NPS Form 10-900-b
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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Multiple Property Documentation Form

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

__ New Submission X Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

South St. Louis Historic Working- and Middle-Class Streetcar Suburbs

B. Associated Historic Contexts

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

Suburban Development in the United States: 1850-1945
St. Louis' Early Urban Landscape and the Horse-Drawn Streetcar: 1803-1880
The Spreading Metropolis: 1880-1930
South St. Louis Working- and Middle-Class Suburban Neighborhoods: 1880-1940
Architectural Patterns of South St. Louis Streetcar Suburbs: 1880-1940

C. Form Prepared by

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D. Certification

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

Mark A. Miles 01/13/05

Signature and title of certifying official Mark A. Miles/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.

Signature of the Keeper Date

As the country industrialized after the end of the Civil War, American cities grew rapidly. In response to the crowded and polluted conditions of the older city core, a growing middle class demanding affordable housing in a healthy environment and advances in transportation set the stage for suburban development. In particular, the introduction of the electric streetcar in 1887 and the mass production of gasoline-powered automobiles after 1908 allowed an increasingly broad spectrum of households to establish residences on the fringes of an outwardly expanding city. These growth patterns continued in the twentieth century. In 1910, the United States Census identified forty-four metropolitan areas where the population of the central city and that of an area within a ten-mile radius exceeded 100,000. By the 1920s, suburban areas grew at a faster rate than central cities.[5]

TRENDS IN URBAN AND METROPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION

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

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

As new circulation patterns formed the skeleton around which new land uses and suburbs became organized, new transportation routes using new technologies spurred the outward movement of suburban development. The historic South St. Louis area reflects two of these eras — "The Railroad and Horsecar Suburbs, 1840 to 1890" and "Streetcar Suburbs, 1888 to 1928."[6]

The Railroad and Horsecar Suburb

The first suburbs were railroad communities clustered around passenger stations along railroad routes that initially connected cities with outlying rural villages. Land development companies platted attractive designed landscapes combining open space and greenery with an efficient arrangement of residences and modern amenities. Railroad suburbs offered the upper and upper-middle classes an escape from the congestion and pollution of the city and isolation from the urban lower classes (who could not afford the

[5] Ibid.
[6] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part1.html.

high cost of commuting) as well as convenient access to the city center.[7] By the end of the Civil War, the suburban railroad community was a well-established development pattern in many of the nation's largest cities.

During the same period, the horse-draw trolley provided the first mass transit systems within cities and between country villages and the central city by offering regularly scheduled operations along a fixed route. The advent of the horse-drawn stagecoach and later the more efficient horse-drawn streetcar that operated on rails, expanded the edges of many cities beginning in the 1850s. The fixed-route, horse-drawn transit system increased the commuting distance from two miles to three miles in one-half hour, extending the acceptable distance from the city center to the open farmland deemed suitable for residential development from thirteen miles to almost thirty square miles. As horse-drawn streetcar tracks followed the main roads radiating out from the central city toward the emerging railroad suburbs, the cost of transportation began to influence where different economic groups resided. While the middle and working classes settled in neighborhoods closer to the central city and accessible by relatively inexpensive horse-drawn streetcars, those with higher incomes settled in the railroad suburbs.[8]

The Electric Streetcar and Suburban Development

The introduction of the first electric-powered streetcar system in 1887 ushered in a new period of suburbanization. At this time, the electric streetcar allowed people to travel in ten minutes the same distance it would take them thirty minutes to walk. From 1890 to 1907, the distance covered by streetcar tracks increased from 5,783 miles to 34,404 miles. In cities in the Midwest and West, electric streetcar lines formed the physical framework of the emerging metropolis and influenced initial patterns of suburban development.[9] As the streetcar systems developed, the network of cross-town lines made it possible to travel from one suburban center to another, as well as to and from the historic city center. Moreover, the streetcar network connected with interurban lines linking outlying towns to the central city and to each other.

In his pioneering study of Boston, Sam Bass Warner, Jr. documented that the introduction of improved street railway lines made possible a continuing outward expansion of the city and was a fundamental factor in opening up the suburbs to the common man.[10] Two major policies of the American streetcar

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 118-119.

companies facilitated the outward movement of population. The first policy was the practice of extending the lines beyond the built-up portion of the city into open country. This assured prospective buyers that convenient transportation would be available from their residence. The second policy was charging a flat fee with free transfers no matter what the distance. Consequently, a two-step pattern emerged throughout the United States. First, entrepreneurs erected streetcar lines radiating out from the city center to existing villages that subsequently developed into larger self-contained communities. Second, the corridor of tracks created residential neighborhoods where none had previously existed.

The dependence on cheap fares was based on the concept of economy of scale, which depended on a high number of riders. This became a self-feeding practice, which further promoted the outward expansion of the city in as many directions as geography and the local economy allowed. In order to maintain a large and growing customer base, streetcar companies opened new lines to access as many areas of the city as possible. This is not to say that a trolley line could itself determine the pace of change; a number of variables influenced city development patterns. Nevertheless, the presence of street railways was the dominant factor in predicting growth. In almost every case examined by contemporaneous and later scholars, the areas most popular with prospective homebuilders were those close to streetcar routes. As the Massachusetts Street Railway Commission noted in 1918, "It is a well known fact that real estate served by adequate street railway facilities is more readily saleable and commands a higher price than real estate not so served."[11]

Nationally, streetcar use continued to increase until 1923 when ridership reached 15.7 billion. Thereafter, it declined slowly until the 1940s when it dropped sharply. No clear distinction exists between streetcar and automobile use from 1910 to 1930. During this period, as cities continued to grow and the demand for transportation increased, increasing numbers of the upper-middle to upper-income households purchased automobiles, while streetcars continued to serve the working- and middle-class populations. By the 1930s, most streetcar lines had consolidated into major mass transit companies who added buses and trackless trolleys to their fleets to make their routes more flexible. After the end of World War II, the enormous increase in automobile ownership, particularly by the middle and working classes, and the decentralization of industry away from railroad freight centers to outside the city center ended the role of the streetcar as an influence on the American urban form.[12]

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[11] Ibid., 120.
[12] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part1.html.

LAND USE AND DEVELOPERS IN EARLY SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT

The residential subdivision forms the building block of the American suburb. Its origins are in the eighteenth-century suburbs of London and the romantic landscape movement of the mid-nineteenth century in the United States. These two precedents comprise the design prototype of the modern, self-contained subdivision where residences (particularly single-family houses) were part of a landscaped environment. By the late nineteenth century, the American ideal of suburban life was a self-sufficient, semi-rural subdivision away from the noise, pollution, and activity of the crowded city core, but close enough to maintain a sense of community.

At this time, suburbanization became a dominant trend in American history and cut across lines of social and economic class, extending from the wealthy to the working classes.[13] Unlike the semi-rural railroad suburbs that grew in nodes around rail stations, streetcar suburbs formed contiguous neighborhoods along radial corridors that extended outward from the city. Because the streetcar made numerous stops at short intervals along its route, developers platted rectilinear subdivisions on small lots within a five- or ten-minute walk of the streetcar lines. As in South St. Louis, the subdivision's streets were often extensions of the gridiron that characterized the plan of the older city.

Until the early twentieth century, most subdivisions were relatively small and tended to expand in increments as owners developed adjoining parcels of land, extending the existing grid of streets outward. The subdivider usually planned and designed these parcels as a single development, filing a plat or general development plan with the local government authority, indicating their plans for improving the land with streets and utilities. Within these subdivisions, different builders and/or the developer/owner often built the residential dwellings.[14]

The developer acquired and surveyed the land, developed a plan, and laid out lots and roads. Improvements varied but often included utilities, graded roads, curbs and sidewalks, storm-water drains, and landscaping. The developer would then sell lots to prospective homeowners, who would then contract with their own builders; or they would sell to builders buying several parcels at once to construct residential units for resale; or they would sell to speculators intending to resell the land when land values rose. Most developers operated on a small scale, developing only a few subdivisions a year. For larger parcels, however, groups of investors usually formed land improvement companies to organize and supervise the subdivision. By the turn of the century, developers began to erect residential buildings on a

[13] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part2.html.
[14] Ibid.

small number of lots in their subdivisions to convey the idea of market stability. During real estate boom periods, there was widespread speculation and fraud. The appearance of residential units in speculative subdivisions signaled to the potential buyers that the plan on paper would materialize into a neighborhood.[15]

SOCIO-ECONOMICS OF EARLY SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT

Although suburban life historically attracted all socioeconomic groups, the middle class comprised the largest group to establish homes in suburban neighborhoods. The first suburbs began as semi-rural, landscaped, single-family enclaves erected for the upper-middle classes who utilized private transportation. Streetcar suburbs attracted a wider range of socioeconomic groups. In the Midwest and West, in particular, the streetcar became the primary means of transportation for all income groups. The greatest majority of users were among the middle classes. By keeping fares low and offering a flat fare with free transfers, streetcar operators encouraged families to move to the suburban periphery where the cost of land and a new home was cheaper.[16] As advances in transportation systems lowered the time and cost of commuting to work in the city, suburban subdivisions quickly became the homes of the working classes as well.[17] By the last decades of the nineteenth century, even those families of modest incomes could afford a small detached house or a comparatively spacious flat in a detached two- or four-family flat with a small yard.[18]

The suburbanization of the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be viewed in the context of a number of economic factors — the material prosperity of its people, the abundance of cheap accessible land surrounding its cities, and the availability of financing mechanisms for long-term credit at reasonable terms. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the wages of the working classes in America, no matter how meager, were almost invariably higher than those of its counterparts in other parts of the world. A wage structure and economy that allowed the average working- and middle-class family to save a certain percentage of their wages, and the abundance of cheap land at the city's edges created a middle-class market for suburban developers. During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, the real estate developer targeted the

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part1.html.
[17] The common distinction between the working class and middle class differentiates between skilled and unskilled wage earners and those who, by virtue of their education and/or training, received salaries. The term "working class" is sometimes used as a synonym for "lower classes."
[18] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/intro.html.

"little" man -- the working-class clerks, mechanics, salesmen, and proprietors of small businesses who aspired to secure more for their families and who responded to slight variations in price.[19]

During this same period, the emergence of the streetcar rail system and the decline in the value of agricultural land merged to create land values that allowed development of affordable residential properties away from the city center. During this period, the marginal cost of streetcar transport did not rise as fast as the price of land fell in correlation to distance from the city center. As a result, the least expensive housing option for middle-class families that could afford to commute was to move outward.

The concurrent expansion of savings and loan organizations also hastened residential development. Individuals of modest means could invest their savings in shares of a private savings and loan association and eventually borrow against the value of those shares at a low interest rate. This method of financing home ownership was significant in the nineteenth century because federal (and some state) laws prevented most commercial banks from providing long-term credit for real estate loans. Although the legislation prevented loans for speculative real estate development, in the 1890s, some banks began to issue a few short-term mortgages for non-income producing residential properties. By 1915, most of the larger banks had real estate departments. Although these institutions acted conservatively and rarely extended large loans to builders and developers, changes in residential lending policies during World War I further stimulated suburbanization.[20]

Middle-Class Housing

The earliest development of suburbs in America coincided with fundament perceptions of the ideal family that evolved during the Progressive Movement at the turn of the century. Progressive ideals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century emphasized simplicity and efficiency, called for residences that reflected less formal hierarchical relationships, and promoted a more relaxed lifestyle than the idealized versions of domesticity and formalized social customs of the early Victorian era. In addition, technological innovations of the era defined the plan of middle-class housing. For example, the introduction of indoor plumbing resulted in the stacking of bathrooms over kitchens at the rear of the house. Because central heating, hot water heaters, indoor plumbing, and electricity increased the cost of construction, standardized plans that reduced floor space emerged. This helped offset the rising cost of home construction, allowing residences with the latest features to be within reach of more Americans.[21]

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[19] Jackson, 128-129.
[20] Ibid., 130.
[21] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part3.html.

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

- The lowering of construction costs, through successive stages of standardization, mass production, and prefabrication.
- The translation of the suburban ideal into the form of a single dwelling, usually on its own lot in a safe, healthy, and park-like setting.
- The creation of a cost-efficient floor plan designed to meet and reinforce popular perceptions with regard to the ideal family.[22]

The Emergence of Middle-Class Multi-Family Housing

The growing popularity of multi-family housing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries corresponds to the era between the Civil War and the Great Depression, a time when towns became cities and the majority of the nation's citizens became an urban people. Despite the European tradition of communal living, in antebellum America, the idea of sharing a roof, front door, and a staircase with other families was distasteful. Initially, traditional values held that multi-family dwellings were the purview of the lower classes. As communities grew after the end of the Civil War, the establishment of the two-family flat or apartment house as a significant part of a city's housing reflects a number of factors, the foremost of which was a rapidly growing population and limited land mass near centers of economic activity and transit systems. In particular, the growing numbers of working-class and middle-class bachelors and single women arriving in cities to take jobs as tradesmen, clerks, salesmen, teachers, librarians, middle managers, secretaries, and stenographers created a demand for affordable housing without the responsibilities and costs of home ownership.

EARLY SUBURBAN STREETSCAPES

Due to efficient and inexpensive streetcar networks and the lower cost of land at the city's edge, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, large numbers of working-class and middle-class families purchased small detached houses or rented a spacious flat in a safe and sanitary environment convenient

[22] Ibid., http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part3.html.

to public transportation.[23] The blue-collar suburban streetcar neighborhoods possessed distinct visual characteristics that typically resulted from a process that incorporated selection, platting, overall design of the residential structures, and spatial arrangement with other residences, as well as the construction of buildings, either through contract or for speculation. They also relied on easy access to public utilities, including water, sewer, electricity, natural gas, and telephone services, as well as maintenance of nearby arterial roads and transportation systems.

Existing principals of city planning and landscape design usually determined the spatial organization of new subdivisions. In some places, such as in South St. Louis, the developer simply extended the gridiron plan of the city outward, linking preexisting rectilinear streets to new blocks of uniform lots. In other places, developers incorporated the existing topography and the latest tenets of landscape design when designing the layout of streets and lots, and created discreet enclaves away from busy thoroughfares.

Predominantly residential in use, streetcar suburbs contained both single-family houses and multi-family housing or a combination of the two. In addition, the subdivision or the neighborhoods that composed it contained facilities associated with domestic life, such as shops, business services, parks and playgrounds, community buildings and social halls, schools, and churches.

Depending on their period of development, the organization of the residential suburban streetscapes consisted of a common or similar spatial arrangement of yard, residential building, and garage/shed/carriage house in relationship to the street, common areas, walks, alleys, driveways, and the division of front, back, and side yards. The environment was, however, never quite as bucolic as prospective owners anticipated or developers proclaimed. Streetcar suburbs retained a distinct urban appearance because they developed along streetcar routes that overlaid the existing grid plan of streets, creating a geometric patchwork of major arterial routes and collector streets. Within that grid of streets, the most efficient and inexpensive way to subdivide and sell land was in small rectangular lots arranged on this grid system. These neighborhoods featured single-family residences or two- to four-family flats in detached buildings on lots of about three thousand to six thousand square feet. These dimensions were liberal compared to those found in the central city, but much more restricted than the ideal mid-nineteenth century suburban pattern book prototype. This density occurred because of two factors: (1) the profitable operation of the streetcar, the common man's mode of transit, required a high volume of traffic and (2) proximity to a transit line tended to raise the price of land. Thus, the trolley, which attracted the middle

[23] Jackson, 136.

class away from the congested city center, was not feasible unless the residential neighborhoods it served achieved a certain density.[24]

This type of rectilinear suburb, which was located apart from the city center and accessible by some form of horse-drawn or mechanized transportation, originated in the early nineteenth century on the East Coast.[25] In St. Louis, they began to appear in the 1880s and followed the patterns of eastern cities. The change in residential patterns brought by the streetcar created a new kind of metropolis. By 1900, the center of the American city was almost devoid of residences, containing office buildings and commercial spaces instead. The only residential sections were the first tenement districts inhabited by recent immigrants with little or no money and unskilled laborers unable to afford the daily streetcar fare. Beyond the dense commercial center of the city were the new streetcar suburbs.

The residential structures, while not elegant, represented an attainable goal. They were reasonably spacious and affordable, especially by the standards of recently arriving European immigrants. The established neighborhoods of the upper classes who commuted to the central city in private carriages were in other restricted and more remote parts of the city that were farther away from the commercial corridors and public transit lines. Farther out, the railroad commuters lived in houses set behind decorative fences on ample landscaped lawns, thick with trees and shrubbery.[26]

ST. LOUIS' EARLY URBAN LANDSCAPE AND THE HORSE-DRAWN STREETCAR: 1803-1880

By virtue of the establishment of the city along the bluffs of the Mississippi River, the City of St. Louis' development patterns always included spreading development to the west across flat river bottoms and rolling prairie land. The need for railroad lines to utilize the gradual rise in grade found along the river corridor and the separation of the city from its surrounding county in 1875 further defined the city's growth and settlement patterns.[27] Historians divide the development of St. Louis into five temporal classifications: (1) "Original Urban Landscape" — communities founded in the Colonial period before the Louisiana Purchase of 1803; (2) "Central St. Louis" — the older neighborhoods closely clustered around downtown; (3) "Spreading Metropolis" — more distinct urban neighborhoods built in the late

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part2.html.
[26] Jackson 136-137.
[27] Tim Fox, *Where We Live: A Guide to St. Louis Communities* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1995), 1.

nineteenth and early twentieth century; (4) "The Suburbs" — newer towns outside the city limits; and (5) "Communities Beyond" — smaller communities that have remained outside the urban region.

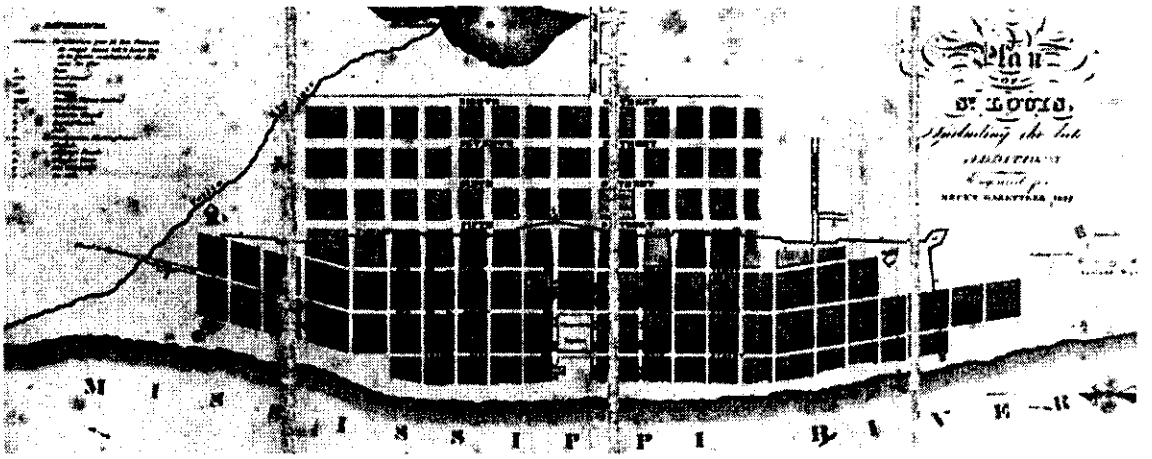

Figure 2: St. Louis in 1823
Lewis Beck, *Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri*, Missouri Historical Society
as reprinted in *St. Louis The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*

The development history of what is today the southeast part of St. Louis[28] begins with its geological past as a karst plain along the Mississippi River. From 1764 to 1803, St. Louis was a European outpost at the edge of a wilderness. The first Euro-American inhabitants relied on their common traditions in the design of their villages and in the conveyance of property. Their traditional town plan was an integrated arrangement of public and private spaces with both rural and urban functions. Although Auguste Chouteau platted the first blocks of the village of St. Louis in 1764, the area beyond followed traditional European agricultural patterns. In the 1760s, the earliest farmers laid out long, narrow, commonly held agricultural fields between present-day South Grand Boulevard and Kingshighway Boulevard. Today, the irregular streets north of Arsenal Street reflect the arrangement of these fields. In 1836, the city designed the area to the south of it on a grid, with Arsenal Street as one axis. These two designs converge at Grand Avenue, accounting for changes in direction of some streets and the skewed grid in some areas.

[28] This area is also referred to as South St. Louis, referencing its historic role in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The city's commons system originated from the earlier European patterns of land allotment established in St. Louis by the French in 1764. All residents held common rights to the land for pasturage and wood lots, although the city, through informal or deeded agreements, sometimes assigned some of the land to residents for their personal use. The common land allotments ran in long, narrow fields west from the Mississippi River. There were originally five sets of common fields surrounding the city.

When the United States purchased what is now St. Louis as part of the Louisiana Territory from the French in 1804, the system of commons and personal allotment tracts limited the amount of land surrounding the community's core that was available for public sale or development. For the town to grow, the local government needed to transfer communally held lands into private ownership to facilitate development and to use the income from the sale of these public lands to fund governmental functions and infrastructure. With its incorporation as an American city in 1823, St. Louis began to transform the European ideas of communal land ownership into American entrepreneurial practices.[29]

Initially, most development in St. Louis centered on the area surrounding the riverfront and extended west by only blocks. Development did not remain focused on the riverfront area for long. To encourage private development away from the water's edge, St. Louis officials auctioned approximately two thousand acres of the St. Louis Commons.

The city held its first land sale in 1836.[30] The area auctioned ran from the edge of present-day Grand Avenue to South Jefferson Avenue and from Chouteau Avenue to its intersection with the Mississippi River. Each tract was a forty-acre grid divided into four ten-acre blocks. Bisecting the grid, one mile to the east of its western border, was South Jefferson Avenue, a 120-foot-wide principal thoroughfare running south from Chouteau Avenue until it terminated at the Mississippi River. Aligned at right angles to South Jefferson Avenue were fifteen, 40-foot-wide streets, spaced at even quarter-mile intervals and numbered consecutively from north to south. Four 120-foot-wide avenues – Missouri, Mississippi, Park, and Lafayette – defined the public square, which is today Lafayette Park. This simple plan would guide

[29] Fox, 45, 47. Most of these were colonial elite Creole families, original holders of land allotments and grants just south of the city core. For example, the Creole elite became American-style speculators when the allotment lands of Sylvester Labadie and Nichols Barsaloux ended up in platted subdivisions suitable for development in 1839 and 1845.

[30] Called the "First City Subdivision." In 1836, the city stopped disputed land claim inquiries that had resulted from decisions made by three different countries: France, Spain, and the United States. This was essential before there could be new legal owners in land sales.

the city's growth to the south and southwest.[31] With few exceptions, the streets running north and south were named after the states of the Union, while those running in east and west received the names of various Native American tribes.

Because of the city's decision to auction forty large tracts, few single owners could afford to bid. In 1843, the city tried again with slightly better results; nevertheless, the city retained ownership of vast amounts of land, most of which was more than three miles from the downtown commercial area. In 1854, the city organized the Second City Subdivision land auction differently. Instead of offering forty-acre blocks, the city divided the land into smaller blocks, street grids, alleys, and 25-foot-wide building lots that were more typical of most American city grids. This approach acknowledged the speculative nature of home building. Grid divisions also created a uniformity of the landscape, which, during the development process, assured equal, uniform, and similar results on a block-by-block basis. The results determined the spatial layout of much of South St. Louis' appearance, creating a distinct sense of place. In its platting prior to the sale of the land, the city's use of blocks with narrow lots also created an emphasis on an eventual north-south traffic flow through the area to and from the city's center.

The city's involvement in this initial phase of subdividing the prairie land is important because rather than allowing developers to decide how a subdivision would be divided among house lots, the city, for the most part, had already made those decisions. A benefit of the city's determination of this initial landscape pattern was the inclusion of numerous neighborhood parks.

The Second City Subdivision sale was more successful than the first. Buyers could purchase small blocks or blocks of lots, making investment possible for single owners with more modest capital. Investors purchased land with the tacit understanding that the city would eventually provide the necessary infrastructure of streets, sewers, and water lines. The streetscapes that emerged created dominant and subordinate roles for public streets, avenues, and service alleys and standardized the 25-foot-wide building lot.[32]

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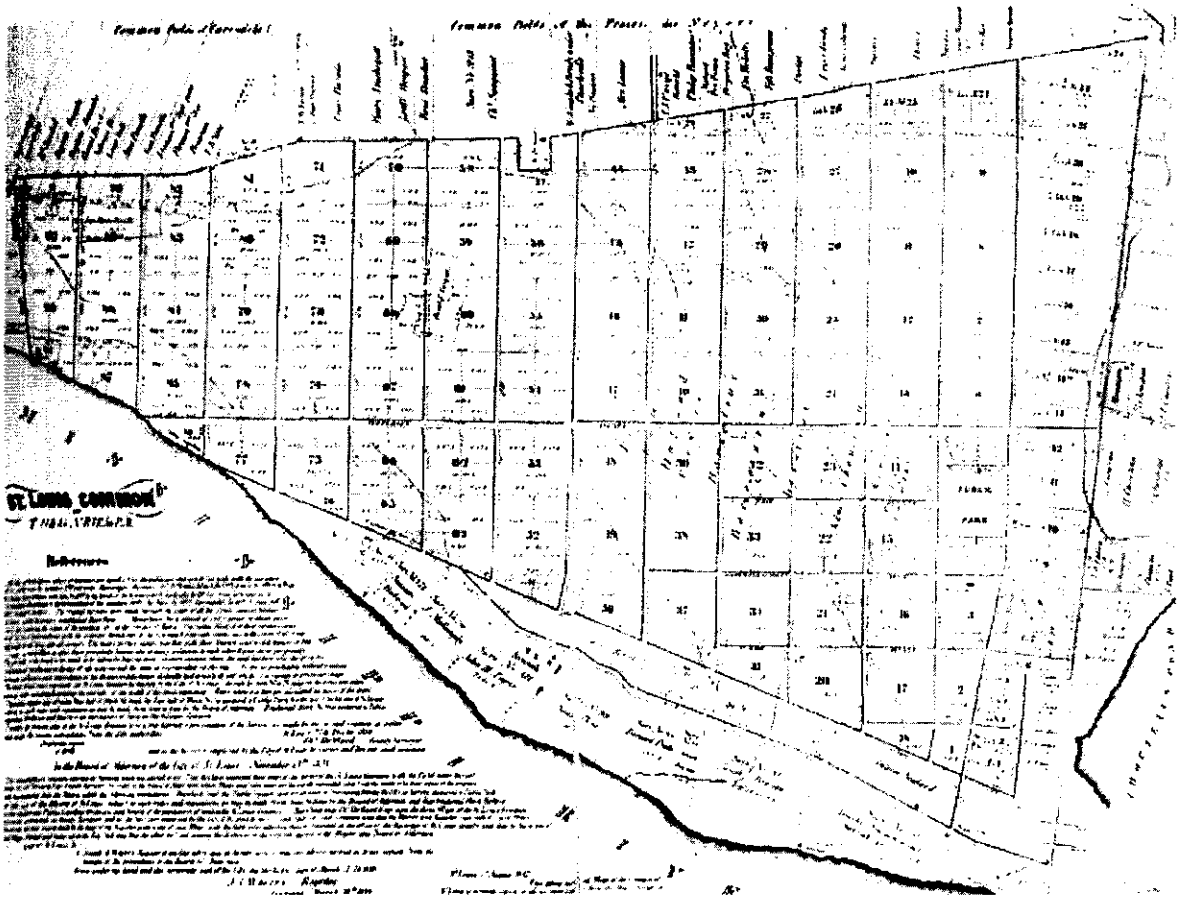
[31] Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 52.
[32] Ibid., 68.

Figure 3: Common Lands Surveyed

C. DeWard and J. Hutawa, 1838

Missouri Historical Society as printed in *St. Louis the Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*



In 1855, the Third City Subdivision sale took place. This one included only twelve blocks scattered between Gravois Avenue and South Broadway Avenue and Winnebago and Wyoming Streets. This subdivision created several neighborhood parks from Commons Lands reserved by the city at this time, including Gravois, Laclede, and Mount Pleasant parks.[33]

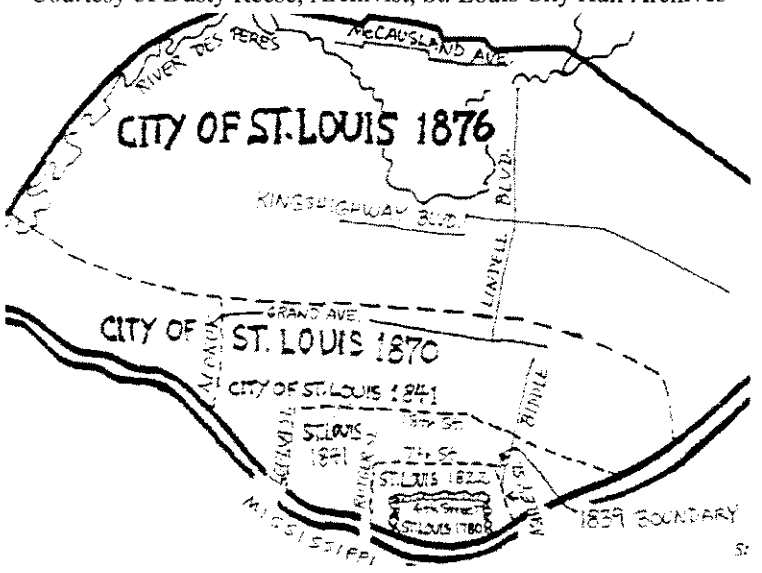
[33] In 1915, the city acquired Marquette Park at Osage Street and Minnesota Avenue from the Board of Children's Guardians. Its swimming pool opened in 1917. Riverside Park, at the foot of Bates Street overlooking the Mississippi River, became city property in 1908 and became known as Bellerive Park. In 1925, the city acquired the

As with the Second City Subdivision sale, the bidders tended to be craft workers and small-time shopkeepers, much the same socio-economic group that already inhabited the South Side neighborhoods closer to the city's historic center.[34] Most purchased small properties just south of Arsenal Street and along Gravois Avenue. Within a week, all lots in the Third Subdivision were sold.[35]

Between 1830 and 1880, St. Louis acquired the appearance of other American cities and the city's population grew from approximately 8,000 to over 350,000. Its populace spread outward in a fan shape from the center into new residential areas, causing the city to expand its boundaries in 1841, 1855, 1870, and 1875.[36]

Figure 4: Expansion of City Limits

Courtesy of Dusty Reese, Archivist, St. Louis City Hall Archives



Land use became specialized, with areas divided into industrial, commercial, retail, and residential sections. Within this pattern, the workplace both created and preserved neighborhoods. While the wealthy had access to private transportation (horse and carriage) that allowed them to reside away from the noise and pollution of the commercial and industrial areas, most people lived within easy walking distance of their job site. Consequently, densely built residential neighborhoods surrounded work sites along the river and, later, along the railroad tracks. The presence of residential streets stimulated retail and service businesses to locate near residences at corners and along the busiest roads. These services, in turn, stimulated the erection of more residences. The new

traditional open space at South Broadway and Meramec Streets as a gift and named it the Minnie Wood Memorial Playground.

[34] Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*, 69.

[35] Besides the First, Second, and Third Subdivisions, there is four-block area just south of Marquette Park that was in the Fifth City Subdivision land sales in 1863.

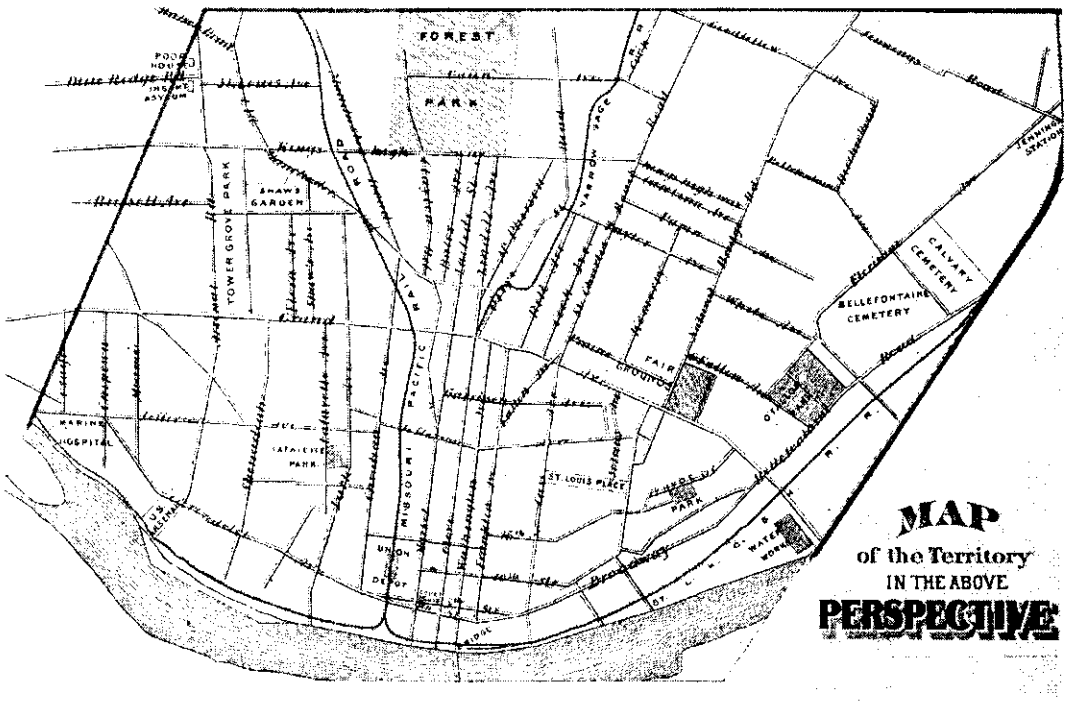
[36] Eric Sandweiss, "Paving St. Louis's Street," in *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, ed. Andrew Hurley (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1977), 90.

residences encouraged more commercial development, complementing their needs for goods and services as well as customers.[37]

Although the sale of common lands allowed the area to pass into the hands of private owners and the population of the city increased, the process of populating the former common lands was a lengthy one and little development took place until after the Civil War.

In 1870, the city expanded south of Keokuk Street to include the village of Carondelet. The city's population then reached 310,869 within a 17.98-square-mile area, making it the nation's fourth largest city. This annexation followed an initial trend after the war of growth to the south.

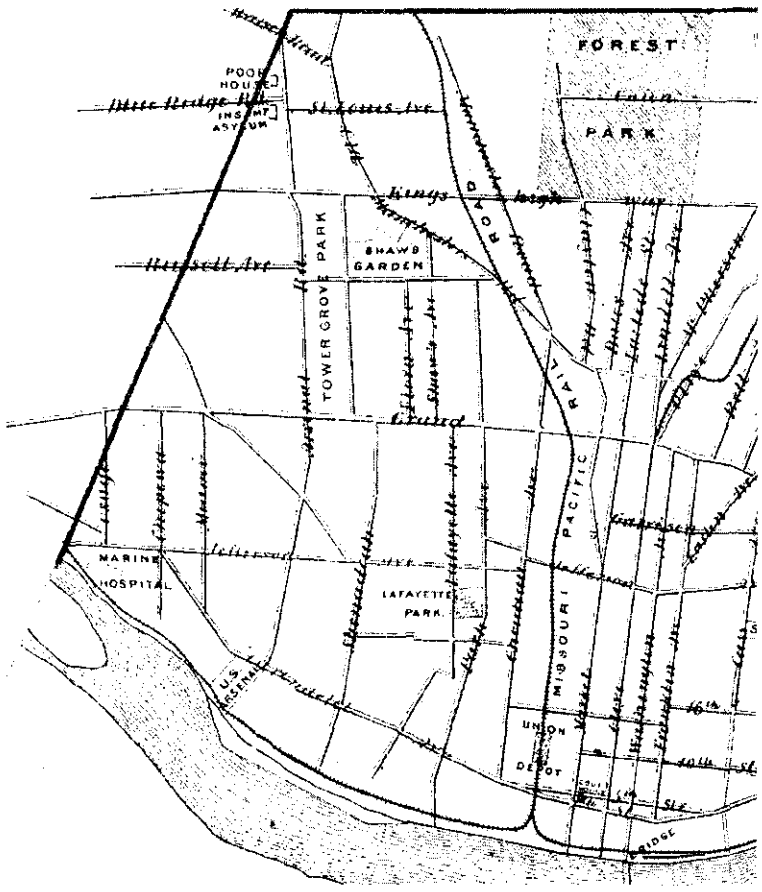
Figure 5: St. Louis as depicted in *Pictorial St. Louis*, 1876
Missouri Historical Society as published in *Saint Louis in the Gilded Age*



[37] Ibid.

In 1876, the city limits expanded west from Grand Avenue to Skinker Boulevard. The new city limits on the south and southwest paralleled the general direction of the River Des Peres. The total area of the city was 61.37 square miles, and most of the newly annexed area west of Grand Avenue was open farmland. There was considerable development in the area along the Missouri Pacific Railroad (See Figure 6). By this time, while housing was fairly dense to the east of South Jefferson Avenue and north of Chippewa Street; to the west, small farms and dairies remained for years before there was much interest in extensive residential development. At this time, a commercial nucleus began to develop at South Grand Boulevard and Gravois Avenue. There was also some construction east of Gravois Avenue along Arsenal Street (which had a horse-car line to Tower Grove Park) and housing began to appear. The majority of landowners held property for decades, sold it to others, or platted a subdivision and saw little happen. After the initial platting, decades often passed before building activity occurred.

Figure 6: South St. Louis, 1876
Pictorial St. Louis, Missouri Historical Society
as published in *Saint Louis in the Gilded Age*



Two of the most important factors affecting growth in the area were the small number of transportation routes connecting the southern area to the central city and the extremely slow development of routes connecting to north St. Louis. In the late nineteenth century, only two transportation routes provided the main means of traveling north and south through the core of the city. Gravois Road (present-day Gravois Avenue), in particular, drew commercial uses as a farm-to-market road. Running south and then southwest from the city core, it originally provided access to the common fields, surrounding grazing areas, the Gravois settlement and farmlands in the Meramec River Valley. It began as a trail to a salt spring and ferry near present-day Fenton in about 1804. City surveyor Charles DeWard originally planned Jefferson Avenue as a street that ran south from Chouteau Avenue (southern edge of the Chouteau Mill Pond Tract) to the Mississippi River; however, for a long time Jefferson Avenue remained undeveloped and disconnected from other roads.

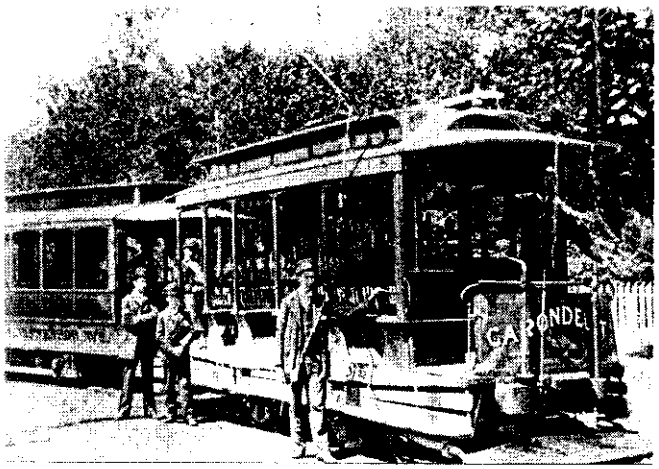
Railroad lines provided another obstacle to cross-town transportation. In 1851-1852, city health officials drained and filled Chouteau's Pond just north of Chouteau and Jefferson Avenues. Soon the Pacific Railroad rail line crossed over the site of the former pond, forming a prime connection between the river landing settlement of St. Louis and the route to Cheltenham, Missouri, a farm community five miles to the southwest. The tracks were as much a source of division as of connection. Without viaducts to allow road access over the tracks, particularly streetcar tracks, the area became a large uncrossable zone that divided north and south St. Louis into two distinct communities. That division remained as railroad lines filled the river valley. Thus, the railroad tracks became the deterrent to easy movement in and out of the inner city and consequently delayed the arrival of public transportation to the area.

Another factor was the presence of sinkholes that pockmarked the area. Located between prairie and woodland forests, St. Louis sits on a karst plain of limestone that is constantly undermined by water in cave springs. Eventually, sections of rock would collapse and cause cave-ins. Deep pits, sometimes dozens per square mile, appeared in this plain. Besides the obstacles they caused in efficient use of the land, early St. Louis residents used sink holes as trash pits and sewers, despite the fact that their interconnected nature caused the spread of serious pollution and disease.[38]

[38] Walter Schroeder, "The Environmental Setting of the St. Louis Region," in *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, ed. Andrew Hurley (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1977), 18-19.

THE SPREADING METROPOLIS: 1880-1930

St. Louis' first suburban neighborhoods emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century during the era of the "Spreading Metropolis." They were urban neighborhoods of middle-class and moderate-income residents located within the city limits, several miles away from the city's historic civic and commercial core. Whatever the socio-economic composition, residential development near the city's expanding edges resulted in the same conditions that stimulated suburban growth in hundreds of other American cities across the country during the same time period. A growing population and the crowded, noisy, and polluted conditions of the older city core made new neighborhoods appealing to city residents.



Converted Horsecars, Arsenal Street and South Jefferson Avenue Streetcar Line, circa 1895
Missouri Historical Society as published in
A Century of Enterprise: St. Louis, 1894-1994

As early as the 1860s, the citizens of St. Louis who could afford their own private transportation developed private residential neighborhoods away from the central city area. These neighborhoods, designed and platted by civil engineers, often took the form of gated private streets with their own maintenance and security crews. Their designs often included paved streets and sidewalks, ornamental landscape elements, and small parks. By the 1880s, private streets were a unique feature of St. Louis' upper- and upper-middle-class neighborhoods, a practice that continued well into the twentieth century. Most were north of Lindell Avenue. This self-imposed dividing line between the northern and southern parts of the city removed these private residential enclaves from commercial and working-class residential intrusions.

THE EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION NETWORKS IN ST. LOUIS

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the establishment of middle- and working-class residential areas away from the historic city center coincided with the development of public transportation in St. Louis. Beginning in 1859, the Missouri Railway Company ran horse-drawn streetcars (or "herdics") on narrow-gauge rails. The first tracks ran on Olive Street from Fourth to Tenth

Streets. During the following decade, a network of horsecar lines grew to cover the developed portions of the city, replacing the large stagecoach as the method of public transit. By 1878, interurban lines ran north and northwest from near Grand Avenue and Olive Street to Normandy and Florissant, Missouri. By 1881, a number of companies owned total trackage of approximately 120 miles, 2,280 horses and mules, 496 streetcars, and employed more than a 1,000 workers. Almost 20 million passengers used the streetcar annually.[39]

Figure 7: Cable Car Routes

Route No.	Street Company	Period of Cable Car Operation
40	Broadway (N) StLRR	1890 to 1900
40	Broadway (S) StLRR	1891 to 1900
53	Chouteau Peoples	1890 to 1901
32	Franklin Citizens	1888 to 1894
15	Locust Street LC&W	1886 to 1891
12	Olive Missouri	1888 to 1901

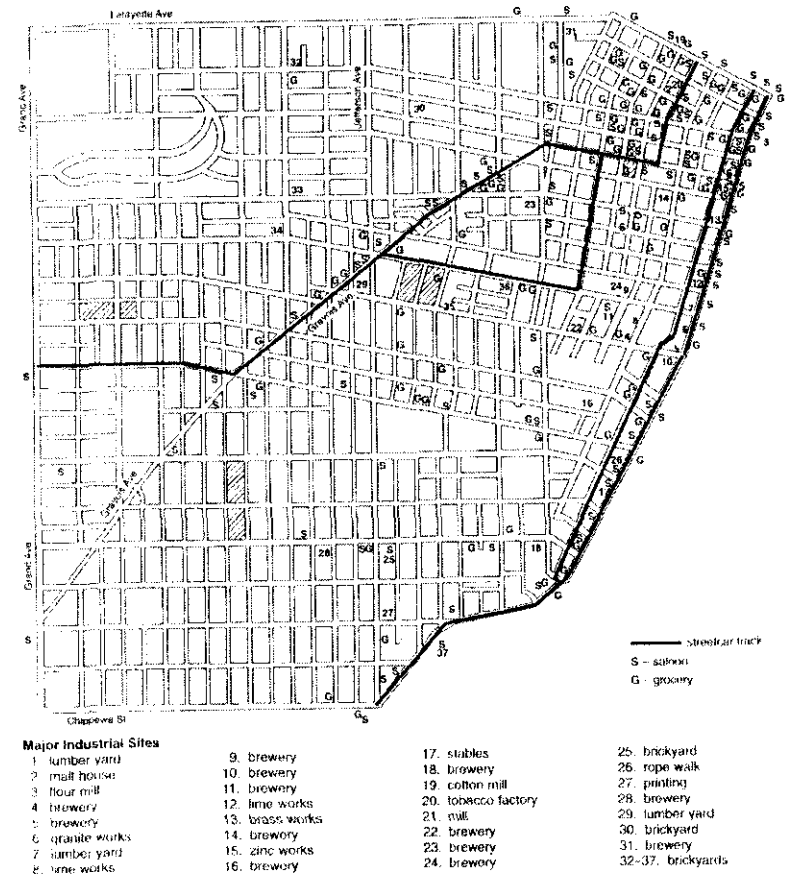
Cable-powered cars appeared in 1886 when the St. Louis Cable and Western Cable Car line began operation. It ran from Sixth and Locust Streets to Vandeventer Avenue via Franklin Avenue. All cable car lines replaced horsecar lines, except for the route on Locust Street, which later evolved into part of the Hodiamont streetcar route.

It was, however, the switch to electric streetcars that transformed the system. In 1887, the city authorized several street railways to use electric powered trolleys. The Lindell Railway Company ran from downtown to the west end. The Union Depot Railway Company operated in South St. Louis, while the Mound City line traveled over most of the north side of the city. Most of these transit firms consolidated in 1899 as a result of the city enacting the Central Traction Bill, which joined more than 280 miles of streetcar track under one corporate structure — the United Railway Company, which later became the St.

[39] James Neal Primm quoted in U.S. Genealogy Network, Inc., "Ridin' in the Street Cars" [article online] available at http://www.usgennet.org/usa/mo/county/stlouis/streetcar.htm; Internet; accessed 28 July 2004. James Neal Primm is the author of *Lion of the Valley: A History of St. Louis*.

Louis Transit Company.[40] By the turn of the century, the Wellston Loop[41] at Plymouth and Kingsland Avenues south of Page Avenue ranked among the largest streetcar transfer points in the United States. These street railways facilitated suburbanization northward as well as the expansion already evolving westward toward Kirkwood, Missouri.[42] Residential neighborhoods sprouted on the city's fringe where there were streetcar connections.

Figure 8: 1880 Streetcar Lines in South St. Louis
Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*



Streetcar routes evolved slowly in the southern part of the city. A horsecar line operating on Carondelet Avenue (South Broadway Street) in the late 1850s was the earliest public transit in the South Side. Originally, the line terminated at Keokuk Street, but later it extended southward to the community of Carondelet. By 1875, horsecar lines ran on Jefferson Avenue, Gravois Road, and out Sidney and Arsenal Streets to Grand Avenue (South Grand

[40] Sandweiss, St. *Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape,* 188.

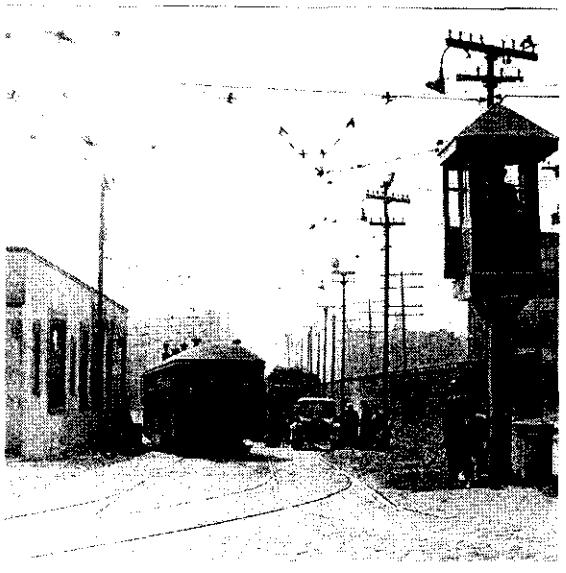
[41] Originally the town of Wellston and named for Erastus Wells who launched the first horse-drawn streetcar line in St. Louis. Wells also helped start the West End Narrow Gauge Railroad Company, a successful commuter railroad that ran from Olive and Grand to Normandy and Florissant. By the early twentieth century, Wellston grew into an industrial district and blue-collar town.

[42] Established in 1853, Kirkwood, Missouri is located in West St. Louis County and is known as the first planned suburb west of the Mississippi River. It owes its existence to the railroad line that emanated west from downtown St. Louis.

Boulevard). In 1880, streetcar service ran along Gravois Road only as far south as Arsenal Street. Two lines ran south from downtown along Seventh Street and Carondelet Avenue. Both lines intersected Jefferson Avenue only at Chippewa Street (Figure 8). A network of such lines evolved on other streets in South St. Louis during the early 1880s. In 1885, the line on South Broadway became a cable car line.

In 1882, the Lindell Company extended its horse-drawn streetcar line westward on Chouteau Avenue and along Kingshighway Boulevard, stimulating some development to the west along the line. The 1889 opening of the Grand Avenue viaduct, in particular, provided easy access and streetcar connections between the new "western" subdivisions and the rest of the City.

The electric streetcar became the major impetus to the development of South St. Louis. Inaugurated in the late 1880s, electric trolley lines rapidly spread throughout the area on the main streets in the 1890s. During this decade, electric streetcar lines appeared on Jefferson Avenue, Grand Avenue, Lafayette Avenue, Park Street, Shenandoah Avenue, Arsenal Street, South Grand Boulevard, Cherokee Street, and South Broadway Street, as well as on the original horse and cable car lines.

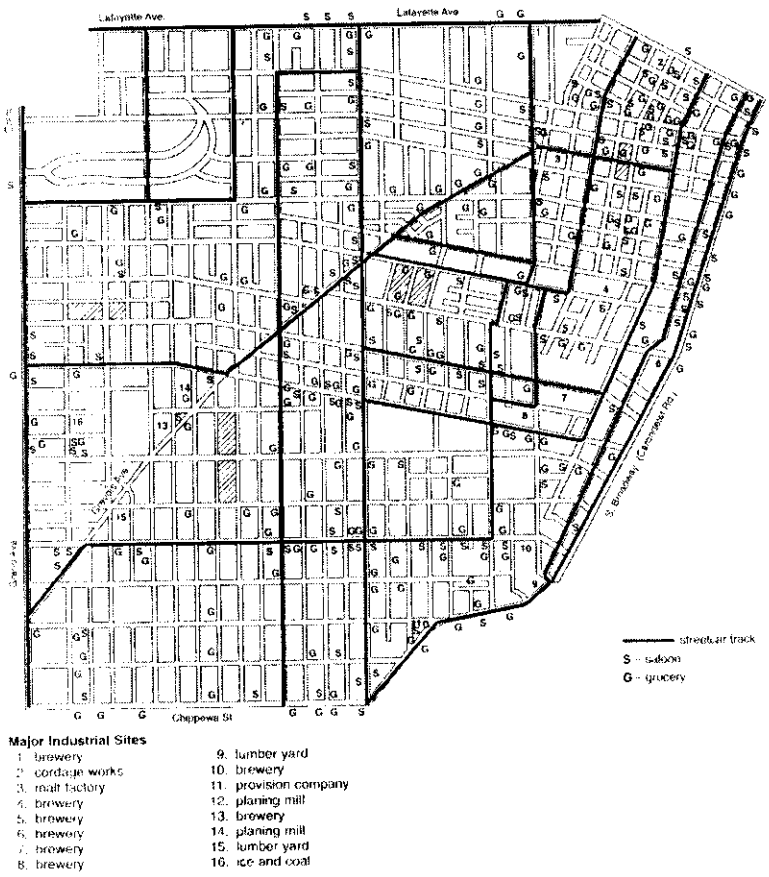


St. Louis Public Service Company
39th and Park Streets, circa 1935
Photograph by Eugene Taylor, Block Brothers Collection, Missouri Historical Society as published in *A Century of Enterprise: St. Louis, 1894-1994*

Before the consolidation of transit services in 1899, several independent companies owned the lines that provided services to the southern and southwestern portions of the city. They included the Market Street branch of the Missouri Railroad, which ran out Old Manchester Road to Tower Grove Avenue; the Tower Grove line on Arsenal Street, a branch of the Union Depot Railroad, which in the 1890s terminated at Kingshighway; the Compton and Park streetcar lines developed from the earlier Compton Heights line of the Lindell Railway Company; the Tiffany Line that connected the transit offices and shops at 39th Street and Park Avenue with Chouteau Avenue; and the Manchester Line that was originally part of the Suburban Railway system servicing the county enclaves of Maplewood and Kirkwood. By 1910, streetcar lines reached the undeveloped areas along California and Jefferson Avenues, Chippewa Street, and the southern part of Gravois Road.

As the city grew, the "outskirts" moved farther and farther from downtown. New streetcar lines extended into St. Louis County, with new residential subdivisions following close behind. Land near public amenities such as Forest Park, Benton Park, or Tower Grove Park and directly accessible to public transit lines became the most desirable. Upper-class and upper-middle-class single-family residences were larger and more expensive than those in neighborhoods located closer to railroad lines, heavily commercial corridors, and light industrial areas.

Figure 9: 1910 Streetcar Lines in South St. Louis
(Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*)



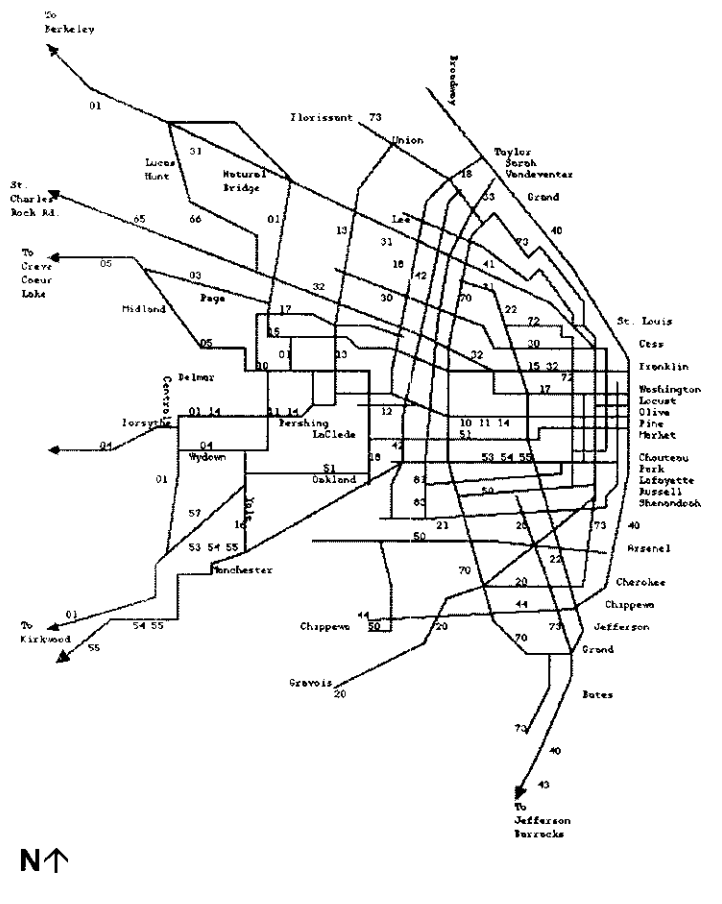
The widespread network of streetcars transformed the arterial streets on which they ran into commercial zones. During the initial period of development of streetcar neighborhoods, commercial facilities clustered at intersections and along more heavily traveled routes in areas with an increasing population.[43] Strip commercial development occurred early on principal streets carrying streetcar lines such as Cherokee Street, Chippewa Street, Meramec Avenue, Gravois Road, Grand Avenue, and Jefferson Avenue, with scattered corner commercial nodes at lesser streetcar intersections. Due to a streetcar line, Virginia Avenue[44] was the main commercial street in the area south of Meramec Avenue. These commercial corridors provided convenient shopping to the increasing number of mass transit riders

[43] Ames and McClelland, http://www.cr.nps/gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/intro.html.
[44] Known earlier as Stringtown Road, it was an early wagon route through the area.

— workers commuting from the city center to outlying industrial areas and suburban residents seeking accessible goods and services.[45]

Following national trends, the peak period for streetcar operation in St. Louis was from 1910 to 1920. During this period, over three hundred miles of track extended throughout the developed portion of the city. During the next two decades, the increased use of private automobiles, escalating costs of track maintenance, and the advent of the motorbus transport contributed to a decline in the use of the streetcar.

Figure 10: Streetcar Routes in 1923



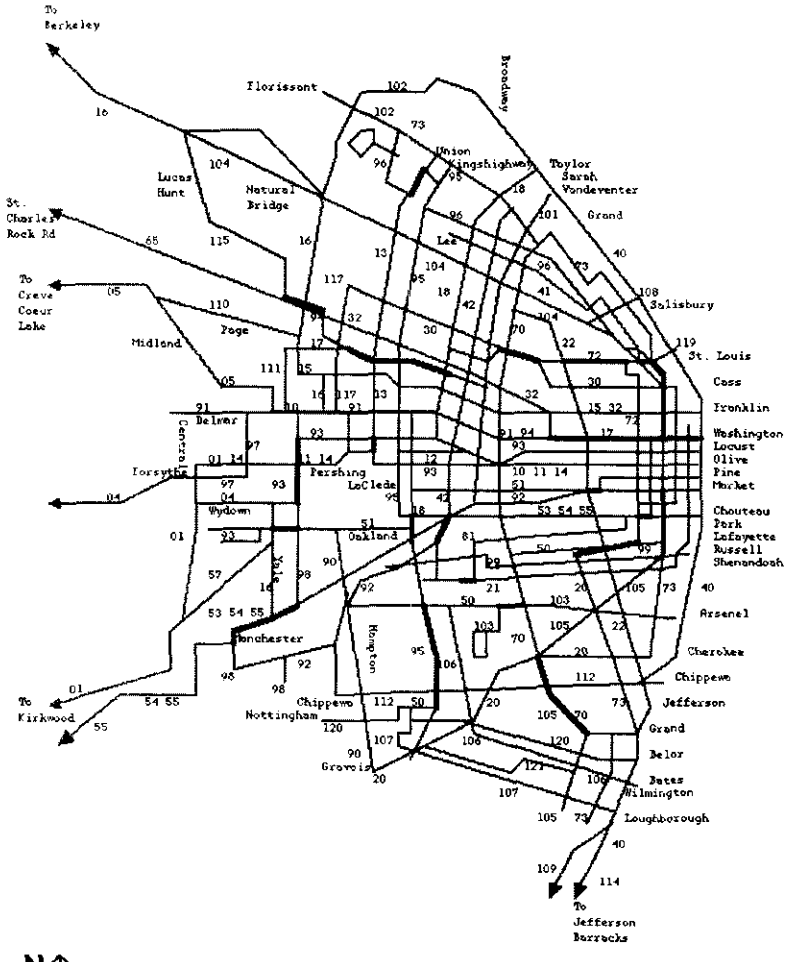
The use of the automobile by the middle class became firmly established after World War I. Its visual impact on the built environment – expressways, paved streets, traffic lights, parking lots, residential driveways, garages, and gas stations – increasingly redefined the urban landscape. St. Louis followed national trends in automobile use.

Initially, use of the automobile was slow. Charles Marien opened the city's first auto repair shop in 1902 and C. H. Laessig opened its first gas station three years later. During the post-World War I period and into the 1920s, there was no clearly definable delineation in the use of the streetcar and the automobile by the inhabitants of streetcar suburbs. The streetcar remained the principal mode of transportation for the city's working and middle classes through the 1930s.

[45] Smith, 17-18.

In 1923, the Peoples Motorbus Company established service in St. Louis, competing with the United Railway Company, which also operated bus feeder lines for their streetcar system.[46] After a period of financial difficulty, the United Railway Company reorganized in 1927 as the St. Louis Public Service Company and absorbed the Peoples Motorbus Company in the early 1930s. From 1927 to 1963, the St. Louis Public Service Co. was the city's main transit provider. In 1939, the National City Lines purchased the St. Louis Public Service Company. National City Lines introduced updated streetcars, diesel busses, and express and loop bus routes. Streetcar and bus use continued throughout and after World War II. The last streetcar in St. Louis ended its run 1966.

Figure 11: Streetcar Lines and Bus Routes in 1942



In 1936, the opening of the Oakland Expressway Highway marked the beginning of an automotive traffic distribution system that would expand dramatically in the post-World War II era. Despite this early and continuing effort to anticipate the level of automotive use, by the mid-1950s, the city's surface street system could not accommodate the volume of traffic. As a result, the construction of a network of expressways spreading in several directions from the city's business center began as part of the creation of the interstate highway system.

[46] Founded in 1921, the Missouri Motorbus Company operated only one line and soon failed.

SOUTH ST. LOUIS WORKING- AND MIDDLE-CLASS SUBURBAN NEIGHBORHOODS: 1880-1930

St. Louis' population grew from approximately 350,518 in 1880 to 821,960 in 1930. This growth was directly related to the city's industrialization. As early as 1880, St. Louis had all the characteristics of a commercial-industrial nexus, as the manufacturing of tobacco, dresses, furniture, lumber, and boots and shoes, as well as a large number of book publishing and job printing businesses, led the city's commercial production.[47] Whereas in 1870 most of the land in the southern part of the city was agricultural, by 1910 only the land on the city's western and southwestern boundaries remained undeveloped.

Between 1880 and 1910, the line of continuous settlement pushed south and west to the area around the intersection of Grand Avenue and Chippewa Street, some two miles away from the city's earliest neighborhoods.[48] Evidence of the growing numbers of middle-class workers moving from the city's industrial core were the rows of quickly-built houses and residential multi-family blocks that began to appear near older residential neighborhoods as well as the blocks of simple, utilitarian, detached flats in newly developing neighborhoods along transportation corridors at the city edges. The southern part of the city was particularly attractive; the city's Board of Health restricted the establishment of any pollution-creating industries in this area due to the prevailing summer winds that spread any airborne stench over the rest of the city.[49]

Figure 12: St. Louis Population

Year	Population[50]
1880	350,518
1890	451,770
1900	575,238
1910	678,029
1920	770,177
1930	821,960

[47] Primm, 327, 331.
[48] Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape,* 95.
[49] Andrew Hurley, "Regulation of Nuisance Trades in St. Louis," in *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, ed. by Andrew Hurley (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1977), 155-156.
[50] Frederick Anthony Hodes, "The Urbanization of St. Louis: A Study in Urban Residential Patterns in the Nineteenth Century," (Ph.D. diss., Saint Louis University, 1973), 41; James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 143.

ETHNICITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC GROUPS

At this time, St. Louis was still a place of rich ethnic diversity and only about one-third of the city was white, native-born Americans with native parents.[51] A high percentage of immigrants, especially Germans, are associated with the working- and middle-class residents of the city's first streetcar suburbs. Their presence in these areas is part of this cultural group's movement out of the areas of their initial settlement within St. Louis' earliest wards and into new neighborhoods on the city's expanding rim.

The first small group of about eighteen German families came to St. Louis in the mid-1830s. Only four years later, German-born immigrants numbered nearly six thousand. Most came looking for land, wanting to escape crowded conditions at home, crop failures, and religious and political unrest; others were lured to Missouri by romanticized descriptions of the state by an immigration society that described the area as the American Rhineland.[52] These immigrants were extremely diverse, a heterogeneous migration of persons from fourteen German states and municipalities who embraced every economic and social class and various religious affiliations. No country in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century was as fragmented socially and culturally as Germany. Therefore, a protestant from northern Germany would have little in common with a Roman Catholic farm worker from Bavaria.[53] With such diversity, there was little to unite them in St. Louis.

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

With commerce and industry focused around the area bordering the Mississippi River, Germans established themselves in neighborhoods up and down the riverfront where they could live within walking distance of their place of employment. Small shop owners and craftsmen had their businesses and homes in the neighborhood of their customers.[54] The southernmost ward in 1850, the First Ward, roughly

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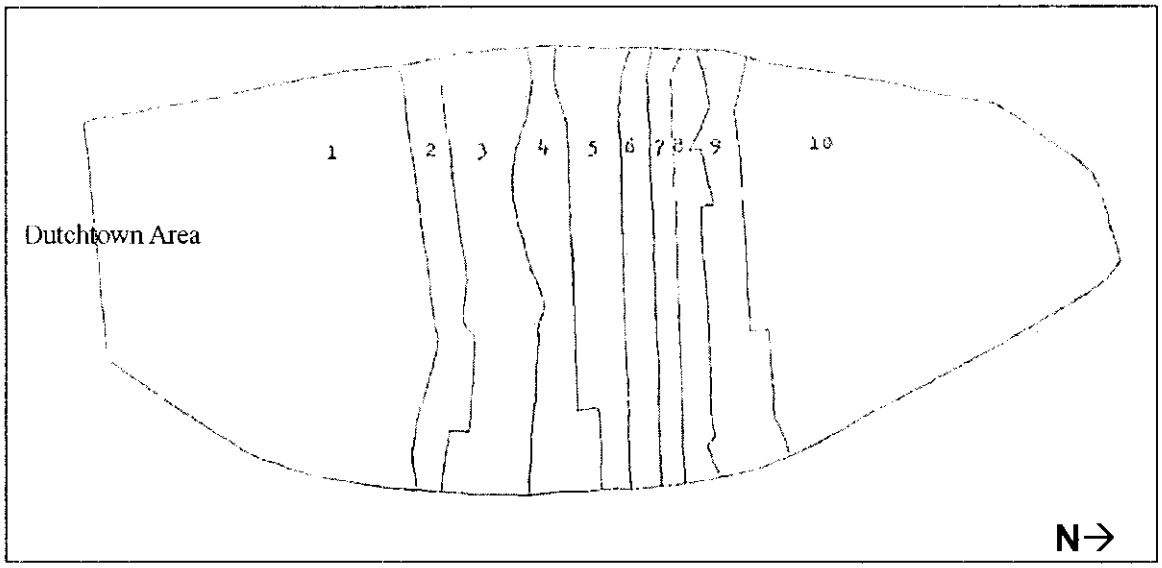
[51] Primm, 338.
[52] "Peopling of St. Louis: The Immigration Experience," *A Preservation Plan for St. Louis* (St. Louis: City of St. Louis, Missouri, Heritage and Urban Design Division, Preservation Section, 1996) [document online]; available from http:/stlouis.missouri.org/government/heritage/history/immigration.htm; Internet; accessed 04 April 2003.
[53] David W. Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality, and Assimilation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), 17.
[54] Audrey Olson, "St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and its Relation to the Assimilation Process" (Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1980), 19.

encompassed the area from Carondelet Avenue east to the Missouri River and from Chouteau Avenue south to Arsenal Street. In 1850, while two-thirds of the First Ward's population was German-born, in St. Louis as a whole, one in every three residents was German-born at this time.[55] General retail trade centered in the Third and Fourth Wards along Second Street. Mostly native-born Americans lived west of the retail area. Irish immigrants clustered in the Third and Fourth Wards, although they were interspersed with Germans in every ward.[56] The Second Ward was the beginning of old Frenchtown, but contained immigrants of other nationalities as well. Many Germans found their first shelter in the lodging houses in this ward, but few owned property and many eventually settled south and west of the area.[57]

The clustering of Germans in the First Ward at this time gave South St. Louis its association with the term Dutchtown; the term "Dutch" being a misuse of the word "Deutsch" for German. In 1870, the wards' shape reflected colonial land allotment divisions as they ran in strips east and west. Regardless of their westward extension, most residents remained in the cluster of neighborhoods near the river.

Figure 13: 1870 Ward Divisions[58]

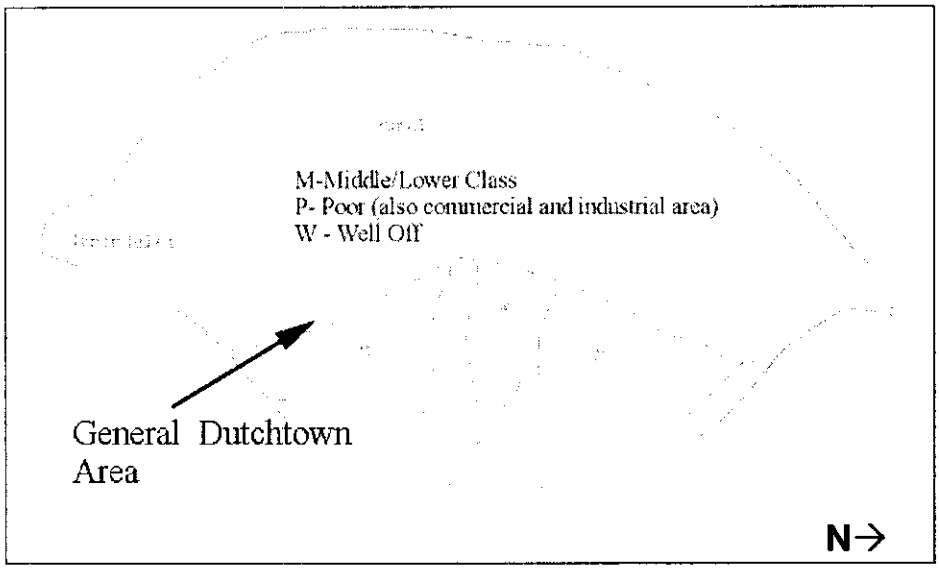


[55] Ibid., 20.
[56] Ibid., 58
[57] Ibid., 23-24.
[58] Hodes, 39.

By 1880, St. Louis was a divided city with neighborhood residents that tended to share economic position and ethnic origin, or a mixture of both. There were 54,901 German-born inhabitants out of the town's population of 350,518.[59] Immigration reached a peak in 1882 as an industrial depression in Europe and a desire to escape military service prompted their continuing departure for the United States.

Incoming Germans continued to live in the sections where immigrants settled before the Civil War, although they eventually established residence in all the wards, where they lived among other nationalities. As the city began to grow toward the west, many residents of the same ward followed new subdivision development and moved outward from the city center. With residents generally moving west in a fan shape, the area south of Lindall Avenue, in particular, became populated with middle- and lower-middle-class workers.

Figure 14: 1880 Economic Residential Patterns



According to Audrey Olson, who extensively researched the German presence in St. Louis, Germans migrated into the South Side area through a natural expansion to the west from a concentration in the older river wards where many Germans previously lived in boarding houses or shared living quarters. A sample of their occupations reveals that most were laborers or craftsmen.[60] This pattern had more to do with available affordable residential development and public transportation than with ethnicity. Olson

[59] Olson, 11.

found that Germans resided throughout the city and their overall settlement patterns differed little from other citizens in the city.

Moreover, although Germans lived in what were then the western fringes of the southern part of the city in noticeable numbers, ethnicity does not appear to have played a strong part in determining a particular "German" character. While ethnicity is sometimes used as a criterion for measuring isolation, assimilation, and tenacity within a culture, in such a large and diverse population of German immigrants as was found in St. Louis, cultural traditions, religious practices and philosophies, politics, education, and economic status are so disparate that it is difficult to associate such diversity with any particular space or place. These cultural, social, and religious differences among Germans discouraged a sense of shared identity and any united front to resist assimilation. Thus, in general, the Germans of St. Louis were an amorphous group with few barriers between them and native-born Americans. Most had English-speaking neighbors, lived in English-speaking parts of the city, and had employment in firms where English was spoken. Many of their children attended public schools where English was the language of instruction or attended parochial schools affiliated with their churches.[61]

Working-class residents of another immigrant group – the Bohemians – also settled in the South Side. Upheavals in Austria in 1848-1849 brought the first Bohemians to the United States. Prompted by reports of free land by the Czech press, many immigrated to St. Louis, attracted by a sense of association with the city's large German population. Bohemia, part of the Austrian Empire since 1620, had been "Germanized" and the Czechs felt comfortable within the St. Louis German community. Most Bohemian immigrants were craftsmen and farmers. When they arrived in St. Louis, they settled mostly on the near South Side, between Park, Allen, and Eighteenth Streets and Broadway Avenue. Many lodged with German families or resided in boarding houses and found work in factories or coal mines. Although they were Roman Catholic through a national Austrian church, some broke from their roots or joined existing Protestant churches. Like the Germans, they established their own clubs, newspapers, societies, and labor organizations. Although also heavily German, the area they initially settled in South St. Louis was known as Bohemian Hill and it attained its peak of cultural identity in the mid-1890s. Residents moved away from Bohemian Hill just as other immigrant groups did and they filtered into the neighborhoods as far south as Cherokee Street and California Avenue. St. Wenceslaus Church, established in 1895, served Bohemian Catholics at its location at Oregon Avenue and Arsenal Street.[62]

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[60] Hodes, 103; Olson, 61-62.
[61] Detjen, 18-19.
[62] Patricia L. Jones, "Whatever Happened to Bohemian Hill?" *Gateway Heritage: Quarterly Journal of the Missouri Historical Society*, 5 (1984-5): 22-31.

THE EVOLVING ROLE OF THE DEVELOPER

The construction of new housing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries required the presence of speculative developers to provide the initial capital for the purchase, subdivision, and marketing of large farm holdings. It was not until the late 1880s that the professional developer appeared in St. Louis. Prior to 1850, the concept that land was a commodity that could be bought and sold for a profit was not widely held. It took some time for the idea to take root that land could be used as a source of income rather than as a method for accumulating capital.[63] Between 1866 and 1875, property owners dedicated thirty-nine subdivisions in St. Louis. The majority were farmers who carved out small tracts consisting of only a handful of lots from the land surrounding their homes. This trend continued into the mid-1880s.[64]

As the population expanded, the real estate trade emerged as an established profession with a growing number of agents operating throughout the city. In 1877, twenty-nine agencies formed the St. Louis Real Estate Exchange to "promote the activity and elevate the tone and character of the real estate business in St. Louis."[65] These real estate developers purchased undeveloped land from owners, subdivided it, and sold individual lots to small builders who, in turn, rented or sold their completed houses and flats to occupants or investors. This system dominated residential development from the last decades of the nineteenth century through the onset of World War I. The growing numbers of large subdivisions that appear in South St. Louis, particularly those around the western edge at Grand Avenue at the turn of the century, reflect the efforts of a highly visible professionalized and coordinated trade group.[66]

Real estate agencies placed large advertisements in daily newspapers listing available properties and prices, and boasting of generous financial terms and prearranged conveniences and amenities. The city's real estate developers even had their own trade publication. A 1907 edition of the *Realty Record and Builder* advocated the coordination of building and development processes, and the advertisements in its back pages offered large tracts of land west of Grand Avenue and along Gravois Road not just to homebuyers, but also to investors with "out of town capital."[67]

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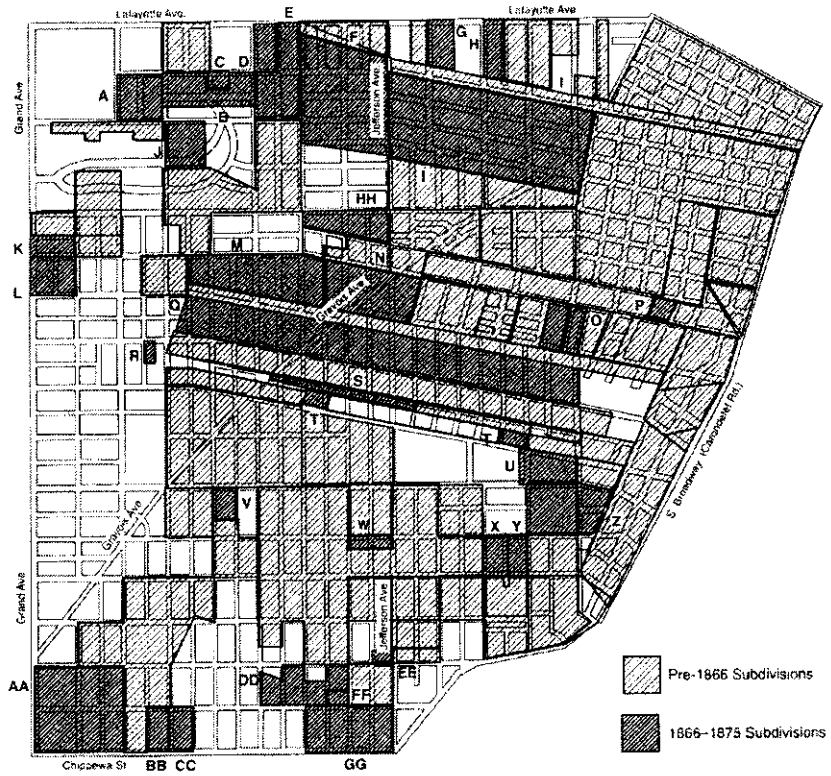
[63] Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*, 76-77
[64] Ibid., 79-81.
[65] Ibid., 82.
[66] Ibid., 88.
[67] Ibid., 90.

Figure 15: South St. Louis Subdivisions, 1865-1875

(Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis the Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*)

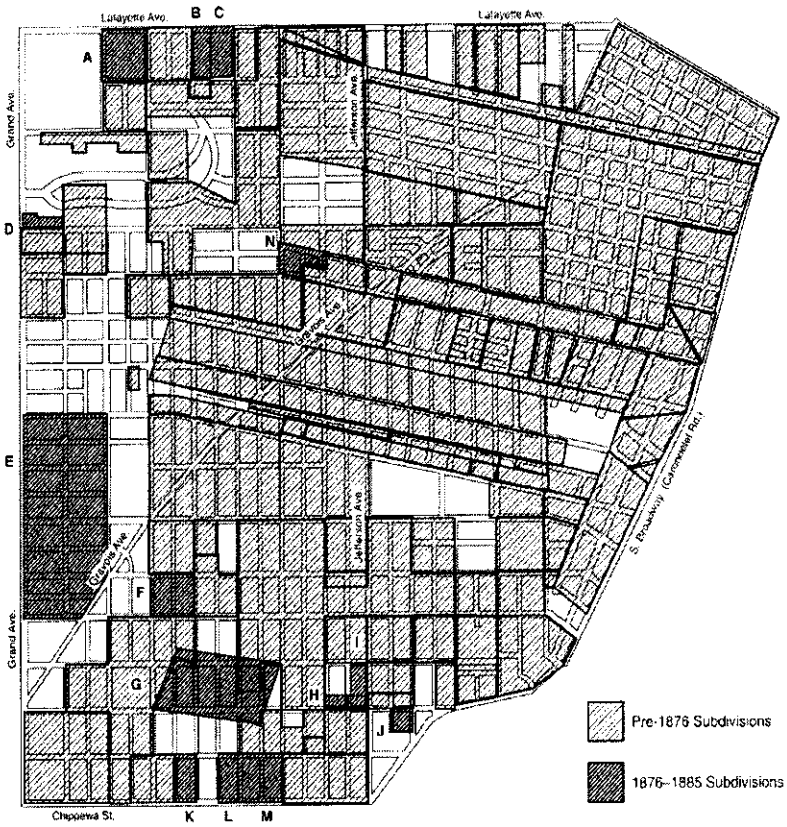


A. Compton Hill Place (Felix Coste, Chas. Hombostel, Rbt. Heinrichs) (1868)
B. City Subdivision (1870)
C. Southeast Compton Hill (Julius Pitzman) (1873)
D. Partition of Chambers Estate (Jane, Mary, B. M. Chambers) (1872)
E. Mullanphy's Subdivision of Block 12, City Commons (1866)
F. Thomas Allen's Western Addition (1869)
G. Mary Bingham's Subdivision of City Commons (1866)
H. Nicholson Place (David Nicholson) (1875)
I. Thomas Allen's Central Addition (1869)
J. City Subdivision of the Durand Tract (1866)
K. Reilly's Summit (William Switzer, John Platt) (1869)
L. Peter Weizenaecker Estate Subdivision (1872)
M. O. M. Tucker's Subdivision of the Barsaloux Tract (1869)
N. John Daggett's Second Subdivision of the Barsaloux Tract (1870)
O. Joseph J. Clark's Subdivision (1867)
P. J. B. Bowlin's Subdivision (1866)
Q. City Subdivision of the Durand Tract (1866)
R. Charless Garden Subdivision (Charlotte Charless, Louis LeBourgeois) (1873)
S. Eva Muegge's Subdivision (1866)
T. Jacob J. and Jesse G. Engel's Subdivision (1869)
U. Ferdinand Provenchere's Addition (1866)
V. Gustave Wiebert's Addition (1871)
W. Schild's Subdivision (William Schild et al.) (1872)
X. Oakland Addition (Nathaniel Cole, Ephraim Obear) (1872)
Y. John Withnell's Subdivision of the City Common (1870)
Z. John F. Homann and Co.'s Subdivision (1867)
AA. City Subdivision of Block 70, St. Louis Commons (1871)
BB. Elbreder Estate Subdivision (George, Henry, Catherine Elbreder) (1875)
CC. Betts' Subdivision (William Betts et al.) (1875)
DD. Francis A. Quinette's Subdivision (1869)
EE. Zepp and Wolff's Subdivision (Philip, Henry Zepp, Louis Wolff) (1866)
FF. Adolph Heinicke's Subdivision (1875)
GG. Peter Kenrick's Subdivision (1867)
HH. Henry A. Clover's Subdivision (1869)

N↑

Figure 16: South St. Louis Subdivisions, 1876-1885

(Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis the Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*)

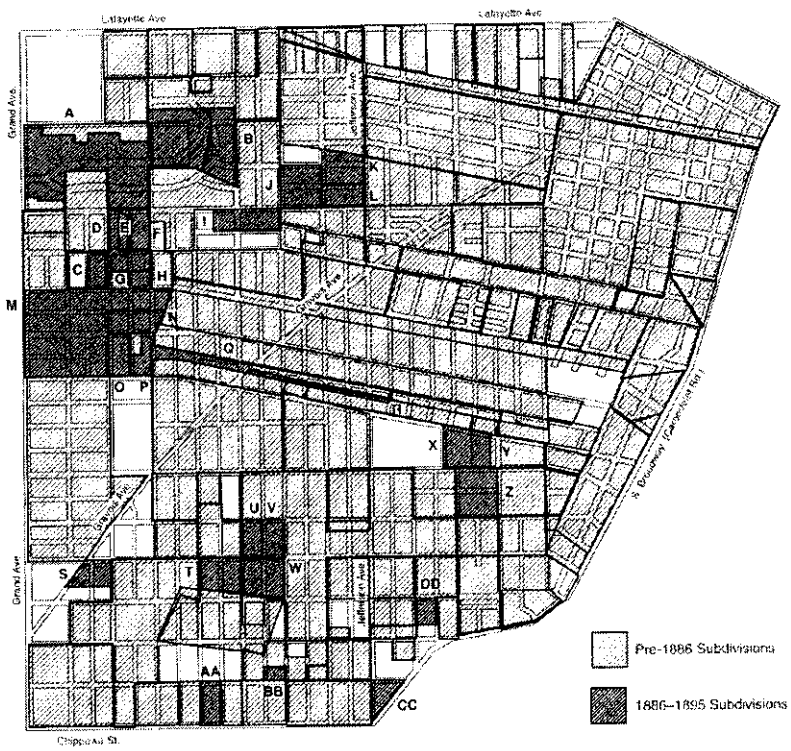


A Roe Place (Ephraim Obear, James Sands, Julius Pitzman) (1885)
B. Richard Graham Estate Addition to Compton Hill (James Graham et al.) (1877)
C. Boyce's Lafayette Avenue Addition (John O. Delany, Mary Boyce) (1879)
D. William V. M. Reilly's Subdivision (1883)
E. Tower Grove Park and Grand Avenue Addition (James Russell Estate) (1881)
F. James Macadara's Subdivision (1885)
G. Auguste, Frederick, and Wm. Ewing's Subdivision of the Vasquez Tract (1885)
H. E. W. Meier's Subdivision (1876)
I. Louis Wolf Estate Subdivision (1877)
J. Laura Schroeter's Subdivision (1878)
K. Eloisa Kayser's Subdivision (1885)
L. Eloisa Kayser's Subdivision (1885)
M. Thomas Kerr Estate Subdivision (1876)
N. John C., T. R. H. Smith, Richardson Estate Subdivision (1876)

N↑

Figure 17: South St. Louis Subdivisions, 1886-1895

(Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis the Evolution of an American Urban Landscape*)



A. Compton Heights (Henry Haarstick, Julius Pitzman) (1890)
B. Compton Heights First Addition (Haarstick, Pitzman) (1895)
C. Adele Morrison's Subdivision (1887)
D. City of St. Louis (1890)
E. Weiss' Subdivision of City Block 1436 (1892)
F. Shenandoah Place (1891)
G. Gustave Mechin's Subdivision (1893)
H. Wm. H. Gummersell's Subdivision of City Block 1434 (1891)
I. David Nicholson's Compton Hill Addition (Nicholson, Pitzman, John Tracy) (1889)
J. Sarpy's Subdivision of City Block 1379–80 (Armand, Virginia Peugnet) (1889)
K. Sarpy's Subdivision of City Block 1351 (Peugnet) (1889)
L. Sarpy's Subdivision of City Block 1381 (Peugnet) (1886)
M. Switzer Place (Isaiah Steedman) (1892)
N. Wilhelm's Höhe Second Addition (Caspar Vielhaber et al.) (1891)
O. Wilhelm's Höhe (Vielhaber et al.) (1891)
P. Charless Garden Subdivision, Am. Plat (Charlotte Charless, Louis LeBourgeois) (1887)
Q. Arsenal Heights (1892)
R. St. Wenceslaus Subdivision (1892)
S. Gravois Place (George Parker, Charles Russell) (1891)
T. Cherokee Place (Louis Grund, Henry Hiemenz) (1891)
U. Cornet's Subdivision (Henry L., Ann Cornet) (1890)
V. John Stallin's Subdivision of City Block 1511 (1890)
W. Lorenzo E. Anderson's Subdivision (1890)
X. Benton Park Addition (Ernst H. Vordtriede) (1888)
Y. Old English Cave Addition (Herman Stamm) (1888)
Z. Concordia Place (L. T. Hammer, F. Hohenschield) (1890)
AA. Kayser's Subdivision of City Block 1628 (1887)
BB. Adolph Heinicke's Resubdivision (1887)
CC. Coon's Subdivision (Mary Way, Mary Derby) (1888)
DD. Eloisa Kayser's Subdivision (1887)

N↑

FINANCING MECHANISMS

The changes in the land development process reflect an evolution in financing as well. The financial panic of the mid-1870s created changes in Missouri banking laws, including tight restrictions on capitalization and lending, particularly for speculative real estate development. These changes primarily affected capitalists and wealthy speculators rather than the middle classes and working classes who could provide little collateral for a home loan. Those who could provide collateral continued to use private banks as lending sources for individual real estate interests.

The demand created by the large numbers of immigrant workers who sought to buy a home in affordable areas like South St. Louis created alternative sources of financing, and the financing of homes in the city became stratified along socio-economic lines. For the working classes, a common lending practice was for the seller to provide a mortgage. A second mortgage was often secured from a relative, neighbor, or businessman. Another source of funds was the building and loan organizations established by a group interested in promoting housing development. The officers were often owners of businesses interested in supplying homes to their workers near their job sites; or they were businessmen in the building industry — a consortium of developers, real estate agents, and house builders. By 1892, in St. Louis alone there were two hundred building and loan organizations with an estimated thirty thousand investors. They provided loans to working men of modest means and the average loan in the mid-1890s amounted to around $2,500, roughly half the purchase price of a small home.[68]

MIDDLE-CLASS HOUSING PREFERENCES: SINGLE- VERSUS MULTI-FAMILY DWELLINGS

The earliest forms of working-class multi-family residential units in St. Louis' historic core included boarding houses converted from large single-family houses; tenements[69] erected or converted from larger buildings; small detached dwellings; living quarters over commercial shops; and modest row houses. Two factors established a widespread market for suburban neighborhoods of multi-family dwellings. The first was sufficient population density of middle-class residents who preferred or required multi-family rental units as opposed to a detached residence. The second was the cost of the owner-occupied single-

[68] Ibid., 83.

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

family house. Even with accessible lending sources and a demand created by a growing middle class, single-family housing for many low- and middle-income city dwellers was an expensive proposition, particularly during real estate booms. The cost of a lot was sometimes more than the average middle-class worker's annual income. This and the cost of the house itself rendered a new house in a recently platted subdivision beyond the means of most of the city's working class. Thus, speculators purchased the majority of vacant lots and quickly erected modest brick dwellings as rental property and most of the city's residents rented their living quarters.[70]

During the early decades of the twentieth century, the cost of living did not change from that of the 1890s. In 1900, the average annual income was $400 to $500. The cost of a one-story building averaged around $2,000 and ranged from $8,000 to $13,000 for a two-story building.[71] In 1912, social workers estimated that a family of four needed an annual income of at least $600 to maintain an adequate standard of living.[72] At the low end of the spectrum was the cook, shop girl, or laborer who earned around $260 a year. Among the upper-middle class, a college professor earned an annual salary of $2,000 to $3,000.[73]

As a result, to the majority of the growing working and middle classes, the multi-family residential unit offered affordable decent housing. The largest of these groups renting apartments initially were bachelors, reflecting the emergence of the single worker as the dominant element in the workforce. By the onset of World War I, wage-earning single women also began to rent apartments rather than residing in boarding houses or with their families.

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

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[70] William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City Innovation in Planned Residential Communities,* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 3-4, 16-23.
[71] Porter and Stiritz, 1.
[72] Sherry Lamb Schirmer and Richard McKinzie, *At the River's Bend: An Illustrated History of Kansas City, Independence, and Jackson County* (Woodland Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, Inc., in association with the Jackson County Historical Society, 1982), 65.
[73] Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Big Change America Transforms Itself 1900-1950* (New York: Harper & Row, 1952), 49-43, 51-52.

DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS IN SOUTH ST. LOUIS

Development in South St. Louis initially occurred to the north near the Pacific Railroad tracks and to the east beside the Mississippi River. Although a horse-drawn streetcar line ran along Carondelet Avenue beginning in the late 1850s, there was no regular transportation serving the area to the west, which contained the newly opened Commons' subdivisions, and Gravois Road, an important commercial wagon road. In 1867, the directors of the newly formed Gravois Rail Road Company received permission from the city to run a set of tracks west from downtown to Gravois Road. The route led through the last undeveloped land east of Mississippi Street, south of Lafayette Avenue, and north of Shenandoah Avenue.

In the early 1870s, wealthy entrepreneur Thomas Allen paid the city to pave the streets on which the new tracks for the Gravois streetcar line would run and then he opened lots in the area for sale or lease.[74] By the end of the decade, the surrounding area had a settled appearance. Large factories clustered to the east between the waterfront and Carondelet Road or on cheaper and less settled land along the edges of the more heavily inhabited areas. Adolphus Busch's large brewery complex was approximately one half-mile to the south on the site it occupies today. Occupying standard residential lots measuring approximately 25 feet by 125 feet, the houses in Allen's subdivision were built close to one another and to the street. Clustered along busy streets such as Gravois Road and South Broadway saloons and grocery stores intermixed with residential buildings, often several to a block (Figure 8). Adding to the mixed-use character of the neighborhoods, outbuildings at the rear of the lots along the alleys provided spaces for craftsmen to engage in such trades as blacksmithing, barrel making, wheelwrighting, and carpentering. Scattered along the major avenues and streets were a number of large church buildings, parks, social halls, and beer gardens.[75]

The majority of families living in this area rented their living space. Those that purchased houses or erected homes on leased land received loans from relatives and neighbors who lived in the immediate neighborhood.[76] The 1880 census revealed that two-thirds of the heads of households in this area were of German extraction; another 20 percent were Bohemian; and 25 percent, most of whom were under

[74] Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an Urban American Landscape*, 100. Sandweiss notes, "Possession of a long-term lease, generally costing $40 to $50 per year entitled a family to build on their property, the building then became their outright possession, which they were free to sell along with the remainder of the lease."
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., 103.

twenty-five years in age, were born in the United States. Most lived in buildings with other families of the same ethnicity and nine out of ten worked as laborers.[77]

As development in South St. Louis moved south and west in response to a growing network of streetcar lines, the new neighborhoods reflected physical and demographic patterns common to the southern part of the city. The prevailing pattern of the initial urbanization of this area of St. Louis was scattered development, often occurring some distance from established neighborhoods. This reflected not only the physical conditions inherent in the landscape such as sink holes and preexisting development, but also the fact that residential development occurred on a smaller scale than that of a conscious, organized investment undertaking by a professional real estate developer.[78]

The appearance of these residential areas differed, however, from the previously developed areas in the north and northeast areas of the South Side. In the area south of Shenandoah Avenue and east of the intersection of Jefferson Avenue and Gravois Road, real estate developer John Daggett departed from the traditional nearly square unit of platting streets and lots. Instead, he created single blocks twice the length of the traditional blocks. Using an I-shaped plan of three internal alleys, the building lots faced onto four streets — two sides and two ends. The central piece of the long north-south sides of Daggetts' blocks consisted of fourteen 25-foot-wide lots with a 29-foot-wide lot at either end. On either side of the block front ran a 20-foot-wide alley. On average, the end lots were around 102 feet wide at the south end of the block and 140 feet wide at the north end of the block.[79] This arrangement was cost efficient as it lessened the amount of land dedicated to the city for streets. Moreover, the development of end blocks increased the number of property owners sharing the expenses of paving, encouraging a faster pace in infrastructure improvements in the area.

The platting change created two distinct kinds of streets. It encouraged the development of a hierarchy of east-west streets that became streetcar routes linking areas on either side of pre-existing major north-south arterial roads. These east-west streets, by virtue of the demand for cross-town traffic in South St. Louis, became streetcar lines that attracted commercial buildings along their routes. Lots facing north-south streets claimed a higher value because of their distance from commercial streets and eventually became strictly residential in character. The widening of the more desirable lots that abutted the alley and street corners also created an internal hierarchy within each block with larger and more expensive structures

[77] Ibid., 107.
[78] Ibid., 111.
[79] Ibid., 112-113.

anchoring the ends of each street front, and narrower and less expensive buildings occupying the middle of the street.[80]

Other subtle distinctions occurred as well. In some areas that had a number of major arterial streets and undeveloped land near commercial and light industrial businesses, the resulting lower value of the land attracted property owners who could afford to purchase the land and contract the labor to build their own homes. Small one-story, single-unit, detached dwellings, often set back at varying distances from the sidewalk, began to appear. At the same time, speculative construction of attached or closely spaced rows of identical buildings also occurred in these areas. This latter type of construction provided an economy of scale, but also required relatively large sums of capital to regularly pay the work crews and their supervisors. In both of these cases – the small single-family house and the large building of flats – money often came from professional lenders.[81]

During the 1880s-1890s, immigrants, predominantly of German lineage, moved into new housing additions; however, as time passed, these neighborhoods developed an ethnic mix. While a growing number of the workforce engaged in the clerical and sales jobs created by the city's growing importance as a financial and commercial center, skilled laborers continued to be the most common occupational group living in these neighborhoods. Many households included extended families and the owners of two-family flats often took on boarders. Row houses, a disappearing property type, tended to have American or British heads of households. Those who moved into the area south of Arsenal Street between Jefferson Avenue and Grand Avenue tended to come from more distant parts of the city rather than from adjacent neighborhoods.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, future residents continued to purchase land and contract the construction of their residence while speculative builders developed residences for sale and for rent.[82] The owners of a significant number of the multi-family buildings resided in the neighborhood. Many who applied for the building permits were women who continued to live in the neighborhood after erecting at least two buildings. A selective review of census records indicates that while many of the property owners were of German and Bohemian descent, 75 percent were American-born. Occupations listed for residents include laborers, grocers, clerks, carpenters, brick masons, construction trade

[80] Ibid., 114.
[81] Ibid., 117.
[82] Ibid., 128.

workers, butchers, schoolteachers, salesman, machinists, craftsmen, and policemen. Work in sales and commerce began during this period to represent a growing percentage of the jobs of the residents.[83]

In the 1890s, the area began to acquire the visual profile comparable to the northern portions of South St. Louis. Some of the streets within the triangle formed by Gravois Road, Jefferson Avenue, and Chippewa Street were paved and had water mains. Cherokee Street and California Avenue each had streetcar lines and commercial services. The years 1900-1910 marked a period of wholesale building in the area. New multi-family buildings replaced older homes and farmsteads. Townhouse designs (two-family flats) made up almost half of the area's total housing stock during this period and the four-family flat replaced the row house. Lots became wider and a uniform setback became firmly established, the later the development of a neighborhood. The sheer number of buildings erected in short time spans gave large streetscapes and neighborhoods a stylistic unity that departed from earlier residential enclaves that experienced incremental development on a block-by-block basis.[84]

As development progressed, the neighborhoods of South St. Louis developed a defined hierarchy of spaces that reflected a growing separation of retail, work, and residential spaces typical of early streetcar suburbs. This evolution occurred in most American cities at this time and was, later in the 1920s, formalized into zoning codes. Most of the area's light manufacturing enterprises, particularly those that required large spaces, moved in response to the pressures of residential development and the improved access of workers to distant points offered by a growing streetcar network. With the exception of the earliest developed blocks in the northeastern part of the South Side, small retail establishments such as groceries and saloons became increasingly restricted to streets with high pedestrian and/or streetcar traffic.[85] Gravois Road continued to draw commercial uses away from the smaller streets of the neighborhoods. In the interior neighborhoods away from commercial corridors, small grocery stores and saloons were on corners, with the rest of the street remaining exclusively residential.

The appearance of these neighborhoods reflects the growing desire on the part of developers and residents alike to create clear demarcations between the area and the surrounding city, as well as within and between the interior spaces created by the various neighborhoods. In particular, there was a homogeneous nature not only to the materials used and the size, scale, and massing of buildings, but also to the intermediate level of spatial relationships — that which lay between residence and street, and that which was intentionally and consistently left open. As a result, the visual and functional character of

[83] Ibid., 123.
[84] Ibid., 129.
[85] Ibid., 124.

South St. Louis clearly belongs to the streetcar neighborhoods that evolved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reflecting the streamlined construction methods and land-use patterns that evolved and prevailed in the area's development. This created the area's own category of a formalized and universal neighborhood design/building process, one that was later embraced by civic reformers as a model for citywide development and which is typical of suburban development during the era of the horse-drawn and electric streetcar.

ARCHITECTURAL PATTERNS OF SOUTH ST. LOUIS STREETCAR SUBURBS: 1880-1940

DEFINING ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTERISTICS — PLAN, FORM, AND MATERIALS

One characteristic of the city's first suburban streetcar neighborhoods was a recognizable, more uniform appearance due to more homogenous architecture and land uses than was found in the older central city. Most of these neighborhoods were exclusively residential, reflecting conscious efforts to separate business and industry from residential streets and to allocate them within their own defined areas. The most significant defining elements of the architectural character of these neighborhoods were the building plans, forms, and materials of their residences. The vast majority of these buildings were variations on recurring architectural themes. Almost all are brick and, with the exception of the one-story "shot-gun" folk house forms, the majority of the area's residences are two-story buildings with two- or three-bay façades. The height of the buildings reflects the fact that before the creation of zoning ordinances after World War I, there was a height limitation of two floors for residential structures. The use of brick dates to the 1850s, when a fire destroyed blocks of buildings and caused millions of dollars in damage. After that, the city required masonry construction of its buildings. Houses and apartments were often built a block or more at a time and reflected the economic conditions of the era as well as highly specialized building trades and the presence of real estate professionals. Together they produced marketable properties in a tidy, quiet environment free from the noise and soot of Downtown.[86] At the edges of such developments, busy streets like Gravois, Carondelet, and Jefferson provided commercial corridors and streetcar access to job sites.

[86] Fox, 4.

Residential Buildings

Like most of the city's residential neighborhoods prior to the adoption of a zoning ordinance in 1918,[87] title covenants associated with the platting of subdivisions dictated set-backs from the street, a two-story height limit, and masonry construction. These new "suburban" working- and middle-class neighborhoods featured front yards, individual street-front entrances and porches, small carriage houses, and later, garages, as well as fashionable architectural detailing. This is important in understanding the architectural context of the South Side streetcar suburban neighborhoods. It was not until almost three decades after development truly began in the area that the city enacted zoning plans mirroring the self-imposed "restrictions" that the South Side real estate developers enacted to protect their investments. It is even more significant in view of the fact that St. Louis was second only to New York among the major American cities to adopt industrial/residential zoning, something the developers in St. Louis consciously established in the late nineteenth century.

The small single-family and multi-family residential buildings erected in these neighborhoods reflected national trends, offering improvements over the residential building stock in the older city neighborhoods. They had the appearance of detached residences and, on a smaller scale and in a more restrained manner, the residences of the affluent. The initial design choice for single-family residences was the traditional central passage plan with side parapets and chimneys and the shotgun house. Later, and to a lesser extent, the bungalow and the gable-front house came into popularity. The large number of multi-family units in South St. Louis reflects the prevalence and variety of the multi-family, working-class housing type erected in St. Louis from the late 1880s through the 1920s. A large number were simple two-family residences that initially resembled a federal townhouse composed of two or three bays, one of which incorporated an entrance. Row houses and two- to six-family flats also housed thousands of families. By the early decades of the twentieth century, the multi-family "walk-ups" and low-rise apartment buildings appeared. Those erected in the early twentieth century reflect the advent of new building codes that mandated indoor plumbing facilities and dictated minimum window exposures and maximum lot coverage.

The multi-family housing forms found in the early streetcar suburbs of St. Louis have their origins in Europe and the East Coast. The row house was one of the earliest multi-family housing units in the largest cities on the East Coast. The French Flat, with one apartment per floor, became established in New York in the mid-1870s. This form adapted easily to the long, narrow urban lots that previously accommodated row houses. At this time, two new plans appeared — the modest two-story, two-family

flat and the Boston "triple-decker" style apartment building plan, which consisted of three units, one per floor. Its larger counterpart, the "double triple-decker" building plan consisted of six units (two per floor and three per side) connected by a central stair hall. Both building types appeared as a detached house. These plans became a model for the "walk-up" apartment flats, which had continued popularity in the United States throughout the twentieth century.

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

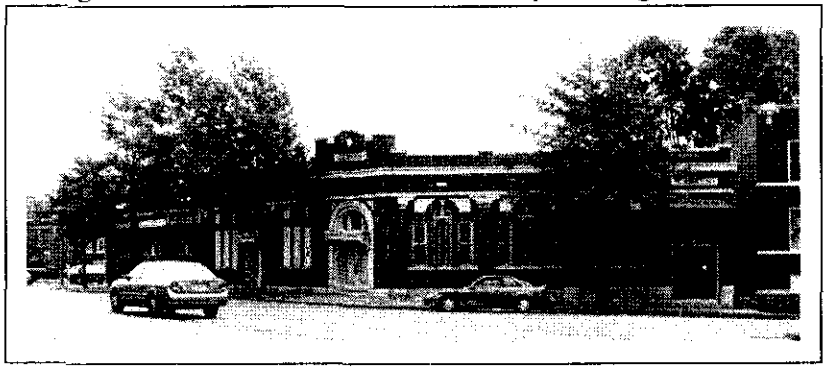
The majority of the multi-family residential buildings in the South St. Louis streetcar neighborhoods are flats – two-family flats, three-family flats (triple-deckers), four-family flats, and six-family flats (double-triple-deckers) — all of which feature a plan that places all rooms in a unit on one floor. With the exception of the side-hall or side-entrance townhouse prototype, they usually feature separate individual entrances. The typical arrangement has a door on the front façade that opens directly into the first-floor flat, while a separate door on the same façade provides access to the upper floor unit(s) via an interior stair. The smaller number of Row Houses in the area reflects a common design found in other earlier neighborhoods in the city. Multi-family walk-ups became common in St. Louis beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century.[88] They have a single, common, central entrance and may have two, four, or six units composed of stacked one-floor units with a common central interior stair hall. There are a number of low-rise apartment buildings erected after World War I that are larger, but not taller than the multi-family walk-up. These buildings feature a common entrance with a long, double-loaded corridor providing access to the apartments. Larger versions often had several common entrances to the building.

[87] The Missouri Supreme Court ruled the ordinance unconstitutional six years later.

Commercial Buildings

Commercial buildings and the streetscapes they created define both the functional and visual character of the South St. Louis streetcar commercial neighborhoods. Most were simple structures of one or two stories and were smaller in scale than those found in the city's central business district. Designed with commercial space on the ground floor and residential units above, they fit the Main Street prototype found in small towns and villages throughout the United States. The earliest of these commercial/residential structures in South St. Louis are similar to the simple late nineteenth century town houses. They display the same proportions of windows and the same simple corbelled brick cornices as their adjacent and contemporaneous residential buildings. Many of the earliest stores were in houses or buildings whose exterior appearance was indistinguishable from the nearby residential units. As time went on, commercial design adapted to expanding merchant demands — shop buildings came to be constructed with larger entry doors to accommodate patrons and deliveries and windows were enlarged for the display of goods. A significant number featured stylistic designs or artistic fronts and it was not unusual for corner buildings to rise to three stories.

Commercial and institutional buildings on the major thoroughfares often did not conform in size, scale, or massing to the "interior" residential streetscapes. Larger commercial buildings, often composed of rows of storefronts with residential and office space above, occupied the intersections of major streets. Some of the larger three-story buildings had multiple separate commercial spaces, creating an expanded commercial block. Later, in the early twentieth century, one- and



two-story office buildings occupied prominent corners on arterial streets. Depending on their location, the commercial buildings found in the South Side's growing network of streetcar neighborhoods usually reflect the style, materials, and architectural treatments of the adjacent residential neighborhood. Those located on east-west streets are on narrow lots that extend back to an alley separating the commercial streetscape from the adjoining residential streetscape. The traditional nineteenth and early twentieth century building material is dark red brick, while buff-colored brick appears in some buildings built during the early to mid-twentieth century.

The commercial architecture found in South St. Louis' streetcar suburbs is distinguished first by building form and second by its architectural style. Due to their functional nature, many commercial buildings exhibit restrained architectural details. The first-story storefront is a distinctive feature of a commercial building and is an important merchandising element. The rest of the commercial building's key design elements visually relate to it and to the adjacent residential architecture. Important character-defining elements are display windows, signs, doors, transoms, kick plates, corner posts, and entablature. Commercial buildings found in the streetcar neighborhoods on the South Side consisted of two basic forms — the One-Part Commercial Block and the Two-Part Commercial Block.

One-Part Commercial Block

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

Two-Part Commercial Block

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

Industrial Buildings

During the late nineteenth century, the industrial production of St. Louis increased dramatically. The largest number of manufacturing facilities developed along the riverfront, north and south of downtown. The earliest factories were multi-story brick buildings featuring a simple corbelled cornice and regularly spaced segmental arch windows on all the façades. The windows in the front elevation might feature decorative cast iron lintels. All of these buildings featured some sort of loading dock, either onto a rail spur or for wagons and, later, for trucks. As the streetcar suburb residential areas became established in South St. Louis, the larger of the industrial plants moved away. Small light manufacturing businesses remained in pre-existing industrial enclaves near the river east of South Broadway. Others remained along the major arterial streets at the edges of residential areas, particularly in the northern and eastern portions of the South Side. The smallest of these buildings are sometimes referred to as alley buildings. They housed craftsmen such as blacksmiths, tinners, wheelwrights, and coopers who also maintained residences on the lots.

Many of the city's historic industrial buildings are warehouses. Those built in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are long, narrow buildings featuring rough-cut limestone foundations and dark brick walls. Like the factories, they too feature a symmetrical appearance due to the regularly spaced placement of windows on their façades. The only ornamentation is usually a simple corbelled cornice and arched windows.

Another important category of industrial buildings in the city is that of breweries. One of the dominant characteristics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century brewery structures is the nearly exclusive use of Romanesque Revival design. Most breweries featured an ashlar stone foundation, round-arched windows, brick corbelling, and decorative pilasters

Social and Educational Institutional Buildings

Public and private intuitional buildings erected in the streetcar suburbs reflect both local architectural traditions and popular high style architecture. These buildings were important property types in the streetcar suburb because of their role in the domestic lives of the residents. The most common architectural treatments of religious sanctuary buildings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

were the Gothic Revival style and the Romanesque Revival styles, including the Richardsonian variant. Those located on major corridors were large complexes noted for their grand scale and massing. Within the streetcar suburb's residential neighborhoods, usually located on prominent corners, smaller religious buildings featured restrained or more picturesque versions of popular ecclesiastic architectural styles. All featured the traditional Euro-American spaces associated with each particular denomination.

During the late nineteenth century, the city's expanding public school system produced a number of larger elementary and secondary school buildings and associated facilities. During this period, the school board hired a staff architect.[89] Most of the two- and three-story brick buildings erected during this period were a mixture of the popular architectural styles of the period. The number of parochial schools in the city also expanded during this time. Those built concurrently with other adjacent parish facilities reflected the architecture of the church building. Those built separately, like their public school building counterparts, reflected a mixture of popular styles of the era. All featured symmetrical façades with large windows to provide maximum amounts of natural light and ventilation.

In addition to school and church, the many social clubs in the city's neighborhoods were an important component of late nineteenth century culture in St. Louis. Private associations erected their own club buildings that housed a variety of ethnic, social, professional, and cultural functions, including benevolent associations, singing clubs, and craft unions. As new residential enclaves became established along streetcar lines, the custom of erecting new club buildings continued. A large number of these were German-American Turnverein buildings. Erected to house gymnastic clubs that emphasized bodybuilding, fellowship, and political activities, the Turnverein buildings found in South St. Louis were usually two- or three-story brick buildings that reflected popular architectural styles. They often featured club rooms on the second floor; storefronts on the ground floor, which provided income for the club's activities and meeting rooms; and auditorium/gymnasiums and other rooms for specific recreational uses in the basement.

[89] According to State Historic Preservation Office staff, not all buildings were designed by an in-house architect; the school board awarded commissions for some projects and had a staff architect oversee construction of new schools.

Application of Popular Architectural Styles

Designed for the city's growing working- and middle-class workforce and built by developers and home owners who anticipated the desirability of the area as a place of residence and neighborhood commerce, the streetcar suburb buildings reflect the evolution of architectural styles and the technological changes in construction that occurred in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to these forces, they reflect architectural practices unique to St. Louis. During this era, the adaptation of popular architectural styles by local builders reflects the dynamic tension between traditional and new, distinctly "American" styles. The popularity of European and Colonial American revival styles reflects a nostalgia for an idealized past and a preference for restrained designs that represented tradition, affluence, and good taste. New "honest" and "useful"[90] styles, including the early twentieth century Prairie and Craftsman houses associated with the Modern American Movement in architecture, reflected a utilitarian practicality, particularly in the design of the homes of the American working and middle classes. Both the traditional revival and the modern styles were a reaction to the excessive and eclectic ornamentation of the Victorian era.

The explosion in urban population following the Civil War continued until the twentieth century and resulted in rapidly changing architectural styles. The rich and robust Italianate, Second Empire, and Romanesque styles with their exuberant designs appealed to the citizens of the prosperous post-Civil War period. These styles appeared in cities or towns at a time when there was a physical and psychological need to make order from the chaos of the war and the earlier settlement period. The growing industrialization of building technology and a newly developed rail freighting system, which transported materials long distances from their manufacturing centers, met the construction needs of the nation's growing cities. Mass-produced building materials included brick, cut stone, pressed brick, plate glass, terra-cotta, cast iron, gingerbread, and turned, cut, and pierced wood. In the 1890s, new roofing materials allowed builders to frame simple flat roofs rather than the pitched gables typical of early periods and, as a result, the shaped parapet hiding a flat roof became a ubiquitous feature of urban design.

Architects and the popular builders' guides utilized both traditional and new materials in a variety of combinations to create a rich and dramatic effect. In St. Louis, even the design of modest residences erected in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century was closely aligned with the prevailing architectural styles of the day. Each architectural sub-type had its own combination of materials and treatments. Popular wall materials during this period included industrially produced dark red brick; dark

[90] Parkview Historical Committee, *Urban Oasis: 75 Years in Parkview, a St. Louis Private Place* (St. Louis: Boar's Head Press, 1979), 1.

glazed brick and pressed brick; pale blue, tan, gray, and frosty white limestone, brownstone, and dark granite, all of which could be carved and incised, smooth or rough-faced; and horizontal clapboard and ornamental shingles. Decorative materials included terra-cotta cast in decorative patterns; incised, chamfered, carved, and turned wood; gray, green, blue, and red slate tiles; and wrought and cast iron.

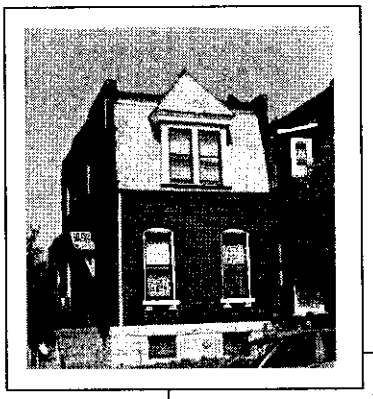
Of note in St. Louis architecture at this time is the presence and prevalence of intricate brickwork executed in buildings erected by and for all classes. In addition to building codes that required brick construction, the late-nineteenth-century advent of decorative precast brick pieces, manufactured by local firms such as the St. Louis Hydraulic-Press Brick and the Progress Press Brick companies, furnished homebuilders with inexpensive and easily installed decorative elements. As a result, in St. Louis during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the distinctive feature of middle-class single-family and multi-family vernacular residences was the use of decorative brickwork to enliven the primary façade and to reference more academic architectural forms. The quality of this brickwork reflects a high degree of craftsmanship and the presence of master masons.

The buildings in the suburban neighborhoods in South St. Louis represent a typical cross-section of styles found in Midwestern communities during the late nineteenth century and the first thirty years of the twentieth century. Identified by their plan and form, the vast majority of these buildings utilized minimal academic architectural styling. Even the larger buildings, whose ornamentation strongly alluded to a specific architectural style, have restrained treatments. This was true throughout the United States where the majority of residential neighborhoods of the period were distinguished by a variety of styles drawn from many stylistic traditions, a number of which had little association with the cultural identity or traditions of a particular region

Late Nineteenth Century Styles

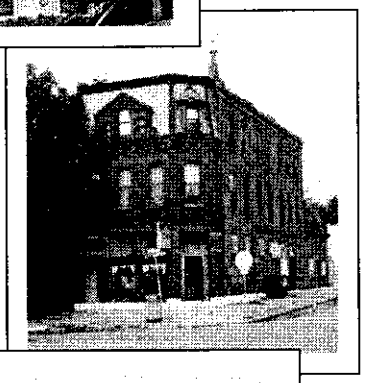
Italianate Style

Rare examples of the Italianate style as adapted to the single-family or two-family flat Townhouse property type can be found in the earliest streetcar neighborhoods in South St. Louis. They date from the last two decades of the nineteenth century, a period in which the popularity of the style waned. They are restrained versions of the original style, identified predominately by their symmetrical one- or two-bay façades; side hall plan; tall, narrow windows; and wide eaves supported by decorative brackets located on the primary façade's parapet.

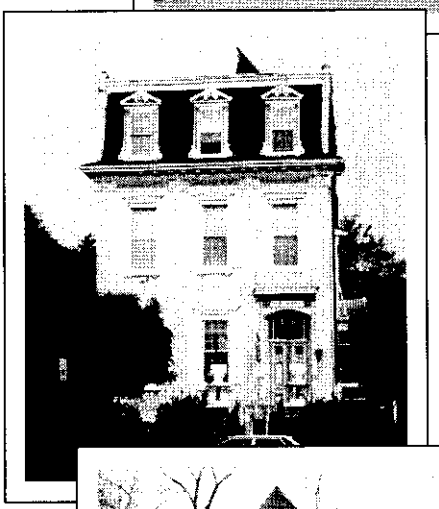


Second Empire Style

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



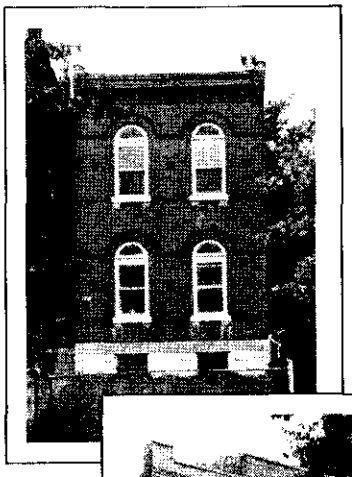
The use of the mansard roof on residential buildings created an additional attic story that extended a short distance toward the back of the building; enough to create additional space in a neighborhood that had a residential height restriction of two stories. Unlike the single-family detached house, the Second Empire multi-family unit usually had a true mansard only at the front façade; parapet walls continued up a full story on each side elevation. Both two-story and one-story examples feature designs incorporating living space within the attic area created by the roof form. In addition to this treatment, many of the flat roof buildings featured mansard-like roofs applied as a decorative treatment to the parapet area.

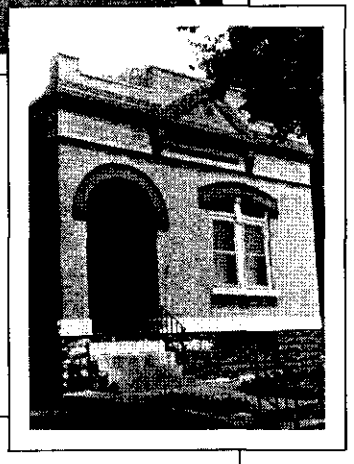


Romanesque Revival Style

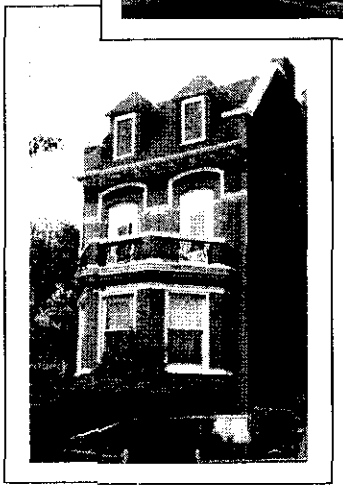
In the 1880s, the Romanesque Revival style began to appear in large single-family residences, townhouses, row houses, and multi-family flats. The early examples incorporated a variety of full arches at the windows, doors, and cornices, and usually had dark red brick walls and high foundations and windowsills of dressed limestone. By the last decade of the century, the Romanesque Revival residence became more restrained. As applied to multi-family buildings, the brickwork and narrow stone courses as well as the ever-present full arch recessed entrance and window surrounds became the character-defining elements of the style. All feature the use of dark brick walls, elegant

brickwork, and contrasting light-colored limestone foundations, windowsills, and belt courses. Restrained versions of vernacular plans that reference the style include the use of full arch windows, a recessed entrance at the first story, and segmental or flat arch fenestration on the second story.





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



Queen Anne Style

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

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

Italian Renaissance/Renaissance Revival Style

Italian Renaissance/Renaissance Revival buildings appeared in St. Louis near the end of the nineteenth century. Their popularity was due to the growing popularity at this time of all revival styles.[91] While residential versions are rare in South St. Louis, there are a number of educational and recreational buildings executed in the design, as well as a few commercial examples. The symmetrical design sometimes features a slightly projecting center entrance bay. The brickwork often mimics quoins and appears at corners and in the foundation area.

Eclectic "Mixed" Style

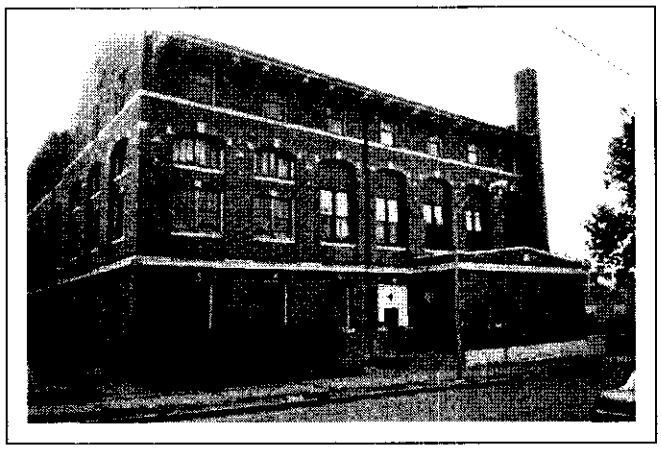
Based on the popularity of a wide variety of Victorian and Revival styles in St. Louis at the end of the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that architects and builders combined these elements in their designs for middle- and working-class housing. Because late Victorian architecture was a reaction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

Early Twentieth Century Architecture

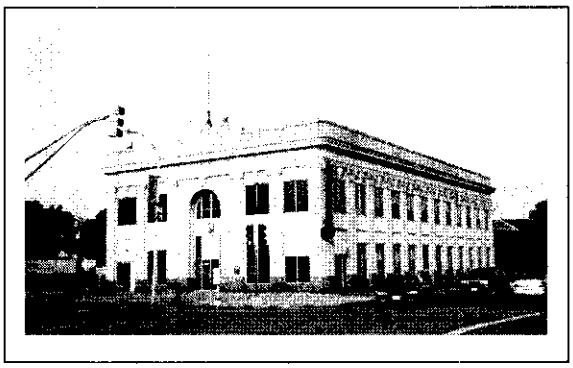
The rapidly expanding industrial economy at the turn of the century created burgeoning job opportunities throughout the nation, which created a growing middle-class consumer generation. The new lifestyles and the effects of the machine age created nostalgia for traditional decorative arts and a quest for new ways of relating interior and exterior spaces. At the same time, there was a return to the simple architectural styles of the eighteenth century. These trends reflected diverse undercurrents combining the

[91] Ibid., 192.

Arts and Crafts movement in England, the availability of mass-produced building materials, Japanese aesthetic principles, and a repudiation of the excesses of Victorian art and architecture.[92]



During the early years of the twentieth century, the new and distinctly American Craftsman and Prairie School styles also appeared. Unlike their predecessors, the form and ornament of these residences was devoid of historical references. Between 1900 and 1920, one- and two-story treatments, usually applied to twentieth century American Four Square and bungalow residential forms, successfully competed with the historically based revival styles. The Prairie School style developed from the work of a creative group of Chicago architects influenced by the early designs of Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan. The work of two Californians – Charles Sumner Greene and Henry Mather Green inspired the design of the popular Craftsman style house. The brothers practiced architecture together from 1893 to 1914. Around 1903, they began to design simple Craftsman type bungalows based on the designs and treatments of the English Arts and Crafts Movement. Popular architectural publications and pattern books quickly popularized the style and the one-story Craftsman house became the most popular and fashionable smaller house in the country.[93]



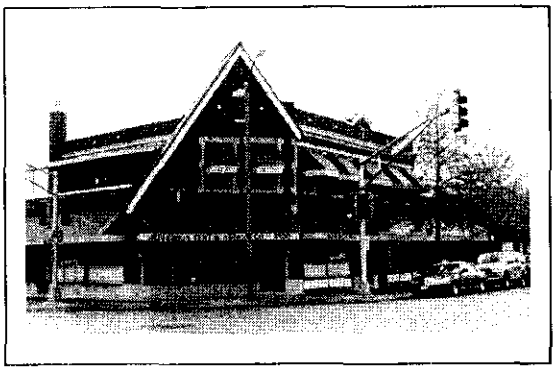
Beaux Arts

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

[92] Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 319.
[93] Ibid., 440, 453.

Tudor Revival

Loosely based on a variety of late medieval English prototypes ranging from small cottages to manor houses freely mixed with American eclectic expressions, the Tudor Revival style incorporates a steeply pitched, front-facing gable. About half have ornamental false half-timbering applied over stucco masonry and/or masonry walls. The style rarely occurred before World War I, but enjoyed widespread popularity during the 1920s and 1940s. Several restrained examples are found in multi-family residential architecture in the South Side and more pronounced stylistic references are found in commercial architecture, including the steeply pitched front gable and the random stonework in the brick walls incorporated into a commercial block building.



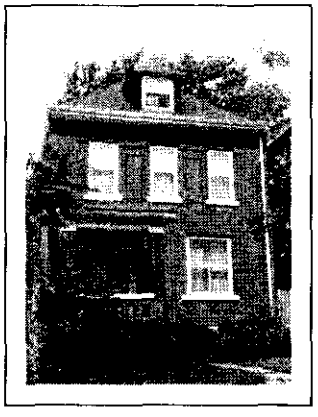
Jacobethan Revival Style

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

Mission/Spanish Colonial Revival Style

These buildings have their origins in the architecture of the Mediterranean as adapted and influenced from Spanish Colonial architecture in the Americas. In commercial designs, tiled roofs, shaped "false-front" parapets, arches, and smooth stucco and masonry wall surfaces are freely adapted to traditional forms. After the Panama-California Exposition held in San Diego in 1915, more precise imitations of elaborate Spanish prototypes began to appear. Both residential and commercial examples show a wide variety of design applications. In South St. Louis, this revival style is referenced in the use of low-pitched, false-front structural elements with red tile and an absence of sculptural ornament applied to the brick elevations. There are no examples executed with stucco wall surfaces.

Many of the buildings in South St. Louis, particularly the portions that developed after 1900, reflect the influence of the popular Prairie School and Craftsman residential styles executed on both late nineteenth century multi-family forms as well as on new plans such as the bungalow house. Many buildings utilize stylistic elements of the two styles such as horizontal emphasis, hipped roofs, exposed rafter ends, battered porch supports, and vertical muntins.

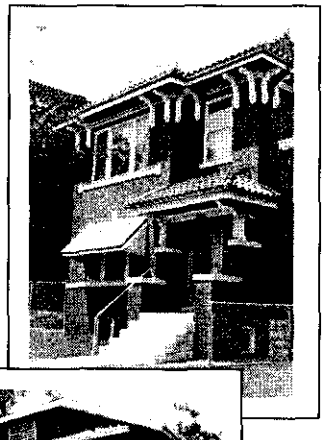


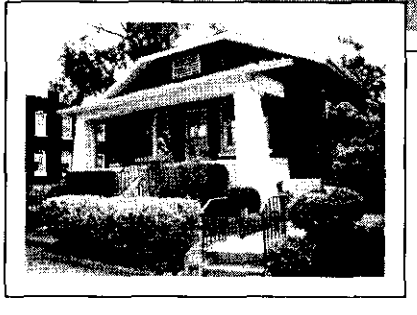
Prairie School

Prairie School houses found in the survey area reflect one of the few indigenous American styles. Popular from 1900-1920, the style evolved from the work of Chicago architects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In particular, Frank Lloyd Wright's early work in this style influenced its use for important commissions. The examples found in South St. Louis are simple gable-front and hip roof versions utilizing the four square folk house form that was the earliest Prairie School design.

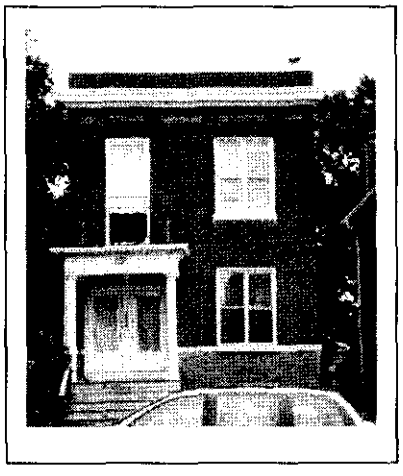
Craftsman

Parts of South St. Louis include a significant number of Craftsman (Arts and Crafts) style residences. They include modest and dramatic examples of the side-gable and gable-front roof variants of both single- and multi-family dwellings. Simple vernacular examples are often called bungalows or have a bungaloid form. This was the dominant style for smaller houses built throughout the country during the period from about 1905 until the early 1930s. The Craftsman style originated in southern California and quickly spread throughout the country by pattern books and popular magazines. Important stylistic elements found in South St. Louis are the porch roof supports, which are typically short, square upper columns resting upon more massive piers or upon a solid porch balustrade. Generally, the piers or columns have sloping (battered) sides. The roof usually has a wide eave overhang, rafter ends are along the horizontal edges, and the Craftsman doors and windows feature vertical muntins.





Colonial Revival



Perhaps the most popular of the early twentieth century styles was the Colonial Revival style, which came to prominence in the United States during the last decades of the nineteenth century and remained a popular source of residential design thereafter. In the survey area, a number of residential buildings reflect Colonial Revival influences, particularly in their use of design elements on their porch structures. Typical Colonial Revival motifs include an end-bay entrance portico with round or square, plain or fluted wood columns; doors with fanlight transoms and sidelights; pronounced cornices with dentils; and pedimented roof dormers and windows with segmental or flat arches, often with keystones.

Gothic Revival

Gothic Revival style churches found in South St. Louis are refined versions of the mid-nineteenth century Gothic Revival style. They tend to present a more imposing and complicated image than their early counterpart. At the same time, they are more subdued and have a "smoother" design treatment with silhouettes that emphasize perpendicularity. Their soaring steeples and pinnacles; steep roofs and broad gables; and narrow, pointed arched windows are character-defining elements. Their projecting surfaces created rich shadow patterns and the quantity of ornament and variety of materials provided variety as well. The smaller scale churches also reflected these characteristics in varying degrees.

Romanesque Revival

The Romanesque Revival style remained popular for church construction into the early twentieth century. The primary difference from the earlier use of the style is the larger scale. Romanesque Revival buildings in St. Louis utilized dark brick as well as ashlar wall treatments. Round arches and a horizontal massing define the style. Upright gables or towers set off the horizontal emphasis. Window openings of various size, shape, and placement express interior spaces and functions. Highly articulated designs feature turrets, tower windows of novel shapes, banded windows, and oversized rose windows. Decorative motifs referencing historical Romanesque forms include deeply recessed arched door openings, turrets at the corners of towers, engaged columns of all dimensions, and extensive use of corbelling. The

Richardsonian Romanesque idiom displays bold rusticated stonework, complex roof patterns, and predominantly arched openings.

Whether vernacular adaptations of traditional folk house forms or "high style" renditions of popular architectural styles, the buildings that composed South St. Louis produced groups of contiguous residential neighborhoods with a cohesive identity. Dominated by residential architecture, these neighborhoods were integrally related by design, plan, and materials. They also included buildings of similar design that augmented their domestic function – neighborhood commercial, retail, and service areas; schools, parks, churches, and social halls – and all had convenient access to a citywide network of streetcars.

ARCHITECTS AND MASTER BUILDERS

These buildings reflect the high level of specialization and diversification in the construction industry that occurred among both the trades and the professions. In 1848, thirteen professional architects organized in St. Louis to promote cooperation within the profession and to claim a defining role in the city's building industry; in particular, to establish the architect as the principal liaison between a client and the trades that erected the building. It was not until the 1880s, when the construction industry in general began to diversify, that architects began to take an increasingly active role in the construction of large institutional and commercial buildings as well as expensive residences. Architectural professionals had little to do with the construction of the vast majority of the city's homes, which were those costing less than $5,000. In the interim, the construction of these modest dwellings required the coordination of more than a dozen different trades, including excavators, roofers, brick and stone masons, carpenters, plumbers, mill workers, hod carriers, painters, plasterers, glazers, and gas fitters.[94] The master carpenter often assumed the role of the building contractor and, with the skilled bricklayer, often determined the plan and design of the residence.

By the 1890s, the Master Builders' Association (a construction organization) created a new component at the top of the local building industry. In contrast to those in the trade who worked under the supervision of other builders, the Master Builders Association evolved from the ranks of the city's carpenters who contracted directly with landowners. Beginning in 1882, these "contractors" had the responsibility of providing city building inspectors with the mandated plans and specifications for all new buildings. This required knowledge of all aspects of the construction process, as well as literacy and the ability to draw

[94] Sandweiss, *St. Louis The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape,* 84.

plans that met a common standard.[95] During the next two decades, the legal framework for construction expanded as the city "regulated every aspect of construction from foundations to chimneys." During this period, there was a dramatic increase in the number of city directory listings for "contractors," and a corresponding decline in the number of listings for "carpenters" and "bricklayers."[96]

[95] Ibid.,87.
[96] Ibid.

F. Associated Property Types

(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)

OUTLINE OF ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

I. PROPERTY TYPE: Domestic Building Functional Property Type

SUB-TYPES

SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES (c.1875-c.1940)
SIDE-GABLED PARAPET HOUSE (c.1838-c.1885)
SHOT GUN HOUSES (c.1885-c.1930)
GABLE-FRONT/GAMBREL-FRONT HOUSES (c.1895-c.1940)
DUPLEX PLANS (c.1895-c.1940)
ROW HOUSES (c.1880-c.1910)
SINGLE-FAMILY AND MULTI-FAMILY FLAT TOWNHOUSE PLAN (c.1880-c.1920)
MULTI-FAMILY FLAT PLANS (c.1880-c.1940)
LOW-RISE WALK-UP APARTMENT BUILDINGS (c.1905-c.1930)
DOUBLE LOADED CORRIDOR APARTMENT BUILDINGS (c.1920-c.1940)

I. Description

This property type includes buildings designed and constructed specifically to function as single-family or multiple-family dwellings for the working and middle classes. They feature symmetrical façades that are two or three bays wide and are either stand-alone buildings or identical conjoined buildings with separate entrances. With minor exceptions, these dwellings are one- or two-story buildings constructed on limestone foundations with brick wall cladding located on rectangular lots with narrow frontage. This functional property type is found in the popular high style architectural styles or in local adaptations of folk house building forms or vernacular adaptations of other functional forms. Only a few of these property types appear to be the work of architects; the majority are popular utilitarian plans erected by contractors, master carpenters, and brick masons. Generally, while those erected before World War I have flat roofs with shaped parapets or faux Mansard roofs with side parapets, those erected after the end of the war feature gable-front roofs.

These residential buildings retain sufficient integrity of historic characteristics to enable identification with the property type, including the façade appearance, significant character-defining features, and preferably, although not necessarily, the basic configuration of the original floor plan defining the public and private spaces. They share the following common characteristics.

- Brick walls (a very small percentage are balloon frame with wood or asbestos siding)
- One to three stories in height
- Façade width of one to four bays
- Symmetrical fenestration
- Located roughly within South St. Louis in an area bounded by Lafayette Avenue on the north, South Broadway Street on the east, Bates Street on the south, and South Grand Boulevard on the west.
- Constructed primarily between the years c.1880 and c.1940
- Retain sufficient architectural integrity and historic characteristics to enable identification with the property type, including the primary façade appearance and preferably, although not necessarily, the basic configurations of the original plan delineating public halls and apartment units or historic alterations thereof.

I. Significance

The Domestic Building Functional Property Type is significant for its associations with the historic contexts identified and documented in Section E of this Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF), specifically for the information it imparts as to the continuum of single-family and multi-family dwellings erected in St. Louis' first tier of streetcar suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, they reflect the residences erected for working- and middle-class families. These buildings have associations with significant urban development patterns relating to the emigration of the working and middle classes to suburban neighborhoods stimulated by the tremendous growth of urban centers and the concurrent advent of fixed-rail streetcar systems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, these resources have associations with the contexts developed by the National Park Service relating to streetcar neighborhoods as documented in the MPDF theme "Suburban Development in the United States: 1850-1945."

They reflect the work of builders and developers who responded to a growing working- and middle-class housing market. Those designed as cohesive units and built a block or more at a time have associations with the evolution of funding sources for speculative development of working-class housing. The small single-family units reflect economic conditions and financing mechanisms of the period that allowed owners to contract for the construction of their houses. These dwellings represent the complete gamut of late nineteenth and early twentieth century working-class residential building types. They derive their architectural significance as a group from the number and variety of modest residential building types and

styles that collectively represent an important facet in the evolution of the city's residential architecture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This property type has significance primarily in the area of ARCHITECTURE, COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, and SOCIAL HISTORY. Other areas that specific buildings or groups of buildings may demonstrate significance are in LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE and ETHNIC HERITAGE.

The Domestic Residential Building Functional Property Type may be listed under the National Register Criteria A and C. The significance of this property type is for its local associations and its contribution to the history of St. Louis, Missouri and includes, but is not limited to, the following:

A-1 Residential buildings that illustrate the initial development of the working- and middle-class houses and multi-family apartment buildings in the development of the city's first suburban streetcar neighborhoods.

A-2 Residential buildings that, through historic events and associations, are part of a cohesive assemblage consisting of groups of contiguous residential subdivisions that are historically interrelated by design, planning, and/or historic associations.

A-3 Residential buildings that are part of neighborhoods that developed along streetcar lines or major thoroughfares that illustrate the patterns of development of the city.

A-4 Residential buildings that reflect economic forces that contributed to suburban development and impacted the development of the city.

A-5 Residential buildings that reflect trends in the attitudes toward the stratifications or segregation and/or integration of religious, racial, economic, and other social groups through the neighborhood's and/or building's residential character, management policies, and/or location.

C-1 Residential buildings that introduced or illustrate technological achievements in the development of self-sufficient, multi-family dwellings.

C-3 Residential buildings that illustrate types of multi-unit buildings (e.g., townhouses, row houses, flats, walk-ups, efficiency units), including mixed retail/residential.

C-4 Residential buildings whose size and stylistic treatment reflects definite periods in the development of the property type.

C-5 Residential buildings that illustrate expressions of architectural styles and vernacular adaptations thereof that are either rare, notable, or influential to the aesthetic development of the city's apartment architecture.

C-6 Residential buildings that are the work of skilled architects, builders, and/or developers, particularly those noted for their work in relation to multi-family housing for working- and middle- class buyers.

I. Registration Requirements

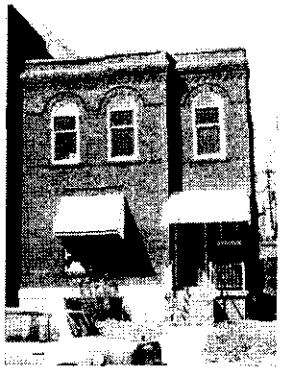
To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, the characteristics and qualities described above must be sufficiently illustrated and the degree of integrity required must be sufficient to support the significance of the building's specific contribution to one or more historic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

Generally, this requires that these domestic buildings retain the architectural composition, ornamental details, and materials of their original primary exterior elevation. Because all but a few of the property type are defined by brick walls, symmetrical façade, brickwork, and roof treatments, the retention of these defining elements and their component parts is required. Due to the age of these buildings and their continued use as rental housing, a certain degree of deterioration and loss is to be expected. Alterations, such as the loss or removal of minor ornamental detailing, replacement of doors and window units (while retaining the original openings), and loss of original porch elements, wooden back porches, and stairways are common and do not necessarily diminish a building's visual associations with the historic contexts. A number of these buildings have projecting entrance porches. Over time, building owners may have screened or installed windows in the porch openings. When this infill can be removed without damaging or altering the original opening and framing elements, such alterations are not considered to be serious integrity issues unless the alterations visually disguise or alter the original porch configuration. Because the exterior materials are important character-defining elements, the use of non-original or non-historic wall covering impacts the integrity of the buildings. The use of stucco or synthetic stone products that cannot be removed without damaging the original material beneath should be confined to a minor area such as porch posts or below the water table and, when coupled with other integrity issues, the total loss should comprise less than 20 percent of the façade. The use of non-historic siding that cannot be removed

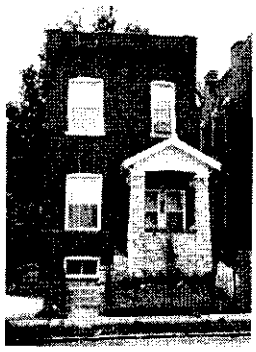
without damaging the original materials underneath should be confined a small portion of the façade (such as a front gable) that originally had wood siding and should not cover or obscure character-defining elements of the sub-type.

TYPICAL ALTERATIONS AFFECTING HISTORIC ARCHITECTURAL INTEGRITY

Examples of Alterations Not Affecting Historical Integrity for Properties Contributing to a District

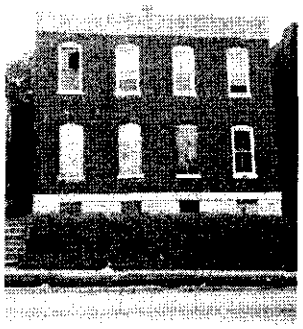


Replacement of porch roof and supports



Alteration of less than 20 percent of the façade; retention of all other character-defining elements

Replacement of original window and door units; replacement of original porch elements



Loss of cornice in comparison to remaining percentage of the facade that remains intact

Examples of Alterations Affecting Historical Integrity and Compromising a Property's Potential to Contribute to a District

Installation of a significant amount of non-reversible wall covering over the original wall materials

Non-historic siding covers original wall material of this brick Shotgun House

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

For a building to be listed for individual significance in architecture under Criterion C, the property must have an "Excellent" integrity rating based on the following criteria.

- The majority of the building's openings on the primary façade should be unaltered or altered in a sensitive and appropriate manner, using similar materials, profiles, and sizes as the original building elements.
- The exterior brick masonry or original wall cladding should remain intact and exposed.
- Significant character-defining decorative elements should be intact.
- Design elements intrinsic to the building's style and plan should be intact.
- The overall feeling or character of the building for the time period in which it was erected should be intact.

For a building to be listed for individual significance under Criterion A, it must achieve an "Excellent" integrity rating as described above or a "Good" integrity rating based on exceeding the criteria listed below. To be listed as a contributing element to a district under Criterion C, a property must have at least a "Fair" integrity rating by minimally meeting the criteria below. Properties receiving a "Fair to Good" integrity rating typically have some alteration of original building fenestration using replacement elements composed of new materials and profiles that do not cause irreversible damage to the original fenestration openings.

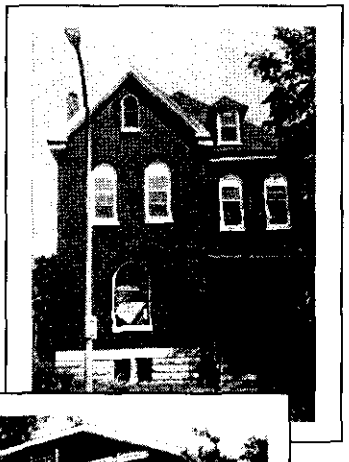
- The building should retain significant portions of the original exterior materials, in particular on the primary façade.
- Significant, character-defining elements should remain intact;
- Alterations to the building should be reversible and the historic character of the property could be easily restored.
- Additions are confined to the rear elevation and should be executed in an appropriate manner, respecting the materials, scale, and character of the original building design and, if removed, the essential form of the building remains intact.

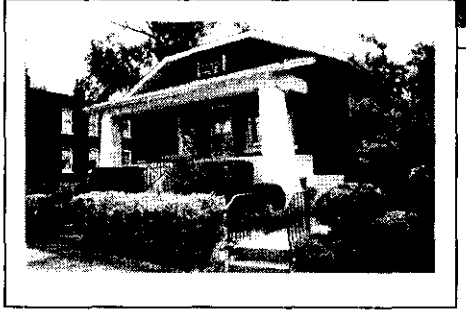
- Change or lack of maintenance should only slightly weaken the historic feeling or character of the building.

Historic Domestic Buildings that reflect a serious loss of integrity have "Poor" integrity ratings and are not eligible for listing in the National Register if

- the majority of the building's openings were altered in an irreversible manner using different materials, profiles, and sizes than the original;
- the exterior wall material has been altered, covered, or is missing on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations;
- non-historic cladding has been added on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations unless there is sufficient indication upon visual inspection that, if removed, enough of the original wall materials remain to restore the original appearance;
- exterior alterations are irreversible or would be extremely difficult, costly, and possibly damaging to the building to reverse; and
- non-historic additions do not respect the materials, scale, or architectural character of the original building design.

In addition to the above requirements, each sub-type must be evaluated individually to ensure that the physical characteristics that contribute to the historic context are sufficiently intact to merit listing in the National Register and that no building is rejected inappropriately.



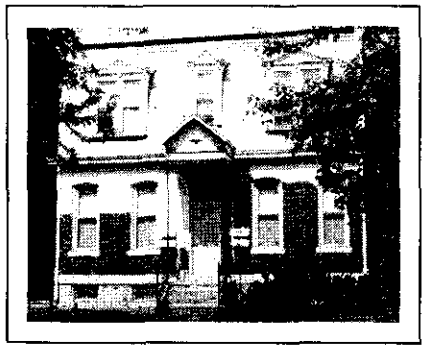


DOMESTIC BUILDING FUNCTIONAL PROPERTY TYPE SUB-TYPES

1A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: SINGLE-FAMILY RESIDENCES (c.1875-c.1940)

Description

The Single-Family Residence sub-type includes properties erected exclusively as single-family residences between c.1875 and c.1940. They constitute a small percentage of the housing found in South St. Louis' streetcar neighborhoods. They include, but are not limited to, high style examples of the Second Empire, Queen Anne, Romanesque Revival, Craftsman and Tudor Revival styles,



as well as local adaptations of national folk house forms, including the American Four Square, Bungaloid, Composite, Gabled Ell, Upright and Wing, and Flounder houses. The larger and more high style examples appeared early in the development of what evolved into working- and middle-class neighborhoods, often near major streetcar lines. Those remaining today are similar to middle- and upper-middle-class dwellings in adjacent neighborhoods such as Benton Park South and High Grove. The more modest local adaptation of popular plans and styles that occurred in the early twentieth century was part of the temporal evolution of the neighborhoods.

Significance

These single-family residences are important specifically for the information they impart as to the number and continuum of single-family dwellings erected for middle-class and working-class families in St. Louis' first tier of streetcar suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These buildings provide information relating to the associations of single-family dwellings with significant urban development patterns relating to the emigration of the working- and middle-classes to suburban neighborhoods. They reflect the work of builders and developers who responded to a growing working- and middle-class housing market, as well as the economic conditions and financing mechanisms of the period that allowed owners to contract for the construction of their houses. As a group, they provide insight into the evolution of suburban neighborhoods as the streetcar became entrenched, showing shifts in demographics of those who lived in these areas.

Registration Requirements

The registration requirements do not differ from the general property type. Because of the wide range in architectural plans and folk house forms, the retention of architectural character-defining elements of the style or form is particularly important.

2A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: SIDE-GABLED PARAPET HOUSE (c.1838-c.1885)

Description

Designed and built specifically to function as a single-family residence, this one-story rectangular brick house features raised side gable parapets that sometimes incorporated an interior chimney on both ends. These houses feature a

raised foundation and the façade has a symmetrical placement of windows and doors. The number of bays on the primary façade ranges from three to five. This sub-type features side hall, hall and parlor, or the central passage double pile plan. The earliest side-gabled parapet houses erected in St. Louis featured casement windows, but those built beginning in the 1870s featured double-hung sash windows with multi-pane, two-over-two, or one-over-one lights. This sub-type featured either an entrance stoop or covered entrance porch. Side-gabled parapet houses occur in South St. Louis with their horizontal side orientated to the street or with the gable end oriented to the street. The earliest are situated well back from the street and centered on one or more lots. Placement is often an indication of whether this property type predates residential development. Those with the gable end facing the street (to fit on narrow existing lots) usually date from the period of the streetcar neighborhood.

Significance

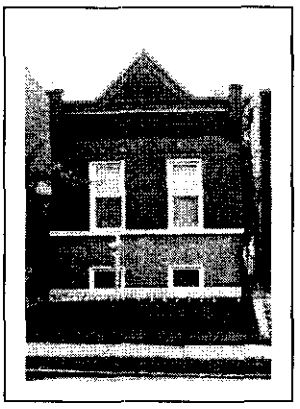
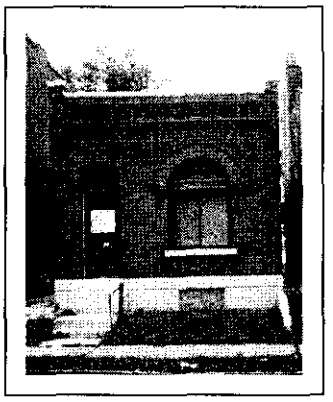
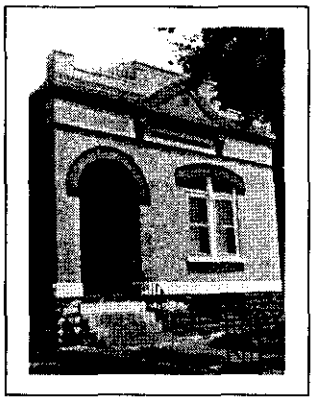
This property type has its origins in the seventeenth century French Colonial houses as they evolved as an urban house form in the United States in the early nineteenth century. The form appears in St. Louis in the late 1830s. Virginia and Lee McAlester classify these buildings as urban cottage variants of the French Colonial style. These buildings lacked the gallery porches that distinguished rural French Colonial architecture in the United States. In New Orleans, the side-gabled parapet design was a dominant urban cottage form beginning around 1830, "Probably to reduce roof drainage to narrow passageways between the closely spaced cottages of the expanding city."[1] The St. Louis form appears in South St. Louis after the division of the common lands, which began in 1838 and continues to be built through the early 1880s. It is an increasingly rare residential property sub-type.

Registration Requirements

In addition to the general registration requirements outlined previously for this property type, reversible loss such as the loss and/or replacement of porch railings and porch elements, of original door and window units, and rear porches and side porches do not necessarily diminish the building's contribution to historic contexts, particularly if the original openings and fenestration remain unaltered. Because of the long evolution of parts of South St. Louis as working-class neighborhoods, historic alterations have occurred over time. The most frequent type of alteration for this sub-type is the replacement of projecting entrance porches and stoops. When such a change has the distinct appearance of dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; mimics the size, scale, and massing of the original porch; and is confined to the entrance area, the alteration may not significantly impact the building's ability to convey its historic associations. The loss of porch supports and railings may not significantly impact the buildings' historic architectural integrity. Although some of these buildings may predate the advent of

[1] McAlester, 121. McAlester refers to the property type as a "side-gabled" version of the French Colonial urban cottages.

streetcar lines in the immediate vicinity, they contribute to the character of the streetcar neighborhoods that evolved and may be counted as contributing elements to a district, or because or their rarity and architectural significance, they may be nominated individually for significance under a number of eligible associations.

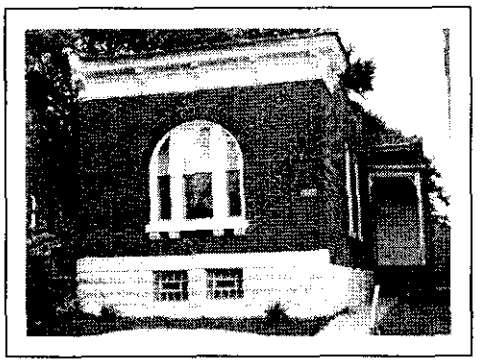
3A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: SHOTGUN HOUSES (c.1885-c.1930)

Description

Designed and built specifically to function as a single- or multi-family residential building, the Shotgun House, a national folk house form, remained popular in St. Louis during the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century as single- and two-family units. Many borrowed elements from contemporaneous high style buildings for their exterior design or reflect the talents of local brick masons. All have brick walls, a raised brick or ashlar foundation capped by a stone water table, and decorative corbelling at the cornice. In the Late Victorian shotgun house, the roof is sometimes higher, allowing use of a second-floor attic. These houses usually featured a flat roof with a decorative parapet or a faux Mansard roof, alluding to the Second Empire style. Rare versions of this sub-type include front-gable and hip roof forms.

The property type utilized small entrance porches that include the stoop form; small decorative wood porches with a shed or gable roof; or a recessed entrance porch. Many incorporate the local tradition of having a primary recessed side ell entrance or multiple entrances located at the side, particularly for two-family dwellings. The façade incorporates one, two, or three-bays. The Shotgun form as adapted in St. Louis features a narrow front façade, with rooms placed in a line from front to rear. The narrow buildings have a perpendicular orientation to the street. During the post-World War II era, federally financed infill housing incorporated the shotgun form with the modern Ranch style features.

Significance



In addition to the general areas of significance outlined in the discussion of the property type as a whole, this sub-type reflects a dominant style for working-class domestic buildings built primarily in southern regions of the United States from the early 1800s to the early 1900s. According to Virginia and Lee McAlester, their design antecedents can be traced back to the one-room-deep hall and parlor folk house plan turned sideways to accommodate narrow urban lots.[2] This property sub-type appears in working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods in St. Louis in the early 1880s and enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with the evolving streetcar system. They were also one of the most affordable housing sub-types, often erected by working-class owners who contracted directly with a master carpenter and mason.

Registration Requirements

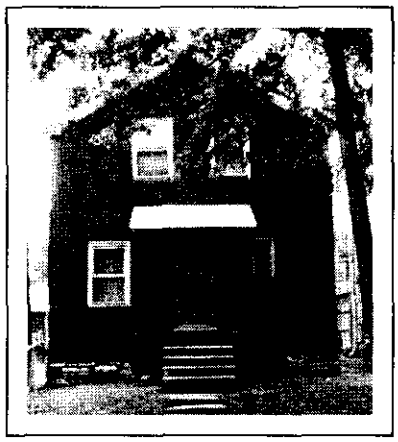
In addition to the registration requirements for the general property type, the most frequent loss or alteration for this property sub-type is the replacement or enclosure of entrance porches. When such an alteration has the distinct appearance of dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; mimics the size, scale, and massing of the original porch; and is confined to the entrance area, the change may not significantly impact the building's ability to convey its historic appearance and associations. The loss of porch supports and railings may not significantly impact a building's historic architectural integrity. Enclosure of a porch by installing windows or screening that does not alter the original porch elements and leaves them visible does not impact the historic architectural integrity if the enclosure does not exceed the area occupied by the original porch elements and if it is reversible without altering or damaging the original porch elements.

[2] In defining this folk house form, which has a long period of use and treatments, the consultant relied on Virginia and Lee McAlester's *A Field Guide to American Houses*, a recommended source of the National Park Service National Register program and of the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Program's survey form instructions. The McAlesters' reference to the Hall and Parlor form, with a perpendicular orientation to the street, acknowledges the presence of a side entry hall in the floor plan sub-type that is "one" room wide. This is consistent with other architectural sources view that the entry hall is not counted as a room, per se. Some sources define the form as being from one to one-and-a-half stories in height.

4A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: GABLE-FRONT HOUSES (c.1895-c.1940)

Description

The Gable-Front national folk house forms were particularly suited for narrow urban lots in rapidly expanding cities. Most erected in the late nineteenth century and at the turn of the century are narrow one-, one-and-a-half-, and two-story houses with relatively steep roof pitches featuring a front gable or gambrel. A high percentage of the gable-front houses found in South St. Louis date to the early twentieth century and reflect the design influences of the Craftsman movement, which appeared in the decades from 1910 to 1930 and typically used the gable-front form. They were usually one- or one-and-a-half-story houses with low-pitched roofs. They feature entrance stoops and full-width porches. Those found in the South St. Louis were single-family units as well as two-family dwellings. They feature various stylistic influences of the period of their construction and appear with brick cladding as well as horizontal wood cladding. Design and plan characteristics include symmetrical façades with side and central entrances usually two to three bays in width.



Significance

In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, Gable-Front Houses found in the South St. Louis area are relatively rare until the advent of the Craftsman House. At this time, their use coincided with the erection of a significant number of Craftsman bungalows and multi-family dwellings in the area between Osage and Bank Streets that had the appearance of detached single-family residences. The national folk house form has its beginnings in the Greek Revival style, which dominated American residential design from 1830 to 1850. This style used the front gable shape to echo the pedimented façade of Greek temples. It was a dominant folk house form until well into the twentieth century.

Registration Requirements

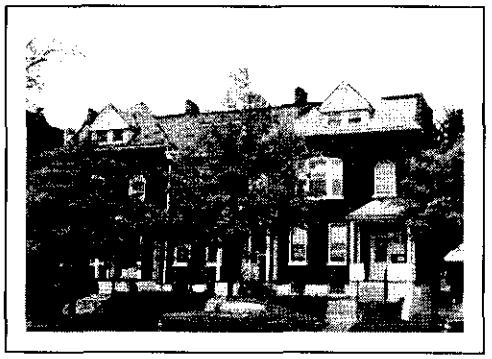
In addition to the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type, the most common alteration to this property sub-type is the addition of non-historic siding on wood frame houses with clapboards, particularly in the front gable area when stone or brick clads the first story. When non-historic siding covers the original wall materials and the other character-defining architectural elements of the style/property type from its original construction remain intact and visible, these properties are eligible for listing in the National Register as contributing elements to a district. When the non-historic siding covers the original non-masonry siding on less than half of the primary

façade and all other stylistic or architectural defining characteristics are visible and the historic setting is retained, the building can be a contributing element to a district.

5A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: DUPLEX PLANS (c.1895-c.1940)

Description

The duplex is a one-and-a-half- or two-story building that has two units that occupy both the ground and upper floors and that has an internal staircase in each unit, creating a vertical separation that may or may not be visible from the exterior. They often have the appearance of a detached single-family house with two entrances on the primary façade or of two attached single-family houses that are mirror images of each other. Their style or design reflects popular architectural styles of the period of construction.

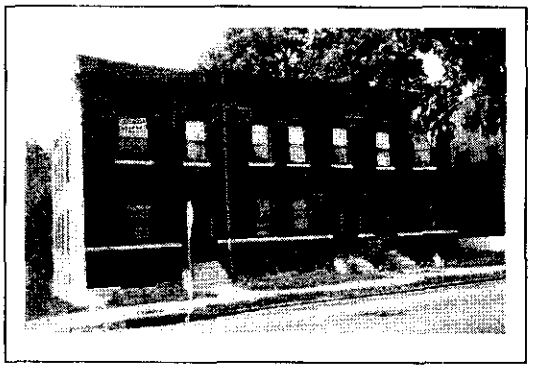


Significance

In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, the duplex plan is a distinct but relatively rare domestic property sub-type in South St. Louis working-class and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods. The majority of duplexes appear in the period after World War I through the onset of World War II. They contribute to an understanding of the evolution of multi-family housing for the working classes and they provide insight into the wide range of designs and plans utilized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century streetcar neighborhoods in South St. Louis.

Registration Requirements

This property sub-type shares the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type.



6A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: ROW HOUSES (c.1880-c.1910)

Description:

Row Houses are composed of at least two single-family dwelling units sharing a common wall. They are usually

two or three stories in height, sit on an elevated basement, and are two to three bays wide. Each has a separate entrance into the unit, usually in a side bay. Each unit presents a narrow façade to the street. Floor plans usually consist of a stair hall, kitchen, and one or two other rooms on the first floor, and two or three bedrooms and a bathroom on the upper floors. The façade often references architectural styles popular during the period of construction and are of brick construction. Sited on narrow city lots, they generally feature little or no set-back from the sidewalk. They often have a flat roof with a parapet wall. In contrast to the traditional townhouse floor plan with shared walls, one St. Louis variant is two- and three-story conjoined two-, four-, and six-family flats that have the appearance of Row Houses, but do not have the same internal plan. One of the rarest designs is the one-story double-pen (saddlebag) form.

Significance

In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, the Row House property type is one of the earliest American forms of multi-family housing. In addition to traditional forms, a number of the vernacular forms that were used for working-class housing and appear in South St. Louis. They contribute to an understanding of the evolution of multi-family housing for the working classes and provide insight into the wide range of designs and plans utilized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century streetcar neighborhoods.

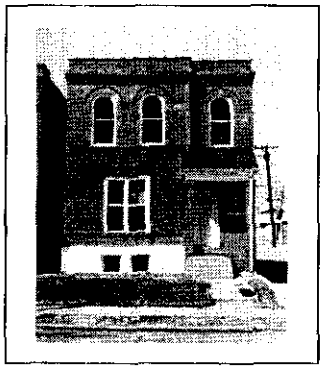
Registration Requirements

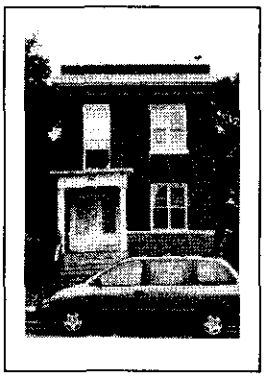
This property sub-type shares the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type.

7A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: SINGLE-FAMILY AND MULTI-FAMILY FLAT TOWNHOUSE PLANS (c.1880-c.1920)

Description

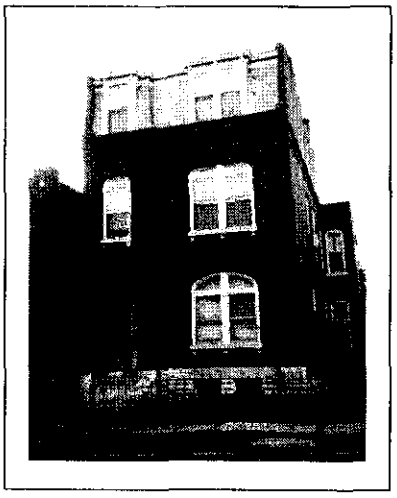
Townhouse plans occasionally accommodate single-family residential space, but in South St. Louis, they most often occur as two- and three-family flats. They use a variety of high style treatments on the narrow façades that face the street. They feature a side hall entrance or entrances in the secondary side elevation. The large majority of these two-story residential buildings found in South St. Louis are very simple two-family units that resemble early nineteenth century Federal style townhouses in that they have a symmetrical fenestration with a single entrance to a side stairway hall. A large number of these side-hall plan buildings are difficult to categorize as either single-family or two-family units when viewed only from the exterior.

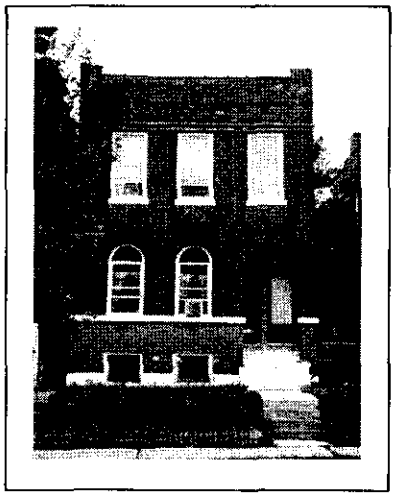




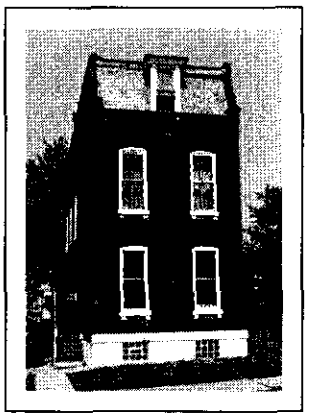
Another variant of the Townhouse Plan features a dual entrance in the end bay of the primary façade. One door opens into the ground floor unit, the other opens into a stair hall. Many have a third story, creating a three-flat dwelling.

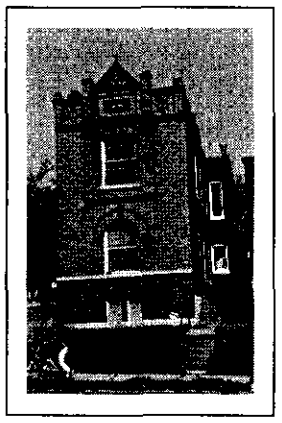
Both the single-family and multi-family versions differ only in the use of single or paired doors in the end bay. They are two or three bays wide with a single flat on each floor, which features a shotgun floor plan that is three or four rooms deep. Roof forms and porch type often reflect stylistic references. For example, the faux Mansard roof reflects the popularity of the Second Empire style in the late nineteenth century. The use of brick voussoirs incorporated into an arched recessed porch reflects turn-of-the-century Romanesque Revival style influences. The use of the shaped parapet, hipped roof porch, and dentiled and bracketed cornice allude to American and Spanish Colonial revival styles popular in the first three decades of the twentieth century.

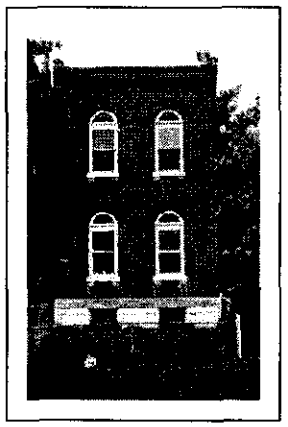




Another version of the Townhouse Plan features one or more entrances into the side of the building rather than into the primary façade. These variants include two-, and three-story versions. All have a narrow façade with side elevations that extend deep into the narrow urban lots. A local adaptation known as the Saint Louis Ell features a narrow façade presented to the street and a shallow, recessed two-story side entrance wing. Another variation includes two entrances on the side elevations. Over time, the size of the building began to increase and the exterior ornamentation reflected popular high style architectural influences.







Significance

In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, this vernacular housing type constitutes a high percentage of the dwellings found in working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods in South St. Louis.

Registration Requirements

This property sub-type shares the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type.

8A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: MULTI-FAMILY FLAT PLANS (c.1880-c.1940)

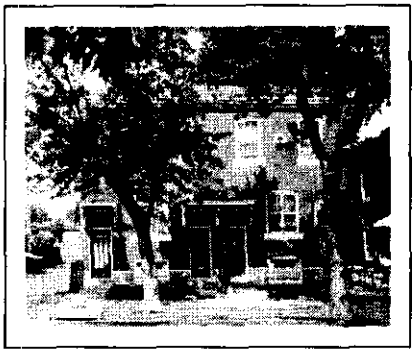
Description

As with the Townhouse Plan, multi-family flats appear in a variety of plans. A large number of Multi-Family Flats date from the period after World War I and before the Great Depression. The most diverse of these is the Two-Family Flat, which features a self-contained unit on each floor that has its own separate entrance from the porch, often in opposite end bays. While this plan has a similar number of bays, it is sometimes wider than the Townhouse plan. Examples found in South St. Louis date from the early 1880s through the 1940s and reflect the stylistic influences of the era of their construction. These one-and-a-half- to two-story buildings have a symmetrical primary façade and usually are three to four bays wide. Their roof and porch forms reflect popular vernacular treatments and/or reference popular styles of the era of their construction. Many depart from the nineteenth century set-back and sit on raised terraces; they have high entrance steps that contribute to a visual separation from the street.

Working-class neighborhoods in South St. Louis also contain a significant number of multi-family buildings with two apartment units per floor, each of which has a shotgun floor plan that is three or four rooms deep. They are two- or two-and-a-half stories in height and are four to six bays wide. The overall building shape is rectangular and the units correspond to the originally platted narrow lots. The entrances are usually a group of two to four adjoining doors, centrally located so that two stairwells to the upper floors adjoin each other. There are, however, variations on this plan that incorporate the use of end bays as stair halls. Other versions feature access to the second floor from rear and side entrances. There are also several rare examples of conjoined four- and six-family flats that share common walls and give the impression of a large apartment building.

Two-Family Flat Plans

Four-, Six-, and Eight-Family Flats



Significance

In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, this housing property type constitutes a high percentage of the dwellings found in working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods that appeared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in South St. Louis.

Registration Requirements

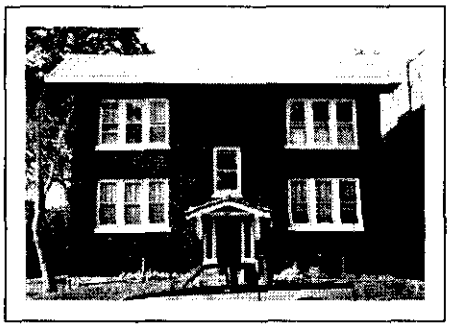
This property sub-type shares the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type.

9A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: LOW-RISE WALK-UP APARTMENTS (c.1905-c.1930)

Description

A later version of the multi-family flat, the Walk-up features a symmetrical façade. These brick buildings are one apartment deep with two units on each floor accessed by a central stair hall. The façade has a

central entrance leading into an interior stairway, above which is one or more window(s) illuminating the stair hall. They often feature a stoop or a small covered entrance porch and may have a raised basement.



Significance

In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, this vernacular housing type reflects the evolution of the multi-family flat property type in the early twentieth century as they appear in working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods in South St. Louis.

Registration Requirements

This property sub-type shares the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type. The retention of the central interior stair hall is of importance.

10A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: DOUBLE-LOADED CORRIDOR APARTMENT BUILDINGS (c.1920-c.1935)

Description

Larger apartment buildings in South St. Louis feature a double-loaded corridor. These are long, rectangular or U-shaped buildings with a central corridor extending the length of the building and providing access to apartments on either side. Most have stairways at both ends of the corridor, although some also have stairways set to one side or have multiple openings. All are low-rise apartment buildings and of brick construction. They are the largest of the multiple family dwellings often taking up a sizable portion of the block.

Significance

In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, this vernacular housing type reflects the evolution of the multi-family property type in the early twentieth century as they appear in working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods in South St. Louis.

Registration Requirements

This property sub-type shares the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type.

II. PROPERTY TYPE: Ancillary Buildings

SUB-TYPES

MIXED-USE ALLEY BUILDINGS
AUTOMOBILE GARAGES

II. Description

During the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, the rear yards of working- and middle-class neighborhood housing served very utilitarian purposes. Along the alleys were sheds and other utilitarian buildings that changed as time passed. This property type includes buildings designed and constructed specifically to function as ancillary buildings to the main residential building. They varied from one to three stories and served a variety of functions, including providing storage space, commercial/industrial workrooms, and residential rooms. These buildings are located at the rear of the narrow lots and face onto an alley.

II. Significance

Ancillary buildings are significant for their associations with the historic contexts identified and documented in Section E, specifically for the information they impart relating to the development of the first tier of streetcar suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in South St. Louis. As rare extant resources dating to the early development of streetcar suburbs, they provide clues to the historic visual character of the historic cultural landscape and a greater understanding of their associated primary building and their neighborhood.

These buildings also have associations with significant urban development patterns relating to the emigration of the working and middle classes to suburban neighborhoods stimulated by the tremendous growth of urban centers and the concurrent advent of fixed-rail streetcar systems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, these resources have associations with the contexts developed by the National Park Service relating to streetcar neighborhoods as documented in the MPDF theme "Suburban Development in the United States: 1850-1945."

The Ancillary Building functional property types may be listed as contributing elements to a District under National Register Criteria A and C. The significance of this property type is for its contribution to the history of St. Louis, Missouri and includes, but is not limited to, the following:

A-1 Ancillary buildings that illustrate the initial development of working- and middle-class houses and multi-family apartment buildings in the development of the city's first streetcar suburban neighborhoods.

A-2 Ancillary buildings that, through historic events and associations, are part of a cohesive assemblage consisting of groups of contiguous residential subdivisions that are historically interrelated by design, planning, and/or historic associations."

A-3 Ancillary buildings that are part of neighborhoods that developed along streetcar lines or major thoroughfares that illustrate the patterns of development of the city.

A-4 Ancillary buildings that reflect economic forces that contributed to suburban development and impacted the development of the city.

A-5 Ancillary buildings that reflect trends in the attitudes toward the stratifications or segregation and/or integration of religious, racial, economic, and other social groups through the neighborhood's and/or building's residential character, management policies, and/or location.

C-1 Ancillary buildings that illustrate technological change.

C-3 Ancillary buildings whose size and stylistic treatment reflect definite periods in the development of the property type.

C-4 Ancillary buildings that illustrate expressions of architectural styles and vernacular adaptations thereof that are either rare or notable.

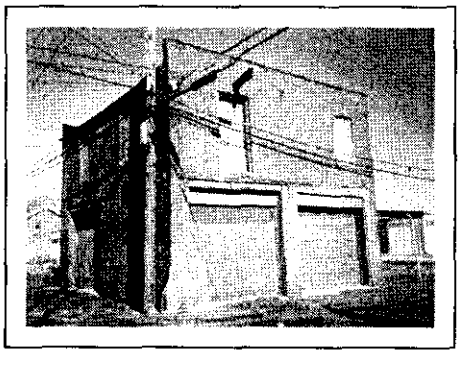
C-5 Ancillary buildings that are the work of skilled architects, builders, and/or or developers, particularly those noted for their work in relation to multi-family housing for working- and middle-class buyers.

II. Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, the characteristics and qualities must be sufficiently illustrated and the degree of integrity required must support the significance of the building's specific contribution to one or more historic contexts identified in Section E. Aspects of integrity to be considered include location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, associations with

established historic contexts, and ability to convey feelings relating to its associative and/or information value.

Generally, this requires that these Ancillary Buildings retain the architectural composition and materials of properties, although a certain degree of deterioration and loss is to be expected. Alterations such as the loss or removal of minor ornamental detailing and the replacement of doors and window units (while retaining the original openings) are common and do not necessarily diminish a building's visual associations with the historic contexts. When infill can be removed without damaging or altering the original opening and framing elements, such alterations are not considered serious integrity issues unless the alterations visually disguise or alter the original character-defining elements. Because the exterior materials are important character-defining elements, the use of non-original or non-historic wall covering impacts the integrity of the buildings. When the use of stucco or synthetic stone that is irreversible occurs, it and other loss of integrity should constitute less than 20 percent of the elevations visible from the public right-of-way. The use of non-historic siding that can be removed without harming the original wall materials should be confined a small portion of the façade that originally had clapboard siding (such as a front gable) and should not cover or obscure character-defining elements.



1A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: MIXED-USE ALLEY BUILDING FUNCTIONAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

Designed and built to accommodate mixed uses including residential, carriage storage, horse stalls, and/or commercial/manufacturing workspaces at the rear of a residential lot, this one- to three-story rectangular brick property type typically has a flat roof and is oriented with its short façade to the alley. This property type includes modified residential townhouse forms, as well as two-part commercial forms that accommodated vehicular and pedestrian bays at the first story and residential or storage space on the

buildings feature a variety of fenestration patterns that may include symmetrical arrangements and designs mimicking the associated building at the front of the lot; or they may include asymmetrical arrangements of various function-specific openings including first-story vehicular bays, pedestrian entrances, and second-story window openings. The façade facing the alley is typically one to four bays wide and the primary pedestrian entrances are often located in the side or rear elevations.

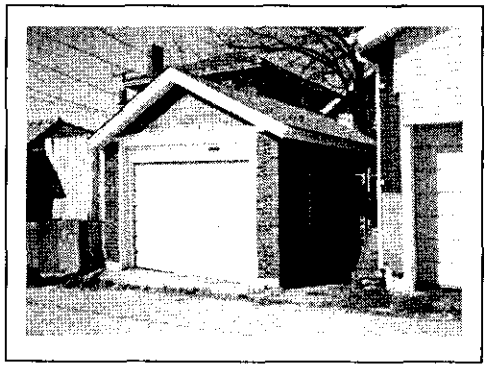
Significance

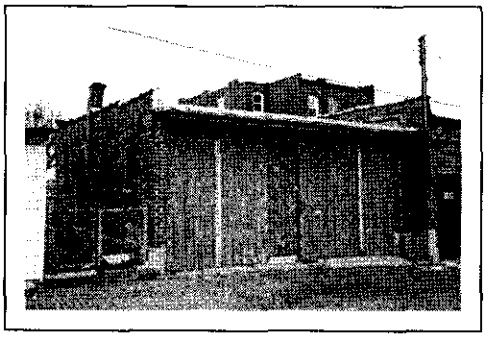
In addition to the areas of significance outlined previously for the general property type, this vernacular property type dates to the earliest development of South St. Louis that occurred along streetcar routes. In the first streetcar neighborhoods, they demonstrate the ancillary buildings required to support the predominant residential function as well as the nature of mixed uses that occurred in the early commercialization of streetcar routes. In particular, they are rare surviving examples of the working-class nature of theses early suburban neighborhoods.

Registration Requirements

This property sub-type shares the integrity issues and registration requirements outlined previously for the general property type.

2A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: AUTO GARAGE BUILDING FUNCTIONAL PROPERTY TYPE



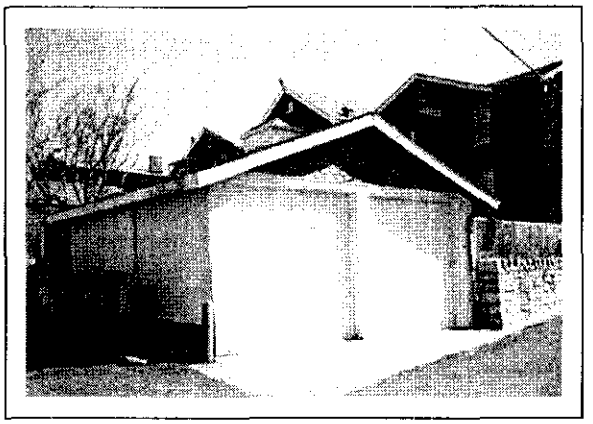


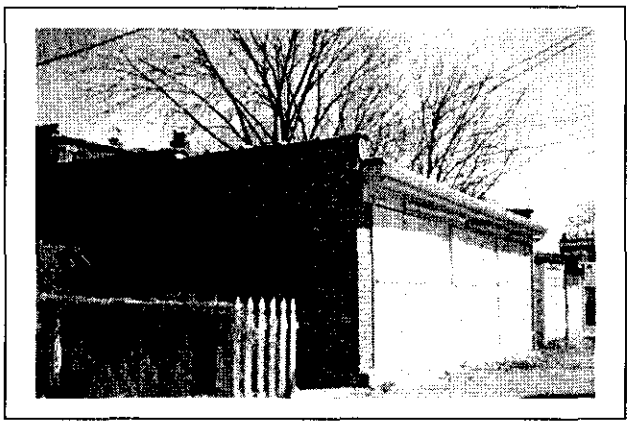
Description

Designed and built specifically to function as an automobile garage, this one-story rectangular building type is generally of brick or wood-framed construction and features one to four vehicular bays in the façade facing onto the alley. Flat and gable-front roofs are the most common roof forms, with the flat-roofed garage buildings featuring raised parapet sidewalls with coping. Gable-front garages feature wood framing and clapboard, faux masonry asphalt, or asbestos siding. The single vehicular bays constitute the openings. Hinged, sliding, and overhead wood and/or modern metal doors fill the vehicular bays. Secondary façades often feature small square window openings and/or pedestrian entrances.

Significance

While upper-middle-class suburban neighborhoods and middle-class neighborhoods in small towns have auto garages dating to the first decade of the twentieth century, widespread construction of auto garages in working- and middle-class streetcar suburbs did not occur until after World War I, with the majority constructed in the 1920s. The new garage building often replaced outdated sheds and ancillary buildings at the rear of the lot. Garages provide valuable information about the evolution of streetcar suburbs in the early twentieth century, in particular the continuing role of the streetcar as a popular form of mass transit despite the affordability of the automobile by the 1920s.





Registration Requirements

In addition to the general registration requirements outlined previously for this property type, reversible loss such as the loss and/or replacement of original vehicular door units does not necessarily diminish the building's contribution to historic contexts, particularly if the original openings and fenestration remain unaltered. Because of the long evolution of residential development in South St. Louis, historic alterations have occurred over time. The most frequent for this sub-type is the replacement or covering of original siding with synthetic siding. When such an alteration has the distinct appearance of dating to the early twentieth century and does not cover other character-defining features, the alteration may not significantly impact the building's ability to convey its historic associations.

III. PROPERTY TYPE: Commercial/Industrial Building Functional Property Type

SUB-TYPES

ONE-PART COMMERCIAL BLOCK GENERAL PROPERTY TYPE
TWO-PART COMMERCIAL BLOCK GENERAL PROPERTY TYPE
ARTISTIC FRONT COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE
BROAD FRONT COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE
CORNER ENTRANCE COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE
SINGLE ENTRANCE WITH DISPLAY WINDOWS COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE
MULTI-ENTRANCE WITH DISPLAY WINDOWS COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE
AUTO-RELATED COMMERCIAL BUILDING PROPERTY TYPE
FUNERARY BUILDING COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE
FACTORY AND WAREHOUSE BUILDING INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY TYPE

III. Description

This property type includes buildings designed and constructed specifically to function as commercial/industrial buildings as a result of the development of the city's streetcar system and concurrent residential development. They are constructed of brick and are from one to three stories in height. Commercial and industrial buildings found on major arterial and collector streets bounding residential neighborhoods often do not conform in size, scale, or massing to the buildings found within the adjacent streetcar neighborhood. The traditional nineteenth and early twentieth century building material for both commercial and industrial buildings is dark red brick, while buff brick appears in some buildings erected during the early to mid-twentieth century. Only commercial/industrial buildings of substantial size executed in a particular popular style appear to be the work of architects; the remainder are popular utilitarian buildings erected by contractors, master carpenters, and brick masons. Generally, while those erected before World War I have flat roofs with shaped parapets or faux Mansard roofs with side parapets, those erected after the end of the war feature flat roofs with decorative parapets.

Commercial sales and service buildings that line commercial streets incorporate storefronts and, if more than one story in height, have residential and office space on the upper floors. They feature symmetrical façades that are two to three bays wide and are either stand-alone buildings or identical conjoined buildings with separate entrances. These buildings are distinguished first by building form and second by architectural style. Due to their functional nature, many commercial buildings only exhibit restrained architectural details. The first-story storefront is the most prominent and distinctive feature of a commercial sales or service building and is an important marketing element. The rest of the commercial building's key design elements visually relate to the storefront. Important character-defining elements of the storefront are a sign frieze over the display windows, a storefront lintel/cornice, transom windows

above the display windows, and a bulkhead below the windows and entrances. Defining the upper stories are the roof/parapet, cornice, and windows. Within the streetcar neighborhood (usually on east-west streets), these buildings occupy deep, narrow, rectangular lots that extend back to an alley separating the commercial streetscape from the adjoining residential streetscape. Their façades abut the sidewalk. Most are simple buildings of one or two stories, but a high percentage feature high style designs or artistic fronts. It is not unusual for corner buildings to rise to three stories. Depending on their location, they usually reflect the style, materials, and architectural treatments of the adjacent neighborhood. These buildings occupy major commercial streets adjacent to residential enclaves as well as commercial nodes at the corners of intersecting residential streets.

The industrial building property type includes small manufacturing facilities with associated warehouse buildings. These buildings are usually from one to three stories in height, are of brick construction, and feature symmetrical façades composed of large windows, vehicular and pedestrian entrances, and loading docks. They have flat roofs with parapets. Located along commercial corridors at the edge of residential neighborhoods, these buildings abut the sidewalks and occupy significant portions of the block. It is not unusual for there to be side or rear open space to accommodate their functional needs.

These buildings retain sufficient integrity of historic characteristics to enable identification with the property type, including the façade appearance, significant character-defining features, and preferably, although not necessarily, the basic configuration of the original floor plan outlining the public and private spaces. They share the following common characteristics.

- Brick walls
- One to three stories in height
- Façades that are one to four bays wide
- Symmetrical fenestration
- Located roughly within South St. Louis in an area bounded by Lafayette Avenue on the north, South Broadway Street on the east, Bates Street on the south, and South Grand Boulevard on the west
- Constructed primarily between the years c.1880 and c.1940
- Retain sufficient architectural integrity and historic characteristics to enable identification with the property type, including the primary façade appearance and preferably, although not necessarily, the basic configurations of the original plan delineating public and private spaces or historic alterations thereof.

III. Significance

One of the important components of suburban development patterns found in streetcar suburbs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century established by the National Park Service are nonresidential resources that are related to the neighborhoods by design plan or association that also have a common period of historic significance. This includes commercial facilities that supported and enhanced suburban domestic life and small factories along transportation corridors associated with daily commuting. Commercial buildings and the streetscapes they create define the functional and visual character of early suburban commercial enclaves.

The Commercial/Industrial Building Functional Property Types found in South St. Louis within and adjacent to streetcar neighborhoods are significant for their associations with the historic contexts identified and documented in Section E. In particular, they impart information about the patterns of development in this area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They also reflect the types of commercial supporting resources erected for middle-class and working-class families in early suburban neighborhoods. These buildings have associations with significant urban development patterns relating to the emigration of the working and middle classes to suburban neighborhoods stimulated by the tremendous growth of urban centers and the concurrent advent of fixed-rail streetcar systems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They also have associations with the contexts developed by the National Park Service relating to streetcar neighborhoods as documented in the MPDF theme "Suburban Development in the United States: 1850-1945." As such, they reflect the work of business owners, builders, and developers who responded to a growing working- and middle-class housing market. While those designed as cohesive units and extending down the commercial block have associations with the evolution of funding sources for speculative development; the small individual commercial buildings reflect economic conditions and financing mechanisms of the period that allowed owners to contract for the construction of their business houses. The extant historic commercial buildings represent the complete gamut of late nineteenth and early twentieth century suburban commercial building types. As a group, they derive their architectural significance from the number and variety of modest commercial building types and styles that collectively represent an important facet in the evolution of the city's commercial architecture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This property type has significance primarily in the area of ARCHITECTURE, COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, and COMMERCE. Another area that specific buildings or groups of buildings may demonstrate significance in is ETHNIC HERITAGE.

The Commercial/Industrial Building Functional Property Type may be listed under National Register Criteria A and C. The significance of this property type is for its contribution to the history of St. Louis, Missouri and includes, but is not limited to, the following:

A-1 Commercial buildings, factories, and warehouses that illustrate the initial and subsequent evolution of the working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods in South St. Louis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A-2 Commercial/Industrial buildings that, through historic events and associations, are part of and have direct associations with the cohesive assemblage consisting of groups of contiguous residential subdivisions that are historically interrelated by design, planning, and/or historic associations.

A-3 Commercial/Industrial buildings that are part of neighborhoods that developed along streetcar lines or major thoroughfares that illustrate the patterns of development of the city.

A-4 Commercial/Industrial buildings that reflect economic forces that contributed to suburban development and impacted the development of the city.

A-5 Commercial/industrial buildings that reflect trends in the attitudes toward the stratifications or segregation and/or integration of religious, racial, economic, and other social groups through the neighborhoods and/or businesses, and/or location.

C-1 Commercial/Industrial buildings that introduced or illustrate technological changes in the design and materials associated with the period of development.

C-3 Commercial/Industrial buildings that illustrate the variety of types associated with the development of streetcar neighborhoods.

C-4 Commercial/Industrial buildings whose size and stylistic treatment reflects definite periods in the development of the property type.

C-5 Commercial/Industrial buildings that illustrate expressions of architectural styles and vernacular adaptations thereof that are either rare, notable, or influential to the aesthetic development of the city's architecture.

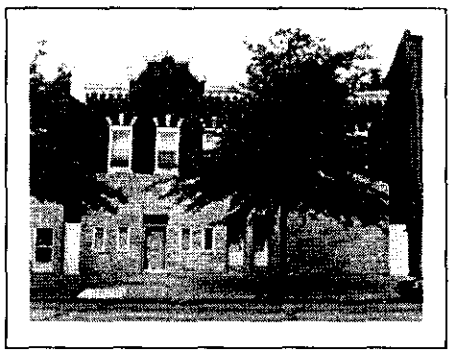
C-6 Commercial/Industrial buildings that are the work of skilled architects, builders, and/or developers, particularly those noted for their work associations with commercial and/or industrial properties.

III. Registration Requirements

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

Generally, this requires that these commercial and industrial buildings retain the architectural composition, ornamental details, and materials of their original primary exterior elevation(s). Because brick walls, symmetrical façade, brickwork, and roof treatments define the property type, the retention of these defining elements and their component parts is important. Nevertheless, due to the age of these buildings and their continued use, a certain degree of deterioration and loss is to be expected. Alterations such as the loss or removal of minor ornamental detailing and/or the replacement of door and window units (while retaining the original openings) is acceptable when this infill can be removed without damaging or altering the original opening and framing elements. The installation of wooden or metal awnings over the transom area is reversible and when the original is intact does not compromise the integrity of the building. Covering transom windows, which is also reversible, does not significantly impact the integrity of the storefront.

Because the exterior materials are important character-defining elements, the use of non-original wall covering impacts the integrity of the buildings. The use of synthetic stone or stucco, which is irreversible, when coupled with other integrity losses should not exceed impacting 20 percent of the façade(s) facing the street. The buildings below reflect loss of integrity due to significant loss of original material.



The use of non-historic siding that can be removed impacts the historical integrity unless the second-story defining elements are intact and visible and it can be ascertained through visual examination that the majority of the original storefront openings are intact beneath the non-historic siding. Additions and changes that are historic alterations and that retain sufficient integrity from their period of construction have gained significance in their own right. The buildings below retain sufficient integrity to contribute to a district.

Interior changes, including the loss of ornamental detailing and trim, specific architectural elements, and even the wholesale rearrangement of floor plans, may not be significant to the building's perceived contribution to certain historic contexts if the defining exterior design elements, location, setting, siting, or contribution to the streetscape remains intact. Buildings that are identified for their contribution to the understanding of interior spatial arrangements should retain significant defining architectural features. Nevertheless, the retention of historic public and private spaces in certain sub-types (i.e., retail stores) and

specialty commercial buildings (i.e., movie theaters) is important when considering the integrity of the building in relation to its historic function and associations.

For a building to be listed for individual significance in architecture under Criteria C the property must have an "Excellent" integrity rating based on the following criteria.

- The majority of the building's openings on the primary façade should be unaltered or altered in a sensitive and appropriate manner, using similar materials, profiles, and sizes as the original building elements.
- The exterior brick masonry or original wall cladding should remain intact and exposed.
- Significant character-defining decorative elements should be intact.
- Design elements intrinsic to the building's style and plan should be intact.
- The overall feeling or character of the building for the time period it was erected should be intact.

For a building to be listed for individual significance under Criterion A, it must achieve an "Excellent" integrity rating as described above or a "Good" integrity rating based on exceeding the criteria listed below. To be listed as a contributing element to a district under Criterion C, a property must have at least a "Fair" integrity rating by minimally meeting the criteria below. Properties receiving a "Fair to Good" integrity rating typically have some alteration of original building fenestration using replacement elements composed of new materials and profiles that do not cause irreversible damage to the original fenestration openings.

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

Historic Commercial/Industrial Buildings that reflect a serious loss of integrity have "Poor" integrity ratings and are not eligible for listing in the National Register if

- the majority of the building's openings were altered in an irreversible manner using different materials, profiles, and sizes than the original;
- the exterior wall material has been altered, covered, or is missing on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations;
- non-historic cladding has been added on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations unless there is sufficient indication upon visual inspection that, if removed, enough of the original wall materials remain to restore the original appearance;
- exterior alterations are irreversible or would be extremely difficult, costly, and possibly damaging to the building to reverse; and
- non-historic additions do not respect the materials, scale, or architectural character of the original building design.

In addition to the above requirements, each sub-type must be evaluated individually to ensure that the physical characteristics that contribute to the historic context are sufficiently intact to merit listing in the National Register and that no building is rejected inappropriately.

COMMERCIAL/INDUSTRIAL BUILDING FUNCTIONAL PROPERTY TYPE SUB-TYPES

1A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: ONE-PART COMMERCIAL BLOCK GENERAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

This basic One-Part Commercial Block building form is one story in height and generally housed a single business. Simple architectural styling emphasizes the storefront window glazing. Other stylistic applications included date stones or panels near the roofline and glazed brick laid in decorative patterns. Those found in South St. Louis are of brick construction and appear along major arterial streets as well as along commercial streets within residential neighborhoods.

Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important building for sales and services commercial buildings found along commercial enclaves in streetcar suburbs.

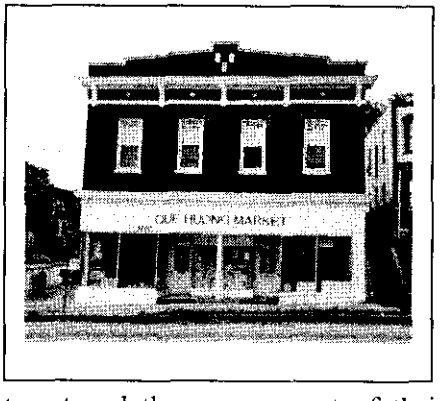
Registration Requirements

In addition to those specified for the general property type, because of the small size and simple design, the retention of a high percentage of the character-defining elements of the cornice, sign frieze, window system, entrance, and storefront footprint is required. New glazing and entrance door replacement are not considered significant alterations

2A NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: TWO-PART COMMERCIAL BLOCK GENERAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

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



Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important building for sales and services commercial buildings found along commercial enclaves in streetcar suburbs. The One-Part and Two-Part Commercial Block buildings represent the form and plan of sales and services buildings found in late nineteenth and early twentieth century streetcar neighborhoods and are the dominant commercial sub-types. They can be further classified by their architectural treatment and the arrangement of their storefronts.

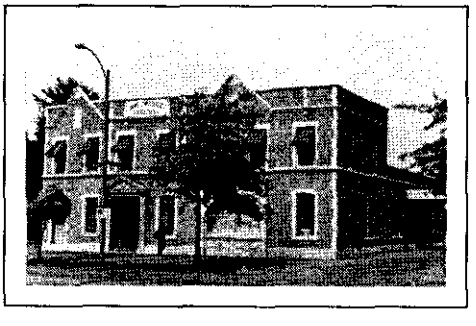
Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type.

3A NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: ARTISTIC FRONT COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

These brick retail sales and services buildings appear in both One-Part and Two-Part Commercial Block forms and feature stores and offices integrated by one design concept. At times, the group of storefronts reflects a particular quality of craftsmanship that set it apart from its neighbors; at other times the buildings' motifs, surface treatments, and patterns reflect a popular architectural style. Most occur at intersections, sometimes extending the design to adjacent residential buildings. A decorative motif unifies and subsumes the individual storefront units. Much of this kind of commercial development compliments the residential scale of the neighborhood, with buildings usually two to three stories in height. As a result, the stores appeared to be part of the neighborhood design and the shopping area looked and functioned in a manner similar to a village.



Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important building for sales and services commercial buildings found along commercial enclaves in streetcar suburbs. This suburban commercial sub-type reflects the integration of neighborhood commercial buildings with the residential neighborhoods that formed early streetcar suburbs and were an important design approach to these early first-tier suburbs.

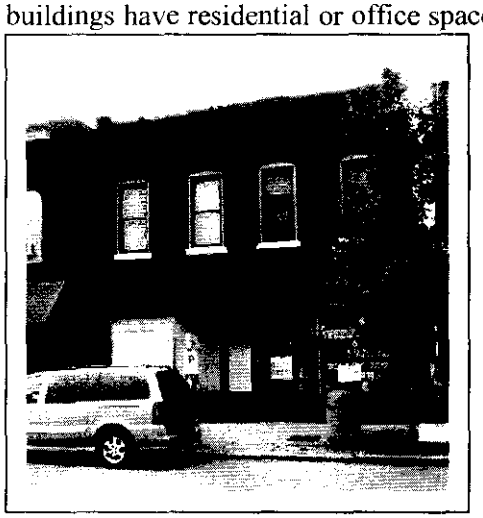
Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type.

4A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: BROAD FRONT COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

This storefront design features display windows set in a double-wide storefront with a single central entrance area. It occurs in both the One-Part and Two-Part Commercial Block forms. The two-story buildings have residential or office space on the second floor and the façade often features an entrance to the stair hall that provides access to the second floor.



Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important building for sales and services commercial buildings found along commercial enclaves in streetcar suburbs.

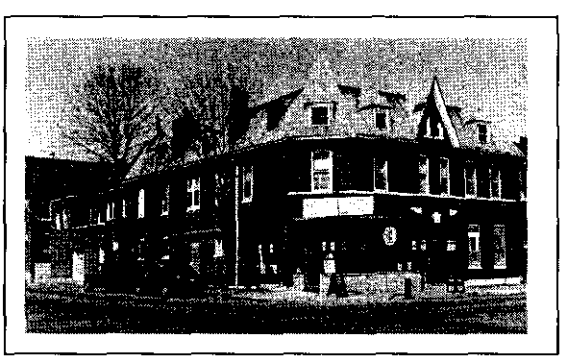
Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type.

5A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: CORNER ENTRANCE COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

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



Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important example of the variety of storefront designs found along commercial enclaves in streetcar suburbs.

Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type.

6A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: SINGLE ENTRANCE WITH DISPLAY WINDOWS COMMERCIAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

These brick sales and services commercial buildings appear as One-Part and Two-Part Commercial Block Buildings and feature a single entrance with display windows. The façade of the two-story versions also incorporates an entrance to the stair hall that provides access to the second floor. These are usually simple narrow buildings and the sales area was restricted to one store.

Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important building for sales and services commercial buildings found along commercial enclaves in streetcar suburbs.

Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type.

7A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: MULTIPLE ENTRANCE COMMERCIAL BUILDING PROPERTY TYPE

Description

This storefront design features display windows set in a double-wide storefront with multiple stores on the ground level and residential or office space above. Separate entrances provide access to each shop and the second floor spaces.

Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important building for sales and services commercial buildings found along commercial enclaves in streetcar suburbs.

Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type.

8A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: AUTO-RELATED COMMERCIAL BUILDING PROPERTY TYPE

Description

Automobile-related buildings first appeared in the early twentieth century to meet the growing needs of automobile and truck owners. Those identified with physical and functional associations with streetcar neighborhoods include gas service stations and service facilities. The function of gas service stations (providing fuel, routine service, and repairs) determined the design. One or more drive-through garage bays with a building incorporating a small office and restroom facilities at one end dominated these functionally designed buildings. Styling ranged from picturesque to the utilitarian. Closely associated with the service station are the auto specialty store and repair buildings. These included small shops that incorporated one to two service bays as well as larger facilities that offered ten or more service bays within a large open space. These buildings had small office areas at the front and the façade incorporated a pedestrian entrance to the front office area as well as vehicular bays large enough to accommodate delivery trucks. Secondary elevations featured large windows to provide natural light and ventilation to the work areas. Because of the concern for fireproof structures, the earliest of these buildings were of brick construction. Later, cast-in-place concrete was used for foundations and floors. Other fireproof materials included glazed and unglazed fire tiles for interior walls.

Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this sub-type is an important commercial sub-type that demonstrates the evolution of streetcar neighborhoods during a period of change in transportation technology. Their appearance in the streetcar neighborhood during a time of high use by the residents of the streetcar system coincides with the appearance of garages on alleys behind the residential buildings. Use of the automobile by the working- and middle-class residents of streetcar suburbs did not occur until after World War I. Buildings used for repair of automobiles and trucks replaced or incorporated buildings previously used as livery stables and carriage manufacturing facilities. This property sub-type provides valuable information about the evolution of streetcar suburbs in the early twentieth century, in particular the continuing role of the streetcar as a popular form of mass transit despite the affordability of the automobile by the 1920s.

Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type. Of particular importance is the retention of functional architectural characteristics relating to their specific role with regard to servicing the automobile.

9A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: FUNERARY BUILDING COMMERCIAL BUILDING PROPERTY TYPE

Description

A significant number of commercial buildings that function as funeral parlors are along major collector and arterial streets. These one- and two-story brick buildings depart from the commercial orientation of a narrow primary façade, often presenting a wide horizontal façade to the street. These highly styled buildings mimic the artistic front retail buildings in their level of stylistic features and ornamentation. Many are executed in popular revival styles of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, often combining different revival idioms. The earliest are dark brick, while those dating to the first decades of the twentieth century feature light-colored brick. The public entrance on the primary façade is highly articulated. Windows on the ground floor reflect those of institutional or residential properties and feature opaque and colored art glass, discreetly limiting visibility into the interior. On the commercial streetscape, these buildings stand out from the formulaic One-Part and Two-Part Commercial Block retail buildings. They feature side and rear entrances onto surface parking areas and often provided a drive-through lane along the side of the

building. Some are set back from the sidewalk. The first floor typically provided public spaces, including an entrance lobby, auditorium space for memorial services, and small private visitation rooms. The basement housed functional areas for receiving bodies and preparing for viewing, burial, and/or cremation.

Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this functional commercial property sub-type is an important example of the variety of commercial facilities that supported and enhanced suburban domestic life

Registration Requirements

Because of the variety of architectural treatments and size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type.

10A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: FACTORY AND WAREHOUSE BUILDING INDUSTRIAL PROPERTY TYPE

Description

Warehouses and light manufacturing buildings associated with the commercial corridors adjacent to working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods date to the earliest period of residential development of South St. Louis in the late nineteenth century. They are brick buildings that are one to three stories in height and feature a symmetrical façade with multiple windows to provide natural light and ventilation. They are of utilitarian design, featuring minimal ornamentation restricted to a brickwork cornice and window lintels. They also feature limestone foundations. They vary in size from the small livery and blacksmith shops to the large factory buildings that occupy whole blocks. The larger of these buildings feature a primary façade with an entrance into administrative offices and secondary elevations with loading docks facing streets and alleys.

Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, industrial buildings are an important component in the evolution of South St. Louis' streetcar suburbs. As streetcar lines expanded, most manufacturing facilities moved into industrial areas closer to rail lines and the Mississippi River. The extant factories and warehouse buildings date from the period when residential neighborhoods were emerging along the streetcar lines first used to bring workers from the urban core to the outlying industrial areas.

Registration Requirements

Because of the variety in size, the integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type. Because the design and stylistic treatment of these buildings is very restrained, the retention of original materials and functional architectural features is very important.

IV. PROPERTY TYPE: Cultural and Recreational Functional Property Type

SUB-TYPES

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES
RECREATIONAL RESOURCES
RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS
SOCIAL HALLS

IV. Description

One of the important components of suburban development patterns found in streetcar suburbs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century established by the National Park Service are nonresidential resources that supported and enhanced suburban domestic life, including schools, churches, community buildings, parks and playgrounds, and private social halls.

This property type includes buildings and landscape features designed and constructed specifically to meet cultural and recreational needs of the residents of the surrounding neighborhoods. The buildings erected for these purposes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are designed to accommodate large groups. Most are found along major arterial and collector streets bounding residential

neighborhoods and often do not conform in size, scale, or massing to the buildings found within the adjacent streetcar neighborhood. The traditional building material during the nineteenth and early twentieth century was dark red brick and, during the early to mid-twentieth century, buff brick appears on some buildings erected during this time. Those of substantial size and executed in a particular popular style appear to be the work of architects, as do many that reference these styles in their materials and ornamentation. Their function determines their design and they appear in distinct sub-types as referenced above. They share the following common characteristics.

- Brick walls
- Located roughly within South St. Louis in an area bounded by Lafayette Avenue on the north, South Broadway Street on the east, Bates Street on the south, and South Grand Boulevard on the West
- Constructed primarily between the years c.1880 and c.1940
- Retain sufficient architectural integrity and historic characteristics to enable identification with the property type, including primary façade appearance and preferably, although not necessarily, the basic configurations of the original plan delineating public and private spaces or historic alterations thereof

This property type also includes cultural landscapes that include parks and recreational facilities. They include historic designed landscapes and historic vernacular landscapes. Those parks that house recreational resources can be divided into component landscapes. The historic designed landscapes include open space created specifically by the City of St. Louis in the first subdivision of land. Over the years, the City of St. Louis created consciously designed landscapes in these parks. The area also includes parkland consisting of historic open spaces, once privately owned, that have geographic boundaries determined by historic land uses and that incorporate and retain natural landscape features. These properties includes specific features that contribute to their significance and retain historic character through the sum of all visual aspects, features, materials, and spaces associated with the cultural landscapes history (i.e., the original configuration together with losses and later changes).

IV. Significance

These non-residential properties have direct associations with the evolution of streetcar neighborhoods in first-tier suburban areas and share a common period of historic significance and often relate to the residential neighborhoods by design plan and/or use of common materials and design motifs. Cultural and Recreational Functional Property Types found in South St. Louis within and adjacent to streetcar neighborhoods are significant for their associations with the historic contexts identified and documented

in Section E. They impart information about the patterns of development of first tier streetcar suburbs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, they reflect the variety of types of non-residential supporting resources erected for middle-class and working-class families in early suburban neighborhoods. These buildings have associations with significant urban development patterns relating to the emigration of the working and middle classes to suburban neighborhoods stimulated by the tremendous growth of urban centers and the concurrent advent of fixed-rail streetcar systems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They also have associations with the contexts developed by the National Park Service relating to streetcar neighborhoods as documented in the MPDF theme "Suburban Development in the United States: 1850-1945."

This property type has significance primarily in the area of ARCHITECTURE, LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE, COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, and ENTERTAINMENT/RECREATION. Another area that specific buildings or groups of buildings may demonstrate significance in is ETHNIC HERITAGE AND SOCIAL HISTORY.

The Cultural and Recreational Functional Property Type resource may be listed under National Register Criteria A and C. The significance of this property type is for its contribution to the history of St. Louis, Missouri and includes, but is not limited to, the following:

A-1 Cultural and recreational resources that illustrate the initial and subsequent evolution of the working- and middle-class streetcar neighborhoods in South St. Louis in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A-2 Cultural and recreational resources that, through historic events and associations, are part of and have direct associations with the cohesive assemblage consisting of groups of contiguous residential subdivisions that are historically interrelated by design, planning, and/or historic associations.

A-3 Cultural and recreational resources that are part of neighborhoods that developed along streetcar lines or major thoroughfares that illustrate the patterns of development of the city.

A-4 Cultural and recreational resources that reflect trends in the stratifications or segregation and/or integration of religious, racial, economic, and other social groups.

C-1 Cultural and recreational resources that introduced or illustrate technological changes in the design and materials associated with the period of development.

C-3 Cultural and recreational resources that illustrate the variety of architectural and cultural landscape types associated with the development of streetcar neighborhoods.

C-4 Cultural and recreational resources whose size and stylistic treatment reflects definite periods in the development of the property type.

C-5 Cultural and recreational resources that illustrate expressions of architectural styles and vernacular adaptations thereof that are either rare, notable, or influential to the aesthetic development of the city's architecture.

C-6 Cultural and recreational resources that are the work of skilled architects, builders, developers, landscape architects, engineers, master gardeners, and/or horticulturalists, particularly those noted for their work associations with cultural and recreational properties.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, the character-defining elements and qualities associated with the property type must be sufficiently illustrated and the degree of integrity required must be sufficient to support the significance of the resource's specific contribution to one or more historic contexts identified in Section E. Aspects of integrity to be considered include location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, associations with established historic contexts, and ability to convey feelings relating to its associative and/or information value.

Generally, this requires that buildings and objects retain the architectural composition, ornamental details, and materials of their original primary exterior elevation(s). Alterations such as the loss or removal of minor ornamental detailing and/or the replacement of door and window units (while retaining the original openings) are acceptable when this infill can be removed without damaging or altering the original opening and framing elements. Because the exterior materials are important character-defining elements, the use of non-original wall covering impacts the integrity of the buildings. The use of synthetic stone or stucco, which is irreversible, when coupled with other integrity losses should not exceed impacting 20 percent of the façades viewed from public right-of-way. The use of non-historic siding that can be removed impacts the historical integrity unless it can be ascertained through visual examination that the

majority of the original character-defining elements are intact beneath. Additions and changes that are historic alterations and that retain sufficient integrity from their period of construction have gained significance in their own right.

Interior changes, including the loss of ornamental detailing and trim, specific architectural elements, and even the wholesale rearrangement of floor plans may not be significant to the building's perceived contribution to certain historic contexts if the defining exterior design elements, location, setting, siting, or contribution to the streetscape remain intact. Buildings that are identified for their contribution to the understanding of interior spatial arrangements should retain significant defining architectural features. Nevertheless, the retention of historic public and private spaces in certain sub-types such as religious buildings and social halls is important in consideration of the integrity of the building in relation to its historic function and associations.

For a building to be listed for individual significance in architecture under Criterion C, a property must have an "Excellent" integrity rating based on the following criteria.

- The majority of the building's openings on the primary façade should be unaltered or altered in a sensitive and appropriate manner, using similar materials, profiles, and sizes as the original building elements.
- The exterior brick masonry or original wall cladding should remain intact and exposed.
- Significant character-defining decorative elements should be intact.
- Design elements intrinsic to the building's style and plan should be intact.
- The overall feeling or character of the building for the time period in which it was erected should be intact.

For a building to be listed for its individual significance under Criterion A, it must achieve an "Excellent" integrity rating as described above or a "Good" integrity rating based on exceeding the criteria listed below. To be listed as a contributing element to a district under Criterion C, a property must have at least a "Fair" integrity rating by minimally meeting the criteria below.

- The building should retain significant portions of the original exterior materials, in particular on the primary façade.
- Significant character-defining elements should remain intact.
- Alterations to the building should be reversible and the historic character of the property could be easily restored.

- Additions are confined to the rear elevation and should be executed in an appropriate manner, respecting the materials, scale, and character of the original building design and, if removed, the essential form of the building remains intact.
- Change or lack of maintenance should only slightly weaken the historic feeling or character of the building.

Buildings that reflect a serious loss of integrity have "Poor" integrity ratings and are not eligible for listing in the National Register if

- the majority of the building's openings were altered in an irreversible manner using different materials, profiles, and sizes than the original;
- the exterior wall material has been altered, covered, or is missing on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations;
- non-historic cladding has been added on the primary façade and on major portions of secondary elevations unless there is sufficient indication upon visual inspection that, if removed, enough of the original brick walls remains to restore the original appearance;
- exterior alterations are irreversible or would be extremely difficult, costly, and possibly damaging to the building to reverse; and
- non-historic additions do not respect the materials, scale, or architectural character of the original building design.

Generally, cultural landscapes must retain all prominent or distinctive visual aspects that contribute to their historic character, including spaces, land-use patterns, vegetation, furnishings, decorative details and materials, features, and original configuration. In evaluating losses and later changes, the integrity assessment should be based on the authenticity of the cultural landscapes historic identity, evinced by the survival of a high percentage of the physical characteristics that existed during the property's historic period of significance.

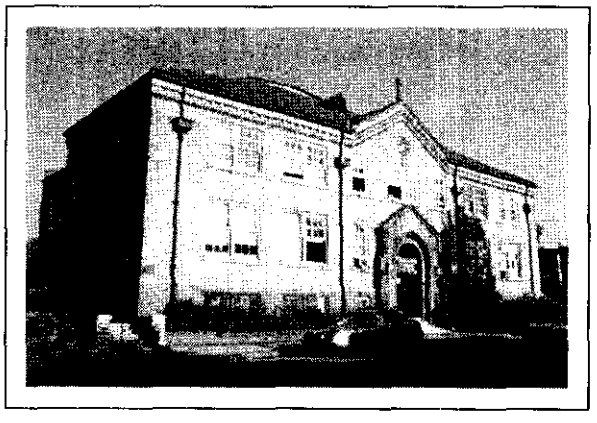
In addition to the above requirements, each sub-type must be evaluated individually to ensure that the physical characteristics that contribute to the historic context are sufficiently intact to merit listing in the National Register and that no resource is rejected inappropriately.

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FUNCTIONAL PROPERTY SUB-TYPES

1A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Description

Located along major collector and arterial streets are public and private school buildings. These large two- and three-story brick buildings have a horizontal orientation to the street and are surrounded by open space. They are architect-designed buildings exhibiting a high degree of stylistic features and ornamentation. Many are executed in popular revival styles of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, often combining different revival idioms. While the earliest are dark brick, those dating to the first decades of the twentieth century feature light-colored brick. The public entrance in the primary façade is highly articulated. The elevations usually feature a symmetrical arrangement of large double-hung sash windows that provide natural light and ventilation to the classrooms. These buildings feature side and rear entrances. Some are individual buildings and others form a complex of buildings.



Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this property sub-type is an important example of the variety of private and public school buildings that supported and enhanced suburban domestic life.

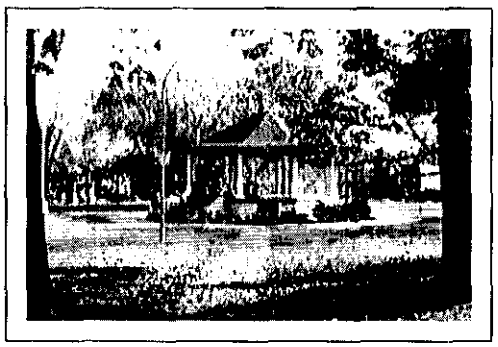
Registration Requirements

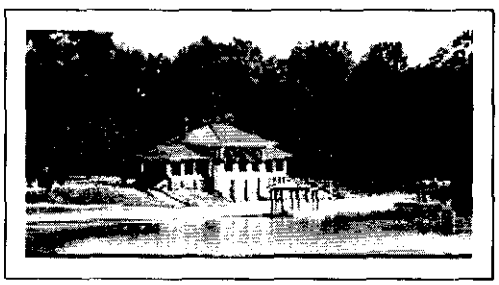
The integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this sub-type. Because the size and design of the windows are an important functional design element, they should retain their original openings and replacement window units should match the original. Public interior spaces of educational buildings should be included in the assessment of the overall integrity of the building.

2A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: RECREATIONAL RESOURCES

Description

Recreational resources include parks laid out within the early city street grid and landscaped grounds; lakes and water features; objects and structures such as monuments and sculpture; bandstands and recreational buildings (i.e., bath houses and swimming pools); playgrounds; design features such as pathways, hedges, and planting beds; and furnishings such as benches, streetlights, and fountains. In size, they range from one-square block to over one thousand acres





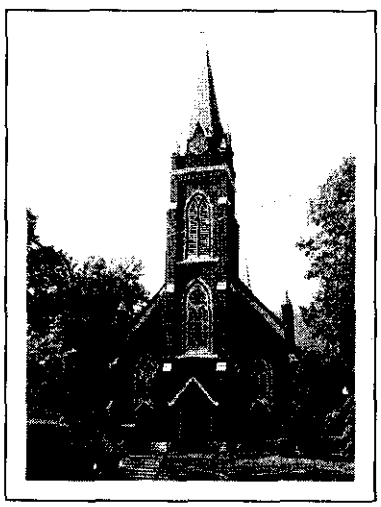
Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this property sub-type is an important example of the variety of designed and of vernacular cultural landscapes and recreational facilities that supported and enhanced suburban domestic life of the working and middle classes in South St. Louis.

Registration Requirements

The integrity thresholds established for the general property type as it applies to cultural landscapes and the buildings, structures, and objects apply to this sub-type.

3A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS



Description

Religious buildings erected in the streetcar suburbs reflect both local architectural traditions and popular high style architecture. The most common architectural treatments of church buildings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in South St. Louis were the Gothic Revival and the Romanesque Revival styles. Those located along major corridors were large complexes noted for their grand scale and massing that often included the church, parsonage, convent, and/or school buildings. Within the residential neighborhoods, usually located on prominent corners, smaller church buildings featured restrained or more picturesque versions

residential neighborhoods, usually located on prominent corners, smaller church buildings featured restrained or more picturesque versions of popular ecclesiastic architectural styles. All church buildings featured the traditional Euro-American interior spaces associated with each particular denomination.

Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, this property sub-type is an important example of the variety of academic and vernacular architectural styles used for religious buildings associated with streetcar suburb development in South St. Louis. In addition to their architectural significance, they also reflect the diverse ethnicity and the evolution of the ethnic composition of South St. Louis streetcar neighborhoods.

Registration Requirements

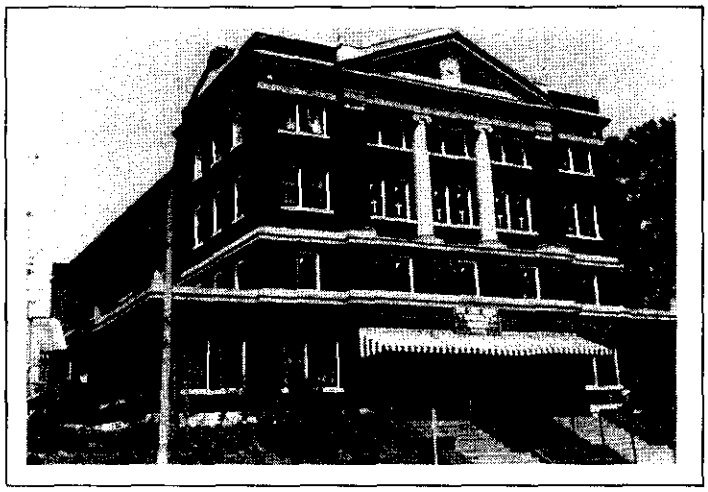
The integrity thresholds established for the general property type apply to this property sub-type. The interior public spaces of the church building, in particular the sanctuary, must substantially reflect its appearance during its period of significance for its associations with the evolution of streetcar neighborhoods in the adjacent area. Modifications to the alter area as a result of Vatican II are acceptable if the remainder of the sanctuary retains a high level of historical integrity from its period of significance. Public interior spaces of buildings associated with a religious complex should be included in the assessment of the overall integrity of the resources. Public interior spaces of educational buildings associated with a religious complex should be included in the assessment of the overall integrity of the building.

3A. NAME OF PROPERTY SUB-TYPE: SOCIAL HALLS

Description:

Erected to house private social club activities, including meetings, physical fitness, and political activities, social halls were usually two- to four-story brick buildings that reflected popular architectural styles. They often featured club rooms on the upper floors, and an

auditorium and/or gymnasium on the main floor. Some featured commercial storefronts on the main floor and relegated the gymnasium to the basement level.



Significance

In addition to the significance documented for the general property type, social clubs associated with suburban streetcar neighborhoods were an important component of the late nineteenth century culture of South St. Louis. These buildings, erected by private associations, housed a variety of ethnic, social, professional, political, and cultural functions, including benevolent associations and craft unions. A large number of these were German-American Turnverein buildings erected to house gymnastic clubs that emphasized bodybuilding, fellowship, and political activities. As such, this property sub-type is important for its associations with working-class and ethnic groups.

Registration Requirements

The integrity thresholds established for the general property type applies to this property sub-type. Public interior spaces should be included in the assessment of the overall integrity of the building.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

This Multiple Property Documentation Form addresses approximately seven thousand primary and secondary buildings, sites, and structures constructed between circa 1880 and 1940 in St. Louis, Missouri, in an area roughly bounded by Lafayette Avenue on the north, South Broadway on the east, Bates Street on the south, and South Grand Boulevard on the west.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)

The Multiple Property Documentation Form "South St. Louis Historic Working- and Middle-Class Streetcar Suburbs" is based on information resulting from a cultural resource survey of approximately seven thousand primary and secondary buildings, sites, and structures initiated in 2001 by the City of St. Louis Planning and Urban Design Agency Cultural Resources Offices. Historic Preservation Services, LLC (HPS) preservation consultant Sally F. Schwenk, assisted by Cathy Ambler, Ph.D.; Kerry Davis, architectural historian, and Anne Schwenk, database manager, conducted survey activities from August 2002 through August 2003. This work was part of the initial phase of developing a Multiple Property Submission based on previous evaluations of the area for the presence of significant historic resources and focused on the area with the largest intact number of resources reflecting the period from 1880 to 1940. Under a 1995 Programmatic Agreement, the City of St. Louis assessed neighborhoods in the survey area numerous times under Section 106 review as a result of possible housing development proposals or demolition proposals utilizing federal Community Development Block Grant and/or HOME funds. The area was also surveyed extensively during the preparation of the city's 1995 Preservation Plan ("Volume One, Section Two, St. Louis Property Types"). In 1998-1999, the city conducted a citizen-based architectural survey of the area. Under the supervision of Kathleen Shea, Director, and Jan Cameron, Preservation Administrator, of the Cultural Resources Office of the St. Louis Planning and Urban Design Agency of the City of St. Louis, student interns and city staff photographed each building and completed a systematic (street-by-street) and intensive (building-by-building) inspection of all major resources within the survey area boundaries. This process identified more of the property types identified in the 1995 Preservation Plan than had been expected given the current accelerated rate of disinvestment in the area. As a result of meetings with the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) staff, the Cultural Resources Office of the City of St. Louis sought a Historic Preservation Fund grant to supplement the limited city funding and to provide an opportunity for the SHPO to monitor the survey process and comment on and assist in the development of the final survey report and management recommendations to ensure that the eventual Multiple Property Submission (MPS) would benefit from regular consultation with the SHPO.

FIELD INVESTIGATION

Based on the work previously completed under the direction of the city, HPS conducted a field investigation that included a systematic, building-by-building assessment of historic/architectural integrity and address verification in the area that had the largest intact concentration of resources. This survey area is roughly bounded by the intersection of Gravois Avenue and South Jefferson Avenue on the north, South Jefferson Avenue and South Broadway Street on the east, Meramec Street on the south, and Gravois Avenue and South Grand Boulevard on the west. The knowledge gained during the field investigation of these buildings and the review of historic and contemporary photographs contributed to the identification of integrity issues and the development of registration requirements.

At this time, Dr. Cathy Ambler simultaneously conducted a literature search and archival research to compile existing data on the history and architecture of the City of St. Louis and the general survey area and to identify historic contexts.

The information obtained from HPS' field investigation and research at local repositories provided sufficient information relating to historic contexts, property types, and integrity to suggest that a high percentage of the buildings could be nominated to the National Register of Historic Places as part of a Multiple Property Submission.

RESEARCH

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

The city's microfilm collection of building permits provided documentation on the dates of construction of approximately twenty-five hundred properties in the survey area, as well as information about builders/developers/architects and the building's original function. Where exact dates of construction could not be substantiated by building permits, Camille N. Dry's *Pictorial St. Louis, the Great Metropolis of the Mississippi Valley: A Topographical Survey Drawn in Perspective, A.D. 1875* provided valuable information for the earliest period of streetcar development in South St. Louis. The earliest Sanborn Fire

Insurance Maps of the area date to 1903 and, when compared with successive maps, provided important base information on periods of construction. During the field investigation, HPS staff noted all modern buildings that appeared to date from the post-World War II period. If a building permit or Sanborn Map indicated that one of these buildings replaced an earlier building, HPS staff corrected the database entry to reflect this infill construction. After receipt of all photographs, HPS staff reviewed all properties for which a date of construction had not been determined and assigned a circa date based on the architectural characteristics of the buildings as compared to similar buildings in the immediate vicinity that had building permits documenting their dates of construction.

City block books in the Assessor's Office at City Hall document the subdivisions that are on each block and have been updated through the 1980s. Other city subdivision maps from 1881 and circa 1906 provided information for analysis. The Wayman Maps, developed by Norbert Wayman in the 1960s, include four maps of the St. Louis city limits that show subdivision boundaries and their names and dates. The information on the Wayman maps, however, did not always coincide with either the block maps or the city subdivision maps. Dr. Ambler compared these maps to the index of subdivision names in the City Recorder's Office. This repository had both a block number index and a name index. Unfortunately, these did not always coincide. In deciding which resource to use, Dr. Ambler relied on the city block books and the listed subdivisions since they seemed to have the most current information. There were times, however, when Dr. Ambler used the Wayman Maps because they showed subdivision boundaries that were not clear in the block books. Dr. Ambler noted these decisions in the database of blocks she prepared. This information resulted in the development of a map showing the dates of subdivisions in the survey area. Although this information was valuable in understanding the history of the area, the scattered platting over a long period of time indicated no sequential pattern of development, as land was often platted and then stood vacant for decades.

DATA COMPILATION AND ANALYSIS

Historic Preservation Services staff utilized the "Missouri Historic Property Inventory Form Instructions" to create an Access 2002 database to document the surveyed properties in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines of Evaluation and Identification. The database provided the foundation for HPS to document and analyze patterns of development and the evolution of functional and architectural property types. This database provided an individual survey form for each property within the survey area based on the "Missouri Historic Property Inventory Form Instructions" developed by the Missouri Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Program and adapted to the parameters of the scope of work. The City of St. Louis provided previous field survey data to HPS, who then added

information from their field investigation and archival and records research. The database fields record each building's physical features (e.g., description, plan, height, materials, style, etc.); historical information (e.g., date of construction, original use, etc.); and notations relating to information sources.

This data allowed the preparation of maps using the city's GIS system, which assisted in the analysis of patterns of development, including dates of subdivision development, periods of construction, and functional property types based on original use and levels of historic/architectural integrity. This was particularly important for such a large survey area with such a high degree of architectural integrity. Just as important, the maps contributed to an understanding of primary and secondary source material relating to the development of South St. Louis. Out of this came an understanding of even subtle differences among streetcar neighborhoods within what appears to be a contiguous cohesive area.

DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

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

A Preservation Plan for St. Louis and the chronological contexts established in *Where We Live: A Guide to St. Louis Communities* formed the basis for analysis, development, and discussion of historic contexts and associated property types. The city's Preservation Plan identified a number of contexts applicable to the survey area, which were helpful in evaluating the properties. In certain instances, the chronological development of architectural and neighborhood development contexts did not follow the dates of the broader thematic and chronological eras established in these academic works. In such instances, the contexts were discussed within the earliest general chronological era and elaborated upon as a preface to the ensuing era. Also important in understanding the evolution and chronological contexts of the neighborhood and potential areas of significance was The *National Register Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places*. The National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form "Apartment Buildings in Washington, D.C. 1880-1945," prepared by Emily Hotaling Eig and Laura Harris Hughes of the Traceries firm in Chevy Chase, Maryland, assisted in developing a historic context and registration requirements for the multi-family residences of the working and middle classes. Information specific to the South St.

Louis neighborhoods in the study area provided by Eric Sandweiss' *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape* was invaluable in analysis of demographic patterns of specific neighborhoods, as was Audrey L. Olson's research on St. Louis German immigrants.

Five historic contexts emerged that conform to major themes that occurred within the period of significance of the South St. Louis Working- and Middle-Class Streetcar Suburbs.

- Suburban Development in the United States: 1850-1945
- St. Louis' Early Urban Landscape and the Horse-Drawn Streetcar: 1803-1880
- The Spreading Metropolis: 1880-1930
- South St. Louis Working- and Middle-Class Suburban Neighborhoods: 1880-1940
- Architectural Patterns of South St. Louis Streetcar Suburbs: 1880-1940

This Multiple Property Documentation Form and the accompanying National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for the "Gravois-Jefferson Streetcar Suburb Historic District" is the beginning of a phased approach initiated by the City of St. Louis, Missouri to assist owners of properties that have direct associations with the contexts and property types established in this submission in nominating these properties to the National Register of Historic Places.

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