Historic Jefferson City

A HISTORIC CONTEXT

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Statement of Context

The Jefferson City Historic Context expresses the National Register of Historic Places Community Development and Planning theme, Social History theme, and Ethnic Heritage Black theme. Social history, especially the interplay of German and Irish immigrants and the westward movement of Southern and border-state internal migration, is explored to examine Jefferson City's historic and current built environment.

Research on historically excluded communities was conducted. The historic LGBTQ community was researched, but little was discovered. This does not mean the LGBTQ community did not exist, but rather that it is not readily apparent in documents pertaining to Jefferson City.[1] Information about the LGBTQ community at Lincoln University is even more scarce and deserves further research.

Themes

The historic context's themes are factors that affected Jefferson City's development and its built environment. These include community development, social history, transportation, immigration, state government, governmental actions, industry, and African American history. All of these themes and their effects on the built environment are analyzed to ascertain how and why Jefferson City's built environment has evolved to the present day in its current form. Considerable professional research has been done about the history of Jefferson City up to the 1950s. This context attempts to fill some of the gaps, specifically how the interaction between local, state, and federal policies affected Jefferson City. It also attempts to elaborate on the political atmosphere as it relates to Jefferson City's growth. Jefferson City is in the unique position that its main industry is state government. As it has been pointed before, the interactions between Jefferson City, its leadership, and state government are unique and have shaped the city since its founding.

Geographic Parameters

The historic context's parameters are Jefferson City's present city limits. In some cases, factors that affected the city but were beyond the city limits at the time are examined, such as (for the 1950s–1970s) road, water, and sewer standards, and suburban pushback to annexation.

[1] Research was conducted at the State Historical Society of Missouri. The St. Louis Lesbian and Gay News Telegraph from the 1980s provided the most information, which was limited to Unitarian Church services in Jefferson City and personal advertisements from inmates at the Missouri State Penitentiary. While certainly not indicative of all attitudes in Jefferson City or the State of Missouri, a recent LGBTQ history exhibit was moved from the State Capital, an action approved by many legislators (Associated Press, "Emails Reveal Conflict Over Missouri LGBTQ History Exhibit," September 14, 2021, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-09-14/emails-reveal-conflict-over-missouri-lgbtq-history-exhibit, accessed July 20, 2022).

Figure 1. Major streams and rivers (in light blue): 1. Wears Creek, 2. Boggs Creek, 3. Moreau River, 4. Missouri River (MidMoGIS)

Temporal Limits

The historic context's time frame begins in 1821, when the city was chosen to be the capitol. The end date is in the mid-1970s. By this time, urban renewal had been largely completed, the city's westward expansion established, and suburban growth solidified. All of these factors evolved over many decades and affected the pattern of Jefferson City's growth. A short section on contemporary architecture is included to highlight recent buildings.

Map Notes

Jefferson City was not platted on true north. Unless there is a north arrow, the direction north on the map is up but is off to the west.

Spelling and Neighborhoods

This document uses the most recent names for neighborhoods and geographical features. However, it should be noted that the names of neighborhoods, and geographical features to a lesser extent, are usually in flux, and Jefferson City is no exception.

For instance, in 1947, *The Sunday News and Tribune* noted that spellings for Wears Creek included Wier's, Wares, Wears, and Weirs. All of these names were also on various property deeds, further confusing the matter.[2] The 1848-49 Jefferson City map does name the creek.

Neighborhoods are equally problematic. Munichberg was the preferred spelling for one neighborhood during the first half of the twentieth century; Munichburg with a *u* is seldom seen

[2] "Wears, Wares, Wiers, Weir's Creek – What is your version?," *Sunday News and Tribune*, June 8, 1947, 9.

until after the first half of the twentieth century. The area appears to have generally been called the Southside.

Richmond Hill, at the corner of High Street and Bolivar, was allegedly originally Rich Man's Hill, named by the residents of Goose Bottom, later Millbottom, for the Virginia families that lived there.[3] Other neighborhood names have disappeared from use. Goat Hill, the Morris-Edmonds subdivision and current public housing project, was the site of dire poverty from the beginning of the twentieth century through the Great Depression. The Renn Addition on the east side figures prominently in early-twentieth-century newspaper accounts, then fades from view after the Great Depression. These are replaced by new subdivisions on the periphery and development along Missouri Boulevard.

Neighborhood names are usually subdivisions or plats unless they have been landmarked or achieved historic recognition for their names and boundaries. Neighborhoods often aggregate over time. For instance, in society pages, real estate advertisements and early mentions of neighborhoods are often based on the subdivisions. Today's Moreau Heights neighborhood is broken down in contemporary accounts into Fairmont Place, Vineyard Square and other subdivisions. To people at the time, these were distinct entities, and that is preserved in this document. Every attempt has been made to explain how these historic names match up to present-day realities.

Local Context

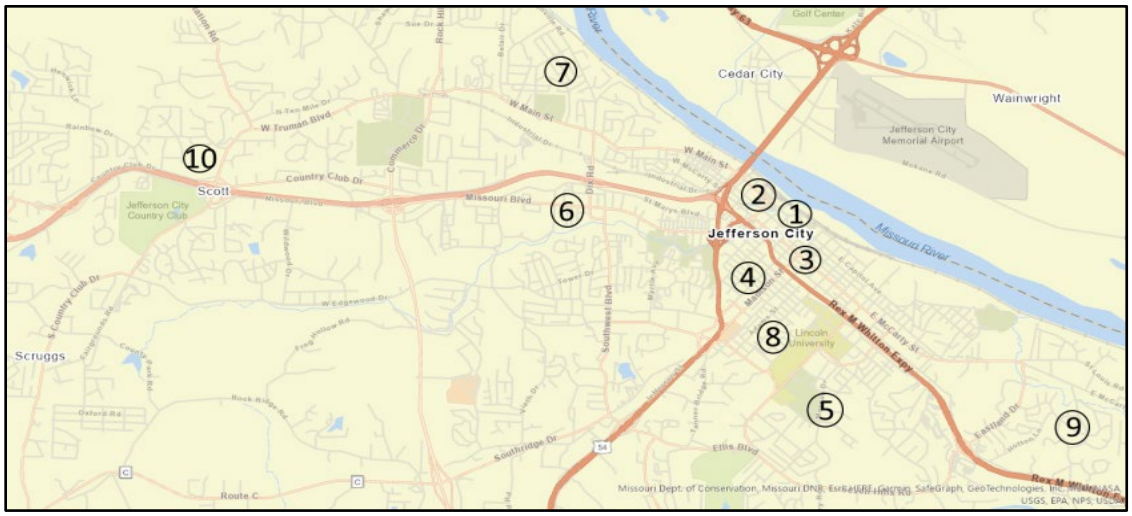

Figure 2. Map of Jefferson City with major points in the context: 1. Missouri State Capitol, 2. Millbottom, 3. East Capital neighborhood and Progress Project urban renewal, 4. Munichburg, 5. Moreau Heights and McClung Park, 6. Missouri Boulevard, 7. 1920s-1940s housing off West Main Street, 8. Roland Heights and the Campus View Urban Renewal Project, 9. Landwehr Heights, 10. Capital City Mall

[3] "Wears, Wares, Wiers, Weir's Creek."

Antebellum Jefferson City Community Development

In 1818, Missourians sent a statehood petition to Congress. It came out of committee in 1819, but not before Congressman James Tallmadge of New York added an amendment stipulating that "the further introducing of slavery or servitude be prohibited."[4] This upended an already tenuous process. Granting statehood to Missouri would upset the balance of free and slave states. White Missourians were generally outraged that the federal government would decide a question they felt could be resolved at the state level, beginning a long disillusionment with federal authorities.[5]

Figure 3. Antebellum sites: 1. Lohman's Landing, 2. East Capitol neighborhood, 3. Parson's House, 4. Missouri State Penitentiary, 5. Marmaduke/Warden's House, 6. Millbottom, 7. Old Munichburg

The 1820 Missouri Constitution stipulated that the state capital be located on the Missouri River within forty miles of the Osage River. A commission to decide on a site met in San Dessien in 1821. John Thornton of Howard County, Robert Gary Watson of New Madrid, James Logan

[4] Gary R. Kremer, *This Place of Promise: A Historian's Perspective on 200 Years of Missouri History* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2021), 56.
[5] Kremer, *This Place of Promise*, 58–59.

from Wayne County, and Jesse Boone from Montgomery County were the initial members. Jesse Boone died in May 1821 and was replaced by Daniel Morgan Boone.[6]

In 1821, the state legislature selected a site at the mouth of Wears Creek on the Missouri River for the new capital. At the time, the site was occupied by two families.[7] They were the families of Major Josiah Ramsey Jr. and William Jones.[8]

By 1822, it was named the City of Jefferson in honor of Thomas Jefferson, "whose treaty bound us to the Union," a reference the Louisiana Purchase.[9] While legend has it that Daniel Morgan Boone surveyed and platted Jefferson City, the earlier the reference the less he is mentioned. Press reports in the nineteenth century do not mention Boone surveying Jefferson City. In 1822, Major Elias Bancroft surveyed Jefferson City and subdivided it into lots.[10] One source states that Bancroft laid out the city under the supervision of the commission, of which Boone was a member, but his direct involvement in the survey, let alone platting the city, is not well supported.[11] Boone settled near Kansas City by 1830. Bancroft stayed in Jefferson City. In 1821–1822 he was a member of the state senate and from 1824–1833 he was Auditor of Public Accounts.[12] Bancroft is buried in State Cemetery in Jefferson City.[13] The location is slightly confusing. The Sanborn Fire Insurance map shows a State Cemetery at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Dunklin. Newspaper accounts reported that the State Cemetery is actually part of the original City Cemetery located at Chestnut and Miller, east of the Woodland Cemetery and National Cemetery.[14] It is a 20' by 50' plot in the middle of the Old City Cemetery.[15]

While two other sites were considered for the capital, Jefferson City was chosen because of competing title claims on the other sites. Almost immediately three well-known land speculators contested ownership of one, citing their purchase of the New Madrid land claim of Baptiste Deliste. This claim and subsequent settlement soured the legislature on other sites. The city was platted in the French system of city inlots for residences and outlots for agricultural purposes. The city was platted into "at one thousand lots," with each inlot measuring 104' 4.5" by 198' 9". The outlots were platted in increments of five, ten, twenty, and forty acres. Some fractional inlots

[6]Walter Williams, "History of the State House of Missouri." Originally in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, *DeKalb County Herald,* March 3, 1910, 9. (Jesse Boone appears to be Daniel M. Boone's cousin.)
[7] Williams, "History of the State House of Missouri."
[8] Untitled article, *Chariton Courier,* December 4, 1890, 4.
[9] David Eaton, *How Missouri Counties, Towns and Streams Were Named* (Columbia: State Historical Society of Missouri, 1916), 279.
[10] C.R. Barnes, ed., *Switzlers Illustrated History of Missouri* (St. Louis: C.R. Barnes, 1879), 279.
[11] L.U. Reavis, *St. Louis, Future Great City of the World* (St. Louis: C.R. Barnes, 1976), 206.
[12] "Missouri State News," *The Christian County Republican*, October 12, 1923, 2.
[13] "Distinguished Dead," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* April 6, 1883, 4.
[14] Michelle Brooks, *Lost Jefferson City* (Charleston: History Press, 2022), 83, states that the Woodland and Old City Cemetery headstones are oriented differently.
[15] "Monuments of Many Notable Persons Found in Old Cemetery Here," *Daily Capital News and Jefferson City Post Tribune,* August 14, 1932, 2.

were platted (Figure 4). Each lot was marked with six-inch-square by eighteen-inch stone blocks.[16]

Figure 4. The 1849 Jefferson City Plat map shows the urban inlots in the center and the larger outlots on the edges of the city. (Map: Vintage Cole County)

[16] *Schell v. City of Jefferson,* https://casetext.com/case/schell-v-city-of-jefferson/, accessed July 17, 2022.

The current Missouri State Penitentiary was the rough dividing line between the city and the outlots. Atchison Street on the southside was a boundary for inlot and outlots.[17] Eventually, over some decades during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the outlots would be replatted for residential use.

The capitol building construction started in 1823 and it opened in 1826. The sale of lots, which was supposed to finance building the capitol, brought in less than expected.[18] Governor Miller advocated for the streets, grading, and penitentiary, all in a bid to settle in people's minds that Jefferson City was the capital city.[19] The central business district was compact and consisted of a grist mill, a distillery, a general store, and the Rising Sun Hotel, populated by approximately thirty families.[20] The Rising Sun, operated by John Gordon, was located at the corner of Madison and Water Streets.[21] This area is now occupied by the Missouri governor's mansion. The hotel was named for its view of the sunrise over the Missouri River. All these buildings seem to be in close proximity to the Capitol. Major Alfred Bayse, an early settler, arrived in 1828 with thirty enslaved people. This enslaved group constructed Bayse's brick house at 420 East Capitol Street[22] and lived in a log cabin on the property. Bayse's father-in-law, Benjamin Robinsom, would later purchase the Rising Sun Hotel in 1846.[23] Major Bayse was against both liquor and cards and banned both from the hotel. While this might seem to be a questionable business decision in the 1840s, the hotel endured.[24]

Jefferson City's early settlers were a mix of people from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. Jefferson City and Cole County are at the southern edge of what is termed "Little Dixie," a region encompassing Boone, Randolph, Audrain, Monroe, Callaway, Pike, and Ralls counties.[25] The Little Dixie region is noted for its Southern architecture, specifically Folk forms from Kentucky and Tennessee.[26] The population was Southern in identity and embraced the slave economy. Enslaved African Americans were involuntary settlers in the antebellum period. However, some were able to buy their freedom and live as free Blacks in Jefferson City.[27]

The Missouri State Penitentiary was constructed in 1836 at the current day intersection of Lafayette Street and East Capitol Avenue. In a bid to make Jefferson City economically

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[17] Jane Rode Beetem, Historic Southside (Munichburg) Multiple Property Document Form.
[18] Floyd Shoemaker, "This Week in Missouri History," *The Chillicothe Constitution Tribune,* December 28, 1925, 6.
[19] Shoemaker, "This Week in Missouri History," 6.
[20] The Urbana Group, *Jefferson City Historic East Architectural/Historic Survey* (Urbana: Urbana Group, 1992) 9.
[21] Mrs. Ann Stewart Dewey, "Bayse Family Was Prominent in Early C. Missouri History," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* February 3, 1935, 9.
[22] While there is a brick house at 420 East Capitol the style does not fit with the early date; therefore Bayse's house does not seem to be extant.
[23] Dewey, "Bayse Family Was Prominent."
[24] Dewey, "Bayse Family Was Prominent."
[25] Howard Wight Marshall, *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), 1. There are various interpretations of the Little Dixie area. This context uses Marshall's definition.
[26] Marshall, *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie*, 34-35.
[27] Lorenzo Johnston Greene and Gary Kremer, *Missouri's Black Heritage* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 66.

attractive, and therefore assure that it would remain the state capital, Missouri constructed a state penitentiary. However, it was expensive to house and feed inmates. In 1839, in order to slow the drag on state coffers, the state began to lease the prison and the new managers leased the inmates' labor to businesses in town.[28] This naturally caused hard feelings on the part of wage laborers—free labor, in historical parlance. The situation was thought to have deterred Jefferson City's economic development, as people refused to move to a town where they competed with cut-rate prison labor.[29] As such, the prison was accused of driving away artisans and mechanics, harming the town's growth.[30]

Radical change in the built environment came quickly when the centerpiece of Jefferson City, the State Capitol, burned down in 1837. The new capitol, built of limestone quarried nearby, was occupied in 1840. A photograph of the State Capitol shortly after its construction illustrates Jefferson City's built environment. The area east of the Capitol was sparsely settled with small German Missouri Vernacular houses linked by unpaved streets and dirt livestock trails centered in a glimmering white limestone capitol building. Clearly, the focus was on the river at this point but Jefferson City was not large; the population was 1,174, a slight decrease from the 1830 population of 1,200.[31]

Legislation in the late 1830s showed some growing pains in Jefferson City. The legislature stipulated that Jefferson City be resurveyed in 1839 and the inlots and outlots be clearly marked with the corner stones with the block and lot on each stone. This directive too ran into problems. Early plats of the city were not filed.[32] A Missouri Supreme Court case determined that the earliest drawing from 1849 that shows city lots and numbers was not drawn entirely to scale, meaning that lots and natural features did not always align, and the map was not a good representation of the city.[33]

Buildings from the early days of Jefferson City are rare. Economically, the city was initially focused in two directions, westward to New Mexico and south to St. Louis and the Mississippi River. The path to each was directly east, to the Missouri River at the base of Capitol. In 1821, Mexico resumed trade with the United States. In Santa Fe, goods from Missouri were one-third of the cost of Mexican goods due to taxes and bureaucracy.[34] Steamboats with passengers and products steamed north to Independence, Missouri, the beginning of the Santa Fe Trail, where they proceeded west by wagon train.

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[28] International Shoe National Register Nomination, NPS, Section 8, p. 12.
[29] International Shoe National Register Nomination, NPS, Section 8, p. 12.
[30] Gary R. Kremer and Thomas E. Gage, "The Prison Against the Town," *Missouri Historical Review* 74, no. 4 (1980): 423–24.
[31] *Phelps' Hundred Cities and Large Towns of America* (New York: Phelps, Fanning and Co., 1853), 75.
[32] *Schell v. City of Jefferson,* https://casetext.com/case/schell-v-city-of-jefferson, accessed July 17, 2022.
[33] *Schell v. City of Jefferson,* https://casetext.com/case/schell-v-city-of-jefferson, accessed July 17, 2022.
[34] National Park Service, "New Mexican Traders on the Santa Fe Trail," https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/new-mexican-traders-on-the-santa-fe-trail.htm, accessed July 20, 2022.

Although rare, Jefferson City does have a few examples of buildings from the period directly after it was settled. The earliest surviving example is the residential Parson's House (Figure 5).[35] Built c. 1830, the house exhibits French Colonial architectural traits. It has a high basement, i.e. foundation. Instead of extending out with the more commonly found hipped roof the Parson's House extends the side gable roof over the front porch.[36] Despite this oddity, it is a reminder of the earlier French settlement of Missouri.

Figure 5. The c. 1830 Parson's House at 105 East Jackson Street (Preserve Missouri)

Jefferson City's early settlers also lived in proximity to the town. Surviving examples of houses formerly in a rural setting from this period include the Edwards House, 1122 Moreau Drive, constructed in the 1840s for the eighth governor of Missouri, John C. Edwards.[37] The Bolton-Kelly House is located at 1916 Green Berry Road. It was possibly constructed by Dr.William Bolton Jr. in the 1830s.[38]

[35] Gary R. Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City* (Jefferson City: City of Jefferson, 2003), 30
[36] Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 180.
[37] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 101.
[38] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 105. The construction date does not match the Bolton family tree. What is certain is that, according the 1850 census slave schedule, the Cole County Bolton family, including William Bolton, were substantial holders of enslaved people. It is likely that the house was constructed by enslaved people.

Another early example is Jefferson's Landing, 100 Jefferson Street, on the river below the Capitol (Figure 6). This commercial building was firmly focused on the Missouri River. This remnant of Jefferson City's steamboat days is today preserved as a state historic site managed by the Missouri State Parks. Jefferson's Landing is located near the Missouri River at the west corner of Jefferson and Water Streets. The building was listed in the National Register in 1969. The building is believed to have been constructed in 1834 by Richard Shackleford. Charles Lohman purchased the building in 1852. The nomination form stated that the building is thought to be one of the surviving examples of a building associated with Jefferson City's dependence on river traffic.[39] The site also features the 1850s Union Hotel, 101 Jefferson Street, and the Christopher Maus House from c. 1850 (located next to the Union Hotel).[40]

Figure 6. Jefferson's Landing (Missouri State Parks)

Another surviving building from the steamboat era is the privately owned Israel Reed Building at 201 High Street, dating to the 1840s (Figure 7). It has a slightly sparse, undecorated German influence tempered with an I-house form. Popular in Little Dixie across the Missouri River in

[39] Lohman's Landing National Register nomination, M. Patricia Holmes, Section 8, 6.
[40] "Jefferson City: An Architectural Biography," *Preservation Issues,* September/October 1995, 1.

Callaway County, the I-house form was brought from the Kentucky Bluegrass region by early settlers. It was also adopted by German farmers in the region.[41]

Figure 7. The Israel Reed Building in c. 1890 and in 2019 (Cole County Historical Society/Dan Claxton)

Even though Jefferson City was the capital, it was still not heavily settled. The original plat was not fully developed. In addition, it appears that unsold lots had a free-for-all aspect. A $500 fine was instituted for people cutting timber or "committing any waste or trespass" on unsold inlots and outlots.[42]

Figure 8. The 1840 Missouri State Capitol. Note the Missouri German Vernacular house in the lower right corner. (Missouri State Archives)

[41] Marshall, *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie*, 32–33.
[42] *Laws of the State of Missouri, Passed at the First Session of the Tenth General Assembly* (City of Jefferson: Calvin Gunn, 1838), 148–49.

The late 1840s and 1850s saw increased German and Irish emigration due to factors in their respective home countries. The failure of the Revolution of 1848 spurred German immigration. The first Jewish settler, Morris Obermeyer, arrived in 1844.[43]

Politically, the German population was against slavery and was more anti-aristocracy than the earlier settlers from the East, and especially those from the South. For those who had participated in the failed liberal Revolution of 1848, a major driver of German emigration, slavery was repugnant. Aristocracy, also representing a penchant to earn a living from the backs of others, was close behind.[44]

Each group again brought their own architecture. Settlers from the East brought folk forms. The Germans are noted for introducing Missouri German Vernacular, a stripped-down, often brick, house style (Figure 9). The brick houses are on low stone foundations, usually with gable (pointed) roofs. The number of stories varies from one to two and half. Most are rectangular or L-shaped. Early examples have straight lintels and transom windows over the doors.

Figure 9. The Herman Haar House, c. 1859, an excellent example of a pre–Civil War Missouri German Vernacular house

[43] "History," Temple Beth-El, https://templebethel-jc.org/history, accessed July 12. 2022. Dates vary widely for the beginning of the Jewish community in the area, from immediately after the Louisiana Purchase to approximately 1866. The Jewish population in Jefferson City was always very small.

[44] Walter Kamphoefner and Wolfgang Helbich, eds., *Germans in The Civil War: The Letters They Wrote Home*, trans. Susan Carter Vogel (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Irene S. Di Maio, ed., *Gerstäcker's Louisiana: Fiction and Travel Sketches from Antebellum Times through Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2006); Kenneth Barkin, "Ordinary Germans, Slavery, and the U.S. Civil War," *The Journal of African American History* 93, no. 1 (2008), 75.

After the Civil War segmented brick arches replaced the straight lintel.[45] The houses have a severe and undecorated style. This may relate to conservative German attitudes.[46] It may also be that Missouri German Vernacular is closely related to Federal Style, another relatively undecorated form and style. Finally, building materials and labor were expensive, a fact noted in the 1850s letters of Jetta Bruns (discussed below).

The Ruthven House at 406 Cherry Street is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a rare surviving example of a later Missouri German Vernacular that was once quite common in Jefferson City (Figure 10).[47] The houses are most common on the southside of Jefferson City in the Munichburg neighborhood. They are also present east of the Capitol. In all cases, they are relatively close to downtown. Houses of this type found outside the downtown and Munichburg areas would have been in a rural setting when they were built.

Figure 10. The Ruthven House, 1878, at 406 Cherry Street and East Handley Way, a late example of German Missouri Vernacular houses. Note the segmented arches over the windows and the L-shape. The hip roof is an unusual feature. (Rory Krupp)

[45] Jane Rode Beetem, Historic Southside (Munichburg) Multiple Property Document Form, Section E, 15-18.
[46] Jane Rode Beetem, Historic Southside (Munichburg) Multiple Property Document Form, Section E, 15-18.
[47] Jane Rode Beetem, Ruthven House, National Register of Historic Places nomination, listed April 21, 2000, Section 7, page 3.

The Irish Potato Famine in the late 1840s drove immigrants to Missouri. The 1850s and the construction of the Pacific Railroad of Missouri, built largely by Irish crews, brought more immigrants to the state.[48] John Stuart McCracken, born in County Down, Ireland, in 1816, traced a familiar path to Jefferson City. He originally settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he and his brothers learned the printing trade. In 1838, they moved to Shawneetown, Illinois, before moving to Jefferson City. McCracken and his brothers founded the *State Capitol News,* which took a mildly abolitionist stance.[49] In a reminder that not everyone who settled in Jefferson City stayed, McCracken's brother went to California during the Gold Rush and was never seen again.[50]

Jefferson City continued to be a stopping point for westward travelers, including many others heading to the Gold Rush as well as Mormons going to Utah, as steamboats went up and down the Missouri. This movement, combined with the cholera epidemics of the late 1840s, placed Jefferson City in national news. The steamer *Monroe*, traveling from St. Louis, had a cholera outbreak on board on the way to Jefferson City. Gold Rush traveler Elisha Perkins, from Marietta, Ohio, and traveling on the steamer *Highland Mary*, was in Jefferson City and described the scene in his diary. He noted that all the cabin passengers but three had died and the ship was abandoned at Jefferson City while the remaining passengers and crew continued to perish. Perkins reported that their graves were scattered a half mile down the shore. Not being aware of the actual causes of cholera, Perkins surmised that it was fumes from the fresh lead paint that afflicted the ship.[51]

Early residents lived in what is now the East Capitol neighborhood, in close proximity to the prison.[52] The district, and neighborhood, is on an important east-west thoroughfare started in the 1830s and developed through 1945.[53] Redevelopment continued after the war. Therefore, the East Capitol neighborhood includes not only areas developed relatively early in Jefferson City's history but also contains pockets of small plats developed up to the present day. Once again, these would be infill projects as it became easier to access and build upon these plats.

The East Capitol neighborhood grew during this period.[54] Overlooking the Missouri River, these houses were immediately east of the Capitol in an axial grid street system.[55] Jefferson City's topography, however, was not conducive to a grid. It was heavily dissected by streams and

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[48] Michael C. O'Laughlin, *Missouri Irish: The Original History of the Irish in Missouri* (Kansas City: Irish Genealogical Foundation, 2008), 79.
[49] O'Laughlin, *Missouri Irish*, 42.
[50] O'Laughlin, *Missouri Irish*, 42.
[51] Elisha Douglas Perkins, *Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Douglas Perkins On the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2021).
[52] Jane Rodes Beetem, Capitol East Historic District, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2005, Section 8, p. 44.
[53] Jane Rodes Beetem, Capitol East Historic District, National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2005, Section 8, p. 44.
[54] For this context the East Capitol neighborhood is defined as the area east of the Capitol, south of the Missouri River.
[55] In an axial grid street system the streets are platted at right angles.

ravines (Figure 11). Consequently, not every street connected in the grid and not every parcel was buildable. The steep ravines complicated street building. Some streets were unable to be connected on the grid because the cut and fill needed would be too expensive. In other areas rock and clay substrata made it difficult or impossible to make a reasonable street grade. As time went on, these streets would eventually be graded as time, money, and technology allowed. Later, this would make it difficult to install sewer systems. Jefferson City's dissected topography, the fact that it is essentially hills, creeks, and valleys, would continue to guide its development.

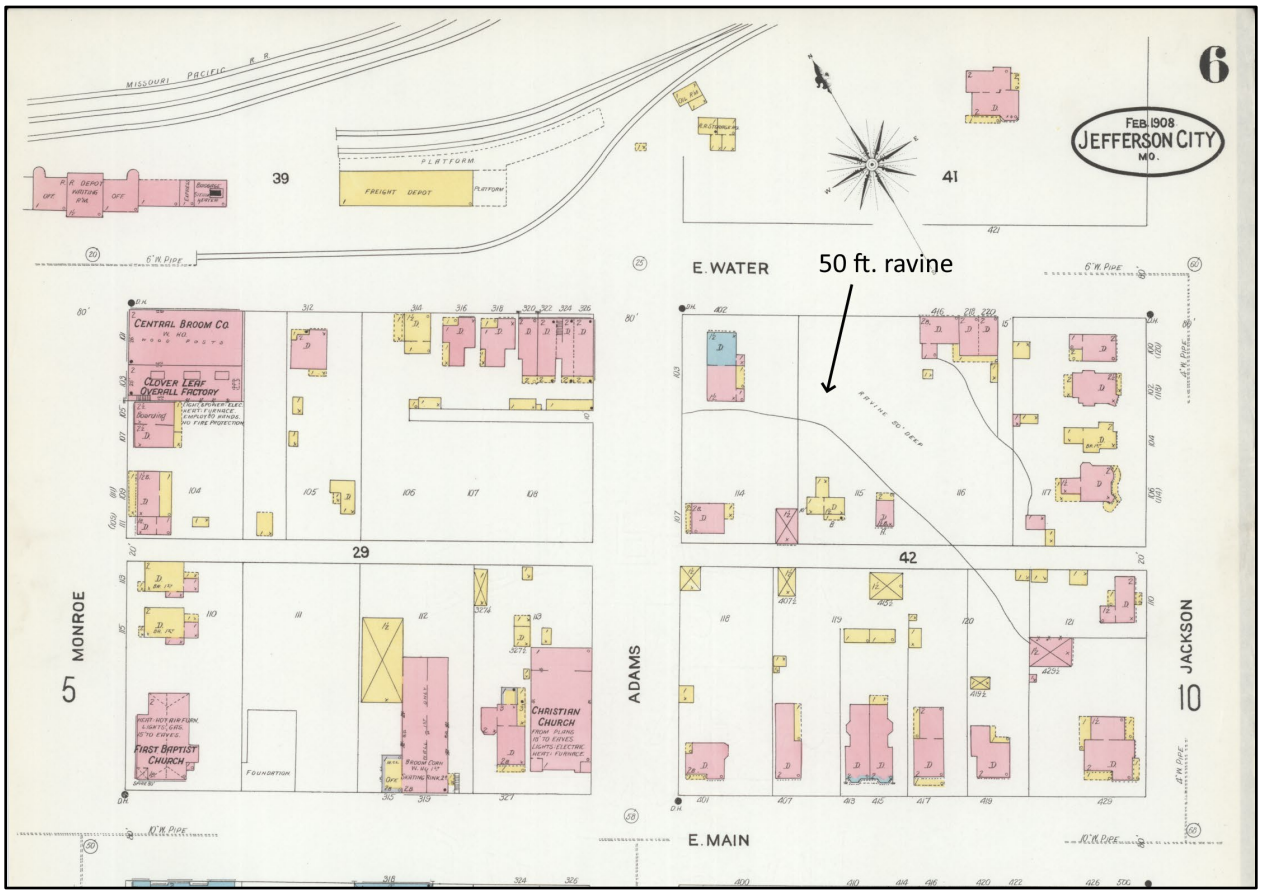

Figure 11. A 50-foot ravine in 1908 on Water Street, now State Street. The two houses on the right of the ravine are the Jefferson Female Seminary Buildings. A driveway and medical office building are now located on the since-filled ravine.

Many lots required limestone retaining walls to stabilize them. Combined with a generous lot size Jefferson City's development can appear sporadic on a map, but this only reveals the geographical and topological constraints. It also accounts for the fact that stately houses and small subdivisions adorn Jefferson City's hilltops. Houses built decades later can be across the street, but down the hill (Figure 12). But as the Jefferson Female Seminary, once overlooking the Missouri River with a deep ravine to the west, illustrates, rectifying the topography for

development, cut and fill, grading etc. can radically alter the setting, feeling, and association in a historic preservation sense.[56] An infill building can indicate a serious alteration of the landscape.

Figure 12. This 2013 photograph shows a typical Jefferson City development pattern. The house on the left at the corner of Jackson Street and East Ashley is from the c. 1870s–1880s and is located near the top of the hill, while the house lower on the hillside is from 1959. The house on the left was demolished in c. 2018.

The Marmaduke House, 700 East Capitol Street, illustrates this important component of Jefferson City's development history (Figure 13). Numerous visitors noted that Jefferson City was spacious, with generous lot sizes that led to a sprawling appearance. Houses were built on ridges and hilltops and the city grew outward, literally by leaps and bounds as new construction jumped from hilltop to hilltop. Infill houses gradually were built as the technology to economically prepare the sites advanced. The 1888 Marmaduke House was originally a residence for nineteen prison wardens. Not every house would have such elaborate cut-stone retaining walls. The Marmaduke House was constructed by prison labor with materials from the prison quarry.[57] The prison warden, Darwin Marmaduke, was Governor John Marmaduke's brother.

[56] See *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf, accessed September 1, 2022.
[57] "The Colonel Darwin W. Marmaduke House," https://jeffersoncitymag.com/the-colonel-darwin-w-marmaduke-house, accessed June 22, 2022.

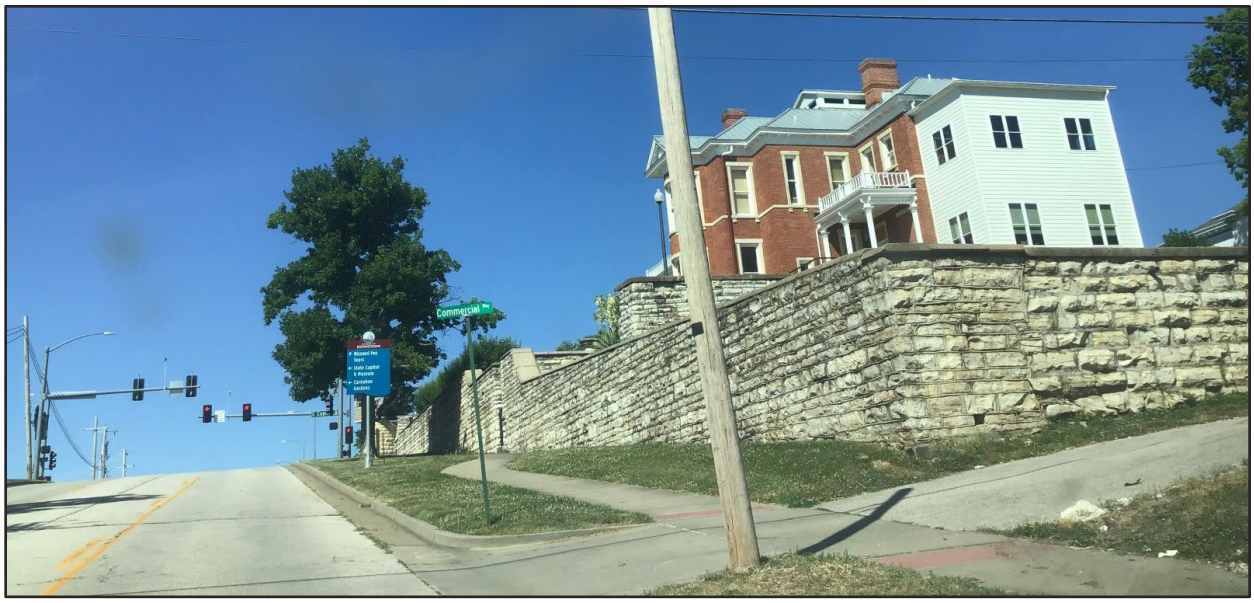

Figure 13. Many houses in the East Capital neighborhood require retaining walls because of the dissected topography. The Marmaduke House at 700 East Capitol is the current Jefferson City Convention and Visitor's Center; this view is looking north up Jackson Street from Commercial Street. (Rory Krupp)

Figure 14. The intersection of East Capitol Avenue and Riviera Street illustrates the varying periods of infill housing. Note the 1950s infill on the left with a 1910 brick Upright Gable and Wing house on the right (Rory Krupp).

The Munichburg neighborhood, south of the Capitol, began to develop in the 1850s. The neighborhood boundaries are roughly Broadway/Mulberry to the north, Cedar and Dunklin to the east, Franklin to the west, and Monroe to the south (Figure 15). It is also called Jefferson City's Southside neighborhood. Although within the plat, early Munichburg was closer to an outlying ethnic enclave than an original part of the city. It was separated by creeks and other topography from Jefferson City proper, and had its own commerical node with German churches and

businesses. Jefferson City gradually grew to meet it. Concentrated around the Protestant churches, notably the Central German Evangelical at 118 East Ashley Street, the neighborhood continued as a German enclave through the 1860s.[58] The area is notable for its collection of German Missouri Vernacular architecture. In the early period of settlement, in the 1850s, the architecture is characterized by gable-roofed brick houses on stone foundations.[59] While the houses conveyed a distinct ethnicity, the pattern of outbuildings does not. Alley houses were common in Munichburg as well as downtown but many have been lost over time.[60] A survey would be needed to see how many survive today. A National Register Multiple Property Document form (MPDF) was completed for the Munichburg neighborhood in 2002. The MPDF provides a ready-made historic context for future neighborhood nominations and includes integrity standards to simplify the listing process.[61]

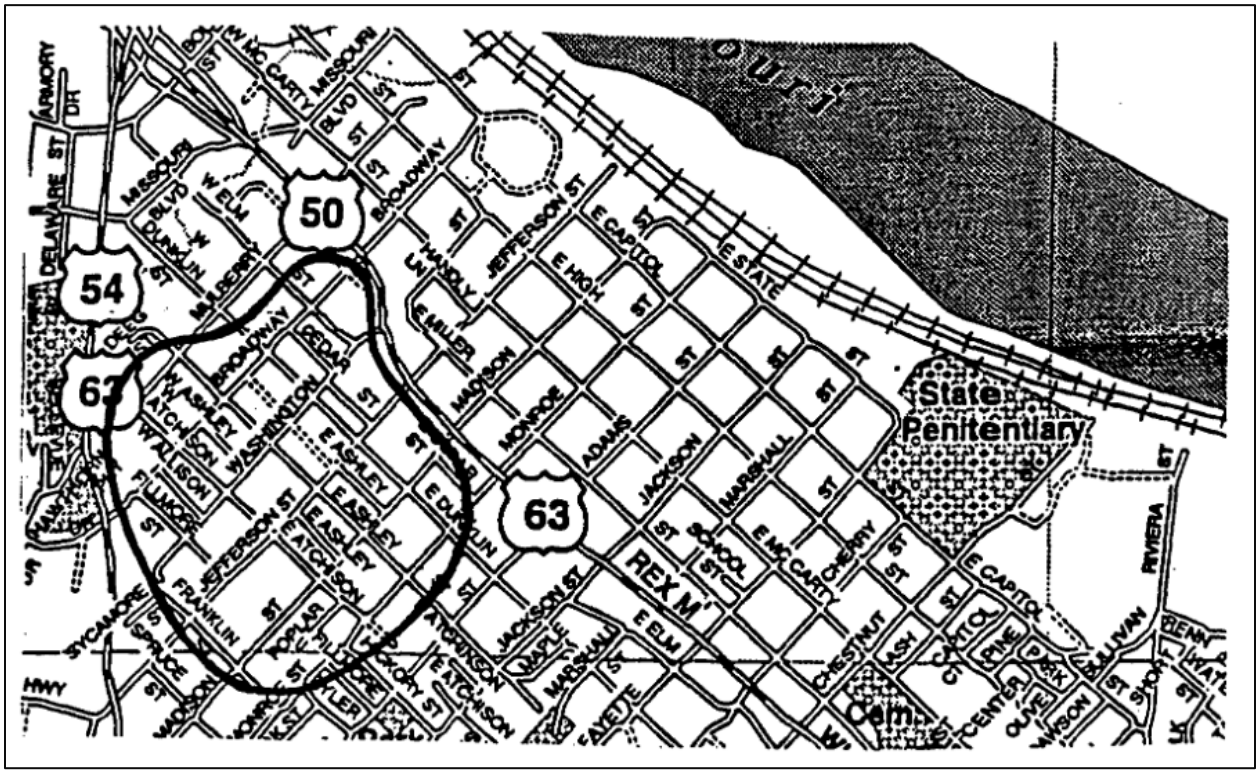

Figure 15. Boundary of the Munichburg neighborhood (Jane Rode Beetem)

The State of Missouri continued to try to make the prison a viable business enterprise by privatizing it in a vicious cycle that lasted decades. The state would privatize the prison; the leaseholders would engage in abusive tactics until the state regained control; then the state would

[58] Beetem, Munichburg, Section E, 10-11.
[59] Beetem, Munichburg, Section E, 15.
[60] Beetem, Munichburg, Section E, 18
[61] Jane Rode Beetem, Historic Southside (Munichburg) Multiple Property Document Form, Listed 2002.

realize how much it cost to operate a prison and lease it, or the prisoners, again. This cycle would dog the prison until it closed in the early 2000s.

At the outset the prison was focused, as was the trend in the 1830s, on the reform of individual inmates. In 1839 the state legislature, alarmed at the cost of reform, which often involved quiet reflection, better known today as solitary confinement, decided to focus on financial solvency instead.[62] The legislature leased the entire prison, effectively privatizing the institution, to William S. Burch and John Gordon for four years.[63] In 1841, eight prisoners escaped while working on a High Street building, killing the overseer and later ransacking an invalid's home.[64] The experiment in outside labor was a disaster as the escapes continued unabated.[65]

In 1854, the prison was returned to state control. The buildings and prisoners alike were in dire condition. The state then authorized factories inside the prison walls. Prisoners not employed in the factories had their labor leased to local businesses again by the 1860s.[66]

German immigrant Henrietta Anna Elizabeth Geisberg Bruns moved to Jefferson City in the late 1850s, and her letters provide a first-person account of German immigrants navigating the Civil War in Jefferson City. Bruns was born in Westphalia, Germany in 1813. Originally, the family moved to Westphalia, Missouri. When farming proved not to be her husband's forte, they moved to Jefferson City in 1853. The family constructed a house on High Street and entered the mercantile trade. Bruns's letters provide a valuable insight into life in Jefferson City. The Brunses' house is pictured in an 1859 etching in the veduta style (Figure 16). The pastoral etching, an idealized landscape of Jefferson City, in the style of artwork that promoted European Grand Tours, was probably not entirely correct about the town's bucolic nature. However, the architecture illustrated does give a good representation of building styles and types in Jefferson City's antebellum period. Bruns's High Street home was a three-story brick or stone I-House, a common architectural form at the time. Natural light was prominent, coming in through the 6 over 6 lite double hung windows. Bruns complained that the cost of labor was high: a carpenter fetched two dollars a day.[67]

[62] Kremer and Gage, "The Prison Against the Town," 416–17.
[63] Likely the same John Gordon that owned the Rising Sun Hotel.
[64] Kremer and Gage, "The Prison Against the Town," 417.
[65] Kremer and Gage, "The Prison Against the Town," 417.
[66] Bruce Reynolds, "Prison Labor, The Montserrat Experience," *Missouri Historical Review* 77, no. 1 (1982): 48.
[67] Henriette Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* edited by Adolf E. Schroeder and Carla Schulz-Geisberg (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 164.

Figure 16. An 1859 lithograph by St. Louis printer Eduard Robyn shows a romanticized view of Jefferson City and its prominent buildings.

The family landed in the midst of the Know-Nothing movement, an American Protestant nativist party that was fiercely anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic.[68] German Catholics were thought to have extreme democratic notions, putting them at odds with aristocratic slaveholders.[69] Their cultural differences put them at odds with some native-born Americans. Some thought the Know-Nothing movement harmful to Jefferson City's growth. Immigrants on steamboats were assailed at the waterfront with shouts and threats.

Indeed, Dr. Bruns attempted to make a Free Soil settlement in Jefferson City in the late 1850s. The project was not popular with the pro-slavery governor and a good portion of the town. The Jefferson City Land Company, a consortium of Bruns and others, purchased a tract between what is now Bolivar Street and Gray's Creek.[70] The development did not take place, although it is memorialized in the plat name.

Transportation

The Missouri River provided the most comfortable and quickest way to travel to Jefferson City before the railroad, although it was also dangerous. The possibilities for the demise of a steamboat, and its passengers, were myriad and ranged from the somewhat quotidian—a grease fire from the galley or careless passengers with cigars and lanterns setting fire to the wooden

[68] Christopher Phillips, "The Hardline War: The Ideological Basis of Irregular Warfare in the Western Border States," in *The Civil War Guerilla: Unfolding the Black Flag in History, Memory and Myth*, ed. Joseph M. Beilein Jr. and Matthew C. Hulbert (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015), 18.
[69] Phillips, "The Hardline War," 45.
[70] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 67.

boat —to the spectacular—exploding boilers and collisions with other boats and bridges, ice floes, and sand bars.[71] The river itself offered the greatest danger: snags, old growth trees that fell from the bank and drifted or lodged in the riverbed (Figure 17).

Figure 17. A c. 1837–1843 print by German-Swiss artist Karl Bodmer shows a steamboat navigating snags (fallen trees) in the Missouri River. Bodmer traveled in an expedition with Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuweid up the Missouri River in 1832–1833 and later produced a book with aquatint illustrations.

These trees punched through hulls with regularity and predictable results. In response, the United States Army Corps of Engineers started clearing snags in 1824 to aid in the navigation of Western rivers.[72] The Missouri River received somewhat irregular attention beginning in the 1830s that increased in scale through the century.

[71] Lisa Knopp, *What the River Carries: Encounters with the Mississippi, Missouri and Platte* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2012), 78–79.
[72] Historical Vignette 120—Snagboats, https://www.usace.army.mil/About/History/Historical-Vignettes/Civil-Engineering/120-Snagboats, accessed June 5, 2022.

d30 CHAS. BASHAM, Agent, Louisville.
THOS. SHERLOCK, Agent, Cincinnati.

1854. SATURDAY PACKET. 1854.

For Jefferson City, Boonville, Glasgow and Cambridge.

THE new and elegant Passenger Packet KATE SWINNEY, A. C. GODDIN, Master, will commence at the opening of navigation and make weekly trips—leaving St. Louis every Saturday, at 5 o'clock, P. M., and Cambridge every Tuesday, at 9, A. M.

Captain G., very thankful for past patronage, solicits its continuance, and pledges himself to use every effort to merit the same. jan4 4m

THE CHEAPEST, QUICKEST AND MOST PLEASANT ROUTE

ets purchased in the cars.

U. S. MAIL.—SANGER & CO. will run a daily line of FOUR-HORSE POST COACHES as follows: Leaving Franklin in connection with the 8 00, A. M., Train from St. Louis.

They will run Coaches to Jefferson City, and thence westward and southwestward. They will also run a line of four-horse post-Coaches, via Union, to Washington.

Time to Washington, from St. Louis, 7 hours; to Jefferson City 30 hours.

☞Tickets o be procured of Sanger & Co., at their office under the ...niers' House, Fourth street.

JAS. M. WARD, Ass't Sup't.

Office P. R. R., Fourteenth street Depot, 31st March, 1854. ap6 dtf

Great Eastern Route,

Figure 18. An advertisement from the 1854 St. Louis Globe Democrat for travel to Jefferson City via steamer or coach (St. Louis Globe Democrat, June 22, 1854, page 2)

To illustrate the danger, the passenger packet *Kate Swinney*, a side-wheeler two hundred in length, would hit a snag a year after the advertisement in Figure 18. Near Vermillion, South Dakota, the snag "tore away nearly the whole bottom of the hull and sank in thirty feet of water in about five minutes."[73] The crew survived but had to travel 600 miles by lifeboat back to St. Joseph, Missouri.[74]

The overland route to Jefferson City largely consisted of the National Road through Ohio and Indiana to Vandalia, Illinois. In 1825, Congress authorized the extension of the National Road to Jefferson City. This was canceled in 1840 when the railroad proved more attractive to travelers and shippers. However, once in sight of Jefferson City, early overland travelers could cross the Missouri River at a horse-drawn ferry that landed at the foot of Harrison Street.[75]

Local infrastructure improvements in the 1850s included a series of stone arch bridges over Wears Creek. The last bridge was removed in 1989 (Figure 19).[76] While deemed historic and recorded for the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), the bridge's design was problematic.[77] Wing walls funneled debris into the closed stone spandrel during high water events, eventually clogging the opening. The roadway was narrow. A concrete deck and retaining wall bridge replaced the stone bridge.

[73] "Loss of the Steamer Kate Swinney," *The New York Times,* August 17, 1855, 8.
[74] "Loss of the Steamer Kate Swinney."
[75] Brooks, *Lost Jefferson City*, 70.
[76] HAER Survey 31, Jefferson City bridge, https://www.loc.gov/resource/hhh.mo1069.photos?st=gallery, accessed September 1, 2022.
[77] Environment Impact Statement.

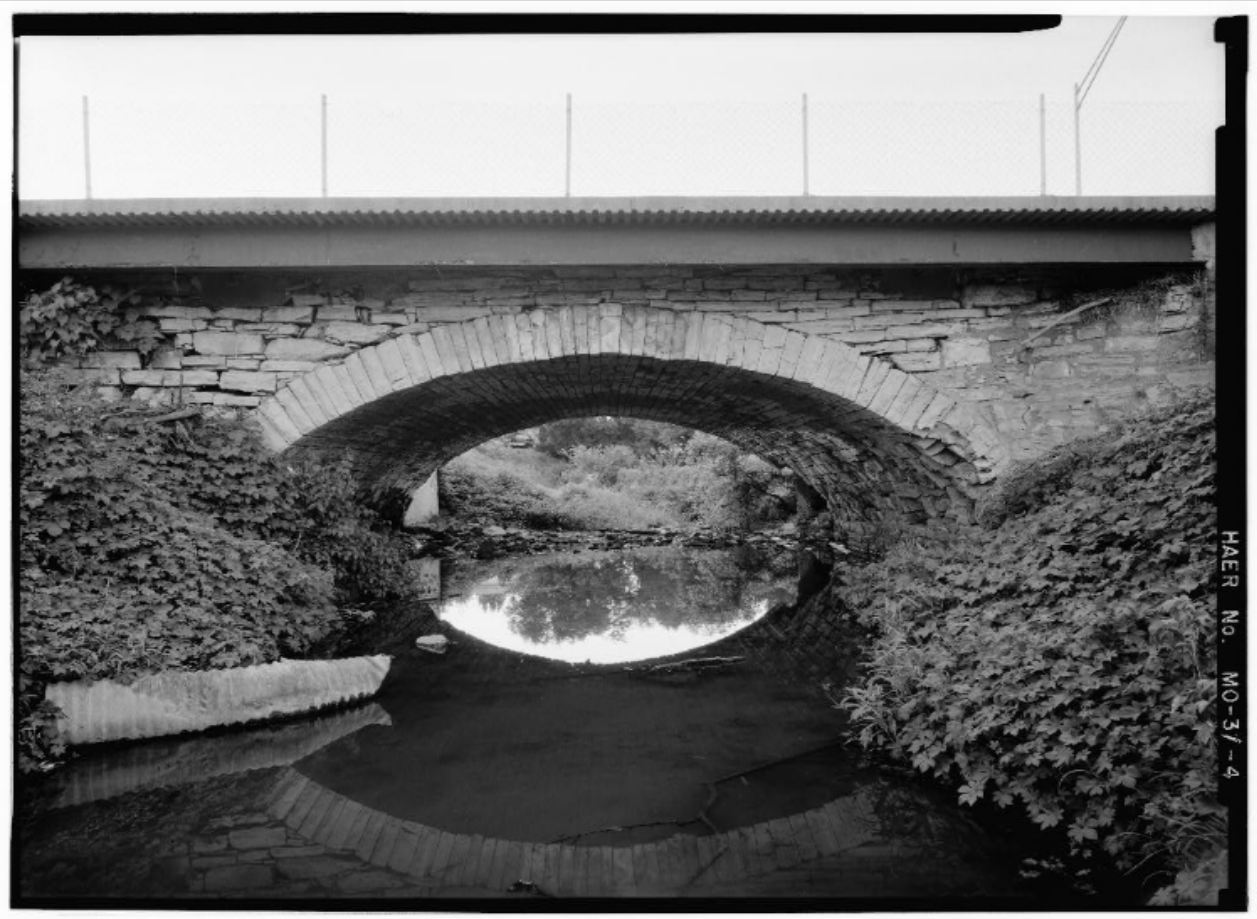

Figure 19. 1857 Stone Arch bridge that was removed in 1989 (Historic American Engineering Record, Creator, and William Armstrong Davison. Jefferson Street Bridge, Spanning East Branch of Wears Creek, Jefferson City, Cole County, MO. Jefferson City Cole County Missouri, 1968. Historic American Engineering Record, Library of Congress)

In 1855, the Pacific Railroad reached Jefferson City. This would begin to replace the Missouri River as a primary means of transportation for freight and passengers. There were wharfs at Monroe Street near the prison and an 1847 wharf at Jefferson Street. The 1849 cholera epidemic affected the rail line when contracts, materials, and labor were constrained by outbreaks. But with officials loathe to miss the inaugural deadline, a span of the bridge which was not yet completed was hurriedly constructed in a slapdash fashion. A train loaded with gravel was sent over in the morning at a slow speed, but when the train of dignitaries from St. Louis crossed the bridge at between 15 and 30 miles per hour, the span collapsed. The entire train went into the river with the exception of the last car and the engine. The car of dignitaries, right behind the engine, went first. The engine, still on the bridge, collapsed at the next span and crushed the wrecked car in the river. Of the approximately 600 passengers, 31 died. The line would not open

for another four months.[78] The Pacific Railroad, as it was then called, was serviced by a station built in 1855 near the present brick depot at the northern end of Monroe Street.

Antebellum African American History

The Jefferson City area, and Missouri, became United States territory with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The 1804 Slave Code codified behavior for African Americans whether they were free or enslaved. This included having to obey their owners, and not having freedom of speech, assembly, the right to bear arms, or, except by explicit permission, the right to travel. Attempting to incite an insurrection or rebellion was punishable by death.[79]

The earliest recorded African Americans in Cole County arrived in 1816 when John England brought 15 enslaved people.[80] Cole County was below the Callaway County "Heart of Little Dixie" region. It was settled by people from Kentucky and Virginia, who were comfortable with enslavement. In these counties enslaved African Americans constituted 25 to 50 percent of the population. The Missouri River provided the transportation route for the region's agricultural products as well as the southern border of the region. Jefferson City was on the route for products destined for New Orleans, often hemp.[81]

Major Alfred Bayse allegedly brought 30 enslaved people when he moved to Jefferson City in 1828; they lived in a log cabin, built by Rising Sun Hotel owner John Gordon, at 401 E. Capitol Street. Assuming the number was correct (the account was written by a descendent), Bayse sold his enslaved persons by 1850, except one, a 56-year-old African American man. In 1850, 5,699 white residents lived in Cole County.[82] During this year, 979 enslaved people lived in Cole County.[83] Eighteen free African Americans lived in Cole County.[84]

Early city directories indicate an African American presence south of McCarty Street and east of Adams Street.[85] Most would not have been homeowners. Few freed enslaved people, the majority of Missouri's free Black population, owned property.[86] Cyprian Clamorgan's *The Colored Aristocracy of St. Louis* gives a pre-war portrait of free Blacks in Missouri. It notes that

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[78] Frank Griggs Jr., "The Gasconade Bridge Failure," https://www.structuremag.org/?p=15016 , accessed April 15, 2022.
[79] "The Black Code in Missouri," https://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/aahi/earlyslavelaws/slavelaws.asp, accessed April 15, 2022.
[80] Lorenzo Greene, "Freedom Documents from Cole County, Missouri," *Negro History Bulletin* 32, no. 1 (1963): 11.
[81] Knopp, *What the River Carries*, 99.
[82] United States 1850 Census, Missouri, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1850/1850a/1850a-40.pdf, accessed August 17, 1850.
[83] "Slaves in Cole County Missouri," United States 1850 Census Slave Schedule, https://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/Archives/Census/Slave_1850/F48_1850_V1_Cole.pdf, accessed August 30, 2022.
[84] United States 1850 Census, Missouri, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1850/1850a/1850a-40.pdf, accessed August 17, 2022.
[85] Urbana Group, *Jefferson City Historic East Architectural/Historic Survey*, 10.
[86] Greene, "Freedom Documents," 66.

many were descended from French voyageurs and women of color whose own freedom was tenuous at best.[87] This biracial class was also present in Jefferson City. The current Forest Hills subdivision and Memorial Park, 111 Memorial Park Drive, was previously owned by Missouri Supreme Court justice George Tompkins, an owner of three enslaved biracial people. His wife left the land to the three after they were emancipated in 1847. They inherited the land in 1851. By 1853, however, two of the freed Tompkinses had sold their land at below-market prices to Judge Tompkins's nephew.[88]

John Cole purchased his freedom in 1857 for $1,200.[89] He became a strong supporter of Lincoln University and later operated a restaurant and hotel, location unclear, along with another African American, Howard Barnes.[90] Most African Americans in Jefferson City, however, did not have the opportunity for success. In 1865, only three out of Jefferson City's African American population of 565 had been free before the war.[91]

Missouri's entrance into statehood was complicated by slaveholders. The state Constitutional Convention was designed to protect slavery, to the point of denying free Blacks the right of entrance in case they should foment a revolt.[92] This threw the territory into direct conflict with Congress and the Constitution by barring citizens from the territory. The Second Missouri Compromise stated that no citizens would be deprived their rights in the territory. Nonetheless, rising tensions throughout the country ensured that peace would not last.

The Civil War

The Civil War divided Jefferson City's residents and stopped the city's growth. In 1860, 8,645 white residents lived in Cole County. The free Black population had increased to 65 but the overall enslaved people population was 985.[93] Of the 985 enslaved people in Cole County, 213 lived in Jefferson City.[94] Freed Blacks numbered 65 in Cole County. Jefferson City's population in 1860 was 3,085.

German immigrants heavily favored the Union while the Southern-born population veered toward the Confederacy. Slavery slowly split the town. People's opinions became apparent as the national conversation became louder and the Civil War approached. Democracy-minded German immigrants were against it, arguing that the practice promoted an elite cohort in the citizenry and

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[87] Cyprian Clamorgan, *The Colored Aristocracy of St. Louis* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 21.
[88] Jenny Smith and Deborah Goldhammer, "Cole County History: The Intriguing Past of Forest Hill Drive," https://www.newstribune.com/news/2019/sep/14/Cole-County-History-The-intriguing-past-of-Forest-/, accessed June 15, 2022.
[89] Greene and Kremer, *Missouri's Black Heritage,* 66.
[90] Greene and Kremer, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 66.
[91] Greene and Kremer, *Missouri's Black Heritage*, 85.
[92] Kremer, *This Place of Promise*, 68.
[93] United States Census 1860 Missouri, https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/islandora/object/civilwar%253A4947, accessed August 17, 2022.
[94] United States 1860 Census Slave Schedule, https://www.sos.mo.gov/CMSImages/Archives/Census/Slave_1860/F107_1860_V1_Cole.pdf

harmed free labor.[95] This did nothing to endear them to their Southern nativist neighbors. This tension was repeated throughout the state. It split the population and the state government. Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson was firmly in the Confederate camp. Large German enclaves such as St. Louis were firmly in the Union camp. It was in this atmosphere of political polarization that Jefferson City entered the Civil War.

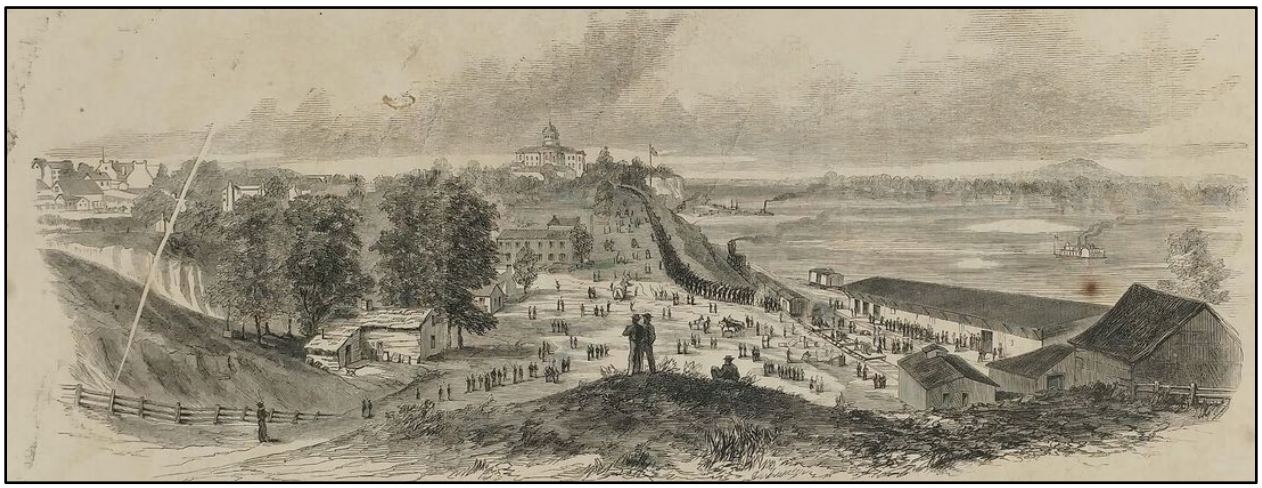

Figure 20. An illustration from Frank Leslie's Illustrated *newspaper in November 1861 showing Union troops disembarking at Jefferson City. It does not appear to be an accurate depiction of the city. (Library of Congress)*

Bruns's letters indicated that Lincoln's election "caused an uproar in our slave party and one can hear all kinds of threats."[96] A German language newspaper with Republican leanings, the *Jefferson City Demokrat*, was "suppressed," with the editor forced to leave town.[97] Bruns's worries were valid. Unionists were driven from Rolla and Springfield and even slaveholders who were not ardent enough about secession, such as U.S. Representative John Phelps, were subject to pressure.[98]

On April 26, 1861, two weeks after Fort Sumter was shelled, beginning the Civil War, Bruns worried that Missouri would go with the South and mail service would be severed. In the coming weeks, Northerners were expelled from Jefferson City.[99] However, even the expulsion of Northerners did not sooth Missouri's Confederates. Negotiations in St. Louis between federal General Nathaniel Lyon and secessionist committee member and former governor Sterling Price broke down when Lyon refused to concede any federal authority. Governor Jackson raced back to Jefferson City and called for 50,000 volunteers to repel federal troops. Following Jackson's

[95] Kremer, *This Place of Promise*, 54.
[96] Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* 176.
[97] Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* 176.
[98] Christopher Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards: The Civil War and the Remaking of the American Middle Border* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 140.
[99] Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* 176.

call for volunteers Lyons and 2,000 Union troops raced by commandeered steamboats up the Missouri for Jefferson City. Jackson and his followers snatched up state papers, currency, and the state seal and fled west, burning three railroad bridges in their wake.[100] Jackson also moved the state's powder and stores to Boonville in consideration of the strongly Unionist German population.[101] Union troops commanded by Major-General John C. Fremont moved into Jefferson City. They were largely German immigrants from St. Louis and would remain for the rest of the war (Figure 21).

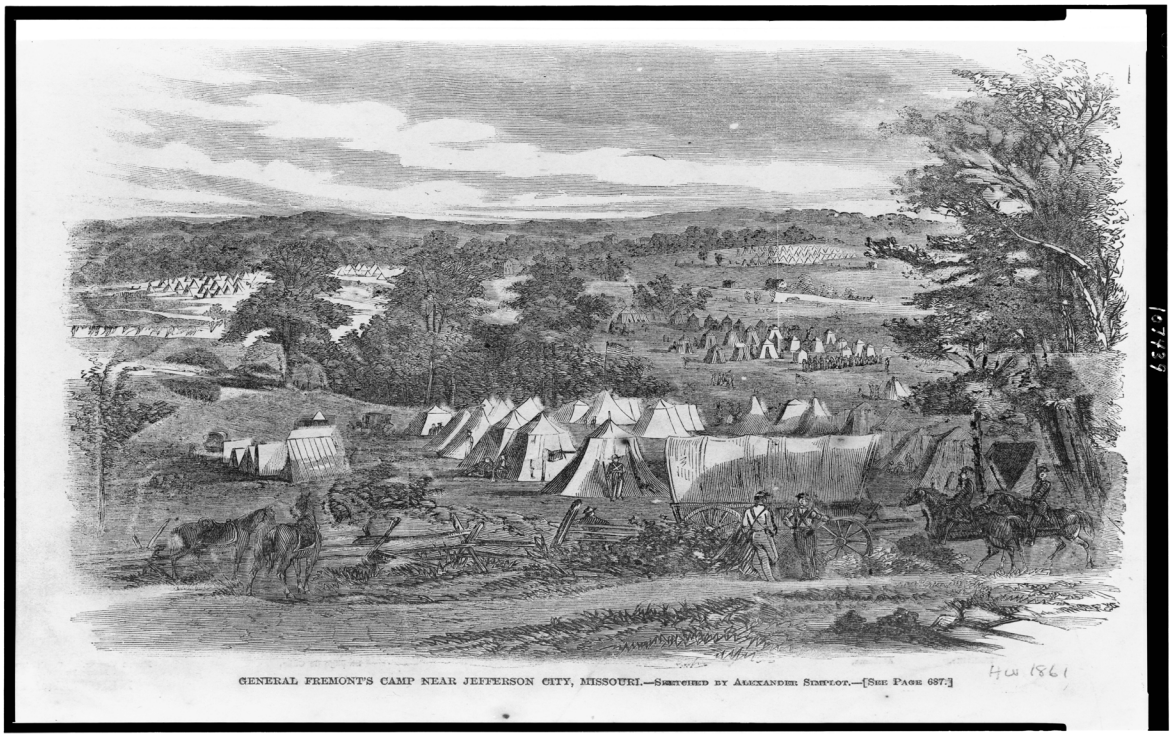

Figure 21. Major-General Fremont and his troops camped in the area west and south of the Capitol in 1861. (Library of Congress)

On November 14, 1863, General John Schofield issued General Order #135, authorizing Provost Marshals to recruit Black soldiers for the United States Colored Troops. By December, Jefferson City was filled with formerly enslaved able-bodied men from the Little Dixie region clamoring to join the Union army.[102] Their former owners, largely from Callaway and Boone Counties, clogged Jefferson City hotels attempting to identify formerly enslaved men and seeking compensation from the government. In order to receive compensation owners had to prove they had been loyal to the Union cause, a burden of proof they were not expected to be met.[103]

[100] Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 141.
[101] Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 260.
[102] "From Jefferson City," *The Weekly Herald and Tribune,* December 10, 1863, 2.
[103] "From Jefferson City."

However, Missouri slaveholders resorted to shipping their emancipated slaves to other state to be sold. In 1864, General Rosecrans banned the exportation of enslaved persons from Missouri in order to stop the practice.[104]

By 1864, Bruns's husband had died, and one son was killed fighting for the Union at the Battle of Iuka in Mississippi. Bruns took in boarders, legislators and their staffers, who were often of German extraction. Brun's boarding house was referred to as the Radical Corner, certainly a nod to their Republican tendencies.[105]

Waves of guerrilla violence swept the Missouri countryside and occasionally came to Jefferson City. Lydia Montague opened a freed people's school in Jefferson City for the American Missionary Society in 1864.[106] Montague struggled to rent lodging and a place for a school in a hostile Jefferson City. Quickly getting fifty students, she endured daily racial slurs and boys throwing rocks at her and the students. After a guerrilla raid that killed one boarder and wounded another, Montague went to St. Louis.[107] She returned in March 1865 and resumed teaching and later supported the Lincoln Institute.[108] The location of the school is unknown.

Captain Ulysses S. Grant was in Jefferson City at the beginning of the war before being moved to Cairo, Illinois. He stayed at the Rauchelbach building, named after the German immigrant who apparently used it.[109] The building was located on the current State Capitol grounds and is no longer extant.

In response to the growing violence in Jefferson City, Lincoln replaced Schofield with hardliner General William Rosecrans, known for executing both deserters and guerrillas.[110] In 1864, Confederate General and former Missouri governor Sterling Price tested the Union defenses at Jefferson City (Figure 22). The Confederacy used Price's campaign for political purposes. They wanted to influence the presidential election. They expected that Price would be met with enthusiastic open arms. This was a grave error. Price's troops, who included guerrilla leaders, cut a swathe through Missouri, pillaging and executing Union sympathizers, especially African Americans and Germans.[111] Price made a feint at St. Louis but withdrew. Federal forces battled Price after crossing the Osage River as they approached a fortified Jefferson City. Union troops had constructed trenches and breastworks at high points around the city. In the 1930s, remains of the Union breastworks were reported to be intact on Union Street. Ironically, the intersection of

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[104] Amy Laurel Fluker, *Commonwealth of Compromise* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2020), 75.
[105] Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* 198.
[106] Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 260 (no location is given for the school in any source).
[107] Phillips, "The Hardline War," 31–32.
[108] Michelle Brooks, "First School for Black Children in Jefferson City Defied State Statutes," *News Tribune*, November 1, 2020, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2020/nov/01/First-school-for-Black-children-in-JC-defied-state, accessed September 28, 2022.
[109] "Markers Urged for Historic Sites As An Aid for Preserving Jefferson City's Colorful History," *Sunday News and Tribune,* March 24, 1935, 8.
[110] Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 260.
[111] Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 282.

Fairmount and Moreau was reported to have the remnants of powder magazines. The Sterling Price Confederate monument was placed in that location in 1955.

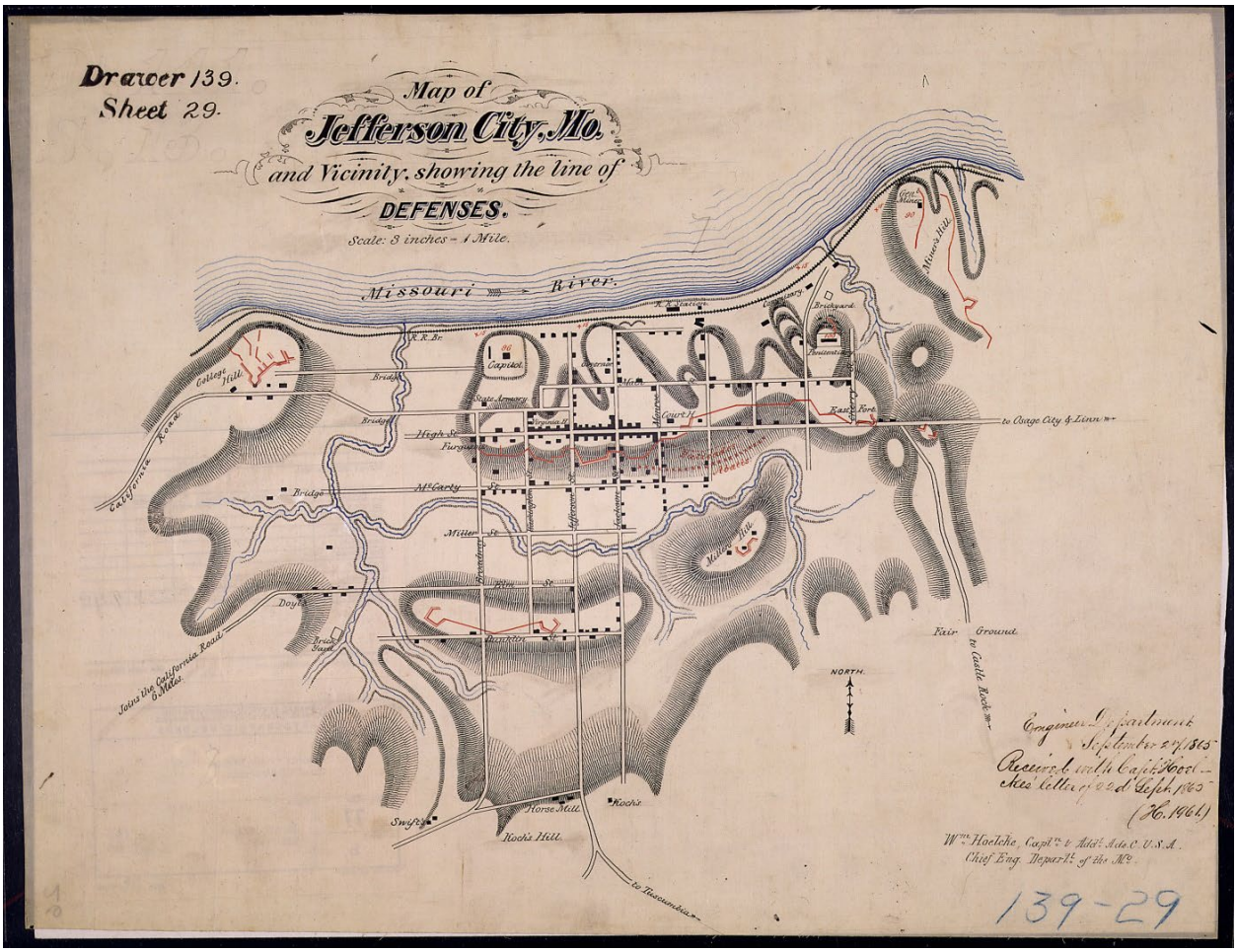

Figure 22. Map of Jefferson City's defenses (red lines) (National Archives)

Federal forces camped at Green Berry's Farm four miles from Jefferson City while Price spent the night at a German Unionist's farm six miles from the capital.[112] Price's attack on Jefferson City turned to be little more than a probe at Federal forces. Union soldiers discovered that Price had withdrawn during the night.

In the end, Price surrendered his ambition to recapture Missouri; instead it became a raid to plunder Missouri.[113] It was a failure on every level. Actually, besieging Jefferson City would have indicated that Missouri was not supporting the Confederacy one month before the election

[112] Mark Lause, *Price's Lost Campaign* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 169. Green Berry's wife was Sterling Price's daughter Virginia.
[113] Lause, *Price's Lost Campaign*, 174.

and would have tied up his entire army for an unknown but costly amount of time. Price's poor decisions threw the election for Missouri to Lincoln.

By January 1865, Henrietta Bruns wrote that Jefferson City was safe but the countryside was still not.[114] By April the war was over. Flags were strung around Jefferson City and there was celebratory cannon fire. Bruns wrote, "I can't be joyful about anything anymore, and I can only say, 'If only our men were alive, then we could participate more.'"[115] The Civil War essentially stunted Jefferson City's growth. In addition, occupying troops had damaged buildings and infrastructure. In January 1865, the population of Jefferson City was 2,733 people, with 218 African American men and 345 African American women.[116]

After the Civil War – the 1860s to the 1890s

By the end of the Civil War, Missouri had lost approximately one-third of its population.[117] Years of guerrilla warfare and campaigns by each side exhausted the population. However, while Jefferson City's population may have been exhausted, they were not done fighting. Many residents were ready to continue to harass the other side.[118] These divisions would persist, but over time Jefferson City's leading residents, and indeed Missouri itself, would assume a Southern identity. In 1866, *The People's Tribune* noted that building had recommenced in Jefferson City, with lots on Jefferson Street, High Street, and Broadway being quickly sold.[119]

Figure 23. The Ross House at West McCarty and Walnut was constructed between 1863 and 1869. It was demolished in 1983 as part of the urban renewal program in the Millbottom. (Library of Congress, HABS-MO-1258)

[114] Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* 198.
[115] Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* 201.
[116] "The News," *The Missouri Republican,* January 10, 1865, 2.
[117] Kremer, *This Place of Promise*, 130.
[118] Kremer, *This Place of Promise*, 129.
[119] "Jefferson City," *The People's Tribune,* April 4, 1866, 3.

Divisions aside, by 1867 Jefferson City was growing again with a mix of German immigrants and easterners. A second railroad line was planned, and the town was "improving a great deal."[120] By 1868, the original city inlots and outlots began to be subdivided into smaller lots with new alleys (Figure 25).[121]

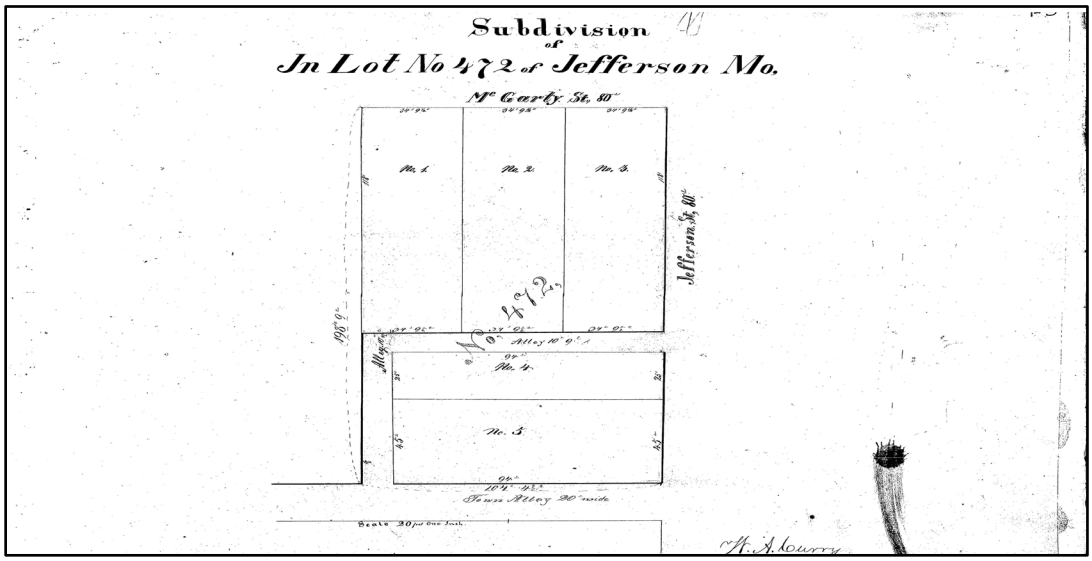

Figure 24. By 1868, inlots and outlots were being subdivided with new alleys. (MidMoGis)

The eastern portion of an 1869 map drawn by Albert Ruger shows an axial grid street pattern focused on the State Capitol (Figure 25).

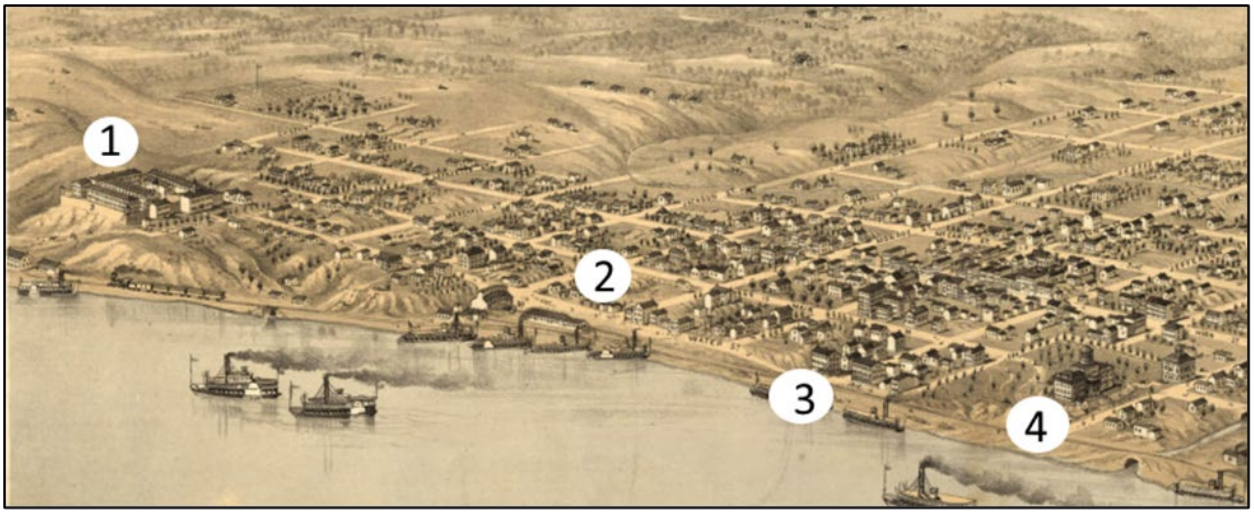

Figure 25. 1869 map by Albert Ruger: 1. Missouri State Penitentiary, 2. Capital East neighborhood, 3. Lohman's Landing, now Jefferson Landing, 4. State Capitol, note the mouth of Wears Creek to the right.

[120] Bruns, *Hold Dear As Always,* 220.
[121] Some early plats are not dated but it does not appear that any were formally replatted before the Civil War.

The city extends east to the State Penitentiary, growing less dense the farther one goes from the Capitol. The map also shows the heavily dissected nature of the topography which curtailed denser development east of downtown and near the Missouri River. Houses were also located on higher ground, including the appropriately named High Street, leaving the valleys and floodplain undeveloped or used for agriculture, as some orchards are present in the Millbottom west of the Capitol. What does not seem apparent is any type of heavy industry.

The western portion of the map shows Munichburg in the distance, almost a suburb, separated by the terrain but connected by Broadway, Jefferson, and Washington Streets (Figure 26).

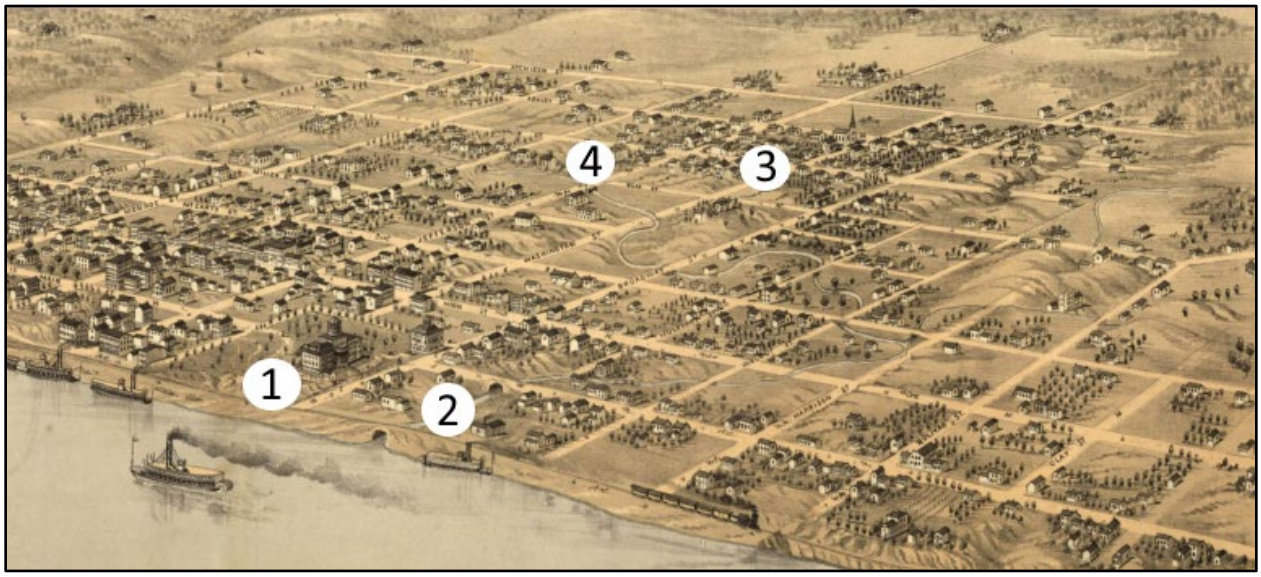

Figure 26. 1869 Albert Ruger map showing western Jefferson City: 1. State Capitol, 2. Millbottom and Wears Creek, 3. Munichburg neighborhood, 4. 1857 bridge over Wears Creek, currently near the site of the Coca-Cola Bottling Company at 604 Jefferson Street

One of the features pictured is the 1859 Jefferson Street stone bridge over Wears Creek (Figure 19). Other extant features include the Pacific Railroad lines along the Missouri River and the steamboat landing at Lohman's Landing.

Census records indicate that the neighborhood's residents were largely German immigrants and earlier Americans. Herman Tanner, who would later be a Munichburg resident, lived on Jefferson Street in 1880. His neighbors, while some were second-generation Germans, included families from Kentucky, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.[122]

[122] 1880 Census, Enumeration District 46, Jefferson City Cole County, Missouri.

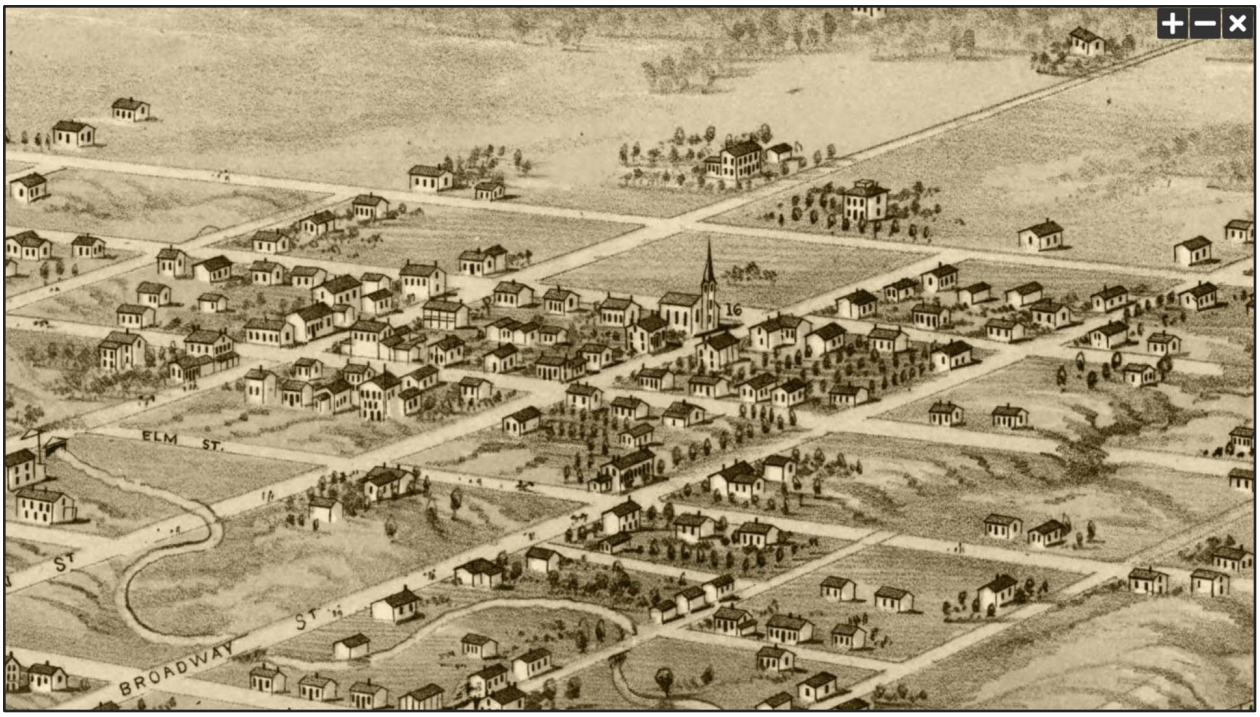

Figure 27. Detail of the Munichburg neighborhood in 1869.

The prison was no more popular after the war than it was before. The Panic of 1873 resulted in widespread unemployment. Prisoners threatening to revolt and walking around the town caused consternation; the fact that some were African American added a racial component, as white residents were convinced that Black residents would readily assist them in escape.[123] Prison labor also introduced corruption. Groceries purchased for the penitentiary were sold "to families of officials, guards, and employees."[124] In the 1880s Jefferson City installed a private city water system. Installation was slowed when the African American "ditchers" went on strike when their demands for $1.50 a day, a raise of 20 cents, was rejected.[125]

The late 1880s were a period of growth in Jefferson City. In 1880, 5,271 people lived in the town including 1,012 African American residents, 19.2 percent of the population.[126] By 1900, the population had increased to 11,808 including 1,953 Black residents.[127] Growth translated into density as the original inlots and outlots were subdivided. The result was not consistent. New alleys were added willy-nilly, and new lot sizes varied widely. The new development pattern established blocks or streets that were not immediately fully developed. When the grid was

[123] Kremer and Gage, "The Prison Against the Town," 421.
[124] Kremer and Gage, "The Prison Against the Town," 424.
[125] "Want More Pay," *St. Louis Dispatch*, August 1, 1888, 1.
[126] "Progress Amidst Prejudice: Portraits of African Americans in Missouri 1880-1920," Missouri State Archives, https://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/aapc/census_worksheet, Accessed September 5, 2022.
[127] "Progress Amidst Prejudice."

merely laid over the topography not every lot was desirable. Easier-to-build lots were used first. Hillside lots were often developed later; in some instances up to eighty years passed from plat to construction. Notable buildings constructed in the 1880s include the Temple Beth El at 318 Monroe Street. It is thought to be the oldest temple in continuous use in the western United States. It was constructed in 1883.[128] The Lohman Opera House, 102 East High Street, was opened in 1886. To the immediate west of the opera house is Louis Lohman's General Merchandise. Although constructed in 1870s, the grouping indicates that the center of entertainment and commerce had moved from the riverfront to High Street by this time.[129]

The Old Munichburg neighborhood began to be subdivided in the 1880s. Like other subdivisions of this period Swalley's subdivision at Jefferson Street, Ashley Street, Madison Street, and Atchison Street introduced new alleys to the street pattern (Figure 28).

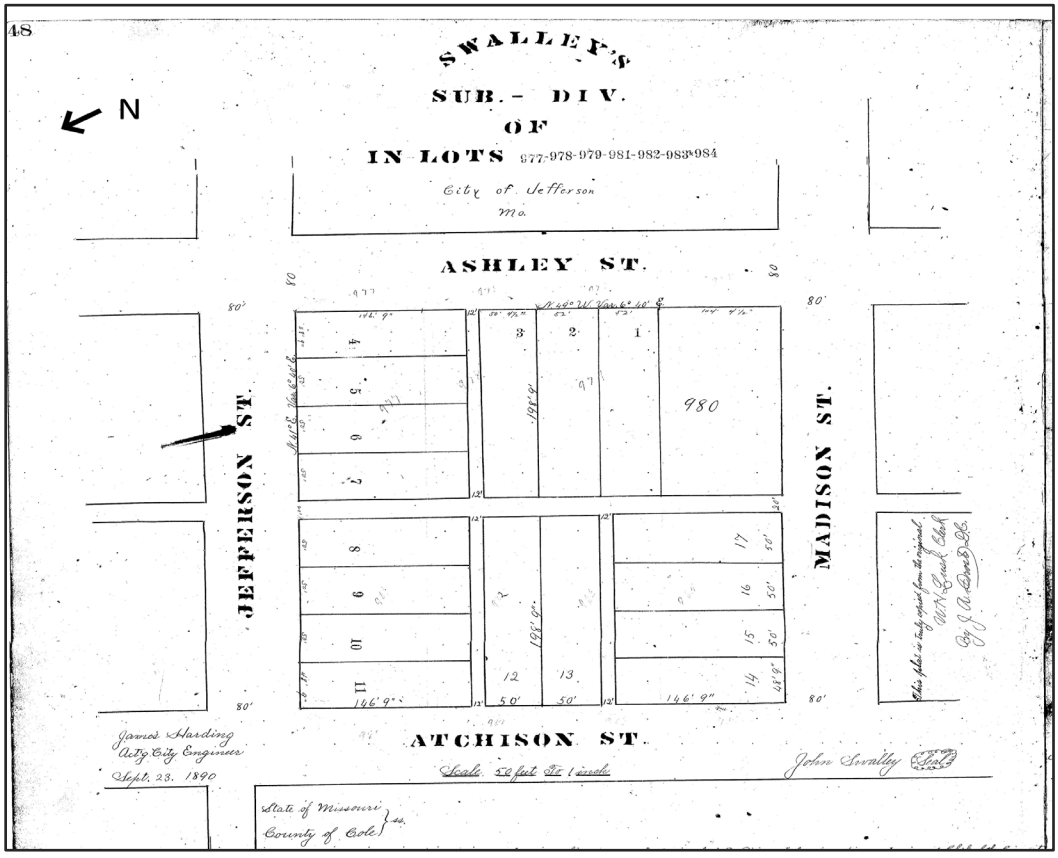

Figure 28. Swalley's Subdivision in Munichburg added new alleys to the grid.

[128] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 47.
[129] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 52.

This departure from the 1840 outlots and inlots was not done in a consistent manner. Each subdivision placed new alleys off the original alley on the grid. Munichburg in 1923 shows how this pattern that started in the late 1880s developed (Figure 29).

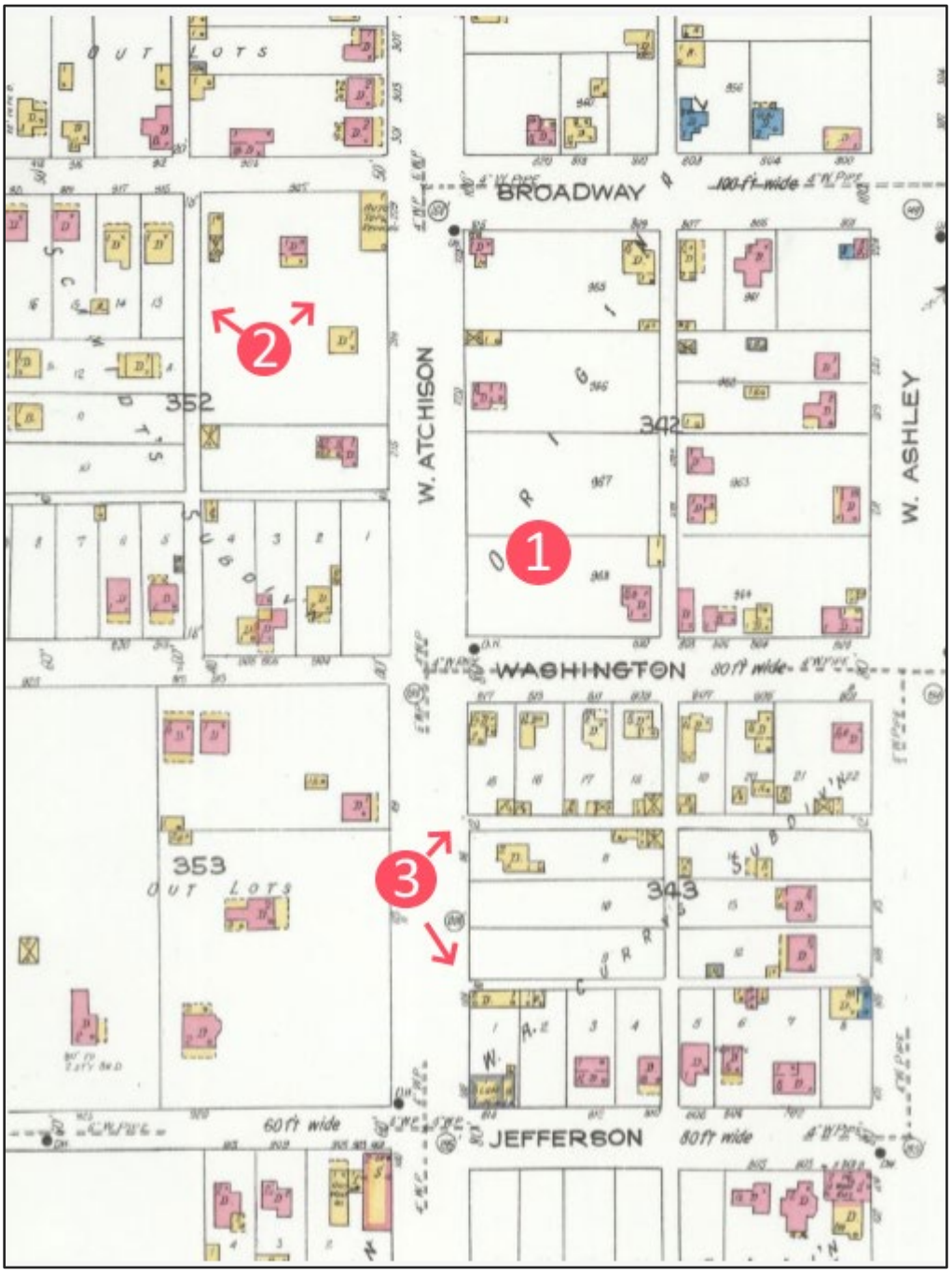

Figure 29. The 1923 Sanborn map shows: 1. The original inlot size with a north-south alley, 2. Multiple dwellings on one lot were common, 3. Alleys added to the street grid. Subdivisions do not consistently divide blocks or lots. Atchison Street was the southern dividing line between inlots and outlots.

This inconsistency is still reflected. While some alleys are no longer in service many of the redeveloped subdivision's alleys are still in use.

South of the State Capitol, near the 1885 Post Office, was a strip of hotels and boarding houses. The brutally sarcastic *Sedalia Weekly Bazoo* described the greatest industries in 1893 as "lager beer, *penicel* [sic], and boarding houses."[130] Penicel was described as a German card game that involved "two glasses of beer and two decks of cards," and is most likely the game we know as pinochle. While the *Bazoo's* publisher J. West Goodwin was undoubtedly trying to be humorous, there must have been a kernel of truth when he described the inhabitants of the 1880s, who appear to have been largely visiting legislators, German immigrants and southern-leaning citizens. "The chief occupation of the inhabitants is swapping lies, sliding down hills, entertaining people who go there by compulsion, on link sausage, smear kase (cottage cheese), sour kraut and pine top whiskey, which is villainous enough to force a man to make wry faces at a picture of the Virgin Mary."[131] In a single sentence, Goodwin wrapped up Jefferson City's stereotypes, topography and the transmission of regional and international foodways. (Pine top whiskey was a Virginia Civil War recipe of pine needles boiled in water and mixed with pure grain alcohol, with a predictable taste result.)[132]

J. West Goodwin's tongue-in-cheek description is also related to the many beer gardens in Jefferson City during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Friemel's, a particularly popular beer garden, was located in the 600 block of Madison Street across from the current Central Dairy (Figure 30).

Figure 30. A singing society at Friemel's Beer Garden in 1895 (United Church of Christ Archives)

[130] "The Deacon's Jargon: Trip to the Capitol and a Few Remarks Which Lead to Suggestions," *The Sedalia Weekly Bazoo,* January 17, 1893, 5.
[131] "The Deacon's Jargon," 5.
[132] Mark Will Weber, *Applejack, Soldiers, Spirits and the Civil War* (Washington, DC: Regnery History, 2017).

In 1881, the business moved to Madison Street, to the site of Turner's Garden.[133] Beer gardens were essential to German identity. They provided a family-friendly environment for German social life and the perpetuation of songs and traditions.

However, despite the subdividing of lots Jefferson City was still not fully developed in 1885. A sorting of residential and industrial uses downtown had not happened. A "vacant and dilapidated" ironworks sat across the street from the Capitol, with a lumberyard and paint shop down the street on Capital Avenue and Jefferson Streets. Historic lumberyards were famous fire hazards.[134] Volatile chemicals and stacks of dry wood often combined with a nearby railroad's added sparks—a combustible mix.[135] Consequently, they were not desirable locations to live in and whites often would not do so. The 1885 Sanborn Fire Insurance map noted that Jefferson City had a 40-man volunteer fire department, one Silsby Steam Engine, 3 hose carts, one hook and ladder truck, 1,250 feet of hose, and a bad water supply.[136] Behind the lumberyard was a small African American enclave, a mix of small frame and brick buildings. This is a historically common urban pattern. African American enclaves were often located near undesirable uses, such as railroad tracks and lumberyards, because of the perceived and sometime actual danger of living near them. In addition, these industries also provided casual labor for African American residents, moving coal and lumber, hauling products, and general sweeping and shoveling.[137] Consequently, these industrial uses often fostered Black enclaves, not only because whites would not live there but because they were close to employment opportunities.[138] In addition, the presence of hotels and boarding houses provided other avenues of employment.[139]

Heavier industry was located in the Millbottom (Figures 31 and 32). The Missouri Pacific roundhouse was located near the river. Local agricultural products were also processed and shipped out by rail from the Millbottom neighborhood. At the end of the nineteenth century, it featured a cattle feedlot near the railroad spur.[140] Nearby was Pohl Brothers brickworks located in the 300 block of Harrison Street now occupied by the Missouri Department of Transportation building. A mill was located near Wears Creek.

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[133] Walter Schroeder, "Cole County History: Before City Parks: Friemel's Garden," *News Tribune*, January 23, 2021, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2021/jan/23/Cole-County-History-Before-city-parks-Friemels-Gar, accessed July 11, 2022. (Neither beer garden is extant).
[134] "Retail Yard Insurance," *American Lumberman,* February 24, 1912, 1.
[135] "Fire Hazards That Should be Anticipated," *The American City,* May 1919, 463.
[136] Sanborn Map Company, Jefferson City, Cole County, Missouri, 1885, Sheet 1.
[137] Andrew Weise, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth-Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 56.
[138] Henry L. Taylor, "Spatial Organization and the Residential Experience: Black Cincinnati in 1850," *Social Science History* 10, no. 1 (1986): 56–57.
[139] Taylor, "Spatial Organization," 58.
[140] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Jefferson City, 1898, Sheet 2.

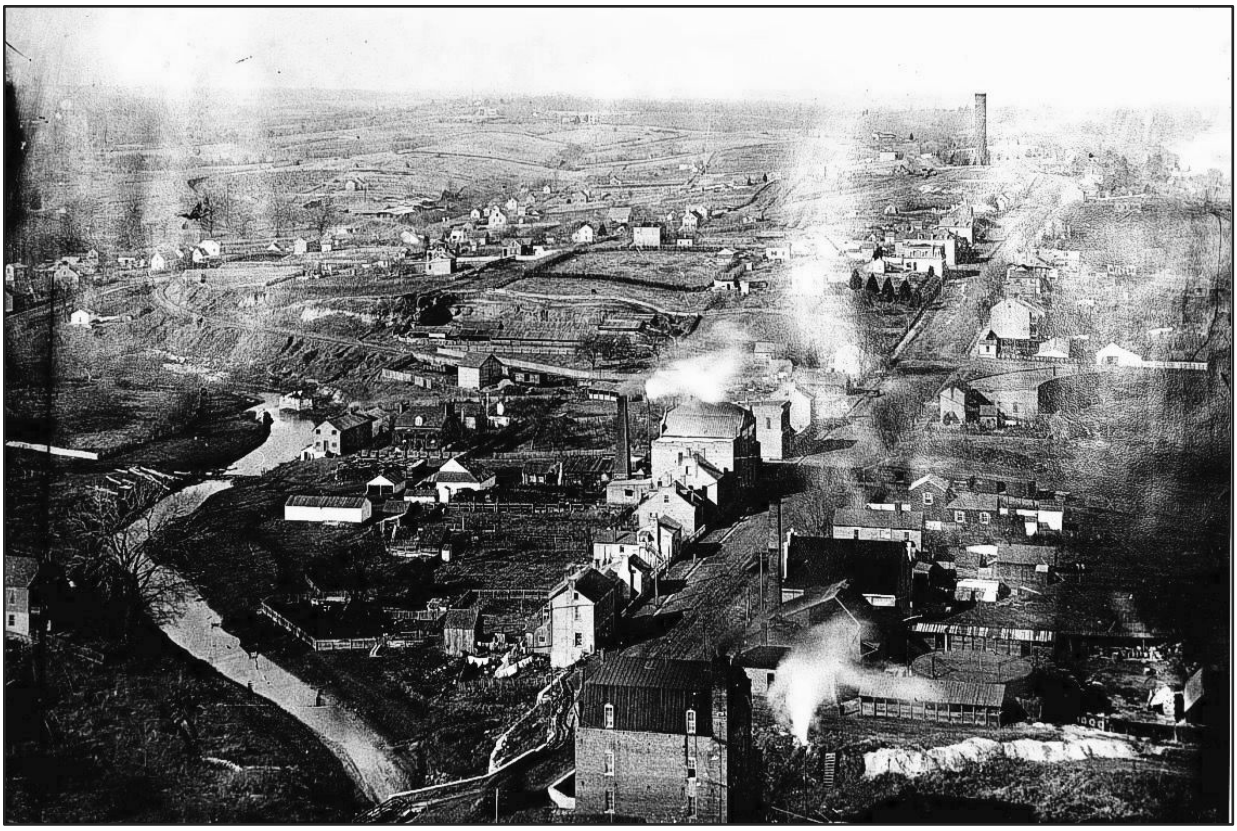


Figure 31. Millbottom neighborhood west of the Capitol, taken from the Capitol c. 1890

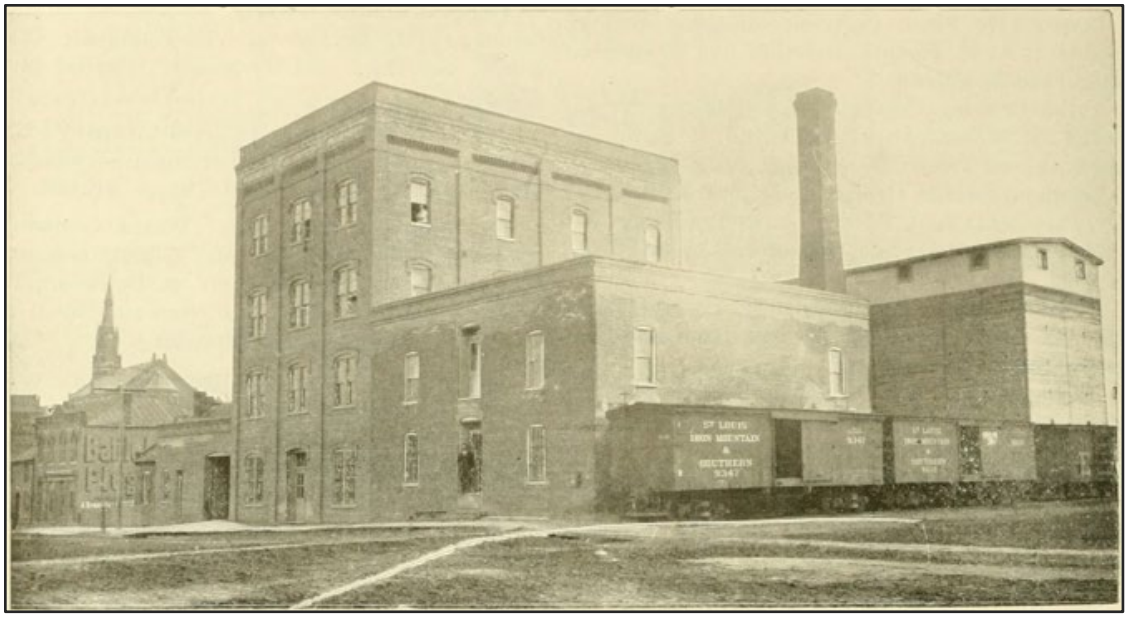


Figure 32. G.H. Dulle Milling Company in the Millbottom neighborhood c. 1900 with St. Peter's Church, 216 East Broadway, in the background. The mill has been demolished, but St. Peter's Church is extant. (Johnston, The Illustrated Sketch Book of Jefferson City)

The Moerschel Brothers purchased the Wagner Brewery in Munichburg in 1892 at 118 E. Dunklin Street (Figure 33).[141] The plant also made ice, which was largely used locally, while the beer was shipped out on the Missouri, Kansas, Texas Railroad, the Katy line. [142]

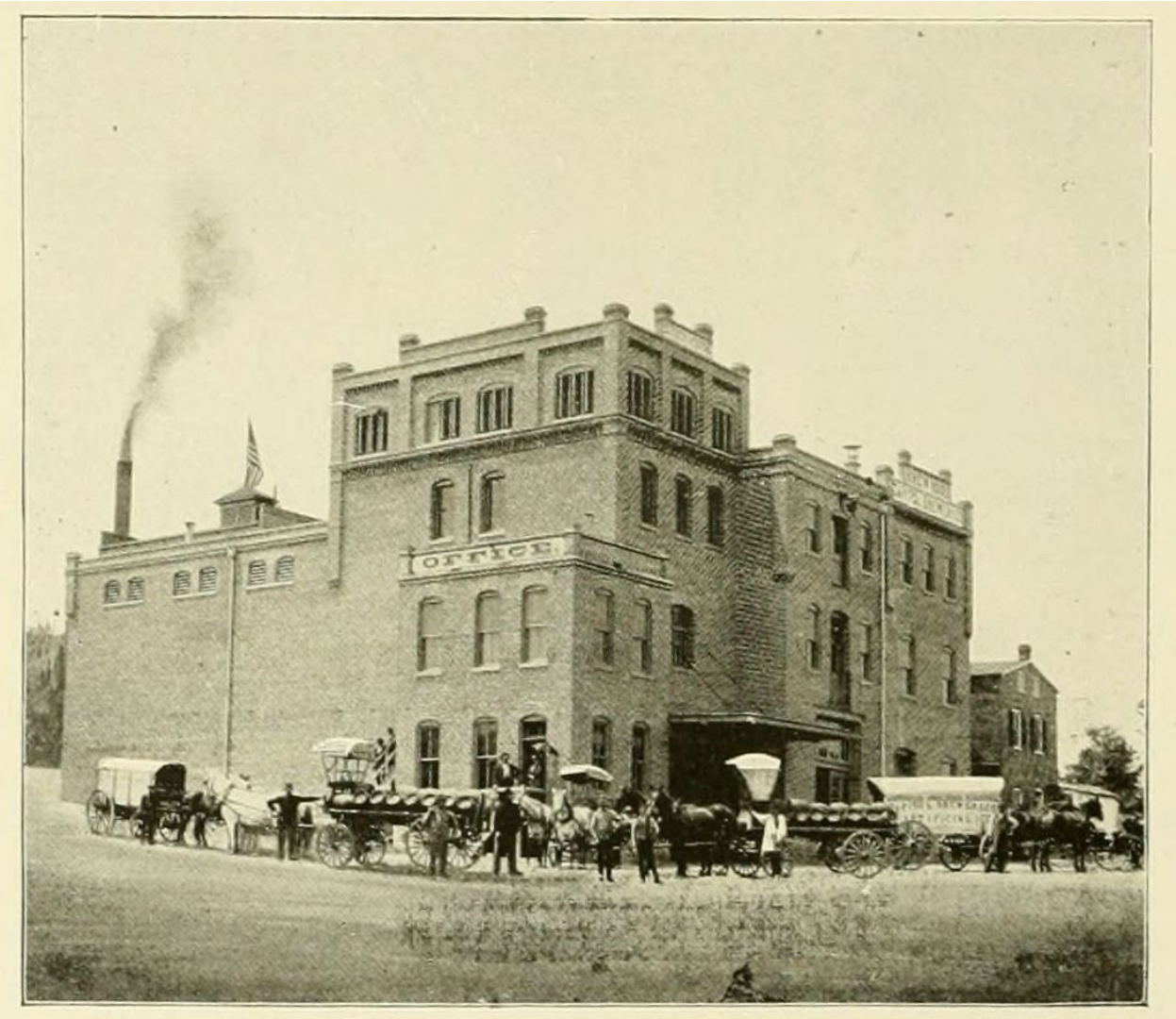


Figure 33. The Capital Brewing Company, formerly Wagner's, in 1900. The building is not extant and the site is occupied by a now-closed grocery store. (Johnston, The Illustrated Sketch Book of Jefferson City)

With the notable exception of shoes, Jefferson City never achieved the agricultural or industrial base that other river towns such as Kansas City or St. Louis. The business of Jefferson City was government, quite important but neither labor- nor capital-intensive.

[141] The brewery is no longer extant.
[142] J. W. Johnston, *The Illustrated Sketch Book of Jefferson City and Cole County* (Jefferson City: Missouri Illustrated Sketch Company, 1900), 252–253. The Katy Railroad line is now the Katy State Park Rail Trail.

Although Jefferson City did not become a major metropolitan area, the town grew during 1870s and 1880s. Houses during this period are Italianate in the 1870s and 1880s. Italianate houses are usually two or three stories with a low roof. Defining characteristics include narrow, arched windows with elaborate crowns and brackets under the eaves. High-style examples may have a cupola.[143] A good example in Jefferson City is the McIntyre House at 401 E. Capitol Avenue.[144]

Civic and municipal improvements continued slowly. In 1889, the House and Senate wings were added to the Capitol, as well as improvements to make the building more fireproof.

It was during the 1890s that the Commercial Club was formed.[145] Composed of local business owners and politicians, members were often both depending on the year. Commercial Club member Sam Cook was previously Secretary of State.[146] In an era when a city had progressive reformers or political machines, Jefferson City veered strongly towards machine politics. The Commercial Club initiated municipal improvements. They started the Jefferson City Water Company and would later be involved in the Jefferson City bridge and the streetcar. The group built the sewage system.[147] Unlike cities that made public municipal improvements, Commercial Club activities were profit-oriented for private interests. In addition, there was little or no public input or oversight of the Commercial Club. But when or if the project failed financially the city would be forced to take over.

Real estate interest grew in the 1880s and increased in the 1890s. More plats were subdivided downtown, in Munichburg and the East Capitol neighborhood. This continued to increase the density though development was still dictated by topography. Mortgage lending practices and the wider economic environment were not amenable to rapid real estate development. Lots were sold without houses. The buyer had to finance the house and the lot through a five-to-seven-year mortgage with a balloon payment that had to be rolled over at the end of the term. Banks were leery of the interest rates of long-term mortgages that, in theory, could eventually be less than what banks paid on deposits. Therefore, a long-term mortgage could easily sink a bank if interest rates became unbalanced. Attracting Eastern or foreign capital was integral to western towns and cities during this period. English and Scottish companies, flush with cash from the Industrial Revolution and the British Empire, invested heavily in agricultural land and industry.[148] Railroads were also popular investment option. However, without a major industry or a product to ship Jefferson City does not appear to have been attractive to this type of capital at the time. Even getting a bridge over the Missouri River bedeviled Jefferson City. Finance was a challenge but there were competing theories as to why at the time. When the 1896 bridge was opened *The*

[143] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 233.
[144] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 28
[145] Joseph F. Summers and Dottie Summers Dallmeyer, *Jefferson City, Missouri* (Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 8.
[146] Gary Kremer, "History Matters: Formation of Country Club in 1909 Was Part of Strategy to Form New Capitol," *News-Tribune,* January 13, 2002, n.p.
[147] Johnston, *The Illustrated Sketch Book of Jefferson City*, 254.
[148] E. Michael Rosser and Diane M. Sanders, *A History of Mortgage Banking* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2017), 25.

State Republican blamed the lack of investment on Jefferson City's status as a "political town" and not a "business town."[149] The newspaper stated that Jefferson City had tried to attract "Eastern capital" without success. Efforts to get a railroad to finance a bridge failed repeatedly.[150] Both approaches were fraught at the time. In 1890, the Argentine government collapsed, exposing British investors who had made highly speculative investments there. In order to cover their losses, foreign investors dumped U.S. securities and refused to roll over mortgages.[151] The financial panic lasted through 1893, stifling the investment that Jefferson City needed.

Some felt the Capitol's permanent location was still uncertain and this stifled investment.[152] This theory was floated again even after the first decade of the 20th century.[153] However, even through the uncertainty Jefferson City grew from 1890 when it housed 6,742 residents to 9,664 residents in 1900. Cole County did not fare as well and the population remained fairly static except for Jefferson Township which increased during the decade, indicating that new residents in the county gravitated to Jefferson City and its metro area in the township.[154]

Jefferson City finally did get a bridge. In 1896, a rotating bridge designed by J. A. L. Waddell of Kansas City and built by A. J. Tullock was partially financed by subscription (Figure 34).

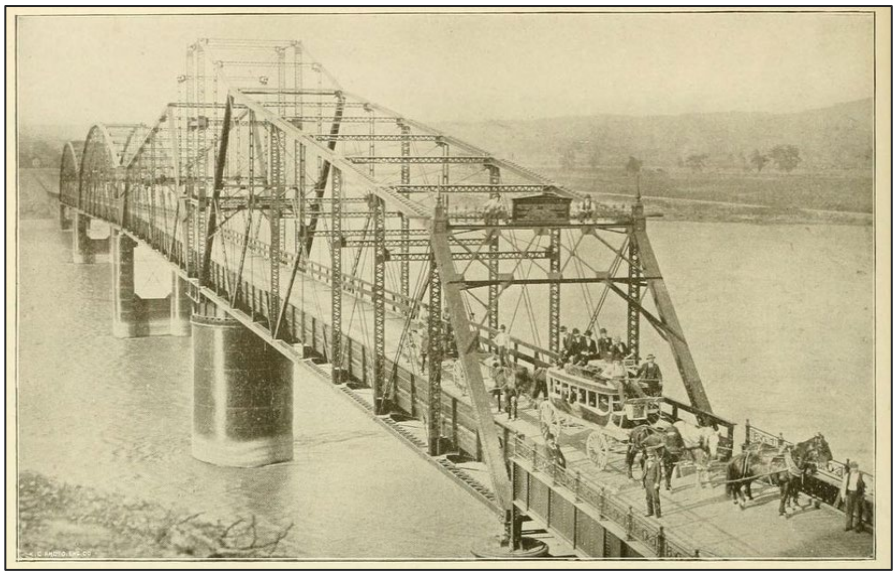


Figure 34. The 1896 Jefferson Bridge Company bridge over the Missouri River in c. 1900, showing the pivot point on which the bridge rotated to allow river traffic to pass

[149] "Bridge Celebration," *The State Republican,* May 21 ,1896, 1.
[150] "Bridge Opened," *The State Republican,* April 9, 1896, 3.
[151] Rosser and Sanders, *A History of Mortgage Banking*, 10–11.
[152] "Many Business Houses in 1896 Survive," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* October 14, 1932, 1.
[153] "The Bond Figures Come in Slowly," *Springfield Leader and Press,* August 7, 1911, 4.
[154] United States Census, 1900, Missouri, Table 4. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1900/bulletins/demographic/32-population-mo.pdf, accessed August 25, 2022.

While Waddell was a well-known railroad bridge engineer, notable for inventing the "A" truss bridge, Jefferson City's bridge featured a rotating span to allow river traffic. Although Jefferson City tried to induce a number of railroads to make a span, these efforts failed. Jefferson City's Commercial Club, an early version of the Chamber of Commerce, guided the effort before selling the toll bridge.[155] A farmer and a family of ten in their wagon paid a thirty-five cent toll.[156] It was still not uncommon to see a wagon stuck in the mud in the Millbottom area, as many if not most streets were not paved.[157] However, the bridge, with its hard surface, was popular with cyclists and pedestrians.[158] Remnants of the previous bridge are still extant at the end of Bolivar Street.

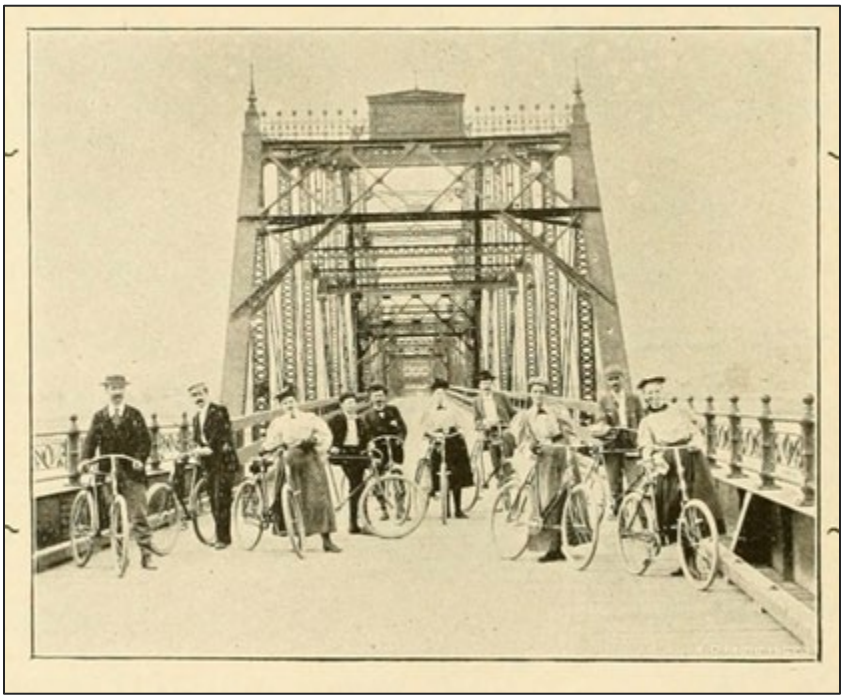


Figure 35. Cyclists on the Jefferson Bridge Company bridge over the Missouri River in 1900

In 1898, the Park Place Addition was platted (Figure 36). It is located east of Capitol between High Street and Main Street below Linn Street. The addition continued the new development pattern of subdividing the previously platted outlots. Park Place can be viewed as one of Jefferson City's first suburbs. Although now surrounded by the urban fabric, when developed the plat was almost in a rural setting. The design featured a roundabout with parkland on either side.

[155] "A Bridge to Jefferson City's Future," *News Tribune*, December 19, 2010, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2010/dec/19/bridge-jefferson-citys-future/, accessed June 5, 2022.
[156] "Bridge Celebration," *The State Republican,* May 21, 1896, 1.
[157] "Many Business Houses in 1896 Survive," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* October 14, 1932, 1.
[158] "Bridge Opened," *State Republican,* April 9, 1896, 3.

This marked a transition from the 1840 plat to an 1890s garden design. The Park Place Neighborhood Park is extant.

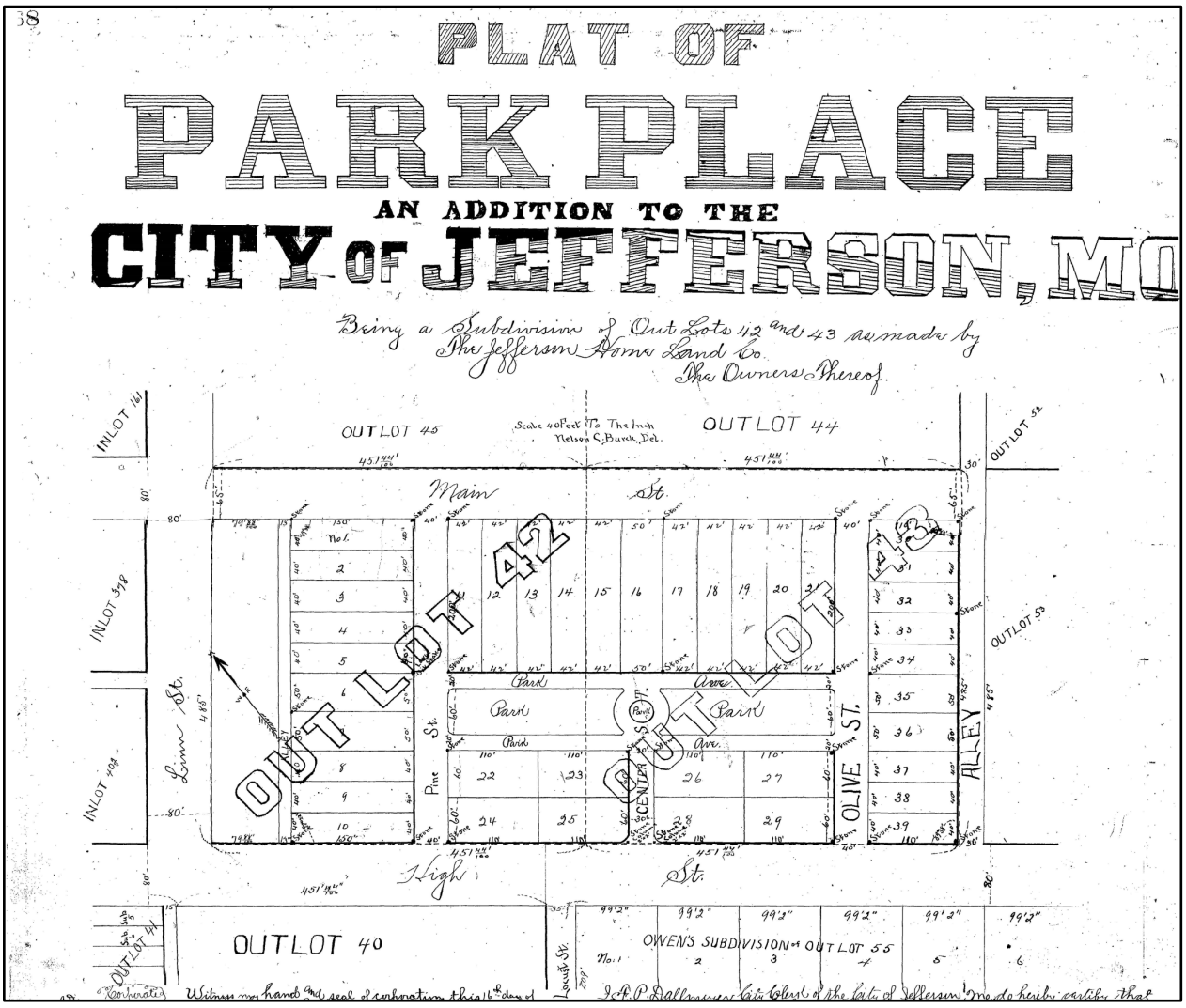


Figure 36. The Park Place Addition, one of Jefferson City's first suburbs (MidMoGIS)

The subdivision was particularly successful. By 1908, it was almost completely developed with a mix of frame and brick homes arranged around the park.[159]

Downtown Jefferson City was slowly taking the shape it would have through much of the twentieth century before urban renewal. The Missouri Pacific railroad station was built in 1890. Although the State Capitol was encroached on by industrial use, the area gravitated towards manufacturing. Manufacturing outside the prison walls was hastened when labor unions and low prices for prison-manufactured goods compelled the manufacturers to not renew their contracts

[159] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map Company, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1908, Sheet 14.

around 1905. The city and the Commerce Club offered incentives in the form of vacant lots and subsidies, and it appears abandoned property, for new factories outside the prison. Shoe companies in St. Louis established a presence in Jefferson City seeking cheap labor (Figure 37).[160] Wages were suppressed in Jefferson City since most free labor shoe manufacturing was associated with the same firms using prison labor.[161] But the partial switch to free labor set off an industrial building boom on the edges of downtown and in the Millbottom. Shoe factories, associated with the same families involved in prison contracting, moved across the street from the Capitol to the east.[162]

Figure 37. The 1905 International Shoe Factory at 1101 East Capitol Avenue, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2021 (Rory Krupp)

Post-Bellum Nineteenth Century African American History

By the end of the Civil War, the African American population in Jefferson City had nearly doubled to 563 African residents. Many were probably from the countryside and counties in Little Dixie seeking jobs and safety in numbers. The white population had actually fallen by roughly 300 people during the same period.

[160] International Shoe Company nomination, Section 8, p. 14–15.
[161] Thomas Erskine, "Report on the Trade of the Consular District of St. Louis for the Year 1910," in *Parlimentary Papers Vol. 97* (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1911), 23.
[162] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map Company, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1892, Sheet 4.

Figure 38. The c. 1867 Hagan House formerly at 501 Cherry Street. Named for the builder and original owner Christian Hagan, the house was sold to Hiram Brooks in c. 1872. It was thought to be the earliest known extant African American owned house when it was demolished in 1983 for the City Central Maintenance and Bus Garage Project.[163]

In 1866, the Lincoln Institute, which would eventually become Lincoln University, was founded. Part of garrison life for 65th U.S. Colored Troops, based in Texas at the time, was learning to read. Their officers were worried that when the soldiers were mustered out their educational opportunities would end. Freed Blacks came to Jefferson City throughout the war and this movement increased afterwards. The 65th Colored Infantry commander, Col. Theodore Barrett, advised freed enslaved people to purchase their homes and land.[164] But this was difficult when many African Americans could only find work as domestics, laborers, and tenant farmers.[165]

[163] Historic American Building Survey Data Sheet, HABS# MO-1200, https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/master/pnp/habshaer/mo/mo0400/mo0416/data/mo0416data.pdf, accessed July 12, 2022.
[164] Kremer, *This Place of Promise*, 131–132.
[165] Kremer, *This Place of Promise*, 132.

The original campus, an abandoned public schoolhouse, was located on Hobo Hill, now 548 East Miller and the home of Simonsen 9th Grade Center.[166] The roof leaked, and a flooded Wears Creek could cut off students and instructors.[167] Nonetheless, school enrollment steadily increased.

A portion of the campus, at Chestnut and Dunklin, now the Inman Library, was originally an African American cemetery, though it is marked State Cemetery on Sanborn Insurance maps. This cemetery was used until 1877.[168]

Overall, Missouri was not an attractive place to stay for freed African Americans. Continuing a migration that started during the Civil War, Black Missourians moved to Kansas, Iowa, and Illinois, and a quarter of those who remained in Missouri moved to St. Louis. By 1870, Missouri's Black population was the lowest of any slaveholding state besides Delaware at 6.9 percent of the population.[169]

The Lincoln Institute moved to its current campus in 1870 (Figure 39). In 1879, Missouri recognized Lincoln University, and the institution was transferred to the state. Its role was to educate African American teachers. In 1890, Lincoln became a Morrill Land Grant school.[170]

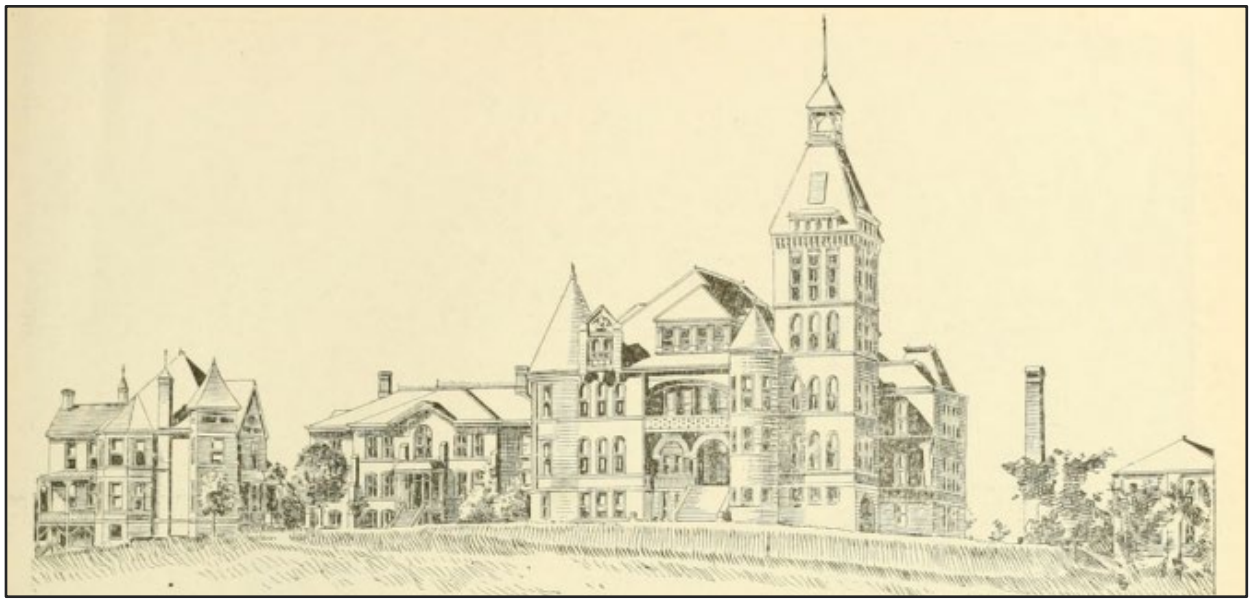


Figure 39. Lincoln University, c. 1900 (Johnston, The Illustrated Sketch Book of Jefferson City)

[166] Antonio F. Holland, Timothy R. Roberts, Dennis White, and Rosemary Hearn, *Soldiers' Dream Continued: A Pictorial History of Lincoln University of Missouri*"(Jefferson City: Lincoln University, 1991), https://bluetigercommons.lincolnu.edu/lu_history_book/1
[167] Holland et al., *Soldiers' Dream Continued*, 3.
[168] Brooks, *Lost Jefferson City*, 89.
[169] Fluker, *Commonwealth of Compromise*, 76.
[170] Lincoln University, "Our History," https://www.lincolnu.edu/web/about-lincoln/our-history, accessed June 6, 2022.

In 1885 African Americans lived in various places downtown (Figure 40). The axial grid system provided alleys and rear yard dwellings for servants and domestics. The area was integrated overall but African Americans were largely relegated to these alley houses.

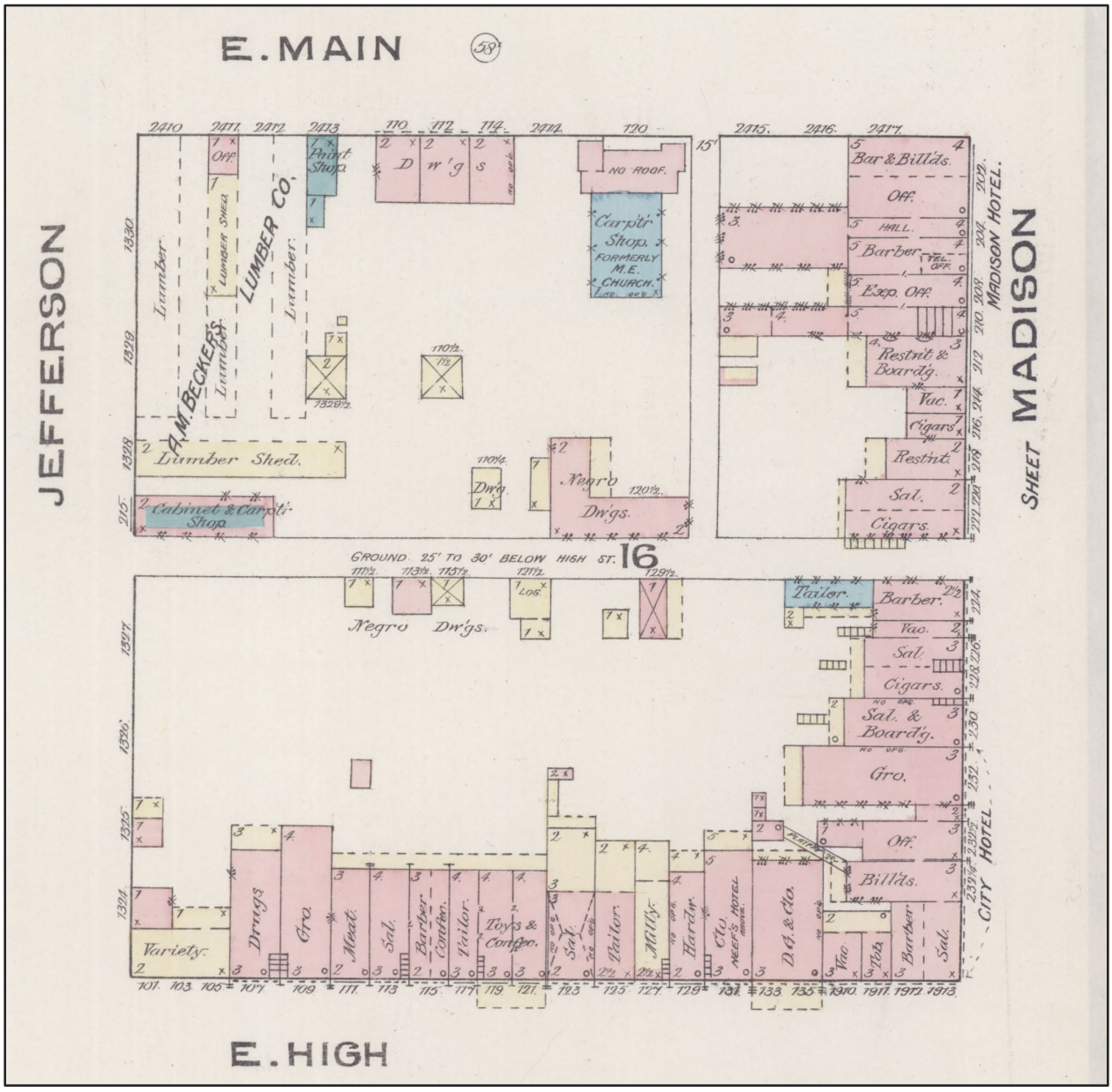


Figure 40. African American dwellings downtown in 1885 (Sanborn Fire Insurance Company)

But the densest concentration on the Sanborn map insurance map, which was not that big, was Hog Alley, currently Commerce Street (Figure 41). The alley stretched from Adams to the

parking lot on Jefferson Street.[171] The vast majority of Jefferson City's Black population, 635 people in 1880, lived downtown with the highest number in Hog Alley.[172] Like many segregated enclaves, Hog Alley's Black population spanned classes, with residents' occupations including domestic servants, barbers, restaurant owners, and prostitutes. The 1898 and 1906 Sanborn Fire Insurance map shows a two-story brick tenement building marked for African American occupancy in the alley at Madison Street between High Street and Main Street. It was next to the Hogg Lumberyard.[173]

Figure 41. Hog Alley in 1924 (Missouri State Archives)

Because Jefferson City was the capital and had an African American land grant school, it became a meeting place for Black leaders from around the state. As such strides in civil rights that had statewide effect took place here. Missouri, like the Southern states, tried to enact Jim Crow laws at the turn of the century. However, a concerted pushback from African American leaders from

[171] Carolyn Bening, "Driving the Hogs Out of Hog Alley," *News Tribune*, July 6, 2019, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2019/jul/06/Cole-County-History-Driving-the-hogs-out-of-Hog-A/, accessed June 7, 2022.
[172] Bening, "Driving the Hogs Out of Hog Alley."
[173] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1906, Sheet 5.

around the state quashed the effort to segregate railcars in both 1903 and 1908. Other segregation practices, such as those for schools, remained in place. Non-judicial efforts, such as local traditions that forbade integrated public accommodations such as restaurants and hotels,[174] and in religious institutions, also continued. As such the African American community made a series of parallel institutions. The African Methodist Episcopal Church is listed at Madison and Monroe Streets. Vitally important, the Quinn A.M.E. Church hosted mass meetings for civil rights events such as battling segregation laws. In 1905, the Prince Hall Masons' Lodge was opened.

By 1916, the Sanborn Fire Insurance map does not indicate African American occupancy in the Hog Alley area. The tenement marked for Black occupancy on the maps was now used for lime storage. The city directory did indicate a number of African American Lincoln students and domestic servants living in the area.[175] However, many downtown Black residents would move to the Foot neighborhood, the area bounded by East McCarty, Chestnut, Atchison and Jackson, around this time.[176] The area was largely vacant in the beginning, becoming more densely populated over time.

Early Twentieth-Century Neighborhood Community Development

Jefferson City continued to expand to the east down High Street, filling in the area between the Capitol building and State Penitentiary to the immediate east and the Missouri River to the north (Figure 42).

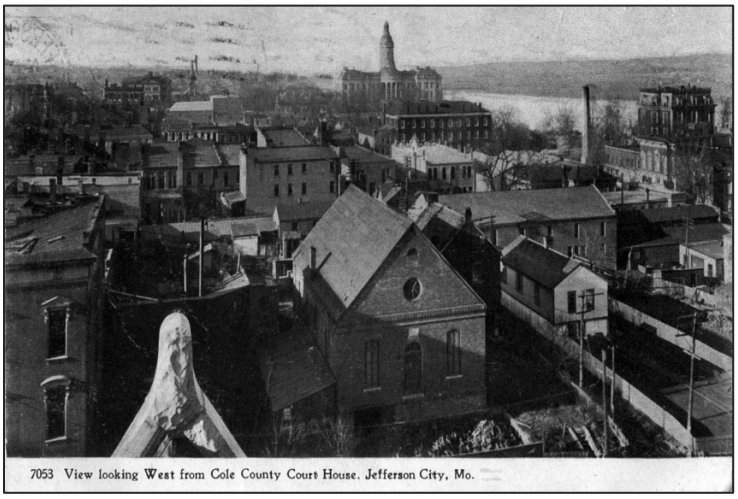


Figure 42. View of downtown and the Capitol in 1910 from the Courthouse (Missouri State Historical Society, Dr. Arnold G. Parks Collection)

[174] Bening, "Driving the Hogs Out of Hog Alley."
[175] Johnston, *The Illustrated Sketch Book of Jefferson City*, 71.
[176] Bening, "Driving the Hogs Out of Hog Alley"; Avery Grovesnor, "Local Author Recalls Black Owned Businesses in Jefferson City," February 20, 2022, https://www.komu.com/news/black-history-month/local-author-recalls-forgotten-history-of-black-owned-businesses-in-jefferson-city/article_5b6ace50-92b3-11ec-96f6-633c836a39db.html, accessed June 10, 2022.

The houses were predominately large brick houses on large lots.[177] Downtown, while there were still lumberyards and some industrial uses, a series of brick stores began to fill each block on Main and High Streets.[178]

Manufacturing outside the prison walls changed the downtown landscape. In 1900, five factories producing shoes were operated with prison labor inside the Missouri State Penitentiary walls.[179] Factories, employing free labor, were built in Millbottom and near the prison. The brick Chicago-style factories employed hundreds, making Jefferson City a leading shoe manufacturing center. The International Shoe Factory was built at 1011 East Capital Street in 1905. A Roberts, Johnson, Brand branch of the International Shoe factory was located at 417 Bolivar Street and is still extant.

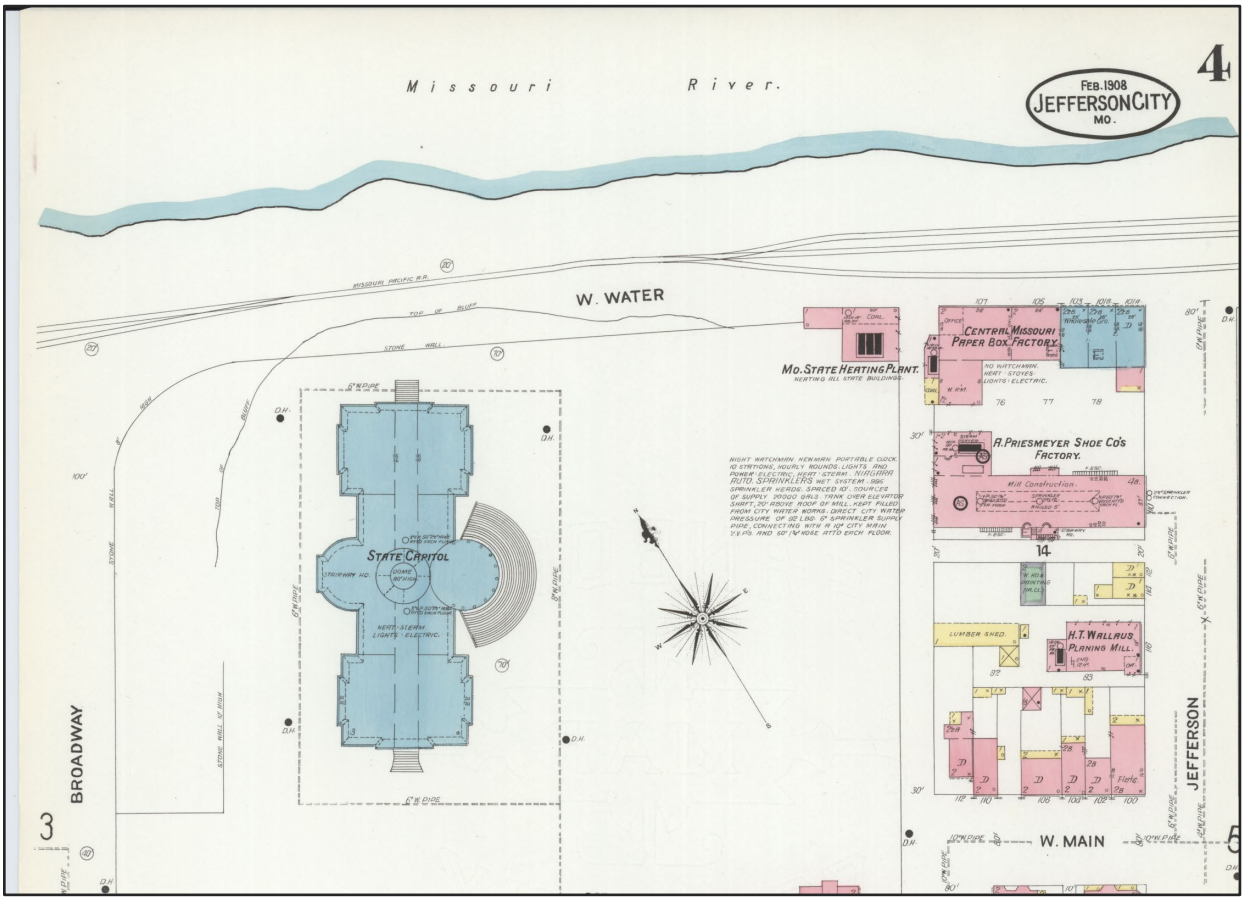


Figure 43. The A. Preismeyer Shoe Company was located in the shadow of the State Capitol at Jefferson and West Main. It is no longer extant. (Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, 1908, Sheet 4)

[177] 1908 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Jefferson City, Missouri, Sheet 6.
[178] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1908, Sheet 5.
[179] "Shoe Factory Helped Make JC Top Manufacturing City in State in 1909," *News Tribune*, April 20, 2014, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2014/apr/20/shoe-factory-helped-make-jc-top-manufacturing-city, accessed September 29, 2022.

Dividing the city inlots and outlots continued. The Renn Addition illustrates how landscape dictated development; the subdivision's boundaries are creeks (Figure 44).

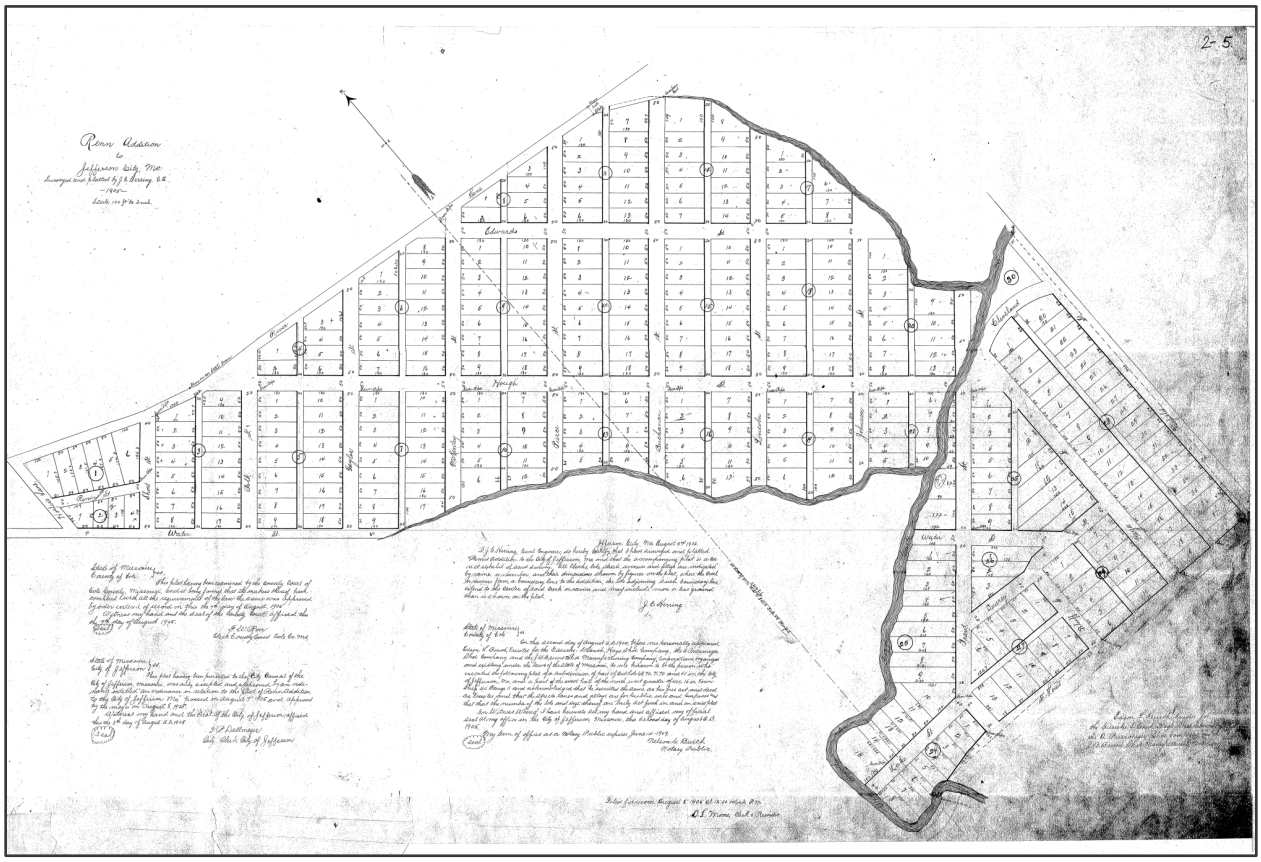
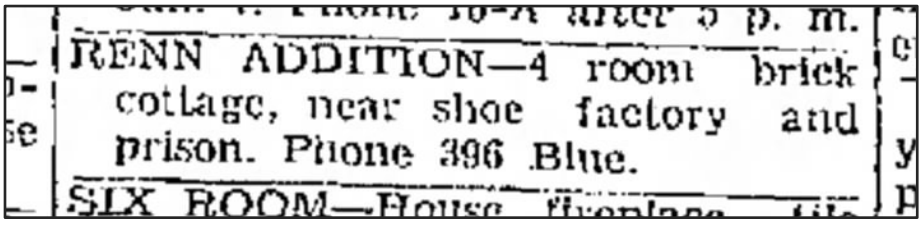


Figure 44. The Renn Addition boundaries were determined by the local topography; the West Branch of Boggs Creek divides the plat.

A consortium of shoe factory owners, including Edson Bunch, a trustee for the Giesecke, Koench, Hays Shoe Company, the A. Priesmeyer Shoe Company, and the J.B. Bruns Shoe Manufacturing Company, platted the Renn Addition in 1905. Providing housing for workers at their shoe factories may have been a factor in the development, but the project may also have just been an investment. It is an interesting development when factories were expanding outside the prison walls, in proximity to the subdivision (Figure 45).


RENN ADDITION—4 room brick cotlage, near shoe factory and prison. Phone 396 Blue.

SIX ROOM—House

Figure 45. A 1933 classified advertisement noting the Renn Addition's proximity to nearby jobs (Jefferson City Post Tribune, January 3, 1933, 7)

Unlike subdivisions closer to the Capitol, Renn Addition had a more rural flavor, with less infrastructure. It did not have sidewalks and was developed without a sewer system. Corner stores in houses were not uncommon and chickens were available for sale.[180] In Renn Addition, the Stroebel store at Polk and Hough appears to have been a well-known spot, picked to be a bus stop in 1946. In the 1930s, the WPA put a sewer system in part of the subdivision but it was not finished.[181] Many people were suspicious the plan would cost them more money in the midst of the Great Depression.[182] This was not unreasonable considering street improvements in Jefferson City were often assessed to the property owner. In fact, the lack of a sewer system became a campaign issue for the 1947 bond issue when voters were urged to vote against the planned swimming pool at Community Park because there was no sewer in the Renn Addition.

West of the State House, the Millbottom became a mix of residential and industrial uses that required railroad access from the Missouri Pacific line (Figure 46). They included Pohl's brick yard, Swift and Company poultry, and butter packing.

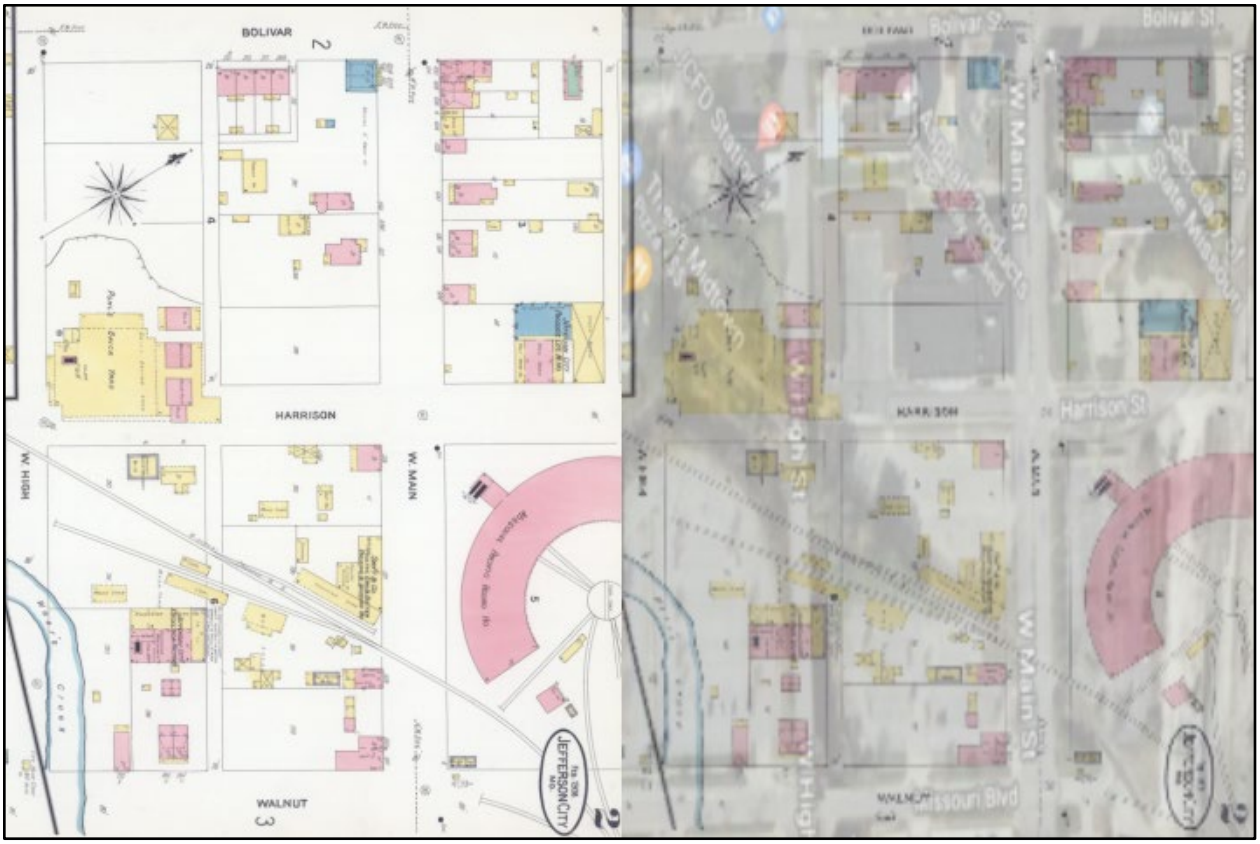


Figure 46. The Millbottom and Otto Pohls' Brickworks at Harrison and High Street; the right half of the image shows the same 1908 Sanborn map laid over a current aerial of parking lots in the area.

[180] Advertisement, *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* May 10, 1945, 3.
[181] "Importance of WPA Projects Pointed Out," *The Daily Capital News,* September 26, 1935, 3.
[182] "New Sanitation Project Worked Out Here," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* January 7, 1935, 8.

The area was anchored by the Missouri Pacific roundhouse. Brick houses are lightly intermixed, but the area is not nearly as dense as the east side of the Capitol.[183] The presence of Wears Creek in the middle of the Millbottom neighborhood, with its propensity to flood or back up from the Missouri, must have discouraged larger subdivision development.

In 1911, lightning struck the Capitol dome and set it ablaze (Figure 47). A number of setbacks hampered efforts to handle the fire. Jefferson City did not have a fire truck or a paid fire department. Sedalia's fire department, upon hearing of the blaze, took a special train to Jefferson City, arriving in an hour with men and equipment.[184] But water pressure was low and could not reach the fire on the cupola. Eventually, a water main collapsed.[185] Some blame was placed on Jefferson City's privately operated water supply, which was not adequately maintained.

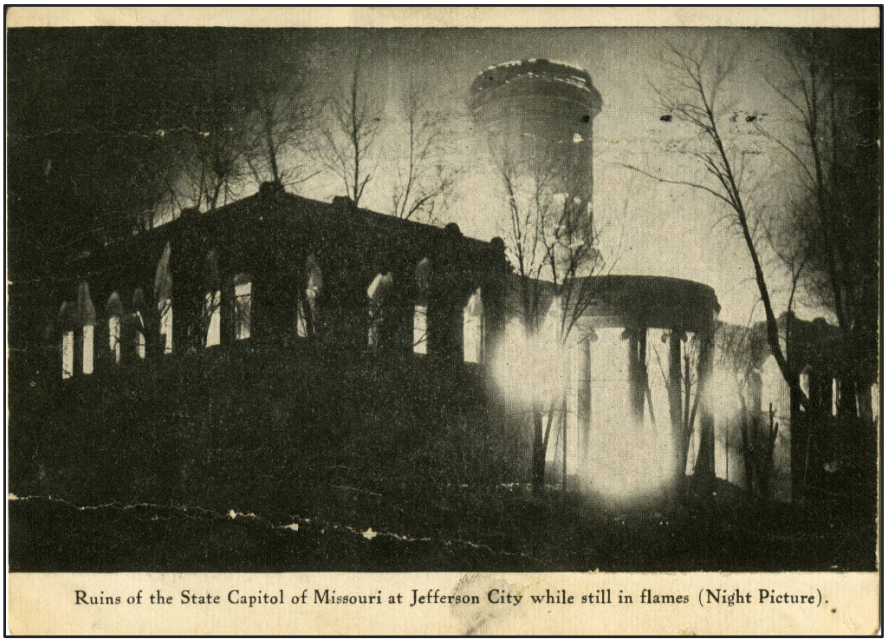


Figure 47. Missouri State Capitol in flames in 1911 (Courtesy of Missouri State Historical Society, Dr. Arnold G. Parks Collection)

The possibility of moving the capital to Sedalia (Figure 48) after the fire was occasionally framed as a labor issue. When the statewide referendum for the Capitol construction bond was planned for 1911, which would have also cemented Missouri's capital in Jefferson City, free labor became an issue once again. Organized labor painted the entire town as a company town for convicts, as they had for years. The Sedalia Board of Trade stated, "Vote Against Jefferson City, the convict labor town, because the present state capitol building and most all the private residences, hotels, shops, stores, and streets in the town have been constructed by convict

[183] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1908, Sheet 2.
[184] "Fire Destroys Missouri State Capitol Building," *Democrat-Argus,* February 7, 1911, 1.
[185] Capitol Timeline, https://capitol.mo.gov/about-the-capitol/centennial-timeline/, accessed June 7, 2022.

labor."[186] While clearly hyperbolic, the column did identify a division in Jefferson City and Missouri. By 1903, prison labor was manufacturing boots, shoes, saddle trees, brooms, and clothing, both inside and outside the prison walls.[187]

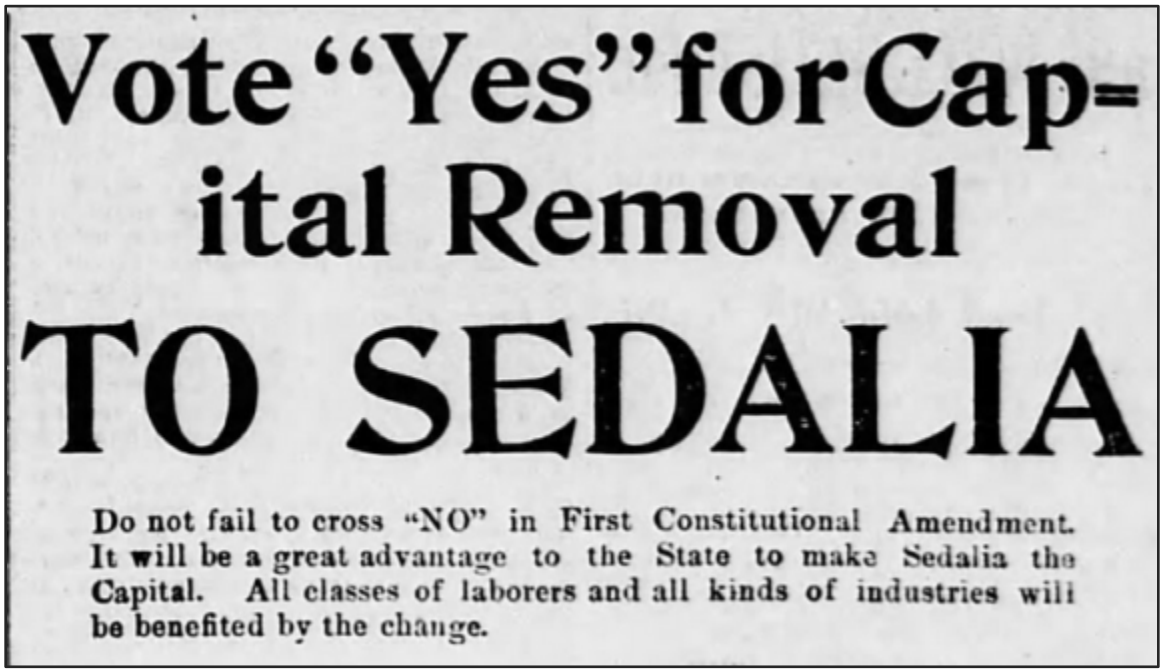

Vote "Yes" for Cap=
ital Removal
TO SEDALIA
Do not fail to cross "NO" in First Constitutional Amendment. It will be a great advantage to the State to make Sedalia the Capital. All classes of laborers and all kinds of industries will be benefited by the change.

Figure 48. 1896 Kansas City Star advertisement urging voters to move the state capital from Jefferson City to nearby Sedalia

The bond issue passed, however, securing Jefferson City's place as the state capital. The issuance of the Capitol bond to construct the new building spurred construction in Jefferson City. The *Springfield Leader* noted that, "New buildings are being planned all over town, hills are being graded down, the streetcar line extended," going on to say the city had never experienced such a boom.[188] The streetcar service, introduced and extended at this time, led to the development of the Clark, Moreau, West Main, and Boonville neighborhoods.[189] An electric generating plant was built in the Millbottom just west of the Capitol.

One new subdivision, now called Hobo Hill, was located in the 500 block of Jackson Street and East Miller Street (Figure 49). It was developed in 1908, but construction continued until 1916, making it roughly contemporaneous with Fairmount and Wagner Place (described below). The neighborhood consists of American Foursquares, Tudor, Colonial Revival, and Folk Victorian

[186] "Vote Yes for Capitol Removal to Sedalia," *Kansas City Star,* November 2, 1896, 5.
[187] "House Interested in Convict Labor," *St. Louis Republic,* January 23, 1903, 2.
[188] "The Bond Figures Come in Slowly," *The Springfield Leader and Press,* August 7, 1911, 4.
[189] Jenny Smith, "Jefferson City Streetcars Thrived from 1911-1934," *News Tribune*, June 1, 2019, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2019/jun/01/Jefferson-City-streetcars-thrived-from-1911-1934/, accessed April 15, 2022.

designs.[190] The Hobo Hill district continues the city grid on Jefferson and Miller Streets. It was not platted as a subdivision. Automobile access was provided through the alley and not a curb cut. The streetcar did not come to the small neighborhood.

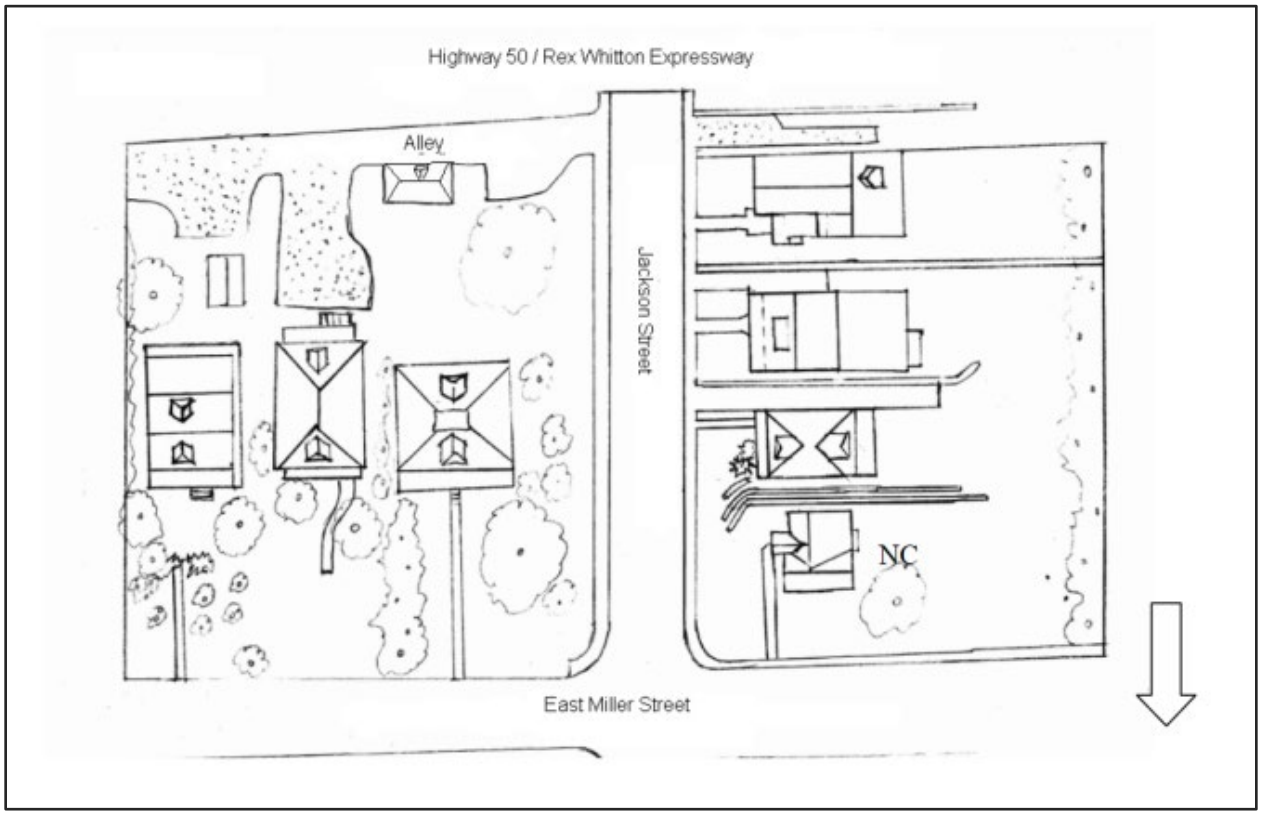


Figure 49. Hobo Hill Historic District at Jefferson and Miller Streets (Jane Rode Beetem)

The Woodcrest subdivision was constructed south of downtown in 1913 (Figure 50, upper left). Unlike Wagner Place, this subdivision extended the city grid. The *Western Contractor* reported that by September 1914, twenty lots were sold, with each owner expected to build a house.[191]

Some of Woodcrest was located where the Capitol Medical Center is located now. Historian Julius Conrath wrote that Woodcrest, then Fairmount Place succeeded by Forest Hill and Vista Place, were the "handsome additions" platted after the capital's location was reaffirmed in 1911.[192] Covering roughly forty-five acres, Woodcrest had 113 lots on seven blocks bounded by Tyler/Hickory on the north, Jackson Street to the east, Union Street to the east and Monroe to the south.[193]

[190] Jane Rode Beetem, Hobo Hill Historic District National Register nomination, Listed 2013, Section 7, p. 1.
[191] "Residences and Plat," *The Western Contractor,* September 16, 1914, 23.
[192] "Cole County History: Urban Sprawl Hits Jefferson City's Southside." *News Tribune. November 21, 2020.*
[193] "Cole County History: Urban Sprawl Hits Jefferson City's Southside."

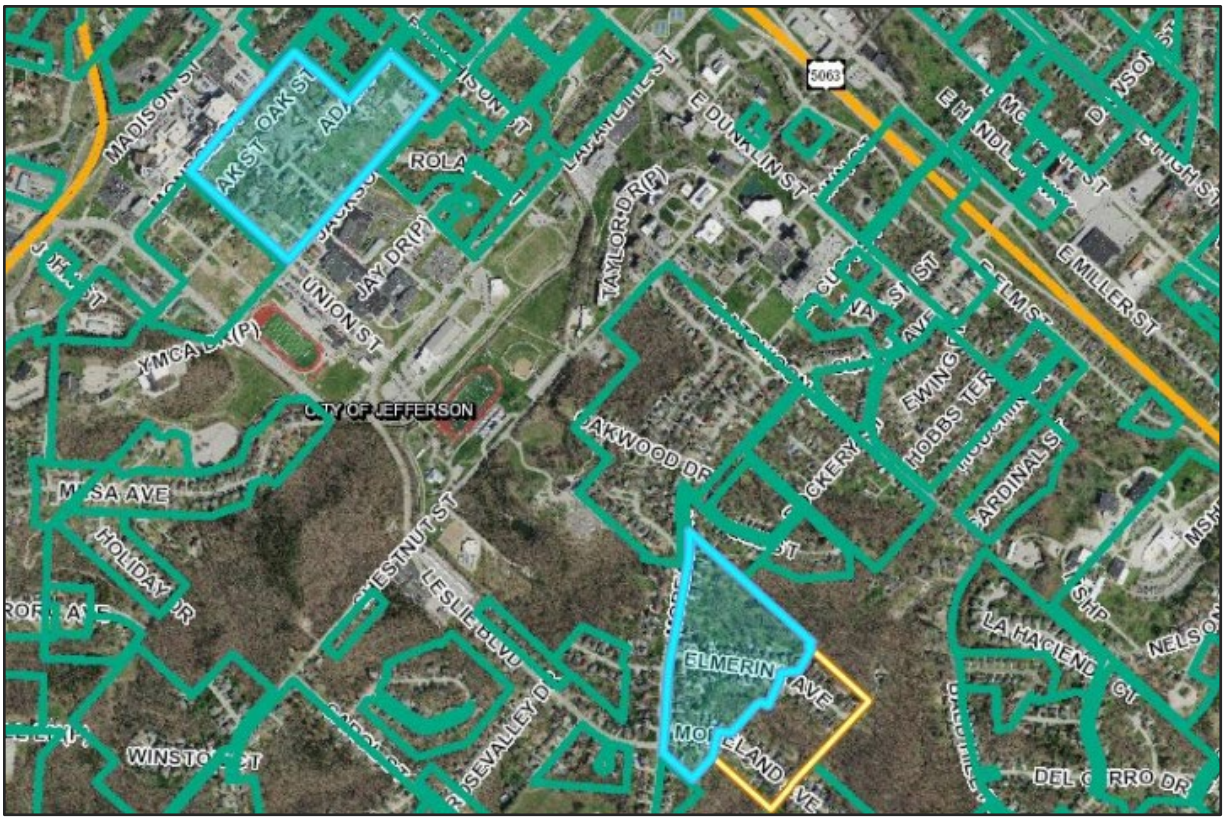


Figure 50. Woodcrest subdivision (upper left) and Fairmount Place subdivision (lower right) (MidMoGIS)

The Woodcrest subdivision is an early automobile development. Being too far outside the city center to extend the streetcar, the residents' transportation needs were met by cars. This is another indicator of the overall wealth of the residents. Cars were expensive in 1913 and they had to be stored in a specialized building, the garage. Early garage architecture reflected the inherent danger of automobiles. Early cars often leaked gas and required constant tinkering. They had a propensity to catch fire and explode. This is reflected in the garage's early position on an alley or as far from the house as possible. It's also reflected in the material choices. Early garages were built from cast concrete block to contain fire or flimsy wood frame construction that could be readily sacrificed if it burned to the ground.[194]

The Woodcrest neighborhood has been altered. Some lots have been subdivided over the years and the tornado in 2019 also damaged the neighborhood.[195] Other houses have been demolished over time.

[194] Leslie G. Goat, "Housing the Horseless Carriage: America's Early Private Garages," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 3 (1989): 63.
[195] Jenny Smith and Deborah Goldammer, "Cole County History: The Wood Crest Neighborhood, Part 2 – The Early Residents," https://www.newstribune.com/news/2020/nov/28/Cole-County-History-The-Woodcrest-Neighborhood-Par/ , accessed April 15, 2022.

The Vista Place subdivision was centered on Vista Road and was replatted in 1922 (Figure 51, lower right). It appears that the subdivision was outside the city limits and the infrastructure was not complete when it was initially developed. Vista Place was platted on a grid. In 1950, the City Council had McCarty Street in Vista Place paved and curbs and gutters were installed. These costs were assessed to the adjacent property owners.[196]

Figure 51. Forest Hills subdivision (upper left) and Vista Place subdivision (lower right) (MidMoGIS)

Some new subdivisions broke the pattern of the axial grid streets. In the southeast part of the city new subdivisions followed the topography (Figure 52). The Kansas City planning firm Hare & Hare designed the Wagner Place subdivision in 1913.[197] The development can be viewed as an early greenfield development, and while largely farmland, a number of associated houses are still there that precede development. The oldest house is the Edwards House at 1122 Moreau Drive, constructed in the late 1840s.[198]

[196] "Resolution for Paving," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* July 19, 1950, 10.
[197] Lynn Josse, Moreau Drive Historic District, Section 8, p. 77.
[198] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 101.

Figure 52. The subdivisions around Moreau Drive did not follow the city grid but followed the topography instead. (USGS)

Wagner Place included planned community aspects such as a uniform setback for houses and a planted median in Fairmont Court.[199] The neighborhood was known for its exclusivity and fashionable nature.[200] While the streetcar extended to within a block of the development, the subdivision's design indicates it is an early automobile suburb with most houses having lower-level garages or detached garages with a curb cut.[201] The development did not have alleys. The streetcar and later bus line was probably more useful to domestics than for the actual residents. The neighborhood was segregated by race and class. Residents complained to the administrators at Lincoln University because an African American caretaker and his family for Lincoln University's farm occupied the property before the sale and continued to live there, at 1203 Moreau Drive.[202] The house was supposedly built in the 1890s.[203] The Moreau Drive residents pressed Lincoln University to move their caretakers outside the neighborhood.[204] Racial

[199] Josse, Moreau Drive Historic District, Section 8, p. 78.
[200] Josse, Moreau Drive Historic District, Section 8, p. 83.
[201] Josse, Moreau Drive Historic District, Section 7, p. 2.
[202] Terese Jackson, "Elmerine, 'the little center of the universe,"' https://www.boggsdesign.com/elmerine-avenue-the-little-center-of-the-universe, accessed July 20, 2021.
[203] Josse, Moreau Drive Historic District, Section 8,
[204] "Elmerine Avenue, the Little Center of the Universe," February 19, 2022, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2022/feb/19/elmerine-avenue-the-little-center-of-universe/, accessed June 5, 2022.

homogeneity was not the only goal. The large lot sizes and minimum building requirements also ensured that poor whites would not occupy the area either.

Wagner Place was followed by Fairmount Place in 1915.[205] Although originally designed by Hare & Hare, the filed 1915 plat does not bear their name.[206] What all of the early and exclusive Jefferson City subdivisions did have in common was they were restricted to white residency.

By 1916, the Munichburg Broadway Dunklin historic district, listed in the National Register Historic District in 2009, was largely developed.

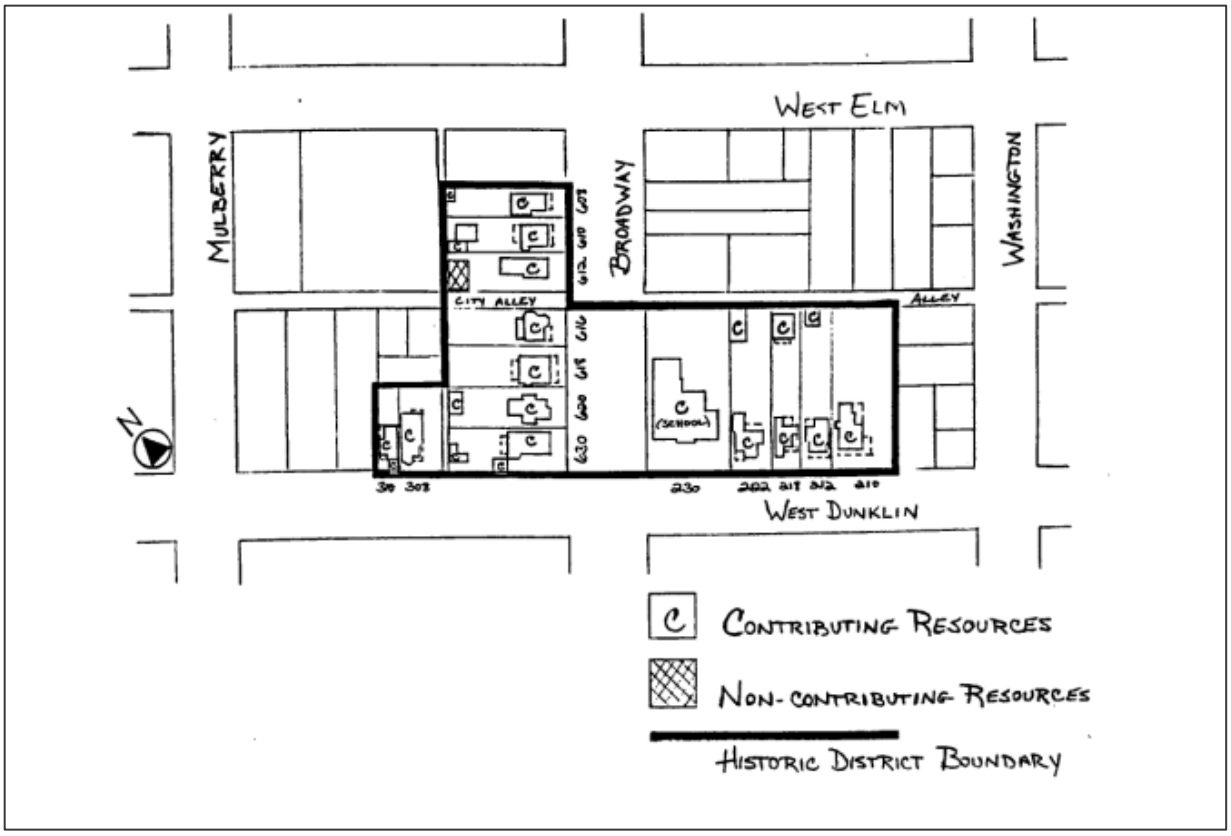


Figure 53. Sketch map of the Broadway Dunklin Historic District showing contributing and non-contributing properties (Jane Rode Beetem)

The Foot, a neighborhood business district for African Americans, was also developing at the "foot" of Lincoln University— roughly bounded by East McCarty Street, Chestnut Street, Atchison and Jackson (Figure 54).[207] Most of the Foot would later be demolished for the Campus View urban renewal project; all that remains is the School Local Conservation District.

[205] Josse, Moreau Drive Historic District, Section 8, p. 80.
[206] Josse, Moreau Drive Historic District, Section 8, p. 80.
[207] Shannon Yokley, "Reflecting on Jefferson City's Historic Foot District," https://jeffersoncitymag.com/the-foot, accessed July 10, 2022.

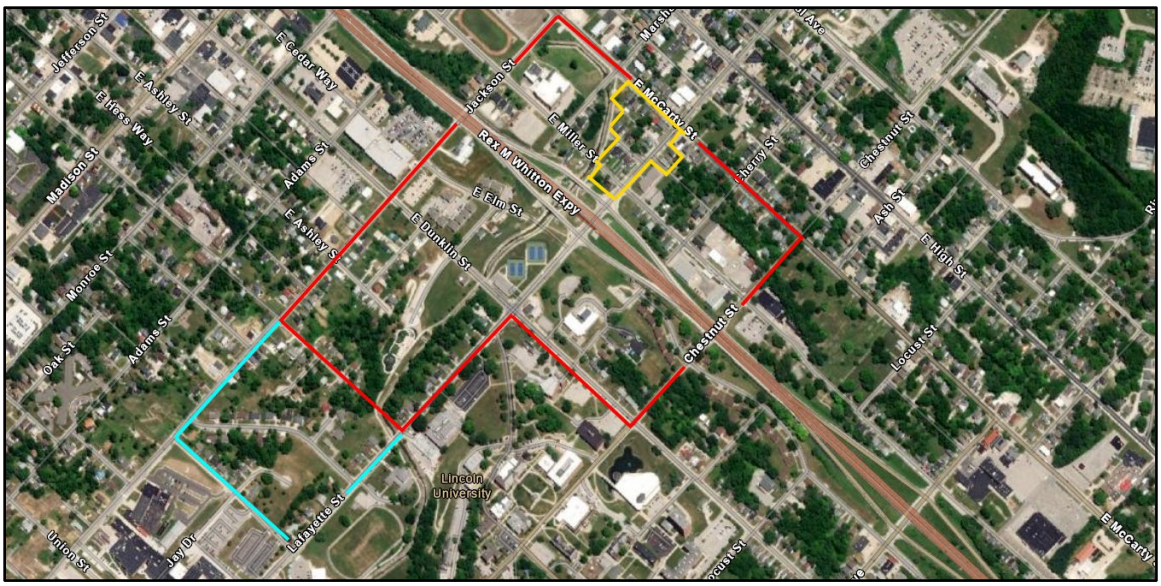


Figure 54. Marked in red is the original Foot neighborhood boundary; in yellow, the School Local Conservation District; and in aqua, the Roland Heights urban renewal project. Note the Whitton Expressway divided the neighborhood and urban renewal removed a major portion.

An African American business district was developing along Lafayette Street. This would include the African American owned and operated Mayberry Hotel at 600 Lafayette Street, later named the Lincoln Hotel in the 1930s and 1940s.[208] The hotel was demolished during the Campus View urban renewal project.

As noted, the eventual overwhelming vote to keep the capital in Jefferson City resulted in a building boom.[209] The city issued bonds for street improvements, bridges and viaducts. The most popular road material was vitrified brick, followed by macadam and gravel.[210] Lafayette Street was brick-paved by 1912.[211] In 1911, owners registered 18 cars, a number that increased to 546 in 1915.[212] Automobile ownership undoubtedly increased pressure for better roads and the increase in registration fees was steered towards county road improvements.[213] However, the road improvements didn't last long. By 1917, the *Jefferson City Tribune* complained in an editorial that cars were destroying Jefferson City's streets. Using Madison Street as an example it noted that, "It has never been the policy of this city to make repairs while the same could be done cheaply but to wait until the street is so badly cut up that every vehicle that possibly do so will

[208] Brooks, *Lost Jefferson City*, 55–56.
[209] "New State Capitol to be Monument to the Skill and Products of the Great State of Missouri," *St. Louis Star and Times,* July 2, 1911, 22.
[210] "Industrial Notes," *The Engineering News,* November 21, 1912, 354.
[211] "Industrial Notes," *The Engineering News,* October 17, 1912, 273.
[212] "Autos Coming Fast," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* January 20, 1916, 1.
[213] "Autos Coming Fast," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* January 20, 1916, 1.

avoid it."[214] The newspaper advocated concrete paving.[215] The cost of improving streets required innovative methods that did not always meet public agreement. In 1922, homeowners on Madison Street (no cross is given) complained to the City Council when they proposed narrowing the street from 54 feet to 45 feet to save on the cost of paving brick. Council felt that the narrower width was perfectly sufficient.[216] The end result of this dispute is not known.

Governor Elliot Woolfolk Major was another factor in Missouri and Jefferson City's roads during this period. Elected in 1912, Major made road improvement a hallmark of his administration, passing a roads act soon after taking office. In 1913, he designated August 20 and 21 "Good Road Days" in which all businesses closed and every able-bodied male volunteered to improve roads and streets. It appears that in the area most of the local work, and the Governor's attention, was concentrated on the Jefferson City-Columbia Highway.[217]

Growth was also influenced by the increase in free labor and moving some shoe production outside the prison walls in the previous years.

A temporary Capitol building was constructed quickly in the fall of 1912 (Figure 55). The construction was a race against time as the legislature was to convene in January. Funded by Jefferson City's business community, it was rented to the state.

[214] "Telephone Number 213," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* February 13, 1917, 1.
[215] "Telephone Number 213," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* February 13, 1917, 1.
[216] "Parking Zone Ordained," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* September 19, 1922, 1.
[217] "Moving Pictures Man Will Catch Major and Hodges with the 'Gangs,'" *Kansas City Times,* August 21, 1913, 4.

Figure 55. The 1913 temporary Capitol. Like the buildings at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair it was designed to be removed as soon as it served its purpose. (Vintage Cole County)

The temporary capitol was a three-story frame building with one-inch wood sheathing covered in stucco, built on the Capitol grounds and designed by St. Louis architect Henry H. Hohenschild.[218] It was patterned after buildings at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair and constructed by St. Louis contractor Nicholas Peligrew.[219] Like the buildings at the World's Fair it was essentially a stage prop built to last a short period before it was dismantled (Figure 56).

[218] "Committee Plans Temporary Capitol," *St. Louis Globe,* May 23, 1912, 3.
[219] "Capitol Builders Organize," *Hunnewell Graphic,* February 9, 1913, 6.

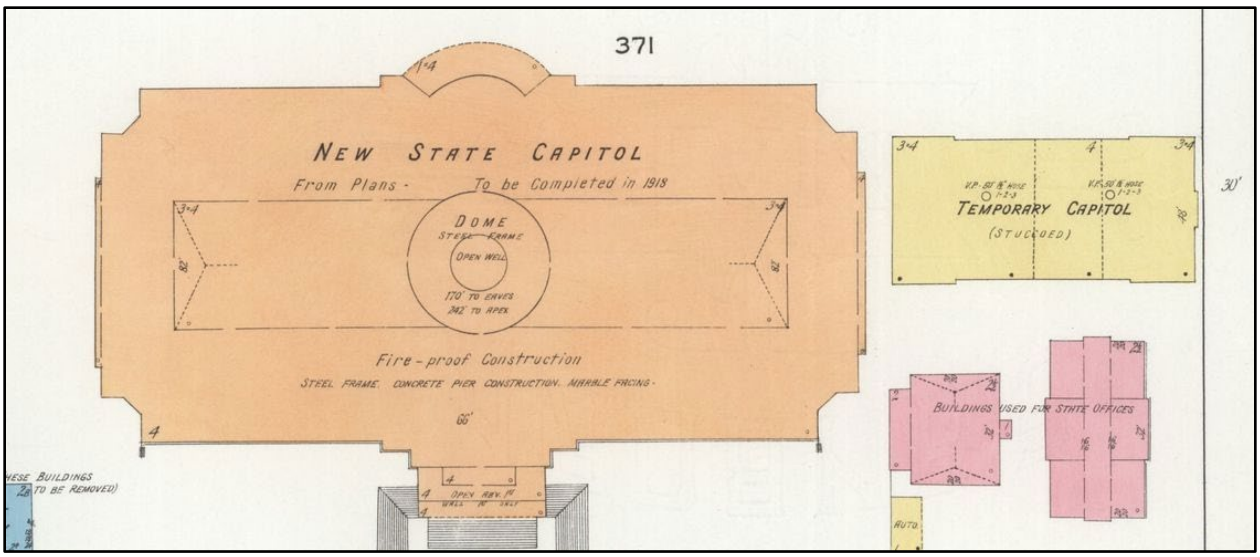


Figure 56. The then-current State Capitol and the 1913 temporary wood frame and stucco capitol (Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Jefferson City, 1916)

Because the architectural jury had chosen but not announced the new architect, the old Capitol continued to lie in ruins during the summer of 1912.[220] The temporary building opened in January, 1913, and by February the structure had caught fire twice: a cigar thrown away in a washroom and a cigarette or match igniting a hemp doormat caused two fires in short succession.[221] However, even before the errant fires, a raucous crowd at the legislature's opening threatened the building's integrity. The Democrats had swept control of the government. The House and Senate leaders entered, followed by Governor Elliot Woolfolk Major, as a band played "Dixie." The governor took his oath under a banner that read, "Missouri Redeemed."[222] Both were clear indicators of Southern influence.

The State Penitentiary became even more notorious. Thought to be one of the world's largest, its population swelled with youthful inmates. While other states operated industrial schools for first-time offenders, Missouri sent them to the state prison.[223] Prison labor and the convict leasing system continued to come under scrutiny politically. The D.C. McClung era, 1913–1917, was closely examined at the time. McClung was a local politician before he became warden, and the position was a plum patronage job from Governor Major.[224] The convict leasing system came under fire at the same time. Prisoners were leased to factories located on the prison grounds. The legislature changed the system. Prison factories would be owned the state rather than benefit private industry. However, all the necessary machinery was not purchased, and the state labor

[220] "Missouri State Capitol Items," *King City Democrat,* November 15, 1912, 6.
[221] "Fire Threatens Capitol," *Hunnewell Graphic,* February 23, 1913, 6.
[222] "It is Governor Major," *Houston Herald,* January 16, 1913, 1.
[223] Charles A. Ellwood, "The Missouri Prison Problem," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology* 7, no. 5 (January 1917): 649.
[224] "Is A Prison of Spoils," *Kansas City Times,* September 20, 1916, 3.

system did not fully employ the prisoners.[225] In 1915, Warden McClung put the prisoners to work on a new park on state land on the edge of Jefferson City. The McClung Park's pool and dance pavilion became popular with Jefferson City's "leading citizens," who would gather to dance to the 15-piece prison orchestra.[226]

Figure 57. Missouri State Penitentiary Band in 1926 (Missouri State Historical Society, Bob Priddy Collection)

McClung was a polarizing figure in a job that was a hot-button issue. *The Kansas City Times* thought the park illustrated the "complacent sense of proprietorship" in the prison, the sense that once in charge almost anything was fair game.[227] This extended to hiring the guards, a patronage job; they were supposed to vote according to McClung's instructions.[228] By the time McClung's park was completed his previous irregularities as Cole County tax collector attracted attention when portions of the records were missing.[229] McClung had roped in others. His county collector bond was signed by members of the Commercial Club. McClung's tenure ended with the election of Frederick Dozier Gardner, McClung's chosen candidate. However, McClung was

[225] "Prison Woes in Labor," *Kansas City Star*, September 20, 1916, 2.
[226] "Missouri Highways in Bad Condition," *Mexico Missouri Message,* November 9, 1916, 3. The pool was closed in the late 1940s when it was determined to be unsanitary. It should be noted that pool integration was a hot-button issue in the 1940s and "unsanitary conditions" were often a reason to close a pool rather than integrate. Whether this is the case in Jefferson City bears further research. The pool was filled in. It is unknown if the dance hall is extant.
[227] "Prison Woes in Labor," *Kansas City Star*, September 20, 1916, 2.
[228] "McClung Climbs Aboard Gardner's Gilded Bandwagon," *St. Louis Globe Democrat,* July 24, 1916, 9.
[229] "Cole County Cash Books Mutilated, Audit Asked For," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* May 24, 1915, 1.

arrested for conspiracy to defraud the state in 1917.[230] Although largely acquitted, his political career was over and he purchased a hauling company.

While Jefferson City society enjoyed the park, the prisoners protested their new labor regime, even more unpopular than before, by setting the prison on fire.[231] Investigations had previously revealed that McClung and the guards tortured prisoners who did not meet their work production quota by hanging them "in the rings," that is, from shackles with only their toes touching the ground.[232]

The advent of World War I brought a virulent anti-German backlash to Jefferson City. Immigrant Fritz Monat publicly expressed his hope for a German victory.[233] He was flogged in a Jefferson City theater and forced to kiss the American flag.[234] Monat was also a Socialist and reflected the wide range of German immigrant political thought. With prohibition, the Capitol City brewery closed.[235] It's also been noted that those sympathetic to the South during the Civil War had long harbored ill-will towards Germans because of their Unionist stance.[236] All of these factors contributed to a steady decline in German culture in Jefferson City as the original generations passed away.[237]

It does not appear that the war prompted much change in the built environment in Jefferson City. There was not a spate of new industrial activity related to war production although some industries switched product lines.

The 1920s and early 1930s were a period of frenzied real estate activity. State government was rapidly expanding, requiring new housing units. This was satisfied with a mix of single-family homes and new apartment buildings. While new apartments were largely constructed within walking distance of the Capitol, single-family homes were constructed throughout the city.

This is most evident in the neighborhoods on the west side of Jefferson City, especially near West Main Street. These new subdivisions included Forest Hill Addition and Walinko Place (Figures 58 and 59).

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[230] "McClung Indicted for Conspiracy to Defraud the State," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 1, 1917, 1.
[231] "Big Profits in Prison Shops," *Kansas City Star,* January 7, 1917, 4.
[232] "Prison Inquiries Carried on Intermittently Since 1913," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* October 1, 1917, 1. "Rings": "Sues to Stop Punishment of Convict at Jefferson City," September 29, 1916, 22.
[233] Frederick Leubke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War II* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois Press, 1974), 280.
[234] Petra Dewitt, "The German Experience in Missouri During World War I," https://missourioverthere.org/explore/articles/the-german-american-experience-in-missouri-during-world-war-i/, accessed March 10, 2022.
[235] Historic Southside MPD, Section E, page 5.
[236] Historic Southside MPD, Section E, page 5.
[237] Historic Southside MPD, Section E, page 5.

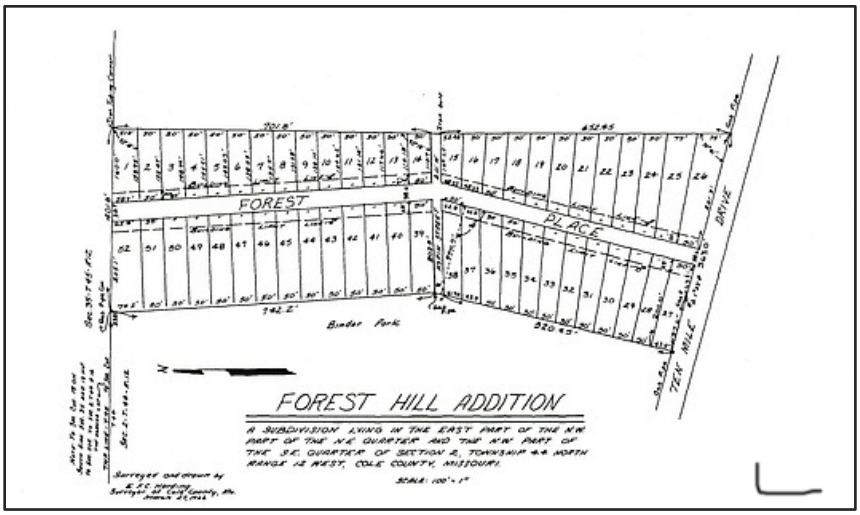

Figure 58. 1922 Forest Hill Addition Plat map (Cole County Recorder of Deeds)

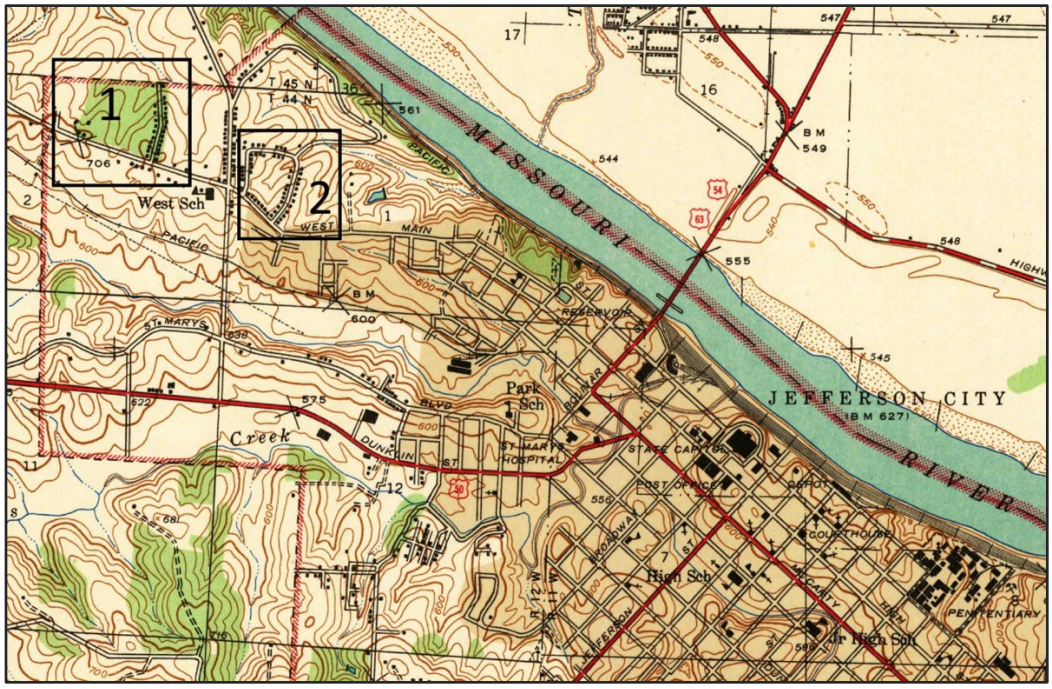

Figure 59. With the exception of Boonville Road in between, the bulk of development on Jefferson City's west side outside the city limits by 1939 was concentrated on: 1. the Forest Hill Addition and 2. Walinko Place. (USGS 1939 Jefferson City 7.5 Quadrangle map)

These subdivisions do not follow the city's original grid but appear to follow the topography instead. Forest Place was platted in 1922 on pastureland owned by Fred Binder, an architect for whom Binder Park was named.[238] It was developed with racial covenants that restricted

[238] "Annual Tour of Homes to Feature Jefferson City's Forest Hills Avenue."

ownership to whites.[239] The subdivision is automobile-focused, with property accessed through a curb cut. Garages are often detached and located behind the house. There is a uniform setback and sidewalk with a tree lawn.

The subdivisions were not fully developed immediately and infill construction continued into the 1950s. This resulted in a mixture of styles, ranging from Tudor Revival to postwar Minimal Traditional and Cape Cod styles to Ranch houses. The subdivisions are, again, automobile-focused with curb cuts and front facing detached garages. Sidewalks and tree lawns are present.

One unique 1930s building complex is Warwick Village at the intersection of Highways 50 and 63 (Figure 60). The tourist court hotel is based on Warwick, England and was built in 1933. Whitton Expressway construction sapped the customer base and eventually the cottages were converted to spaces for small business.[240]

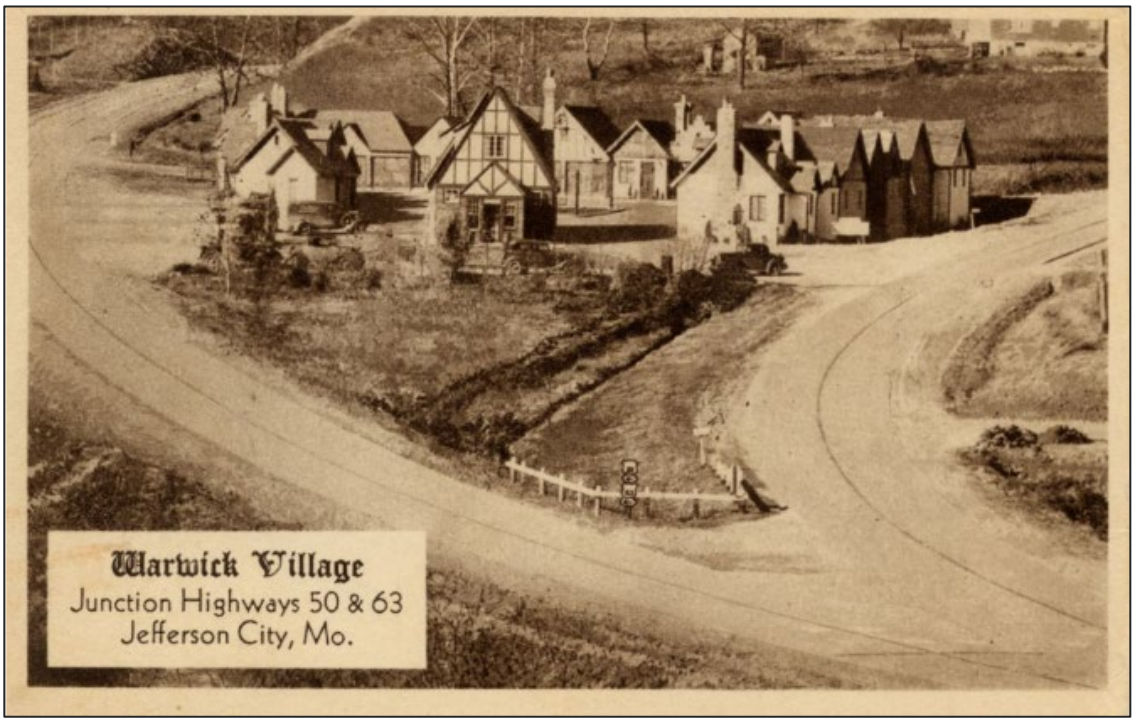

Figure 60. Warwick Village, a tourist court motel from the early 1930s (Missouri Historical Society)

The 1920s real estate flurry pressured residents of new subdivisions when old methods of real estate development intruded on new neighborhoods. Builders continued to introduce commercial uses into neighborhoods. While this was common and accepted in older neighborhoods like the

[239] Smith and Goldammer, "Cole County History: The Intriguing Past of Forest Hill Drive."
[240] "Once a travelers haven; Warwick Village has been revived," *News Tribune*, January 18, 2015, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2015/jan/18/once-travelers-haven-warwick-village-has-been-revi/, accessed June 4, 2022. Warwick Village was evaluated for the National Register and was determined to not have the historic integrity necessary for listing.

Capital East and Munichburg neighborhoods with their neighborhood business districts, some residents were done with the old way of development and were willing to pay for it. They wanted a quiet enjoyment of their property and that meant no commercial intrusions.

An interim zoning code, made with the assistance of Harland Bartholomew and Associates of St. Louis, was introduced in 1931 to solve this problem. It was challenged almost immediately. Jefferson City resident Herman Kremer wanted to build a store in the Walinko Place residential subdivision on the 1800 block of West Main Street.[241] The zoning commission denied his building permit and Kremer sued, running the case up to the Missouri Supreme Court, who tossed Jefferson City's interim code. Kremer proceeded to build his store without a building permit. The city attorney stated that the interim zoning ordinance was of "paramount importance."[242] The claim was made that there was still considerable commercial intrusion into previously entirely residential neighborhoods. The new 1932 zoning code was passed with a vote, the issue that scotched the interim code. This would mark the end of neighborhood business districts and the beginning of subdivisions free of commercial uses.

However, some persisted. The former Buehrle's Grocery at Booneville/Dix Road and West Main Street was constructed in 1936 (Figure 61).[243]

Figure 61. The 1936 Buehrle's Grocery at the corner of West Main Street and Boonville/Dix Road

[241] This appears to be at 1802 West Main Street.
[242] "Zoning Case will Go to High Court," *Daily Capital News,* April 15, 1932, 1.
[243] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 115.

It was noted that at the time the building was located at the edge of a cornfield.[244] The building was outside the city limits and therefore outside Jefferson City's new zoning code.[245] This type of free-for-all zoning in the county directly outside the city limits, but soon to annexed to the city, would aggravate Jefferson City's government for decades. It allowed buildings that would be a non-conforming zoning use when the city annexed the property to continue. It also allowed developers to use different, usually lower, standards for subdivision infrastructure.

The first modern multi-building apartment complex, not counting nineteenth-century tenements, was constructed downtown in 1917; the Wymore Apartments are located at 315 Washington Street (Figure 62).[246] This marked the beginning of numerous apartment buildings south of the Capital and the Capital East neighborhood (Figure 63).

Figure 62. The Wymore Apartments at 315 Washington Street (Rory Krupp)

[244] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*.
[245] The Jefferson Heights plat shows the 1938 city limits in the area at Hart Street.
[246] Mary T. Walsh, "Capital City Residents Embrace Apartment Life," *Sunday News and Tribune,* June 6, 2022, 7.

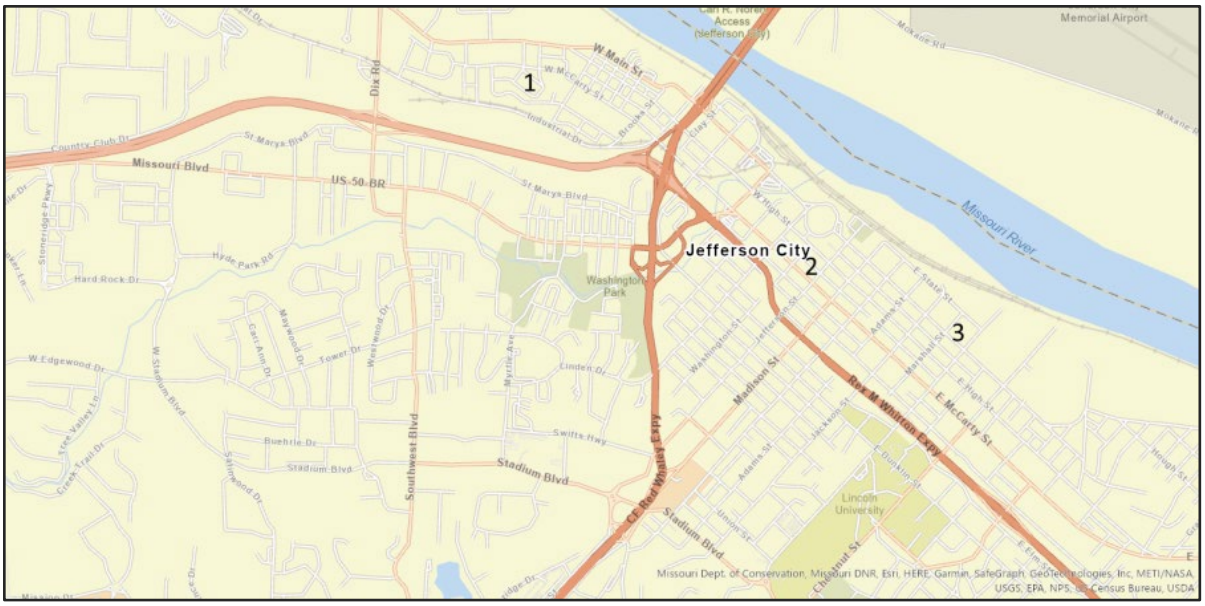

Figure 63. Early apartments in Jefferson City: 1. Jefferson Heights, 2. Wymore, Washington and Tergin Apartments at the corner of McCarty and Washington, 3. Belle Vista

The Spanish Revival Belle Vista apartments at 601 East Capitol Street were constructed in 1928 (Figure 64).[247] They were built on the garden of the James Houche House at 611 East Capitol Street.

Figure 64. The 1928 Belle Vista Apartments with exposed structural and fireproof hollow clay tile at the top

[247] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 32.

Besides being a good example of subdividing property for infill apartments, the Belle Vista is somewhat notable for its popular construction method. Damage to the building's cornice from the 2019 tornado exposed the structural clay tile underneath the face brick veneer. Hollow clay tile was at the peak of its popularity in the 1920s and was extensively marketed as a fireproof building material.[248]

Notable apartment buildings were constructed near downtown in the 1930s. The Prince Edward apartments, constructed in 1930 at 208 Marshall Street, are a good example of Art Deco style.[249] The Tergin Apartments at 201 West McCarty are another excellent example of an Art Deco apartment building. They were constructed in 1938 and listed in the National Register on March 15, 1999.[250]

Another notable Art Deco building in Jefferson City is the interior of Paddy Malones at 700 West Main Street. While the building was constructed in 1863, and is thought to be the oldest bar in Jefferson City, the interior was remodeled in c. 1933 and possibly again in 1941.[251] The Art Deco bar and pressed metal Art Deco ceiling tiles are an excellent example of the period's interior design.

The Jefferson Heights Apartments at 1505 Jefferson Heights Drive differed from other apartments of the period in their financing (Figure 65). Built by the Salvi-Rolugra Realty Company in 1940, they were a rare (perhaps unique) project in being supported by an FHA guarantee.[252]

Figure 65. The Jefferson Heights Apartments at 1505 Jefferson Heights Drive, an early FHA- financed project

[248] Jeremy C. Wells, "History of Structural Clay Tile in the United States," *Construction History* 22 (2007), 30–31.
[249] Capital Avenue Historic District, Section 7, p. 29.
[250] Becky Snider, Tergin Apartments National Register nomination, listed March 15, 1999, 3.
[251] Rhonda Chalfant, West End Bar National Register of Historic Places nomination, 2014, Section 7, p. 6.
[252] "Rental Housing Projects Under Construction During 1940," *Insured Mortgage Portfolio,* First Quarter, 1941, 33.

The Investors Syndicate, an early mortgage bundling company, financed the project. Competing largely with insurance companies, Investors Syndicate sold certificates backed by bundled mortgages to retail clients in the hinterlands "with more ambition than opportunity" by advertising in magazines such as the *Rotarian*.[253]

Formal apartment buildings were not the only multifamily units being produced. Older homes downtown were being subdivided into apartments as they became functionally and stylistically obsolete. In a familiar development pattern, their owners moved farther out of town.

Government Activities – The New Deal in Jefferson City

The New Deal programs instituted by President Roosevelt's administration to mitigate the effects of the Great Depression added buildings and parks to Jefferson City. A number of New Deal agencies operated in Jefferson City. Some buildings have been attributed to New Deal programs over time but appear not to be products of the program. The Jefferson City Post Office is sometimes cited as a New Deal building built by the Treasury Department.[254] However, the application to the Treasury Department, which appropriated money for new post offices, was made in 1928 and the funding allocated in 1930—there appears to be no New Deal funding for the building.[255]

The first two programs were started in 1933. The Federal Emergency Relief Agency was operated by the states with federal grants. F.E.R.A. was involved in mainly work relief. The Civil Works Administration followed and employed local people in public works programs. However, one problem nationwide and in Jefferson City was transient persons, or "hoboes" in the parlance of the day. In 1935, the youth unemployment rate was thirty-three percent, or roughly 8,000,000 young adults across the country.[256] Without any hope of employment many drifted. "Hundreds of thousands of men, women, and families had taken to the road, 'thumbing' their way, or 'riding the rails,' "bumming' their living, sleeping in transient camps or 'jungles,' keeping alive but trying to forget there was a tomorrow."[257] The federal government had two solutions, the Civilian Conservation Corps and the F.E.R.A. transient camp system. The federal government formed transient camps to gather those wandering the country and keep them in one spot. In Missouri camps opened in 1934 at Branson, Camdenton, Jefferson City, Joplin, Kansas City (Liberty Camp), Monett, Nevada.[258] There was great concern that if unchecked this internal migration, unemployment, and dire conditions would result in large-scale social unrest. It was noted at the time that youth and younger adults in similar conditions had quite recently resulted in communism in Russia, fascism in Italy, aggressive nationalism in China, and "Hitlerism" in

[253] "Investors Syndicate," *The Rotarian,* May 1948, 45.
[254] Post Office and Courthouse, https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/post-office-courthouse-jefferson-city-mo/, accessed June 5, 2022.
[255] "U.S. Building Is Dedicated to Progress," *Sunday News and Tribune,* November 18, 1934, 1–2.
[256] Harvey Zorbaugh, "Which Way America's Youth?," *The Journal of Educational Sociology* 11, no. 6 (February 1938), 324.
[257] Zorbaugh, "Which Way America's Youth?," 325.
[258] Sally Lyons McAlear, "A Refuge in the Woods," masters thesis, Missouri State University, 2015, 13.

Germany.[259] The Roosevelt administration established intake centers and transient camps to gather people on the road and effectively redirect their energy from revolution (Figure 66).

Figure 66. Transient shelter locations downtown: 1. International Shoe at 417 Bolivar Street (now 627 West McCarty), 2. The former Terminal Hotel (not extant), 3. Cole County Court House. Not pictured is 412 High Street, now a parking lot next to the Missouri Baptist Convention building at 400 High Street.

In Jefferson City, the first transient center was located in the basement of the new city hall. While Jefferson City's leaders were initially enthusiastic this faded when asked to pay for showers in the building and the welcome mat was quickly withdrawn. They were then moved to the Riner Building at 412 East High Street (no longer extant). Transients had to work thirty hours per week, but the program was intentionally designed to not be onerous to the workers. There was ample time for recreation and rest. The idea was to get them to stay in one spot and not to drive them back to the road with overwork. The transient residents were not initially fed at the Riner building and they wandered up and down High Street asking people for money, apparently in an impolite manner that did not endear them to merchants or residents.[260] The transients were then put to work on the airport across the river. The transient population was then moved to the Terminal Hotel at Monroe and Water Streets (no longer extant).

A transient shelter was established at the International Shoe factory in March 1935, which immediately drew widespread protests on the west side of Jefferson City. While City Council

[259] Zorbaugh, "Which Way America's Youth?," 322.
[260] "Take Steps to Stop Mooching by Transients," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* March 15, 1934, 1.

supported a resolution closing the shelter it was not a city program and the transient administrator was completely unmoved by the city's complaints.[261]

A transient camp was to be established at the Owens Farm on Ten Mile Road in October 1934.[262] The program was designed so that transients would go to intake centers for a short time to be evaluated then be transferred to camps where there were more adequate facilities for recreation and education. A public outcry scuttled the Owens Farm location almost immediately.

The camp was moved to a farm on Hough Park Road and then across the street to the A. P. Wetzel Farm on Hough Park Road near Tanner Bridge Road when the original location was outgrown.[263] Today this would be near the intersection of Tanner Bridge Road and Ellis Boulevard (Figure 67).

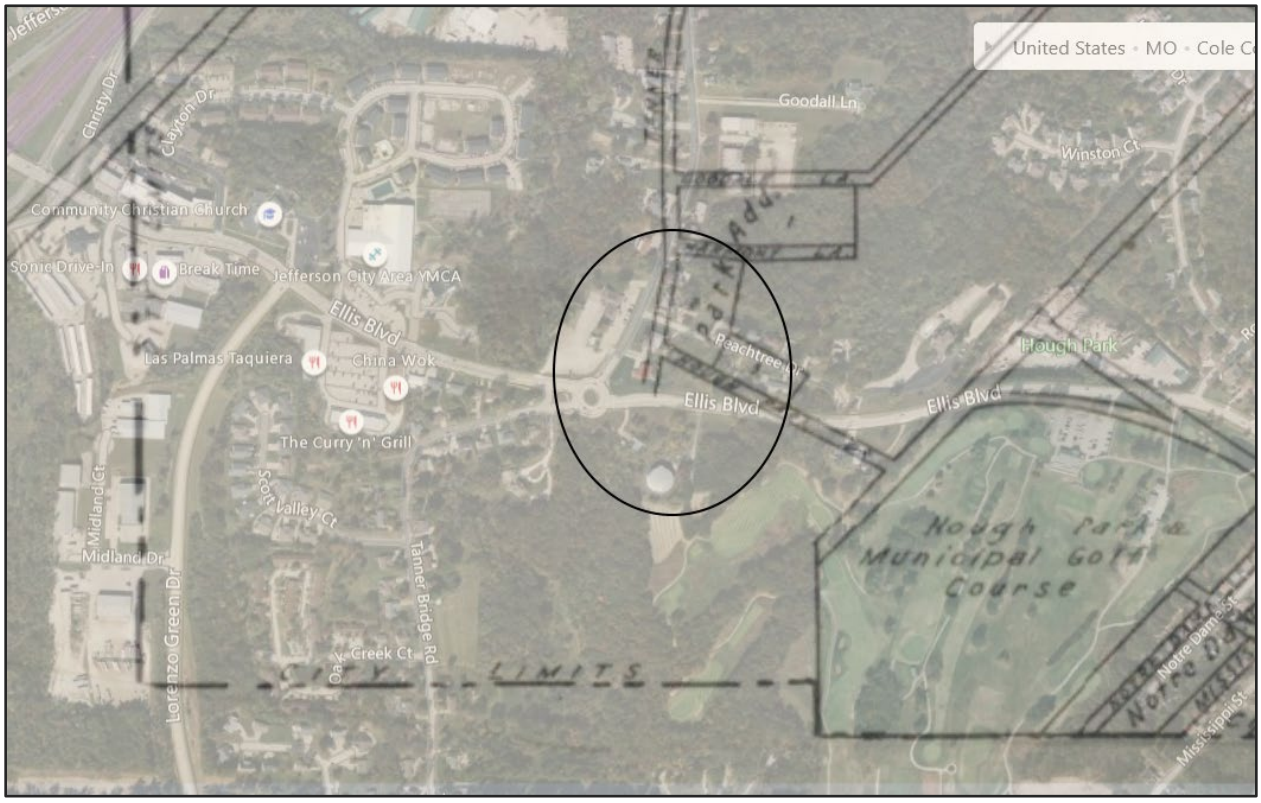

Figure 67. According to newspaper accounts, the A. P. Wetzel farm and transient camp was likely within the circled area at the intersection of Ellis Boulevard and Tanner Bridge Road. Ellis Boulevard construction appears to have altered the roads and new development the area itself. This image is the current Bing aerial overlaid with the 1939 Sanborn map.

[261] "Ignores City Council Edict," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* March 6, 1935, 1.
[262] "Plan to Locate Transient Camp on Owens Farm Draws Protest," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* October 22, 1934, 1.
[263] This area has since been redeveloped since Hough Park Road and Tanner Bridge Road are not near each other now. It does not appear that the transient camp is extant.

The federal government provided buildings for the camp at the Wetzel farm including a dormitory and cook house. According to the *Jefferson City Post Tribune*, never a fan of government intervention, it was "the biggest experiment in the local boondoggling scene." (Figure 68) [264]

When Uncle Sam decided to abandon his transient program, these buildings, representing a huge financial outlay, reverted to A. P. Wetzel, owner of the farm on which they were built. Top: the dormitories. Below: cook shack and dining room.

Figure 68. The transient camp buildings at the A. P. Wetzel farm in 1936 ("The Rise and Fall of Uncle Sam's Inn for Wanderers," Jefferson City Post Tribune, March 10, 1936, 4)

[264] "The Rise and Fall of Uncle Sam's Inn for Wanderers," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* March 10, 1936, 4.

The factors that kept the camp in business—recreational and educational opportunities, food and shelter and a minimal amount of work—clearly irritated the newspaper's editors.[265] The fact that A. P. Wetzel got to keep $14,000 in new buildings when the program ended also did not sit well.

However, the transient residents, on average numbering around 115 at Wetzel's farm and another 100 or so at the International Shoe factory at 417 Bolivar Street, engaged in numerous projects around Jefferson City. Besides working at the municipal airport transient workers improved the grounds at Lincoln University. They also placed riprap, large pieces of stone meant to stabilize shorelines, along creeks at African American playgrounds.[266] One is most likely the Wears Creek project in the Community Park. The transients also terraced Algoa farms. Some worked on road programs cutting weeds while others worked on unnamed projects for the Board of Health. The number of available projects was limited by law. Transients could not compete with local labor and therefore could not work on Public Works Administration projects such the East and West Elementary Schools construction projects or Civil Works Administration Projects.

The transient program ended in November 1935. When it was terminated 123 men were housed at the Wetzel Farm, 225 people were housed at the Terminal Hotel at Monroe and Water Streets, and 80 families were distributed to unnamed locations around the city.[267] The Wetzel farm residents were transferred to abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camps around the state to continue projects CCC started and later passed to the WPA.[268] The transient families, numbering 200 by November 1935, stayed in Jefferson City.[269]

The Works Progress Administration employed local unemployed people, assigning them work based on their previous experience, although the main goal was to keep as many people working as possible. Therefore, as little money as possible was to be spent on building supplies. Consequently, the WPA dismantled old buildings, using the material in other projects. The WPA dismantled a number of buildings around the Capitol near the Governor's Mansion, using the material for fill and for walls for the gardens that would later become Carnahan Gardens.

One government program that very gradually gained favor in Jefferson City, at least in the press, was the Federal Housing Administration. The *Jefferson City Post-Tribune* initially came out strongly against the program. The FHA loan program guaranteed the local bank's home or renovation loan. That enabled the loan term to be longer than the previous five- to seven-year term with a balloon payment at the end. In addition to home loans the program also made loans for home modernization. This included, "new paint, repairs, additions, and modern plumbing and

[265] "The Rise and Fall of Uncle Sam's Inn for Wanderers."
[266] It is unclear which playground. Community Park and Washington Park both had playgrounds as did other areas. In most instances the use of "playground" indicates it is not a full-fledged park. There were numerous private and public playgrounds in Jefferson City.
[267] "City's Transient Population to be 'Liquidated' Nov. 20," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* September 10, 1935, 1.
[268] "Transient Population to be Transferred to Abandoned CCC Camps," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* November 13, 1935, 1.
[269] "Transient Population to be Transferred to Abandoned CCC Camps."

heating."[270] By 1939, the *Post-Tribune* had softened its stance. Although calling the FHA the most recommended "of all the Utopian plans promulgated by the president (Roosevelt) to aid the middle class" it conceded that the FHA programs were solid business sense.[271] It's unclear how much the FHA affected Jefferson City during the Great Depression. Limits on the home price would eventually limit where mortgages could be used in Jefferson City.

Parks

Jefferson City did not have a public park system before the 1930s and the federal improvements in Washington Park. Previously, the only publicly accessible greenspace was the State Capitol grounds. Other parks were private and associated with subdivisions. This was not equitable since it would be difficult for poor residents to get to a park, while African Americans were not allowed in these parks at all. In addition, fraternal organizations also provided programs including the Fraternal Order of Eagles and the Lions. The location of these playgrounds is unclear, and they do not seem to be extant.

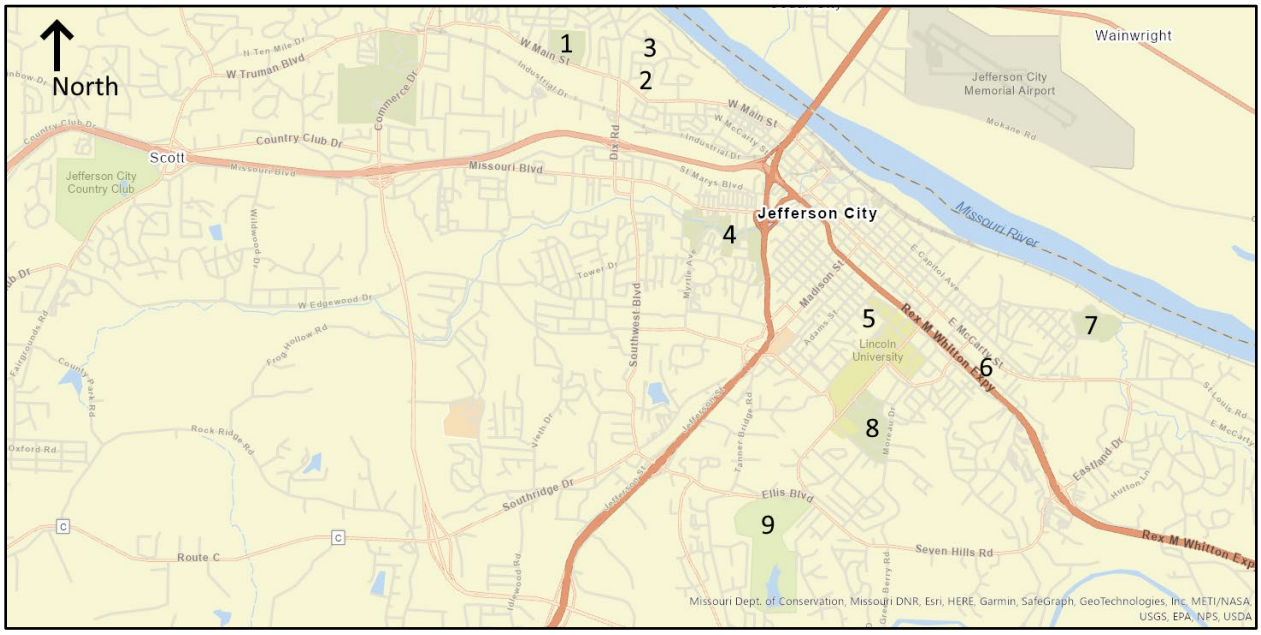

Figure 69. Historic parks of Jefferson City: 1. Binder Park, now Memorial Park, 2. Circle/Lavinia Park, 3. Hays Park (not extant), 4. Washington Park, 5. Community Park, 6. East Miller Park, 7. Ellis-Porter Park, 8. McClung Park, 9. Hough Park

One private park, Binder's Park, was located on the west side (Figure 70). At the turn of the century, it was in demand for visiting conventioneers and their picnics. The Missouri Retail Merchant Association held their annual fete there in 1906.[272]

[270] "FHA Loans for Home Repair Increase," *Enterprise-Courier,* June 29, 1939, 6.
[271] "A Worthwhile Plan," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* December 9, 1937, 5.
[272] "Missouri Convention," *The Southern Merchant,* August 6, 1906, 9.

Figure 70. Historic parks in west Jefferson City: 1. Binder Park, now Memorial Park, 2. Lavinia and Circle Parks, extant but undeveloped, 3. Hays Park, redeveloped in the 1950s into housing

In 1909, the state legislature voted to reject moving the capital from Jefferson City and recommended instead a House recess so that members, officers, and clerks could attend a Jefferson City Commercial Club Barbecue at Binder's Park.[273] The city acquired this park in the 1940s and renamed it Memorial Park to commemorate Jefferson City's war dead in World War II. The city also purchased McClung Park in 1940 from the state.[274] All the parks were segregated and before the current Community Center was constructed in 1942 African Americans could only relax on vacant lots, on Lafayette Street, or along Wears Creek.[275] In 1946, the segregated pool at McClung Park was closed when it could not meet health codes (an excuse frequently given to avoid integration).[276]

A Chamber of Commerce brochure mentions six public parks in 1936 including Hough Park, Riverside Park, and four smaller parks, Lavinia Drive, Fair Acres, Circle Drive, and Hays.[277]

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[273] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the 45th Assembly of the State of Missouri* (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1909, 1907).
[274] "Cole County History: Before City Parks: Freimel's Garden," *News Tribune*, January 23, 2021, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2021/jan/23/Cole-County-History-Before-city-parks-Friemels-Gar/, accessed June 5, 2022.
[275] "Cole County History: Before City Parks."
[276] Nancy Arnold Thompson, "Cole County History: Park Created with Prison Labor" *News-Tribune,* April 10, 2021, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2021/apr/10/Cole-County-History-City-park-created-with-prison-, accessed July 10, 2021.
[277] *Progressive Jefferson City* (Jefferson City: Jefferson City Chamber of Commerce, 1936), 30. The Sunday News and Tribune includes Washington Park. "Jefferson City Now Boasts 111 Acre Park System but Improvements Needed," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* September 6, 1936, 10.

Lavinia and Circle Parks are associated with 1930s-era development in the area and appear to be the same park today, albeit no longer maintained. Hays Park in the Sunset Addition near the Missouri River (Figure 71) appears to have been sold at auction in the 1958 after a probate case.[278] The property was residentially developed.

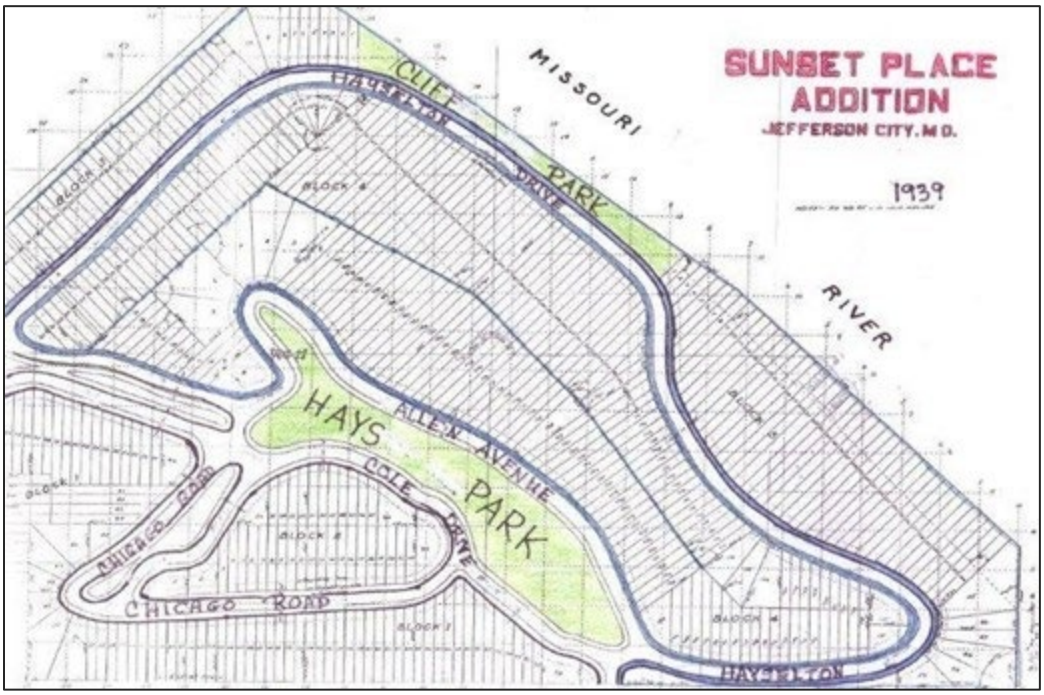

Figure 71. The 1939 Sunset Addition plat showing Hays Park (Historic City of Jefferson)

Figure 72. Circle and Lavinia Parks, 135 East Circle Drive, are still owned by the city but are undeveloped. (Rory Krupp)

[278] "Sheriffs Sale," *The Daily Capital News,* November 8, 1958, 3.

Federal funding jump-started Jefferson City's public parks and recreation program. A bond issue for parks failed twice but in 1939 the City Council established a park board.[279] The park board started the improvements on Washington Park with the WPA. The park features stone retaining walls and a stone bridge. Tennis courts were also constructed. The park board established a playground on Elm Street between Jefferson and Monroe on the banks of Wears Creek.

Ellis Porter-Riverside Park was acquired in 1949 and renamed in 1961 after Arthur W. Ellis and Ben C. Porter, a former mayor and Parks and Recreation director, respectively.[280]

Monuments and Early Historic Preservation

While Jefferson City's elite women, both Black and white, occasionally worked together on civic projects, public commemoration and memory was largely the purview of white society ladies.[281] It seems that, as in the rest of the country, there was a sense of reconciliation between the Union and Confederate sides in the decades after the Civil War. However, this sense of reconciliation did not extend to the African American community, who were left out of how to record and remember the past. In the early 1930s historic preservation was in vogue for members of groups like the Daughters of the American Revolution. Proposals for historic markers included the Civil War fort on Union Street, the old Capital City Market at the corner of High and Monroe, the emergency hospital at Capital and Jefferson used during the cholera epidemic, and the residence of Major Alfred Bayse at 420 East Capital Street, still extent in 1935.[282]

In 1933, the Jefferson City Winnie Davis Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected the Sterling Price Memorial. A plaque on a small granite boulder the monument stated that Price's Confederate forces had spared Jefferson City in 1864. The UDC's president was Nana McClung, the wife of former Missouri State Penitentiary warden Dickerson Clark McClung, who created McClung Park in 1915. Although the monument was supposed to celebrate Sterling Price's sparing of Jefferson City from invasion, it was almost entirely counterfactual. The UDC admitted that Price wasn't at the actual spot but in the general area.[283] In addition, Price did not "spare" Jefferson City but merely did not attack it. Civil War monuments, especially those of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, generally have much more to do with the time they are erected than with the Civil War itself. Jefferson City's monument is no exception. The UDC started in Missouri in 1898. Jefferson City's Winnie Davis Chapter was formed in 1902. Far from just commemorating the Confederacy, even though

[279] "Development of City Parks is Result of Merger," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* May 27, 1941, 22.
[280] https://www.jeffersoncitymo.gov/parks/city_parks/ellis-porter_riverside/index.php, accessed June 6, 2022.
[281] In some ways Missouri was ahead of the country. Some towns had integrated Grand Army of the Republic Lodges.
[282] "Markers Urged for Historic Sites as an Aid in Preserving Colorful Story of Jefferson City" *Sunday News and Tribune,* March 24, 1935. The Civil War fort, an embankment fragment, was located at the home of H. B. Church but the directory at that time has him at different property.
[283] "Agree to Removal of Marker in City," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* September 16, 1955, 2.

Missouri was a heavily contested border state, Missouri's UDC embarked on a path of southernization to associate Missouri and themselves to the Deep South and its traditions.[284]

UDC member Nana McClung embodied this journey in her real life. Born in West Virginia, she gradually redeveloped her biography, claiming to have been born in Virginia instead. McClung was an ardent UDC supporter who often hosted the monthly chapter meeting at her home on High Street. Many prominent Jefferson City families were UDC members. Jefferson City's UDC freely admitted that the placement of their monument had little to do with the battle. The monument is in the wrong spot. However, it did mark the entrance of a white subdivision near Lincoln University and that placement would not have been lost on Jefferson City's Black residents. Like other UDC Confederate monuments, the monument's construction had everything to do with white supremacy at the time of its construction and nothing to do with the Civil War.

Schools

The Public Works Administration constructed the West Elementary School. The PWA used private contractors and skilled labor to create large-scale public works projects, rather than keeping large numbers of the unemployed busy like the WPA. The PWA also constructed the Art Deco-style East Elementary School (Figure 73). It has been recently remodeled.[285]

Figure 73. The Public Works Administration–constructed East Elementary School at 1229 East McCarty Road (Rory Krupp)

[284] Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backwards*, 315.
[285] "East Elementary School," https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/east-elementary-school-jefferson-city-mo/, accessed June 10, 2022.

Figure 74. The 1938 Public Works Administration constructed West Elementary, 100 Dix Road, in 1938 (Charles Swaney)

Transportation

During the 1930s, Jefferson City was served by two railroad companies operating four lines. The Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad was called the Katy line, after its abbreviation K-T. The Missouri Pacific Railroad provided passenger service to Kansas City and St. Louis, allowing passengers to catch trains to large portion of the country (Figure 75).[286]

Figure 75. The Missouri Pacific tracks in 1940 (John Vachon, Farm Security Administration, Library of Congress)

[286] *Progressive Jefferson City*, 21–22.

The 1930s marked the gradual decline of rail in Jefferson City. The Missouri Pacific struggled to compete with truck lines and passenger cars. This was a great concern to the city elite. The Missouri Pacific employed nearly 1,000 in Jefferson City out of a population of approximately 21,000 people in the 1930s.[287] The loss of these jobs would be detrimental to the local economy and newspapers urged local businesses to use the railroad instead of trucking companies.[288]

The 1930s ended the streetcar in Jefferson City. The Missouri Power and Light Company operated the streetcar franchise. In 1925, the company tried to convert the lines to buses but City Council balked. In 1934, the city began to complain about the condition of the streets near the rails. Missouri Power and Light responded that they were losing money with the franchise and almost immediately replaced the streetcars with buses. The electric poles that powered the streetcars were removed but the rails were left in place until each route was repaved.

As the streetcar ended, automobiles also encouraged growth funded through WPA programs. Many programs seem to be oriented to taming Jefferson City's topography. West Main Street to Forest Drive was paved in 1935 but not before a cut and fill excavation, knocking down slopes and filling valleys in the roadway. When that was completed concrete gutters and curbs were installed and the street was paved.[289] Dix Road was improved with grading and new gravel. Madeline Street between Dockery and Harding was regraded.[290] The street was not fully developed at the time.

The move towards automobiles and buses resulted in parking problems downtown. Various strategies were implemented. Some residents, long-term and transient, used downtown for their parking solution. When the city instituted a two-hour no parking ban in the early morning all hell broke loose. A number of state legislators were the culprits and complained bitterly, forcing the city to scotch the program and return the fines to everyone. In 1940, the city installed the first parking meters. This, too, had an unintended backlash. The construction of the Thomas Jefferson State Office Building almost forced the parking issue. While it was recognized that the office building's construction would exacerbate parking issues, who would build additional parking was seen as a municipal, not a state, problem.[291] However, Jefferson City residents tried to force the state's hand. State legislators parked on the plaza around the state house in the late 1940s. This became an issue unto itself when the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* published an article thoroughly mocking the legislature for sullying the Capitol grounds by using it as a parking lot.[292]

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[287] "M.P. Employees Ask for Support for Railroads," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* October 4, 1930, 1; *Progressive Jefferson City,* 9.
[288] "M.P. Employees Ask for Support for Railroads."
[289] "City Rushes Work on WPA Project Plans in Effort to Beat September Deadline," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* September 1, 1935, 1, 3.
[290] "City Rushes Work on WPA Project."
[291] "500 Car Parking Lot Called For In Jefferson City," *Iberia Sentinel,* September 15, 1949, 3.
[292] "Magnificant Missouri Capitol Made Central Adornment of Vast Parking Lot," *St. Louis Post Dispatch,* February 27, 1949, 26.

City residents quickly realized that they could park in legislators' spots and save putting a nickel in the meters installed in 1940. After one outraged state senator was forced to walk three blocks the *Jefferson City Post Tribune* outlined the issue for the city.[293] The state attendant who directed legislators to their spots had no police powers. Since it was state property the Jefferson City police referred complaints to the State Legislature.[294] The newspaper pointed out that parking there was perfectly legal.[295] Although originally not part of the design, Governor Forrest Smith stated that architect Marcel Boulicault had designed an independent parking garage with a proposed 625 spaces.[296] While the bond issue passed the State Senate, the House voted against it. There would be no garage. However, in the meantime, Jefferson City's population grew to 24,268 residents, an increase of approximately 3,000 during a Depression. Many owned cars.

Early Twentieth-Century African American History

Jefferson City's population grew to 11,808 residents by 1900 with 1,953 African American residents, approximately, 16.5 percent of Jefferson City's total population. The student body at the Lincoln Institute numbered 278 in 1900. Consequently, subtracting the student body indicates that there was still a large African American population, percentage-wise, in Jefferson City.[297]

In 1903, the Missouri legislature attempted to institute Jim Crow laws involving segregation on railcars. Prominent African Americans, including Jefferson City resident Duke Diggs, lobbied the legislature and the law failed to pass.

The Washington Laboratory School was established in 1904. Families began to move from the downtown area to the area around Lincoln University to take advantage of the school.[298] Progressive pressure related to removing "vice" from downtown undoubtedly influenced some moves to a less repressive area of town. However, Hog Alley, although formally renamed Commercial Street, continued to figure in the racial landscape. Downtown Jefferson City was still an area where African Americans were allowed and their presence expected, having lived there for decades. "In the central city the Negro is not conspicuous and is acceptable to the whites who must live there," wrote Charles Wesley Jackson in 1965. Conversely, this also meant that for whites there were many places in Jefferson City where a Black resident was conspicuous.

This racial atmosphere was not a draw for African Americans. In 1920, the Black population was 2,039, barely over the 1,953 Black residents in 1900.[299]

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[293] "Parking Problem at Capitol Up to Legislature," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* January 6, 1949, 1.
[294] "Parking Problem at Capitol Up to Legislature," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* January 6, 1949, 1.
[295] "Parking Problem at Capitol Up to Legislature."
[296] "Big Underground Garage Constructed Near State Capitol," *St. Louis Post Dispatch,* December 28, 1950, 14.
[297] Albert Marshall. *A Centennial History of Lincoln University, 1866–1867.* Jefferson City: Lincoln University, 1967, 9.
[298] Yokley, "Reflecting on Jefferson City's Historic Foot District."
[299] Progress Amongst Prejudice, https://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/aapc/census_worksheet Accessed October 4, 2022.

New Deal programs were segregated and opportunities for African Americans were far fewer than those for whites. Lincoln University embarked on a New Deal building program in the 1930s (Figure 76).

Figure 76. Works Progress Administration buildings at Lincoln University: 1. Damel Hall, 2. Allen Hall, 3. Anthony Hall, 4. Bennett Hall

Bennett Hall, named after Private Logan Bennett of the 65th United States Colored Troops, was built by the Public Works Administration in 1938. It was constructed as a women's dormitory.[300] The Public Works Administration built Benjamin Allen Hall in 1936 as a dormitory. It also served African American state legislators who were unable to obtain lodging in Jefferson City due to segregation. John Damel Hall was constructed in 1936 to house the Mechanics Arts department. Libby Anthony Hall was constructed in 1940 as a women's dormitory. The Works Progress Administration provided funding for road widening and landscaping.[301]

The many provisions for New Deal funding for Lincoln University bear scrutiny. When Lincoln student Lloyd Gaines applied for law school at the University of Missouri in Columbia, the University of Missouri, in order to preserve segregation, offered to pay Gaines's tuition in a different state. The only other alternative was to build a separate but equal facility, a law school just for Gaines, in Missouri. Some legislators proposed exactly that during this period. Additional programs could be added to Lincoln to guarantee that integration could not occur.

[300] https://livingnewdeal.org/projects/bennett-hall-lincoln-university-jefferson-city-mo.
[301] "Lincoln University of Missouri," *The Crisis,* August 1940, 245, 267.

While two of the buildings at Lincoln funded by the New Deal were dormitories, the timing is suspect, suggesting that federal funding was being applied to maintaining educational segregation. Lincoln University faculty looked at the 1930s as the Golden Age of the institution. The university community was insular. White Jefferson City had no interest in the school,[302] at least until segregation was struck down in 1954.

The Washington School, the segregated school for Blacks in Jefferson City, also added a gym in 1938 through the Public Works Administration.[303] A retaining wall was also constructed. The Washington School was later demolished.

In 1906, a group of African American women formed the Modern Priscilla Art and Charity Club (Figure 77).[304]

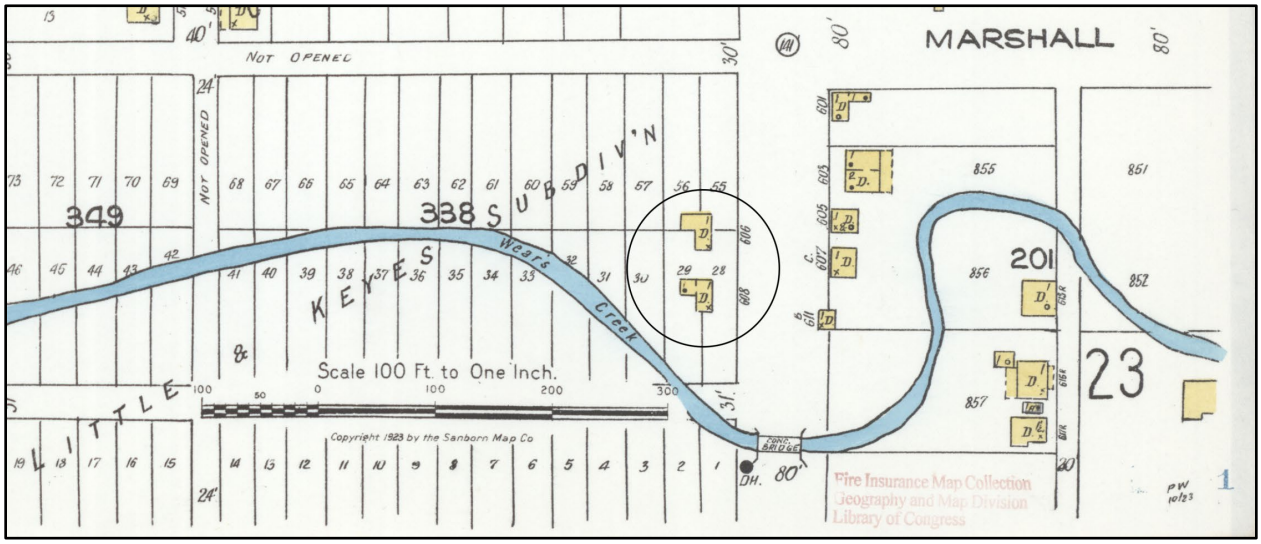

Figure 77. 1923 Sanborn map showing the Modern Priscilla Art and Charity Club, which purchased the circled houses at 606 and 608 Dunklin Street in 1934. They were replaced by the current Community Center in 1942. (Library of Congress)

The club had eight charter members including Mrs. Lena Collins, Mrs. Estella Diggs and Mrs Estella Damel.[305] Other members included the wife of Lincoln's Dean of Students, Ruth Cox Jason.[306] The Modern Priscillas were a well-educated and formidable social group that changed Jefferson City for the better. They raised money for the Community Chest through a BBQ and dance at the "state park" which would have been McClung Park at the time.[307] The first Modern

[302] "1975 oral history interview transcript: Dr. James D. Parks," *Oral History Interviews Transcripts*, https://bluetigercommons.lincolnu.edu/interviews/1.
[303] "Black Schools in Missouri," http://www.millercountymuseum.org/schools/black_schools_missouri.pdf, accessed March 10, 2022.
[304] "Don't worry about that mule, no?," *The Lincoln Clarion,* January 25, 1946, 4.
[305] "Modern Priscilla Club now 39 years old," *The Lincoln Clarion,* April 20, 1945, 3.
[306] "Mrs. Ruth Jason interred Monday," *The Lincoln Clarion,* January 19, 1945, 1.
[307] Untitled item, *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* October 28, 1930, 1.

Priscilla community house was located at 1001 East Dunklin Street in 1933.[308] The house is no longer extant. In 1934, the Community Center Association was formed by the Modern Priscillas.[309] They invited their husbands to join the newly organized Community Center Association "to render greater charitable services to the Negro community."[310] The group purchased two small houses at the site of the current Community Center at 608 Dunklin.

The Community Center Association was directly involved with the white power structure in the city. The Community Center Association led the African American community's efforts for the Community Chest campaigns. It also advocated for Community Chest funds.[311] Jefferson City's Community Chest started around 1925. The Community Chest, best known for its role in the game Monopoly, was meant to encourage various local philanthropic organizations to have one fund-raising drive rather than wear out the public with many fund-raising events. Eventually, the organization became the United Way.

The Community Center Association was also active during the Great Depression. The organization had two buildings and a playground on Dunklin between Marshall and Lafayette Streets. The Center provided lunches for children, kindergarten classes, and daycare for working mothers.[312]

The Community Center also provided WPA employment opportunities for African American women during the Great Depression. The WPA opened segregated sewing rooms. The Community Center housed twenty women in 1936 while white WPA sewing room employees worked at Herman's at High and Monroe Streets. Both groups of women sewed dresses and toys for needy residents.[313]

The Diggs Community Center was built in 1942. It was designed by Lincoln University student Roland Cooper and the building's construction was supervised by Duke Diggs. Diggs's health must have been failing by this point as the *Lincoln Clarion* points out he supervised the project from his bed. Postwar planning was underway in 1945 and included the ambitious plan of straightening Wears Creek since the Community Center was in the floodplain, and installing a swimming pool.[314] By 1950, the Community Center had moved Wears Creek away from the building, where it had a propensity to flood the recreation room.

The WPA also provided some infrastructure improvements for the African American community. An African American playground located on Missouri Boulevard had riprap, large

[308] "Modern Priscilla Art and Charity Club Hostesses to Public," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* October 8, 1933, 1.
[309] "Negro Community Center is Important Public Service," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* October 4, 1939, 1; Loretta E. Owens, "Will Dedicate Civic Center," *The Lincoln Clarion,* November 27, 1943, 1; "Jefferson City News," *The Lincoln Clarion,* February 25, 1955, 4.
[310] "Will Dedicate Civic Center."
[311] "Negro Community Center Is Important Public Service."
[312] "Negro Community Center is Important Public Service."
[313] "Additional Quota for WPA Sewing Project," *The Jefferson City Post Tribune,* January 13, 1936, 1.
[314] "Community Center," *Lincoln Clarion,* November 30, 1945, 1, 4.

stones placed to prevent erosion, along Wears Creek and Dunklin Boulevard between Atchison and Ashley.[315]

Postwar Community Development

The war and immediate postwar periods were not times of population explosion in Jefferson City. In 1940, Jefferson City had a population of 24,268. By 1950, it had only grown to 25,099, a gain of 831 residents.[316] In 1950, Cole County had 2,976 African American residents.

Postwar development in Jefferson City involved both federal and market forces. Together they would establish new transportation corridors to the west of downtown. These corridors would also introduce new building types to Jefferson City. New commercial types included the strip mall and neighborhood shopping center. This would culminate in the Capital City Mall in the 1970s.

Jefferson City had a number of challenges at the end of the war. The city's leaders wanted to diversify the economy and move away from a reliance on state government being the leading employer. In order to accomplish this Jefferson City needed a place for new industry and a place for new workers and returning veterans. Both tasks needed infrastructure. Accomplishing these goals would take decades.

The war caused severe housing shortages. A lack of building materials exacerbated the situation. The federal government did provide housing programs for wartime workers. The federal H- 2 program guaranteed building materials while the FHA guaranteed the 4 ½ percent loan. In Jefferson City forty houses were allocated, thirty for individual home ownership and ten for rental properties.[317] Once again Jefferson City's Chamber of Commerce controlled the program locally, or at least attempted to guide it.

In Jefferson City, the end of the war and the veterans' return caused a severe housing shortage. Combined with a building material shortage the opportunities for new housing was quite limited. The federal government had instituted new programs to speed the glacial process. The most immediate was the Veteran's Preference program that prioritized houses for returning Black and white veterans. However, the federal Veteran's Preference program was not universally popular. Republicans, led by Ohio senator Robert Taft, thought federal programs were against free market principles and harmed private builders through program stipulations that required paperwork and perhaps hampered profiteering.

While this survey located one advertisement for a veteran's preference house on Meadow Lane, the address was not valid. In any case, there is only one mention in Jefferson City newspapers of

[315] "City Rushes Work on WPA Project Plans in Effort to Beat September Deadline," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* September 4, 1935, 1. It is possible that this is the playground improved by the C.W.A. transient camp. While most C.W.A. projects were passed to the W.P.A., there was some overlap.
[316] Missouri Population, https://mcdc.missouri.edu/population-estimates/historical/cities1900-1990.pdf. Accessed September 15, 2022.
[317] A. L. Barnes Realty advertisement, *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* June 6, 1945, 1.

the program. While some cities also had preference homes for African American veterans, Jefferson City developers to do not appear to have participated. One possible issue is that Black veterans' preference subdivisions were usually located within existing Black enclaves.[318] Before urban renewal there would have been no area to build an African American subdivision in Jefferson City. In order to do so it would have been necessary to expand the area of Black occupancy in Jefferson City, an impossibility given the racial attitudes, restrictive covenants, and banking environment at the time. Consequently, Jefferson City's African American veterans did not share in their full GI benefits because of local conditions and attitudes.

The housing shortage highlights two competing schools of thought in Jefferson City's establishment. The first was the role of the government and private industry. The Chamber of Commerce was firm in their view that the private market was best solution to the housing problem. As such the Chamber proposed a corporation that would utilize FHA loans but include the Chamber in the profits. The second disagreement was the direction of the city itself. There was a contingent who did not want the city to change, "those who just want to sit back and keep the capital city like it is."[319] There was also the thought that unless the city leadership stepped in that this group would prevail.[320]

The city did step in with the formation of the Jefferson City Emergency Housing Committee at the end of 1946. When civic leaders failed to volunteer the mayor was forced "to draft members."[321] This was only the beginning of a general lack of interest in bolstering the housing industry in Jefferson City. The city group, composed of building contractors, bankers, and community leaders, included African American community leader Charles Robinson Sr. Desperate to get anything done, the group conducted a survey to ascertain housing needs and then held a mass meeting. The survey determined that the average need was for a 5½ room house costing around $6,300. This result disappointed the group. [322] A proposal to buy building supplies en masse as a group to save money also went nowhere.

In 1947, the Chamber of Commerce contemplated building a 12-unit apartment building at West Main Street and West Circle Drive. The project was to be an example that such development was viable for private investment in Jefferson City when loans were backed by the FHA. The Chamber was also interested in insurance company investment in real estate. While not unheard of, it appears that the 1940 Jefferson Heights Apartments was the last major rental project financed by outside investors backed by the FHA up to that point. The *Jefferson City Post Tribune* pointed out this project as a model for future development but like previous large

[318] Weise, *Places of Their Own.*
[319] "City's Improvement, Expansion Hinges on Living Quarters," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* July 20, 1947, 4.
[320] "City's Improvement, Expansion Hinges on Living Quarters."
[321] "Lack of Interest Stymied City's Emergency Housing Committee," *The Daily Capital News,* July 24, 1947, 3.
[322] "Lack of Interest Stymied City's Emergency Housing Committee."

projects it relied on getting outside capital such as from an insurance company.[323] It does not appear that the hoped-for apartment building was constructed.

Prefabricated houses were seen as an easy solution. Backed by the FHA and made in Sedalia the homes could be ready for occupancy in two weeks after being taken to the site.[324] The Thrifty Real Estate Company assembled prefabricated houses that were constructed on St. Mary's Boulevard and off Green Berry Road. Although unconventional, they were initially readily accepted, but complications quickly appeared. Residents in more well-to-do neighborhoods complained about the houses being used as infill. This resulted in a moratorium on prefabricated house-building permits in Jefferson City. The solution was to limit prefabricated houses to neighborhoods where the existing surrounding homes had the same square footage.[325] The city also stipulated that the houses have poured concrete foundations instead of standard concrete block.[326] In effect, it was a perfect example of exclusionary zoning where the zoning and building codes sorted homeowners by income. The house market was already sorted by race through lenders and real estate agents.

Building was also hindered by Jefferson City's hills. This made prime building lots expensive and quickly put low-cost homes out of reach.[327] Because "government interference" doesn't count if one is the beneficiary, the idea of having the city purchase an area for a subdivision was proposed.[328] In February, one prefabricated house was permitted at 1206 Adams Street.[329] It's unclear if it was actually constructed as a 1995 infill house is currently on the lot. A few private developers appear to have built houses too under the FHA program, but the realty listings are few. While Federal Housing Administration programs must have been used in Jefferson City the evidence in advertising is sparse.

However, it also appears that Jefferson City banks did comparatively little lending during this period. *The Daily Capital* reported that local lending institutions had little interest in 20-year loans and were even reluctant to lend for 15-year term loans.[330] Builders were also reluctant to participate in the black market for building supplies. These factors, all combined, made contractors leery of building anything since they could not figure out the final cost. The city's emergency housing committee collapsed, "after repeatedly bucking its head against indifference and opposition for six months." The committee hired a person to manage the program, paid by City Council, but he lasted for four days before taking another better-paying position.[331]

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[323] "City's Improvement, Expansion Hinges on Living Quarters," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* July 20, 1947, 4.
[324] "Prefabs Offer One Answer to Housing Problem," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* March 16, 1949, 1.
[325] "City's Improvement, Expansion Hinges on Living Quarters."
[326] "City's Improvement, Expansion Hinges on Living Quarters."
[327] "Prefabs Offer One Solution to Housing Problem."
[328] "Prefabs Offer One Solution to Housing Problem.".
[329] "Prefabricated Residence Coming to Adams Street Soon," *Jefferson Post Tribune,* February 11, 1947, 1.
[330] "Lack of Interest Stymied City's Emergency Housing Committee."
[331] "Lack of Interest Stymied City's Emergency Housing Committee."

The veteran's preference program is only mentioned once in the Jefferson City newspapers. The Veteran's Emergency Housing Program planned 2,700,000 homes to be built in 1946–1948. Homes in the program had prominent signs posted during and after construction and were held for 30–60 days after completion for sale to veterans.[332] However, advertising the programs at the time was also scarce. In 1949, two years after the program was initiated, *The Daily Capital News* announced that placards were available for veteran's preference building sites, although builders could continue to use homemade signs.[333]

Overall, the reliance on only private builders and private lending in Jefferson City appears to have set back housing rather than promoted it. Local lenders refused to participate in government programs and money from Columbia and Kansas City was used instead, although the overall level of lending was lacking.[334] A paucity of building materials exacerbated by a lack of capital and slow coordination slowed housing until the late 1940s. Builders refused to participate in government priority programs for building supplies because of the red tape.[335] It does not appear that the twelve-unit apartment at West Main Street and West Circle Drive was completed.

This mindset altered Jefferson City's development pattern in comparison to other cities. Sedelia built subdivisions of prefab houses. While other cities constructed subdivisions of Minimal Traditional houses in the $5,000-7000 range Jefferson City's postwar subdivisions are fairly small, sometimes a dozen parcels that were not developed at the same time, and these developments often infilled earlier subdivisions rather than make new ones (Figure 74).

This postwar development pattern appears to have been relatively strong in west Jefferson City, filling in subdivisions that began in the 1930s. Forest Drive, Lavinia Drive, and Circle Drive all have houses from the 1930s, often Tudor and Craftsman bungalows, interspersed with postwar Minimal Traditional style and a few Ranch-type homes. In the early 1950s, Hayselton Drive homes were being constructed. While the 1948 *Shelley v. Kraemer* Supreme Court case ended racial restrictive covenants in deeds that legally barred African Americans from many subdivisions, real estate agents and banks continued to discriminate in housing.

West Jefferson City contains many smaller subdivisions. These small plats can be good snapshots of contemporary development. The West Douglas Place subdivision was platted in 1937 and partially developed before the war (Figure 78). Originally platted with twelve parcels, it was half-developed with Tudor style homes up to 1941. Development stopped during the war but immediately picked up afterwards, with the construction of a Cape Cod in 1946.

[332] "Questions and Answers on OPA Enforcement of Veterans Emergency Housing," *Price Control Newsletter* October 21 ,1946, 3.
[333] "Card Available for Home Posting," *Daily Capital News,* January 21, 1949, 14.
[334] "City's Improvement, Expansion Hinges on Living Quarters."
[335] "Lack of Interest Stymied City's Emergency Housing Committee."

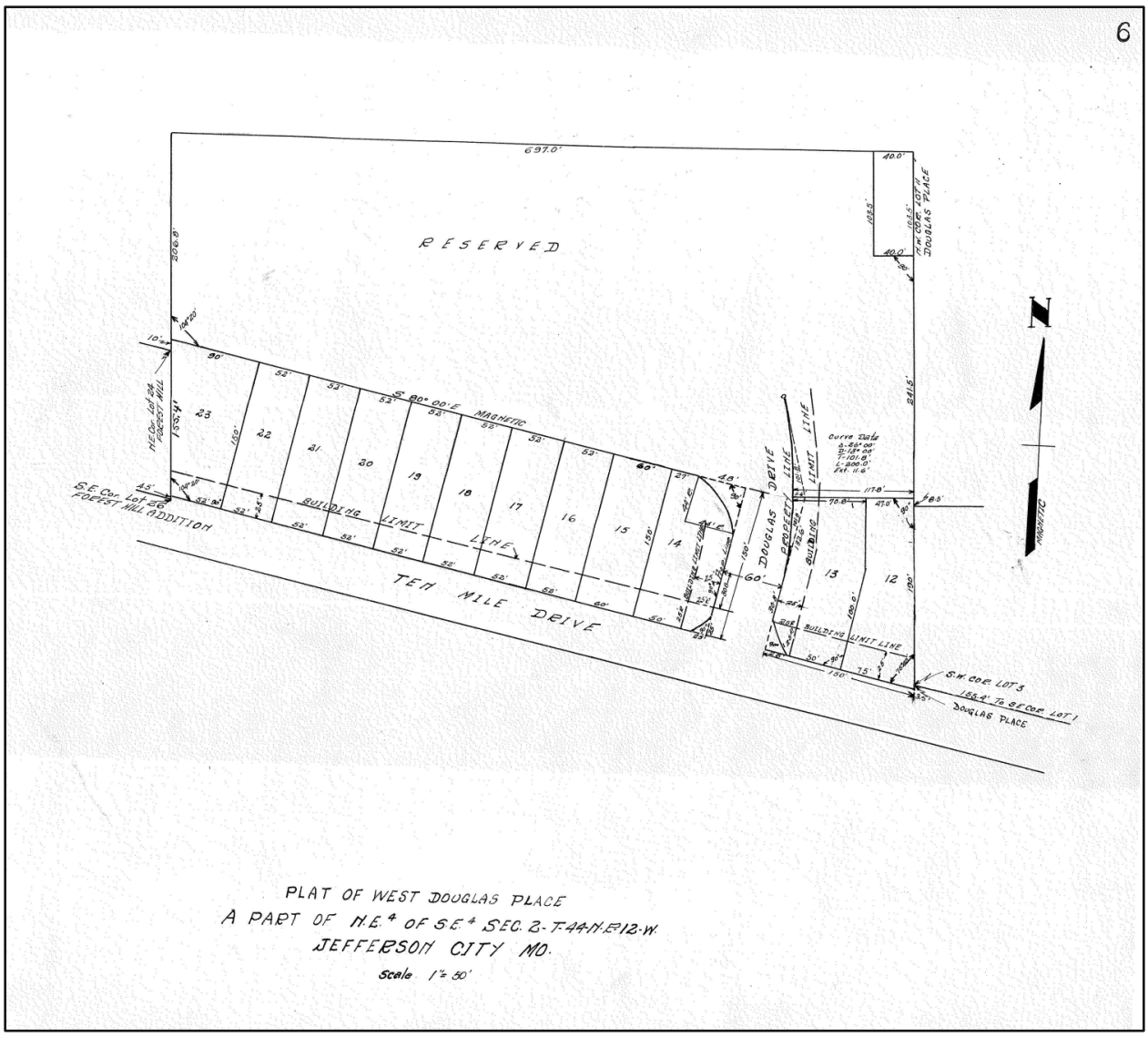

Figure 78. The West Douglas Place subdivision on West Main Street, originally Ten Mile Drive (MidMoGIS)

Housing developments sprouted north of Industrial Drive. While some postwar housing activity in this area involved new plats, other subdivisions were newly developed. Infill followed the previous pattern of developing more topographically difficult sites as technology developed (Figure 79).

Figure 79. The 2200 block of West Main Street features (left to right) a 1946 infill Cape Cod next to a 1940 Tudor style house, illustrating the change in style from pre-war Tudor to postwar Cape Cod style.

Infill housing and new subdivisions were not the only solution to the postwar housing shortage. Apartment buildings continued to be built downtown. The Washington Terrace Apartment building, 320 Washington Street, was built in 1951 (Figure 80).[336] The building features corner windows, a hallmark of the International style and harbinger of Modernism downtown.

Figure 80. Washington Terrace Apartments (left) and Wymore Apartments (right) (Rory Krupp)

[336] Walsh, "Capital City Residents Embrace Apartment Life," 7.

New residential forms included large apartment complexes. Multi-family buildings were present downtown from the late teens through the 1920s. The new 1960s version had more buildings in a less concentrated pattern that included ample surface parking. In Jefferson City, public housing funded through federal urban renewal projects was the first to use this new layout.

The federal Housing Act of 1949 provided the funding and the eventually the buildable land for new urban renewal projects. According to the *Lincoln Clarion*, "This urban renewal program is concerned not only with the sore spots that blight produced but with protecting the community as a whole against the threat of blight."[337] Urban renewal was supposed to redevelop areas that had fallen into disrepair, aka "blight." Urban renewal projects were attractive for cities because federal funding provided the bulk of the budget. Unfortunately, many projects took place in areas that had suffered from long-time disinvestment, often because they were African American neighborhoods. In Jefferson City, the institutional support from Lincoln University was somewhat unusual for these projects.

The federally funded Campus View Urban Renewal Project began to be worked on in approximately 1959. The project was not uniformly popular. It focused on redevelopment in the area surrounding Lincoln University. By the mid-1960s opposition to Campus View was well underway. The Foot had been largely demolished, and resident relocation was not as smooth as anticipated.

This had a number of repercussions. People were culturally unmoored from their old neighborhood. For Black residents, homeownership represented not only a sort of economic freedom and status, but also literal freedom. Property was essential for loan collateral. Property was also essential for a bail bond, and a rental unit in public housing did not qualify.[338] Perhaps public housing was better housing in some ways, but it was also a step backward.

The Progress Project started in 1964. Although ostensibly an urban renewal project, it had a private component. The Greater Jefferson City Committee, which originated in 1952 for planning purposes, was resurrected under Sam Cook's leadership. Within this organization was the Parade of Progress Committee. Its task was "prodding" private businesses in the Progress Project area to improve their properties. This effort was quite successful and earned praise from the *The Daily Capitol News* in 1967. The editorial named two businesses, Buescher Funeral Home and Wright Studio, "for significant improvements"; the funeral home improved its parking lot and Wright Studio completely remodeled its building.[339] The editorial pointed out that in the year the committee began its work, 56 businesses downtown made improvements. The Progress Project urban renewal project stopped the Parade of Progress in 1966; uncertainty about what would remain seems to have tempered private investment. However, the two new projects in 1967 were seen as an auspicious new beginning in downtown revitalization.[340] From a historic

[337] Stanley E. Scott, "University Area Included in Urban Renewal Plan," *Lincoln Clarion,* March 6, 1959, 1.
[338] "Housing Authority Should Reconsider South Side Decision," *The Lincoln Clarion,* April 30, 1975, 2.
[339] "Parade of Progress should be kept rolling," *The Daily Capitol,* February 22, 1967, 4.
[340] "Parade of Progress should be kept rolling."

preservation standpoint the Progress Project storefront remodeling can be seen in the same light as earlier programs that revitalized and modernized storefronts during the Great Depression and are now historic in their own right.

Campus View's problems became a focal point for the Progress Project. How many poor and senior residents had their homes confiscated was a talking point.[341] "It's going to break some of the older people's hearts to have to move from houses which have been home to them their whole lives," stated Charles E. Robinson at a June 1966 City Council meeting.[342]

While earlier urban renewal projects required code enforcement it seems to have been sporadically or selectively enforced, as it was previously. Progress Project buildings downtown were classified as fire hazards. However, code and fire regulation enforcements were non-existent. Fire regulations were unable to be enforced. The fire department was unable to close a building for non-compliance. Instead, the fire inspector relied on "civic pride or the initiative of the building owner" to repair buildings.[343] No code enforcement was an integral part of the segregated real-estate regime. Segregation ensured the tenants could not easily move. Not maintaining the property only enhanced the bottom line. While the city could demand that the code be enforced and followed to the letter this would only drive up the price, possibly forcing the residents to move to white neighborhoods. As a general rule, this was untenable for both the landlord and the white neighborhoods.

The Progress Project focused on the area south and east of the Capitol (Figure 81).

Figure 81. 1967 Progress Project information session and map (Daily Capital News, May 20, 1966, 5)

[341] "Progress," *Jefferson Post Tribune,* June 15, 1966, 1–2.
[342] "Progress."
[343] Margaret Taylor, "Out of Sight, Out of Mind, Tour of City's Alley's Show Fire Hazards," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* January 31, 1971, 7.

Its focus was to increase downtown parking and channelize Wears Creek. The project started with building demolition in the 200 block of State Street and the 300 block of Walnut Street. The project was expected to produce 1,396 new parking spots.[344]

Figure 82. The Progress Project and highway construction altered the downtown streets to accommodate higher speed traffic. (Rory Krupp)

The Capital West urban renewal project was an amendment to the Progress Project. This early 1970s project focused on the Millbottom neighborhood. The building stock in the Millbottom had been exposed to sporadic or serious flooding for years. Consequently, few building owners made extensive repairs after a flood.[345] The United States Army Corps of Engineers did not feel it was cost effective to redevelop the area after clearance.[346] Capping Wears Creek and installing Riverside Drive were two major components of the project. A rail spur that led to Industrial Drive was planned to be removed but was not. A preservation effort was launched for a few buildings in the Millbottom. The Byrd-Haar House was moved from 614 West Main Street to 110 Bolivar Street.[347] This made a small historic cluster with Paddy Malones and the Porth House both located across the street; both buildings are city landmarks.[348] The former Richmond Grocery store at 628 West Main Street was repurposed for the Capital Police Department.[349]

[344] "Housing Unit Gets Options on Properties," *The Daily Capital News,* December 13, 1967, 12.
[345] Army Corps of Engineers, *Wears Creek Feasibility Report for Flood Control* (Kansas City: USACE, 1974), 8.
[346] Army Corps of Engineers, *Wears Creek Feasibility Report*, 9.
[347] "Historic Millbottom Building Stands the Test of Time," https://www.newstribune.com/news/2013/nov/17/historic-millbottom-building-withstands-test-time, accessed June 9, 2022.
[348] "Historic Millbottom Building Stands the Test of Time."
[349] "Historic Millbottom Building Stands the Test of Time."

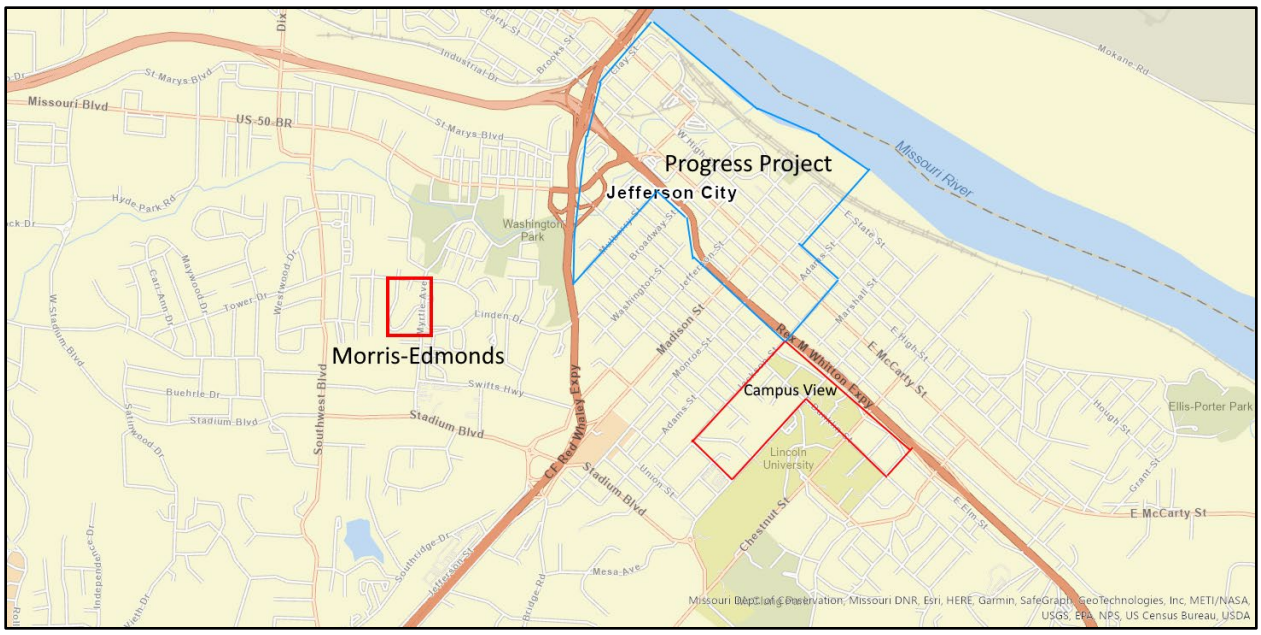

Figure 83. The Campus View urban renewal project boundary in red with the Progress Project in blue. Capitol West was within the Progress Project in the Millbottom. The Morris-Edmonds Public Housing project was the Campus View project.

Lohman's Landing was also preserved as the Jefferson's Landing state historic site during this period. Much of the land cleared during the Capital West project was given to the state for the Truman State Office Building and parking lots for state employees (Figure 83).

Postwar African American History

African Americans were included in postwar planning efforts. Mayor Jesse Owens established a planning committee to ascertain what residents wanted in the mid-1940s. The requests were within the segregative framework. Requests included more rental housing and a swimming pool near Community Park.[350] The Community Park pool was constructed in 1947 at the Community Center but it was controversial. The city held separate votes for funding segregated white and Black pools in Memorial Park and the Community Center, respectively. A group of whites circulated handbills against the segregated Black pool, feeling there should be no pool at all for African Americans. 3,479 residents voted for the Community Center pool while 1,247 residents opposed it.[351] Ironically, the mayor denounced the group for injecting racial discrimination into the vote for segregated facilities.[352]

As in many parts of the country, civil rights actions immediately after the war often focused on recreational activities. Having fought and sacrificed during the WWII, Black citizens too wanted to enjoy all the fruits of postwar America. In Jefferson City, golf, as it did in many places,

[350] "Rent Houses, Swimming Pool Sought by Local Post-War Planners," *The Lincoln Clarion,* October 20, 1944, 1.
[351] "Citizens Approve Negro Pool Despite 'Hate' Handbills," *The Lincoln Clarion,* December 5, 1947, 1.
[352] "Citizens Approve Negro Pool."

became a flash point. The golf course was owned by two entities. The city controlled the front nine holes while a private entity, the Hough Park Golf Association, owned the back nine holes. They were able to choose who could be a member and golf on their part of the course.[353] It was unclear initially who could golf until 1949, when Lincoln University faculty member Dr. Milton Hardiman was asked to leave although he had golfed there before. This battle went on for six years while City Council dithered. In 1966, Hardiman was part of the Lincoln University golf team that won the Governor's Cup as part of the State Employees Twilight Golf League.[354]

Figure 84. An undated photograph of Dr. Lorenzo Green and Dr. Milton Hardiman at Lincoln University (Lincoln University Collection)

In 1942, the African American community formed a parallel organization in the face of segregation, a community center at 608 East Dunklin Street. The Diggs Community Center was used for a nursery and community meetings. During World War II and the Korean War, the center was used as a USO for Black service members.[355] The Diggs Community Center was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1992 under Criterion A, Ethnic Heritage, Black. It is one of the few buildings left that is associated with the African American area the Foot. The area was roughly bounded by East McCarty Street, Chestnut Street, Atchison and Jackson. In 1950, the Prince Hall Masons Capitol City Lodge No. 9 purchased the H. E. Gensky Grocery Store at 423 Cherry Street (Figure 85). It is listed in the National Register for

[353] "Hough Park Golf Grounds Association Agree to Continue Present Regulations," *Lincoln Clarion,* November 18, 1955, 2.
[354] "These Won Trophy," *The Lincoln Clarion,* October 7, 1966, 2.
[355] "At 70 Years Young, Community Center Continues its Mission," *News Tribune*, February 19, 2012, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2012/feb/19/70-years-young-community-center-continues-its-miss/, accessed April 15, 2022.

Commerce and Social History. The historic Dunavant A.M.E. Church is located across the Whitton Expressway. Together these buildings mark a new African American community, one based on gradual postwar coalescence and later urban renewal.

Figure 85. Prince Hall Masons Capitol City Lodge No. 9 (Rory Krupp)

Estelle and Duke Diggs were instrumental in the Community Center's construction. Duke Diggs had a long history in community activities, fraternal organizations and civil rights. Diggs was at various times a baggageman, a mover, and a dealer in coal and wood. He is mentioned as a contractor, too; as we have seen, at the end of his life he supervised the construction of the Community Center as well. Diggs was active in fighting rail car segregation with future *Kansas City Sun* publisher Nelson Crews. He attended the mass meetings at Jefferson City's Quinn A.M.E., located at the corner of Madison and Miller, in 1907 that helped scuttle the legislation.[356] He was a state leader in the United Brothers of Friendship, an African American fraternal organization founded in Louisville, Kentucky. Diggs was also active in the local Republican party, having been named an alternate for Second Congressional Republican Convention.[357] He was also a ward captain. In 1941, Diggs was one of the first African Americans summoned for jury duty in Cole County.[358]

A variety of businesses operated in the Foot. The Lincoln Hotel, operated by Murphy Clark, a white railroad and prison worker, was listed in the 1941 *Green Book*.[359] Victor Green's eponymous book was a national African American travel guide. It listed rooming houses, hotels, gas stations, nightclubs and beauty parlors that African American travelers could patronize without fear of humiliation or worse at the hands of whites. What it did not guarantee was the overall tenor of the establishment. Green did not check the entries, and businesses, while

[356] "Call for a Solemn Conclave," *The Rising Sun*, July 13, 1907, 8.
[357] "Deadlock on Landon in Second," *Moberly Monitor Index,* April 8, 1936, 1.
[358] "Negro Convict Goes to Trial for His Life," *Jefferson City Post Tribune*, May 22, 1941.
[359] Brooks, *Lost Jefferson City*, 56.

ostensibly catering to African American travelers, could also be hotbeds of bootlegging and prostitution. The Lincoln Hotel was purchased by another white owner, Leo Daniels, in 1943. He remodeled the hotel and a nightclub, "The Subway," was constructed in the basement.[360] Rufus Petty, a Black WWI veteran and lumber yard worker from Butler County, Missouri, then bought the hotel, later called the Booker T. Washington Hotel. Dr. Lorenzo Green, a history professor at Lincoln University, noted the hotel had a bad reputation.[361]

Swimming pool access controversies continued in 1949 when Jefferson City recreation department offered programs to white children at the Junior College that had a pool, while Black children were sent to Washington School with no pool. When three young Black women attempted to enroll in the program at the Junior College they were rebuffed. The local NAACP branch was expected to pursue a "separate but equal approach."[362] The City Park board canceled the program rather than integrate it.[363]

When history professor Lorenzo Green came to Jefferson City in the 1930s segregation was fairly hard and fast. He reported that Lincoln had movie nights each week at which both students and faculty avoided having to be relegated to the balcony in the local movie theater.[364] Lincoln University and faculty members continued to hammer at racial injustice. Lincoln University students often led the way in desegregation, sometimes to the dismay of Lincoln's leadership. In 1952, Lincoln students started a drive to desegregate movie theaters through a boycott. An interview revealed that student attitudes were mixed. While one felt the boycott just gave into the owners' wishes, others thought that going to the theater was adequate protest.[365]

The Missouri Hotel integrated in 1955. Previously, the Missouri Hotel had hosted the United Daughters of the Confederacy gatherings although many meetings were at members' homes. It was the site of negotiations with the city and the UDC over Price's Confederate Monument before this was moved in 1955. (The monument was removed in 2020 and returned to the United Daughters of the Confederacy.)

In the late 1950s segregation in public accommodations was tackled. Missouri did not have segregation laws on the books like Southern states. As in much of the North, segregation was often a matter of whim, spite, and local tradition aimed at social control, without having any of it codified. The Missouri legislature condemned segregation in a session in 1955 but balked in the same session at actually outlawing it. The *Lincoln Clarion* conducted a survey about attitudes towards segregation in Jefferson City in 1956. They contacted twenty-eight places, of which fifteen served African Americans but six had conditions for service. Segregated places often

[360] Brooks, *Lost Jefferson City*, 56.
[361] "1975 oral history interview transcript: Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, part II," *Oral History Interviews Transcripts*, https://bluetigercommons.lincolnu.edu/interviews/5, p. 27
[362] "NAACP Plan Injunction Against Park," *The Lincoln Clarion,* March 3, 1949, 1.
[363] "City Program to End," *The Lincoln Clarion,* March 16, 1949, 1.
[364] "1975 oral history interview transcript: Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, part II," p. 10.
[365] "The Roving Reporter," *The Lincoln Clarion,* February 27, 1953, 3.

replied that no Blacks ever attempted to get service so it was a moot point, while others would only serve Blacks if they were in a mixed group. The Tasti-Treat would serve Black individuals in cars, but not inside. Drive-in movie theaters were integrated. When a group of Lincoln students held a sit-in at the East End Drug Store (listed in the National Register on July 9, 2003) in the early 1960s, the proprietor, who was also the mayor, simply took out the chairs and tables.[366]

Whaley's East End Drugstore also represents the pressure that neighborhood stores felt as merchants and people moved westward (Figure 86).

Figure 86. East End Drug Store (Rory Krupp)

In the early 1950s, the store updated its first-floor façade. They installed larger display windows of green Vitrolite glass tile with aluminum accent bands in a bid to compete with suburban drugstores.[367] The store is a great example of national trends in race relations and commerce expressed at a local level.

Local churches were sharply segregated. The Catholic, Episcopalian, Lutheran and Christian Science Churches all accepted African American parishioners. The Catholic Church was the first to integrate in 1951. One Baptist pastor stated that Blacks had their own churches, therefore integration was unnecessary. This seemed to be the predominant line from Baptist, Methodist and Christian Churches in Jefferson City.[368]

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[366] Gabrielle Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and Its Impact on Institutional Culture at a Historically Black University," PhD diss., University of Missouri-Columbia (2007), 153.
[367] Jane Rode Beetem, East End Drug Store National Register nomination, July 7, 2003, Section 7, p. 1-2.
[368] Al Westbrooks, "The Unwritten Law, Segregation, Continues to Take Precedence in Missouri's Capital," *The Lincoln Clarion,* March 23, 1956, 6, 8.

Integration in the wake of the *Brown* decision profoundly affected the African American community. Education changed. The segregated 1903 Washington School, on Elm Street between Lafayette and Cherry Streets, was closed in c. 1956–1957 and is no longer extant.

Figure 87. 1907 Quinn Chapel (demolished), 2. Community Center, 3. Grace Episcopal, 4. Washington School (demolished), 5, Prince Hall Mason's Lodge, 6. Dunavant A.M.E. Zion, 7. Second Baptist, 8. Quinn A.M.E.

As often happened in newly integrated school districts, only a portion of the Black teachers were given jobs. In Jefferson City, only three out of ten African American teachers at the Washington School were offered jobs in newly integrated schools.[369]

In the 1960s, segregation in public accommodation continued. It was noted that most African American adults socialized on Lincoln's campus and not in other parts of Jefferson City.[370]A student who graduated in 1971 remembered having to sit in the balcony at the movie theater. Blacks were not welcomed at all nightclubs, and the police sometimes harassed students.[371]

According to a 1959 editorial by *Lincoln Clarion* student editor Stanley S. Scott, the University's decision to declare The Tops, at 616 Lafayette Street, "off limits" was especially onerous.[372] Lincoln's leadership, apparently incensed by a nearby store selling liquor to minors, took a stand. The Tops was known to students as a place where one could buy a bottle of whisky at the liquor store and drink it at your table.[373] But more importantly, the African American Lincoln student sphere was not large. Scott pointed out that, "Lafayette Street is the sole business district open to

[369] "Three Negro Teachers Offered Jobs," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* April 16, 1956, 1.
[370] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and Its Impact," 132.
[371] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 132.
[372] The Tops was removed by urban renewal in the 1960s Campus View project.
[373] Stanley S. Scott, "The Tops is Off Limits," *The Lincoln Clarion,* April 17, 1959, 1.

Negroes. Unfortunately, churches, nurseries, the community center, and our school are crowded into an area that happens to include The Tops, two liquor stores and a couple of eating places."

Scott also pointed out how Lincoln's integration after the *Brown* decision affected Black students and how *Brown* did not affect Jefferson City. While the school might be integrated, Jefferson City still was not. "The mixing of the school gave the student freedom of choice, but the downtown community does not give the student who happens to be a Negro the freedom of choice."[374] Scott graduated in 1959. The 1954 *Brown* decision meant he had known Lincoln as an ostensibly integrated school but also as a Black student in a segregated city. Scott's journalistic credentials were already substantial at the time of his graduation, and he immediately started breaking barriers when he became the first Black journalist for United Press International (UPI). On February 21, 1965, he was the only journalist allowed into an Organization of Afro-American Unity rally at Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom. Scott witnessed Malcolm X's assassination as he prepared to go on stage to address the group he had founded. Scott's coverage of the event earned him a nomination for the 1965 Pulitzer Prize.[375]

Housing segregation in Jefferson City was largely driven by local factors. While redlining in larger cities is illustrated by the 1930s Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) redlining maps, Jefferson City was not large enough to be mapped. A recent study by the Chicago Federal Reserve shows that HOLC maps are unreliable indicators for a lack of minority lending.[376] The HOLC, which loaned money to homeowners in distress, actually lent money in minority areas. At the same time the Federal Housing Administration maintained their own set of redlining maps. These maps were destroyed at the order of President Nixon by John Ehrlichman during the late 1960s. However, some copies have survived in regional repositories and indicate that while HOLC redlining was not as widespread, FHA redlining *was* widespread. In towns without direct federal oversight, lending was a more local affair. In Jefferson City, local real estate agents refused to show African Americans houses west of Jackson Street or north of McCarty Street for fear of losing white business. Neighborhood associations and "tradition" dictated who lived where. Lincoln University faculty lived on the perimeter of the campus. They felt they could not buy real estate more than four blocks from the campus. A white Lincoln faculty member was also discriminated against when he told a real estate agent over the phone where he worked. There were "no houses available." The bank had the same response for a loan.[377] Jefferson City housing was segregated "well into the 70s."[378]

In 1959, the Jefferson City Housing Authority chose a twelve-block area around Lincoln University for the first urban renewal project. Conducted under the auspices of the Housing Act

[374] Scott, "The Tops is Off Limits."
[375] "Stanley S. Scott, Journalist," https://www.lincolnu.edu/c/document_library/get_file?uuid=56540287-09ed-40e1-9b4b-b68f51c8248f&groupId=140392&filename=Stanley%20S.%20Scott%20Bio.pdf, accessed July 8, 2022.
[376] Fishback, Price, Jonathan Rose, Ken Snowden, and Thomas Storrs, "New Evidence on Redlining By Federal Housing Programs in the1930s," Chicago: Federal Reserve of Chicago, 2022.
[377] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 137.
[378] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 135.

of 1949, the plan was to remove clear "slums" and prevent "blight" from spreading to the rest of the city.[379]

The Campus View Urban Renewal Project revealed class divisions in the Black community. It also portrayed the housing problems faced by African Americans regardless of class. This was never more evident than in urban renewal relocation. The Campus View project cleared 102 acres of dense housing around Lincoln University. This was replaced by two sets of housing options: the middle-class Roland Street development and the Elm Street public housing option. Unlike for white residents, moving west to a suburb on the edge of Jefferson City was not an option for Blacks. Jefferson City had evolved in a segregated pattern where there were acceptable neighborhoods for African Americans, places where they could live in mixed racial settings. One of these was downtown Jefferson City.[380] However, in the Campus View project, "urban renewal…caused a centrifugal force separating races and classes."[381] Jefferson City's rising Black middle class was stranded. As this observer noted, "The pigmentation of the Negro skin is the badge of difference in relocation practices."[382] Relocation was thwarted through a number of practices. As noted, banks in Jefferson City would not approve loans to Lincoln University faculty members even if they were white.[383] The only way that a Black home buyer could possibly buy a home outside the Foot was a direct sale. Historian Lorenzo Green bought a house in a direct sale in the late 1960s, making the Greens the first African American family to live in west Jefferson City.[384]

Neighborhood improvement associations prevented minorities from moving into suburbs and drove them out if they did. A mob mentality could take over. One Lincoln University dean had to stay up all night protecting his home immediately after its purchase.[385] The associations could also apply social pressure on community members to stay the course. The restrictive covenant was another tool. This stipulated what race or ethnicity was allowed to live in the subdivision. In Jefferson City, Forest Hill and Walinko Place both appear to have had deed restrictions.

Although deed restrictions were outlawed in 1948, there were alternatives. In the absence of a fair housing law, segregation appears to have been the order of the day. Jefferson City newspapers' realty advertisements noted whether a neighborhood was "restricted" (which everyone knew referred to race) up to the early 1960s (Figure 86).

[379] Stanley S. Scott, "University Area Included in Urban Renewal Program," *Lincoln Clarion,* March 6, 1959, 1.
[380] Charles Wesley Jackson, "Urban Renewal and Its Effects in Jefferson City, Missouri," master's thesis, Kansas State University (1965), 44.
[381] Jackson, "Urban Renewal and Its Effects," 44.
[382] Jackson, "Urban Renewal and Its Effects," 45.
[383] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 136.
[384] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 136.
[385] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 136.

Figure 88. Jefferson City Post Tribune real estate ads for restricted neighborhoods in 1929, 1950, and 1961

Even though restrictive covenants were made illegal, other restrictive practices emerged. The "Van Sweringen Covenant," named after brothers who developed Shaker Heights, Ohio, in the 1920s, stipulated that the original owner had to consent to the new buyer. This could be expanded to a practice where all the adjacent lot owners had to agree to the new buyer. The Landwehr Hills had this variant where the surrounding owners of a home had to approve the purchase until its repeal in 1975.[386]

Builders and realtors were also effective in maintaining racial boundaries by telling prospective buyers nothing was available. This practice was so entrenched in Jefferson City that realtors who

[386] Restrictions of Landwehr Hills, Section 5, June 1975, Book 236, Page 380, Recorder of Deeds, Cole County Missouri.

had attended Lincoln University would graduate and immediately not sell to prospective Black clients.[387]

Banks also refused to make loans to Black buyers, especially in subdivisions where they already held loans. In addition, the institutions and facilities in a new suburb might be restricted. A new neighborhood might have segregated schools, parks, restaurants, swimming pools, and golf courses. Should these tactics fail, suburban zoning practices that mandated large lots discouraged people.[388]

People in deep poverty faced equal challenges. While public housing was supposed to provide clean and modern housing to relocated families, there were strict requirements. A nuclear family was necessary to obtain a unit. This barred single people and inter-generational families. There was a requirement for "middle class" values and not being a member of any subversive organizations. Consequently, residents in the most need of housing were forced to move within the neighborhood in a segregated city with overcrowded housing. This did not swell Jefferson City's African American population which stood at 3,011 in 1960 or 10.7 percent of the population of 28,228. It did help the Black population over time. By, 1970, it was 3,099 in the entire county whereas the white population grew to 32,407 residents.[389]

Nationwide efforts at fair housing laws galvanized some in Jefferson City, but the effort continued to founder. The city started to study the problem in 1966 when Mayor Christy appointed a Committee on Residential Standards that did find that segregation existed in Jefferson City housing.[390] That committee urged the formation of another committee. In 1967, the Jefferson City Council on Religion and Race was formed with members of Lincoln University's faculty and community members. The organization was formed at Grace Episcopal Church at 217 Adams Street.[391] While the city did indeed recognize that segregation thrived in Jefferson City, whites who professed to be concerned with fair housing in Jefferson City failed to act when it was time to approach the legislature. [392]

In addition, white residents formed The Committee to Preserve Citizen's Rights to fight a proposed Fair Housing ordinance.[393] The Jefferson City Board of Realtors also came out against the ordinance.[394] The ordinance passed City Council in 1969, but two council members opposed it.[395]

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[387] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 136.
[388] Jackson, "Urban Renewal and Its Effects," 46–48.
[389] 1970 United States Census, Missouri Population Schedule. In 1950 the county Black population was 2,976
[390] "Council controversies make year's top news," *Jefferson Post Tribune,* December 31, 1968, 1.
[391] "Council Attacks Housing Bias," *The Lincoln Clarion,* February 17, 1967, 1.
[392] "History Club Sponsors Segregation Convocation," *The Lincoln Clarion,* February 25, 1966, 1.
[393] "Council controversies make year's top news," *Jefferson Post Tribune,* December 31, 1968, 1.
[394] "Difference between housing bills outlined," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* August 19, 1968, 1.
[395] "Suit filed for referendum on city's fair housing law," *The Daily Capital News,* January 18, 1969, 2.

In 1968, Lincoln students boycotted downtown businesses in order to highlight the lack of fair housing laws. The students suspended the effort when it appeared that the merchants were aware of the issue, but whether it was effective was another matter.[396] "Real estate agents and local officials were not prepared and did not attempt" to break down housing barriers, according to Randolph Halsey of Jefferson City's Office of Urban Affairs.[397] The vast majority of Lincoln University faculty and staff endured these conditions well into the 1970s.[398]

The Campus View project made Black class differences readily apparent. Lincoln University leadership viewed the surrounding neighborhood as an impediment. In a letter included in the Congressional Record, Lincoln University President Earl E. Dawson enumerated the many advantages of urban renewal for the school, included removing blight and certain slum conditions that might affect their students adversely. Urban renewal saved the school money in expansion costs by removing private sales for expansion and certain infrastructure projects like streets. Lastly, "by providing playground space for children and youth in the campus area, our landscaped campus grounds are now receiving considerably less wear and tear than other years when these youngsters had no place else to play."[399] The Campus View redevelopment included an African American middle-class enclave, Roland Street, that housed faculty and staff from Lincoln University (Figure 89).

Figure 89. Roland Court, part of the Campus View urban renewal project (Rory Krupp)

Resident displacement became an issue when the housing code was finally enforced and used to force people to move or repair their homes. There was great concern that the prices the Housing Authority was paying to displaced residents were not enough to buy even a lot for a new home.[400]

[396] "SGA Finalized Election Plans," *The Lincoln Clarion*, March 29, 1968, 4.
[397] "History Club Sponsors Segregation Convocation," *The Lincoln Clarion,* February 25, 1966, 1.
[398] Malfatti-Rachell, "Desegregation and its Impact," 136.
[399] Earl Dawson to Logan Wilson, letter, included in *Urban Renewal, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Housing of the Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Eighty-Eighth Congress, First Session, November 19, 20, and 21, 1963, Part 2* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963, 246).
[400] "Campus View Displacement Problems Heard," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* February 19, 1961, 1.

When the Foot was demolished in 1967 some faculty, students and residents had mixed feelings. It deprived Lincoln students and Jefferson City's young adults of a place to socialize, according to Dan Turner, who owned a Conoco station on East McCarty and Adams Streets.[401] Alumni would say, "It was different than the good old days."[402] What seems to be of almost equal importance was the chronic lack of housing for Lincoln students, staff and faculty.[403] In some manner, the Foot's destruction was thought to be related to 1954 *Brown* decision. Dr. Lorenzo Green surmised that the city engaged in urban renewal "to eliminate the old buildings and to get persons whom they thought might be more or less obnoxious to white women students off the street."[404]

Second Baptist Church was aided by urban renewal (Figure 88). In the late 1960s, the congregation was unsure whether to remodel their church or build a new one. In addition, the Jefferson City Housing Authority had offered to buy the church and surrounding houses as part of their urban renewal project. It was possible they could lose their church to urban renewal.

Figure 90. Second Baptist Church was built in conjunction with the Jefferson City Housing Authority.

Working in conjunction with the congregation and an architect, the Jefferson Housing Authority purchased the houses and church on its site and demolished them. The Housing Authority then gave the money from the sales to the congregation to assist in building the new church on the

[401] Charles Wartts, "Dan Turner Looks at Urban Renewal," *The Lincoln Clarion,* February 10, 1967, 2–3.
[402] Robert Newton, "Reader's Forum," *The Lincoln Clarion,* November 3, 1967, 2.
[403] "Plans Afoot to Help Housing," *The Lincoln Clarion,* November 3, 1967, 2.
[404] Lincoln University, Jefferson City Missouri, "1975 oral history interview transcript: Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, part I," *Oral History Interviews Transcripts*, https://bluetigercommons.lincolnu.edu/interviews/4.

site.[405] Consequently, the church is directly related to urban renewal. The church was dedicated on April 25, 1971.

Outward Movement – Commerce, Transportation and Industry

At the same time the Campus View development was occurring, the city and the Chamber of Commerce promoted westward movement, prompting new types of commercial architecture and development. These included drive-ins and strip malls, larger multi-family apartment buildings and eventually a regional mall and big box stores. Jefferson City's outward postwar movement appears to be the existing population moving outwards, with the exception of African American residents, who were unable to move to the segregated neighborhoods. Jefferson City's population held steady through the 1940s. The population of 24,268 in 1940 grew only to 24,990 in 1950.[406]

Transportation patterns changed radically during the postwar period. The automobile achieved ascendence, while rail traffic declined and machinery changes in the railroad industry affected employment and the built environment. During World War II the Missouri Pacific began to introduce diesel engine locomotives to their line. This seemingly innocuous change eventually had a major effect on Jefferson City.

Train travel and freight were still important at the beginning of the postwar period. By 1950, four River Eagles stopped in Jefferson City every day: two from St. Louis, and one each from Omaha and Denver.[407] The trains were the height of modernity and design (Figure 91).

Figure 91. The Missouri Pacific River Eagle passenger train at Jefferson City with the State Capital in the background, c. 1950

The silver and blue River Eagle paintwork and the eagle on the front were designed by Raymond Loewry, who had already designed the Lucky Strike cigarette package and would go on to design

[405] "Determination helps a small congregation," *Midwest Architect,* February, 1973, 14–16.
[406] 1950 Census Preliminary Count of Population, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/pc-02/pc-2-44.pdf, accessed September 1, 2022.
[407] "Capital City, Cole County, Vitally Affected by Missouri Pacific Railroad," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* December 22, 1950, 4.

the distinctive turquoise and white look of President Kennedy's Air Force One, a design that remains in use today.[408]

However, unlike steam locomotives that required local maintenance, diesel engines were serviced only at the beginning and end of their lines. For Jefferson City trains, this meant that maintenance activities were shifted to St. Louis or Kansas City.[409] This lessened the need for Jefferson City's roundhouse in Millbottom, which by 1950 was being converted to warehouse space for the Missouri Farm Bureau. By 1956, the roundhouse turntable was dismantled, and the steel used for truss bridges in the yard.[410]

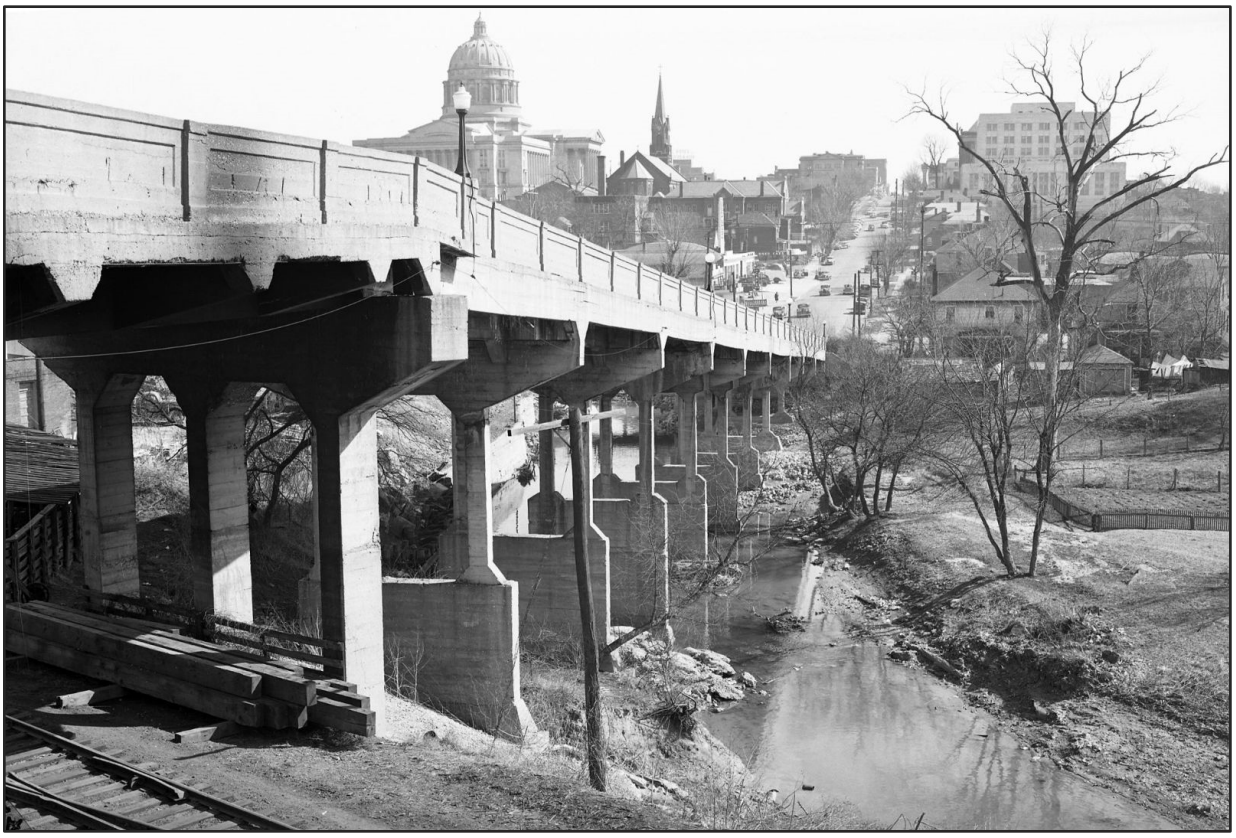

Figure 92. The 1913 High Street Viaduct in 1946. The bridge would be condemned in 1947 and replaced by 1950. The picture shows part of the Millbottom pre-urban renewal. (Missouri State Archives)

The second Jefferson Bridge was opened in 1955. This replaced the privately constructed 1896 bridge of the same name, which often slowed traffic when the span rotated to allow barges and

[408] Vlad Savov, "Raymond Loewy: The Man Who Designed Everything," *The Verge*, November 5, 2013, https://www.theverge.com/2013/11/5/5068132/raymond-loewy-the-man-who-designed-everything, accessed June 6, 2022.
[409] "Capital City, Cole County, Vitally Affected by Missouri Pacific Railroad," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* December 22, 1950, 4.
[410] "Missouri Pacific Links Steady Service, Facility Improvement," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* March 18, 1956, 2-B.

other river traffic to pass. After traffic increased further, a second bridge was added in 1991. As a point of interest, the piers from the original 1896 bridge are extant at the end of Bolivar Street.[411]

The new High Street Viaduct was constructed in 1950, replacing the 1913 concrete viaduct over Wears Creek.

The 1954 Harland Bartholomew Plan, which replaced the 1930 plan for the city, took Jefferson City's topography into account. While Hare and Hare, the Kansas City planners who designed Wagner Place, recognized the axial grid was difficult to use, Harland Bartholomew's plan recommended the city put Hare and Hare's curvilinear streets into widespread practice.[412]

The 1954 Plan also noted the new postwar trend in industry. No longer were Chicago-style factories—that is, multi-story brick buildings with large windows—in vogue. Instead, industry now favored one-story buildings surrounded by ample parking. But Jefferson City suffered from two problems: the topography hindered that type of development, and there was no place anyway to build it. The downtown was too small and constricted, and the parking situation was seen as dismal.[413] If Jefferson City was to expand its industrial base, downtown was no longer the answer.

The Jefferson City Chamber of Commerce grasped this economic reality and sprang into action similar to that taken by its predecessor, the Commerce Club. The Chamber established an industrial committee and started recruiting companies. The Wilson Plastic Company established an Industrial Drive facility in 1955 when the Chamber's Industrial Committee member, F. Joe DeLong, had his employee trust finance the building.[414]

According to DeLong, Mid-Missouri people were the city's best asset. He sold Jefferson City as a New South variant. According to DeLong, "Our people while Southern are 'fringe Southern,' which means they have enough Southern ways and beliefs to insure their friendliness and courtesy while possessing the Northern traits that render them ambitious and energetic."[415] DeLong cited two other conditions that would jumpstart Jefferson City. In another nod to the industrial Sunbelt, he pointed out that Jefferson City did not have Eastern labor problems, i.e., a strong union labor force.[416] Labor conditions were sweetened for industry by the failure of small farms in the area. DeLong noted that nearly half the factory workers operated farms of various sizes as a second job.[417]

The Chamber, like the Commerce Club, was able to operate without public oversight, a situation the Chamber thought was highly beneficial. "In this way the behind-the-scenes talks and

[411] Kremer, *Exploring Historic Jefferson City*, 63.
[412] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *1954 City Plan, City of Jefferson* (St. Louis: Harland Bartholomew and Associates, 1954), 25.
[413] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *1954 City Plan, City of Jefferson*, 11.
[414] "Wilson Plastics to Employ 35-40 at its New Plant," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* March 18, 1956, 2-B.
[415] "Jefferson City's Assets Cited for Potential Industry," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* March 31, 1957, 61.
[416] "Jefferson City's Assets Cited for Potential Industry."
[417] "Jefferson City's Assets Cited for Potential Industry."

negotiations were able to progress without that publicity which would have had a bad effect on chances to attract industry."[418]

In a scene that would play out across the industrial Midwest, the Chamber helped business move out of downtown. When Van Hoffman Press outgrew its downtown space, the Chamber helped it move to Industrial Drive, rather than out of town.[419] The Van Hoffman Press typified new industry on Industrial Road and mirrored Harland Bartholomew's prediction. The Chamber provided the land at the Fairgrounds in the 2400 block for a one-story brick and concrete building with a modern printing plant.[420]

In 1954, Harland Bartholomew formulated a traffic and parking plan that the city enthusiastically embraced. It proposed widening streets for easier access downtown and adding more downtown parking. The plan noted that state and local government accounted for a third of all employment in Jefferson City, followed by services, retail and manufacturing at thirteen percent, and described how Jefferson City's major employers, including state government, relied on workers being able to access downtown quickly and efficiently.[421] It also proposed to alleviate parking issues downtown by spreading out government buildings around Jefferson City.

The urban highway expansion in Jefferson City, Highway Route 50 and Highway Route 54, stemmed from the 1952–1954 Greater Jefferson City Committee and the resultant 1954 Harland Bartholomew & Associates city plan.[422] It's already been noted and studied that the firm's plans for cities were generally the same, "each one a repeat of the prior: widen streets, build a highway loop around downtown, build parking, require high parking standards for new construction, make the zoning even stricter."[423] Jefferson City's plan has all these aspects, including a 1955 zoning update.

Under the 1944 Federal Aid Highway Act, secondary roads could be constructed with 50/50 split in local and federal funding. The local match, which had to be raised through a bond issue, was used for right-of-way acquisition.[424] While not part of the Interstate Highway system, the 1954 planned roads mimicked the concept. Cross-highways such at Highway 50 and Highway 54 provided access to downtown. The future Ellis Boulevard would serve as a circumferential route, as outlined in the 1954 plan. The fact that Highway 54 went through an African American neighborhood is likely no accident. The route was unlikely to get any state or federal resistance. In 1961, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, a close associate of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., was having

[418] "Jefferson City's Assets Cited for Potential Industry."
[419] "Jefferson City's Assets Cited for Potential Industry."
[420] "Jefferson City's Assets Cited for Potential Industry."
[421] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *1954 City Plan, City of Jefferson*, 5.
[422] "Expressway Dedication Expected," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* August 17, 1961, 31.
[423] Harry Kollatz Jr., "A Man with a Plan," *Richmond Magazine*, 2017, https://richmondmagazine.com/news/sunday-story/a-man-with-a-plan.
[424] "Expressway Dedication Expected," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* August 17, 1961, 31. This is not to be confused with the Federal Highway Aid Act of 1956 that provided funds for interstate highways and played no part in Jefferson City's highway construction.

I-85 in Montgomery, Alabama routed through his home. He complained to President Kennedy's Federal Highway Administrator, and former Missouri state highway engineer, Rex M. Whitton, who advised Alabama Highway Administrator Samuel Englehardt to "let the dust settle for about six months and then proceed with the project."[425]

In 1957, Jefferson City voted affirmatively for the urban expressway program through a bond issuance. This also covered the Industrial Drive extension and parking downtown. The Cole County Special Road District and the State Highway Department agreed to extend Industrial Drive to Ten Mile Drive and another road linking that to Cole Junction if the city extended Industrial Drive to the city limits.[426]

Street widening was a major component. Streets could be either physically widened or have parking removed from one side to allow for more traffic. Streets that were widened under the bond package included Lafayette, Clark, Jackson, and Dunklin Streets. Myrtle Avenue, St. Mary's Boulevard, and Dix Road were also physically widened.[427] Harland Bartholomew & Associates' 1955 plan was the most sweeping change to Jefferson City since its founding.

The concept was to make a convenient automobile-oriented system where Jefferson City residents could easily and quickly drive between parts of town without worrying about parking when they arrived.[428] The bond included a Highway 54 Expressway, and two Highway 50 segments stretching from the east city limits to the west city limits.[429] Highway 50 East was named the Rex M. Whitton Expressway after the Missouri Department of Transportation highway engineer and Federal Highway Administrator.[430]

Highway 50 construction and the Whitton Expressway north and south opened Jefferson City for expansion in the late 1950s and early 1960s. While the Whitton Expressway cut through the Foot, taking what urban renewal had missed, Route 50 opened western Jefferson City to further development. Highways 50 and 54 also transformed the Millbottom area by partially removing the original grid and substituting a more geometrically sweeping street pattern suitable for higher speeds. Street widening was again part of the process to ensure smooth traffic flow.

The westward movement was also completely automobile-oriented. This, too, hewed toward the 1955 Harland Bartholomew & Associates city plan. It broke Jefferson City's urban streetscape, and the city itself into disconnected single-use enclaves.[431] In Jefferson City, these would include various types of shopping centers, fast food restaurants, and multi-family apartment buildings.

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[425] Raymond Mohl, "Urban Expressways and Central Cities in Post-War America," Poverty & Race Resarch Action Council report, 2002, https://www.prrac.org/pdf/mohl.pdf, accessed August 15, 2022.
[426] "City Lifelines will be Benefited," *News-Tribune,* September 29, 1957, 6.
[427] "Street Widening Vital Link in Traffic System," *The Sunday News and Tribune,* September 8, 1957, 6.
[428] "City Lifelines will be Benefited."
[429] "Route 50 Development Reflects Area Growth," *The Daily Capital News,* April 29, 1967, 4.
[430] "Route 50 Development Reflects Area Growth."
[431] John Chase, "Unvernacular Vernacular: Contemporary American Consumerist Architecture," *Design Quarterly* 131 (1986): 8.

This was a major departure. Previously, all these uses, commercial and residential, could have been contained in a single city block. It also altered commercial architectural forms. This automobile-oriented expansion, and the single-use destination, such as a fast-food restaurant, features architecture that appeals to the customer in a conscious manner.[432] Unlike previous commercial buildings downtown the use and the intended marketing message is not always interchangeable. The setting is fairly consistent for the 1960s auto-oriented transportation pattern. Parking is located in the front or occasionally to the side of the building. Sidewalks are rare since pedestrian traffic was not expected. While some cities have banned or curtailed signage as overly commercial, Missouri Boulevard maintains the historic consumerist pattern that identifies itself and attracts people in cars.[433]

The Route 54 Expressway was opened in 1967 with a ribbon cutting on the tri-level interchange at the south approach of the Missouri River bridge.[434]

Route 50 spurred development on Jefferson City's west side. New industrial plants such as Chesebrough-Ponds and a number of planned shopping centers encouraged suburban development (Figure 93).

Figure 93. The Chesebrough-Ponds facility, now Unilever Home Care Products, at 2500 West Truman Boulevard, contributed to Jefferson City's efforts to diversify its economy.

A *Daily Capitol News* editorial stated the reasons for the highways: growth in greater Jefferson City and its position as a gateway to Land of the Ozarks.[435] Another reason given by a developer in the *Sunday News Tribune* as the reason for Jefferson City's building boom in the 1960s was the transient nature of state government employment. People were supposedly hesitant to purchase a home if an administration would change in four years.[436] Industrialization was another given reason for the building boom, and it was thought this would continue to grow.[437] While these reasons don't seem that coherent considering the small number of actual political

[432] Chase, "Unvernacular Vernacular," 8, 32.
[433] Chase, "Unvernacular Vernacular," 9.
[434] "U.S. 54 Opening Ceremonies Set," *Daily Capital News,* September 28, 1967, 1.
[435] "Route 50 Development Reflects Area Growth."
[436] Walsh, "Capital City Residents Embrace Apartment Life."
[437] Walsh, "Capital City Residents Embrace Apartment Life."

appointees and the vagaries of the economy and light industry, there were in fact four hundred new apartment units that year.[438] Between 1960 and 1970 Jefferson City added 4,179 new residents for a total population of 32,407 in 1970.[439] While all were not political appointees, certainly many of them needed a place to live.

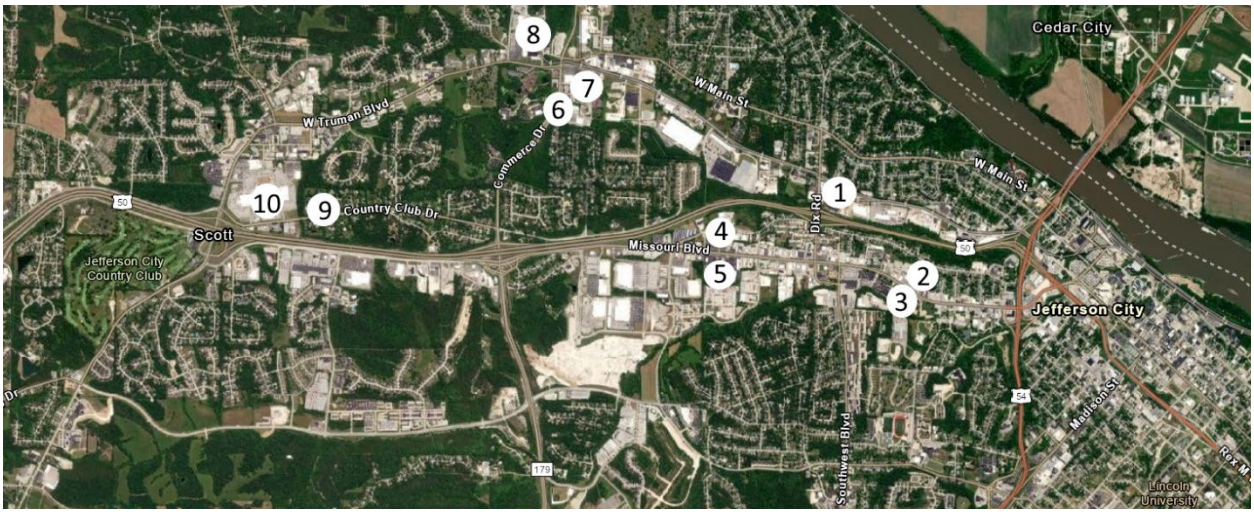

Figure 94. Some components of the outward movement of Jefferson City development: 1. DeLong, Inc. on Industrial Drive, 2. Jefferson Plaza Shopping Center, 3. Original McDonalds, 4. Original Kmart, 5. Original Walmart in the Mart Shopping Center, 6. Commerce Drive, 7. Gerbes Shopping Plaza, 8. Chesebrough-Ponds (now Unilever), 9. Hobbes Lane, 10. Capital Mall.

Readying the city for westward expansion and easy access to downtown was not painless. The highways, and the Progress Project to a degree, were focused on moving people through and out of the urban core. However, there was a racial element. Segregation ensured that the beneficiaries of the program would be largely white. The bulk of the cost was paid by Jefferson City's African American community and their neighborhood. The Rex M. Whitton Expressway cut off Lincoln University. But because highways tend to expand beyond their original footprint with added lanes and intersections, the neighborhood damage can continue long after initial construction. The Elm Street public housing would eventually be separated by a noise barrier from the Expressway, and Elm Street itself was physically cut off. The only ways out of the Elm Street public housing development became the Miller Street entrance or a steep driveway toward Lincoln University.

Downtown and East Jefferson City were accessible over Lafayette Street, but the relatively high-speed artery was a formidable barrier (Figure 95).

[438] Walsh, "Capital City Residents Embrace Apartment Life."
[439] Missouri Populations, https://mcdc.missouri.edu/population-estimates/historical/cities1900-1990.pdf, accessed September 10, 2022.

Figure 95. The Elm Street public housing project is hemmed in on three sides by a hill and two arterial streets. (Rory Krupp)

Work on the Expressway in 1955 displaced Quinn A.M.E.'s 1876 church; the congregation moved to 529 Lafayette Street, but was displaced by highway construction again in 2013, forcing a move a block to the north.[440] The Dunavant A.M.E. Zion Chapel was at Madison and Millers Streets from 1896 to 1945.[441] A new church was built in c. 1946 at 728 E. Miller Street across from the Prince Hall Masons Lodge (Figure 96). Together, this grouping of buildings established a new African American civic and religious enclave in Jefferson City driven by urban renewal.

Figure 96. The Dunavant A.M.E. Zion Church moved from downtown in 1945. (Rory Krupp)

Missouri Boulevard west of downtown is a classic automobile-oriented street. Its history is complicated due to its ownership. Originally Business Route 50, it became Missouri Boulevard

[440] Rev. Kimberly Woodruff and Lori Sims, "Cole County History: Quinn Chapel A.M.E. established over 160 years ago," https://www.newstribune.com/news/2021/feb/13/Cole-County-History-Quinn-Chapel-AME-established-o/, accessed June 10, 2022.
[441] "Celebrate Christmas in the Church of Your Choice," *The Daily Capitol News,* December 15, 1973, 8.

as it was gradually absorbed into the city limits. However, the state continued to maintain it. Therefore, any changes had to pass the state highway commission even though sections were within the city. While this did relieve Jefferson City from having to float a bond for improvement, the city had to weather the whims of the highway commission.

Retail activity began to shift from downtown westward. In 1959, the Jefferson City Shopping Plaza, Jefferson City's first strip mall, opened to great fanfare.[442] Kroger, the Cincinnati-based grocery store chain, planned the shopping center to operate in conjunction with its store in 1956.[443] The shopping center boasted 450 parking spots for customers.[444]

New forms of commercial establishments were constructed. The Zesto Drive-In, an early hamburger and ice cream drive franchise chain, was a postwar Jefferson City first. The concept was based on the Zest-O-Mat custard machine that all stores were required to use. In 1955, the franchise operation fell apart and each location became independent, with many still using the logo and branding.

Figure 97. The original Zesto was located on Missouri Boulevard near St. Mary's Hospital in 1948. The last Zesto in Jefferson City closed in 2021.

The first store was located on Missouri Boulevard near St. Mary's Hospital. One store remained at 1730 Jefferson Street until 2021. The Roadside Architecture website surmises that the store's

[442] "Jefferson City Shopping Plaza to Hold Grand Opening Wednesday," *Daily Capitol News,* November 18, 1959, 12.
[443] "Local Shopping Store Had its Origin in 1956," *Daily Capitol News,* November 18, 1959, 12.
[444] "Jefferson City Shopping Plaza to Hold Grand Opening Wednesday," *Daily Capitol News,* November 18, 1959, 12.

sign (Figure 97) is from the original round of stores in 1948 and believes it to be unique to the area.[445]

The automobile crowd was entertained at the 50 Hiwa Drive In on Missouri Boulevard.[446] The drive-in was egalitarian and casual (Figure 98). It was not segregated, and customers were encouraged to "Eat, Smoke. Drink and Chew."[447]

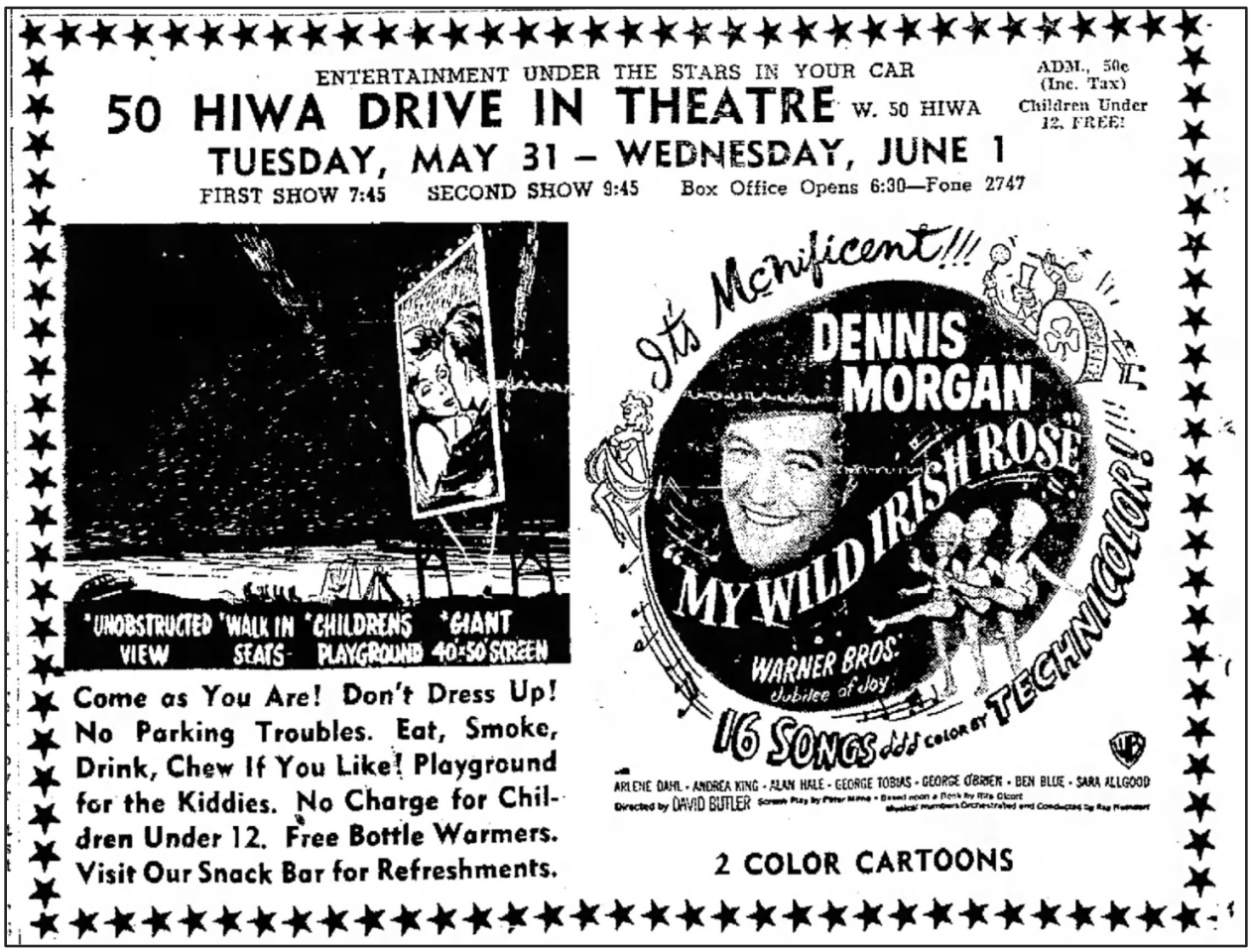

Figure 98. A 1949 advertisement for the 50 Hiwa Drive In Theater on Missouri Boulevard. (Jefferson City Post Tribune).

The first McDonald's restaurant was across the street from the Jefferson City Plaza, the first strip mall (Figure 99). It appears the current McDonald's is in the same location. Another was located at 1407 West Dunklin and Highway 50 West. When that store was constructed, it was the westernmost business on Route 50. It was heavily advertised locally, and press coverage elaborated on founder Ray Kroc's business model. "In picking a site we count the churches and

[445] "Zesto Drive-Ins," https://www.roadarch.com/eateries/zesto.html, accessed July 2, 2022.
[446] Brooks, *Lost Jefferson City*, 123.
[447] 50 Hiwa Drive In advertisement, *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* May 31, 1949, 4.

schools in the area rather than traffic."[448] Kroc elaborated on the traditional values that he felt would drive customers to the stores: "We don't allow juke boxes, cigarette machines, or phone booths – and we don't hire female help."[449] While close to the nearby 50 Hiwa Drive In, the behavioral expectations were quite different.

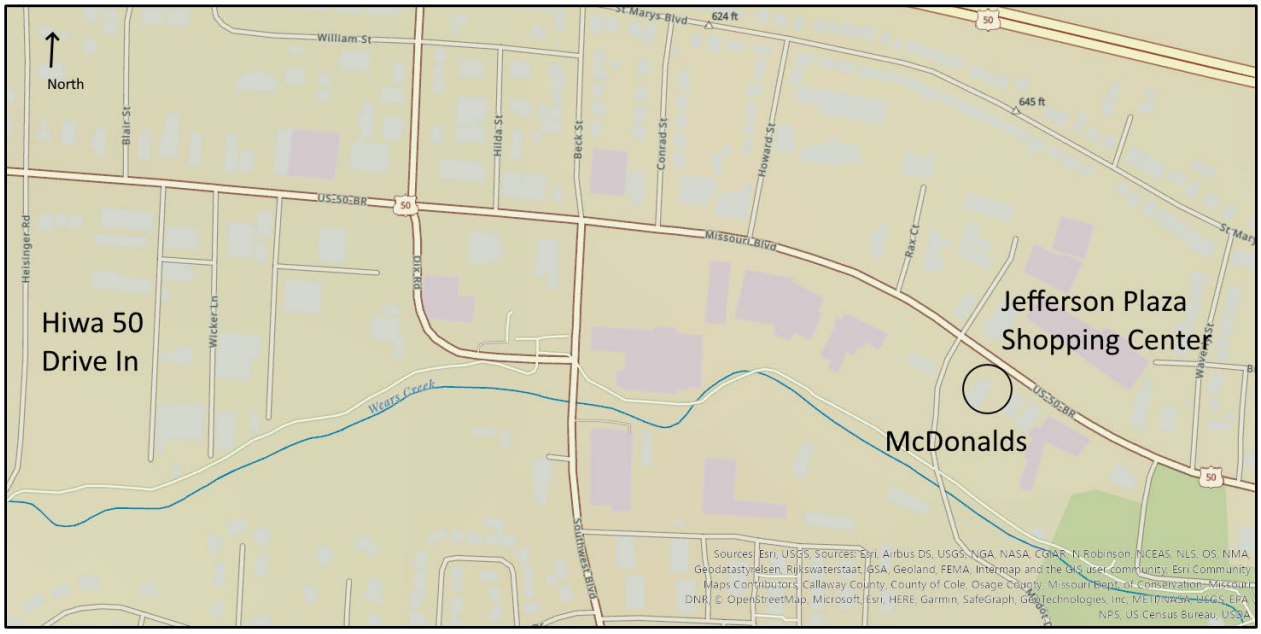

Figure 99. The first McDonald's was located at 1425 Missouri Boulevard at the site of the current McDonald's, across the street from the Jefferson Plaza Shopping Center, the original strip mall.

Missouri Boulevard was popular in the 1960s, so popular that by the early 1970s it became difficult to get back into traffic once off the road (Figure 100). A pained letter to the editor from "Disgusted Shopper" begged to be delivered from "the vehicle clogged street" that was Missouri Boulevard and Dix Road.[450] That same year, the St. Louis planning firm Urban Programming Corporation called Missouri Boulevard, "the most congested and least attractive portion of the city."[451] The plan called for additional parking and "realistic goals" concerning significantly renovating businesses along the strip. Plans had been made previously to widen part of Missouri Boulevard to five lanes from Howard Street and around Southwest Boulevard. Since Missouri Boulevard was actually maintained by the state, the city felt less pressure to pay for improvements.

[448] Hal Boyle, "Hamburger Business Continues to be Boom When America Pizza Pie Mad," *The Daily Capitol News,* September 16, 1959, 8.
[449] Boyle, "Hamburger Business Continues to be Boom."
[450] "Vehicle Clogged Street," *The Daily Capital News,* January 20, 1973, 4.
[451] "Parking, outer loops proposed by planners," *The Daily Capital News,* October 25, 1973, 2.

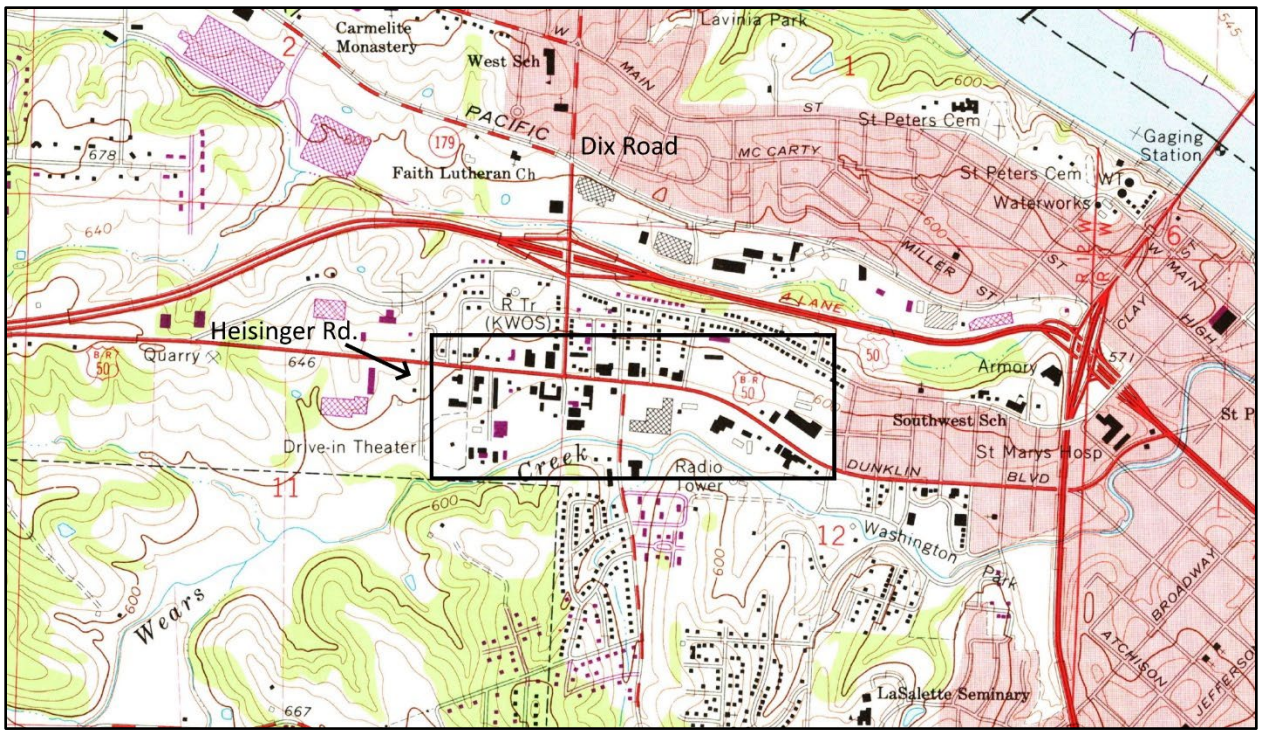

Figure 100. The 1967 USGS 7.5 Jefferson City quadrangle shows the extent of commercial development on Missouri Boulevard, from the Jefferson Plaza Shopping Center to the 50 Hiwa Drive In on Heisinger Road. Note that Missouri Boulevard is a state highway, Business Route 50, outside the city limits. (USGS)

In addition, Missouri had just passed a special improvement district law that allowed improvement or modification projects to be financed by assessment.[452] It is also indicative of expectations in the fast-changing retail environment that storefronts and buildings that were approximately ten years old needed to be renovated to be current.

The Missouri Boulevard retail mix changed in the 1970s. The car was still preeminent. Jefferson City's first Walmart, the 34th store in the chain, and the associated Mart Shopping Center, was located at 2225 Missouri Boulevard in August 1971. The Mart Shopping Center, just west of the 50 Hiwa Drive In, also housed the Butternut Donut and Pastry Shop and the Thompson Magnavox store. An A&P grocery store opened in November 1971.[453] *The Jefferson City Post Tribune* article announcing the grand opening dovetailed with Walmart's corporate strategy. The article minimally described the store but did include a full biography of the Walton family and their Missouri connections.[454] While Walmart may be a retail behemoth now, their original strategy was the combination of family values and free enterprise.[455] As such, newspaper articles

[452] "Parking, outer loops proposed by planners."
[453] "A and P, Mart Center open at ceremony today," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* November 16, 1971, 6. This shopping center is now the Hobby Lobby store.
[454] "Walmart Store Is 34th in Chain," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* August 23, 1971, 13.
[455] Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Walmart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 5.

also interviewed the managers and described their families. It wasn't just a store; it was an extension of their family. Consequently, shopping and working there was more than a transaction, it was an act of family values. It was a new, and eventually wildly successful, retail and employment model.

Figure 101. The Jefferson Plaza Shopping Center, 1406–1418 Missouri Boulevard, is Jefferson City's original strip mall. (Rory Krupp)

By 1972, Missouri Boulevard's consumer architectural orientation drew attention from planners and leading citizens. Sam B. Cook, president of the Central Trust Bank and an architecture, art and planning enthusiast, urged that federal beautification funds be used all over the city. Having already hired Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) for his 1962 bank at 500 Madison, he pressed for a new beautification plan for the city. SOM was already engaged in a two-year beautification survey. Missouri Boulevard drew particular attention for the proliferation of signs, light poles, and wires that could be coordinated.[456]

In November 1973, the first Kmart in Jefferson City opened at 2304 Missouri Boulevard. At the time there were approximately 580 Kmart stores operating.[457] The store is extant, but the façade has been altered to reflect the new retail establishment.

[456] "Survey of City Aired," *The Daily Capitol News,* November 29, 1973, 1.
[457] "K mart Slates Grand Opening," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* November 28, 1978, 14.

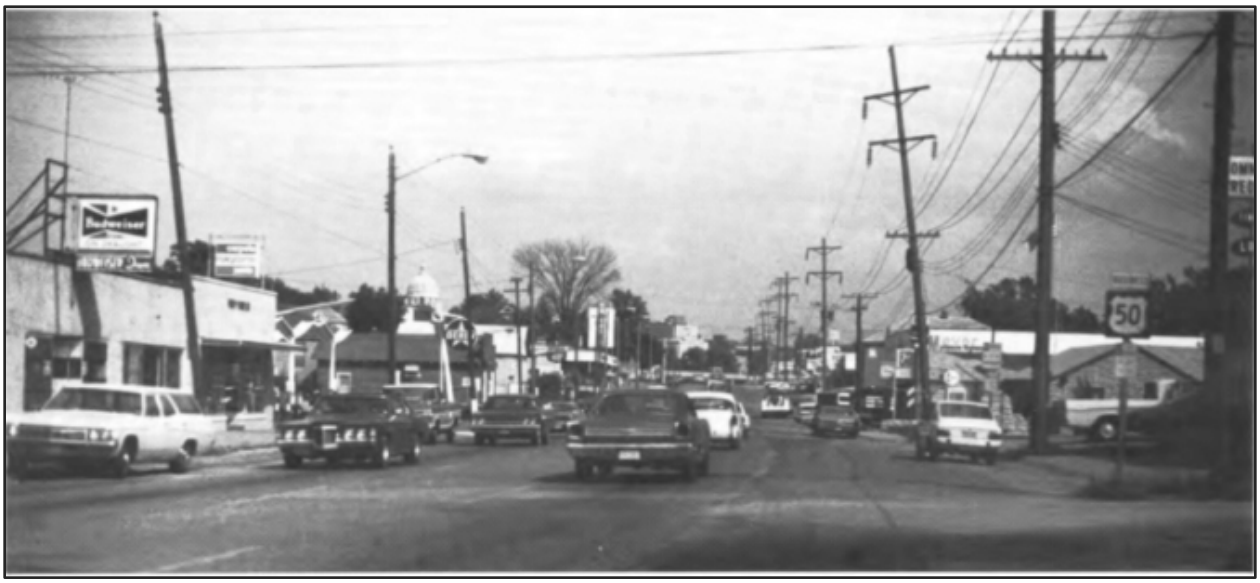

Figure 102. Missouri Boulevard c. 1975 (Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill)

New stores made Missouri Boulevard even more congested (Figure 102). However, state highway commissioners, called "mulish" by the *Daily Capitol News* for their stubborn opposition to expanding Missouri Boulevard, stalled the plan for years.[458] Finally, in 1975, the highway commission, under new leadership, agreed to expand the street to five lanes, two opposing lanes and a central turning lane.[459] The balky highway commission was only the first problem. Even though Missouri Boulevard was one of the busiest streets in the state, business owners were mixed on the plan. Many stood to lose parking and loading docks, and this, combined with the fact that the city flatly refused to construct sidewalks, leaving the cost to property owners, made the project less than attractive.[460] In addition, the expansion would mean the removal of on-street parking. Nonetheless, the status quo, constant congestion, was not viable either. Finally, in 1978, Missouri Boulevard was expanded beyond Southwest Boulevard.

Mall plans in Jefferson City were not confined to High Street improvements. In 1969, three regional malls were in the planning stage. One was proposed for Ten Mile Drive above Route 50, another for Route 54, and another just east of the country club. High interest rates appear to have scotched the developments.

On the southwestern side of town, plans to build a regional mall had percolated since the late 1960s. Local developers concocted a number of plans that did not come to fruition for various reasons. An initial plan focused on building the mall in conjunction with a new state office

[458] 'We're Moving Forward on Missouri Boulevard," *The Daily Capitol News,* August 5, 1975, 4.
[459] 'We're Moving Forward on Missouri Boulevard."
[460] "Missouri Blvd. project stepped up," *The Daily Capitol News,* October 7, 1976, 7.

building and auto dealerships. The State Building Authority accepted the offer of 35 acres at no cost to the state from developer Gene Knipp, an automobile dealer who owned 235 acres at the proposed site.[461] However, in 1969, the Missouri State legislature did not allocate any money for a state office building.[462] In addition, interest rates and construction costs were rising, increasing the potential rent, which complicated the search for an anchor store tenant.[463] At the same time, Harjo Developing Corp and local developer Raymond Brummett constructed a "neighborhood shopping center" with a Gerbes supermarket as the anchor tenant on Ten Mile Road and Route 179.[464] An extra 37-acre parcel for further retail use does not appear to have been developed.

In 1974, General Growth Properties of Des Moines, Iowa, a regional mall developer, planned a new mall at Truman Road and U.S. Highway 50 (Figure 103). The company chose the site because of the highway access and the westward movement of Jefferson City.[465]

Figure 103. The Capital Mall (Rory Krupp)

General disagreement broke out over two issues: the amount of tree screening around the mall and the two-mile belt. The two-mile belt plan aimed to have Jefferson City's zoning instituted in a two-mile buffer zone to avoid having non-conforming uses when Jefferson City eventually annexed the area. The tree barrier was between Country Club Drive and Route 50. Jefferson City's Commission on Environmental Quality was led by Betsy DeLong, who was also instrumental in the High Street mall project. Unfortunately for the Commission, the development site was outside the city limits, who had advocated for a 200 ft. barrier. In a back-handed concession, General Growth's board, who had originally wanted a 100 ft. barrier, voted for 120

[461] 'Office building site okay boosts state-retail center," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* May 10, 1968, 1.
[462] "Shopping center action slowed," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* September 3, 1969, 1,7.
[463] "Shopping center action slowed."
[464] "Shopping center action slowed."
[465] Dennis Mobrice, "Shopping mall proposed," *Daily Capitol News,* February 1, 1974, 2.

ft. on July 9, 1976. The next morning their bulldozers, on a Saturday morning, cut the trees back to 120 feet.[466] The process was repeated in 1977 on the west side of the mall when Hobbes Lane residents wanted a 400 ft. buffer between their houses and the mall parking lot. By this time the mall was annexed and City Council was urged to not rezone the area.[467] Although concerns about the mall's impact continued to pop up the Chamber of Commerce predicted that mall would be a great help to downtown business by making Jefferson City a major shopping destination. General Growth attempted to allay questions about the mall's environmental impact: "We'll have live plantings inside the mall and hundreds of trees outside."

Although only related in the most tangential way, automobile dealerships also proliferated on west side. Dealer Gene Knipp already owned property in the area, but the main reason for this location is also why the mall was sited there: very simply, the area is flat.

Missouri Boulevard represents a good history of contemporary development. Starting with the Jefferson Plaza Shopping Center and the McDonalds (both the original locations), one can see the history of commercial development leading westward to the Capital Mall on Truman Boulevard.

Suburbs and Subdivisions

Postwar suburbs and subdivisions in Jefferson City are both public and private. The housing mix also evolved during this period. Apartments continued to be built but the forms started to change. As highway construction opened more expansive tracts, rental properties began to grow larger. As such apartment buildings evolved from one or two grouped buildings to complexes of grouped buildings with associated parking lots.

Figure 104. The 1976 Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) Beautification Plan for Jefferson City lamented the lack of trees and landscaping in new developments such as this unnamed subdivision. (Skidmore, Owings and Merrill)

[466] "Environmentalists set sights on saving new stand of trees," *The Daily Capitol News,* July 13, 1976, 2.
[467] "Hobbs Lane group objects to rezoning," *The Daily Capitol News,* July 20, 1977, 2.

The Morris-Edmonds public housing subdivision, with its scattered duplexes and curving streets, resembles its market-rate counterparts (Figure 105). The Parkview neighborhood was vehemently against the Morris-Edmonds development. The Morris-Edmonds subdivision was formerly called Goat Hill. Contemporary accounts describe a veritable Hooverville, where families lived in boxes and shacks on the hillside and in the valley.[468] The project had already been moved once from the site of a brickworks on the east side of Jefferson City due to public outcry.[469] The neighborhood thought the development would lower property values. The Westside Merchants Association initially opposed the project but later relented, saying the area was blighted enough.[470]

Figure 105. The Morris-Edmonds Public Housing Development (Rory Krupp)

Jefferson City architect Roy Pallardy designed the Morris-Edmonds public housing project in conjunction with Hare and Hare of Kansas City.[471] Pallardy eliminated the axial street grid in favor of an ellipse connected to the city grid by two curving streets. This plan seems to have been modified, since Elizabeth Street is still present. The houses were duplexes and four-unit

[468] "Alias Santa Group Finds Stark Want in Goat Hill," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* December 15, 1938, 1.
[469] "Deciding the Public Housing Issue," *Jefferson City Post,* January 11, 1960, 4. (This is likely the current Brickyard Terrace subdivision and was not developed until c. 2014).
[470] "Business Group Backs Rezoning of Subdivision," *The Daily Capital News,* February 5, 1960, 6.
[471] "Site Plans for a 170 Units of Low-Income Housing Okayed," *Post-Tribune,* August 11, 1960, 2.

buildings on a uniform setback. There is a sidewalk but no tree lawn in some sections, while others do have a tree lawn and spaces for on-street parallel parking. The lots are large, and some original trees remain.

The Elm Street public housing project, also designed by Jefferson City architect Roy Pallardy, was related to the Campus View urban renewal project near Lincoln University. The four-unit apartment buildings were controversial too. Elm Street was thought to promote and solidify segregation in that part of town. In addition, a portion of the project was set aside for Lincoln University student housing.

Multi-family apartment buildings became popular in the 1960s. The California garden apartment and its variants spread quickly across the country. The traits include low-rise construction, individual unit entrances that open directly to the outdoors, abundant car parking, and conspicuous but often minimal landscaping. The windows are often aluminum. One attribute is style on a constrained budget. In California, this was achieved by streamlining the building and not using window trim and other extraneous details, giving them a modernist flair. [472]

The low-rise buildings are often detailed to evoke a style, however strained in execution. Often side-gabled, frame two-story buildings have stylistic details including Colonial Revival porches or a mansard roof as the top story. The first major apartment complex was Capitol House, built in 1965, near St. Mary's Boulevard and Dalton and Blaine Drives. The buildings have interior corridors, aluminum windows with trim, and shutters. Five had modernist details and four buildings had Colonial Revival porches and columns on the front entrances. All had ample parking in front of the buildings. Some apartment complexes eschewed the individual outdoor entrance for interior corridor entrances. The Senate Court apartment complex, completed in May 1967, is a good example of this variant, which features a brick-veneer exterior combined with a Second Empire mansard roof.[473]

The deVille Southwest Apartments were completed in 1968. Described as French Village architecture, the complex featured a swimming pool (Figure 106).

[472] Elihu Rubin, "Viewpoint: New in Town: The California Garden Apartment in the 1960s," *Buildings and Landscapes: The Journal of Vernacular Architecture* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 3, 8.
[473] Walsh, "Capital City Residents Embrace Apartment Life."

Figure 106. The deVille Southwest Apartments, an early garden-style apartment complex (Rory Krupp)

1960s subdivision development evolved in two manners. Small areas within the city limits were replatted to make modern subdivisions with curb cuts and no alley access. The 1962 Lincoln Subdivision on Wilcoxon and Lincoln Streets is a good example. The subdivision abuts the 1905 Renn Addition. Like other subdivisions it is separated by a creek. On the north, the 2014 Brickyard Terrace Apartments have been constructed. Consequently, there are three distinct building episodes spanning over one hundred years in a small area.

Figure 107. In the map at left, later Jefferson City apartments include: 1. Jefferson Heights, 2. Edmond-Morris Public Housing, 3. Elm Street Public Housing, 4. Capitol House, 5. deVille Southwest. In the map at right, three eras of subdivisions, all in proximity: 1. 1905 Renn Addition, 2. 1962 Lincoln Subdivision, 3. 1962 Landwehr Hills, 4. 2014 Brickyard Terrace.

The other manner was greenfield development, when a farmer or other property owner developed farmland. Landwehr Hills on the east side of Jefferson City is an example of this.

The Landwehr family moved to Jefferson City in 1908 from Cincinnati, Ohio, bringing their farm, including livestock, by train to the 2000 Block of East McCarty Street where they purchased a farm and farmhouse (Figure 108). They operated a dairy farm, and in 1936 Louis Landwehr and a group of investors purchased the Capital City Dairy at 305 Ash Street (now Prison Brews), which they operated until 1963.[474]

[474] "Landwehr Property Helping City Expand," *Sunday News Tribune,* May 25, 1975, 49.

Figure 108. The c. 1880 Landwehr family farmhouse at 2024 East McCarty is good example of greenfield development surrounding older rural properties that have been annexed to the city (Jefferson City Historic Preservation Commission).

Named after the developer, Frank Landwehr, the suburban-style Landwehr Hills development featured lots larger than those in the urban grid but not radically larger (Figure 109).[475]

Figure 109. The Landwehr Hills subdivision features large trees and curvilinear streets. (Rory Krupp)

[475] "Diversity," *Sunday News and Tribune,* June 24, 1973, 49.

The houses are front-oriented, with street access supplied by a curb cut (Figures 110 and 111). An advertorial in the Sunday real estate section states that the subdivision is mostly "Ranchers" or Ranch style and Split Levels with a smattering of Spanish Revival. Landwehr also mentioned that there were "individual designs of striking varieties." [476]

Figure 110. An A-frame house in Landwehr Hills (Rory Krupp)

Figure 111. A Styled Ranch house with Dutch Colonial Revival features in Landwehr Hills (Rory Krupp)

Like many subdivisions of this period, it is automobile focused. There are no sidewalks, although curbs are present. There are no street drains. In early Ranch examples the garage is prominent on the front elevation. Split Level examples differ, with some having the garage on the lower level

[476] "Landwehr Hills Offers a Diversity of Styles," *Sunday News and Tribune,* June 24, 1973, 49.

on the side or in the rear of the house, accessed through a curb-cut and driveway to the rear or side of the house. Landwehr Hills is notable for showcasing various builders in Jefferson City. The houses range from more vernacular Ranch house forms to relatively high-style residential architecture for the period.

Governmental Actions

Annexation was complicated for many residents. Those immediately outside the city in new subdivisions often wished for a more suburban experience than legislation and regulations could supply. Speeding, or the perception of speeding, was an issue. In 1971 Frog Hollow Road had a pre-oil-embargo 65 MPH speed limit since it was not in the city. Residents were not impressed when informed they would have to take their complaint to the state legislature.[477]

Infrastructure was also an issue. Differing standards from city to county often resulted in shoddy roads and water service. However, when the city annexed a subdivision, its outstanding repair costs were passed to the city. Jefferson City streets were built to State Highway Department standards while annexed subdivisions were governed by the Cole County Special Road District without other oversight. The quality varied widely but was skewed towards poor.[478] Consequently, by the time the subdivision was annexed the relatively new roads already needed to be repaved. One county commissioner groused rhetorically about the state of recently annexed roads, "Why can't the Road District build two and half miles of good road instead of five miles of bad road?"[479] Water and sewage infrastructure also varied in quality. The Idlewood subdivision suffered from chronic water pressure problems until the water district took over in the early 1970s.

Jefferson City tackled road quality issue and other subdivision growing pains in 1967. An ordinance update required a certain depth of paving, street widths, buried utility lines, and planned curb-cuts in advance. What was left open for further discussion was a sidewalk requirement.[480]

These developments outside the city limits but within Cole County were not meshing with the city when annexed. This would lead to changes eventually when differing infrastructure standards and quality beleaguered the city and required code changes. The city tried to institute a two-mile zoning belt around the city that stipulated subdivision standards in areas adjacent to the city that might be annexed. The proposal failed in court and appears to have foundered in the state legislature.[481] In response, the city proposed annexing areas in 1975 at a faster clip to avoid the possibility of "unplanned and undesirable development."[482]

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[477] "Slow Frog Hollow Boys," *Sunday News and Tribune*, August 8, 1971, 4.
[478] "Road District Phaseout Studied," *Jefferson City News and Tribune,* February 7, 1971, 1.
[479] "Road District Phaseout Studied."
[480] "Subdivision Laws will be Considered," *The Daily Capitol News,* October 10, 1967, 12.
[481] "Senate Oks Belt Zoning," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* April 22, 1977, 1.
[482] "Belt Zoning," *Jefferson City Post,* February 5, 1974, 4.

Modernism in Jefferson City

Jefferson City has a rich collection of Modernist architecture in both the public and private sectors (Figures 112).

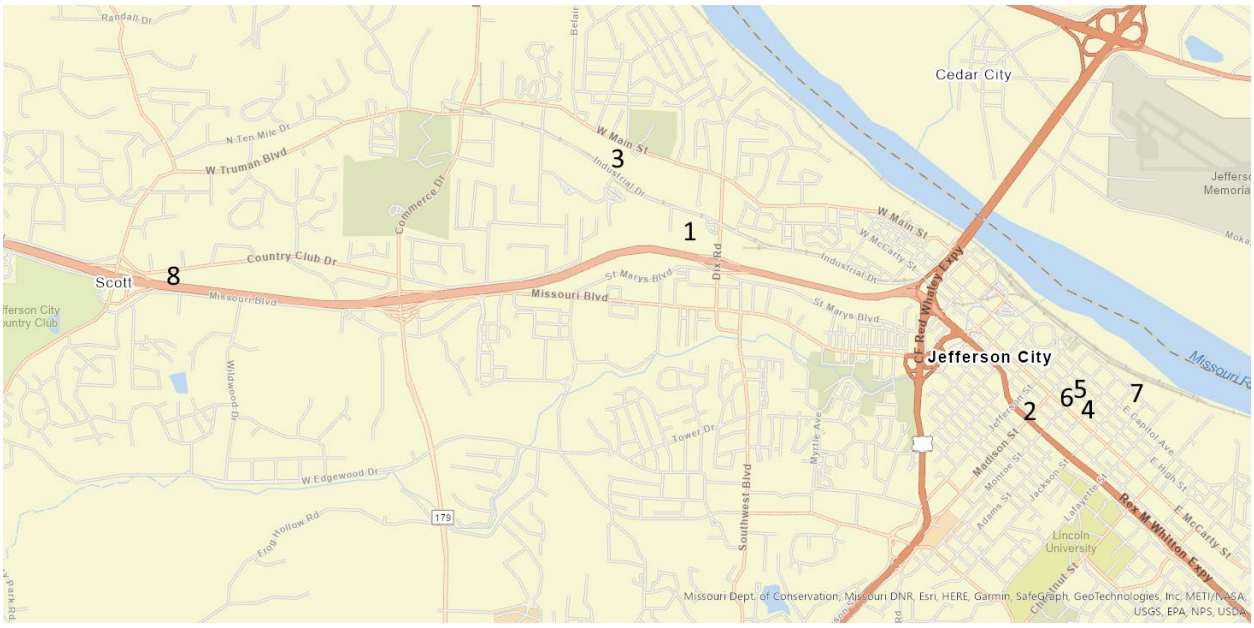

Figure 112. Some examples of modernism in Jefferson City: 1. Faith Lutheran Church, 2. Central Motorists Trust, 3. Cathedral of St. Joseph, 3. Missouri Baptist Convention, 4. Missouri Baptist Convention, 5. Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) passageway and High Street Mall, 6. Missouri River Regional Library, 7. Dulle and Hamilton Towers, 8. Arthur Takeuchi Central Trust Bank branch

Figure 113. The Thomas Jefferson State Office Building (Rory Krupp)

These buildings were designed by both internationally known and local architects and span a range of dates and Modernist styles, from the 1934 Central Dairy to the more contemporary High Street Dental to the 2012 Central Trust Finance Center, which was designed by the architectural firm Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM).

Private Modernist buildings include designs by SOM such as the 1962 Central Motorist Bank building at 500 Madison Avenue (Figures 114 and 115). Sam B. Cook commissioned the building when he became bank president.[483] SOM architect Bruce Graham designed the bank building. Graham would go on to design some the world's most iconic buildings, including the John Hancock Center in 1970, the Sears Tower in 1973, and the plan for London's Canary Wharf in 1988.

Figure 114. The 1962 SOM-designed Central Motorists Trust Building (Rory Krupp)

[483] Clay Broughton, 'The Gift," *Jefferson City Magazine*, December 27, 2019, https://jeffersoncitymag.com/the-gift/, accessed June 6, 2022.

Figure 115. Central Motorist Bank interior in the 1960s (G. E. Kidder Smith, MIT Digital Library)

The Missouri Bar Association commissioned Kansas City architects Kivett and Myers to design their 1962 building at 326 Monroe Street. Kivett and Myers would go on to design the terminal and control tower at the Kansas City Airport and the Truman Sports Complex in Kansas City. In 2012, the Jefferson City firm Architects Alliance designed an addition.

Austin architect Leonard Lundgren designed the round Holiday Inn, now a Double Tree hotel, in 1967 (Figure 124). Lundgren designed a series of round Holiday Inns for the company, with the first being constructed in Austin, Texas. The building features a pre-stressed concrete structure which was engineered by Chinese American structural engineer Tung-Yen Lin.[484] The façade was altered in the recent past and subsequently was determined to lack the historic integrity necessary for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Many Modernist buildings in Jefferson City have had inappropriate façade renovations that harm their historic integrity.

Religious buildings are not generally eligible for the National Register of Historic Places for their use as a religious entity, unless there is major significance in terms of Religion as an area of significance. However, churches and religious buildings can be significant for other reasons.

[484] Anne Green, "A Panoramic View of JC," https://jeffersoncitymag.com/a-panoramic-view-of-jc/, accessed June 10, 2022.

Social History and Ethnic Heritage are common areas of significance under Criterion A. They can also be significant under Criterion C, Architecture.

The 1961 Faith Lutheran Church was designed by the St. Louis firm Froese, Maacke & Becker (Figure 116), which specialized in Lutheran churches and seminaries. The church features a zigzag roof on the west end. In the rear is what appears to be a 1976 addition. Froese, Maacke & Becker is known for designing churches that incorporate both height and light in the design. As architect Rex Becker noted, "Ample height will lift a man's spirit as it lifts his eyes upward."[485]

Figure 116. The 1961 Faith Lutheran Church on Industrial Road features a zigzag roof.

The Cathedral of St. Joseph was finished in 1968 and was designed by the St. Louis firm Maguolo and Quick (Figure 117). It was a high-style Modernist church both on the exterior and interior, with a travertine floor and laminated Douglas fir beams. In February 2020, renovations began to incorporate more traditional elements to the exterior and interior.[486] The zigzag roof will be removed and replaced with a columned portico.[487] In addition, the original Modernist stained glass windows will be replaced. The renovations will remove many Modernist features and harm the church's architectural and historic integrity.

[485] Elsie Hamilton and Catie Myers, "Mid-Century Modern Church Survey: Religious Structures 1940–1970 in St. Louis County," https://mostateparks.com/sites/mostateparks/files/STLC%20Modern%20Church%20Report.pdf, accessed July 11, 2022.
[486] "Changes Begin at Catholic Cathedral," *News Tribune*, February 9, 2022, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2022/feb/09/changes-begin-at-catholic-cathedral, accessed July 11, 2022.
[487] William Heyer Architect, http://heyerarchitect.com/selected-works/cathedral-of-st-joseph, accessed July 11, 2022.

Figure 117. The 1968 Cathedral of St. Joseph on West Main Street before renovations.

In some cases, buildings were adaptively reused. The Missouri Hotel at 400 East High Street was extensively remodeled in the late 1960s and converted into a New Formalism building by the Missouri Baptist Convention (Figure 118).

Figure 118. The New Formalism style Missouri Baptist Convention Building on the right and the 2011 HMN Architects-designed Cole County Law Enforcement Center with parking lots in the foreground. (Rory Krupp)

The original plan was to utilize only five of the eight floors, swap out the windows and screen the façade.[488] The renovation was celebrated in the press. The *Jefferson City Post-Tribune* noted that unlike the Progress Project the Baptist Convention renovation was a private sector affair, a role that was crucial in downtown Jefferson City's renaissance. The editorial grouped the building with the recently constructed Missouri River Regional Library as the fruit of recent urban renewal projects.[489]

Figure 119. Missouri River Regional Library (Missouri Rivers Regional Library Archives)

The Missouri River Regional Library at 214 Adams Street (Figure 119), originally named the Thomas Jefferson Library, was designed by Poplar Bluff architect Art Jablonsky. Jablonsky also designed the Jefferson City jail. The latter project was cloaked in some controversy, though not through Jablonsky's actions, when the original 1840 cut-stone jail was demolished in 1982 to make way for the new structure. Although the old jail was listed in the National Register of Historic Places, City Council was unaware it was listed. Local preservationists were outraged when the demolition started nine hours after the City Council vote.[490] The preservation advocacy group formed in the aftermath of the demolition.[491] The library building, meanwhile, is now the Cole County Assessor's Office.[492] The library was a crucial component of the Progress Project. It was meant to be an anchor to development between it and the Capitol and the beginning of a rejuvenation process.[493]

[488] Earl Harding, "History of the Beautiful New Baptist Building," *The Word and the Way,* October 28, 1971, 7.
[489] "Another renewal jewel in making downtown," *Jefferson City Post Tribune,* December 4, 1969, 4.
[490] Jenny Smith, "Cole County History: The demise of the old 1842 jail – and lessons learned," *News Tribune*, June 22, 2019, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2019/jun/22/Cole-County-History-The-demise-of-the-old-1842-Jef, accessed June 10, 2022.
[491] Smith "Cole County History: The demise of the old 1842 jail."
[492] "Carnegie Library," https://jeffersoncitymag.com/carnegie-library, accessed June 15, 2022.
[493] "Library Project Moves Ahead," *The Daily Capitol News*.

The Missouri Baptist Convention Building was not the only private effort downtown. Central Trust's president Cook continued to be adamant about city planning and beautification. In the early 1970s, he attempted to beautify High Street with SOM as the designer. It is unclear whether this project was eventually funded since the current design and street furniture are not modernist. In 1975, Bruce Graham did convince Nat Owings to visit Jefferson City and give a speech about city planning and design to the joint meetings of the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club. Graham said in his oral history that Owings began by playfully needling the crowd, "In 1865, the federal government gave you this beautiful site to build the capital city of this beautiful state. Why don't you get to it."[494] Graham reported that the crowd roared but also that Owings was right; the city had done little between the Capitol and the river.[495]

Figure 120. This block, passageway (left) and rear parking lot behind the building (right) were the result of the 1976 SOM beautification plan. (Rory Krupp)

[494] *Oral History of Bruce John Graham,* interviewed by Betty J. Blum (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 229.
[495] *Oral History of Bruce John Graham,* 229. It is not apparent why Owings chose 1865 for the date, which is not historically accurate.

The 1976 SOM beautification plan's buildout ran into controversy when the irrigation system for the trees planted on High Street turned out to be hooked to the buildings' water lines. The owners protested. Although the actual cost was around three dollars per year, it was the principle of the matter. The project was completed, but it is unclear whether the alley beautifications were designed by SOM or advocated by SOM and designed locally. If designed by SOM they are a significant Modernist landscape design. Regardless of designer, the passageway, if original, was a component related to the SOM beautification project and is historic in its own right.

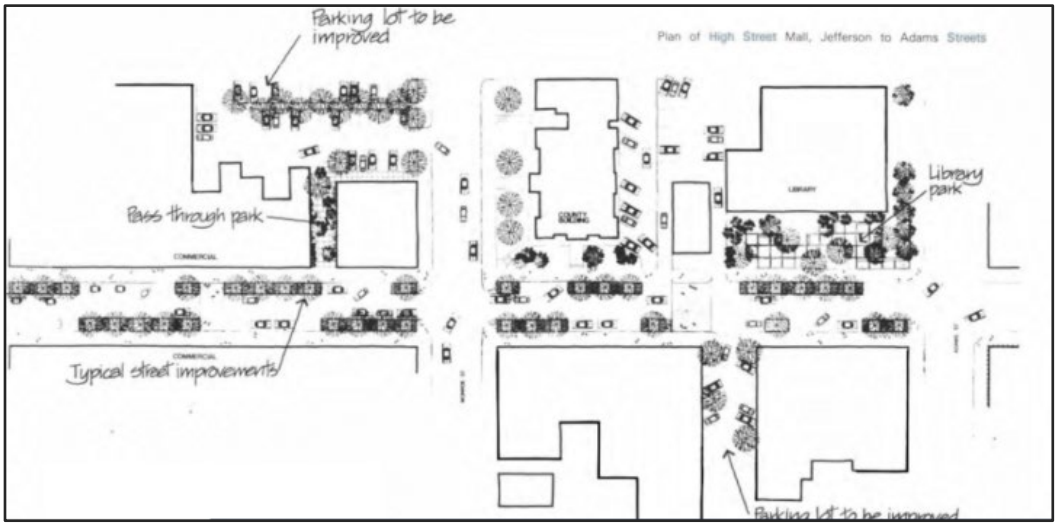

Figure 121. The 1976 SOM plan for High Street beautification (Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill)

Figure 122. This alley at High Street north of Monroe Street was part of the 1976 SOM beautification plan's outcomes. (Rory Krupp)

Senior public housing was built near the Missouri River between Porter-Ellis Park and the Capitol. The first tower was started in c. 1971 and was designed by Roy Pallardy, the Jefferson City architect who had designed two previous public housing projects, Elm Street and Morris-Edmonds, in Jefferson City. A second tower was planned and needed. The Capital West project dislocated a number of senior citizens who needed housing. Unfortunately, the Nixon administration had placed a moratorium on the projects and the funding was not immediately available when Dulle Tower was constructed. Dulle Tower had its own issues with looming labor disputes and increased materials costs. Hamilton Tower, also designed by Roy Pallardy, was built in 1971 (Figure 123).

Figure 123. The Roy Pallardy-designed Hamilton Tower (Jefferson City Housing Authority)

In 1973, the state moved to build a new office building in the Capital West urban renewal area.[496] The city sold land it gained during the Capital West urban renewal project to the state. Ideological divisions were an issue; some legislators thought more office space was a shortcut to

[496] Dale Amick, "Building Site Okayed," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* November 13, 1973, 1.

larger government, and battles over which city in Missouri should get regional office buildings scuttled the project year after year. The location of the capital had been firm since 1911 and the Missouri Supreme Court ruled in 1941 that major functions were to remain in Jefferson City after Sedalia tried to poach the Unemployment Compensation Commission.[497] Nonetheless, the location of smaller state buildings in other cities was hard-fought each session.

In 1978, the Missouri state legislature allocated approximately 55 million dollars for the Harry S. Truman State Office Building. Planners and architects Patty Berkebile Nelson Duncan Monroe Lefebvre of Kansas City designed the building at 301 High Street on the parcels from the Capital West urban renewal project. The Truman Office Building started construction in 1983.[498] Urban renewal has left the area around the Capitol and eastward with many competing uses and buildings. Modernist office buildings are interspersed with historic homes that have been converted to commercial uses. These are interspersed with infill apartment buildings. Overall, the downtown is largely the product of Harland Bartholomew & Associates 1954 City Plan softened with the 1976 SOM beautification plan.

Changes to the Past

A number of Modernist buildings have been renovated since their construction. While renovation is always preferrable to demolition, renovations and additions can also harm the historic integrity of the building (Figures 124 and 125).

Figure 124. The 1967 Leonard Lundgren-designed Holiday Inn, now a DoubleTree hotel. Recent renovations have rendered it ineligible for the National Register of Historic Places (Rory Krupp)

[497] "Unemployment Compensation Commission Must Remain in Jefferson City," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune,* February 28, 1941, 1.
[498] "Truman State Office Building," https://info.mo.gov/OA/fmdc/Institutional_Information/pdf/Harry_S_Truman_State_Office_Building.pdf, accessed June 11, 2022.

Figure 125. The Kivett and Myers Missouri Bar Association Building with a 2012 Architects Alliance second floor addition. Additions can harm the historic integrity of a property but can also gain significance over time. (Rory Krupp)

The Jefferson State Office Building was refurbished, and the exterior altered from its Modernist original design. Tinted glass replaced the original clear glass on the exterior.

St. Louis architect Marcel Boulicault designed two government buildings in Jefferson City. The Missouri Employment Security Central Office Building at 421 Dunklin Street began as a Modernist metal and glass building, completed in 1952 (Figure 126).

Figure 126. Marcel Boulicault's 1952 Missouri Employment Security Building before facade alteration (Missouri State Archives)

During the 1970s, the façade was reconfigured with brick obscuring the original design (Figure 127).

Figure 127. The 1952 Employment Security Building after renovations (Rory Krupp)

Boulicault also designed the Thomas Jefferson State Office Building (Figure 128). This building was also altered when the original clear windows were replaced with tinted glass, and some were covered with metal strips.[499] Again, the historic integrity of the building is low.[500]

Figure 128. Rendering of Marcel Boulicault's Thomas Jefferson State Office Building before modifications.

[499] Michael Allen, "The Mid-Century Modernism of Marcel Boulicault," http://preservationresearch.com/north-st-louis/the-mid-century-modernism-of-marcel-boulicault, accessed June 10, 2022.
[500] Allen, "The Mid-Century Modernism of Marcel Boulicault.".

The Missouri State Historic Preservation Office and National Park Service offer technical services and information concerning methods and techniques to update building in a fashion that does not harm the historic integrity.[501] In addition, renovations can be eligible for state and federal historic tax credits to defray the cost.[502]

The 1980s were a period of growth downtown. The new state office building and smaller commercial buildings, often associated with lobbyists, reshaped downtown. New parking structures were built at State and Monroe and west of the Capitol.[503] These projects completed a vision first formulated in the 1950s that required urban renewal projects to eventually complete. The current iteration of downtown and the surrounding environs is the culmination of nearly fifty years of negotiation and planning.

Even More Recent Additions to Jefferson City

New architecture and planning efforts continue including the Central Trust Bank branch at 3533 Country Club Road. In 1981, Cook commissioned Illinois Institute of Technology architect professor Arthur S. Takeuchi, who also worked with Graham at SOM, [504] to design the Central West branch across the street from the Capital City Mall. This branch also pays homage to Mies van der Rohe's modernism with it low form and extensive use of glass (Figure 129).

Figure 129. The 1981 Arthur S. Takeuchi Central Trust Bank branch at 3533 Country Club Drive, across the street from the Capital Mall (Rory Krupp)

[501] Secretary of the Interior, Standards for Rehabilitation, https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/rehabilitation.htm.
[502] For state historic tax credits see https://ded2.mo.gov/historic-preservation-tax-credit-program. For federal historic tax credits see https://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives.htm.
[503] "Historic Millbottom Building Stands the Test of Time," *News Tribune*, November 17, 2013, https://www.newstribune.com/news/2013/nov/17/historic-millbottom-building-withstands-test-time/, accessed June 9, 2022.
[504] *Oral History of Bruce John Graham*, 88.

In addition to designing the Missouri Regional Library and the new jail, Art Jablonsky also designed the c. 1981–1982 High Street Dentistry office at 701 East High Street (Figure 130). The office is Modernist but also features some Environmental stylistic flairs such as the passive solar window bank in front of the building.

Figure 130. The Art Jablonsky-designed High Street Dentistry building at 701 East High Street (Rory Krupp)

In 2003, the Central Trust bank commissioned another SOM building for processing next to their branch on Madison Street (Figure 131).

Figure 131. The 2003 SOM-designed Central Trust Financial Center on Monroe and Madison Streets (Rory Krupp)

Conclusion, Associated Property Types, and Recommendations

Conclusion

Nathaniel Owings, the Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) architect and planner who at the time was planning a never-realized redesign of the National Mall for the Kennedy administration, offered this advice to Jefferson City in 1962.[505] In his speech to the combined Chamber of Commerce and Rotary Club he said, "I understand there's been some disagreement among you about what sort of route to take in improving your community. Why not set the disagreement aside, at least until you've determined amongst yourselves what sort of place you want the City of Jefferson to be."[506]

Owings's 1962 statement was telling. Community development has, to varying degrees in Jefferson City, been the domain of small groups of leading citizens in the city and the state. This is evident in everything from the initial location of the city, to the development of the shoe industry, to trying to retain the Capitol. Their efforts also led to privatized municipal services such as water and sewer services, the Jefferson City Bridge, and the streetcar. Jefferson City was hampered from the beginning. Its major industry, state government, does not pay taxes. In addition, the state legislature has traditionally been conservative with investment in Jefferson City.

This has led to citizens' groups and the market trying to build infrastructure projects that are often the purview of local and state government in other cities and states. Market forces and real estate development dictated the location of city parks when they were included in subdivisions. Unfortunately, this led to an unequal distribution of recreational facilities throughout the city. African Americans did not have parks until the 1940s while affluent white residents enjoyed parks and pools.

The city grew organically. During the 19th century community development was focused on the area between the State House and the Missouri State Penitentiary, bounded on the north side by the Missouri River. Jefferson City's development and its topography go hand-in-hand. Hilltops and ridges were developed first, moving out and then down the hill gradually. Therefore, long established neighborhoods can have individual infill houses or new subdivisions within older neighborhoods.

In the antebellum period, German and Irish immigration pushed the city southwards with the Munichburg enclave. The Munichburg neighborhood and its Missouri German Vernacular style and influences display the German immigrant experience. The Dunklin and Broadway area had its own neighborhood business district. Neighborhoods began to be sorted by race and class by the turn of the century. African Americans moved from downtown to the Foot near Lincoln University. Why this move took place has not been fully researched in light of the racial climate

[505] C. Ford Peatross, ed., *Capital Drawings: Architectural Designs from the Library of Congress* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2005), 4.
[506] "Overall Plan Needed for Capital City," *Jefferson City Tribune,* June 5, 1962, 2.

of the period. Affluent whites moved to Wagner and Fairmont Places, now Moreau Drive, areas that were rigorously segregated. Neighborhoods west of downtown began to be developed by the 1920s, such as Walinko Place and Forest Hills, which were also segregated neighborhoods with private parks.

In the 1950s, the city made more of an effort to include community input, although this was often limited to how it would be done rather than what would be done. The wider citizenry would have an opportunity for input by voting up or down during a bond election.

Jefferson City neighborhoods typify market forces and the political economy of their day. While the large Victorian houses in the Capital East neighborhood were owned by a wide variety of businesspeople and professionals, they also reflect the wealth gained in the nineteenth century from prison labor and enslaved peoples. Smaller houses are interspersed for people who worked nearby in free labor factories, the prison, or local businesses. The Renn Addition may be a development made for shoe factory workers or a development made to take advantage of shoe factory workers.

The postwar period is marked by development guided by the automobile use. Jefferson City became a series of destinations and purpose-built developments that were easily accessed by car but nearly impossible for pedestrians. Residents continued to be sorted by race and class. Urban renewal projects accelerated this process. Urban renewal also removed the African American business district and a large portion of African American housing stock. This was especially onerous when replacing either was difficult if not impossible due to segregation. Considering the fact that it was difficult for whites to get a home loan after the war, the situation was especially dire for African Americans. The experience of African American veterans must have been especially frustrating when they could not realize the full extent of their GI benefits.

Public housing developments were constructed for seniors and those who experienced urban renewal. Apartment complexes such as deVille Southwest were constructed for those thought to be temporary residents. Greenfield developments such as Landwehr Hills were constructed on the edge of the city and were later annexed. This would eventually become a mixed bag for the city when it had to update subdivisions to city standards.

Infill subdivision and single-lot infill projects became common after the war in areas that had previously been ignored. This may be related to the fact that heavy machinery evolved to the point where it was economically feasible to cut and fill hillsides for single-family homes and small subdivisions. In many cases, these are viewed as intrusions or non-contributing buildings. However, as many of these buildings reach the 50-year National Register cut-off they may be viewed as another step in Jefferson City's development.

Small subdivisions were also common throughout Jefferson City's history. While historic districts have been focused on neighborhoods based on cultural or ethnic factors they can also be based on the development pattern. This might be a small group of houses in a single plat, such as

the 1898 Park Place subdivision or the 1937 West Douglas Place subdivision, both developments with fewer than twenty houses. Consequently, it may be easier to make smaller districts.

Industrial expansion and commercial development is typified by Industrial Drive and Missouri Boulevard respectively. Both absorbed economic activity that was previously reserved for downtown. Downtown increasingly became the preserve of state activities. Large areas around downtown became reserved for parking while former homes were converted to offices. The street grid was altered by expressways to ensure that state workers could easily and quickly enter and leave downtown. However, some state activities and lobbyists have moved from downtown. The Capital Mall moved shopping to the west side of Jefferson City. Today the reliance on automobiles is still strong and continues to influence the built environment with a focus on parking downtown, suburban growth, and destination shopping. State government, while a major economic driver, also greatly affects the built environment through its deliberate pace. Disagreements over the size of government, budgets, and where to spend money within the state is apparent in Jefferson City where parking and building siting can take literally decades to decide. Planning for the Truman State Office building began in 1968. Jefferson City's path is dictated not only by its residents but also representatives from the entire state. Consequently, casting the decision-making process to private groups that informally operate with state government became the fastest, but not the most equitable, path forward. How much to rely on an often-mercurial state government has always been a question that dominates the city as much as it does the skyline. Overall, Jefferson City's built environment reflects decades of negotiation about the city's direction and local economy.

Associated Property Types

This section explores common building forms and style in Jefferson City. The earliest and rarest buildings are discussed in the Antebellum section. Previous preservation efforts have been concentrated on white-owned affluent houses and neighborhoods but this section contains vernacular and recent building styles to round out possible preservation efforts. It should be used in conjunction with previous plans and nominations.

Gothic Revival

Gothic Revival style was popular from 1840–1880.[507] The style was popular in both residential and church construction. The character-defining features are steep roofs and arched, termed lancet, windows. Decorative vergeboards under the eaves were common but many have been removed over time as they were difficult to paint and maintain. McAlester notes that they are not common in Southern states because the Civil War and Reconstruction hampered building while the style was in vogue.[508]

[507] McAlester, 267.
[508] McAlester, 270.

Figure 132. Temple Beth El in 1920. Although currently painted, the synagogue still features lancet windows and a trefoil above the entrance. (Cole County Historical Society)

Missouri German Vernacular

Built from the 1840s to the 1890s, Missouri German Vernacular houses are austere and simple brick homes ranging from one to two-and-a-half stories.

Figure 133. The c. 1857 Haar House, now at 110 Bolivar Street, is a good example of early Missouri German Vernacular, with straight lintels above and below the windows.

The houses usually have symmetrical facades, straight lintels, and double doors with windows above. Post-Civil War examples will have segmented arches over the windows instead of straight lintels.[509] Gable roofs are the most common, although a late hipped roof example is located at 407 Cherry Street. Exterior chimneys and fireplaces are rare, reflecting the German preference for heating with a stove.[510]

Italianate

Italianate houses were common between 1840 and 1885.[511] The common features are a low roof, a cornice with brackets, and hooded windows. The windows are usually long and narrow.[512] Houses can be either brick or wood frame and come in townhouse, center gable, and front gable roof forms. The ornamentation is essential. Italianate houses are usually middle-class residences.

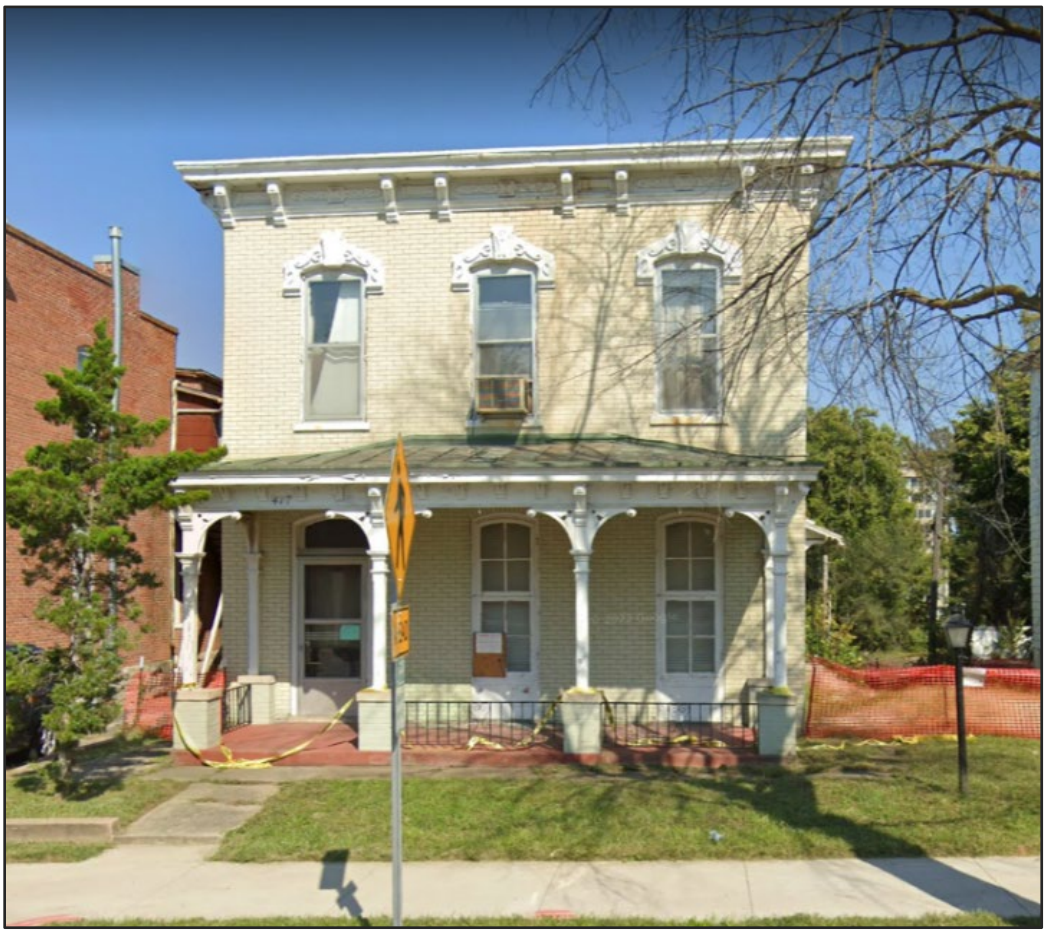

Figure 134. An Italianate house on East Capital Street.

[509] Beetem, Munichburg MPD, Section F, Page 2.
[510] Beetem, Munichburg MPD, Section F, Page 2.
[511] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 242.
[512] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 242.

Upright Gable and Wing

The Upright Gable and Wing is a popular Folk Traditional house form in Missouri. They are common from the 1830s in the eastern United States to c. 1910. Upright Gable and Wing houses can be a variety of styles, and this can help date the house. Victorian-style houses are common in Missouri. They were a popular working class house and can be associated with Jefferson City's expansion and growing free labor industry between the 1880s and 1910.

Figure 135. This Upright Gable and Wing house at 119 Ashley Street has a typical window pattern and a hipped porch roof. The siding is asbestos siding installed in the 1940s–1950s.

Figure 136. Upright Gable and Wing houses like this example at 303 Ashley Street were constructed in both brick and frame versions in Jefferson City. The working class type is reminiscent of Southern folk architecture. They are

Second Empire

Second Empire architecture is not common in Jefferson City, but it is prominent. The Missouri Governor's Mansion is a Second Empire style home. The style was popular from 1855–1885.[513]

Figure 137. The Missouri Governor's mansion features a high-style Second Empire mansard roof.

The main character-defining feature is a mansard roof. Other stylistic features and elaborations include cupolas, window dormers, bracketed windows, and paired entrance doors.[514] Second Empire homes were largely reserved for affluent residents. However, mansard roofs would return in the 1960s as a treatment for apartment buildings.

Chicago Style

Chicago Style architecture is characterized by a grid pattern of windows and a tripartite façade that often reflects the framework of the building. The framework is frequently steel with brick curtain walls or fireproof tile. In Jefferson City, fireproof tile appears to be the material of choice. Characteristic features include the window pattern and the three-part structure with a distinct basement, relatively plain middle section and a cornice on top.

Chicago Style buildings were also popular for industrial use; Jefferson City has a number of surviving shoe factories that are Chicago Style.

[513] McAlester, 317.
[514] McAlester, 318.

Figure 138. A Chicago Style apartment building with the characteristic three-part structure of basement, plain middle section, and cornice.

American Foursquare

The American Foursquare is a quintessential American design.

Figure 139. An American Foursquare at 324 Ash Street

Evolved from the Prairie style and is associated with Frank Lloyd Wright, it is characterized by a roughly square shape, hipped roof, and full-length porch. These houses were incredibly popular. They have an efficient use of interior space and fit well on urban lots. American Foursquares are a blank canvas for stylistic elements. The version above is vernacular, but other examples have Italianate, Eclectic, Colonial Revival, and Craftsman elements.[515] It is important to remember that at the time the Foursquare was one of the most popular housing styles in the country; they can be found not only in the city but in rural settings as well. They also cross socio-economic boundaries depending on the level of ornamentation and location. American Foursquares were reported in The Foot before being removed by urban renewal.

Queen Anne

The Queen Anne style and type was popular from 1880–1910.[516] Like the American Foursquare, the Queen Anne style was wildly popular. Queen Anne style houses are based on shape and details that are fundamentally irregular. They often have a front-facing gable with an asymmetrical façade, and frequently include a hipped roof and a tower.[517] The walls are designed to be not be flat; their plane is interrupted by bay windows and cutaway windows that give the house a chamfered effect. Porches are also used to alter the symmetry. Queen Anne style houses are also distinguished by their details. These include spindle work, corner brackets, metal roof cresting and finials. Patterned masonry was also popular.[518] Queen Anne style spans the economic spectrum and elements can be found on folk forms.

Figure 140. A Queen Anne at East Capital and Jackson Streets.

[515] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 555.
[516] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 345.
[517] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 345, 348.
[518] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 346.

Pyramidal

Pyramidal houses are a folk form that appeared in the post-railroad era.[519] The form is more popular in the South than the Midwest.[520] It was popular because although the roof required a higher skill level, it took less lumber to build and thus was less expensive.[521] Porches vary in placement and size and can be located under the main roof. The key characteristic is the pyramidal roof. The Pyramidal house was associated with the working class. Contextually, it can be associated with Jefferson City's industrial growth at the turn of the century like the gable and wing form. Pyramidal forms can have Victorian embellishments to alter them into a Folk Victorian style.

Figure 141. A Pyramidal house in the 900 block of Monroe Street

Colonial Revival

The Colonial Revival style was popular from the 1880s to 1955.[522] Character-defining features include a focus on the front door, often with a pediment and associated pilasters. The doors usually have side lights.[523] Some examples based on Georgian and Federal styles have cornices.[524] The Colonial Revival style was the dominant style supplanting Queen Anne in the late nineteenth century. Its long lifespan means this style has been appended to many building types over time.

[519] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 146.
[520] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 146.
[521] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 146.
[522] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 410.
[523] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 411.
[524] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 412.

Figure 142. A Colonial Revival house at 1002 Adams with Georgian features: quoins and a segmented arch pediment over the front door

Dutch Colonial Revival

Dutch Colonial Revival houses are not uncommon in Jefferson City. Their defining feature is their gambrel roof. Eclectic stylistic elements can be added, but if it has a gambrel roof, it's a Dutch Colonial Revival. The style was popular from c. 1905–1920.

Figure 143. A Dutch Colonial Revival house at 216 East Ashley Street

Ozark Giraffe

The Ozark Giraffe is a regional treatment of sandstone veneer or fieldstone cobbles. The common treatment is split sandstone, although river or stream cobbles from fields are also used for a more articulated surface.[525] The fieldstone examples are earlier, dating to the first decade of the twentieth century, while the split sandstone examples are usually from the 1930s onward.[526]

Figure 144. This house at 815 Adams Street incorporates an Ozark Giraffe veneer on a Tudor form.

The treatment is used on a variety of building forms including bungalows, Tudors, and commercial building applications such as hotels. Contributing to the popularity, besides the low-cost material, is the low amount of skilled labor needed to install the veneer.[527] The University of Missouri Extension Service offered workshops in the 1920s and 1930s, and *Missouri Magazine* offered detailed instructions in 1934.[528]

[525] Debbie Sheals, "Ozark Rock Masonry in Springfield, c. 1910-1955," *The Society of Architectural Historians – Missouri Chapter Newsletter* XII:2A, Summer, 2006, 3.
[526] Sheals, "Ozark Rock Masonry," 3.
[527] Sheals, "Ozark Rock Masonry," 5.
[528] Sheals, "Ozark Rock Masonry," 5.

Bungalow

Bungalows were largely constructed between 1905 and 1920 with few examples being built after 1930.[529] These houses, like American Foursquares, were wildly popular and the style was quickly adopted after being disseminated by pattern books and magazines.[530] Their popularity crosses class lines; it is found everywhere from the most working-class neighborhoods to the most expensive in Jefferson City.

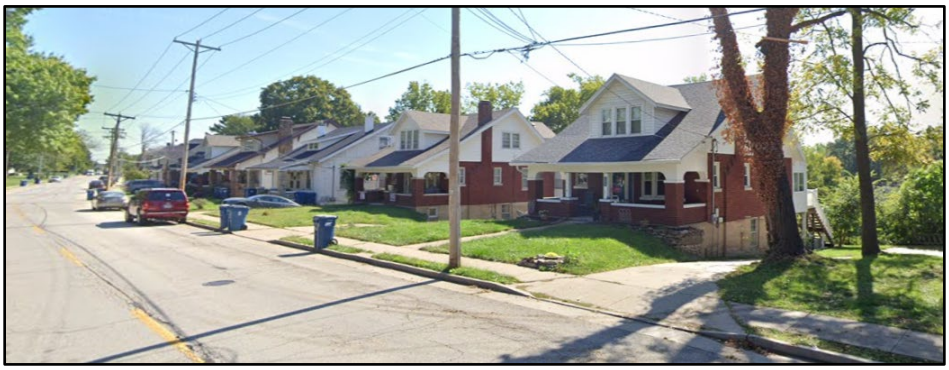

Figure 145. A pair of Craftsman Bungalow houses from 1920 on the 1600 block of West Main Street. Groupings of identical houses usually indicate a developer built speculative houses to sell on the open market. These are good examples of side gable bungalows with gabled dormers.

Craftsman Bungalow

The Craftsman Bungalow style features triangular knee braces under the roof and exposed rafter tails. The porches often have sloping (battered) porch columns, and the main roof often extends over the porch in side-gable examples. Front-gable examples have similar battered porch columns and brackets but do not have a dormer. Craftsmen elements can be added to folk forms.

Figure 146. A high-style Craftsman Bungalow at the corner of High and Hart Streets

[529] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 568.
[530] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 568.

Tudor

Tudor houses are popular in certain parts of Jefferson City, predominantly those areas developed during the 1920s and 1930s when the style was in vogue in the region. The style itself spans the period from 1890 to 1940.[531] The houses are characterized by their steep side gable roofs and often have an equally steep front gable. Decorative half-timbering and diamond shaped casement and double-hung windows are character-defining features. A prominent chimney is also a character-defining feature. While brick veneer is a common exterior treatment, wood siding is not uncommon. Regional variation is also common, and the houses can be good examples of a local architect's work.[532]

Figure 147. A Tudor style home in the 100 block of Forest Hill Drive

Art Deco/Moderne

Jefferson City has a few Art Deco buildings. The style was popular in the 1920s and 1930s, although it was not popular in Jefferson City The character-defining features are curved corners and corner windows. Efforts should be made to preserve the few examples that are extant. Most are apartment buildings, although one church with vinyl siding is present on the east side. Of particular note is the interior of Paddy Malones on Main Street. The bar was remodeled in the 1930s. It features a rising sun motif and Art Deco stamped ceiling tiles.

[531] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 450.
[532] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 455.

Figure 148. This 1930s Art Deco/Moderne building at 1212 East High Street has the original steel casement windows and curved edges that are character-defining elements.

Figure 149. The Tergin Apartments at 201 West McCarty Street are a good example of the Art Deco style.

Cape Cod

Cape Cod houses are a product of solving housing issues in the 1930s. Houses were needed that were small, easy to build, and efficient in every way including space and use of materials. Most importantly, they carried the approval of the Federal Housing Administration, meaning they

could get a guaranteed mortgage. They were also popular with people using the 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act, better known as the GI Bill.

Figure 150. This 1940 Cape Cod house has a simple Colonial Revival door surround on the front door.

Figure 151. This 1946 Cape Cod house on the 2200 block of West Jefferson has a high-style Colonial Revival door surround, a character-defining feature.

Minimal Traditional

Minimal Traditional houses are front or side gable houses shorn of eaves. They are usually three bays with a central entrance. A gable and wing is also popular, again without eaves.

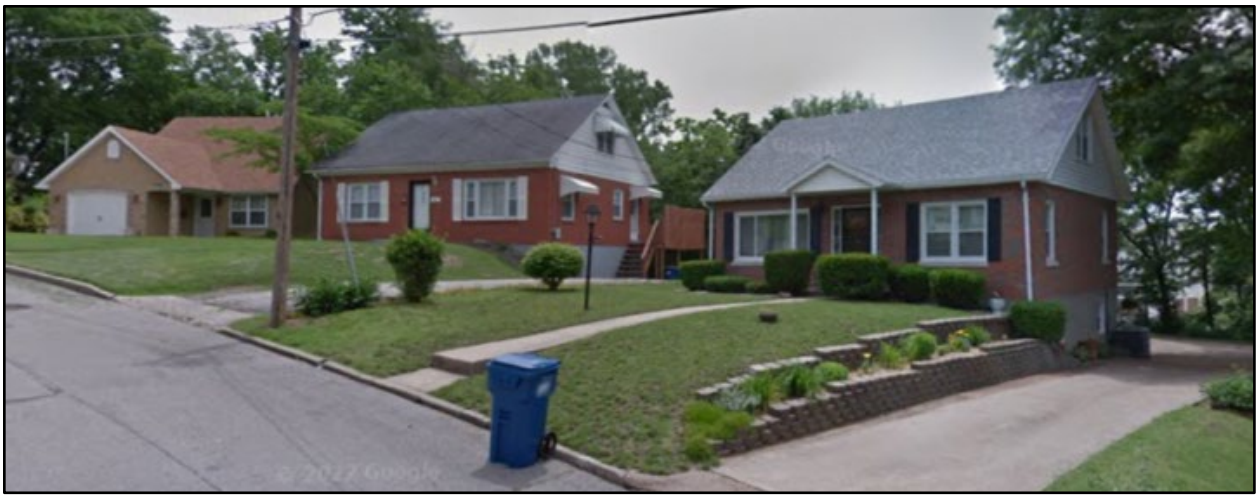

Figure 152. The middle and right houses are Minimal Traditional forms in the 1800 block of West McCarty Street.

Like many house forms Minimal Traditional houses can come in various styles. Colonial Revival is very popular and typified by Colonial Revival door surrounds. Twelve lite double hung windows are common. Some examples will have a prominent front gable. The houses are often symmetrical with a central entrance. The FHA approved the design, making financing simple.

Prefabricated National Housing Corporation Houses

The National Home Corporation produced FHA-approved prefabricated houses in Sedalia, Missouri during and after the war. The design appears to be Minimal Traditional. It appears that there were at least half a dozen examples in Jefferson City in the late 1940s. One was supposedly installed at 1206 Adams Street, but given current site conditions, it was either not installed or has been demolished. However, additional houses were installed off Green Berry Road; the exact street is not named in the newspaper.

Figure 153. A 1951 advertisement for National Home Corporation prefabricated houses

Ranchette

The Ranchette is a transitional form between the Minimal Traditional and the Ranch house. It has the form of the Minimal Traditional but features a picture window and sometimes different exterior material below the windows, like a full-blown Ranch. They were popular from the late 1940s to the early 1950s in neighborhoods with urban lots and are often mixed in with Minimal Traditional houses.

Figure 154. (L-R) A Minimal Traditional house and two Ranchettes in the 1600 block of West McCarty

Ranch

Ranch houses are common in the United States from 1935–1965 but the date of their introduction varies regionally. In Jefferson City they are generally not seen until the 1950s. This is likely the result of two factors, lot size and topography. Jefferson City's platted inlots are not suitable for a sprawling Ranch house. In addition, Jefferson City's hilly topography does not often have enough flat space for this style of home.

Figure 155. A Ranch house at 323 Landwehr Hills

The Styled Ranch is less common; it features a Ranch form with varied stylistic features such as Colonial Revival, Neoclassical, and Tudor, among others. Styled Ranches eliminate many traditional Ranch features such as broad overhangs, corner windows, and often even picture windows.[533] Tudor Ranch houses have half-timbered elements, usually have a natural stone, brick or wood exterior, and have a gabled or cross-gabled roof.[534] A Dutch Colonial Revival Styled Ranch is extant in Landwehr Hills.

Split Level

The Split Level form is found in three common styles: Ranch, Contemporary and Styled Ranch. By definition, a Split Level is a house that has three or more separate levels connected by partial flights of stairs. A house with a garage underneath and a full stairway is known as a rear down if in the rear and side down if on the side.[535] Split Level houses fit well with Jefferson City's topography.

Jefferson City has a number of high-style Styled Ranch and Split Level houses. In most cases around the country Styled Ranches are only common after 1970, but the full range is from 1935 to 1980. They usually reflect the region. In Jefferson City, Split Levels are most likely to be dated after 1970.

Figure 15656. A Tudor Style Split Level in Landwehr Hills on Scenic Drive

[533] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 696.
[534] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 704.
[535] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 615.

Contemporary

The Contemporary style was popular from 1945–1990. It was an alternative to Ranch houses. A 1955 house at the corner of Lowell Drive and Marilyn Drive (Figure 151) has all the hallmarks of the style. Contemporary houses are constructed with natural materials. This house has Roman brick and natural stone on the front façade with a butterfly and slant roof. The carport is another stylistic feature.

Figure 157. A Contemporary style house in west Jefferson City

Brutalist

The former Missouri Chamber of Commerce building is an excellent example of Brutalist architecture. The style was common from the 1950s to the 1970s. The style celebrates the "raw" (in French, *brut*) materials, which are usually exposed. While concrete is the best-known exterior treatment, "brick brutalism" is also popular. Character-defining attributes are "juxtapositions of blocks that produce an exterior of slits and slabs" and a low ratio of glass to wall.[536] Brutalist buildings are most commonly for civic use.

[536] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 664.

Figure 158. The Brutalist former Missouri Chamber of Commerce Building, built in 1977

New Formalism

The Missouri Baptist Convention, formerly the Missouri Hotel, is the best-known New Formalism building in Jefferson City. The style was popular from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Figure 159. The New Formalism Missouri Baptist Convention Center (The Word and the Way)

It is a modern style based on classical elements.[537] It is characterized by slender columns and arched supports while wall surfaces are simple and undecorated.[538] The style was most popular for civic and commercial use, especially malls. In Jefferson City, New Formalism is contextually linked to urban renewal and efforts to revitalize and reinvent downtown, as well as to outward expansion. It is also linked to governmental lobbying during this period.

Commercial Forms and Groupings

Two-Part Commercial Block

The Two-Part Commercial Block building is the most common commercial building in the country.[539] The two-part division represents the delineation of interior space. The lower level of a commercial building is public, a store or lobby. The upper stories are often residential, where access is reserved for those who live there. In early examples exterior ornamentation follows the same pattern. The lower public level usually advertises the interior business whereas the upper floors have less or no ornamentation to attract attention.

Figure 160. A section of High Street between Monroe and Madison with examples of Two-Part Commercial Block buildings, the three in the center of the photograph

[537] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 662.
[538] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 664.
[539] Richard Longstreth. *The Buildings of Main Street: A Guide to American Commercial Architecture.*

Victorian examples have the same horizontal division but more ornamentation. At the end of the nineteenth century, ornamentation increased in variety and concentration, including decorative brick patterns, cast-iron elements and towers.[540] However, regardless of ornamentation, the character-defining feature is the division of uses between the lower and upper floors.

One-Part Commercial Block

A One-Part Commercial Block building is the just the commercial part of a Two-Part Commercial Block building.[541] This style was often built as an investment hedge in the hope that a more profitable building could be constructed in the future; in the meantime, the smaller building could generate enough cash flow to defray the cost of the land and its construction.[542] The character-defining feature is having only one use, a commercial one. The building can be tall but must have only the commercial function. Like Two-Part Commercial Block buildings, they have styles and resultant ornamentation that reflect their time period.

Figure 161. A One-Part Commercial Block building on High Street between Monroe and Madison

[540] Longstreth, Chapter 2, e-book
[541] Longstreth, One-Part Commercial Block, E-book
[542] Longstreth, One-Part Commercial Block, E-book.

Home-Based Business

A critical part of many neighborhood economies was the home-based business. These include grocery stores, beauty parlors, barbershops, and auto mechanics. Home-based businesses could be located in a part of the home, an addition or an ancillary building in a residential neighborhood.

Figure 162. The former Earl's Market and Stroebel Grocery in at 118 Polk Street in Renn's Addition

These businesses were especially important in the African American community, where segregation limited employment opportunities. The character-defining feature is that the residential building must be located in a residential neighborhood. This differentiates from the small cluster of commercial buildings in a neighborhood business district.

Figure 163. A 1946 ad for Earl's Market in Renn's Addition.

Strip Mall

Strips malls are postwar automobile-oriented shopping centers. They are common from the late 1940s to the 1980s, when parking was moved to the rear and the setback decreased.

Figure 164. The Hobby Lobby at 2235 Missouri Boulevard was originally the Mart strip mall that housed Jefferson City's original Wal-Mart.

In most cases, the historic parking is in front and the shopping center is located on a major thoroughfare. As with many commercial buildings, historic integrity can be an issue as owners renovate often to refresh the property. However, like many renovations, if within the period of significance, they may be historic in their own right.

Regional Shopping Center

Jefferson City has one regional shopping center, the Capital Mall on Truman Boulevard. Regional malls are characterized as diversified shopping centers with freeway access. The retail establishment is focused on a major retailer, the anchor store, with specialty stores filling out the mix. Usually, the regional mall includes an interior component where all stores are accessible.

Figure 165. The Capital Mall, opened in 1978 (Kim Mason)

Jefferson City's Capital Mall is the culmination of years of planning and a sign of commercial activity's outward movement.

Mega Strip Mall

The Mega Strip Mall is a collection of Big Box Stores where various stores are accessible from one parking lot, a characteristic that they share with traditional strip malls. Where they differ is the square footage of the retail establishment and the fact that some stores can stand alone.[543]

Figure 166. Wildwood Crossings is a Mega Strip Mall that illustrates the challenges of Jefferson City's topography.

In Jefferson City, Wildwood Crossings at 3535 Missouri Boulevard is a classic Mega Strip Mall that also illustrates Jefferson City's history of adaptation to local conditions. The original site was divided with a ravine. Kolb Properties and Dick Otke Construction used 240 tons of explosives to remove a rock bluff at the Wildwood Crossings site and used the resulting 947 tons of rock to fill a ravine across the street for a Lowes Big Box Store (see below).[544] The project is an example of the progression of techniques and economies of scale used to construct Jefferson City in spite of the landscape.

Big Box Store

Big Box Stores are free-standing, single-story retail stores of more than 50,000 square feet.[545] They are usually rectangular, built on a concrete slab. They fall into three general categories: grocery stores; a particular specialty, such as books or electronics; or general dry goods. They are generally on interstate exchanges or arterial streets.[546]

[543] William Ashworth, *Great Lakes Journey"* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003, 51.
[544] Wildwood Crossings, http://kolbproperties.com/wildwood-crossings/ Accessed October 4, 2022.
[545] Harvey Moskovitz, Carl G. Lindbloom, David Listokin, Richard Preiss, Dwight Merriam, *The Complete Illustrated Book of Development Definitions* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2017), 62.
[546] Moskovitz et al., *The Complete Illustrated Book of Development Definitions*, 62.

Figure 167. A Big Box Store at 3441 Missouri Boulevard

Industrial Site

In many cases, preservation of industrial sites happens when a facility closes. Industrial sites and buildings are often historically significant when they are involved with a broad pattern of history. In Jefferson City, historically significant industrial sites can be associated with prison industries, such as shoe production, that were a major factor in Jefferson City's history and built environment. In this case, the buildings are often Chicago-style factories.

Figure 168. The Chicago Style International Shoe factory, 627 West McCarty Street, was first a shoe factory and a later a Federal Emergency Relief Administration transient camp facility during the Great Depression, eventually becoming a restaurant. (Jefferson City Housing Authority)

Recent Jefferson City industry can also be recognized, but it has a different architectural form. When Jefferson City pivoted after the Second World War to diversify its economy from away

from state government, the city used its resources to promote new industry on Industrial Drive. Unlike the Chicago Style shoe factories of the early nineteenth century, these facilities are often one-story buildings surrounded by ample parking.

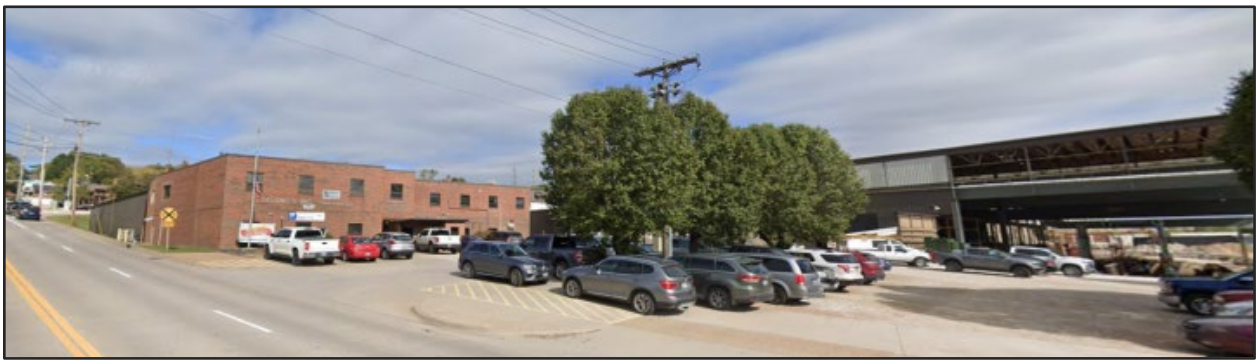

Figure 169. DeLong's Inc. at 301 Dix Road was a new type of industrial facility in Jefferson City.

In many aspects they are the industrial version of commercial entities of the same period, meant to be a destination and not a neighborhood fixture like the shoe factories and state penitentiary where surrounding neighborhoods housed the workers.

Neighborhood Business District

In 1955, the American Planning Association recognized the neighborhood business district as a commercial planning entity.

Figure 170. The corner of High Street and Ash Street, a good example of a neighborhood business district

Neighborhood business districts are collections of commercial buildings embedded in residential districts. They date from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. Later construction was hampered by early zoning codes; in Jefferson City, the 1932 zoning code largely eliminated their construction. As a commercial entity, the neighborhood business district provides convenience goods and services to the surrounding neighborhood. This is different from the destination shopping of downtown retail districts that offer goods like jewelry and furniture where the consumer is expected to compare prices. Neighborhood business districts reflect the surrounding residential district that they serve.[547]

Apartment Buildings

Apartment buildings fall into five forms in Jefferson City:

Subdivided nineteenth-century house. The first type of apartment building is a subdivided older home. Large nineteenth-century houses were often subdivided beginning in the 1920s. Subdivided nineteenth-century houses often display signs of subdividing that include additional entrances, fire escapes and altered fenestration patterns; for example, some windows may be moved or covered. Subdivided houses are present where nineteenth-century housing stock was built.

Figure 171. The exterior stairway on the right indicates that this former single-family home at 615 East Capitol has been subdivided into apartments.

[547] "Neighborhood Business Districts," Information Report #77, August 1955, https://planning-org-uploaded-media.s3.amazonaws.com/legacy_resources/pas/at60/pdf/report77.pdf, accessed August 18, 2022. A recent neighborhood business district listed in the National Register is Kenmore Boulevard Historic District; see Jennifer Conn, "Akron's Kenmore Boulevard Poised to Make National Register of Historic Places," WKSU Public Media, March 25, 2019, https://www.wksu.org/community/2019-03-25/akrons-kenmore-boulevard-poised-to-make-national-register-of-historic-places, accessed September 15, 2022. In addition to preserving vernacular building stock, preservation can spur neighborhood economic development.

Low-rise and middle-rise apartment buildings. These apartment types are usually one- or two-building complexes, and they can demonstrate various styles. They are reflective of nationwide building codes that mandated indoor plumbing and minimum window coverage.[548] Low- to middle-rise apartments started in downtown Jefferson City in 1917 with the Wymore Apartments. Other examples of this type include the Washington, Tergin and Belle Vista Apartments.

Figure 172. The Tergin Apartments at 201 West McCarty Street

Figure 173. The Morris-Edmonds public housing project has low rise and garden apartment qualities.

[548] Working Class and Middle Class Apartments in Kansas City, Missouri. National Register Multiple Property Document, Section E, p. 31.

Duplexes and four-unit apartments were adopted by the housing authority in the early 1960s. Unlike previous duplexes on individual lots, these units are in a grouping rather than a scattered site configuration. Both of Jefferson City's early public housing developments, Morris-Edmonds and Elm Street, were constructed in areas where the previous housing was cleared through urban renewal.

Figure 174. The deVille Southwest apartments, an early garden-style apartment complex at 839 Southwest Boulevard

Garden apartments. Garden-style apartments became popular in Jefferson City in the 1960s. Their characteristic feature is that each apartment has an outside entrance. They are set in groups of three or more in with formulaic spacing among the buildings and the landscape.[549] The buildings are seldom more than two stories high and are usually box-like in construction with tacked-on decorative or stylistic elements, such as a mansard roof. While garden apartments usually have landscaping, the 1976 Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) beautification plan noted that the landscaping often fell flat in Jefferson City. Therefore, this is not always a

[549] Working Class and Middle Class Apartments in Kansas City, Missouri. National Register Multiple Property Document, Section E, page 33.

character-defining feature. Contextually, garden apartments are associated with Jefferson City's expansion in the 1960s especially as roads were constructed to commercial strips.

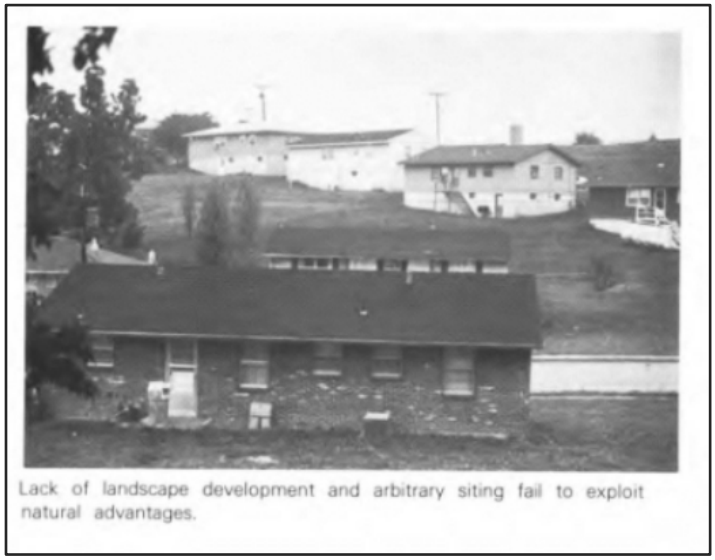

Figure 175. This photograph from the SOM beautification plan shows that landscaping often seemed to have been forgotten in new construction; the exact location of the site in the photograph is unknown. (Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill)

High-rise towers. Tower apartment buildings are not common in Jefferson City; Dulle and Hamilton Towers are the only examples. Both were constructed by the Jefferson City Public Housing Authority for senior citizens. Interestingly, the Morris-Edmonds Elm Street project and the senior citizen towers were designed by the same architect, Roy Pallardy.

Figure 176. Dulle Tower (Jefferson City Housing Authority)

Recommendations

Jefferson City has a rich built environment, and these recommendations cover a variety of geographic areas and potential contexts. The recommendations are meant to suggest additional avenues for inquiry, not to redirect current efforts.

The City of Jefferson and the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office should work together to devise the parameters of the suggested surveys. The Missouri State Historic Preservation Office provides guidance on various types of architectural surveys at https://mostateparks.com/page/86111/survey.

If a survey is not funded by the Historic Preservation Fund or other National Park Service grants, a copy of it should be supplied to the Missouri State Historic Preservation Office.

Suggested Surveys

Thematic Modernism Survey

The City of Jefferson should conduct a scattered site architectural survey focused on Modernism. Jefferson City has a good collection of residential, commercial, government, and religious Modernist buildings throughout the city that should be inventoried and recognized.

Figure 177. The Mid-Century Modern Coleman Appliances at 710 Madison Street (Rory Krupp)

While residential examples would be better documented in a contiguous neighborhood survey, commercial, industrial, and institutional examples could be better documented in a thematic survey.

African American Thematic Resources Survey

While urban renewal removed part of the Foot at the base of Lincoln University, the end result has not been studied. A number of African American churches and civic institutions moved after

the Campus View and Progress urban renewal project. In addition, a survey to identify extant African American resources downtown from the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth could identify the full range of Jefferson City's African American experience. A citywide survey of non-contiguous African American sites is recommended. Additionally, if there are any known African American residential enclaves, these should be surveyed via a contiguous intensive level survey of the neighborhood.

Industrial Building Thematic Survey

Jefferson City has a good selection of industrial buildings that should be surveyed, such as the historic water treatment facility and buildings along Industrial Avenue. A city-wide thematic survey of industrial resources is recommended.

Commercial Building Survey

A thematic survey of Jefferson City's commercial buildings would be beneficial for historic preservation and economic development. A contiguous survey of Missouri Boulevard is recommended.

Figure 178. Recommendations for future surveys: 1. Park Place neighborhood, 2. Roland Heights, 3. Landwehr Heights, 4. Neighborhood Business District at High Street and Locust, 5. 20th century housing survey in western Jefferson City.

Subdivision Surveys

A number of subdivisions now embedded in the city's urban fabric should be preserved. They illustrate Jefferson City's development history. These subdivisions illustrate periods of Jefferson City's social history, local history, regional architecture, and planning concepts. The earliest pre- and postwar subdivisions be documented via reconnaissance level survey. The City is already actively involved in a survey of late 19th and early 20th century neighborhoods, and these efforts

should continue. For postwar subdivisions, also consider what some of the earliest "modern" neighborhoods would be. This could include transitional building types like Cape Cods and Minimal Traditionals, and later, the earliest pure Ranch neighborhoods. Consider the design: When did sidewalks and the grid system start to disappear and be replaced by expansive yards, curvilinear streets, attached garages, etc? It is also necessary to ascertain what development standards were in place at a given time, since the originally platted city and annexed neighborhoods may have had different standards for infrastructure such as streets, curbs and sidewalks. Two potential examples are discussed below, but there are likely many others worthy of documentation.

Park Place. This 1890s subdivision has elements of garden design with the orientation of the houses on the park. Park Place was developed quickly after its platting, making it a good snapshot of turn-of-the-century Jefferson City.

Roland Heights/Campus View. The Campus View urban renewal area, which includes the Roland Heights subdivision, should be surveyed for possible historic designation. The subdivision is associated with African American social history and urban renewal.

Figure 179. The Campus View urban renewal area (MidMoGIS)

Landwehr Heights. Landwehr Heights is a good example of a 1960s greenfield development built by local contractors. The houses are good examples of regional design from the early 1960s to the 1970s. The houses are reaching the age when repairs and appropriate guidance are needed to preserve the integrity of the development.

Figure 180. Contemporary and Ranch style houses from the early 1960s on the 1600 block of Marion Drive

Additional Suggested Activities

1. Survey and designate neighborhood business districts.

Jefferson City should explore historic designation or conservation districts for neighborhood business districts.

Figure 181. Neighborhood business districts such as the corner of High Street and Pine Street represent the historic growth of Jefferson City and a time when retail was neighborhood focused.

Neighborhood business districts are commercial nodes for neighborhood commercial and neighborhood needs. These include the neighborhood business districts at West Main Street and West Circle Drive, East High Street and Pine Street, East High and Ash Street, but there could be others. A better understanding of the surrounding neighborhood and the specific role a business cluster served for that location is needed for a National Register designation, thus a survey of that specific neighborhood including the business cluster would be best. However, a city-wide thematic survey of these business clusters is recommended for identification and recording purposes, as many of these clusters are in poor condition or may be otherwise threatened.

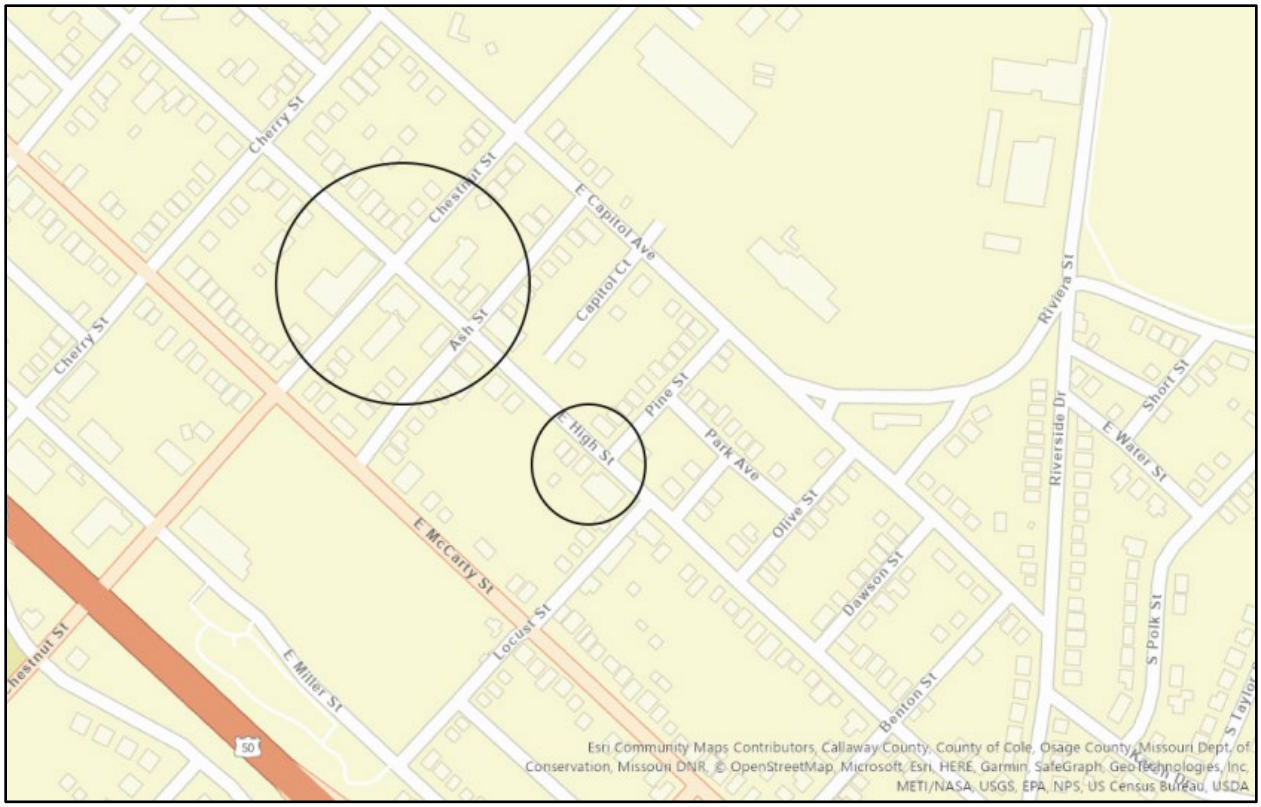

Figure 182. Potential neighborhood business districts for preservation

In addition to aiding preservation, designating commercial buildings can be an important economic development tool.

2. Implement preservation tools.

Jefferson City has a number of preservation tools to recognize and protect the built environment. The Historic Preservation Commission Landmark Award can raise awareness of preservation priorities. The city can also establish local historic districts and conservation districts to preserve and control development to varying degrees.
https://www.jeffersoncitymo.gov/live_play/history_heritage/historic_and_conservation_districts.php

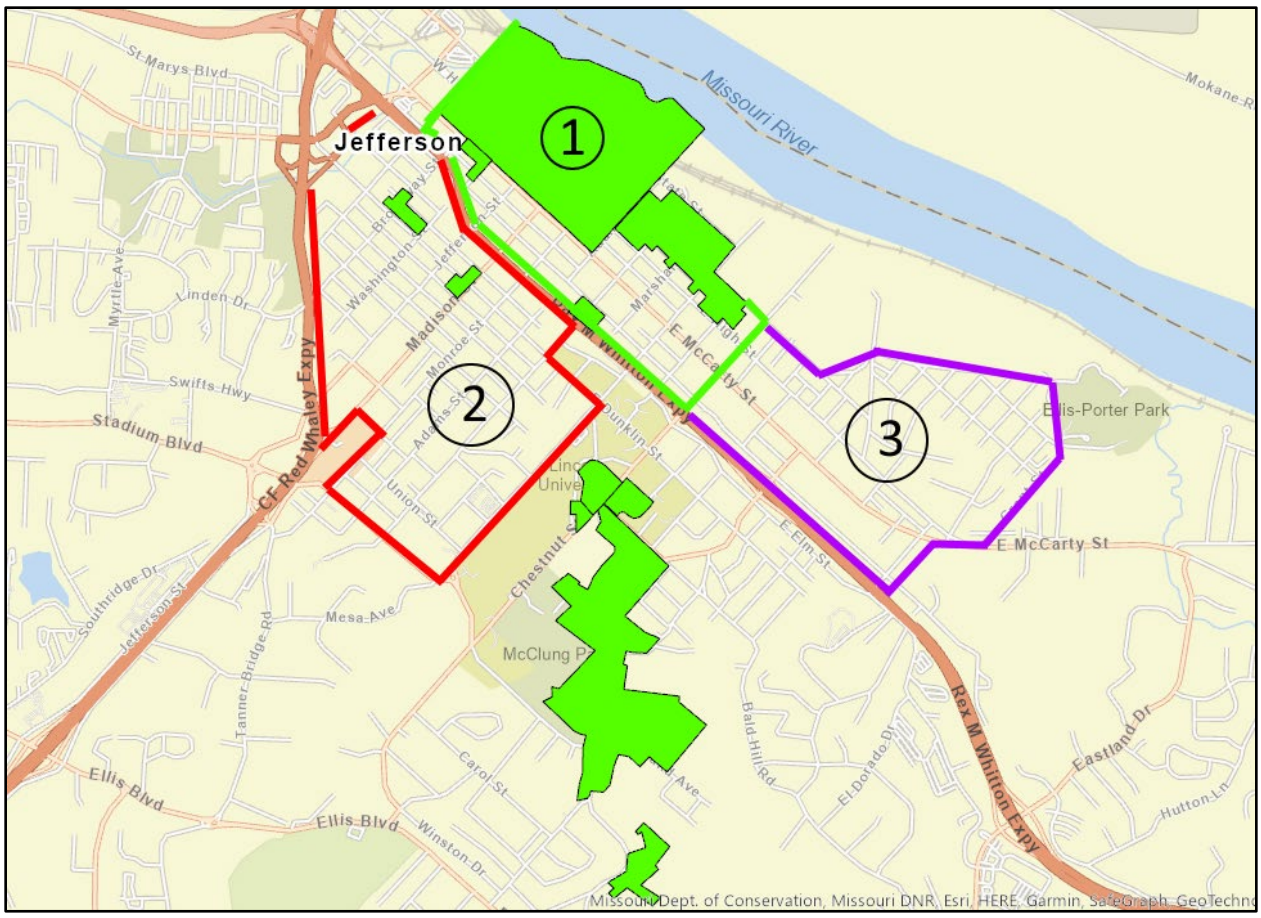

Figure 183. 1. Survey the Capital East Historic District to include buildings since 1950, 2. Survey area and consider a conservation district, 3. Survey and consider a conservation district. Green indicates existing historic districts.

3. Recognize local Modernist buildings.

Jefferson City should recognize more Modernist and recent buildings for the Jefferson City Historic Commission Landmark Award. This will encourage building owners and the public to recognize the unique Modernist architectural heritage in Jefferson City.

4. Expand local conservation districts.

Jefferson City should expand conservation districts, which are established by ordinance. The Capitol East Conservation District should be expanded.

The Munichburg neighborhood's period of significance ends in 1954. The previously designated areas may have additional contexts that could be significant and worth of preservation.

5. Update the Capitol Area National Register Historic District.

The Capital Area Historic District National Register nomination should be updated. The area should be surveyed to ascertain whether other areas of significance or an extended period of

significance for other periods may apply. This will encourage preservation of the historic buildings and allow tax credits to be used for rehabilitation.

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