 1930 city limits of St. Joseph are depicted on a map on page E.14; the process of the city's annexations is depicted on a map provided on page E.15.

[x] See continuation sheet

NPS Form 10-900-b
(Jan 1987)

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri - Amendment

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1865
Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914
Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929
Queen City of the West: Commerce in St. Joseph, c. 1865-1929

C. Geographical Data

The 1930 city limits of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri, bounded roughly by Karnes Road on the north; 36th Street on the east; Highway Loop 29, 6th Street, and Joseph Street on the south; and the Burlington Northern Railroad, the Missouri River, and 2nd Street on the west.

☐ See continuation sheet

D. Certification

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

Signature of certifying official G. Tracy Mehan III, Director — Date 12/18/90

Department of Natural Resources and State Historic Preservation Officer
State or Federal agency and bureau

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

Beth Boland
Signature of the Keeper of the National Register — Date 3/8/91

NPS Form 10-900-a
(March 1992)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
Multiple Property Documentation Form

OMB Approval No. 1024-0018

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INTERAGENCY RESOURCES DIVISION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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

___ New Submission _X_ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, MO

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

The Jewels of St. Joseph: The Parks and Parkways System, 1910-1943

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Deon Wolfenbarger/Preservation Consultant/Three Gables Preservation

street & number 9550 N.E. Cookingham Drive telephone 816/792-1275

city or town Kansas City state MO zip code 64157

D. Certification

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

Claire R. Blackwell 22 Nov. 94
Signature and title of certifying official Claire F. Blackwell, Deputy SHPO Date

Missouri Department of Natural Resources
State or Federal agency and bureau

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

for Edson H. Beall 1·20·95
Signature of the Keeper Date

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(1992)

OMB No. 1024-0018

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New Submission _X__ Amended Submission

ame of Multiple Property Listing

oric Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri (Amended)

ssociated Historic Contexts

en City of the West: Commerce in St. Joseph, ca. 1865-ca. 1945 (Amended)
urban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1950 (Amended)

orm Prepared by

ne/title John Linn Hopkins & Marsha R. Oates
anization Hopkins & Associates date September, 1999
. number 974 Philadelpia Street telephone (901) 278-5186
or town Memphis state TN zip code 38104

ertification

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

nature of certifying official/Title Claire F. Blackwell/Deputy SHPO Date 19 April 2000

ssouri Department of Natural Resources
te or Federal agency and bureau

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

nature of the Keeper Date

St. Joseph is located along a bend in the Missouri River in the northwest portion of the state. It is situated on bluffs of loess soil which were created by the deposit of silt and dust following the last glacier. The native vegetation was characterized by an undulating prairie with strips of woodlands of mostly black walnut following the streams leading to the Missouri River. The bluffs were both a meeting place and burial ground for the native Indians in the surrounding areas, with the local tribes acting as custodians.

After Missouri was admitted as the twenty-fourth state in 1821, a triangular area of territory to the northwest along the Missouri was designated "in perpetuity" as Indian territory by the treaty of Prairie du Chien. The approximately 2.6 million acres (now the counties of Platte, Buchanan, Andrew, Holt, Nodaway, and Atchison) were viewed as too valuable to the whites, however, which were settling in the area as "squatters" anyway. This led to the inevitable treaty for purchase of the area, known as the Platte Purchase.

After the treaty for the Platte Purchase was negotiated and ratified in 1837, a small colony already established at Blacksnake Hills began to increase. Joseph Robidoux, in establishing this trading post, realized that the south end of the Blacksnake Hills, at the mouth of Blacksnake Creek, was a superior location for such a venture. The cup in the hills along the great Missouri River system had long been a convenient gathering place for the Indians. At first, Robidoux was an employee of the American Fur Company, but in 1830 he purchased their interest in his post and their goods and became the sole proprietor. He also operated a ferry and built a grist mill near the mouth of Blacksnake Creek. From the original trading outpost grew the new community. Robidoux served as the first postmaster when the office was established in 1840. Businesses which are key to insuring the growth of any town were established over the next couple of years, such as a saw mill, flouring mills, and a tavern. Skilled craftsmen were attracted to the area, and a carpenter, plasterer, brick makers, and blacksmiths were settled by the time the town was laid out.

Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1865

In July of 1843, Joseph Robidoux filed the town plan for St. Joseph with the clerk of Common Pleas in St. Louis. Two surveyors had submitted plans for his consideration. Simeon Kemper's plan, named "Robidoux", utilized wide streets and parks. Frederick W. Smith, who had grown up in Germany, preferred narrow streets and used those in his plan. To help increase Smith's chances for selection, he named the east-west streets for Robidoux's children. Robidoux did indeed prefer the narrow streets of Smith's plan, which was called "St. Joseph" after his patron saint. However, his decision had more to do with

economics than with sentiment. He wanted to sell as much of his quarter section as possible, "not give it away in streets."

Although some buildings were established by this time, including Robidoux's log home, the majority of the less than 160 acres was covered in hemp. When the plan was first submitted in July of 1843, the population was around 200. By December of that same year, the population had grown to 500 as people learned of the opening of the town. Approximately 150 lots sold when the first sale was held in the fall of 1843. Robidoux sold the corner lots for $150, and the interior lots for $100. In the plan registered in St. Louis, the west half of Block 31 was reserved as the market square; the west half of Block 50 was donated for a public church; the northwest quarter of Block 38 donated for a public school; and the south quarter of the same for a Catholic church.

The early settlers of St. Joseph reflected a trend prevalent throughout much of Missouri. Americans from the Upper South had begun to migrate into Missouri by the turn of the nineteenth century, settling among the hills along the Missouri River. This continued until a veritable flood of settlers from the Upper South eventually contributed to a majority of Missouri's population. Buchanan County and St. Joseph were a part of this Southern American settlement experience during this period of growth. The early citizens came mostly from the states of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, as well as from earlier settlements in Indiana, Ohio, and eastern Missouri. They brought with them a decidedly southern culture which included their building traditions. The predominant residential building form of the south transplanted to St. Joseph was originally the log building tradition. Later, as the town and the prosperity of its citizens grew, it was the hall-and-parlor and the I-house forms. Closely associated with these building forms is the Greek Revival style, which was the dominant style of American domestic architecture from about 1830 to the Civil War. The style moved with the settlers from the south as they settled across the rapidly expanding regions of the 1840's and 1850's, such as western Missouri. However, St. Joseph also attracted European immigrants as well, bringing with them a variety of cultural experiences.

As most of the settlement in Missouri at this time was focused on the river, so was the majority of its transportation activity. Steamboats began to dock with increasing regularity at St. Joseph. The town's location, situated at a bend in the river, had been favorable for steamboat landing for over twenty years. Also, Joseph Robidoux's ferry just below Francis Street was the only river crossing nearby. All the early settlers and farmers depended upon the river for their livelihood, so it was only natural that all building was centered westward towards the steamer docks at the end of Jules Street, and the

ferry crossing at Francis Street. Many businesses were built on Water, Main, and Second Streets in areas now in the river. Several of these early businesses were general merchandise stores which served westward emigrants, such as those established by C.A. Perry and his brother Elias, and John Corby. Their business structures were more imposing than those constructed earlier, being two stories in height and made of brick.

In 1845, the town was incorporated, and by 1846, its prominence on the river was firmly established when the Buchanan county seat was moved from Sparta to St. Joseph. Emigrants to Oregon had been using St. Joseph as one of their "jumping off" points for their westward journey, but were primarily still starting from Independence. However, the discovery of gold in California changed that. In their frantic rush to reach California, saving time was of the utmost importance to the "forty-niners." It was apparent that St. Joseph had a great advantage over Independence as the northern and westernmost point which could be reached by steamboat before embarking on the dangerous overland trip. The needs of outfitting the thousands of emigrants which were to pass through St. Joseph led to the establishment of several outfitting and mercantile suppliers. The increasing flood of overland travelers led to an increasing volume of goods with profits and opportunities for everyone. Many emigrants, in fact, opted to remain in St. Joseph to take advantage of the fortunes which were quickly being made. The population, which was 800 in 1846, had jumped to 3,460 by 1850.

The citizens and business owners, themselves well aware of St. Joseph's advantages over Independence, were not content to leave the choice of starting points up to the emigrants. Aggressive advertising wars and editorializing were waged in newspapers and pamphlets. The St. Joseph Gazette noted in its issue of February 9, 1849, that there were nineteen stores in operation at that time with an aggregate stock worth $250,000 to $300,000. In addition, there were two flour mills, two saw mills, nine blacksmith shops, four wagon shops, two sheet iron ware manufacturers, and two saddleries and harness makers. "Therefore, not an article wanted by an emigrant, from his team and wagon down to his camp kettle and frying pan, but which may be had of the best material and quality in the town of St. Joseph." The Gazette went so far as to list a table of items most needed by emigrants, and their prices in St. Joseph vs. Independence. The St. Joseph prices were ten to thirty percent less, thus yet another incentive for the overlanders to begin their journey in St. Joseph.

Besides thriving on supplying and outfitting emigrants, St. Joseph's businesses had another ready market in the nearby military forts as well. During the 1850's, Fort Leavenworth was the general depot for the distribution of supplies to all forts throughout the west. With the subsequent rapid growth

in the military installations, there was a corresponding rise in the beef and pork packing market. To handle the distribution from Fort Leavenworth alone, in 1859 an estimated two million dollars was invested in oxen, mules, and wagons. Six thousand teamsters were employed to work 45,000 oxen. Supplying the military was thus another powerful economic force which helped establish St. Joseph as a regional trade and outfitting center.

The first generation of residences from the 1840's and 1850's were built near the river on the bottom of the valley formed by the bluffs on the north, east, and south of Robidoux's "Original Town" plat. While commercial buildings were still constructed alongside residences, this was the first time domestic structures were located at a little distance from the commercial center of town. Most of the early residences were modest vernacular buildings influenced by the Greek Revival style, such as the one-story brick tenement houses built by Joseph Robidoux. These served as temporary housing for newcomers waiting while their own homes were being built. Robidoux Row at Third and Poulin Streets remains as an example of these simple early structures. The personal dwellings of the early settlers and business owners, even though they were prosperous in comparison with the emigrants they were servicing, were generally as modest as the itinerants' row houses.

As the city grew from its population of 3,460 in 1850 to 8,932 in 1860, so did the wealth of the town's entrepreneurs. The citizens began to build their residences in what was to become a more prestigious area - the hills overlooking the original town plat. Leading the way for construction in this area were the private schools and churches, which were generally built out away from the business center. The Order of the Sacred Heart completed their school for the education of young ladies in 1857 at the corner of 12th and Messanie, which led to the settlement of that area by primarily Catholic families. Also, in 1857, the Methodist Church constructed its new home on 7th and Francis, still considered at that time to be far from the center of town. As the schools and churches continued to build away from the commercial center, more and more of the town's leading citizens moved their residences to the hills surrounding town. Although these citizens were now able to afford larger homes with more direct stylistic links to the Greek Revival, houses built prior to the Civil War remained modest and restrained in appearance.

In addition to the changing location and size of St. Joseph's domestic structures, there were other physical manifestations of the city's wealth at this time as well. A lot of capital was invested in city improvements through the bonds sold by the city's board of trustees, primarily to erect new wharves. There was a city engineer for streets, water and sewers. In 1856, the gas company was first organized. Also reflecting the city's fortune was

the dramatic increase in property values. The value of property in 1845 was $40,000; in 1850, $583,016; and by 1860, it rose to $4,355,693.

One last vital step in securing St. Joseph's prominence as a major outfitter to the west was the completion of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad line on February 15, 1859. Thus the city remained the furthest western destination most easily reached by those desiring to travel even further west. Whereas the prior advantage had been steam travel, now emigrants and goods could travel quickly and cheaply by train all the way to St. Joseph before beginning the more arduous part of their journey. St. Joseph was to enjoy its status as the westernmost railroad terminus for over a decade until the Union Pacific transcontinental railroad was completed through Omaha and Council Bluffs in 1869.

During this period, St. Joseph gained brief but far-reaching notoriety for supplying the west with something in addition to its merchandise and meat - its mail delivery. In 1850, California had become a state, followed by Oregon in 1859. In addition, the discovery of gold in the Colorado region added to the demand for better mail communication. The Butterfield Overland Mail Company contracted with Congress in 1857 to provide semimonthly service by stage coach. From St. Louis to San Francisco, the service took twenty-three days. The leading freight company across the plains, Russell, Majors, and Waddell eventually felt they could provide quicker mail service, and prepared the arrangements for sending the mail west to Sacramento by way of a Pony Express.

St. Joseph proved to be the logical choice for the start of the mail service. With its experience and reputation as outfitters for the west, its freighting facilities already in place, and the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad connecting the city to New York, Washington, Chicago, and St. Louis, there was really no other competition from other cities. On April 3, 1860, the first rider carried mail out from St. Joseph on the approximately 2,000 mile journey to Sacramento. The time table by which the Express was run had the mail delivered in 240 hours (ten days), at a cost of $5.00 a half ounce. For eighteen months the Pony Express operated a regular weekly schedule, making three hundred and eight runs each way. However, in January 1861, the firm of Russell, Majors, and Waddell went bankrupt, and in the spring of 1861, the Pacific Telegraph Company organized and began construction on both coasts of its east-west line. It met in Salt Lake City in late October, and on October 26, 1861, the Pony Express made its last run. Although its operation was brief, the Pony Express was a significant force in the nation's history, particularly in that it maintained communications with California, helping to keep it from slipping towards the Confederacy and thus preserving its gold and silver reserves for the Union.

With the start of the Civil War, most business and construction came virtually to a halt. St. Joseph was divided in its sympathies, as was much of Missouri, and it was a difficult time for its citizens. U.S. troops occupied the city, and St. Joseph became the depot for the centralization and distribution of the troops. However, citizens were not allowed the privilege of participating in this trade or commerce during this period. Virtually no structures were built or improvements to the city made at this time. However, the few buildings that were constructed during the war still reflect the influence of the Greek Revival style and are relevant to the theme of outfitting the west. In general though, the city's fortunes declined during the war, as evidenced by the population dwindling from 10,000 in 1861 to 7,500 at the close of the war.

Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914

Immediately after the Civil War, the city got back to "business as usual." In 1866, the city council appropriated $60,000 for macadamizing the streets, and by 1873, there were twenty-eight miles of paved streets. In that same year, the first street car line was run down Eleventh to Mitchell, and from Third to Felix. From 1860 to 1870, the population had doubled to 19,565 and the value of property had nearly tripled to $11,283,435. The locational advantages of St. Joseph were now obvious to the rest of the nation. It was in the center of a cluster of cities: Kansas City, Leavenworth, and Atchison on the south; and Nebraska City, Council Bluffs, and Omaha on the north. Nearby small towns depended upon St. Joseph for their goods, as well as the larger cities further west. The vital connecting link between all these markets was the railroad.

Steamboats, which had been so important to St. Joseph's early strength in transportation, soon proved to be an outmoded means of transporting goods. Traffic on the Missouri River peaked around 1868, and thereafter steamboats relinquished their dominance to the rails. River transportation was, first of all, unreliable - snags and obstructions changed locations; the river channel itself shifted; changing weather brought floods, drought, or frozen passages. Secondly, the train routes cut the distance from the Mississippi to the Missouri in half, and the trains' speed over that distance was much faster. Lastly, it simply became cheaper to ship goods over the rails than by steam.

The construction of several railroad lines in St. Joseph, provided great activity and much needed links with the rest of the nation. In 1868, the St. Joseph and Council Bluffs Railroad was completed, making a connection with the Union Pacific at Omaha. In 1868 and 1869, the Missouri Valley Railroad (a consolidation of the Atchison & St. Joseph, the Weston & Atchison, and the

Missouri Valley Railroads) was finished to Kansas City, giving the city its first important connection with St. Louis. In 1871, the "Valley" branch extended up to Hopkins, a point on the Iowa state line, and connected with the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad. This opened an important new route to Chicago and the east. All in all, about ten railroads built lines in St. Joseph into the 1880's making important connections with St. Louis, Kansas City, Chicago, Denver, and many other markets.

The rail lines serviced the city center, yet skirted around it. The first depot was built south of the original river complex, as were several of the other passenger stations and freight depots. These rail lines slowly directed some of the city's growth south.

With the railroad facilities connecting St. Joseph with virtually the entire country, it was a logical step for the outfitters of the earlier period to turn to the wholesaling industry. The largest business houses dealt with dry goods, groceries, and hardware, but saddlery and harness, drugs, and liquor wholesalers also prospered. Men who started businesses during the western outfitting period were able to expand greatly as wholesalers. Now the city business leaders supplied the West as jobbers, rather than direct suppliers to emigrants. Factories would send their products to St. Joseph, which would then ship them onward to western retailers. Milton Tootle and R.L. McDonald were the most prominent leaders in the wholesale dry goods business; James McCord in grocers; and William Wyeth in both hardware and saddlery. Nearly all started as outfitters, and all became wealthy as wholesalers.

As early as 1873, there were thirty-nine exclusively wholesale houses, and over 300 retail houses. By 1879, over fifty businesses were wholesale jobbers. New firms were continually founded by junior members of the established houses, who found trade promising enough to warrant starting opposition houses. The next thirty years saw much expansion in this area of St. Joseph's economy, and the city became an essential part of the national system of distributing goods. The 1880's and 1890's in particular came to be known as the "Golden Age"[1] of St. Joseph, and many large business houses were built then. The wholesale trade industry was so large, in fact, that it nearly equalled that of Kansas City and Omaha combined. In 1888, the Board of Trade of St. Joseph reported the total gross business for the seven leading groups of wholesale goods was $45,300,000 in St. Joseph, $31,800,000 in Kansas City, and $21,500,000 for Omaha.

Coinciding with the growth in the wholesale industry, several manufacturing firms were started with an eye on the expanding markets to the west as well as nationwide. There were furniture manufacturers such as Louis Hax, and brewers

such as Goetz and Map. Many companies had regional and national fame in the building industry, such as Pfeiffer & Co., who furnished cut stone largely for the Chicago area. Chas. H. Shultz & Bard & Co. made iron cornices and tinware which went to nearly every city and town west of St. Joseph.

The establishment of many large fortunes went hand in hand with the city's superior banking facilities of the time. Traditionally, due to its scarcity in western towns, money was expensive and lent out at extremely high rates of interest. Since the gold rush days, however, St. Joseph had been able to rely on its own resources. There was little or no foreign capital in the city during this time. The prominent banking houses included the State National Bank (which eventually had $1,000,000 paid in capital and its stock traded on the New York Stock Exchange), the Buchanan Bank, A. Beattie & Company, the German Savings Bank, the Calhoun Bank, the First National Bank (succeeded by the Merchants Bank), the Bank of St. Joseph, the Saxton National Bank, the German American Bank, and the Commercial Bank. The fact that so many facilities were able to operate successfully is an obvious indication of the wealth and prosperity enjoyed by St. Joseph and its citizens during this period.

With the wealth associated with the wholesaling and banking industries in the "Golden Age," it was natural that the people involved would require larger and more prominent homes. The higher elevations surrounding the original town, which had started to be settled in the last period, remained as prestigious neighborhoods throughout the century. It was said that the hills rising back of the business portion of the city "offer admirable sites for the location of private residences, with tasty grounds, overlooking the beautiful and broad river, with the hills of Kansas beyond, over all of which the glow of the Western sun casts a halo of almost matchless magnificence and glory." Prestigious schools continued to be built in these outlying areas, such as the Young Ladies Institute established by Dr. Charles Martin in 1865 on the corner of Fifth and Antoine. Wealthy Protestant families built their homes close to the school in what is now the Hall Street District. Many of the homes first built simply had to be remodeled in order to remain fashionable with the ones constructed during this period. Reflecting an age of prosperity and new wealth, these homes broke with the classical traditions of the past and were built in the more flamboyant styles of the Victorian era. This was occurring nationwide, but was particularly fitting for St. Joseph's Golden AGe. These outlying neighborhoods of larger, elaborate homes remained primarily residential, while the original town district gradually became all commercial and industrial.

Large elaborate homes were not the only residential building types constructed during this period however. The large wholesale warehouses and manufacturing firms required all types of workers. The city's population had continued to grow at a tremendous rate, to 32,431 in 1880, and 52,324 in 1890. This represented a nearly 700 percent increase in population since the close of the Civil War. Obviously, not every one of these citizens was wealthy. As early as 1873, there were four building associations established which allowed the "humble mechanic or tradesman to provide a home for himself" on credit. The effect was to make greater numbers of more modest housing stock available for the working class. These residential structures were generally simple vernacular forms which varied primarily in floor plan and shape, rather than in any recognized "style" of architecture. Not all workers could afford even these smaller homes, and there was a large market for rental properties in St. Joseph. This resulted in much real estate speculation, both in the area of modest single-family residences, and in multifamily housing, such as duplexes, townhouses, flats, and apartment buildings.

Structurally, the residences from this period were much different from their predecessors. The advances in building techniques signaled an end to the pioneer structures such as log houses and to post and beam construction. These were abandoned in favor of dwellings constructed with balloon framing and covered by wood or brick sheathing. Lumber from sawmills and other building materials could now be moved rapidly and cheaply over long distances by rail. Large lumberyards became standard fixtures in towns along the rail lines. For example, as early as 1873, there were eight lumber yards and four marble yards in St. Joseph. As a result of this easy accessibility, the building materials and particularly the construction techniques of the domestic structures changed. Architectural features were also impacted by technological improvements, especially in woodworking equipment. New turning machinery gave rise to factories producing ready-made gingerbread, such as delicately turned porch supports, balusters, and friezes characterized by the Queen Anne style. These features along with mass-produced tiles and terra cotta, could all be ordered from catalogues and shipped via the rails.

The many technological advances made during this period allowed changes not only in how these homes were built, but where they were constructed as well. Street car lines were added in the 1870's and '80's, and on up into the 1900's. In 1876, a line was built from the Market Square to Krug Park; in 1878, along Frederick Avenue; in 1888, both Wyatt Park and Jules Street lines were constructed; in 1889, Messanie Street; 1890, South Park; 1900, Grand Avenue; and Prospect Avenue in 1909. Residential neighborhoods followed the street lines outwards from the center of the city. It was much more feasible for the busy entrepreneurs to live away from the city center in the more desirable

neighborhoods, yet still be able to get to their respective places of commerce within a short time period. In other developments a local gas company changed hands several times but was firmly established by 1878. In 1880, the St. Joseph waterworks were built, and in 1883, an electric plant was constructed. By 1900, there were 48 miles of paved streets, 53 miles of sewers, 20" water mains, 17,000,000 gallons of water storage, and 40 miles of double street car track.

The construction activity associated with growth during the wholesaling period gave rise to a large number of related businesses and skilled craftsmen. In the 1870's, there were over eight lumber yards, four marble yards, eleven bridge builders, seven engineering and surveying firms, at least two architectural firms, as well as over 200 carpenters and 150 painters. Throughout the rest of the century, St. Joseph continued to support many businesses and workmen in the construction industry.

The momentum of business growth during the "Golden Age" carried into the first part of the twentieth century. However, other cities were gaining in prominence in the West, and changes were occurring in the nationwide system of goods distribution as well. More factories were sending their merchandise directly to retailers, especially with the emergence of larger chain stores around the turn of the century. The need for the wholesale jobber was eliminated, and the St. Joseph businesses wholly dependent upon wholesaling began to decline. The beginning of the first World War signalled the end of St. Joseph's economic growth in the field of wholesale distribution, as the nation's economy turned to the business of war.

Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929

By the turn of the century, three themes were to affect changes in the residential growth patterns of St. Joseph: the slowing of the wholesale business economy, new transportation modes, and continued changes in technology. The wholesale jobbers business had already started to slow down due to changes in the nationwide distribution system. The First World War had an even more profound effect on the economy, however. During the war, agricultural products and land were greatly inflated, which encouraged great amounts of debt. After the war, the abrupt deflation of values led to the collapse of farm debt and a worsening of the economy in the area. In the 1920's, many St. Joseph wholesale businesses had to be liquidated. Without the booming economy (and also due in part to a nationwide epidemic of Spanish influenza), the population, which had grown to 77,403 in 1910, was virtually unchanged in 1920.

New methods of transportation were also part of the reason that the housing patterns were changing in St. Joseph. The street car lines built in the last quarter of the nineteenth century had first allowed the well-to-do to live apart from their place of work. Nationwide, there was a clear change in city growth patterns as streetcars, trains, and now automobiles permitted and encouraged housing to move away from the dense city to the ever more distant suburbs. This trend in St. Joseph was not toward the city becoming a suburban community in the modern sense, but rather for its newer neighborhoods to be suburban, that is, less than fully urban. Americans continued to glorify rural existence as the natural way to live, certainly the best place to raise a family. By the turn of the century however, the majority of the population was no longer living on farms. When the United States was founded, only 10 percent of its people lived in cities. In contrast, by 1930 America had a predominantly urban population. Neighborhoods out a distance from the commercial and industrial centers of the city were seen as the best compromise for a place to live. The man of the household would commute to earn a living, while the more "delicate" wife and children would stay behind in the healthful suburbs. In the newer neighborhoods of St. Joseph, homeowners could afford to have a good-sized garden behind the house with a front lawn setting it off from the street.

Car owners in St. Joseph became increasingly more independent of public transportation and its existing fixed lines for their travels to and from work. They were dependent, however, upon the condition of the roadway system. The fifty-foot-wide streets in the financial and business core were overrun with street car lines, double-parked cars, as well as through traffic. While there was no quick and easy solution to the downtown congestion problem, it was possible to make the new transportation arteries away from the city's center as up-to-date as possible. Charles Mulford Robinson, a consultant hired by the Ad Club in 1910 to outline recommendations to the city, felt that retail business was already tending away from the downtown, and that investments in new thoroughfares to the south and east would bring new retail centers with them. It was only natural that new residential districts would follow suit and add to the growth on St. Joseph's east and south sides.

Lastly, the technological revolution begun in the last century continued to have many effects on the built environment both in St. Joseph and nationwide as well. The housing types of this period were quite different from the preceding due to advances such as electricity, indoor plumbing, and central heating. These were considered luxuries a few decades before, but by this period it was beginning to be taken for granted that they would comprise nearly 25 percent of the total cost of the house. To compensate for the space taken by the technological improvements in the kitchen, bath, and heating and ventilation

systems, the houses overall got smaller and the square footage decreased. Nationwide, this trend also reflected the decrease in the average size of the American family, from five children in 1870 to three-and-one-half in 1900. In St. Joseph, it also reflects the decreasing fortunes of its citizens. There simply was not as much wealth available to build the large, elaborate homes of the preceding years. The dominant housing forms and styles of this period reflect the trends towards smaller, more modest residential structures.

Other national trends associated with changing technologies had some effect on St. Joseph's built environment. By the beginning of the twentieth century, middle-class women were finding themselves freed from many household drudgeries. With time on their hands, they organized into many civic groups whose goals were to bring the same order, cleanliness, and beauty to the community as they had to their homes. While the groups in St. Joseph had varying social objectives, some were dedicated to beautifying their community.

This interest in community beautification was fueled by the "White City" of the World's Columbian Exposition of Chicago in 1893. If nothing else, the fair provided a positive statement about the possibilities for American cities. The "City Beautiful" movement began from the visions of that fair, and out of the City Beautiful movement was born the city planning profession. However, the far-reaching idea that comprehensive planning could produce a more livable environment was largely overlooked for many decades. Rather, the cosmetic aspects of the fair - the classical architecture, the broad thoroughfares, and the generous landscaping - were what ended up becoming popular themes. In part, some of the City Beautiful movement's popularity was a reaction against modern society and technology. Eventually from city planning, however, came the concepts of separation of uses, planned residential communities with restrictive covenants, and the tool of zoning.

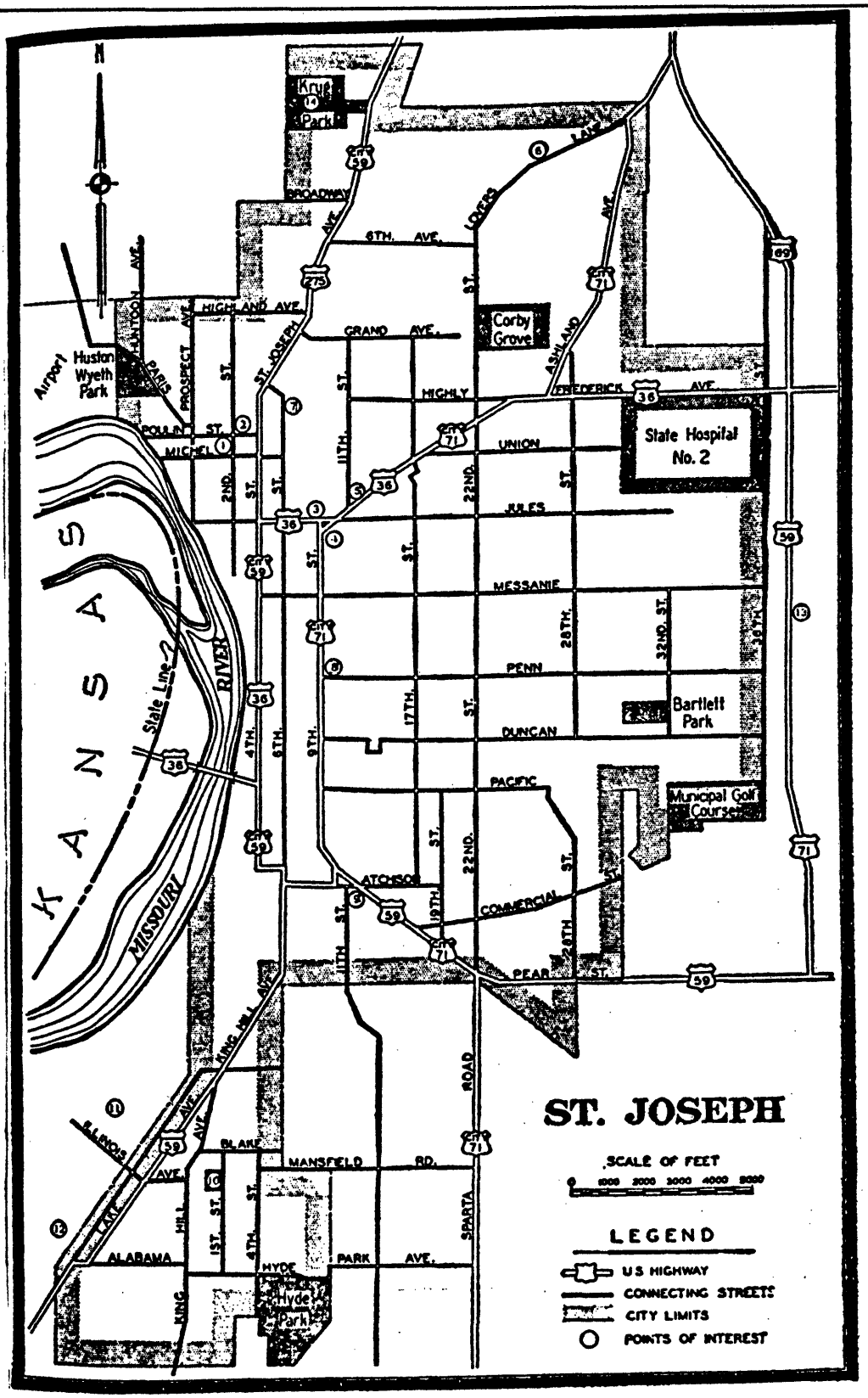
The consultant, Robinson, was a City Beautiful proponent. He recommended that St. Joseph take advantage of the expanding residential districts and shifting commercial center by building parkways and establishing a "garland of green" around the city. His plan was never executed in full, but the boulevard system was begun in 1914. Noyes Boulevard, completed in 1920, connected many of the existing city parks. In 1921, a referendum on the whole park issue was approved and $2,000,000 committed to build the whole system. The noted landscape architectural firm of Hare and Hare of Kansas City was involved with the planning of St. Joseph's park system.

The trend towards classical architecture was reflected in the many Beaux Arts Revival public buildings constructed during the latter part of this period, such as City Hall, completed in 1927. However, the stock market crash

in 1929 and subsequent Great Depression halted most construction activity in St. Joseph. Many of the old established businesses were closed: Wheeler & Motter; Nave & McCord; R.L. McDonald; Carder Grocery, and others. The nationwide problems added to the already existing local situation were too much for some businesses to handle. For others, the recovery was very slow.

[1]Clarification on the use of the term "Golden Age" is required for this and anticipated registration efforts. As stated, the Civil War effected St. Joseph's vitality dramatically: real estate assessed valuation plummeted to half its prewar total; railroad building, which had made St. Joseph a major terminus, altogether ceased, and the town remained in a state of virtual siege throughout the war. The postwar era was to bring new vitality to the city and an unparalleled prosperity that has been defined by prominent local historian, Sheridan Logan, as "The Golden Age."

The "Golden Age" of St. Joseph sprang from the re-energized commercial life of the city, based primarily on wholesaling, banking and stockyard/meatpacking operations. Logan, in his Old Saint Jo: Gateway to the West (1979), defined the "Golden Age" as reaching its apex between 1885-1900 (Chapter 20, p. 158). A defensible view of the extent of the "Golden Age" could conceivably extend from the decade after the Civil War (c. 1870) through a period of largely unabated prosperity continuing up to the end of the First World War (1918) (Logan, pp. 136-142; 158-182). In the latter sense of meaning, the term is used within this documentary effort.


ST. JOSEPH
SCALE OF FEET
LEGEND
US HIGHWAY
CONNECTING STREETS
CITY LIMITS
POINTS OF INTEREST
Krug Park
Corby Grove
State Hospital No. 2
Bartlett Park
Municipal Golf Course
Huston Wyeth Park
Hyde Park
Airport
KANSAS
MISSOURI
RIVER
State Line
BROADWAY
6TH. AVE.
HIGHLAND AVE.
GRAND AVE.
HIGHLY
FREDERICK AVE.
UNION
JULES
MESSANIE
PENN
DUNCAN
PACIFIC
ATCHISON
COMMERCIAL
PEAR ST.
MANSFIELD RD.
PARK AVE.
HYDE
ALABAMA
BLAKE
KING HILL AVE.
ILLINOIS
LAKE
ST. JOSEPH
PARIS
HUNTOON AVE.
PROSPECT AVE.
POULIN ST.
MICHEL
ASHLAND
LOVERS LANE
SPARTA ROAD
2ND. ST.
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1ST. ST.
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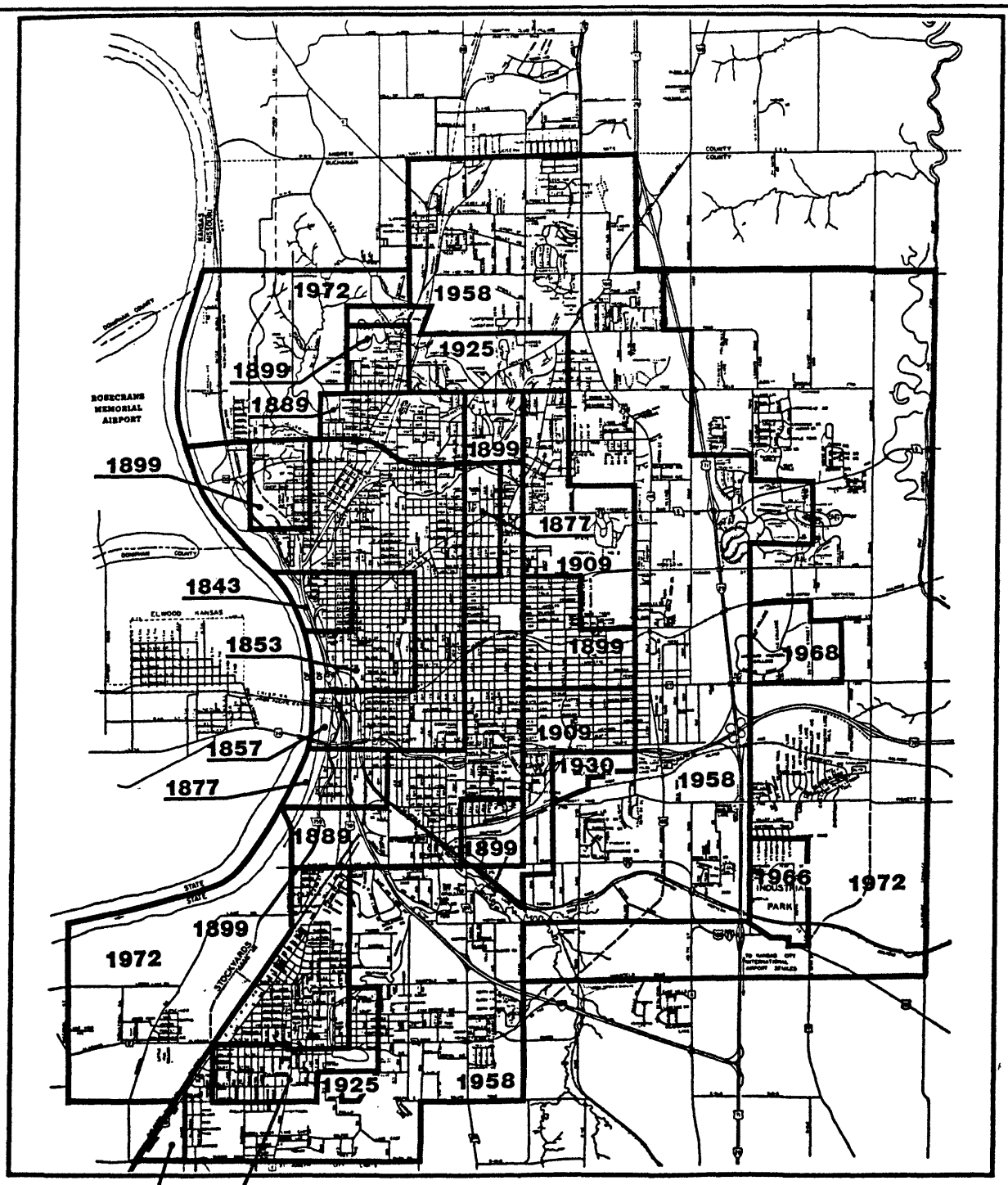


MAP - CITY ANNEXATION

LAND USE PLAN
City of St. Joseph, Missouri

Associated Historic Context
Queen City of the West: Commerce in St. Joseph, c. 1865-1929

Preface

The associated historic context "Queen City of the West: Commerce in St. Joseph, c. 1865-1929" amends the original Multiple Property Documentation form "Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri." The original submission, accepted by the National Park Service in 1989, fully developed three associated historic contexts which organized residential architecture in the city from 1843-1930. These associated historic contexts are "Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1865;" "Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914;" and "Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929." Other associated historic contexts were identified in the original submission, but were not developed either because the theme was outside of the scope of services of the grant award, few resources remained from the period, or the resources had not yet been surveyed. These identified historic contexts included themes on exploration and fur trading, early settlement and trading, meat packing and agricultural processing, religious development, and institutional/educational development.

This associated historic context is an additional one, organizing the commercial architecture of St. Joseph, and concentrating on buildings around the end of the Civil War to the onset of the Depression, with an appropriate emphasis given to the prominent warehousing and wholesaling operations. This context has been identified because the previously defined "Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914" was confined to a shorter temporal boundary and to a residential theme. The original submission emphasized the popular term "Golden Age," a reference created by prominent local historian Sheridan Logan in his book Old Saint Jo: Gateway to the West (1979). Logan used the term "Golden Age" to apply to the thriving commercial activity of the city, which he defined as reaching an apex between 1885-1900.[1] While the term was used in a broader scope in the original submission, c. 1870-1918, this usage, too, did not allow for the inclusion of all the properties which resulted from the broad warehousing/wholesale patterns. References, including survey forms, show that some significant building related to this theme continued into the 1920s. Additionally, statistics show that St. Joseph continued, in some fields, to have among the top facilities and production in the country.

Introduction

Commercial success, particularly in the wholesale/distribution business, is predominant in the history of St. Joseph. With a national (and in some cases, international) reputation as a distribution center, the city progressed steadily from frontier days through the industrialization period to the early twentieth century, serving as one of the largest and most profitable commercial centers in the country. The city's location and transportation advantages led it to be called "Queen City of the West" by the 1880s.[2] From awnings and art glass to vinegar and welding machines, St. Joseph retained over 400 factories through the 1920s, turning out more than 100 products having an annual manufactured value of nearly $260,000,000.[3] The nation's largest makers of school and writing tablets, ice cream cones, winter wheat flour, alfalfa feed, pancake flour, and near beer were located

in St. Joseph. The city was also the third largest (in volume) wholesale dry goods center in the country in the late 1920s. Over fifty wholesale business houses were located in St. Joseph, achieving nearly 200 million dollars in wholesaling activity in 1927.[4] The buildings remaining from this period and theme, varying from small machine shops and retail establishments to prominent massive wholesale/distribution and manufacturing facilities, serve as evidence that St. Joseph was once the "Queen City of the West."

Background

St. Joseph was founded as a trading post by Joseph Robidoux and, thus from its beginnings, the distribution of goods was the key to the city's growth and success. As the outfitter for settlers heading to western homestead lands and later for gold prospectors journeying to California and Colorado, the town served as a convenient springboard for "points west."

St. Joseph was platted in 1843 with provisions made for a "Public Church," a "Public School," a "Catholic Church," and a "Market Square." Transportation and communication in these early days was by river, primarily by steamboat, and St. Joseph's location on a bend in the Missouri River made for a favorable steamboat landing; it was the last town in northwestern Missouri having direct river communication with the East.[5] In addition, Robidoux's ferry provided easy transport across the river.

In the 1840s, St. Joseph was at the boundary of civilization; it was the meeting point of east and west. Staple commodities were brought upstream from St. Louis and were exchanged in St. Joseph for furs and buffalo hides. "The bourgeois or the heads of firms, clerks and other engagerees or employees of the different fur companies, crowded the streets and public houses of the town. St. Joseph is for them now what St. Louis was earlier--their rendezvous."[6] An average of 20 steamboats per day tied up at the wharves in 1849. Industries began catering to the needs of the west-bound settlers and included a plow factory, sawmills, flour mills, a pork-packing plant, and foundries.[7]

Wagon trains heading west used St. Joseph as a supply center and river crossing point. St. Joseph took an early lead as a major supply center when cholera broke out in Independence and Westport, Missouri, rival points of departure for the Santa Fe Trail. The California gold rush accelerated the western migration. Between April and June 1849, approximately 1,500 prairie schooners crossed the river at St. Joseph, with many more crossing in the vicinity.[8]

Military forts on the western frontier also depended upon St. Joseph for supplies. During the 1850s, Fort Leavenworth was the general depot for the distribution of supplies to all forts throughout the west. Overland freighting grew in St. Joseph to supply military installations as well as the new western communities.[9] (Also see "Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1865, in the original Multiple Property Documentation form.)

Market Square, located just two blocks from the river, was the natural center around which the town developed. Early merchants built retail establishments near the Square with stores located on the first floor and professional offices or residences located in the upper stories. The influx of west-bound settlers brought prosperity to the town. Merchandise stocks were valued at $400,000 and in eight months during 1849, 123 buildings

were erected, 64 of them of brick.[10]

The fame St. Joseph gained as the western-most steamboat stop continued with the incorporation of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company in 1847. When its route was completed in 1859, the first passenger train to cross the State of Missouri arrived, giving St. Joseph the tremendous advantage of being the western-most railroad terminus. The railroad linked up with the newly inaugurated stagecoach line to Salt Lake City and the famous, albeit short-lived, Pony Express mail line, which began in 1860. (St. Joseph continued to be the western-most railroad terminus for over a decade until the Union Pacific Transcontinental Railroad was completed through Omaha and Council Bluffs, Nebraska in 1869.)

The population of St. Joseph reflected the rise in prosperity of the town. In 1846 the population was 936; in 1850, 8,932; and in 1860, 12,000.[11] Public improvements also reflected the town's prominence. New wharves were erected; an engineer for streets, water, and sewers was hired; and a gas company was organized in 1856.

Early manufacturing industries concentrated in supplying the needs of the town, but also, due to the stature of St. Joseph as a distribution center, supplying the needs of western migrants. Grain, lumber, and wool milling were early industries; seven mills of these types operated before 1870. Pork packing was a prominent industry in St. Joseph as early as 1846 and the 1861 city directory lists three pork packers. Eight breweries operated before 1870 and several distilleries existed. The first foundry west of St. Louis was established in St. Joseph in 1855. (A small foundry also existed in Lexington, Missouri.)

Other early industries produced sorghum, candy, tinware, and crackers.

The Civil War brought a virtual halt to commercial activity in St. Joseph. As with most of the State of Missouri, St. Joseph was divided in its loyalties. U.S. troops occupied the town and used it as a distribution point for troop supplies. A pro-slavery incident, however, cost the town its chance to become the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad in 1862.

Queen City of the West:
Commerce in St. Joseph, c. 1865-1929

St. Joseph began to regain progress shortly after the end of the Civil War, with assessed valuation rising from $3,384,145 in 1864 to $5,426,600 in 1866 and $7,000,000 in 1868.[12] In the first two years following the war, 3,000 buildings were erected.[13] Infrastructure improvement was a priority in the late 1860s, with street refurbishment occurring through the laying of many miles of macadam. The first attempt at a sewerage system was made in 1867, with the first section built between Fifth and Sixth Streets, and an extension along Fifth to Charles in 1870.[14] In 1874, a telephone exchange was installed.

St. Joseph incurred only a minor recession from the national financial panic of 1873. Significant building continued, including the courthouse, city hall, Tootle's opera house, and asylum No. 2 built in 1873-74.[15] Perhaps most significant during this time was the completion of the great iron bridge spanning the Missouri River in 1873. With new national interest in railroad expansion, several additional rail lines came to St. Joseph

within a few years.

Local banks, largely investing in the city's development, remained intact through the 1873 panic, with no money being lost by depositors since the resumption of business after the Civil War. With supposedly large surpluses of cash in the possession of both bankers and private citizens, the city was deemed to be "practically impervious to the rude shocks of financial panics and disturbances that occasionally sweep over the country."[16]

The advantages of St. Joseph as a commercial and manufacturing city were unsurpassed. From a geographical standpoint, the city monopolized the area between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. Seen as the half-way point between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the midway connection between the extreme Northwest and the extreme Southeast of the continent, via the Missouri River, St. Joseph served as the natural distribution point of half the continent. As the Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Trade of St. Joseph, year ending December 31, 1889 phrased the city's advantage, "In shipping from the center the 'Short Haul' becomes a profitable reality, amounting to the saving of hundreds of millions of dollars to the merchant and consumer, and makes the manufacturer and merchant, who are thus fortunately located, master of the situation so far as competition is concerned."

From a transportation standpoint, the influx of new railroads augmented the city's position as a commercial center, providing St. Joseph with among the finest railroad facilities west of Chicago. The Missouri Pacific Railroad, the oldest and one of the most prosperous railways in Missouri, reached the city by a direct line from St. Louis, and gave the city important avenues of trade to the South, Southwest, and West.[17] The St. Joseph & Grand Island Railroad extended westward through Kansas and Nebraska to Grand Island, Nebraska, where it intersected with the main line of the Union Pacific line, crossing the Missouri River over the 1873 bridge in St. Joseph. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe ran southeast, connecting with the Wabash system near Lexington, where it made an important connection with the Chicago & Alton system. The Atchison company purchased the Chicago & Alton system in 1888, building 20 miles of track from St. Joseph to Atchison, Kansas, making a connection for the Atchison terminus, via St. Joseph, with the main line.

The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad made the Chicago main line connection with St. Joseph around the same time. Among the other lines with St. Joseph connections were the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific (1886) and the Chicago, St. Paul & Kansas City Railway (c. 1889).[18] The once essential river traffic peaked in 1866 when steamboats on the Missouri River numbered between eighty and one hundred. This means of transport was all but abandoned by the 1880s, due to the encroachment of the railroads. By 1900, fourteen leading railroads connected St. Joseph with every section of the United States, Canada, and Mexico.

In 1870, the population of St. Joseph was listed as 19,565 and by 1880, it had increased by two-thirds to 32,431. In 1890, the population was 52,324 and the 1900 United States census showed that the city had nearly doubled its population to 102,979. Only Los Angeles, California equalled St. Joseph in growth rate during this decade.[19]

From groceries and boots to hardware and liquor, St. Joseph was experiencing a remarkable and understandable increase in wholesale trade. The Board of Trade was organized October

19, 1878, with over 180 members listed for 1879-80. Manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers were all prosperous. By 1887, the grocery trade was leading in volume, with seven wholesale grocery houses, and 120 retail houses employing 600 men. Sales were $15,225,000 in 1886. Five wholesale and 23 retail dry goods establishments existed, with over $13,000,000 in sales and 500 people employed. Closely related to dry goods was the clothing business, with four wholesale houses and 21 retail stores, which accumulated sales of over two million dollars and employed nearly 250 persons. Other businesses included hardware (six wholesale, 10 retail), boots and shoes, (four wholesale and 41 retail), wine and liquors (12 wholesale and over 100 saloons), drugs (four wholesale, 35 retail), machinery and implements (nine firms), tobacco and cigars (sales over one million dollars), wool and furs (four firms), and furniture and carpets (two firms with over two million dollars in sales).[20]

The addition of new wholesalers apparently did not curtail the trade of older houses, with trends, contrary to those in the east, actually showing an increase in sales. In the early 1880s, the Board of Trade was reorganized into the Chamber of Commerce Company, with new facilities built on the southwest corner of Third and Edmond Streets in 1884-85.[21] A Manufacturers' Bureau existed in 1888-90, serving to induce capitalists to invest in St. Joseph. A Real Estate Exchange and the St. Joseph Fruit and Produce Exchange also existed in 1889.[22]

In 1887, over 30 million dollars in internal improvements was invested by the city. The main streets of the city were macadamized. The entire street lighting system was changed from gas to electricity in 1889-90.[23] Electricity and gas were available to households and businesses across the city. The introduction of a city waterworks provided the incentive to improve and expand the fire department, which added a hose and reel in 1879, then built a station at Tenth and Olive Streets. The fire department occupied and enlarged various facilities and by the early twentieth century the department employed over 80 people. Two steam engines, one aerial truck, one water tower, two chemical engines, fourteen hose wagons, forty horses, 483 fire hydrants, and about 50,000 feet of hose provided services to the city.[24] The finances of the city were in excellent condition, with the bonds to secure adequate railroad facilities completely paid. Consequently, taxes were low.[25]

Cable and streetcar lines extended to the "outlying suburbs" and almost 75 miles of brick sidewalks existed. By 1884, the high quality horse-drawn streetcar system, known as the Union Street Railway Company, had lines extending south to Sixth Street and Atchison, then the southern limit of the city, through Market Square to New Ulm (now Krug) Park. Three years later, the company experimented with electrical power, running electric cars to Market Square by the spring of 1888, thus becoming the first electric line in the West. In 1890, the entire street car system in the city was consolidated under one management when People's Street Railway, Electric Light, and Power Company purchased the Union and Wyatt Park lines; the company became the St. Joseph Railway, Light, Heat and Power Company in 1895. By 1898, the lines extended to the stockyards in South St. Joseph. (South St. Joseph was incorporated into the city in 1899.) More than $500,000 was invested in improvements to the streetcar system and power plant between July, 1902 and May, 1904, including the construction of new car barns and shops on the northwest corner of St. Joseph and Highland.[26]

The remarkable progress of the wholesale trade in particular compelled many merchants to erect new, larger facilities. For example, the McDonald wholesale dry goods house occupied 20 frontage feet during its early years, with three floors, each 20 x 140 feet, providing ample space. Later, the company occupied forty frontage feet. The company then constructed a new facility of five stories, with one hundred frontage feet, but by 1889 it was in need of still more space. At least four retail dry goods houses in St. Joseph occupied comparable amounts of space at that time. The manufacturing branch of the McDonald company and the Wood company, employed nearly one thousand hands by 1889, in contrast to the employment of a few sewing women just a few years previously.[27]

The wholesale houses of St. Joseph were noted throughout the west for their beauty and massive construction. Along the riverfront, west and south of the densely-packed retail district of the city, the main wholesale and manufacturing district sloped from the bottomland down to the narrow flood plain, skirting the foot of the lower bluffs. Located here were the larger wholesale houses, "hulking red-brick buildings of St. Joseph's heyday, heavy with brownstone trim and arched windows, with red-granite columns fronting the entrances and spiral fire escapes overhanging the walks."[28] Other wholesale and manufacturing facilities were scattered throughout the city. Generally the industries located toward the south of the city were heavy industries, including the stockyards, packing houses, flour mills, and grain elevators.

As with many of the wholesalers, the significant livestock business was in need of new and larger facilities by 1887. The St. Joseph Stock Yards Company was organized, the yards were moved, and construction was begun by spring, 1887. The yards were ready by the end of the year, including six leading railroads which connected with the site. In 1897, Swift & Company purchased controlling interest in the reorganized company. Three other major packing houses were established as part of the complex. The Stock Yards Company began to flourish, enabling the once unknown stock market in St. Joseph to rank among the top five greatest markets for cattle, hogs, and sheep in the world in just a few years.[29] A new Live Stock Exchange Building was erected for $125,000.[30] The receipts of 1898 indicated an increase of more than 400 percent over the previous year.[31] By 1904, the Stock Yards Company had a capital of $1,650,000 and employed 275 men. The packing houses had a floor space of 65.25 acres, with the daily slaughtering capacity of 7,950 cattle, 19,500 hogs, 5,500 sheep, and 10,000 poultry.[32]

St. Joseph also played an important role as a grain and seed market, being favorably located at the corners of the four greatest grain producing states in America: Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. The St. Joseph Board of Trade succeeded in extending the grain market beyond the continent, creating one of the foremost inland markets in the country on exports.[33] By 1890, the city's flour mills, packing houses, and horse and mule markets were of interstate importance. At the turn-of-the-century, the city ranked fourth in packing centers of the world. With a population of more than 52,000, St. Joseph was reputed to be the wealthiest city per capita in the nation.[34]

The prominent warehouse business was integral to the wholesale/ manufacturing business. The number and location of warehouse facilities in St. Joseph was necessary to maintain its status as a distribution center. In the days of the prairie schooners, wholesale

houses bought stocks twice a year and if they ran out before the end of a six month period, they lost business and their customers went without the goods and supplies they needed.

Increasingly, warehousing became a strategic aspect of marketing, requiring the employment of many people and being absolutely essential in "modern" methods of production, particularly with agricultural markets. A 1918 publication entitled Storing: Its Economic Aspects and Proper Methods states,

> Owing to irregularity in the output of commodities and manufactured articles, and to the fact that they are used or consumed in localities at varying distances from the point of origin, with the attendant uncertainties and delays in transportation, it becomes necessary to accumulate stocks of materials and articles.

Conditions giving rise to storage included: seasonal production and uniform consumption; uniform production and seasonal consumption; inability to maintain perfect balance between supply and demand; surplus production of a commodity in one locality and consumption of the surplus in another or many other localities; irregularity of consumer demand; transportation reasons; product conditioning (liquor or cheese aging, for example); the need for financing between time of production and time of consumption; and speculation.[35]

St. Joseph's wholesale business prospered at the turn-of-the-century. The millinery business had annual sales of over one million dollars, employing over 500 people in the manufacture and distribution of goods. In the wholesale paper trade, Sheridan-Clayton Paper Company was the largest supplier of tablets, and one of the largest supply houses in America. The C.D. Smith Drug Company and the Van Natta-Lynds Drug Company included seven states and territories in their trade area, with a volume of business nearing $2,000,000. Produce also proved to be a substantial business, with sales in a single year totalling $1,500,000 for eggs, $2,500,000 for butter, and $6,000,000 for fruits and vegetables. Produce receipts had grown from $150,000 in 1868, to nearly $9,000,000 in 1903.[36]

By 1904, St. Joseph had the fourth largest wholesale dry goods market on the continent. Four large dry goods houses employed over 200 traveling men, and made annual sales of $20,000,000. The trade market of these companies extended over the whole territory west of the Missouri River, the British possessions, Alaska, Mexico, and the Pacific Islands.[37]

The manufacturing industries of St. Joseph continued to experience substantial growth. The Buell Manufacturing Company was said to be the largest manufacturer of blankets, robes, and flannels in the country, with shipments direct from the mills to almost every state. The two largest manufacturers in the world of duck and denim clothing were in St. Joseph.

Five large boot and shoe factories were operating. Wyeth Company, an early established business, developed a lucrative trade in Mexico, producing a large amount of tinware, saddlery, and harness equipment. The National Biscuit Company, with its three large flour mills, the St. Joseph Plow Manufactory, and the Mokaska Manufacturing Company (roasted coffees, spices, and baking powder) were among the large and growing institutions. St.

Joseph cornered the market in the west on confectionery, jellies, fruit, butters, and mince meat. Three large breweries with a combined annual production of 60,000 barrels were in operation. A number of foundry and machine shop operations existed, but more were needed. Furniture companies and carriage/buggy/wagon manufacturers were also among the nearly 200 manufacturing industries, employing over 8,000 people with an estimated $30,000,000 or more in annual products.[38]

Accompanying the thriving wholesale and manufacturing concerns was the continued success enjoyed by less massive, smaller retail establishments including commercial offices, banks, hotels, and entertainment facilities.

Proliferating as a result of the city's overall economic vitality retail establishments numbered over 800 in the earlier twentieth century. For the most part these retail establishments were housed in small scale one to two story commercial block buildings. They characteristically were grouped in long rows along the city's main arteries, or within its commercial core, occasionally they appeared as isolated buildings servicing a specific portion of the city. Examples of this locational pattern were found along both Frederick and St. Joseph Avenues, main thoroughfares leading into the commercial heart of the city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Dense concentrations of the small scale commercial block were also located within the central business district, interspersed among the high, more massive, vertical business blocks. This twin pattern of commercial building development was reinforced by the introduction of motorized transport in the late nineteenth century along these major arterial boulevards.

Commonly built of brick, the small scale commercial blocks featured the cast iron or metal sheathing typically applied to commercial outlets of the period. Although a common feature of the period cityscape these smaller ventures still played an important role in providing the citizens with crucial goods and services.

Nine banks, three national and six state, were operating during the city's period of commercial prominence. Among these establishments were Missouri Valley Trust Company (1859), German-American Bank Building (1889) and the National Bank of St. Joseph (1902), all operating out of architecturally distinctive buildings. These multi-storied buildings were concentrated in the denser city commercial district found within an area roughly bounded Fifth and Ninth Streets on the east and west, and Francis, Felix and Edmond Streets. High style multi-story office and commercial buildings also were placed in this commercial core area including the Corby-Forsee Building, a thirteen story high rise (1910; 1927), the offices of the Michau-Berk Dry Goods Company (1894), the Townsend, Wyatt & Wall Department Store Building (1909), and Kirkpatrick Building (1923). These larger scale buildings were intimately related to the burgeoning commercial prominence of St. Joseph.

Conveniently located for the "traveling men" of the commerical sector were several entertainment facilities in the city. These prominant venues included the Tootle, Lyceum, Lyric, and Crystal theatres, Lake Casino, and even the short-lived St. Joseph Natatorium (later the Bijou Theatre, then the Crawford Theatre.)

Three daily newspapers, the Gazette, the News and Press, and the Volksblatt, a German

language publication, were published in St. Joseph. Other publications such as the Stock Yards Journal, were devoted to specific business markets. The Journal of Commerce, begun in 1886, went through several publishers until it was acquired by Combe Printing Company in 1897.[39]

Construction of new wholesale and manufacturing facilities continued past the turn-of-the-century, through the teens, with construction of a few large facilities occurring in the 1920s. Just 125 miles from the center of the United States in the heart of the rich agricultural section of the Missouri and Mississippi Valleys, St. Joseph was within a 75 mile radius of a population of 1,219,000. The city's location continued to be beneficial.

The grain market's notable role was recurring, with Aunt Jemima Mills Branch, Frederick Grain Company, and Norton Grains Company among more than thirty resident members of the St. Joseph Grain Exchange. After a two year investigation, Quaker Oats (which purchased the Aunt Jemima Mills Branch in the 1920s) chose St. Joseph as its distribution point for the entire Southwest and the Pacific coast markets. The company invested several million dollars in a huge manufacturing plant (1928) and in a two million bushel capacity elevator (1929).[40]

Statistics for 1927 show that 13,108,988 bushels of grain were ground by industries in St. Joseph. The shipments of grain out of St. Joseph averaged 11,929,650 bushels annually from 1923-1928. St. Joseph was home to the largest pancake flour mill in America. The city was the largest corn milling center west of the Mississippi River and the second largest milling center west of the Mississippi.[41]

While most building in the 1920s in the wholesale/warehouse areas (south of the central business district) of St. Joseph was limited to service-related buildings such as garages and service stations, some large scale building continued. Western Tablet Company continued its steady building campaign with a large addition to the main building in 1920; the company's building No. 3 was also constructed in 1920.[42] In 1923, Chase Candy Company spent $227,000 on a new factory building on South Fifth Street. The modern plant, employing hundreds of candy makers, featured "plenty of sunlight--enameled walls and ceilings . . ." [43]

A large network of hard-surfaced highways enabled growing trucking distribution in addition to the established rail distribution system. Warehouse facilities for both cold and dry storage were thoroughly adequate, but ample ground, located near terminal facilities, was advertised for new wholesale and manufacturing plants.

New building came to a halt with the crash of the stock market in 1929. While some commercial establishments have continued to the present time, including some of the large scale wholesale and manufacturing companies, the dominance this theme once had did not regain momentum.

The once congested retail center of the downtown and the adjoining concentration of wholesale, manufacturing, and distribution facilities has suffered greatly from demolitions, especially the obliteration of the Market Square section for an urban renewal project in 1973. The buildings which remain are but a small illustration of the commercial prosperity which made St. Joseph the "Queen City of the West."

ENDNOTES

1. Deon Wolfenbarger, "Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri" (original National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation form submission (St. Joseph/Jefferson City, 1988-89), p. E, 13.

2. Reference to "Queen City of the West" is found in C.H. Dunn & Co., Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, MO (Comprising a Brief History of the Metropolis to the West) (St. Joseph: Lon. Hardman, 1887). This source lists "undisputed facts," the first of which is the Queen City reference. A later reference, the Journal of Commerce Special (Descriptive of St. Joseph's Wonderful Industrial Progress) (St. Joseph, MO: Union Printing Co., July, 1900; reprint ed., Maysville, MO: Farmer Printing Co., 1976, reprinted with The Place to Live, 1911) states ". . . the most critical will admit that we have not erred on the side of egotism in styling St. Joseph the 'Queen City of the SouthWest and one of the Foremost Cities of America.'" Granted, these two publications were propaganda of the times, but significantly, the references indicate how the people from the community felt about their city at the time. Although St. Joseph may not have been recognized nationally as "Queen City of the West," the reference serves as an important illustration of the prominence of the commerce theme during this period in St. Joseph within at least a local context.

3. St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce, St. Joseph, Missouri, Today (St. Joseph, 1928).

4. Ibid.

5. Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State, American Guide Series, sponsored by the Missouri State Highway Department (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, [1941]), p. 284.

6. Ibid., p. 285.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Wolfenbarger. "Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri," pp. E, 3-4.

10. Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State, p. 285.

11. Walter Williams, The State of Missouri: An Autobiography (Columbia, MO: E.N. Stephens, 1904), p. 282.

12. Daily News History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, Missouri (St. Joseph: St. Joseph Publishing Co., 1898), p. 97.

13. History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, Missouri (From the time of the Platte Purchase to the end of the year 1915) (St. Joseph: Midland Printing, no date), p. 78.

14. Daily News History, p. 122.

15. History of Buchanan County, p. 79.

16. C.H. Dunn & Co., p. 26.

17. Board of Trade of St. Joseph, Missouri, Eleventh Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1889 by Fred. F. Schrader, Secretary (St. Joseph: St. Joseph Steam Printing Co., 1890), p. 65.

18. Ibid., p. 62.

19. Williams, p. 282.
This incredible jump in population has led some historians to believe the 1900 U.S. census data is not correct, being somehow skewed, but no acutual proof of this suspicion has been confirmed.

20. C.H. Dunn & Co., p. 26.

21. Daily News History, p. 308.

22. Ibid., p. 310.

23. M.J. McCabe, Annual Report, City Engineer, Saint Joseph, Mo., for the year ending April 15, 1889 ([St. Joseph, 1889]), pp. 63-65.

24. History of Buchanan County, p. 95.

25. C.H. Dunn & Co., p. 7.

26. Dale E. Nimz, "Historic Preservation Survey Report (Commercial Districts: St. Joseph, King Hill, and Lake Avenues, St. Joseph, Missouri)," (St. Joseph, 1989), p. 8.

27. Board of Trade, p. 39.

28. Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State, p. 283.

29. Journal of Commerce Special and The Place to Live.

30. Williams, p. 291.

31. Journal of Commerce Special and The Place to Live.

32. Williams, p. 291.

33. Ibid., p. 288.

34. Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State, p. 287.

35. John H. Frederick, Ph.D., Public Warehousing (New York: The Ronal Press Co., 1940), pp. 4-9.

36. Williams, p. 285.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., p. 286.

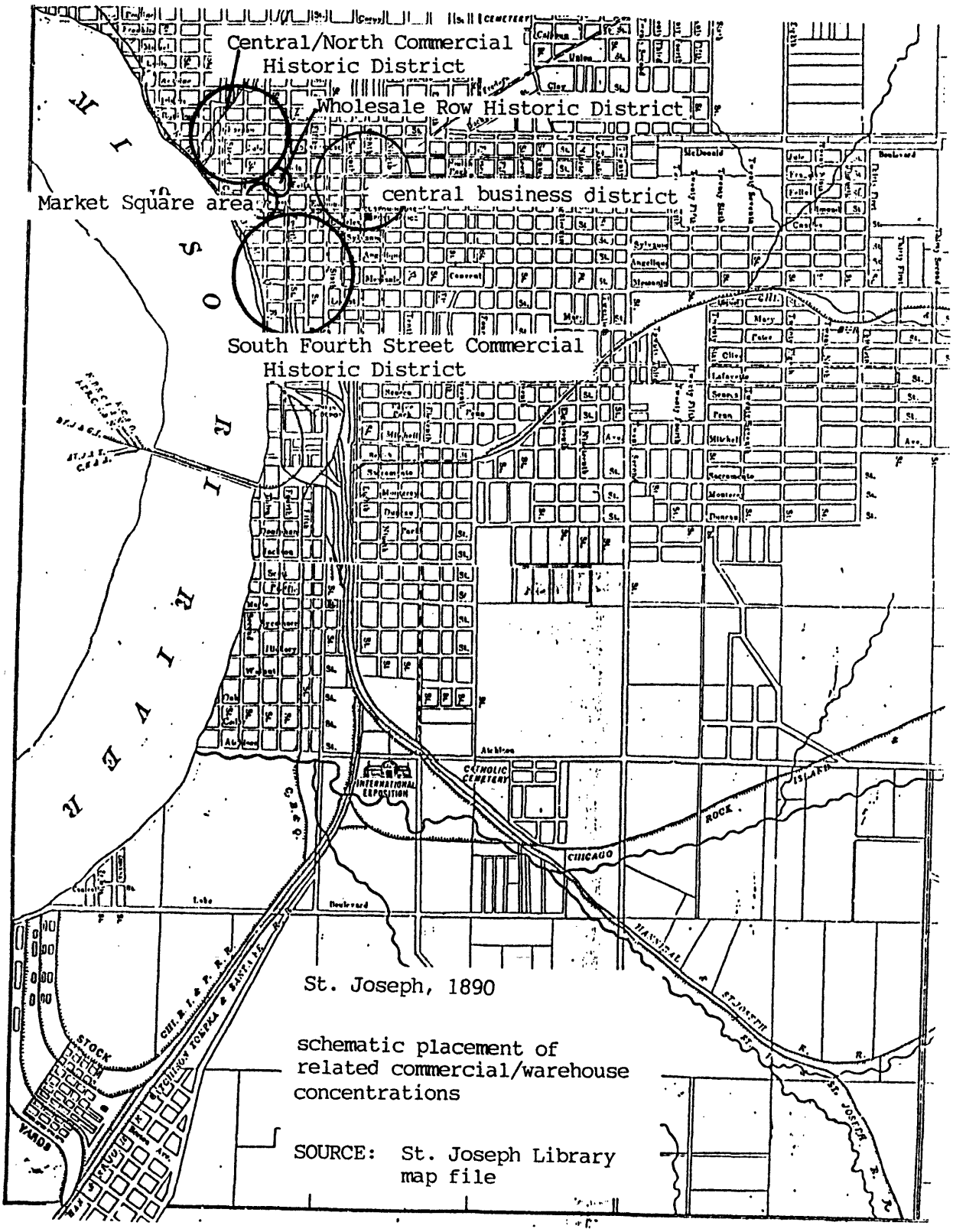
39. Daily News History, p. 316.

40. St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce, St. Joseph, Missouri, Today (St. Joseph, 1928) and Building Permits, St. Joseph City Hall.

41. Ibid.

42. Building Permits, St. Joseph City Hall.

43. St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce.



St. Joseph, 1890

schematic placement of
related commercial/warehouse
concentrations

SOURCE: St. Joseph Library
map file

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The following context, "The Jewels of St. Joseph: The Parks and Parkways System, 1910-1943," amends the original Multiple Property Documentation Form "Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri," and subsequent amendment. The original submission presented three developed historic contexts, which were organized around residential development in the city from 1843 through 1930. To these three contexts—"Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1965," "Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914," "Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929"—an additional context was added. This context was organized around commercial development in St. Joseph, and was entitled "Queen City of the West: Commerce in St. Joseph, c. 1865-1929." The following context documents the history and significance of St. Joseph's parks and parkways system, and its effect on community development.

The Jewels of St. Joseph: The Parks and Parkways System, 1910-1943

Introduction

St. Joseph's wealth and subsequent expansion in the latter part of the nineteenth century, often referred to as the community's "Golden Age" (Logan, 1979), were followed in the twentieth century by a period of little economic and population growth. Although the prosperity of the community carried over into the early decades of the twentieth century, the city was no longer experiencing the explosive growth of the previous century. In this period, St. Joseph residents were finally able to take stock of how their city had developed. On the Blacksnake hills surrounding the impressive commercial and warehouse district were residential neighborhoods with large, elaborate single and multi-family residences. Just south of downtown on the railroad, an industrial district was supported by numerous working class neighborhoods. Outside of town to the southwest, Lake Contrary was a private recreational facility, available to families of means.

However, in the wake of all the commercial and residential development which had occurred in St. Joseph, some residents began to realize that something was missing in their community. Very little attention had been given to public spaces, or even to the grounds surrounding their elaborate residences. This realization occurred on the part of the press as early as 1881, when an issue of the *Evening News* (reprinted in *The History of Buchanan County*) noted that:

> Here we sit gracefully reclining upon our seven hills, 40,000 souls, with block after block of costly business houses, wherein thousands on top of thousands of dollars change hands daily; with beautiful residences and everything necessary to make this

> the city of the West, yet not a park have we . . .(*History of Buchanan County, Missouri*, 1881).

Even a community promotional pamphlet of the early twentieth century—one of the type which is widely recognized for its hyperbole in promoting a community—lamented the lack of effort towards beautifying St. Joseph.

> Residence owners pay too much attention to buildings and too little to the surrounding grounds. Large buildings are placed in many instances upon grounds barely large enough to receive the building, leaving no room for ornamentation (St. Joseph Museum; general history files)

St. Joseph residents, measuring the progress of their city against others, saw that their community was behind in an important facet of urban development—having a city-wide parks system. Dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, an era of social reform, city parks were thought of as a tool to counteract the stress of urban living. In fact, the acknowledged father of American landscape architecture, Frederick Law Olmsted, is remembered almost as much for his writings committed to social democracy as for his influential park designs. In the 1860s, many other writers of this era of social reform contributed to the idea that city parks provided healthful respites from the congested, dirty city streets. In Chicago, for example, Dr. John Rauch (1868) prepared a study on the myriad benefits provided by parks entitled "Public Parks: Their Effects upon the Moral, Physical, and Sanitary Condition of the Inhabitants of Large Cities: with Special Reference to the City of Chicago." Many large urban cities in America responded to this challenge of improving the living environment by planning and building city parks. In the 1880's and 1890's, this effort coalesced with the playground movement, which also strove to ameliorate the living and working conditions generated by the cities' rapid industrialization. It was believed that healthy environments for play, combined with disciplined recreation programs, would correct many of the social ills which drove children into a life of crime and violence.

In spite of all of these noble theories supporting the development of city parks, many communities did not begin to plan for city-wide park systems until after the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The Chicago World's Fair, as it is often called, represented a culmination of the arts at this period. Its influence lasted from the 1890's until the 1920's, and reached far beyond the Midwest. While the "City Beautiful" movement is generally acknowledged to have its origins in the World's Columbian Exposition, what is not agreed upon is how much of an influence the World's Fair had upon the roots of city planning (Wilson, 1990). Most historians and critics concur that comprehensive planning was an important component of the fair. The Great White City in Chicago enchanted the public with its use of electric lights to outline buildings. Uniform heights and the white surfaces of the buildings, both resulting from planning, brought a homogenous appearance to structures of differing designs and character. According to

Norman Newton, another positive aspect of the Exposition was the interprofessional collaboration of the fair's designers. City planning in the future would take its cue from this collaboration (Newton, 1971). A negative aspect of the fair, which was eventually realized during the 1930's, was the public's obsession with "classicism." Most Americans were enchanted with just the cosmetic aspects of the fair—the classical architecture, the broad thoroughfares, and the generous landscaping (Bishir, 1985).

Although the City Beautiful movement influenced a number of aspects of city planning, the development of city-wide park systems was a key element of the movement. From the 1890's through at least the 1930's, then, the crusade for city park systems was not based so much on the urban social reform which had been intended by earlier planners, but on the belief that:

> a commercial city should intentionally be made beautiful, that its aesthetic arrangement and decoration should be raised as civic priorities along with safety, public health and transportation. . . (Wilson, 1990).

It was the influence of the City Beautiful movement which probably had the greatest effect on influencing St. Joseph residents to finally begin planning for a park system in 1910. However, the history of the city's parks begins much earlier. The earliest land set aside for a public park was Smith Park, donated to the city by Frederick W. Smith in 1855 (Logan, 1979). Smith was a surveyor whose plat for town called "St. Joseph" was chosen by Joseph Robidoux, the city's founder. It is ironic to note that Smith's plan was chosen over another plan completed by Simeon Kemper, whose plan included wide streets and parks. Frederick Smith hoped to increase his chances for selection by naming the narrow east-west streets for Robidoux's children, and the town after his patron saint. However, Robidoux's selection was based more on economics, as he wanted to sell as much of his quarter section as possible, "not give it away in streets" (Logan, 1979). Smith himself later became involved with real estate in the developing town, and platted some additions, one of which included his donation of land for a city park. While his gift may seem generous in light of the rapidly escalating land prices in the young community, the tract for the park was basically "undevelopable" land left over from this particular addition—too steep for any buildings. Other donations of small acreage for parks occurred in a haphazard manner, but very few of these were actually developed. Those that were, such as Krug Park, evolved in chaotic fashion.

As noted earlier, the citizens of St. Joseph became aware of the strides made in civic design in other cities. The local newspapers wrote about what was occurring in other parts of the country, and interest grew in improving the aesthetics of the community. It soon became apparent that any city-wide plans for funding and implementing a "beautification" program for St. Joseph would be dependent upon what was allowed by the city charter. Although no formal

organization was created for the purpose of exploring the situation, legal counsel was provided to examine the city charter. The charter was found to be lacking essential provisions which would allow such a program to be established and realized. A loosely organized group, whose philosophy was dedicated to "the improvement of aesthetic values in city planning" . . . "focused its interest upon the development of parks as a part of the 'City Beautiful' movement" (Thomas, 1971).[1] As a result, the entire city charter was reviewed, revised, and eventually approved by city officials and adopted by the state legislature.

The new charter provided for a Board of Park Commissioners. Before this, the parks were operated by an administrative board having no power. The first Board of Park Commissioners was appointed in April of 1910, and was authorized to establish a system of parks and boulevards; and to select park lands either within or outside the city limits; to lease, purchase, or condemn those lands. The manner in which funds were to be raised and spent was also determined (Thomas, 1954).

By the time St. Joseph was ready to embark upon planning for a city-wide park system, they were able to assess what other communities had already accomplished. Also, they were able to take advantage of some of the most prominent park and city planners available in the nation at the time. These people brought their expertise to St. Joseph to create what was known at the time as one of the best systems in the country. However, the first steps towards the planning of a city-wide system began with a group of local citizens, rather than city itself. At about the same time the city was appointing a Board of Park Commissioners, the Ad Club of St. Joseph took the initiative and hired Charles Mulford Robinson in 1910 to prepare a report on civic improvements (Morton, 1914).

Charles Mulford Robinson

Charles Mulford Robinson was a young journalist who was serving as an editor on the Rochester *Post-Express* at the time of the Columbian Exposition (Newton, 1971). He was not only fascinated by the splendor of the Fair, but also by its growing effect on the public. His

[1] Martin N. Thomas, a former director of the St. Joseph parks department, prepared a paper for presentation to the St. Joseph Landmark Commission in 1971, at the time the commission was considering the local historic designation of the parks system. In this paper, he outlines the history of the development of the parks system, with a focus on the legal proceedings which were necessary for its establishment. Specific dates for some of the events were not always provided, such as the year that work began on revising the charter. He does mention, however, that it took several years of persistent study before a new charter was adopted and members could finally be appointed to the Board of Park Commissioners in 1910.

experience of the Fair added to his already intuitive preoccupation with the form and function of cities. He had visited Europe prior to the Fair, and was greatly influenced by activities in Germany and England especially. In writing about the Columbian Exposition, and later about "civic aesthetics," Robinson became a pioneer in city planning, or at least in the **discussion** of city planning. Prior to this, little attention had been given to the subject, and Robinson is credited with being one of the first to write about it.

Robinson wrote so many articles about city planning for periodicals that by the turn-of-the-century, he had amassed enough to bring out his first book, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities, or the Practical Basis of Civic Aesthetics*. Although Robinson had to publish it himself, it immediately became a best seller and went through eleven editions by 1916. Its success encouraged Robinson to come out with a second and larger work, *Modern Civic Art, or the City Made Beautiful* in 1903. This, coupled with his many short pieces entitled "The City Beautiful" for newspapers in 1903 and 1904, gave rise to the new password for the movement. In later years, when the City Beautiful movement would be faulted for its obsession with the "classical," Robinson was often criticized for his emphasis on "beautification." However, his complete and total dedication to city improvements could never be doubted. His writings reflect his utter confidence in "the world-wide civic battle between Ugliness and Beauty." Many of his critics overlook the encouragement his writings offered to communities, and most importantly, his emphasis on grass-roots accomplishments.

> Civic art is not an outgrowth only of fashion and large gifts. . . in a populous community the roots should reach down to the common people, to the people who individually have little money but who by the force of their numbers stamp the public taste and opinion, to those to whom the city's care is ultimately committed. There can be no exclusiveness in civic art (Robinson, 1901).

His books were used as guidelines for local civic improvement groups, and Robinson become extremely popular as a city planning consultant. Including St. Joseph, he prepared reports for twenty-five cities from New York to Honolulu (Newton, 1971). As can be seen when reviewing the manuscript he presented to the Ad Club, "The St. Joseph of the Future," Robinson's strength did not lie in actual site design. His contribution to the field of city planning and its rise in the early 20th century was general and theoretical.

As Robinson noted in his book *The Improvement of Towns and Cities*, many accomplishments in civic planning were the results of grass-roots movements. The beginnings of St. Joseph's system can also be credited to such a grass-roots effort. In February of 1910, a special meeting of the St. Joseph Ad Club was held to formulate plans for a City Beautiful movement. A committee of

five was appointed to outline plans and solicit funds for securing "Mr. Robinson, the Landscape Artist" to observe the city's progress and make a report. A few days later, members of the Park Board met with the Board of Directors of the Ad Club and agreed to work on the project, which was then jointly referred to as "our 'City Beautiful' project" (Morton, 1914).

The Ad Club mailed letters requesting subscriptions to the City Beautiful fund, and soon had enough responses that they were able to hold a meeting for the subscribers only ten days later. Robinson was quickly brought out - he visited St. Joseph in either late February or very early March (a bill for his livery rig was received by March 3rd). After the Ad Club received his report in May of 1910, a fee of $1000.00 was remitted to Robinson. A committee was appointed to call upon the Park Board and present them the plans, **if** "they would arrange to have the same printed in book form for distribution." One month later the Department of Commerce and Labor in Washington, D.C. requested a copy of the report, but it had not yet been printed. It is probable that it was never printed as the cost was too great, but in September of 1910, the Ad Club voted to bind Robinson's report and give it to the public library (Morton, 1914).[2]

"The St. Joseph of the Future" looked at all aspects of city beautification in St. Joseph; it was not meant to be a treatise on the parks system alone. Robinson was in fact asked to present a report on what could be done to "improve" St. Joseph, with the obvious focus on the physical environment. After studying the situation, he found four dominating needs or problems. The one which was most fully discussed with him by members of the Ad Club was that of playgrounds, parks, and boulevards, which he felt was "properly embraced by the broad term 'Park System.'" There were other pressing design concerns in St. Joseph at that time though. The other issues tackled by Robinson were: the location for a Union Passenger station, a location for a new city hall and larger public library, and last, the development and maintenance of streets and adjoining private property (Robinson, 1910).

Fully half of Robinson's report focused on the park system though. In it, he states his belief in the value of such an amenity.

> A good park system is all pervading. It penetrates, in one form or another, all parts of the town, spreading its influence where it does not actually transform, injecting new life and blood into the dry bones of the street system, and changing for the better the general aspect of the town. If we can work out for St. Joseph a good practicable park system, we shall have quite a different community to deal with . . . (Robinson, 1910)

[2] A typed copy exists today at the River Bluffs Regional Library in St. Joseph. It appears to be an original copy, with a few handwritten corrections and drawings by Robinson, as well as original photographs.

Robinson's first task was to assess the current situation. His report included a map of the extant park holdings of St. Joseph in 1910. Figure 1 on page E-55 quite clearly shows that St. Joseph was distinctly lacking in park land, especially considering its population and the year. Krug Park and Bartlett Parks are the only park lands of any size. At approximately 20 acres each, Robinson considered them too small to adequately serve as larger "pleasure grounds" (Robinson, 1910). What made St. Joseph's situation even worse was the lack of land surrounding most of the schools at that time. This, combined with the tight development of the inner sections of St. Joseph, afforded very little recreational opportunity to the majority of residents.

Although City Beautiful planners have been accused of being concerned only with aesthetics, just as with the nineteenth century reform movement planners, Robinson sincerely believed in the social benefits of parks. Therefore, it was imperative that:

> Such a system should serve all parts of the city, and it should be adapted to all kinds of people - poor and rich, young and old, those who drive and those who walk, those who seek the park for rest and those to whom its best service will be in the opportunity it gives for exercise (Robinson, 1910).

Robinson's goal for a St. Joseph park system, therefore, was to ideally involve a variety of sites which were not only accessible, but equally distributed. Last in his consideration, but by no means ignored, was conservation of natural resources and the use of land "that is not good for other purposes" (Robinson, 1910).

In approaching St. Joseph's plan, Robinson reviewed the city's park needs and opportunities geographically, in what he termed a "zone treatment." Much in the same manner as St. Joseph developed, he planned for a system in concentric semi-circles, moving outward from the central city. Within the inner ring, he found good opportunity for park development on what he referred to as "The Three Hills" of St. Joseph - Prospect Hill, High School Hill, and King Hill.

Prospect Hill was at the northern edge of the business district. The steep topography had prevented development at the site. The merit of the site as a park, however, was due precisely to that steep character. It afforded views to both downtown and the country. Robinson felt that this site needed little improvement. Its primary function was to serve the neighborhood and provide a vantage point of the region.

> Here mothers and nurses of the neighborhood can take their children, . . . here tired workers from the busy city streets and crowded buildings will stroll on summer evenings, to have the cobwebs blown out of brains and get things in their true perspective; here the sunset will lure many a beauty-lover, and at night the twinkling

> lights of Prospect Hill's south knoll will be one of the crowns of the city (Robinson, 1910).

He proposed the development of the park to occur on the west slope, with paths winding down the slope past the old fortifications and the old fort above "Dug Cut" road. By utilizing these resources in the park, he pointed out that it would "be a historic park, as well as an outlook point of rare beauty." Robinson's critical error regarding Prospect Hill was his (and later, others') underestimation of the ease of acquiring the park. He saw that there were only "four, or at the most five, little houses to acquire. All the rest is vacant, and practically worthless for building." (Robinson, 1910) It was his contention that no valuable property would be taken off the tax rolls, and the land would cost very little. He did not count on organized protest to the plan to pay for the acquisition of the land.

Besides the three hill parks, Robinson clearly saw a need for playgrounds, more so than in other cities. The small schoolyards, compact development of the older portions of town, and the steep topography (which he felt discouraged long walks) all combined to make open spaces a rarity for most of the children of St. Joseph. Where possible, he felt that schoolyards should be expanded for playfields; the next best sites for these were in parks. As playfields usually required flat sites, this dictated his final choice for park lands.

In the next geographic zone of park development, Robinson took up the issue of the larger "pleasure grounds" which he felt provided the character of a municipal park system. As mentioned earlier, he felt St. Joseph's parks in 1910 were too small to adequately serve the population of the city, and he proposed additions to both Bartlett and Krug Parks. However, a system of parks for St. Joseph would require much more park land than could be provided around these two parks. "The difficulty is to be sufficiently restrained in making selections" for the new parks, according to Robinson, "for of no place could it be more truly said that all the countryside is a park." (Robinson, 1910)

Citizens of St. Joseph in 1910 were unanimous that the waterworks hill should be included in the park system, and Robinson agreed. It was a 110 acre site which the utilities would allow the city to use as a park without purchase. Another large tract, known then as the Curd property, curved between Ashland Avenue and Asylum Road (now Frederick Avenue). A creek bed from 28th to 36th, just north of Olive, was also recommended (part of which was later to become Parkway A). Hyde Park, which during this period was already informally used as a park, was an especially critical park site, as this crowded portion of south St. Joseph did not have many recreational opportunities.

Since St. Joseph was so far behind in the development of a parks system, Robinson chose not to take up the issue of large outer parks.

> In my judgement St. Joseph has so much now to do in the establishment of the much needed inner system, with its necessary approaches and connections, that the distinctly outer system - which, with good inside parks, would be required only if a great city developed - may well wait....At all events, I should consider the establishment of an outer system at this time a speculation that the city ought not to undertake until it has done the other things I am recommending. Outer parks at present would be a luxury, of practically no use except to those with horses or motors; while the close-in parks are an immediate necessity for all the people (Robinson, 1910).

Even though he made no concrete recommendations for parks outside the city boundaries, Robinson could not resist contemplating a few sites. The shores of the Hundred-and-Two River, the historic Corby Mill, a possible lake at the river's crossing of extended Mitchell Avenue, and a drive along the river shore were all "alluring visions that a rapid eastward growth of the city" might make possible (Robinson, 1910).

Robinson's ideas for possible park expansions and acquisitions are presented in Figure 2, page E-56. In his report, he next covered his ideas for park approaches and connecting drives.

> Thus far we have been discussing parks, without regard to their connections and approaches. In the sites proposed, there have been located a number of isolated units, and until these . . . are tied together by suitable connections, and tied attractively into the street plat, we shall not have a park system (Robinson, 1910).

Boulevards were not to be a part of the St. Joseph parks system in Robinson's scheme. To him, a boulevard was a wide, stately thoroughfare which was strictly formal in development.

> Obviously, a pleasant country road might be shorn of all its natural charm if made a boulevard; obviously, an artery of the city's street system, with a car line on it, might be robbed of much of its civic usefulness if transformed into a genuine boulevard; obviously again, there is contradiction in describing a narrow wooded road through a picturesque ravine as a boulevard. A real boulevard would cut ruthlessly through the ravine until there remained no narrowness, no woodiness, no picturesqueness (Robinson, 1910).

In planning for park connections, Robinson appears to have relied heavily on existing roadways, as seen in Figure 3, page E-57. Although he did not directly address the reasoning for this, he spoke in other places of the conservative nature of his plan. To him, it was imperative that St.

Joseph accomplish something in the way of park development quickly. The opportunity for acquiring many of his proposed sites would soon be lost. In retrospect, this proved to be true for some of his recommendations. Along the same line of reasoning for not proposing large outer parks, St. Joseph just had too much to do in the way of establishing a park system. By utilizing existing roadways, the cost of his proposal was greatly reduced.

Although Robinson is unquestionably connected with the City Beautiful movement, having after all coined the term, he was obviously not enamored with every design feature typically associated with the movement. He recommended against formal "sunken gardens," which was clear from his report that many St. Joseph citizens were wanting. He also did not propose any boulevards by his definition. "Thus, though I heard much talk of 'boulevards' for St. Joseph, there will be no heading in this Report which carries that word." (Robinson, 1910) It appears that his plan had none of the faults often associated with the City Beautiful movement. Robinson carefully thought about the needs of the city, the layout of the land, its existing development, and how best to provide for a City Beautiful. Although his report did not present any specific site plans, he clearly did not promote the useless frills of classicism which critics associate with the movement.

After receiving and paying for Charles Mulford Robinson's report "The St. Joseph of the Future," the Ad Club still had funds left over from the City Beautiful subscription drive. A lecture on the "Crusade Against Ugliness" was quickly secured for June of 1910. The speaker was J. Horace McFarland, President of the American Civic Association. Four days later, calling the lecture a success, the chairman of the Ad Club's City Beautiful committee requested that his committee be discharged (Morton, 1914). It is not apparent that they did anything else, but for a short four months, the Ad Club played a small but significant role in the formation of St. Joseph's park system.

At almost the precisely the same time that the Ad Club of St. Joseph appointed their committee to raise funds to bring Charles Mulford Robinson to town, the President of the Ad Club wrote George E. Kessler of Kansas City requesting whether he was available to submit a plan for the "city's improvement" and what his fee for services would be (Kessler Files, 1910-1912). Before Kessler could reach an agreement with the city, Robinson had finished his report. Shortly thereafter, the city began its formal association with Kessler, who was thus able to build upon the preliminary recommendations of Charles Mulford Robinson. Under the city charter, Kessler became the executive officer of the Board of Park Commissioners, and was empowered to employ any assistance which he required. He and the Board agreed that the drafting of the plans and engineering work would be completed by local St. Joseph engineers. W.K. Seitz of Seitz-Peterman Engineering Company was chosen for surveying the local site conditions of the land proposed for the park and boulevard districts. Seitz's firm was also to complete the civil

engineering work for the general plan (Kessler Files, 1910-1912). George Kessler, along with his chief assistant R.C. Barnett, provided recommendations for site selection and prepared the site designs for specific parks.

George Edward Kessler

George Edward Kessler was born in Frankenhausen, Germany in 1862, but moved to New York with his family when he was two years old. His mother is credited for his choice of careers, deciding that the new field of landscape architecture would combine Kessler's creative talents with the practicality of engineering. He was educated in Europe in botany, forestry, landscape design, engineering, and civic design. At the age of twenty he returned to this country.

Kessler came to the Midwest in the mid-1880's to work as the Superintendent of Parks for the Kansas City, Fort Scott, and Gulf Railroad. His first project was to create an amusement park in Merriam, Kansas. He soon opened his own office, and began work on projects in Kansas City such as Hyde Park and Janssen Place. One of his early projects was the landscaping for the home of August Meyer, who eventually was on the Kansas City park board which later hired Kessler. In 1892, Kessler was employed as the "secretary" of the Park Board, for which he received a salary, as well as its engineer, for which he received no pay. He subsequently published a report in 1893 which laid the groundwork for the system of parks and boulevards of Kansas City. Not only was this report extremely significant to the development of Kansas City, but it served to spread Kessler's reputation.

For Kansas City, Kessler not only developed the master plan for the entire system as well as site plans for individual parks and boulevards, he was involved in public presentations, the development of condemnation ordinances, and construction supervision. He also maintained his private practice during this period, and offered his consulting services to both private and public clients. By the time St. Joseph contracted with him, Kessler's reputation had been further enhanced with projects in Denver, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Memphis, and Fort Worth.

Although citizens of St. Joseph have always resisted comparisons to nearby Kansas City, the lack of a park system in St. Joseph particularly rankled many residents. In 1911, when Kansas City was the host to the American Association of Park Superintendents, it was the subject of much national attention. By this point, though, Kessler was no longer employed full time with the Kansas City Parks Board and had moved to St. Louis.

A natural evolution from Kessler's park system studies was city planning, and he eventually served the city planning commissions of Dallas; Wichita Falls, Texas; Oklahoma City; Kansas

City, Kansas; and Kansas City, Missouri. He is recognized for influencing the development of many cities, and for shaping the built environment in a wide variety of locales. At least two of park systems planned by Kessler have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places—Denver and Memphis. His accomplishments have also recently been recognized by a traveling exhibition of his work

Together with W.K. Seitz and his assistant R.C. Barnett, Kessler studied the topography and other physical conditions of St. Joseph for over a year, as well as cultural conditions. He was charged with designing a parks system which would be modeled "after the Robinson plan." In 1912, George E. Kessler, as consulting Landscape Architect, and W.K. Seitz, as supervising engineer, presented the results of the year's study to the Board of Park Commissioners. The report was reprinted in the paper, as was the master plan for the entire system (Kessler Files, 1910-1912).

"The purpose of a park system" according to Kessler, was "to supply ample opportunity for healthful outdoor recreation. This recreation takes many forms and in order to be of use to the entire population, requires lands for parks, playgrounds, and driveways." (Kessler Files, 1910-1912) Like Robinson, Kessler did not include plans for acquiring a larger outer park. His first consideration was with the parks in the developed parts of town.

Prior to the publication of the report, some work on the park system had already been undertaken. As Kessler noted in the annual report published in the newspaper in 1912, this was "in order to realize some benefits of the park system at an early date" and garner public support for the project. Court proceedings had already begun for the acquisition of Prospect Park, a portion of Noyes Boulevard, and the enlargement of Bartlett Park (City of St. Joseph, Parks Department; Newspaper clippings books; 10 April 1912).[3] At the same time the proceedings were carried on for the condemnation of these properties, court proceedings for the grading of Noyes Boulevard were accomplished. Kessler noted that all of this work fit into his general plan.

Although Kessler prepared master plans for the entire system, it appears that the design and plans for Prospect Park received special attention. As the largest of his proposed inner properties and the one nearest the business section, he felt it was "peculiarly situated and especially adapted for park purposes." (Kessler Files, 1910-1912) As did Robinson, Kessler also noted the beautiful views from the summit, and that "only a few cities of the country are fortunate enough to possess a park of such commanding and inspiring views." (Kessler Files, 1910-1912) His plan for Prospect Park shows an intricate network of drives and pedestrian paths which take full advantage

[3] Hereafter, this source will be abbreviated to "Clippings".

of the natural topography and views. While the vast majority of the park was naturalistic in its design approach, Kessler did incorporate a few formal elements. One was a semi-circular pedestrian entrance leading from Louis and Antoine Streets. West of this entrance was a small, but elaborate formal garden with what appears to be a building or structure as a focal point. The third formal area was west of the intersection of Prospect Avenue and Isabelle Street. A pool, building, and attached pergola was set in a formal arrangement, yet the playground south of this area was designed in a naturalistic manner (Kessler, March 1912).

Kessler also agreed with Robinson concerning the expansion of Krug and Bartlett Parks, and the acquisition of Hyde Park. There were a few other tracts which Kessler recommended acquiring which were not mentioned by Robinson. For the most part, however, the focus of Kessler's plans was the system of boulevards and parkways.

For presentation and analysis in the report of 1912, Kessler divided the driveways into "inner," "outer," and "connecting systems." The inner system basically paralleled the river and ran north/south in the already built-up portions of town. The outer system depicted drives which encircled the city. These parkways occupied high ground for the most part. Although existing roads were used in some instances, curving scenic drives were a feature of the outer system. Connecting drives were short east/west routes which connected a park to a drive, or connected the inner system with the outer system of drives.

Kessler and Seitz's plan was presented to the public, along with a proposition for funding the acquisition and development. A bond election for these funds met with approval, but shortly afterwards an injunction suit was filed against the city by objectors. In the proposal for funding the parks, the city was divided into park districts. Property owners within a district were assessed benefits which paid for the parks in their own district. The first to feel the effect of this proposition were the residents in the Prospect Park district. The property owners here organized the "Taxpayers League No. 1," and were successful in defeating the plans for acquiring Prospect Park (Thomas, 1954).[4] According to the grounds set forth by the court, the park districts had not been established at the time of the passage of the ordinance which condemned the land, or even at the date the Taxpayers League suit was filed in the circuit court. In other words, the city couldn't condemn land for park purposes in a particular district and assess benefits, when in fact the districts did not yet exist (Clippings).

While the loss of this case seems to have been based on a technicality, so to speak, it dealt a fairly heavy blow to the park movement in St. Joseph at the time. The court did not rule against

[4] Huston Wyeth Park, acquired later, is at approximately the same location as was the proposed Prospect Park.

the power of the city to establish park districts, nor to assess benefits in those districts; it only ruled that in this instance, it was necessary to establish the districts **before** the land could be condemned. To the park board and the citizens, however, it seemed as if the park system was effectively stopped. For one thing, the lengthy court case had taken a lot of time, effort, and expense on the part of the park board. They felt it was time to study the mistakes which occurred in this phase of planning for the park system. Kessler was relieved of his services, primarily for political reasons. He was subsequently "rehired," then dismissed again in 1913, partly for financial reasons this time (Kessler Files, 1913-1914).

The biggest deficiency to date in the effort to establish a parks system had probably been in the area of public relations. When the next set of park plans was drawn up, the park board made a concerted effort to present them to all geographic areas of the city. In the mean time, work began on the less controversial projects, such as the grading of Noyes Boulevard and that of Parkway A, and continued on those parks which were already under the jurisdiction of the park board, such as Krug Park (Clippings; 11 February 1914).

World War I further curtailed the development of the parks system, primarily due to lack of funds and manpower. It was commonly held in St. Joseph, though, that work on the system completely halted during the war, which was not the case. In 1916, John C. Olmsted of the Olmsted Brothers firm visited St. Joseph (Clippings; *St. Joseph Gazette*, 25 March 1917). John Olmsted served as senior partner of the firm from 1898 until his death in 1920. He founded the firm upon the retirement of his uncle and stepfather, Frederick Law Olmsted. Along with his partner (his younger stepbrother, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.), John C. Olmsted was known as a skillful designer whose work expanded to include many comprehensive park systems with emphasis not only on the protection of scenic vistas, but on recreational planning as well (Tishler, 1989). In 1916, the Olmsted Firm provided advice to the St. Joseph Board of Park Commissioners regarding Washington, Smith, Patee, Mitchell, and Carnegie Parks (McCollum, 30 June 1981). No plans were prepared at this time, however.

There were other indications that the idea of a parks system was still alive and well in the minds of city leaders. In April of 1916, all of the Board of Park Commissioners resigned, and a new board was appointed. With Milton Tootle president, and members John I. McDonald and R.T. Forbes, the Board again proceeded with plans for a park and boulevard system. Referring to Robinson, Kessler, the Olmstead Brothers, and others, the board noted in 1917 "that some of the biggest landscape artists in all the country have been here to add their suggestions." According to the board, the plan:

> has been carefully worked out with the aid and suggestion of the very best landscape architects in the United States, several of whom were brought quietly here and taken

> over the ground to make a careful study of it. They all with one accord declared that the city was blessed in having natural parks that would take the minimum of cost to develop, and the most of them were enthusiastic over the drive that could be made from Waterworks hill along the ridge to the south (Clippings; *St. Joseph Gazette*, 20 March 1917).

One of the "landscape artists" who was brought to St. Joseph was George Burnap, a landscape architect and planner for the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds in Washington, D.C. The exact date when he began work for the city is not known, but bills for his services date at least from 1917 (Clippings). A new plan was quickly prepared for review. Figure 4 (page E-58) shows the parks system as it was presented to the public in the newspapers of 1917. The drawing itself was prepared by J.H. Barnes, who was appointed along with the new board in 1916 as the Secretary and Supervising Engineer for parks. By January of 1917, Leon D. Tilton was appointed Landscape Architect for the Board of Park Commissioners (Clippings). No other information regarding Tilton has been discovered to date, but it is possible that the 1917 plan could have resulted from the work of Tilton, Barnes, Burnap, or any combination of the three. After 1917, however, the story of the design of the St. Joseph parks system is primarily that of George Burnap.

George Burnap

George Burnap was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts in 1885. He entered M.I.T. in 1902, and received his S.B. in architecture (landscape architecture option) in 1906 (Ward-Masterson, 28 March 1994; Leininger, 24 March 1994). He then attended the Rural Art program at Cornell University from 1908-1910, receiving his MA in what would become the Landscape Architecture Department. He was one of the first two or three graduate students in the program, which began in 1903. While a student, Burnap also served as a lecturer for many of the program's undergraduate courses. According to the list of courses and instructors provided in the 1909-1910 course catalogue, his responsibilities were great. Out of eleven courses, he assisted in six and was the sole instructor in two others. Three of these courses were introduced in Burnap's first year of teaching, which indicates that Burnap was responsible for the course development as well (Carlson, 28 February 1994).

Burnap would continue his education after his first contact with St. Joseph at the University of Paris. He was awarded a Diplome d'Urbanisme in 1923 by l'Ecole Des Hautes Etudes Urbaines, a graduate school at the university. The courses at this school were conducted by professors from the Sorbonne, the college of France, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, The University of Paris, and

the University of Strasbourg. This was considered "the highest degree in the profession of city planning" at the time (*Greenwood (S.C.) Index-Journal*, 19 July 1923). He was a Fellow in the American Academy in Rome, and was a member of the Societe des Urbanistes. He also was a lecturer at various times on landscape and civic design at the University of Pennsylvania, University of Illinois, and MIT (Marquis, 1925).

Before he was contacted by the City of St. Joseph, Burnap served as the landscape architect for the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds in Washington, D.C.[5] This office was responsible for the numerous public parks and monuments which would later come under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service. While serving in this public position, Burnap was accepting commissions for work around the country. He purportedly left his position due to the conflict which eventually arose between his public work and private practice (Scott, 26 June 1991). While in Washington, D.C., though, he became well-known for his design (and redesigns) of many of that city's famous public outdoor spaces. An endorsement by *The Washington Star* newspaper in the introduction to Burnap's book published in 1916 stated that:

> Mr. Burnap for the past five years has held the position of architect-in-chief of outdoor Washington and his influence is easily discernible in the artistic character our parks, squares, and public grounds are taking (Burnap, 1916).

Further accolades were quoted from an article in the *American City* on "Intensive Park Development" in the introduction to Burnap's book.

> "George Burnap . . . is making a radical departure from what has been done heretofore in connection with the many small parks. His idea is to make them both striking as focal point of the street system and possessed of personal and livable interest . . . These small parks, therefore, are beginning to have an individuality all their own, and are acquiring a character of design that will before many years make the Washington park system unique in this respect (Burnap, 1916).

Perhaps one of his most familiar works to the general public today is the planting of the Tidal Basin on the Jefferson Memorial, which in 1912 was lined with Japanese flowering cherries and other plant materials (Tishler, 1989). Landscape historians have also recognized his designs for Montrose and Meridian Hill Parks in D.C.. Meridian Hill Park was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in September, 1973, and has recently been listed as a National Historic Landmark (Carr, n.d.).

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[5] The "Ten Year Record Book of the Class of 1906" from M.I.T. lists Burnap as a Landscape Architect with the War Department, Washington D.C. (Schneiderman, 28 March 1994). Most sources show him as landscape architect for Public Buildings and Grounds, however.

Burnap's biography credits him with park design in Omaha; Council Bluffs; Granville, New York; Hagerstown, Maryland; Petersburg, Virginia; Greenwood, South Carolina, and elsewhere (Marquis, 1925). City staff in all of the above-listed locations were contacted for this nomination. Only staff in Omaha, Nebraska was aware of Burnap's work in their city. In Omaha, although he toured the existing park system in 1918 and made general comments, he appears to have only been involved in planning for Levi Carter Park (*Omaha World-Herald*, 2 November 1918; Bjorkman, 3 January 1991). Staff and/or local historians contacted for all other cities were not aware that Burnap had worked in their city, and had no historical records documenting his work. Part of this lack of awareness can be blamed on the scarcity of records which typically document historic landscape development. Cornell University alumni records do contain one newspaper article from one of the cities that Burnap worked in—Greenwood, South Carolina. From this article, it appears that Burnap just worked on the design of one park (*Greenwood (S.C.) Index-Journal*, 19 July 1923).[6]

Council Bluffs, Iowa is another city for which Burnap's biographical data lists him as having completed park designs or plans. However, a brief history of the Council Bluff park system does not list Burnap's involvement, and again, city staff members are not aware of his involvement. Nevertheless, a historical newspaper article from nearby Omaha states that Burnap worked in Council Bluffs (*Omaha World-Herald*, 2 November 1918). Historic pamphlets of Council Bluff's parks also reveal that plans for a parkway system were developed in 1915, in order to connect already developed parks (Loschen, 22 October 1993). This corresponds with the time that Burnap was working as a consultant, and may indicate a possibility of Burnap's involvement. To date, therefore, the park and parkway system of St. Joseph, Missouri is the only documented work of George Burnap which involves a complete, city-wide system. Even if Burnap's involvement with other cities becomes recognized in the future, St. Joseph will remain the only city in which he worked on the **entire** park system.

George Burnap may be best remembered nationally for his book, *Parks: Their Design, Equipment, and Use*, published in 1916. It was the first book of such scope published on the subject, and for many years it served as the standard for park design. He had planned to write an entire Landscape Architecture Series of four books, with the other topics covering landscape design, planting design, and garden design. He in fact had already written the landscape design book when he was interred on the border between Germany and France at the outbreak of the war. His manuscript and numerous photographs were confiscated, and he was never able to recover them (Burnap, 1916). In addition to his book, there are also eight articles noted under

[6] As in other cities, park and city planning staff were unaware of Burnap's involvement in the design of any parks.

George Burnap in the Avery Index of architectural publications. He was a contributing editor to both the *Architectural Record* and the *American Architecture and Building News* magazines.

In his book on park design, Burnap discusses at length the relationship between city planning and park development. "Park building . . . is omnipresent. . .The unappreciative citizen fails to recognize that park development has almost always preceded city planning, invariably accompanies, and is ordained in every case to succeed it." (Burnap, 1916) It was his belief that someone observing a city judges it "by its parks rather than by its plan." As he noted, the absence of good city planning is noticeable, but the presence of it is not. However, "a city poorly laid out but abounding in beautiful parks will inevitably receive favorable comment" (Burnap, 1916).

From these observations, one should not assume that Burnap was not advocating city planning. On the contrary, even though the study of city planning was fairly new in 1915, he felt that guided and directed development of cities was much preferable to haphazard growth. In the rush of cities to embrace this new "science" of the day, Burnap just wanted to ensure that city planning and park building be undertaken simultaneously. It was his experience that cities desiring additional parks often found themselves launched on a campaign for city planning, sometimes losing sight of the importance of park planning and design.

> A park is not a unit in itself, and may not be developed independently of civic design; therefore it must be handled by one of specific training who will understand the relation of park areas to the civic development as a whole (Burnap, 1916).

Burnap's advice to communities undertaking park development was three-fold. First, he felt that an explicit plan should be prepared "under the direction of a competent designer" for every park within a park system. The plan should be formally adopted and made public, and when construction begins, the plan should be rigidly followed. Second, Burnap recommended that the main lines of each park be laid out immediately, so that the public's interest would be aroused, and more importantly, committing the city to following the original plan. Last, "whenever possible the designer originally employed to prepare park plans shall be retained in a consulting capacity" (Burnap, 1916). Undoubtedly he was pleased that St. Joseph followed this last piece of advice, for the city was to retain his services in later years.

While much of his advice sounds today like an advertisement for his services, one must remember that the field of landscape architecture was still in its infancy. Many communities allowed their parks to develop haphazardly, until they represented the accumulation of whims of whoever was in charge. This was the case in St. Joseph, where Krug Park prior to Burnap's involvement bore the brunt of impulsive design. Historic photographs and postcards reveal that

Krug Park was typical of the excesses of Victorian eclecticism. Contrasting with this, Burnap advocated that park design should be "governed by principles of composition and not by personal whim or caprice of the designer." (Burnap, 1916)

There were certain basic principles of park design which Burnap felt should be observed by a competent designer. "Beauty" and "utility" were the basis of any plan; each of these had certain attributes which needed to be accounted for. In his book, more specific guidelines were offered for different types of parks and park features. He presented design principles for "Passing-through" parks, neighborhood parks, and recreation parks. Examination of the chapters in his book devoted to these park types shows that Burnap put many of these principles into effect in St. Joseph.

In spite of Burnap's reputation in the field of park design, he was not without his detractors in St. Joseph. After the unveiling of the plans for Krug Park in 1919, one newspaper in particular railed against not only the plans, but Burnap himself. Under the heading "Attempt to Depict Krug Park After the New 'Landscape Architect' Has Unhorsed Nature There," an article read:

> Some months ago a walking cane led a monocled gentleman from Washington, D.C., into St. Joseph and forthwith showed him the short route to the cash box. He was no ordinary working man but a landscape architect—whatever that means. Upon him was conferred the "divine right" to finish the work of his predecessor . . . He quarreled with nature over the way she shaped the face of the ground in Krug Park and forthwith devised a plan for spending something like $75,000 in giving that resort such an overhauling that Dame Nature would not know her own child if she met it in a road (Clippings).

Other than the plans for Krug Park, which were printed in the papers, actual plans drafted by Burnap's studio have not been found to date. The newspapers of the day, however, always refer to the plans for the park system as being a product of George Burnap. The subsequent acquisition of park land was therefore undoubtedly based on Burnap's recommendations. However, Burnap was not around to see the start of the implementation of these plans. In December of 1920, he left the employ of the parks department; the reason given was lack of funds. An event which may have precipitated his departure was the hiring of W.L. Skoglund.

In August of 1919, Walter L. Skoglund was hired as the new park superintendent. He was from Louisville, Kentucky, where he had been a private Landscape Architect since 1912 (Clippings). During the mid-1920's, when many site plans for the parkways were published in the newspaper, Skoglund was credited as the draftsperson. How much he influenced the specific design of the parks and parkways is unknown. It is possible that the Board of Parks Commissioners did not

feel a need to retain George Burnap to oversee the execution of his plans after hiring a landscape architect to serve as superintendent. Although his exact role is uncertain, Skoglund is significant for overseeing the development of the parks system during its critical construction period. He stayed on as Superintendent until his resignation in 1936 (Clippings).

Implementing the system

When faced with the challenge of implementing George Burnap's plans for a park system, the Board of Park Commissioners undertook a careful and prolonged public education program. This began as early as 1916, when plans for a park system were first presented to neighborhood and civic groups. From the beginning this time, it appeared that public opinion was with the park board. Much of the pro-parks sentiment of the residents had to do with civic pride. The board presented many figures that showed how much park land other cities of comparable population had. As board member R.T. Forbes put it, St. Joseph was "fifty years behind in acquiring land." At one such meeting, a citizen responded "Let's do it. If we go ahead with it, in a few years we can make Kansas City with her $14,000,000 boulevards sit up and take notice." Another resident added, "One of the strongest points in favor of it is that we will have settled the question for the present generation, and at a nominal cost may have a system that Kansas City would be proud to have." And lastly, "If we pass up this opportunity, it would be nothing short of criminal." (Clippings)

The program of public presentations of the park system did **such** a good job, in fact, that the most vigorous objections to the plans as presented were from neighborhoods that did not think they were being adequately served by the system. South end residents, having long been ignored by the parks board, wanted to be sure that the proposed park lands in their neighborhoods would be developed with enough recreational facilities. At a few meetings, some concern was expressed about the method of financing the plan, but the vast majority of citizens approved. The parkway system especially appealed to the growing number of motorists in the city. According to John I. McDonald, park board member:

> Twenty years ago no such plan would have found any favor at all, but the introduction and the prevalence of the automobile has changed matters altogether and now there has to be extent to any system of boulevards and parks. The plan gives a "belt line" for travel around the city. The automobilist gets weary of the city streets and sighs for the country and so the belt has been made 500 feet wide on the average so the driveways could wind among trees and be screened by them so that the motorist would be in the midst of nature all the way (Clippings).

The newspapers described the parkway system even more glowing. It was referred to as "a necklace encircling the city and which on a thread of driveways, will be strung parks and playgrounds and beauty spots." (Clippings) The aesthetics of the plan were thus widely promoted; their beauty alone was an acceptable reason for considering parks. As a member of a civic improvement club noted in 1917:

> We must have as good as any other city. But we also must have parks and drives for their own sake, whether any other city has them or not. We must realize the utility of beauty, must take advantage of the wonderful effect it has upon character and civic growth. And we can't measure up to the standard of other cities, we can't be what we ought to be without parks and playgrounds and beauty spots (Clippings, 20 March 1917).

In spite of the overwhelming sentiment for the park system, the development again languished for a few years after 1917. This was probably due to the end of the war, a changing business climate partially as a result of worsening agricultural economy, and the nationwide epidemic of Spanish influenza, which hit St. Joseph (Logan, 1979). By 1921, though, the board was ready again to take up the scheme for the park and boulevard system. A special election was held in October to authorize the city to purchase and improve the park lands designated by the board. The proposal passed, and condemnation ordinances were passed by Council as early as December of 1921 (Clippings; Thomas, 1954).

The costs of acquiring the new park land were paid for from special assessments applied to the park districts in which the lands were located. This time, there was no organized opposition to the method of financing. However, the owners of property in a key area, Corby Grove, **did** protest against the valuation of their property. Their legal battles with the city lasted from 1921 until 1925, when the U.S. Supreme Court finally agreed with the city's valuation. The day after losing the case in the state Supreme Court, the property owners in retaliation destroyed 150 to 200 giant forest trees on the condemned property. The City of St. Joseph then contended that this action further reduced the value of the property, as most of the chopped trees were along the proposed drive (Clippings).

Although the city had been vindicated in courts as to the legality of their condemnation procedure, a new charter bill was nevertheless adopted in 1925, partly as a result of the Corby Grove battle. It amended the park department and discarded the plan for paying for condemned land under the assessment scheme (Clippings). Although the plan for condemning the land remained the same, the method of paying for it changed. From this point, the city either had to have cash in the general fund for making payments, or it would have to issue bonds. That, in fact, was the next step undertaken by the board.

In the meantime, the legal battle over the Corby Grove property was not the only action taken in forwarding Burnap's plans to fruition. Although the legal action delayed any action on Corby Grove, Northwest, Northeast, and Corby Grove Parkways, the condemnation ordinances of 1921 and 1922 still allowed the city to move forward with purchasing the majority of the other parks and parkways. However, these new acquisitions were not immediately developed. Instead, a major effort began in 1922 in Krug Park, with construction beginning on the Refectory, the Children's Circus, and the lagoon. (Clippings)

In 1925, the park board engaged the Olmsted Brothers firm once again to review the park development projects. Percival Gallagher, an architect in service of the firm, came to St. Joseph for several days in March. A detailed report of his recommendations were sent to St. Joseph in April, along with a proposal for the Olmsted Brothers to provide working drawings and supervise the construction (McCollum, 30 June 1981). Immediately after receiving this proposal, the board announced that George Burnap had been given a contract to supervise the improvement of the park system. The public stated reason for not going with the Olmsted Brothers firm was their expense (Clippings). The Olmsted bid totaled approximately $30,000, while Burnap was to receive $11,500 over the next three years.

During the latter part of his tenure with St. Joseph, Burnap worked with Dr. Jacques Greber, S.A.D.G.—S.C., noted French architect and city planner. Plans were prepared out of Greber's Paris office in 1927 for the Civic Center around the new City Hall. On these, and on plans for other squares and parks in St. Joseph, George Burnap is listed as "Associate Architect" (Greber, 1927). No plans prepared by Greber have been found for any of the parks or parkways contained within the proposed historic district.

Before his contract for the three-year supervision during the system's construction, Burnap appears to have actually begun working for the park board again in 1924, when he formulated the plans for the improvements of Hyde Park (Clippings). One of the most critical issues in Hyde Park at this time was the location for the new pool. The need for recreational facilities all over St. Joseph was quite pressing at this time. Plans for playground equipment, ball fields, and even the beginnings of the golf course were laid out during this period. All of this, including the construction of two swimming pools, was financed through the general funds of the city. Added to the recreational needs of the city was the cost of clearing the newly acquired properties of buildings, brush, and debris. The park board was soon quite strapped for finances. Park maintenance funds, together with the sale of Park Fund Certificates, managed to pay for these expenses but left little money for development (Thomas, 1954). With the public clamoring for more recreational services, community leaders felt the time was right to approach the citizens for

"finishing the job." A bond issue election was held on July 15, 1926; it passed overwhelmingly, with 1,500 votes over the necessary two-thirds majority (Thomas, 1954).

In anticipation of this passage, grading work on the parkways had actually begun in the early part of 1926. The majority of bridge construction was completed in 1927. Most of the bridges crossing over the parkways were designed by W.G. Fowler, the bridge engineer to the park board (Clippings). Many other local professionals were involved in this huge construction project as well. William Spann, the new city engineer, prepared some of the necessary topographical surveys. However, the construction was proceeding at such a fast rate that a topographer, C.O. Reioehl, was lent to the city from the state geological survey department (Clippings). In December, 1927, the park board held an official "opening of the park drives." Twelve and a half miles of parkways and boulevards were completed by this time, although there were a few stretches which did not get paved in time for the official opening. These were filled in with gravel.

Historic photographs reveal that little was done to the parks or parkways in the period immediately after their construction. Speculation by a former director of the parks department suggests that the city leaders may have been "exhausted by several years of ceaseless activity and, having accomplished their purpose, were content to rest and to admire the results of their efforts." (Thomas, 1954). In fact, a great deal **had** been accomplished. Park land area had gone from 95 acres in 1921 to approximately 1,200 acres in 1927 (an increase of 1260%). Boulevard and parkway miles went from 6.6 miles in 1921 to 23½ miles in 1927 (an increase of 253%). Unfortunately, the appropriations for construction were insufficient, and no provision had been made for the operation and maintenance of the expanded facilities. The department still operated on its pre-expansion budget. In fact, the combined funds in fiscal year 1921-22 (park assessments and general fund appropriations) were $84,048. For fiscal year 1928-29, the total was $78,778, a decrease of over six percent (Thomas, 1954).

Meanwhile, the city had two new swimming pools without adequate bathhouse facilities and a building at Krug park which was little more than halfway completed. The new golf course required maintenance, but for the most part, the other new facilities required little maintenance at first. Money formerly appropriated for new construction was diverted to maintenance of the newly acquired areas, and for a while, this was sufficient. Although in 1928, Burnap lamented the fact that practically nothing had been done so far with beautifying the system, a few things were accomplished in the late twenties (Clippings; 27 October 1928). The light system for the parkways was nearly completed by 1929, and an extensive tree planting program was carried out in 1930. In the meantime, the older parts of the park system were allowed to deteriorate. The pavilion in Bartlett Park was getting dangerous, the sidewalks in the older parks were deteriorating, and the plantings were suffering from neglect (Thomas, 1954).

The Great Depression had as debilitating an effect on the completion of the parks system as it did on the rest of the nation. During the Depression, park revenues were reduced both from real estate assessments and appropriations from the general funds. As a result, the refectory at Krug Park was never completed. However, the W.P.A. program provided some relief. The park board was asked to provide work projects for a great number of men. Several construction and landscaping projects were conducted under W.P.A. programs. However, regulations required that all governmental assistance be applied to new construction only; no W.P.A. labor could be used for maintenance. All of the city's funds were used up in providing tools, equipment, supervision, and engineering for the new W.P.A. projects, so that the maintenance problems continued to compound (Thomas, 1954).

W.P.A. projects tapered off in 1940, and the repair and upkeep of the existing features once again became a primary goal of the park department. However, World War II brought an extreme shortage of manpower. It was so difficult to hire workers during this period that the Park Department could not spend all the money appropriated to it. By the end of the war, it had accumulated a surplus of funds. It quickly used this up in the period of 1946 to 1949, when the maintenance program was finally restored (Thomas, 1954).

Through the W.P.A., P.W.A., appropriations from the general fund, and contributions, a number of facilities were added to the park system after its "completion" in 1927. Through 1954, these projects included the Pony Express Memorial; Noyes Field Stadium; bleachers, fieldhouse, and lighting facilities at South Park Softball Field; additional baseball fields and tennis courts; additional playground equipment; shelter house and rest rooms at Houston Wyeth Park; lighting facilities for picnic and park areas in Krug and Hyde Parks; toilet and locker room facilities at Noyes Field; and toilet facilities at several locations (Thomas, 1954).

Conclusion

St. Joseph's park system plays an important role in the understanding of the broader, nationwide historic context of early twentieth century city-wide park systems. St. Joseph's system differed from others in its implementation, however. Whereas many communities were planning for city-wide systems, few realized the implementation of the complete system as planned. As significant as St. Joseph's park system is in the field of landscape architecture, its contribution to the development of the city in the twentieth century is also noteworthy. Many fine residential neighborhoods sprang up around the parks and parkways. Although the early twentieth century neighborhoods have not been inventoried to date, their high level of architectural integrity is evident. From its inception through the present date, an address that can boast of being "on the

boulevard" has literally added value. St. Joseph's park system was, and remains, a source of great pride to its citizens.

Figure 1
From Charles Mulford Robinson's "The St. Joseph of the Future"

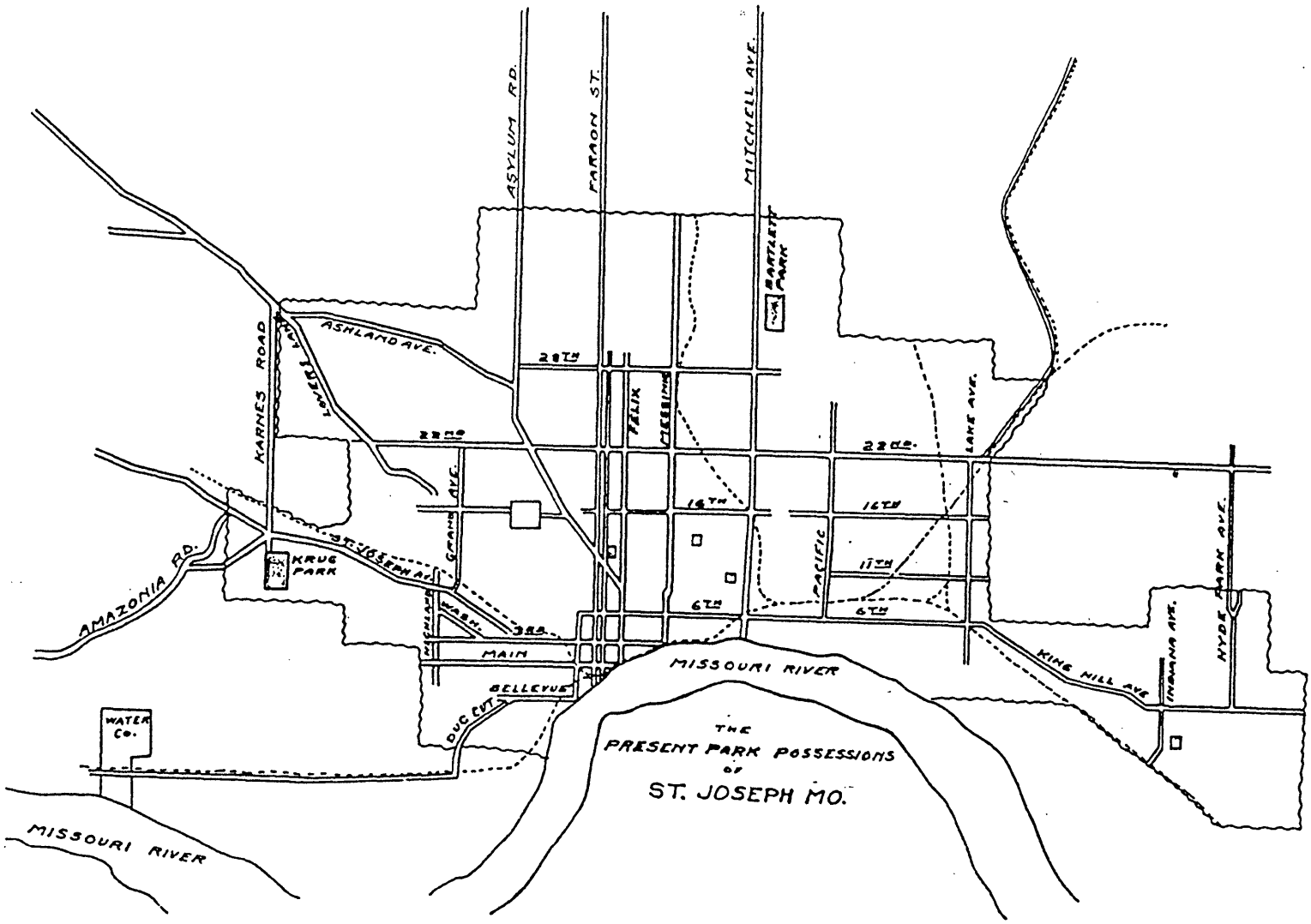


Figure 2
From Charles Mulford Robinson's "The St. Joseph of the Future"

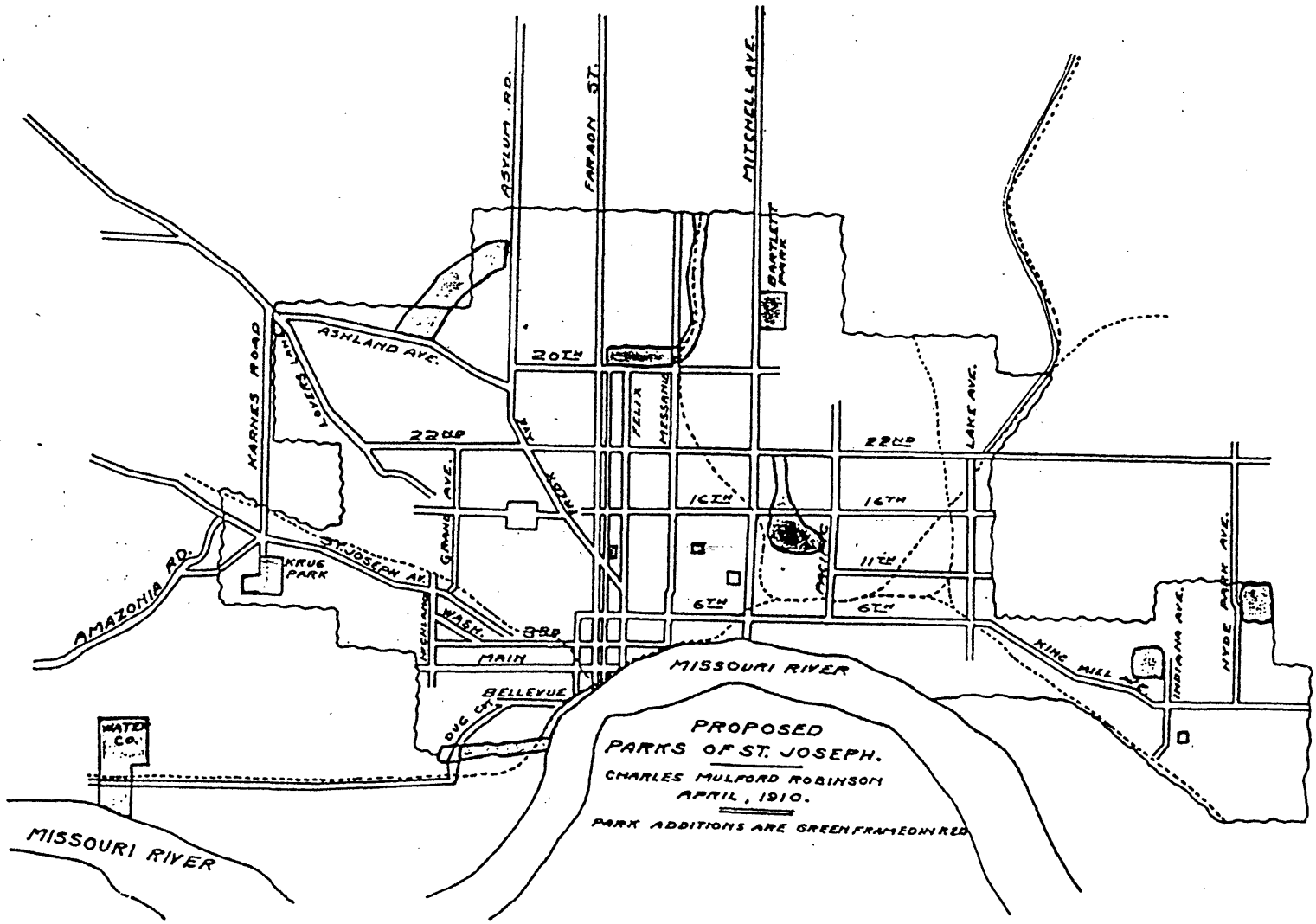


Figure 3
From Charles Mulford Robinson's "The St. Joseph of the Future"

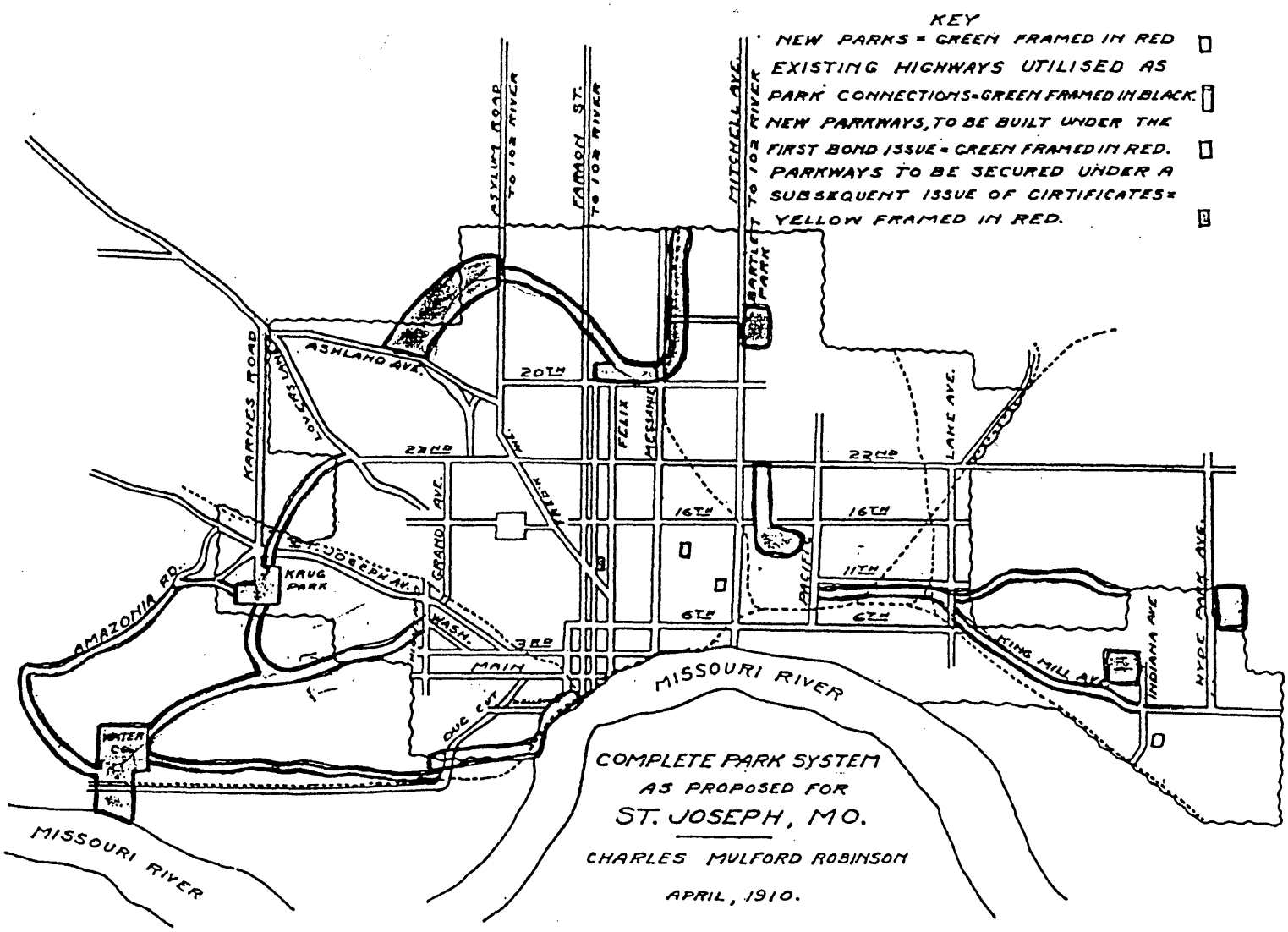
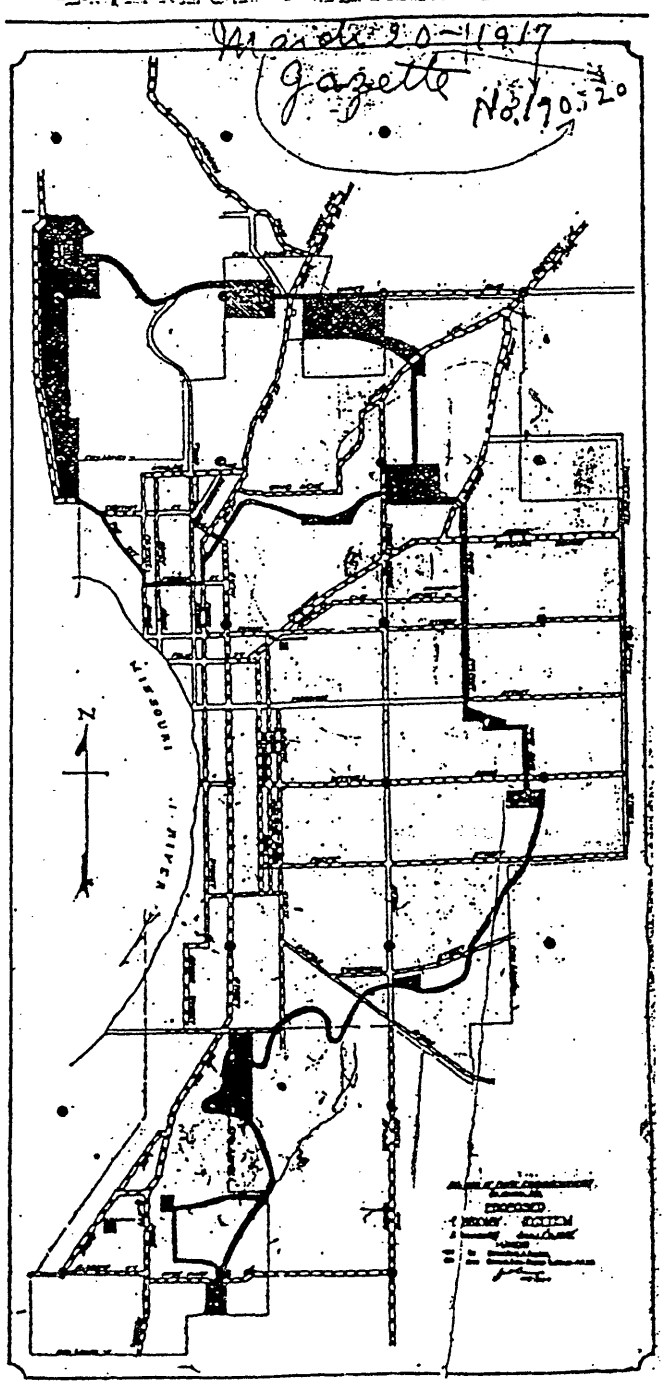


Figure 4
from the City of St. Joseph, Parks Department;
Newspapers Clipping Files; *St. Joseph Gazette*; 20 March 1917

Proposed Park and Boulevard Plan



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Associated Historic Context (Amended)
Queen City of the West: Commerce in St. Joseph, *ca.* 1865 - *ca.* 1945

Preface

The associated historic context, "Queen City of the West: Commerce in St. Joseph, *ca.* 1865-1929" was prepared in 1991 to amend the Multiple Properties Documentation form "Historic Resources in St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri," completed in 1988. This amendment of the associated historic context statement is being submitted to clarify a misconception in the selection of the original period of significance for commercial resources in St. Joseph. While the selection of the Stock Market Crash of 1929 was seemingly a logical ending date for the period of significance, commercial development did continue after 1929. Resources developed after 1929 remained consistent in design, mass, scale and materials with those developed previously, until about 1945, when the pattern and style of commercial development changed to accommodate a more automobile-oriented economy in the post-World War Two era. The purpose of this amendment is to justify extending the period of significance for the "Queen City of the West" to an end date of *ca.* 1945.

Additional Information

The economy of St. Joseph during the 1920s was one of relative fluidity, as indicated in the documentation prepared to support both the "Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri," and its related historic context, "Queen City of the West, *ca.* 1865-1929." While the base of the St. Joseph economy during the nineteenth century had been built upon wholesale distribution and manufacturing, the influence of those two was decreasing during the first three decades of the twentieth century. In their place were new areas of commercial influence, notably the rise in importance of the St. Joseph Stock Yards and grain processing facilities.

It is difficult to measure the effect that the Stock Market Crash and the ensuing Great Depression had on St. Joseph. Civic boosters had little to offer as a positive view of the times, and once recovery was made, they had little interest in reminding themselves and others of how bad things might have been. The other problem in assessing the times was caused by a confusion of terminology used by local interests and federal or state agencies. For example, the St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce reported in 1928 that there were fifty-three wholesale "jobbers" in business at the time, who generated $199 million in total sales (St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce 1928: n. p.); in comparison, the City of St. Joseph reported that in 1939 there were 153 wholesale firms operating in the city, who produced $45.9 million in total sales (St. Joseph Planning Department 1963: n. p.). Clearly, the economic times were unable to support the addition of one hundred wholesale businesses between 1928 and 1939, as

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total sales dropped by $150 million. No matter which number of businesses is correct, the loss of seventy-five percent of the wholesale market value in this period would have been devastating to the local economy.

The city's population statistics for the period of 1929 to *ca.* 1945 are a clearer indicator of the debasement of the local economy. The 1930 Census revealed that St. Joseph had a population of 80,935, somewhat lower than the Chamber of Commerce's estimate of 85,000 in 1928 (Bureau of the Census 1952:25-10; St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce 1928: n. p.). In 1940, however, the Census reported a population of only 75,711, representing a loss of 5,224 people (6.5 percent) over the previous decade. In comparison with other major cities in Missouri, Kansas City's loss in population was only 0.1 percent, and St. Louis' loss was only 0.7 percent (ibid.). The exodus from St. Joseph is clear evidence of the economic difficulties in the city.

In spite of the depressed economy, the development of property for residential, commercial, industrial and public buildings continued during the 1930s. The total project investment represented in the available building permit records from this period was reported by the City to range from a low of only $281,945 in 1938, to a high of $1,269,557 in 1939 (Polk 1930-1940), with the average year posting approximately $450,000 in new investment.

A sampling of some prominent building activities known to have taken place during the Great Depression includes the Thomas Edison School (1931, 22nd and Clay Streets), the Webster School (1931, 18th and Highly Streets), the St. Francis Xavier School (1934, 2618 Seneca Street), Westminster Presbyterian Church (1934, 2101 Jules Street), and the Noyes School (1939, 26th and Delaware Streets). Several new buildings were added to the St. Joseph State Hospital on Frederick Boulevard at 34th Street, including the employee dormitory (1936), the Woodson Building (1937-1938), and the Park Building (1937-1938). A major public works project of this period was the construction of the Belt Highway (U. S. 29L, U. S. 169), which was built as a by-pass for traffic out of the Downtown area, and whose impact on housing and commercial development patterns in St. Joseph is still being felt (St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, "Public Buildings," "Transportation" and "Ethnic Heritage").

The high level of activity shown in building permits for 1939 reflects the impact of massive federal aid invested through the Public Works Administration, which was spent on projects that included the New City Market on Market Square in Downtown St. Joseph, a new police station at 9th and Mary Street, Fire Station No. 7 at Church and 10th Street, and new runways and hangars for Rosecrans Field, the municipal airport now located across the Missouri River from St. Joseph.

Commercial construction in St. Joseph also continued during the Depression, though there are only a few structures previously surveyed which document the range of commercial design during this

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period. In relative terms, the entire number of new buildings or period alterations of extant properties would have been low, as suggested by the small amount of total investment demonstrated by building permit activity. Previous survey activity in St. Joseph has not located examples of commercial structures from 1930 to *ca.* 1945, largely because buildings from this period were ignored if the date of their construction lay outside of the time period eligible for survey.

For the purposes of this amendment, however, there are excellent examples to document the types of commercial building built between *ca.* 1929 and *ca.* 1945. These examples include new construction and renovations of older structures. Fire Station No. 7 (1939, 927 Corby Street), an example of a service-related property type as identified in the "Queen City of the West" context, as is the Shell service station at 1528 St. Joseph Avenue (1929, renovated in 1934). The Anna Kneib Store (1932, 920 Church Street) is an example of a neighborhood store building identified as an eligible resource under the Small Scale subtype of the Commercial Block property type; the Woolworth Store (1919; renovated 1940, 22nd and Mitchell Streets) is also an example of a small scale commercial block but with city-wide importance. An entire collection of mixed commercial property types predominantly built within this period can be found near Downtown St. Joseph in blocks bounded by Messanie, 5th, Sylvanie, Edmond, and 8th Streets.

Though the sampling represented by these buildings is small, the one key characteristic shared by all is that the essential elements of their form are little changed from those of related property types built a decade before. The weak local economy provided little opportunity for innovation in design, structure or materials during the Great Depression; the restrictions of the World War Two-era economy provided even fewer opportunities for dramatic change.

However, sweeping change in commercial design and construction did occur with the invigorated economy that followed the end of World War Two, and it was these changes that truly bring the "Queen City of the West" era to a close. Innovations in manufacturing processes and materials brought new opportunities for experimentation in commercial design, as glass and structural steel, among other new materials, replaced brick and wood as the dominant elements of the architectural palette. Multi-storied buildings became increasingly uncommon as retail stores and service facilities adopted more horizontal massing; the grouping of multiple stores into one shopping center became more common as a way to lower development costs with shared parking. The renewal and subsequent explosion of the automobile culture in America also changed the places where St. Joseph (and most of America) did business, as the commercial strip and the shopping center brought about serious competition with Downtown for the first time in our history. Proximity to downtown or to a streetcar line was no longer a criterion for a successful business, replaced instead by the traffic count (the number of vehicles passing a point on a roadway on a particular day).

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Established highway commercial development on corridors such as Frederick, Kimball and St. Joseph Avenues remained viable in the 1950s, though many older developed properties were replaced eventually with new structures. New commercial corridors such as the Belt Highway became the greatest competition to Downtown by the end of the 1950s. Roadside restaurants such as the Snow White Restaurant (1938, Frederick Avenue at the Belt Highway) were developed to offer service to locals as well as travelers; over time, strip shopping centers, drive-in restaurants and motels also grew up on the Belt Highway at the city's perimeter.

The revised end date of *ca.* 1945 for the historical context of the "Queen City of the West" provides a demonstrable conclusion to the era of St. Joseph's historic commercial building development.

Note: The descriptions of Property Types, the evaluations of Significance for each property type, and the Registration Requirements for each are unchanged as a result of this amendment to the historic context.

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ASSOCIATED HISTORIC CONTEXT (AMENDED):
Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1950

PREFACE

The following materials amend the associated historical context, "Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929" to extend its relevant historical period from 1929 to *ca.* 1950. The historical period is being extended to accommodate new information on the growth and development patterns of St. Joseph's suburbs that continued during the Depression, World War Two, and immediate post-World War Two periods. After *ca.* 1950, growth patterns in the city changed rapidly from the previous eras as new forms of residential subdivision, housing types, and architectural styles appeared, as modified within the context of new standards for construction, land use and subdivision regulation adopted by the City. The amended information will build upon the base established by the earlier submission and cover the city's history of residential development to the close of the amended period of significance.

As presented in the original Associated Historic Context submission for "Suburban Growth in St. Joseph: 1900-1929," residential development during the first three decades of the twentieth century was influenced by the effects of a strong local economy, changing technologies applied to residential construction, and the effects of the automobile in changing both the design of residential properties and the development patterns in the city. Before *ca.* 1920, the streetcar line was the principal form of daily transportation to and from the workplace for most of St. Joseph's residents; a review of the city's subdivision development patterns and annexation patterns in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries shows a correlation between the spread of residential development and proximity to street car lines.

In general terms, the annexation policy of St. Joseph between *ca.* 1850 and *ca.* 1930 appears to push the city limits outward as soon as subdivisions were opened for development, rather than to wait until residences were developed. As a result of this policy, large areas of land were opened for development and then annexed, a practice spurred by to the exponential growth in the city's economy and population from *ca.* 1850 to *ca.* 1910. However, the supply of subdivided lots soon exceeded the demand for them, and many large areas of subdivided land remained mostly vacant for several decades before houses were built on them.

As an example, the East End Extension Subdivision was first laid out in the area of Jules and 28th Street in January of 1858 (Plat Book 1: 57), but the subdivision does not appear to have developed until well after the extension of the Jules Street streetcar line into the area in *ca.* 1900. The city annexed the area containing the subdivision in 1899. Although some residential properties along the

principal corridors of Jules and Felix streets date from the first decade of the twentieth century, most of the housing stock in the area today dates from *ca.* 1920 to *ca.* 1950. The development pattern evident in the Eastern Extension appears consistent with that of other subdivisions developed in areas annexed between 1889 and 1930, the last pre-World War Two annexation.

The automobile probably influenced some of the development of the eastern suburbs after World War One, especially those subdivisions or parts of subdivisions which did not have convenient access to street car lines. The mass production of the automobile, pioneered by Henry Ford and his "Model T," contributed to the growth of automobile ownership in Missouri, increasing from 76,000 in 1915 to more than 250,000 in 1920; 17,857 automobiles were registered in Buchanan County in 1926 (St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, "Transportation..." 1995: 9), which was only a slightly smaller number than the number of single-family residences in the city at this time (20,259 [St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce 1928: n. p.]). Some houses built during this period had side yard driveways and rear yard garages, as opposed to garages accessible only from rear alleys. The *porte-cochère*, once treatment only associated with large, upper-income houses, became a common feature of middle-income residential architecture in the 1910s and 1920s, particularly associated with Craftsman bungalows.

A key factor in the influence of the automobile on residential development patterns was the St. Joseph Park and Parkway System (NRHP 1/20/1995), first planned in 1912 by landscape architect and city planner George Kessler and others, but not completed until the latter half of the 1920s. Kessler designed similar systems in several other cities, including Kansas City (1891), Memphis (1904) and St. Louis (1905). Construction of the St. Joseph system created a demand for new residential development to the north and south of the core of the city beyond the reach of the streetcar system. Noyes Boulevard, completed in *ca.* 1914 and occupying portions of 27th and 32nd streets, served as a cross-town connector with the parkway system to speed traffic across the eastern edges of the city. The construction of Noyes Boulevard led to a flurry of new residential construction after World War One in old suburbs such as the Eastern Extension Subdivision, and led to the development of new subdivisions including Frances' East Extension and Frances' East Extension #2 (Plat Book 3:81, 1911; Plat Book 4:1-2, 1914, respectively), among many others.

However, the new development activity stimulated by the construction of the parkway system was ill-timed. While the economy seemed to be booming in St. Joseph in the mid-1920s, the first setbacks were beginning to appear, especially in the wholesale distribution sector; but the losses seemed to be offset by growth in the grain marketing and processing companies. Population growth had been relatively flat between 1910 and 1930, increasing by only 3,500 persons during this twenty-year period (Bureau of the Census 1952:25-10). The majority of residential development that occurred in the 1920s consisted of people leaving an older residence or an apartment in one part of the city and

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moving to a new single-family house in another. For older, inner-city neighborhoods such as Cathedral Hill, Museum Hill and others, city directories show the out-migration of residents which caused the slow erosion of overall neighborhood income levels, and a concurrent decrease in the percentage of owner-occupied and single-family dwellings (Polk 1925-1940).

The Stock Market Crash of 1929 was a watershed event in St. Joseph history, as it was across America. While the Crash and the Great Depression that followed effected the pace of residential development in St. Joseph, these events did not change the essential elements of residential design, scale and materials, or the design of subdivision plans or individual lot plans. These changes occurred in St. Joseph after 1950 with the advent of the post-World War Two housing boom.

The Depression-era economy of St. Joseph has received little attention from local historians. Even so, there is information available that provides insight on residential development during the 1930s, and its recovery in the decade after. In 1928, the St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce reported that the city had 20,259 dwelling units housing a population 80,935 people (St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce 1928: n. p.; Bureau of the Census 1952:25-10). In 1939, however, the city's Building Department reported that the number of occupied dwelling units had fallen to 19,993, in part due to a loss in population of 5,224 citizens (Polk 1939: n. p.; Bureau of the Census 1952:25-10); similar situations existed in the other major cities of Missouri. While statistical information on the debasement of the local economy has not been found for the Depression years, the loss of 6.5% of the city's population between 1930 and 1940 strongly indicates the loss of employment opportunities in the city during this period.

The few statistics available on building permit activity during the Depression provide a general picture of new residential development. Investment in permitted construction activities remained well below $1 million in every year of the 1930s except 1939, dropping to a low of $281,945.00 in 1938 (Polk 1935-1940). The massive jump in permit activity shown in 1939 is apparently due to two major federally-funded construction efforts: the first was the construction of a series of municipal buildings by the Public Works Administration, including Fire Station No. 7 at 925 Church Street and the New Public Market, built on Market Square in Downtown (demolished *ca.* 1975); the second major project was the construction of Rosecrans Municipal Airport in the same year (St. Joseph Landmarks Commission "Transportation" 1995:12).

Unemployment in St. Joseph in 1939 was 17.5 per cent (St. Joseph Planning Department 1963: n. p.). During the years of World War Two, unemployment dropped as manufacturing activity increased for the war effort and as females entered the workforce to replace males entering the armed forces (St. Joseph Planning Department 1963: n. p.). After the war, by 1946, the number of occupied dwelling units had grown to 23,286, surpassing the pre-Depression level of 20,259, perhaps reflecting

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the local impact of the "G. I. Bill of Rights." In 1950, this number had grown to 23,755; even so, the increase represented an average of only one hundred houses built each year between 1946 and 1950 (Polk 1947-1953).

Residential development in the immediate post-World War Two era in St. Joseph did not result in the creation of new "G. I. Bill" neighborhoods as it did in larger cities such as Memphis, St. Louis and Kansas City. Instead, houses were built within previously-established subdivisions, often on vacant lots next to houses developed a full generation before. Areas of the city where infill development occurred included Westminster Place, a neighborhood originally subdivided in 1903 but developed mostly with houses dating between *ca.* 1920 and *ca.* 1950 (Plat Book 3:11); and the area of Jackson Avenue and 29th Street, where Colonial Revival cottages and English cottages dating from the 1930s stand next to Cape Cod cottages and Minimalist Traditional gable-and-wing cottages built in the later 1940s.

Economic indicators from 1950 suggest a dramatic change in the residential development market of St. Joseph and its economy in general. In contrast with the rather sluggish pace of residential development before 1950, building permit records in 1950 show investment in construction increased to $1.7 million, spread among 841 permitted projects (Polk 1951). The trend continued at about this same pace for the next two years, escalating to $6.7 million by 1961. Over the ten year period from 1951 to 1961, St. Joseph added an average of 224 residences each year to the city's housing stock (St. Joseph Chamber of Commerce 1965:153). Over the same period, however, the population of St. Joseph only increased by one per cent (Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater St. Joseph 1972: 2).

The building boom in the early 1950s brought sweeping changes in subdivision and residential design. Subdivision designs in the post-War development period often abandoned the traditional grid pattern in favor of a less regular pattern that included meandering and curvilinear streets, and streets ending in *cul-de-sacs*. Even in the few areas designed with a gridded street plan, front and side yard setbacks increased from the pre-War pattern, and residential design changed as the ranch house gained favor and slab-on-grade foundations replaced conventional raised foundation. The new subdivisions spread out to the north, east and southwest of the city, extending first along the parkways developed by the city in the 1920s, and then along the Belt Highway (U. S. Highways 29L and 169), developed in 1931. Development then spread further outward, moving beyond the city limits last modified in 1930. Much of this area developed during the 1950s and was annexed into the city in 1958.

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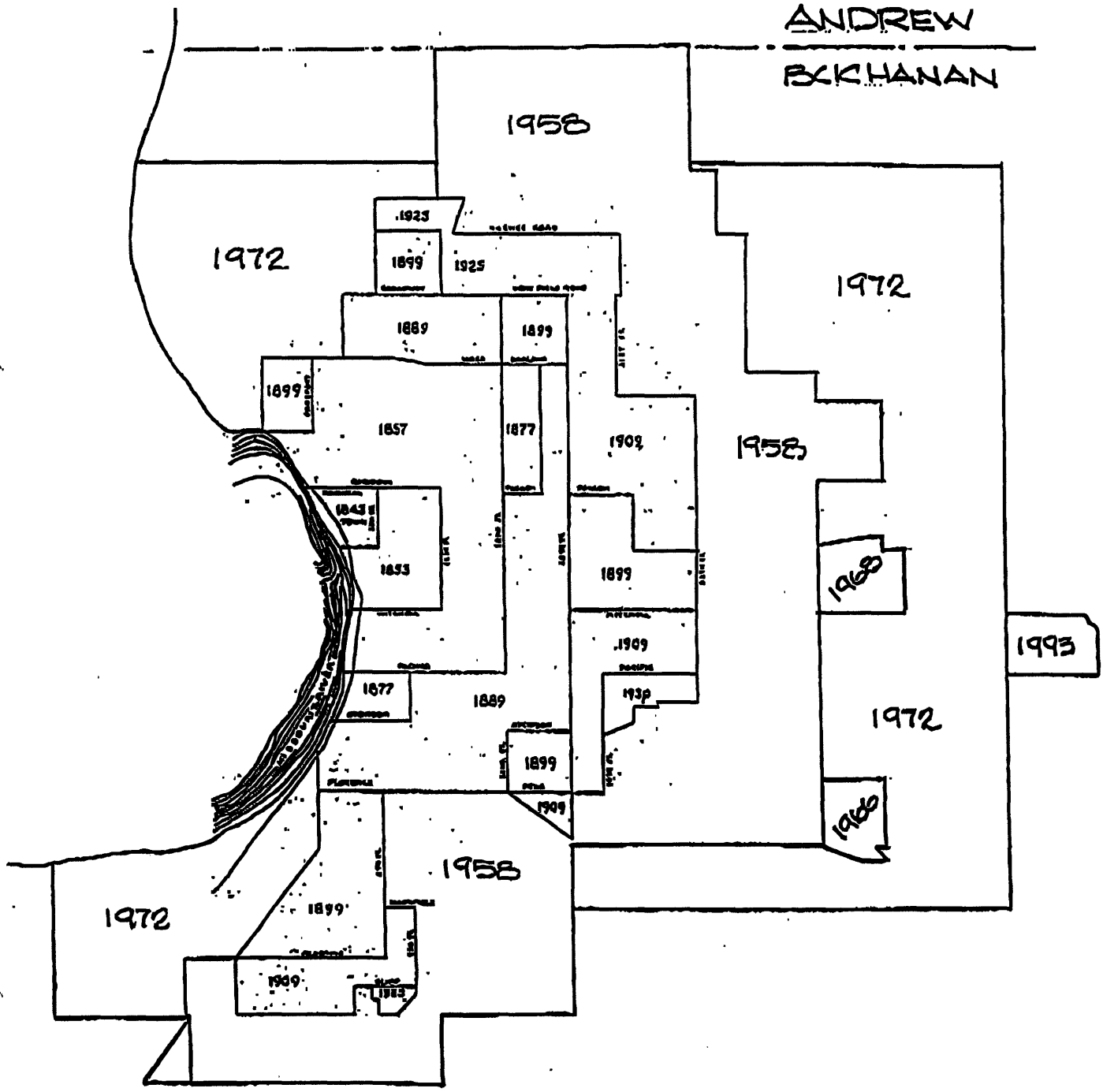
INEXATION MAP OF ST. JOSEPH, 1843 TO PRESENT



F. Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type See continuation sheets

II. Description See continuation sheets

III. Significance See continuation sheets

IV. Registration Requirements See continuation sheets

[x] See continuation sheet

[ ] See continuation sheet for additional property types

G. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

[x] See continuation sheet

H. Major Bibliographical References

[x] See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- [x] State historic preservation office
- [ ] Other State agency
- [ ] Federal agency
- [ ] Local government
- [ ] University
- [ ] Other

Specify repository: Missouri State Cultural Resource Inventory
Jefferson City, MO

I. Form Prepared By

name/title Deon K. Wolfenbarger/Preservation Consultant
organization St. Joseph Landmarks Commission date 6/20/88
street & number 11th & Frederick, City Hall telephone (816) 271-4773
city or town St. Joseph state Missouri zip code 64501

Associated Property Types

Property Type: Greek Revival Residences

Description

As St. Joseph grew from a simple trading post to an outfitting town, so did the housing needs of its citizens grow from settlement log cabins to a more "civilized" form of residential architecture. The dominant style of domestic architecture in America at the time was Greek Revival, which was brought into Missouri and St. Joseph by settlers from the Upland South. In St. Joseph, Greek Revival houses were the first permanent residences built after the settlement period. Houses within this property type range from the simple vernacular forms to the full expression of the style.

The first generation of these residences were built in the 1840's and '50's near the river on the bottom of the bluffs on the north, east, and south of the "Original Town" plat. These were the dwellings of the early settlers and business owners. The earliest extant examples of this property type were generally one-story brick or frame buildings with end gable roofs. These often sat on a high stone basement, and the facade was symmetrical in composition (although its main entry might be off-center). The windows had simple molded lintels, and there was usually a central chimney. The most modest residences, such as the tenement homes built by Joseph Robidoux, have very plain entries. A rectangular transom light and panelled doors are often the only Greek Revival details at the entry. Many of these residences built among the commercial structures never had the distinguishing Greek Revival front porch.

When the hills overlooking the center of town became more desirable residential locations, the aspiring settlers began locating their homes there. The first built were still modest vernacular examples, although some grew from one to one-and-a-half or even two stories in height. These generally employed the Georgian ideal I-house form, although the Greek Revival style was applied to other conservative house forms, such as the gable-front and the hall-and-parlor. Again, these were symmetrically arranged with gable or hipped roofs. A few had gable dormers, some with a centered wall gable dormer

reminiscent of the Gothic Revival style. However, no other detailing or features remain to define these few examples as clear Gothic Revival. Instead, the features are classical in nature, again with rectangular transoms and sometimes sidelights around the paneled door. Columns and pilasters were used as decorative features both inside and out. Outside, the columns support flat-roofed entry porches, and are generally square on the surviving vernacular examples.

As the merchants' fortunes grew, so did the sophistication of their newer houses. The Greek Revival structures of the prosperous settlers were located within the new, prestigious residential neighborhoods, either away from their commercial ventures or on farming estates. These residences are two-story, symmetrical, and are usually full expressions of the Greek Revival style. The window and door openings are the principal areas of elaboration, along with some cornice line decoration. Again, the features are classically derived. Windows are usually 6/6 with either brick or rectangular or triangular molded lintels. The paneled door entries are the dominant feature and are surrounded on the sides or top by a narrow band of rectangular glass panes. The door and surrounds usually have a larger, decorative enframement. A wide band of trim beneath the cornice may contain dentils, or may be made up of undecorated boards. Returns on the gable ends are boxed.

Significance

The Greek Revival residences are significant under criteria A, B, & C in the areas of COMMERCE, ARCHITECTURE, and POLITICS/GOVERNMENT, depending upon the occupation and significance of their owners. These structures are the earliest physical links to St. Joseph's founding and establishment as an outfitting center. There are no commercial buildings remaining from the 1840', and few from the 1850's. Although the extant Greek Revival domestic structures are also few in number, they remain the best representation of the change in St. Joseph from a rough trading post to a more refined outfitting town. They therefore provide insight into the town's overall economic growth during this period, which started out slowly but rapidly grew as westward migration increased in the 1850's.

The location of these residences, also reveals the settlement patterns of the town as it grew from the river and spread into the hills surrounding the commercial center. They are thus significant under criterion A for their association with the development of St. Joseph's economy and its settlement patterns during this period.

Under criterion B, some residences are significant because they were the homes of prominent settlers, city leaders, or business owners. These individuals were important because they initiated a commercial enterprise, were active in early St. Joseph government, or made a significant contribution to the city's development. These individuals were generally influential for many years. Their residences reflect the geographic background and their socio-economic status at the time. The choice of the Greek Revival style for the homes is a testimony to their growing prosperity and sophistication.

As a group, the remaining examples of this resource type are for the most part eligible under criterion C as good examples of a type and method of construction. A few of the most detailed are also good examples of the Greek Revival style. The range of application of this style in St. Joseph reflects the nationwide domination of the Greek Revival style in the settlement regions of the 1840's and 1850's. They embody the form, construction methods, and features of this democratic style as it filtered westward within the country's expanding population.

Registration Requirements

To qualify for listing under criteria A and B, the resource must retain a strong integrity of association and location. Some properties were located on the bottom of the bluffs near the river; others were situated on the hills overlooking the town. Both locations exhibit particular historical associations with St. Joseph, and are significant for their differences.

As the earliest surviving examples of any of St. Joseph's residential property types, it is not surprising that few remain, and those that do have undergone additions or alterations. However, these alterations should not significantly change the historic appearance of the building under either criterion A or B. Sufficient stylistic and structural features should remain to identify it with its period of significance. Specifically, integrity of facade arrangement and fenestration are important, such as original window openings and door surrounds. Original roof shape and floor plan should be evident from the front facade, although rear alterations are acceptable. In addition, under criterion B the resource must be the building in which the important individual resided when he/she was active in the town's development.

Under criterion C, to be eligible a resource must be a good example of a type or method of construction, or a good example of the Greek Revival style. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are necessary. In addition to the aforementioned features, original windows (usually 6/6), paneled entry door, exterior wall cladding, and front entry porch should be evident.

Property Type: Residences of Wholesale Company Owners & Investors

Description

The residences of many of St. Joseph's most affluent and prominent citizens are included in this property type. These individuals were able to build or purchase imposing houses because of their direct involvement in or investments relating to St. Joseph's profitable wholesaling industry of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The city played an extremely prominent role in the national system of distributing goods at his time, particularly in the 1880's and '90's, known as the "Golden Age" in St. Joseph. The majority of this property type were constructed during this Golden Age, and reflect the stylistic preferences of their owners. Also reflected in the homes is the locational preference of these prominent citizens. Rather than continue to build homes alongside the commercial structures, the hills overlooking the original town plat became preferred as more desirable areas for residential construction. Nearly all of the elaborate homes of the wealthy citizenry were built on these higher elevations. The residential neighborhoods on the surrounding hills contained both the homes of the "upper class" and the aspiring middle class. Within the prestigious neighborhoods, this property type was generally on a larger lot and set back further from the street than were the other residences.

As the majority of these residences were built during the Victorian age of American architecture, they reflect the range of styles popular during this period. Some were constructed in a late Italianate style, generally asymmetrical and more highly decorated than the earlier Italianate residences in St. Joseph. Low-pitched roofs, overhanging eaves with decorative brackets, tall narrow windows with elaborate or molded crowns, and highly articulated doors are common stylistic features. A few include the square tower considered a feature of the Italian Villa. The second Empire style is also represented in this property type, featuring a mansard roof with elaborate dormers and bracketed cornices similar to the Italianate style.

One of the most common styles was the Queen Anne, particularly the patterned masonry subtype. These feature the irregular massing, multiple rooflines, and a variety of devices to avoid a smooth-walled surface. The patterned masonry subtype utilized patterned brickwork or stonework, with terra-cotta and stone decorative panels frequently inset into the walls.

Richardsonian Romanesque was a style favored by local architects. It is distinguished by round-topped arches over the windows, entrances, and porch supports. Rough-faced stonework is used as detailing, and many have towers.

Another style, more rare but still favored by local architects, was the elaborate Chateauesque, which featured a steeply pitched roof with many vertical elements, such as shaped chimneys, spires, and pinnacles. The ornamental features combined Gothic and Renaissance detailings, especially in the dormers, windows, entrances, and shallow relief carvings and tracery.

Regardless of the style, these domestic structures had some stylistic features in common. All are two stories or greater, and are constructed in brick or stone. Most are asymmetrically massed, generally with multiple roofs and bays, and contain a variety of elaborate detailing using the finest local or imported materials, such as slate or tile roofs, terra cotta panelling, and stained glass windows. For the most part, these residences have been little altered throughout the years. Porch loss or replacement is the most common, followed by some window and door replacements. However, the integrity of these structures has not been lost with these minor alterations.

Significance

The residences of the prominent citizens of St. Joseph are significant in the areas of COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, and ARCHITECTURE. These structures are the manifestations of the wealth associated with the booming economy during St. Joseph's "Golden Age", resulting from the success of the wholesaling and banking industries. The individuals who constructed these residences included founders and owners of many of St. Joseph's largest distribution and manufacturing companies. In addition, the officers of the many superior banking facilities in town reaped financial benefits from the large fortunes established during the wholesaling period. A few owners of these dwellings were widows who retained ownership of their husband's company and remained active in the financial and cultural affairs of the city.

As symbols of the wealth and social standing of their owners, these structures are the most detailed and imposing residential resources in the community. All were high-style expressions of modern architecture at the time, and reflect the progressive thinking of the citizens. Many were designed by architects, especially by the prominent St. Joseph firm of Eckel & Mann. Edmund Jacques Eckel started the firm in 1872 after his training at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, and today it is the seventh longest continually operating architectural firm in the United States, now under the name of Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers. Harvey Ellis, another prominent architect employed by Eckel & Mann, was responsible for the design of many of these imposing resources. Viewed collectively these houses represent an important type of work for these architects. In addition, these residences introduced the general public of St. Joseph to new architectural styles and

trends, and influenced the housing choices of the aspiring middle and professional class as well as the working class.

These structures are significant under criterion A because they are associated with the development of St. Joseph's economy, which was dependent upon the wholesaling and associated industries. Beginning with its early importance as a western outfitting town, St. Joseph's role in the nationwide network of distributing goods grew to tremendous proportion. The peak of this growth occurred in the 1880's and '90's, a time which was characterized by its booming economy and the securing of many individual fortunes. These resources reflect the growth and wealth of St. Joseph's "Golden Age".

Many of these residences are also significant under criterion B because of their associations with persons who were directly involved with the wholesaling and banking industries in the late nineteenth century. Many owners were founders of some of St. Joseph's largest businesses. Some were involved in several companies and/or banks, and their residence is a good representation of their overall importance to St. Joseph.

Several of this property type are also excellent examples of specific architectural styles, particularly those of the late Victorian period of American architecture. They are the finest local high-style examples of late nineteenth century residential architecture. Many were designed by Harvey Ellis and others in the firm of Eckel & Mann. Residences representing this architectural significance are eligible under criterion C.

Registration Requirements

Under criterion A, the resources must retain a strong association with St. Joseph's wholesaling and related industries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These residences are noteworthy as reflections of St. Joseph's wealth and prominence in the expanding country at this time. These resources may be part of the district or may stand alone, but should still retain strong integrity of association and location. Their locations on large lots, set back from the surrounding houses and overlooking the commercial center of town, are important indicators of the owners' fortunes. Integrity of association is increased by the presence of historic outbuildings, such as carriage houses, which further reflect the prominence and affluence of the property owners.

Reflective of the generally high degree of care received over the years, these properties should retain a high degree of integrity of design and

materials as well. Stylistic features, particularly those that typically identify the various Victorian styles of Italianate, Second Empire, Queen Anne, Richardsonian Romanesque, and Chateauesque, should be evident. These include floor plan and massing, window and door openings, rooflines, exterior materials, and various distinguishing decorative features such as cornice line brackets, shaped chimneys, terra cotta panels, stone arches, etc.

For a resource to be considered eligible under criterion B, it must be the primary residence of an individual important to the wholesale industry and its associated economy. These could be the homes of company founders, major investors, or officers who were actively involved with the company's operations. These individuals must have made a significant contribution to St. Joseph's commercial development during this period. Their association with the property must coincide with the time of their involvement with their company. Integrity of association is most important, and integrity of materials and design should be evident as well.

To qualify as significant under criterion C, the residence must be a well-preserved example of a style or type, and must be recognizable as dating from the time of St. Joseph's "Golden Age". It may also be a good representation of a particular architect's work. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are of particular importance. In addition to the stylistic features outlined above, original doors, windows, and porches are especially significant. As the highest representations of a Victorian residential style and/or of an architect's work, these properties should embody the distinguishing features which evoke that style. As there are several well-preserved examples of this type, only those with the highest degree of integrity should be registered under criterion C.

Property Type: Victorian Style, Single Family Residences

Description

When the residential neighborhood on the hills surrounding St. Joseph's commercial district began to be developed, the wealthy, upper class were not the only ones able to afford an exodus from the center of town. A large, aspiring middle and professional class existed in St. Joseph, drawn by the number of well-paying jobs associated with the many commercial ventures in town. While these residents couldn't afford as large a lot or house as their most wealthy neighbors, they did manage to build more modest facsimiles of the elaborate mansions. These houses are generally built fairly close to the street and fill up most of the width of the lot, giving an urban appearance to the neighborhoods where these properties are found.

This group of property owners included a wide cross-section of St. Joseph's population during its Golden Age. Junior partners in wholesale firms and banks, railroad executives, lawyers, doctors (drawn by the establishment of a teaching hospital), builders, and accountants were some of the owners' professions. In addition, the most affluent citizens often built smaller residences next to their mansions for their sons or daughters to help them get a "start" in life with their own house, yet still remain nearby. Often, the widow of a prominent businessman would wish to remain in the neighborhood and would build a more modest home reflecting her diminished means.

Although generally built without the services of an architect, these properties are nonetheless good representations of the styles prevalent in the Victorian age. Although this was due in part to the very elaborate mansions built nearby, it was also due to the sophistication and modest wealth of the owners as well as the pervasiveness of the Victorian styles across America. Pattern books were now inspiring construction styles across the country. National architectural styles were built in St. Joseph during this period as regional and ethnic forms of architecture became less dominant.

The majority of this property type were built either in the Italianate, Queen Anne, Second Empire, or an eclectic combination of these three. The Italianate feature typically a low-pitched roof with wide, overhanging eaves and decorative brackets underneath. Most are asymmetrically massed and are built of brick, although there are a few extant frame examples. The tall narrow windows are particularly noticeable, and may feature molded crowns or brick lintels.

The Queen Anne style was constructed either of brick or frame. It, too, featured asymmetrical massing, but often had a more varied roofline than the Italianate residences. Frame residences often had wraparound porches with turned supports, spindles, and friezes. Brackets, shingles, bay windows, and a variety of other devices were utilized to avoid a flat wall surface. This was true of the masonry Queen Anne properties, although patterned brick was most generally used to add surface texture.

Residences constructed in the Second Empire style had as their most distinctive feature a mansard roof. Bracketed cornices, dormers, and squared entry porch posts or pilasters were common. Sometimes the distinguishing lines between these three styles was not always clear, as they often shared some common characteristics. First, most were two-story, brick residences which basically filled up the entire lot. This left little room for much variation in massing, and all were approximately the same height and width. To avoid a monotonous facade, all employed various devices to add variety to the massing,

such as projecting bays or windows. The windows, doors, porches, and cornice lines were left as the principal areas of elaboration. Throughout the years, these structures have received varying degrees of care. Loss of original entry porch is the most common, but some are also suffering from neglect or change to a multifamily residence.

Significance

The Victorian style, single-family residences of St. Joseph are significant in the areas of COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, and ARCHITECTURE. After the Civil War, the commercial growth achieved by St. Joseph was phenomenal due to its eminence as a wholesale distribution center. The booming population contained a large number of professionals and middle-class citizens associated with the commercial and industrial enterprises in town. Comparatively well-educated and well-to-do, this middle-class aspired to obtaining a better station in life, which in St. Joseph was conspicuously represented by the type of residence a person built and where it was located. The number of extremely wealthy citizens was somewhat limited, but the professional and middle class was quite heavily represented in St. Joseph. Entire neighborhoods of their homes provide ample evidence of the economic boom experienced by St. Joseph, particularly in the 1880's and '90's. These domestic structures are significant under criterion A as representations of the community's growth and widespread wealth during the wholesaling period.

As reflections of their owners' aspirations, the residences as a group are good representatives of Victorian style houses. Smaller in scale than the elaborate homes of the most wealthy, they nonetheless are good examples of the styles in which they were constructed. Some districts in particular are coherent collections of residences quite similar in design elements, differing only in the architectural features which distinguish the Italianate from the Queen Anne style, for example. They embody the distinctive characteristics of the styles prevalent in Victorian America, and at the same time reflect specific adaptations to the various neighborhoods in St. Joseph. As such, they are also eligible under criterion C.

Registration Requirements

Victorian style, single-family residences are most noteworthy when viewed as a group under both criteria A and C. Under criterion A, they must retain strong integrity of association and location in order to represent the pattern of St. Joseph's history and development. Their location in the neighborhood on the hills surrounding the commercial core reflect the growing ascendancy of the middle class in St. Joseph due to the booming economy during the wholesaling period.

Under both criteria A and C, integrity of design and materials are important. The architectural features which identify them as having been built during the period of their significance should remain, such as roof shape, massing, wall cladding, facade arrangement and fenestrations. To qualify as significant under criterion C, they must be good examples of a style associated with St. Joseph's "Golden Age". Stylistic features, such as cornice line brackets for Italianate and surface texture variations for Queen Anne, should be evident.

Property Type: Duplex Residential Structures

Description

Located among the elaborate homes of St. Joseph's wealthy citizens and the single-family dwellings of its middle-class are a large number of duplex residences. They were constructed in the favored neighborhoods of the late nineteenth century, and continued to be built up through the early part of the twentieth century. These duplexes were built for primarily three reasons: to allow members of the same family to reside together in a fashionable district and still have affordable private quarters; to provide income for the owner living in one half of the structure (often a widow); or as a purely speculative and income-producing venture for its owner who resided in another structure, quite frequently just next door. The wealth earned by those associated with the wholesaling and related industries allowed them to invest their money in other areas of the economy. Real estate was a favored form of investment in St. Joseph, both directly through the construction of those income-producing duplexes and indirectly through the large number of banks, financial institutions, and building associations. To be able to afford a speculative duplex required "discretionary" income on the part of the owners. Most large personal fortunes were established in St. Joseph after 1880, thus practically no duplexes were built prior to this date.

This property type was built in the prestigious neighborhoods on the hills overlooking town, and was either the primary residence or built within close proximity of the owner's home, and as a result, had many of the stylistic features of the surrounding single-family homes. The majority were two-story and constructed of brick, although there are isolated one-story and/or clapboard examples. The predominant style for those built during the 1880's and early 1890's was Queen Anne. These had many of the elaborate and fanciful features of the surrounding single family Queen Anne residences, such as projecting bays, stained glass windows, gable end decorations, and elaborate cornices, windows, and door openings. Much of the decoration lay in the patterned brick work, such as stringcoursing, dentils, arched window lintels,

etc. The primary difference between this property type and the single family residences was that in spite of a varied and irregular wall surface treatment, the duplexes remained basically symmetrical with mirror-image units, while the single family Queen Anne's were generally asymmetrical. Also, many of the duplexes were flat-roofed, as opposed to the multiple pitched roofs of the single family homes of the period. However, many duplexes utilized devices to avoid the appearance of a flat roof, such as false mansard fronts, or end gables over front projecting bays.

A few duplexes were constructed in other elaborate styles of the Victorian period. Some were late Italianate, and featured wide eaves, boxed cornices, pedimented or arched window crowns, and small front porches at the two entries. A few were also constructed in the Richardsonian Romanesque style, popularized by the elite of St. Joseph. These had the typical round-topped arches with decorative panels and stone detailing.

Towards the end of the 1890's and on up through the 1920's, a simpler style of duplex began to be built. These were most often flat-roofed with the brick detailing limited to the cornice or parapet and window openings. The front usually featured a full-length front porch on both stories, with massive square brick columns and three or four over one grouped windows (reminiscent of the Prairie or Craftsman styles). Some later duplexes were also built in a foursquare-type plan, again with simple Prairie or Craftsman detailing. A few duplexes were built after the turn of the century were slightly more elaborate. These generally were Colonial Revival in appearance, featuring such stylistic devices as a pedimented porch portico with round columns, cornice line dentils, and other classical features.

All of this property type are found within residential districts in St. Joseph. They are generally on narrow lots often with only a few feet between them and the structures on either side. All were built to conform with the surrounding neighborhood, and thus have the same setback as the other residences. In most cases, this is often to within ten feet of the front property line.

Significance

The duplexes of St. Joseph are significant in the areas of COMMERCE and ARCHITECTURE. This property type is but another manifestation of the wealth associated with the booming economy of St. Joseph's "Golden Age." Resulting from the success of the wholesaling and banking industry, real estate became a very popular form of investment for those connected individuals. The construction of a duplex, often next door to the owner's primary residence, was

a very visible display of extra wealth. If the duplex was the owner's primary residence, it represented a vehicle by which the aspiring middle-class could afford a more elaborate home in a fashionable district. All of this property type were built from 1880 on up through the early part of the twentieth century, the period associated with St. Joseph's growth and wealth due to its prominence as a wholesale distribution center. The burgeoning population of the town put a strain on existing housing stock, and duplexes were a cost efficient manner of providing residences in "quality" neighborhoods for the growing numbers of the middle-class. They are therefore significant under criterion A because of their association with the development forces which played a major role in shaping St. Joseph.

Many of the duplexes are excellent examples of specific architectural styles and type. The number and quality of duplexes found in St. Joseph are unique to the area. Many of the high-style examples display as much attention to architectural detailing as their single family counterparts. As illustrations of a distinctive type and/or style, many are also significant under criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible under criterion A, the resources must retain a strong association with St. Joseph's wholesaling and related industries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These duplexes are noteworthy as reflections of the discretionary wealth, due to the booming economy, which was invested in real estate during St. Joseph's period of greatest expansion. They also represent the aspirations of the professional and middle class to live in the prestigious residential districts first settled by the elite of the community. These resources are generally part of a district, and should retain integrity of association and location. Due to their usual function as rental properties, some loss of historic fabric is acceptable, most typically window or porch replacement. However, a good degree of integrity in design and materials should remain. Especially important is facade arrangement and fenestration, particularly the two separate entries. Original roof shape should be retained, as well as exterior building materials. If the original porch has been removed, the replacement should not obscure any original design features.

For a duplex to be eligible under criterion C, it must be a good example of a type or a well-preserved example of a style. As such, it should be recognizable as dating from the time of its construction. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are required. In addition to features outlined above, original windows, doors, and architectural features associated with a particular style

should be retained. This would include the familiar decorations and patterns of the Queen Anne style and the identifying stone arches of the Richardsonian Romanesque. On all but a few examples, the original porches should reflect the characteristics of the particular style, such as the one-story entry porch with squared supports of the Italianate, or the Queen Anne wraparound. In the earliest duplexes, original porches are often rare, but this should not affect their historic integrity.

Property Type: Multiple Family Residential

Description

Multiple family residential structures were constructed in St. Joseph from as early as the 1850's, and continued to be built on up through the twentieth century. The majority however, were constructed from the 1880's through the 1920's. This coincides with the period of St. Joseph's growth and expansion. Due to the city's pivotal role as a distribution center for goods, a variety of people were required to work in the many wholesale warehouses, railroad shipping lines, and associated industries. Multiple family structures satisfied the needs of two kinds of workers: those new to the community who had to wait for a house to be constructed; and those who could not afford a single family detached residence. Both types of workers reflect the population explosion St. Joseph experienced due to its burgeoning economy, especially after 1880. The construction industry was booming, but it was still difficult to keep up with the demand for additional housing. These units helped alleviate some of the housing problems experienced during this period of growth. Waiting to take advantage of this demand for inexpensive housing were St. Joseph's wealthier citizens. Real estate had proven to be a popular form of investment for those who made their fortunes through the wholesaling, banking, and related industries. Multiple family buildings, which had a ready source of tenants, were relatively safe investments.

Even though the residents of these structures were primarily the working or young professional class, there was still a desire for quality construction and a desirable location. Thus many of these units were built within the prestigious residential neighborhoods on the hills overlooking the central business district. In addition, the architectural styles and detailing made them compatible with the surrounding residences. They were usually constructed of brick, and were either two or three stories high. Those constructed during the 1880's were most commonly in the Queen Anne style. These featured the typical multiple rooflines, but were presented in a more symmetrical fashion than their single family counterparts. There was also a variety of texture and ornamentation used, often Eastlake inspired.

The floor plan of these structures represents the widest variability within this property type, and these structures can be sub-classified accordingly. The "townhouse" sub-type is a single family residence of two or three stories which is attached to a similar townhouse, sharing a common sidewall. As these were sited on narrow lots, the structures could either be individually owned, or the group owned as a unity by an investor who rented out each townhouse. Townhouses in St. Joseph were built in one of the Victorian styles, such as the Second Empire, or featured an array of eclectic Victorian details on the facade.

"Flats" are multiple family structures in which an entire residential unit (apartment) is on one floor. Variations among the floorplans of flats include: structures with two units - one over the other (differing from a duplex which features two units mirroring each other side-by-side); four units, generally with a central hall separating two halves with one-over-one units; and multiple attached units, resembling townhouses but differing in that an entire family's dwelling unit is on one floor rather than two. Stylistically, flats ranged from the Victorian era to the simple flat-roofed brick structures of the post-1900's.

Different in size and scale from the above two sub-types are the large "apartment" structures. These featured multiple dwelling units, often several to a floor. The earlier structures were usually constructed in one of the Victorian styles. Those built after the turn of the century were generally utilitarian versions of the revival architectural styles favored at the time, such as Jacobethan Revival or Colonial Revival. These featured steeply pitched gable roofs, and classical or medieval details at the doors, windows, roofs, and chimneys.

Significance

Multiple family residential structures are significant in the areas of COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, and ARCHITECTURE. The buildings serve as a tangible link to St. Joseph's period of greatest growth due to its important position in the nationwide system of goods distribution. An analysis provides insight into the background and status of the building owners and residents, both groups important players in St. Joseph's economy. The wealth and jobs associated with the community during the late nineteenth century drew many classes of workers, and the residences constructed for them are indicative of the town's overall economic conditions and later settlement patterns. They are thus significant under criterion A for their association with the overall development of St. Joseph.

Some of the multiple family structures are good examples of specific architectural type or style. Several were located in favored residential districts and reflect those styles popular in single family residences of the time. In addition, St. Joseph retains a wide array of different types of multiple family residences, differing primarily in floor plan and scale. The good representatives of a style or type are significant under criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible under criterion A, the resources must retain a strong association with the growth and industries associated with St. Joseph's period of wholesale distribution. The structures are noteworthy as reflections of the city's explosive growth in population and wealth due to her position as a wholesaling center. The citizens who built multiple family structures used them as a form of investment for the wealth they earned from related industries. A strong degree of integrity of association is necessary. Window, door, and some porch replacements are common, but these changes do not generally affect the structures' integrity of design and materials. Original fenestration openings are important however, as are roof shapes and facade arrangement. Those built in the Queen Anne style should retain a sufficient number of features to identify the period of significance. On brick structures, this would include the patterned masonry designs at the cornice lines, window openings, and separating floors. Shingle and jigsaw decorations should remain on the frame structures.

The latter, simpler multiple family structures should retain original porches with the typical massive square supports, as well as whatever little brick detailing was originally present. The revival style apartment complexes should especially retain the classical or medieval detailing which associate them with the style. In all of the sub-types, floor plan is a key feature in distinguishing one-sub-type from another, and is therefore a very important element of integrity.

Property Type: Vernacular Residential Structures

Description

When the railroad came to St. Joseph, it brought not only the prosperity associated with the town's prominence as a wholesaling center, it also brought thousands of workers for the warehouses, railroads, and other associated businesses. With those workers came the need for solid, inexpensive housing. Here again the railroad played a dominant role. As railroads spread across America in the decades from 1850 to 1890, the nature of vernacular or folk

housing changed dramatically. Modest dwellings were no longer restricted to local materials. Instead, houses were built of balloon frame construction and sheathed with clapboards, from lumber, shipped via the rails. In St. Joseph, this method of construction began after the Civil War, but it was especially prevalent in the housing boom of the 1880's and 1890's.

Although new building techniques were used, earlier vernacular architectural traditions still exerted a strong influence on the housing types of the working class. Many were adorned with the ornate detailing typically associated with the Victorian period. Some possessed enough degree of styling to be classified as the subtype "Vernacular Queen Anne." These comfortable versions of the Queen Anne differed from their counterparts by having less elaborate detailing and simpler house forms and massing. They still, however, exhibit the multiple irregular rooflines, wrap-around porches, gable end decorations, and the turned and jig-sawn decorative features found in the more elaborate Queen Anne homes. They can be found in one or two-story versions, and are generally constructed in frame. By not building in brick, these owners were able to afford a home which reflected their tastes and aspirations.

Other simpler forms of housing structures were built during this period. Due to the availability of Victorian detailing at local lumberyards, these also sometimes had decorative features. Most often, this was in the form of turned porch supports or gable end bargeboards. In plan and form, however, these residences maintained vernacular traditions. Many were regional adaptations of Upland South building traditions.

Perhaps the most modest of these vernacular subtypes is the "hall". The simple side-gabled house is two rooms wide, one room deep, and one story high. Some versions have two doors; the remainder have one door off-center. A few variations feature the addition of a central hall. There is often a front porch, and many have received rear additions over the years.

"Gable-front" structures first appeared in this country during the Greek Revival period of architecture, where the front facing gable echoed the pediment of Greek temples. It was particularly suited for narrow urban lots in rapidly expanding cities such as St. Joseph. They were constructed in either one or two stories, generally frame, but sometimes in masonry. A particularly inexpensive variation is the "shotgun" dwelling, which is three rooms deep, one room wide, with all interior and exterior doors aligned and generally off to one side.

Like the gable-front subtype, the "gable-front-and-wing" also descended from Greek Revival housing. With the coming of the railroad, simple

hall-and-parlor and I-houses had front-gabled wings added, or an entire house was built as an L-shaped unit. They are a common vernacular housing type, and were constructed in one, and one-and-a-half, and two-story variations. The most distinguishing feature is the side gable wing placed at right angles to the gable-front wing, although some later versions did feature hipped roofs. Typically, a front porch was situated in the "L" made by the two wings. The primary entrance to the house was located in that junction on the main body of the house.

The "I-house" subtype was a form upon which many stylistic treatments were applied, such as Greek Revival and Italianate. This was due to its pervasiveness as a vernacular building tradition throughout America, but especially in the South and Midwest. Some I-houses in St. Joseph, however, do not exhibit a high enough degree of styling to distinguish themselves as a different property type. These more modest I-houses are characterized primarily by their form and floor plan. They are two stories high, two rooms wide and one room deep. usually with a side gable roof. Again, most of these modest versions are constructed of frame, although a few examples may be of brick.

Some vernacular housing structures can be found in the prestigious neighborhoods on the hills overlooking the river town. These generally were built either quite early, before the neighborhoods became too exclusive, or later, as they began to lose their prominence. Many occur in most modest residential sections, which either abutted the prestigious districts or were wholly separate (such as those to the south along the railroads and stockyard areas)

Significance

Vernacular housing structures are significant under criteria A and C in the areas of COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, and ARCHITECTURE. An analysis of this property type, along with the others found in St. Joseph's period of wholesale distribution, provides insight into the town's overall economic condition. Together they reveal much about the settlement patterns of the towns and some of the existing social conditions. St. Joseph's size and type of economy required many different kinds of workers, who in turn demanded different types of housing. To the working class's favor, the availability of money in St. Joseph made the dream of private home ownership much more easily within reach. By being able to borrow money for a home on long-term credit (which at this time was still an uncommon practice), even a "humble mechanic or tradesman" could provide a home for himself. The wealthy citizens who invested in the building associations and banks which dealt with home loans, received benefits

not only in the form of interest, but in the multiplier effect this had on the overall economy. As the housing stock grew, the benefits rippled out from the construction industry until the whole community was enriched. For their significant association with these broad patterns of St. Joseph history, these residences are eligible under criterion A.

Despite the seemingly large differences between the subtypes, these houses remain linked in usage, methods of construction, and within each subtype, by plan and form. Under criterion C, these are eligible as local representatives of national vernacular housing types.

Registration Requirements

To qualify under criterion A, the structure must retain its integrity of association, location, design, and materials. It must be recognizable as dating from the time it was constructed. With these modest structures, that leaves little room for facade alterations or loss of materials. Of utmost importance is retainage of the original plan (except for rear additions). Original roof shape, windows, doors, and exterior finishes should also be evident. The districts in which these are located should retain its association with the period of significance.

The above mentioned aspects of integrity should be retained under criterion C as well. In addition, the vernacular Queen Anne subtype should retain its original porch and decorative features, such as shingles, bargeboards, frieze or fret work, etc., which are distinguishing to the style.

Property Type: Popular Style Houses

Description

The popular style houses built during the early part of the twentieth century reflect the three themes which were changing residential growth patterns in St. Joseph. First, the economic slowdown resulted in fewer elaborate homes being built. The majority of new residential structures were modest building types. Second, new modes of transportation affected both the location of this housing type as well as its form. The railroad, which had played such an important role in St. Joseph's economy during the previous century, had a profound effect nationwide on domestic architecture. Stylistic features and lumber could be shipped virtually anywhere across the country. Whole houses, ordered from catalogue sources such as Sears or Aladdin Company were shipped via the railway system. Also, the automobile and street car lines were responsible for whole neighborhoods of this property type to be built out

from the established center of St. Joseph, primarily to the east and south. Third, technological innovations caused nationwide changes in the types of domestic structures being built.

By the early twentieth century, popular forms of housing replaced the vernacular plan types as the favored domestic structure for the working class. Earlier vernacular forms gave way to more modern arrangements of interior spaces and exterior detailing. Electricity, indoor plumbing, and central heating affected the arrangement of interior spaces, while mass-produced, machine-made architectural features changed the appearance of the exterior. As America's system of communication became more advanced and ideas became widespread, architectural styles became more homogeneous. The residences no longer reflected regional or ethnic trends, but nationwide trends instead. Contractors of popular style houses replicated and adapted complete building plans from a variety of sources, such as pattern books, catalogues, trade literature, and magazines.

The most dominant forms of this housing type in St. Joseph are bungalows and foursquares. Both contain features and detailing from the Prairie and Craftsman styles, such as wide overhanging eaves, square or tapered square porch supports, full length front porches, horizontal groupings of windows, with the upper sashes containing several vertical planes and the lower sash consisting of a single large pane. In general, the emphasis was on the horizontal in detailing.

The bungalow form is a one story, generally front end gable house with a lower gable or hipped roof front porch. The porch support columns are a distinctive feature, and can vary somewhat. Typically, short square columns rest upon massive piers. The columns may be straight or have sloping sides. Materials for the columns and piers vary from stone, brick, clapboard, and shingle. The wide, overhanging eaves feature exposed rafters, beams, and often triangular knee braces. Stone and brick can be found in the porch area, but the house is generally finished in clapboard, shingles, or board and batten.

The foursquare is a two story structure, two rooms wide and two rooms deep. It also has wide, overhanging eaves which are usually enclosed and featured on a low-pitched hip roof, sometimes with dormers. The entry door is either centered or off to one side. Exterior finishes include clapboard, shingle, and brick, or a combination of the above with the first and second floors differing. While most four-squares feature details reminiscent of the Prairie or Craftsman style, especially in the porch supports, some feature Colonial Revival detailing, such as round classical columns and half-circle windows. Overall, it was the foursquare's massiveness and sturdiness,

emphasized in catalogue ad copy, which was so appealing to the public.

Significance

Popular style houses are significant under criteria A and C in the areas of COMMERCE, ARCHITECTURE, and COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT. Under criterion A, they are significant because of their association with the development of St. Joseph during the early part of the twentieth century. They are representatives of a nationwide trend towards housing, influenced by pattern books, magazines, and catalogues. These were the most pervasive housing forms nationwide after the turn of the century, and they were built in large numbers in St. Joseph as well. As simpler homes, they reflect the downturn of St. Joseph's economy after the decline of the wholesaling industry. While a few of this property type were constructed as infill within the older residential areas, most were built within new neighborhoods located to the east and south of downtown St. Joseph. The city was beginning to grapple with the concept of community planning at this time, as the automobile influenced the location of residential districts. The neighborhoods consisting of these homes follow the planning of street car lines and primary traffic routes of the city.

Under criterion C, several are significant as representatives of the nationwide trend of popular style housing types. This is most evident when these structures are concentrated within a district, where the individual structures may lack distinction, but analysis of the entire group reveals greater significance.

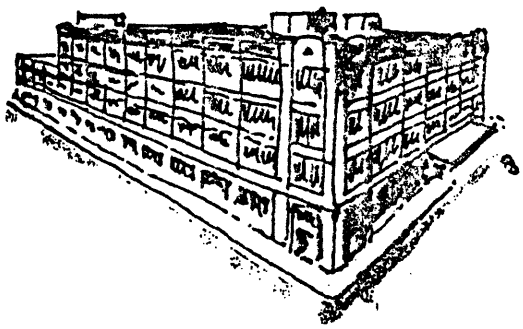
Registration Requirements

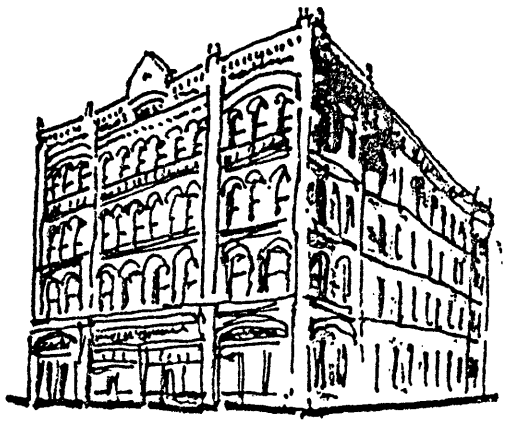
To qualify under criterion A, the structure must retain strong integrity of association, location, design, and materials. There are many extant examples in St. Joseph and those nominated must retain the highest degree of integrity. Original floor plan is important, as well as exterior finishes, particularly in the bungalows and four-squares where varying textures were an important design element. Porches are also of particular importance, and should retain original materials and not be enclosed.

If considered within a district, the district itself must also retain integrity of association as well as setting. In addition to the above mentioned aspects of integrity, under criterion C the resource must also retain integrity of workmanship. As there are several representatives of this property type, there should be minimal alterations to the structure.

Associated Property Types

I. Name of Property Type: Warehouse/Light Manufacturing Facilities





II. Description

These facilities are characterized physically foremost by their sense of weight and massiveness. While this quality can be found in small scale buildings, most of the examples of this property type are large in scale, sometimes occupying a quarter of a city block. Buildings will vary in size from one to eight stories. Examples are most commonly square in composition, but linear examples are also found, usually spanning the entire width of a city block, with substantially narrower end elevations.

A grouping of buildings which may not individually be massive, but as a whole creates a massive unit may also be considered an example of this property type. This occurrence is not common. A visual unity is maintained due to common walls, occupation of more than half of a city block, and in general, a common architectural treatment. Examples will lack individually distinctive ornamentation. This type of occurrence differs from a row of Commercial Blocks which feature ground floor storefront space.

Examples of this property type may also be characterized by a general largeness and simplicity of form. The broad spans on the elevations (on both small and large scale examples) are typically punctured by numerous windows. This fenestration creates a repetition of bays, which gives the building a compositional unity.

As a whole, the examples of this property type are not overwhelmingly high style representations of architecture. Many of the buildings employ characteristics of the Romanesque Revival and Classical Revival styles. A few are highly ornamented. Most have some detailing, with arcading being a commonly used design element.

The buildings are usually flat roofed and constructed of brick. Dominating the interior are large, open spaces with high ceilings. Support columns of iron or wood are dispersed

throughout the space. Ornamentation is rare. Space for support functions (office, meetings, etc.) also contributes to the plan.

Two types of alterations are common occurrences with the examples of this property type. Most common is the blocking of windows, either with masonry or sheathing. While this treatment has been widespread, the effects have not been overwhelming on most examples, due mainly to window recessions being maintained so the original opening is evident. In examples where sheathing has covered numerous windows, the treatment has typically been done within brick arcading which framed one or more bays of windows, therefore maintaining the patterning of bays which originally occurred. Historically, service wings may have been added to particular properties, almost always within the period of significance of the historic context. While the wings may not possess massiveness, the example is determined by the character of the main block of the building; wings do not detract from the massiveness of the main block, usually due to a difference in scale. In small scale examples, historic wings can blend with the main block, creating a unified composition and contributing to the massiveness of the building as a whole.

These property types will often occur in districts consisting of numerous examples, most likely related by historic use, but not related by historic ownership. Isolated examples may occur, but are typically found in a group of several buildings related historically by ownership, i.e. a group of several warehouses belonging to the same company. District occurrences are to the west and south of the Central Business District (CBD), with most isolated occurrences located farther to the south or southeast of the CBD.

Properties will most commonly be found next to the river, in close proximity to rail lines (railroad tracks may not remain in all cases), and/or near vehicular transportation arteries. Properties will directly relate historically to at least one type of transportation artery.

Example properties will date within the period of significance of the associated historic context (c. 1865 - c. 1929).

III. Significance

Examples of this property type represent the period of commercial expansion in the City of St. Joseph, and in particular the wholesale/distribution and related light manufacturing that was the most integral part of the city's commercial/wholesale notoriety. While the city's commercial success was established well before the Civil War, few properties remain from this earlier period of commerce. These properties represent a late 19th and early 20th century advancement of St. Joseph's role as a commercial/wholesale gateway to the west, with businesses changing from those which catered to the new frontier (leather, saddlery, etc.), to those which catered to a modern society. Among the goods manufactured and distributed were wholesale drugs, candy, dry goods, and hardware.

Property types will be eligible under Criterion A for significance in commerce, representing an important period of commercial development and expansion in the City of St. Joseph. Properties may also be eligible under Criterion B for associations with an individual who was significant in the commercial development of St. Joseph, provided that

no other building (most likely a residence) retaining a strong association with that individual is extant.

Many examples will be eligible under Criterion C for architectural significance. Eligibility for architectural significance is not limited to an application of style, but also includes significance of these buildings being representative of the property type. An architecturally significant warehouse/light manufacturing facility may be an unadorned building, but through the qualities that classify it as this property type, it possesses significance.

Some examples of this property type may represent good examples of the work of prominent local architects such as Edmund J. Eckel. A native of France, and a graduate of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Eckel had a significant impact architecturally on the city and warehouse buildings are among his artistry.

IV. Registration Requirements

To qualify for listing under Criteria A, B, or C, the resource must retain a strong integrity of association and location. The resources must be located within areas of St. Joseph which were associated with the manufacture or storage of goods and merchandise for later distribution. Traditionally these sites have been located near the river, along rail lines, and along vehicular transportation arteries.

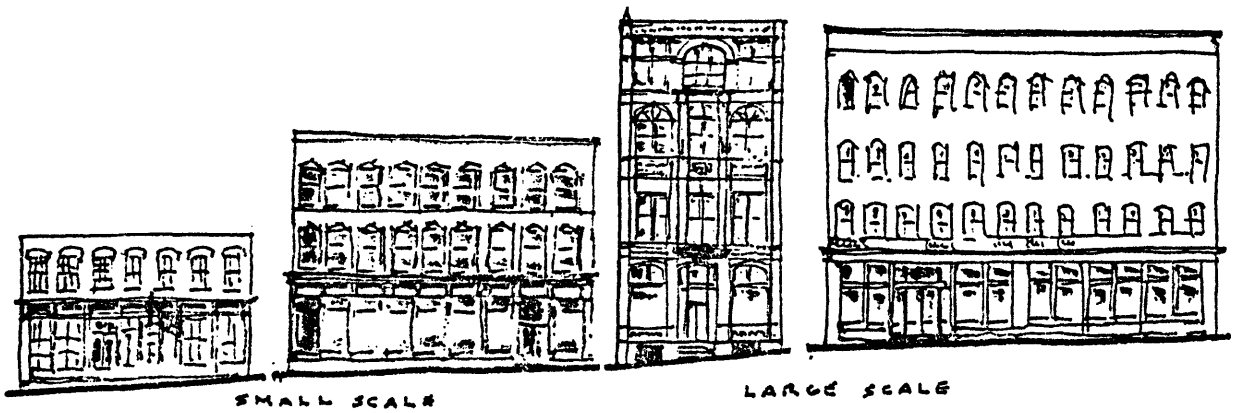
Buildings associated with manufacturing and warehousing of goods commonly undergo alteration as needs and ownership change. However, these alterations should not significantly change the historic appearance of the building under either Criteria A, B, or C. Sufficient stylistic and structural features should remain to identify it with its period of significance. Specifically, integrity of facade arrangement and fenestration are important; however, individual window openings do not have to be extant as long as the rhythm of the fenestration bays is evident or the recession of the window opening has been maintained. A proportionately small number of windows may have been completely blocked for the building to retain sufficient integrity. Additions to the main building are acceptable if they are clearly subsidiary to the original. Alterations on non-street facing elevations are acceptable.

For Criterion B to be applied, the resource must be the only building remaining associated with the significant individual when he/she was active in the city's commercial development. To have strong association with a significant person, the building must have been the established location of a wholesale/light manufacturing operation and the person must have had an
estabished decision-making position within the company. An important wholesaler's house would have greater significance than his/her place of work under this Criterion.

To be eligible under Criterion C, the property must possess the distinct characteristics that qualify it as this property type, and be an excellent example of the type. Chiefly among these characteristics are a sense of weight and massiveness, and a general simplicity of form. A repetition of bays created by numerous windows is also important. Buildings may also represent a good example of a type or method of construction or be good

examples of a specific style of architecture, such as, but not limited to, Romanesque Revival, Italianate, and Classical Revival. An example may also be a good representation of a particular architect's work. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship is necessary. In addition to the aforementioned features, the original pattern of fenestration, exterior wall cladding, and formal entry features should be evident.

I. Name of Property Type: Commercial Blocks



II. Description

Commercial Blocks are found in two sub-types: Small Scale and Large Scale. The defining qualities of these two sub-types are essentially the same, with the only exterior physical difference being the number of stories. Large Scale Commercial Blocks are four or more stories tall.

The main defining feature of the property type in general is a well-defined storefront space which is distinctly separate from the upper stories. This distinction commonly reflects a difference in public/private uses. Private use may pertain to storage space, but may also mean business office space or even residential space in the Small Scale Commercial Block. Storefront space could indicate retail space, lobby space, or showroom-like space related to the wholesale industry. Although historic use is not a defining element of this property type, typically the Large Scale Commercial Blocks were wholesale/distribution or even light manufacturing facilities in use, but are distinct because of their prominent storefront space.

Both sub-types are usually found in a row, with common walls. Adjacent properties will be individually distinct stylistically or ornamentally, or will simply differ in scale; the buildings with shared walls will not, as a group, give the effect of a warehouse facility due mainly to well-defined storefront space, but also to individual distinction achieved among the buildings.

Isolated or detached Commercial blocks do occur, sometimes as constructed originally, but also as a result of contemporary demolitions of adjacent buildings. Examples of this property type, particularly the Large scale sub-type, are typically narrow and deep in form, resulting in a side elevation that appears massive; however, the main character defining feature of the property type is its facade.

When found in isolation, Small and Large scale commercial blocks form distinct compositional types. The distinction between these subtypes is their vertical emphasis,

the Large subtype reaches above three floors. In both subtypes major horizontal divisions between florrs are often distinct. Repetitive features on each floor above the first gave the appearance of stacked vertical blocks reaching skyward; these were sometimes capped with a distinct upper zone creating a vertical three part composition. Whether limited to a single story, or rising above the two story level, the commercial block could effectively house the numerous retail outlets, commercial office space of banks and financial institutions, hotels and entertainment venues serving the city during its period of commercial preeminence. Examples of this property type, particularly the Large Scale sub-type, are typically narrow and deep in form, which may result in a side elevation that appears massive, but the property type is determined by the facade.

Usually constructed of brick, these typically flat roofed properties vary from vernacular buildings to highly decorative Eclectic cast iron examples. Many buildings display Italianate influence through window detailing or cornice lines, but as with the warehouse/light manufacturing facilities property type, these buildings as a whole are not overwhelmingly stylistically influenced. Small Scale versions sometimes feature cast iron elements, limited to storefront divisions. Windows, even on vernacular versions, frequently have some type of detailing, whether simple brick segmental arches or more elaborate hoodmolds of a contrasting material.

III. Significance

These properties contribute directly to the period of commercial expansion in the City of St. Joseph. Housing a wide range of uses from clothing stores and hardware stores, to larger scale operations such as hotels, office buildings, or even wholesale/distribution companies, these properties represent essential components of the success of commerce during this important period in the history of the city.

Examples of these property types will be eligible under Criterion A for significance in the broad pattern of commerce in the City of St. Joseph, illustrating this significant era in the city's history.

A few examples may be eligible under Criterion B, for associations with a person significant in the commercial development in the city. This occurrence is rare, given that a residence would have a stronger association with a significant person, and that many of these buildings were occupied by several businesses during the period of significance, and therefore do not retain strong associations with any particular company.

Many examples of this property type will be eligible under Criterion C for architecture, being excellent representations of the property type. Significant buildings may also represent good examples of architectural styles, largely Eclectic and Italianate. However, the majority of examples will be more vernacular commercial adaptations with minimal ornamentation, but will illustrate the typical architectural treatment of these facilities.

IV. Registration Requirements

To qualify for listing under Criteria A, B, or C, the resource must retain a strong integrity of association and location. The majority of resources will be located within sections of St. Joseph which have been associated with the manufacture, storage, or retailing of merchandise. Traditionally these sites have been located near the river, in the Central Business District, and/or along vehicular arteries. A few examples may occur within residential neighborhoods.

Buildings associated with this property type commonly undergo alteration as needs, architectural styles, and ownership change. However, these alterations should not significantly change the historic appearance of the building under any of the Criteria. Sufficient stylistic and structural features should remain to identify it with its period of significance. Specifically, integrity of the storefront arrangement and fenestration are important; windows which are blocked but retain original recessions are acceptable. Additions are acceptable if they are clearly subsidiary to the original building. Alterations to non-street facing elevations will not prevent the example from meeting these registration requirements. Storefronts, in particular, are likely to have had changes over time. For a property to be acceptable, the transom lines and other major storefront divisions must be evident or have only reversible changes.

Under Criterion B, the property must be the only building remaining associated with a significant individual when he/she was active in the commercial expansion of St. Joseph. The significant person must have had an established leadership role with a significant commercial enterprise for an extended amount of time for this Criterion to be applied.

Under Criterion C, a resource must be a good example of this property type, possessing the distinct characteristics which classify it as a Commercial Block. Chief among these is well-defined storefront space, with a distinction between public and private uses. A property may also be a good example of a specific style of architecture, such as, but not limited to, the Eclectic or Italianate styles. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship is necessary. In addition to the aforementioned features, the original fenestration pattern, exterior wall cladding, and formal entry features should be evident.

I. Name of Property Type: Service-related Facilities

II. Description

These facilities are associated by use, having provided support facilities related to the commercial/wholesale expansion of St. Joseph. Examples will not fit the descriptions of the warehouse/light manufacturing facilities or Commercial Block property types. Also important to the identification of this property type is that almost always the historic use of the property will be obvious, i.e. fire stations, gas stations, hotels, [maintenance] garages, etc.

In classifying hotels, the Commercial Block property type category would override the Service-related Facilities category if the building possesses a well-defined storefront space, although this type of building would also be a "support facility".

These facilities will be similar to Small Scale Commercial Blocks, and may have some display space, but do not have well-defined storefront space. Examples usually do not occupy their entire lot, with adjacent parking space provided.

Examples are located among or near other property types defined within this associated historic context, and are not isolated. Style varies greatly according to the use and location of the facility. In general, most buildings are constructed of masonry (brick or concrete block), and retain some stylistic influences from the period in which they were built. Examples include a Spanish Eclectic gas station, a Moderne gas station, and a Classical Revival fire station. Maintenance garages are usually not ornamented, with elements such as a central squared parapet or a facade-width sign providing an occasional means of distinction among properties.

III. Significance

Service-related Facilities contributed to the commercial expansion of St. Joseph by providing much needed support facilities within or near areas of commercial dominance. As commercial/wholesale facilities continued to dominate, the need for service-related buildings increased to facilitate, indirectly, this activity. Fire protection, gasoline, vehicle maintenance, and machinery maintenance were among the necessary services/products needed to support the continued commercial activity and to facilitate changes in

transportation with the onset of the automobile age.

Examples of this property type will be eligible under Criterion A for commerce, having significance within the broad pattern of wholesale and commercial expansion in the City of St. Joseph. Most properties will themselves be commercial in use, but as service-related facilities, some properties such as fire stations, will be significant commercially having been an integral part of a commercial district, providing important support services necessary for the success of the commercial operations.

Properties may also be eligible under Criterion C for architectural significance if they represent a good example of a particular style of architecture as applied to a service-related facility. While the use of stylistic ornamentation will not be extravagant, minimal stylistic application will lend additional significance to these smaller facilities.

On rare occasion, a property may be eligible under Criterion D for its potential to yield information about important service-related operations of the period. An example would be a machine shop retaining the majority of its original belt-driven machinery which could lend important information about the service/ maintenance of the light manufacturing businesses that frequently existed among the wholesale operations.

IV. Registration Requirements

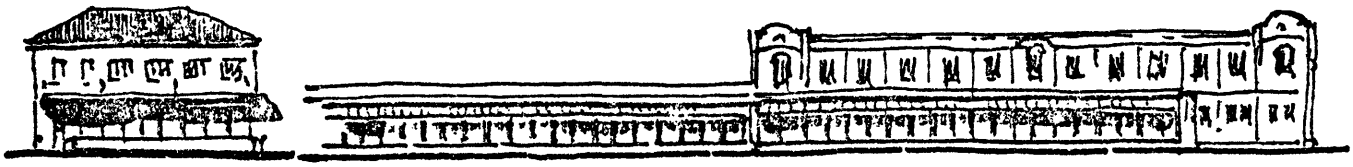
To qualify for listing under Criteria A, C, or D, the resource must retain a strong integrity of association and location. The resources must be located within areas of St. Joseph associated with the manufacture, storage, or retailing of goods and merchandise. Traditionally these sites have been located near the river, in the central business district, along rail lines, and/or along the major vehicular transportation routes.

Buildings associated with commercial service and support activities commonly undergo alteration as needs, clients, and ownership change. However, these alterations should not significantly change the historic appearance of the building under any Criteria. Sufficient stylistic, material, or structural features should remain to identify it with its period of significance. Specifically, integrity of facade arrangement and fenestration are important; minor fenestration alteration is acceptable. Additions to the main building are acceptable if they are clearly subsidiary to the original. Rear alterations are acceptable.

Under Criterion C, to be eligible a resource must be a good example of a type or method of construction, or a good example of a specific style of architecture, such as, but not limited to, Spanish Eclectic or Classical Revival. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are necessary. In addition to the aforementioned features, windows, exterior wall cladding, and formal entry features should be evident.

Under Criteria D, to be eligible a resource must have the potential to reveal information about a form of manufacturing or a specific support service, i.e. metal shop fabrication. To have the ability to reveal this information the resource must have a large proportion of its original machinery.

I. Name of Property Type: Freight Distribution Facilities



II. Description

Freight Distribution Facilities provided a direct link between wholesale/manufacturing and distribution operations. Examples are located on rail lines and/or near vehicular transportation routes. Extant examples will most likely be linked to rail lines, located among the other property types identified for this associated historic context.

These properties are usually linear in composition, with a larger headhouse, more square in plan, of one to three stories, serving as office/business space. A raised one story extension of multiple bays extends out from the headhouse, and is used for the transfer and distribution facilities.

These facilities are typically vernacular with little or no detailing used. Main blocks are usually constructed of brick; linear extensions may also be constructed of brick, but are dominated by large wood doors protecting the numerous openings to facilitate the transfer of goods from rail to vehicular transportation or vice versa.

III. Significance

These facilities are significant under Criterion A for commerce, representing an integral part of the commercial expansion of St. Joseph. Freight distribution Buildings facilitated the distribution of goods largely for the wholesale industry, which was the chief operation during this era in the city. Examples may also be eligible under Criterion C, being good representations of this type of facility, exhibiting the design elements which were integral to its function.

IV. Registration Requirements

To qualify for listing under Criteria A or C, the example must retain strong integrity of association and location. The resources must be located within parts of St. Joseph associated with the distribution of goods and merchandise and be located along rail lines or vehicular transportation routes.

The specific use generally associated with buildings belonging to this property type precludes major alterations. Minor alterations should not significantly change the historic appearance of the building under either Criterion A or C. Sufficient stylistic and structural features should remain to identify it with its period of significance. Specifically, integrity of facade arrangement and loading bay fenestration is important;

however, individual openings do not have to be extant as long as the rhythm of the bays is evident. Additions to the main building are acceptable if they are clearly subsidiary to the original.

Under Criterion C, to be eligible a resource must be a good example of this building type, a type or method of construction, or a good example of a specific style of architecture, such as, but not limited to Classical Revival or Italianate architecture. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are necessary. In addition to the aforementioned features, windows, exterior wall cladding, and most entry features should be evident.

I. Name of Property Type: Parks

II. Description

Before World War II, "parks" in the United States were generally thought of as naturalized passive retreats, and "recreation areas" as active, sport-oriented facilities. After the War, when the growing population brought new demands on the old system, these formerly separate responsibilities were combined under one administrative roof (Rutledge, 1971). Not only did this eliminate duplication of efforts, but it recognized that leisure-time needs could be satisfied through both active and passive means. Thus Charles Doell, Superintendent of Parks Emeritus of the Minneapolis park system, defined "parks" as a "piece of land or water set aside for the recreation of the people," and "recreation" as "refreshment of the mind or body or both through some means which is in itself pleasureful." (Doell, 1963). In St. Joseph, parks are planned open spaces which utilize both natural and designed features in order to provide recreational and leisure activities.
The St. Joseph parks system contains parks which range in size from 1½ to 162 acres; however, the parks within the historic district, which are connected by the 1927 parkway system, start at 13 acres. Parks in St. Joseph contain a variety of features. At a minimum, each park contains grass lawn areas, plantings, a driveway, and automobile parking. Other types of features which may be found in St. Joseph parks include picnic facilities (including shelter buildings, picnic tables, and outdoor grills), restroom facilities, lighting, water features, buildings, and recreational facilities (such as swimming pools, tennis courts, ball fields, and other court games). The boundaries for the parks are generally either city streets, or a combination of streets and natural features, such as steep topography. All of the parks within the proposed historic district are connected to the parkway system with an interior drive.

The parks that are connected by the parkway system are located east of the central business district, in a line running north and south roughly between 6th and 36th streets, stretching nearly the entire length of the city. The northernmost park, Krug Park, has Cook Road as its northern boundary, while the southernmost park, Hyde Park, has the equivalent of Joseph E. Galvin Road as its southern boundary. Other parks not connected by the parkways are located in various parts of the city, including small downtown squares and a river bluff park.

Although relatively few in number, the parks of St. Joseph serve different functions. Large Krug Park contains features which appeal to all citizens of St. Joseph, as well as tourists; in other words, it serves as a destination park. Bartlett Park draws from the residents in its immediate geographic vicinity for its users' base, and is a good example of a neighborhood park. The Noyes Athletic Field primarily serves to provide recreational opportunities, and has facilities

which at times draw from the entire city (such as for league ball games); at other times, it serves just the immediate neighborhood. Some parks have been left comparatively natural park over the years, relying instead on the beauty of the environment either **within** the park, such as Corby Grove, or the beauty which can be seen **from** the park, such as King Hill Overlook.

The level of design (man's manipulation of the landscape) varies among the parks of St. Joseph. Some parks have had very little in the way of planned improvements. In others, such as Krug Park, even seemingly "naturalistic"-appearing features reflect the careful and planned intervention of the designer (in this case, George Burnap).

III. Significance

Historic parks in St. Joseph are significant under either Criterion A in the area of COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING, Criterion C in the area of LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE, or both. A few individual features within the parks, such as the Refectory in Krug park, are also eligible under Criterion C in the area of ARCHITECTURE. The impetus for, as well as the location of the parks reflect the development concerns of St. Joseph resulting from the city's explosive growth in the nineteenth century. Little thought was given to the need for parks in the central part of the city. Although citizens were proud of their fine residences, there were few other spots of beauty to be found within the city. Inspired by what had been accomplished in other cities, citizens formed a local "City Beautiful" committee. This group not only brought in guest lecturers on the "Crusade Against Ugliness," they hired the foremost authority on the City Beautiful movement—city planner and journalist Charles Mulford Robinson (Morton, 1914). The prime objective of the group was to improve the aesthetic appearance of St. Joseph, and the agreed upon means to reach this objective was the development of a city-wide park system.

By the time St. Joseph was ready to proceed with a city-wide system, it was virtually impossible to purchase park sites in the central portion. Land was simply too valuable here to be given over to parks. Park lands were purchased and/or donated on what was then the edges of the city's boundaries, such as Krug Park in the north, Hyde Park on the south, and Corby Grove on the eastern edge. Subsequently, the implementation of the St. Joseph parks system in the early twentieth century affected the development of eastern St. Joseph. While the hills surrounding the downtown are known for their collection of fine nineteenth century homes, the area surrounding the parks and boulevards attracted residential development in the twentieth century.[7]

[7] While St. Joseph's nineteenth century homes have been the focus of several survey and National Register projects, no formal inventory has occurred in the areas surrounding the park system. A windshield survey reveals a well-maintained collection of revival and popular style residences of the twentieth century.

The parks of St. Joseph are also eligible as embodiments of a landscape architectural resource type and period of construction—early twentieth century parks. Some are also significant as the works of a master. Several nationally and world-wide prominent city planners and landscape architects were brought to the city to prepare the master plans for the parks—Charles Mulford Robinson, George Kessler, George Burnap, Jacques Greber, and the Olmsted Brothers firm. Other local designers were responsible for many of the site specific designs, and included city engineers W.K. Seitz and William Spann, and landscape architects Walter L. Skoglund and Leon Tilton.

IV. Registration Requirements

Under Criterion A in the area of Community Planning and Development, to be eligible as a contributing element within a historic district, a park must contribute to the significance of the entire park system as it was planned. As such, it must remain a part of the system (i.e., connected via a park system drive) and must serve its function as a park. It therefore must retain integrity in the areas of setting, location, and association. This is defined by retaining its original setting, use, topography/grading, and a majority of its original boundaries. A change in boundaries, either by an addition to the park or a deletion, is allowable provided a large majority of the original acreage remains intact. To be individually eligible under Criterion A, the park must additionally retain integrity of design intent. This is best exhibited by the retention of spatial relationships, particularly of use areas. For example, areas that were originally designed within the historic period to serve as ballfields should still remain as ballfields. Present day swimming pools should remain in the same location as previous historic pools. The presence of non-historic features, such as bleachers, lighting, and fencing, shall therefore not detract from a park's eligibility, as long as the original spatial relationships and functions remain intact. The relationship between open ground and large planted areas should remain, but replacement of original vegetation is allowed.

To be a contributing element in a district under Criterion C in the area of LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE, the park must be a good representative of a twentieth century park. As such, it must convey its historic character. Specifically, this will require integrity of setting, location, association, feeling, design and/or design intent, and to some extent, materials. The original property boundaries must be retained, although land acquisitions are allowable providing these additions do not detract from the primary historic entrances of the parks. Original spatial relationships, topography/grading, and circulation system must be retained. The question of integrity of both spatial relationships and design intent can be determined by comparing the original program for the site with its existing use. For example, if the park's original function

was as an athletic field, the spatial relationships of the various recreational uses, both passive and active, should be intact from the original program or plan.

To be individually eligible under Criterion C, especially if as the work of a master, in addition to the above areas, integrity of materials is necessary, and integrity of design becomes critical. The original plans must be discernible from the present-day site conditions. The layout of circulation systems, planted areas, and built features all contribute to integrity of design. Integrity of materials is not critical for circulation system, but the circulation patterns must represent the historic period.

For the built elements of parks, integrity of materials is necessary for the major features. Historic buildings, retaining walls, and bridges should have their original stone material. However, lighting fixtures are generally modern. Provided their design and number is unobtrusive, this is allowable. The addition or replacement of some built features with modern park elements is also allowed. New picnic shelter buildings, restrooms facilities, and grills should not overpower the visual aesthetics of their natural setting, however.

Vegetation materials are difficult for any historic landscape to retain. They have finite life cycles, which for smaller woody and herbaceous perennial material is often less than the National Register's fifty-year rule. Integrity of vegetation materials is generally considered to be intact if existing planted areas are similar in size and composition to the original. However, some allowances will be made for shrub materials in park settings. A dramatic change in park planting design occurred in the 1930's and 1940's, when maintenance was deferred, first because of the depression, and later because of the Second World War. This deferred maintenance greatly affected shrub materials. The second major change in park planting design occurred with the rise of crime, particularly in the 1960's. Smaller plants were more susceptible to vandalism, and the elimination of understory plantings was widely seen as design tool to "discourage undesirables." (Rutledge, 1971). This removal may have provided unobstructed visibility from the streets, but it also in turn may have affected significant views and vistas. This loss of understory occurred across the country, and was by no means unique to St. Joseph. Loss of integrity in this area will only be viewed as detrimental if understory planting was a key component of the park's design and function.

I. Name of Property Type: Park system drives

II. Description

The park system drives in St. Joseph are roads and their right-of-ways which serve to move automobiles between the parks and within the parks themselves. They share a common history, as all were planned together and constructed as part of the entire St. Joseph parks system. Whereas some of St. Joseph's parks existed prior to the establishment of a city-wide system, representatives of this property type did not.

The park system drives resource type group contains examples of both parkways and boulevards. A parkway is an open space which contains a roadway, and is correspondingly linear in shape. The roads are arterial, serving to connect the major parks of St. Joseph. A parkway thus does not serve a neighborhood, but the entire city. They function as scenic pleasure drives. The pleasant and comfortable driving experience is carefully arranged by design features such as curvi-linear alignment, limited access, exclusion of commercial traffic, elimination of grade crossings, connection with "satellite" parks, and a blending of natural and cultural features. The final effect is that the parkway, both visually and literally, serves more as a park. The land adjacent to the roadway contains both open space and wooded areas—some natural and other designed. Although the primary function of the parkways is to serve moving vehicles, attention to design details is found in curb materials, workmanship in retaining walls, and the varying designs of individual bridges.

The vast majority of park system drives are parkways, although a few boulevards also serve to connect the parks together. Before the system was built, proponents such as City engineer W.K. Seitz were clear in their distinction between the two.

> A boulevard is a formal arrangement of paving, curbs, gutters, trees, turf and lights. It is a sort of glorified street, with straight lines and right angles, taking no account of topographical conditions, but running up hill and down dale like a commercial thoroughfare. (Clippings, 19 September 1921)

Although the original plan for the few boulevards was to serve as connectors to the city-wide park system, it is a nature of their design that they also function as neighborhood collectors or streets. They are straight streets, but are not necessarily part of the original basic grid system of streets in St. Joseph. Noyes Boulevard, for example, does repeat the existing grid pattern, but Maple Leaf Boulevard cuts at an angle across the grid.[8] Plantings are confined to right-of-way

[8] The original intention for this angle was to connect Corby Grove Parkway with St. Joseph's downtown.

(slightly wider than typical streets) on each side of the roadway, and consist of a straight line of trees set within a grassy strip. Sidewalks are present in most residential neighborhoods, and some sections retain their original street lights. The boulevards' appearance in St. Joseph may appear to be little more than embellished streets, but their historic associations and function reveal a greater significance.

The park system drives continue through the individual parks, and in many cases it is impossible to separate the roadways from the park. They are thus integral elements within the parks, and within the system as a whole. Depending upon the size of the parks, the interior drives may be curvi-linear much like parkways in their design, or they may be short, straight, and functional, leading directly to parking.

III. Significance

Park system drives are significant under either Criterion A in the areas of COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING, Criterion C in the area of LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE, or both. Some individual elements of the park system drives, such as bridges, may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of ENGINEERING, but are more important as contributing elements which make up a park system drive. In turn, although some park system drives may be individually eligible, they have more relevance as contributing elements to the significance of the entire St. Joseph park and parkway system. Standing alone, they no longer serve their original function, and thus lose much of their historical association.

The location of the system's parkways and boulevards in the twentieth century reflects the lack of planning in St. Joseph in the nineteenth century. During this period of booming growth in the late 1800s, no thought was given to planning for parks in the central city, let alone for a system of inter-connecting parkways. The belief that the land was too valuable in the central portion to be given over to wide roads goes back to the founding of St. Joseph. When given a choice of two town plans—one with wide drives and parks, and one with narrow streets, the town's founder chose the latter (Logan, 1979). By the time the citizens of St. Joseph were ready to proceed with a city-wide park system, they had to rely on donations and purchases of land in the less developed edges of town in order to get the system started.

The primary purpose of the park system drives was to connect the few parks which had either already been donated to the city, or were under consideration by the 1910's. The location of the drives also reflects the constraints upon the park system planners—to provide a pleasant system of drives which connected Krug Park on the north to Hyde Park on the south, and all the parks in-between. The designers were so successful that the construction of the park system

subsequently affected development on the eastern side of St. Joseph. Just as the hills surrounding downtown were popular locations for nineteenth century residential development, the parks and parkways were amenities which attracted residential development in the twentieth century. Real estate ads in the local newspapers, touting an "on the boulevard!" location, indicated the popularity of the park system drives (Clippings).

The park system drives are also significant as examples of a landscape architectural resource type. Their original design, coupled with their extant high level of integrity, provides a distinctive point of visual contrast with the other streets in St. Joseph. The design of the park system drives departed from the long-standing tradition of a grid system of streets in St. Joseph. Since its inception, surveyors and engineers had imposed a strict grid system of streets on the steep and widely variable topography. When citizens began thinking about a parks system in the early twentieth century, most had boulevards in mind at first for the connecting streets—in other words, roadways that were simply wider and more embellished than the regular streets, but basically not very different. All three planning consultants brought to St. Joseph, however, departed from the wishes of the local constituency by recommending a system of parkways. The design of the parkways was drastically different from other roads in St. Joseph.

Prior their construction, park system boosters first promoted the aesthetic of the drives. It wasn't long before most citizens were enthusiastically supporting the drives along with the parks. An unexpected boost of support for the entire system came from motorists. As John I. McDonald pointed out at a meeting promoting the planned system of drives:

> Twenty years ago no such plan would have found any favor at all, but the introduction and the prevalence of the automobile has changed matters altogether and now there has to be extent to any system of boulevards and parks. The plan [gi]ves a 'belt line' for travel around the city. The automobilist gets weary of the city streets and sighs for the country and so the belt has been made 500 feet wide on the average so the driveways could wind among trees and be screened by them so that the motorist would be in the midst of nature all the way (Clippings; *St. Joseph Gazette*, 17 March 1917).

The system of park drives in St. Joseph is also significant for its association with three nationally prominent land planners, and for the efforts of local designers as well. Charles Mulford Robinson, George Kessler, and George Burnap all prepared documents which called for a system of drives to connect the parks and surrounding neighborhoods with each other, as well as to provide an enjoyable driving experience. Robinson prepared the first substantive plans for this system of parkways, although his document was more theoretical in nature. Kessler followed with an overall master plan and a few specific site plans, a few of which were implemented. It is George Burnap, however, who deserves the most credit for seeing the system through from

design to construction. Although well known for his individual park designs in cities throughout the country, the St. Joseph park system is currently the only documented instance of where Burnap was involved with the design of an entire system—both parks **and** parkways.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be eligible as a contributing element of a historic district under Criterion A in the area of COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, a park system drive must retain integrity in the areas of setting, location, and association. This is primarily defined by retaining original uses, boundaries, and topography/grading. Integrity of design is important as well. In this area, the circulation system is the key design element. Other use areas and spatial relationships should remain as well. Planned recreation areas, planted areas, and open spaces should be maintained in their original location and proportion. Integrity of materials in the roadway is not as critical, as all road systems have undergone numerous changes in materials through the years.

To be eligible under Criterion C in the area of LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE, the park system drive must be a good representative of a twentieth century parkway, boulevard, or park drive. As such, it must convey its historic character. Specifically, this will require integrity of setting, location, association, feeling, design and/or design intent, and to some extent, materials. The original boundaries must be retained, although some loss of boundary is allowable for new highway crossings. Original spatial relationships, topography/grading, and circulation system must be retained, however. The roadway must remain in the same location. The original relationships of open area to planted areas are key to providing a pleasurable drive experience, as they allow for a sense of mystery and change.

For the larger or more significant built features of the park system drives, integrity of materials is necessary. Retaining walls and bridges should have their original stone material. However, modern lighting fixtures are allowable, providing their design and number are unobtrusive. Integrity of original vegetation materials is difficult to maintain. It will generally be considered intact if existing planted areas are similar in size and composition to the original. Only along those parkways where the plant materials were considered a key element of design shall loss of integrity in vegetation be detrimental.

In addition to the above areas of integrity, if the park system drives are to be eligible under Criterion C as the work of a master, then integrity of design as planned and/or built becomes critical. Circulation systems, planting areas, topography/grading, spatial relationships, scenic qualities, and built features all contribute to integrity of design.

To be individually eligible, the identifiable components of the original design must exist in the present park system drive. It should be noted, however, that the greatest significance of the park system drives lies in their association and physical connections to the parks and to each other. Without these connecting features of the remainder of the system, the integrity of the park system drives must be very high in order to be individually eligible.

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ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Property Type: Popular Style Houses (amended)

Discussion

In addition to the popular forms of housing noted in the original submission for "Suburban Development in St. Joseph," several house types built in the original historic period of 1900-1929 and others which appeared late in this period or just after, during the extension of the historic period from 1929 to *ca.* 1950, were not included.

Description

The bungalow and the four square were two of the most significant house forms to be constructed in St. Joseph during the first half of the twentieth century, but other forms of popular style houses contribute to the character of its neighborhoods. Some of these forms, first introduced in the 1920s, continued in popularity well after the Stock Market Crash of 1929 and remained popular until replaced by the ranch house of the 1950s. Further information on these forms of traditional house types and the detail applied to them may be found in standard references on American residential architecture; a particularly useful source is *A Field Guide to American Houses* by Virginia and Lee McAlester, first published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1984.

English Cottages and Tudor Houses

Two important house types that were developed as the nation's interest in the Tudor Revival style came into vogue are the English cottage and the Tudor house. The English cottage had a more noticeable impact in St. Joseph, almost equaling the popularity of the bungalow in the late-1920s and perhaps exceeding it in the 1930s. The English cottage is a low, generally one-story cottage that has one or more of several prominent features. The roofline of the English cottage was generally quite steep, with a slope exceeding 45 degrees; it was often constructed without a front porch, having instead a side porch or none at all; the entrance generally was placed in a vestibule projecting from the main mass of the house and covered with an asymmetrical gable roof; this house type was one of the few to feature an exterior wall chimney placed on the front façade, usually near the entrance. English cottages are usually of brick or stone veneer, though frame and stucco-veneered examples are found in St. Joseph. Combinations of these exterior materials are not unusual. The Tudor house is generally a larger story and a half or two-story version of the English cottage; some Tudor houses

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were formally designed as more academic representations of English town or country houses of the Tudor period. The use of stucco with half-timbering is more common in Tudor houses, often used to articulate the entire upper floor of the house. Tudor houses are rarely built with wood siding; brick-veneer or stone-veneer is the most common exterior material.

Colonial Variations

The interest among Americans in the architecture of the Colonial and post-Colonial periods rose to its height in the 1920s from its beginnings three decades before. While many of the early Colonial Revival houses and cottages were simply Colonial design elements applied over house types that originated in the century before, the 1920s saw the emergence of a series of new plan variations, some of which defy identification by type. In very general terms, the new Colonial forms that emerged in period were not simply defined by the application of a few Federal or Georgian elements to the exterior of a house; instead, the houses of this new era adopted a much more academic approach to design, in part fueled by the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg and the popular publication of measured line drawings of extant early American houses from the Deep South, Middle Atlantic and New England states. Architects and plan services used these drawings to create new houses that had the exterior appearance of scale, massing, design and detail of the early American models like the hall and parlor, the center hall cottage, the raised cottage, and the center hall house (both I-house and four-room plan variations); all were re-introduced in America and St. Joseph during the 1920s and 1930s. While the outward appearance of these houses was very closely adapted from historic examples, their plans reflected more modern patterns of residential space planning. The most popular models for these academic Colonial form were Federal and Georgian in origin, though the Jacobean, Flemish/Dutch, Spanish Colonial, Pueblo and Mission revivals were also academically adapted to a lesser degree in places across the nation.

Two other house types that came into prominence in the late-1920s have a noticeable impact on the pre-1950 housing stock of St. Joseph. Both are small houses: the Cape Cod, or Cape, as it is often called, and the gable and wing cottage, which resulted from affordable housing movements beginning in the 1920s.

The Cape Cod Cottage

The "Cape," as it was called in builder guides and real estate ads from the 1920s and 1930s, was one of the academic "copies" of an early American house type that evolved into a wildly popular house

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type on its own merits. The Cape is generally described as a one-story, symmetrical three or five-bay wide cottage with a side gable roof; only rarely do Capes feature a front porch or portico. Many Capes were designed with symmetrical or asymmetrical telescoping axial wings designed to give the appearance of additions, which were made more convincing with breaks in the gable roof line. Many of the earliest designs for the Cape were produced for middle class consumption by architects employed by non-profit affordable housing associations such as the Small House Bureau of Minnesota (Minnesota Historical Society 1999); also, stock plans and specifications were popularized through builder magazines and other publications. Later, stock plans for the Cape were promoted by the Federal Housing Administration to establish levels of quality in design and materials for houses built with FHA insured loans.

The Double-Pile Cottage

Related to the Cape by its place of origin is the double-pile cottage, and its significant variation, the gable-L, which made their appearance in the early 1930s and remained a popular low- and middle-income house type through the end of the 1940s. Like the Cape, stock plans and specifications were prepared by plan services and housing advocates and promoted in association with the Federal Housing Administration (Hopkins 1999). The double-pile is often called a "G. I. Bill" house by veterans of World War Two due to its association with the massive housing programs enacted under the Serviceman's Readjustment Act (a.k.a. "G. I. Bill of Rights"), approved by Congress in 1944 (Ibid.). A double-pile cottage is generally two rooms wide and two rooms deep, all under a side gable roof. Frame construction was as common as brick-veneer in the form of exterior cladding; concrete-asbestos siding was often used instead of wood siding for frame houses. The gable-L variation has a projecting, front-facing gable wing containing one room; the line of the projecting gable end is almost always lower than that of the main roof. The porch, if present, is usually one bay wide with either a gable or a flat roof; it is often supported by box piers or wrought iron posts.

Significance

The standards for the evaluation of historical significance under the amended submission are unchanged from those presented in the original Multiple Properties Documentation Form.

Registration Requirements

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The registration requirements for individual buildings to be treated under this property type are well-stated and require no amendment, other than to consider a broader range of house types and architectural styles among the individual buildings to be considered under this property type.

For historic districts under this property type, however, a broader criteria must be applied to recognize certain characteristics of suburban districts developed in St. Joseph developed before *ca.* 1950. A residential historic district proposed for nomination should reflect a portion of the broader patterns of house types and architectural influences recognized as important aspects of this property type. The identification and definition of a suburban historic district should take into account a shared history of development, its common architectural traits, its context and/or historical sense of identity. Districts need not be limited in size to the boundaries of one subdivision, since larger areas that share a common sense of place may often be composed of many subdivisions. The selection of boundaries should not be made under the assumption that topographic changes and major roadways divide communities; research may show that these features served a role which unified the seemingly divided parts.

Apart from their common association, suburban districts should contain integrity of outward character that relates buildings to their physical setting. These characteristics include integrity of physical context, setting, massing and setback. the physical characteristics of the individual buildings themselves must reflect the characteristics of plan, massing, and form that define its original house type; the same is true for the elements and materials that define its architectural styling. Accommodation must also be made for buildings which have evolved from their original appearance during the period of this historical context.

The definition of a suburban historic district should also not exclude non-residential properties developed during its period of significance, such as schools, churches, neighborhood commercial buildings, and others. In most cases, these properties are inherently linked to the development history of the district. These properties will contribute to a district's significance if they have a symbiotic relationship with the district, and if they retain the same level of integrity as those of residences. Non-residential uses which have a relationship to the historical development of a district need not be evaluated under criteria outside of the context of the district itself.

Integrity Issues Posed by Twentieth Century Materials

Assessment of a structure's integrity should be conducted carefully, in light of the extension of the

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period of significance for Suburban Development through *ca.* 1950. New materials such as concrete asbestos roofing and siding, wrought and cast iron porch posts, over-sized "picture" windows, steel frame casement windows, and double-hung metal-track wooden windows were all introduced in St. Joseph before the close of this historic period, as shown by research related to the preparation of this amendment (Dodge 1937; Simpson 1999).

Generally, buildings will change over time, adapting to new tastes, new technologies, and the whims or needs of new owners and occupants. This is a natural and expected American phenomenon. In St. Joseph, the process of evolution is an important one, since many earlier neighborhoods experienced significant socio-economic change during the twentieth century. The challenge that is presented by evolved properties and the materials used in the process of change is that many materials, like those discussed above, were introduced in St. Joseph during the *ca.* 1910 to *ca.* 1950, and that they remained in popular use long after.

When assessing the integrity of structures, then, great care must be taken by the investigator to determine whether alterations employing the "new" replacement materials occurred in the historic period or not. A property should not be automatically seen as having lost integrity simply because it is covered with concrete asbestos siding, for this alteration may have occurred perhaps as early as *ca.* 1925. This concern will be most important when assessing properties which have seen numerous changes.

The problem that will confront the investigator is that there is no one resource that can resolve this issue, and additional research may provide no resolution to questions. Building permit files in St. Joseph are an excellent resource, but they are not complete, and many treatments like the installation of siding did not require a building permit. Sanborn Insurance Maps are only helpful when there has been a change in the footprint of a structure; there are cases known where later, "up-dated" editions of Sanborn maps failed to include changes in footprint to all structures. Property tax records are few, and many years may have passed before a reappraisal registered the improvements, assuming they had any impact on valuation at all. Interviews with neighborhood residents are generally unreliable or unsuccessful, since alterations to windows or the installation of siding on a house were not events that became fixed in most people's memories.

The assessment of integrity has largely been a process of educated judgment on the part of an investigator, overseen and assisted by the judgment of State Historic Preservation staff. The presence "new" materials does not change this relationship, but it does require both parties to become more adept at recognizing the physical evidence and the processes of change that guide the assessment of integrity.

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The preparation of nominations under this historic context should proceed with the assistance of an investigator who has a extensive experience identifying twentieth century architectural materials. An inventory of the district should be conducted by the investigator while keeping these issues in mind. The results should be reviewed for concurrence by state historic preservation office staff. Additional research should be conducted on the few properties whose integrity is disputed, and treated appropriately on the basis of the findings. There will be instances where the historical record cannot resolve the issue; in these cases, judgment should err on the side that the building possesses integrity as a contributing resource through its association with similar treatments in the district. It may be useful to identify the structures in question with the notation of (C*) in the inventory of nominations for preservation planning purposes, perhaps to place a priority on reversing the questionable treatments employed on the building.

The multiple property listing, "Historic Resources of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri," is based on an ongoing survey and nomination effort dating from the early 1980's which has been conducted by the City of St. Joseph, a Certified Local Government, and made possible by funding through the Historic Preservation Fund. To date, an intensive building by building survey of the following 19th century residential neighborhoods have been completed in St. Joseph: Cathedral Hill, Clay Street, Robidoux Hill, Hall Street, Museum Hill, the William T. Harris Addition, Buchanan Wedge, and the Penn Neighborhood; a residential area northwest of the central business district is the only primarily 19th century neighborhood as yet unsurveyed. Although one of the oldest neighborhoods in St. Joseph, it lacks the density of previously surveyed areas. No primarily early twentieth century neighborhoods have been surveyed. This multiple property listing is based on an analysis of the above documentation, representing a data base of approximately 1300 properties.

Within the 1930 geographical boundaries of the city, eight possible historic contexts have been identified:

Exploration and Fur Trading in St. Joseph, 1799-1826
Early Settlement and Trading in St. Joseph, 1826-1843
Western Outfitting in St. Joseph, 1843-1865
Wholesale Distribution in St. Joseph, 1866-1914
Suburban Growth in St. Joseph, 1900-1929
Meat Packing and Agricultural Processing in St. Joseph, 1846-1930's
Religious Development in St. Joseph, 1844-1930
Institutional & Educational Development in St. Joseph, 1857-1930

In addition to survey data, the delineation of the eight historic contexts was based on wealth of material published on the history of St. Joseph, excellent primary source material, unsurpassed elsewhere in the state, and a neighborhood streetscape study that was prepared in 1987 as a guide for future survey activities in St. Joseph. The year 1930 was selected as a cutoff point for historic context development due to the almost total stoppage of new construction activities in the city by that date.

Due to the breadth and scope of the task and the need to start registration activities before the completion of identification activities, only three contexts are fully developed in this document. For the same reasons, property type analysis was limited to residential properties only. Upon completion of this year's survey activities in St. Joseph, a survey of small-scale commercial structures, this document will be amended to expand both the context development and the property type analysis to include historic commercial/industrial properties. Previous surveys have documented the Central Business District and the warehouse/manufacturing/stockyard areas of the City.

The typology of significant property types is based on function (residential use), style, and association with one of the three historic contexts. Within the function category of "residential" several sub-property types are discernible due to the variety and uniqueness of St. Joseph's multi-family building types. Integrity requirements are based on National Register standards for assessing integrity, the assembled survey data base, and the scarcity of a particular property type.

The amendment to the multiple property listing of historic resources of St. Joseph, Missouri is based upon a 1990-1991 survey of landscape architectural features connected with the planned parks and parkways system. This survey was conducted by Deon Wolfenbarger of Three Gables Preservation, under the direction of the Community Development Department and Landmark Commission of the City of St. Joseph. The survey project, as well as this amendment, was funded with a matching grant awarded through the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Programs, which receives allocations from the Historic Preservation Fund of the Department of the Interior, National park Service, under the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and subsequent amendments.

The survey encompassed nearly 1000 acres and covered only those features which were covered by George Burnap's plan. This included: Krug Park, Corby Grove, Bartlett Park, King Hill Overlook, Noyes Athletic Field, South Park, Fairview Golf course, Parkway A, Northwest Parkway, Northeast Parkway, Corby Parkway, Southwest Parkway, and Noyes Boulevard. There are other historic parks in St. Joseph which were not covered by this survey. After inventory and evaluation, it is possible that some of these may be eligible for listing in the National Register as well. Many of the smaller squares, for example, were redesigned by George Burnap in the 1920s. The information on the surveyed park features was recorded on the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) National Survey Form. This survey included gathering of historical background information, recording of existing site conditions, an evaluation of integrity, statement of significance, maps, and photography for each park or parkway. It was noted during the survey that a complete historical background for the parks system, as is typical of many historic landscapes, is lacking. The city parks department has not retained any historic site maps, although some were retained by the public works department. The only historic maps were those published by the local newspapers.

The city, state, and nomination consultant agreed that an amendment to the existing multiple property submission was the best tool for listing the historic resources associated with St. Joseph's parks and parkways system. This would then serve in the event of additional future nominations of parks resources. The context covers the development of the city-wide, planned system of parks and parkways from its planning stage through its major periods of construction, although some early park history is also briefly covered. The properties are grouped under two property types, even though a district nomination is planned for the majority of the system. This, again, will allow for the nomination of additional park resources in the future. The property types are based primarily on function. Unique or rare resources, such as the golf course, are not covered by a property type. As noted in Bulletin 16B, the information for these kinds of resources will appear on the registration form itself. The integrity requirements were based on a knowledge of existing conditions, which was set forth in the aforementioned survey.

This amends the former Section C of the original Multiple Property Submission to: the 1993 corporate limits of the City of St. Joseph, Buchanan County, Missouri.

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2. Hugh Davidson
Preservation Planner, Preservation Planning Section and
State Contact Person
Historic Preservation Program
Department of Natural Resources
P.O. Box 176
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101
April 25, 1989
314/751-5377

I. Form Prepared By

Alice M. Edwards/Preservation Planner (text)
Karen L. Kummer/Architectural Historian (text)
Lachlan F. Blair/President (property type sketches)
The URBANA Group, Inc. (consultants to the St. Joseph Landmarks Commission)
110 S. Race Street
P.O. Box 1028
Urbana, IL 61801-9028
217/344-7526

2. Hugh Davidson
National Register Planner and State Contact Person
Department of Natural Resources
DPRHP/HPP
P. O. Box 176
Jefferson City, Missouri 65102
Date: August 7, 1990
Telephone: 314/751-5377