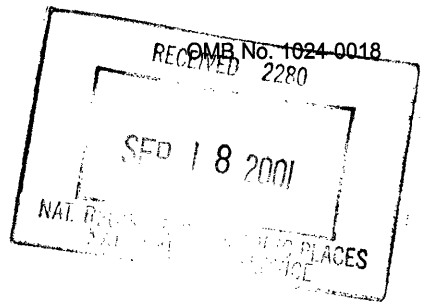
NPS Form 10-900-b
(Revised March 1992)

OMB No. 1024-0018



Cover

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

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

__X__New Submission ____Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources of Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)
Settlement Period, 1854-1863
City-Building Period, 1864-1873
Agriculture and Manufacturing, Foundations of Stability, 1874-1899
Quiet University Town, 1900-1945

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Deon Wolfenbarger, Preservation Consultant & Dale Nimz

organization Three Gables Preservation date 9/12/97

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

city or town Kansas City state Missouri zip code 64157

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1986, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Richard D. Pankratz D-SHPO 8-31-01

Signature and title of certifying official Date

Kansas State Historical Society

State or Federal agency and bureau

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

Edson H. Beall Oct 21, 2001

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

Primary location of additional data:

- ☐ State Historic Preservation Office
- ☐ Other State agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- X Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other

Name or repository:

City of Lawrence, Kansas

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

Introduction

This multiple property thematic context statement is based on a previous study, Living With History: A Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence, Kansas, which presented a developmental and chronological interpretation of the city's history. The 1984 Historic Preservation Plan outlined a distinctive sequence of chronological periods in the history of Lawrence urban design, architecture, and landscape. Each chronological period has an overall theme and associated geographical area.

Four historic contexts and six associated property types have been identified for this statement. Future amendments will more fully develop additional proposed contexts and property types. Significant themes in local history have been identified, but individual properties not yet recognized could be important in defining additional historic contexts and research values. Some limitations in the available historic preservation information resulted from the as yet incomplete survey of the city's historic architectural resources. Neighborhoods in South Lawrence and near the University of Kansas have not been surveyed.

CONTEXTS

Settlement Period, 1854-1863

City-building Period, 1864-1873

Agriculture and Manufacturing, Foundations of Stability, 1874-1899

Quiet University Town, 1900-1945

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Two-part Commercial Blocks
One-part Commercial Blocks

Late Victorian Residences
National Folk Residences
"Comfortable" House
20th Century Revival and American Movement Houses.

Potential contexts may be related to historic trends, architecture, and significant individuals or groups. Historical trends include western settlement, immigration, urban development, manufacturing, agriculture, and suburbanization. Future research should provide more detail on the relationship of development and architecture to significant economic activities such as agriculture, manufacturing, and railroads. Local history also was affected by trends in technology represented in the change from river to railroad, automobile, and airplane transportation.

Examples of aesthetic values in historic Lawrence architecture include the stone masonry buildings of the city-building period, elaborately ornamented late nineteenth century buildings, and early twentieth-century buildings of high-quality craftsmanship and styling. Other contexts may detail the history of significant individuals, ethnic and social groups as well as properties associated with the University of Kansas and the academic community. Additional contexts related to architecture, for example, may include properties associated with John G. Haskell, an early Kansas architect who practiced in Lawrence during the late nineteenth century. William A. Griffith, a University professor, influenced residential design in Lawrence during the early twentieth century University town period. Contractors John T. and John L. Constant, whose combined careers spanned the years from 1880 to the 1970s, also built a number of significant buildings in Lawrence.

Settlement, 1854-1863

Introduction
From the first year of settlement in 1854, Lawrence was "a planned community with metropolitan aspirations." Following the early years of settlement, activity during the "city-building" period from 1864 to 1873

> defined the central commercial axis of Lawrence and the related network of residential districts. Industrial development in the late nineteenth century and the growth of the University in the early twentieth century were also important determinants of the urban environment. For each period the local population, institutions, activities, and artifacts formed a characteristic pattern. Understanding these relationships is the key to understanding the existing built environment in Lawrence.[1]

[1] Dale E. Nimz, Living with History: A Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence: City of Lawrence, 1984), p. 59.

A majority of the historic buildings surviving in Lawrence resulted from the periods of slow, gradual growth and replacement dating from 1873 to 1945. This pattern contrasted with the rapid and extensive growth of the citybuilding period (1864-73) and the modern period of prosperity, dramatic population growth, and building construction from 1945 to the present. The interpretation of significance in local history, then, must account for this tension between continuity, growth, and decline.

Overland travelers to California camped near the future site of Lawrence in 1849-50. Travelers Achilles B. Wade and Charles Robinson were impressed by a distinctive configuration of features at a point where the Kansas River turned northwest opposite a prominent ridge (later named Mount Oread). They returned to settle in Lawrence. Until 1854, however, the territory was reserved for emigrant Indians who had relocated from the East and for indigenous tribes such as the Kansas and Osage. After Kansas Territory was opened for European-American settlement, the early townsite was located on an area of relatively level ground between the two valleys of the Kansas and Wakarusa Rivers. Agents for the New England Aid Company, an antislavery organization formed to counter southern influence in Kansas, selected the site. The first party of emigrants from Massachusetts camped on Mount Oread on August 1, 1854. The frontier settlement was established and maintained despite natural adversities and political conflict. Given the perception in 1854 that steamboat travel was practical on the Kansas River, the Lawrence site seemed to have the potential to become the regional metropolis serving a vast territory.[1]

Oriented along a linear main street perpendicular to the Kansas River, the town plan created a regular grid street pattern including reservations for parks, schools, and public buildings which remained a significant aspect of the "Historic City" of Kansas. A.D. Searle's revised plat of 1855 established Lawrence's urban design. The original area of the town site was reduced from a tract extending for 2.5 miles along the river and 1.5 miles from the river south to an area one mile square.[2] The city plan and a public image of Lawrence as a abolitionist stronghold were created in the first ten years of settlement, but the architectural environment was actually defined in the following decade.

---

[1]Nimz, "Living With History, pp. 59-60.

[2]For the revised area, see Holland Wheeler's map of "City of Lawrence with its additions," (New York: T. Bonar, lith, ca. 1858), Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. For the resurvey, see A. T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas v. 1 (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883), p. 313.

From a settlement of approximately 400 in 1855, Lawrence grew to a town of 1,645 residents by 1860, but it was smaller than other towns in the region. Kansas City had a population of 4,418 and Leavenworth was the largest city in Kansas with 7,400 residents. In 1855 the pro-slavery territorial legislature established Douglas County. Later in 1857, Lecompton, a pro-slavery settlement west of Lawrence, was chosen as the first county seat. Residents of Lawrence then adopted their own town charter by acclamation rather than accept one from the hostile legislature. When free-state settlers gained control of the territorial legislature in 1858, one of the first bills considered was a charter for Lawrence which was approved February 11.[1] Lawrence was chosen as the county seat although a Douglas County courthouse was not built until the early twentieth century. City government, political parties, churches, and schools were significant institutions established in Lawrence during the settlement period.

While the image of Lawrence as a transplanted New England town has persisted, the historical population of the city was considerably more diverse. Different population groups contributed to the urban and architectural heritage of the town. The largest group of settlers during the settlement period were Westerners from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois moving farther west. While this sizeable immigration was not publicized, the movement by individuals and small groups formed the largest cultural community in most early Kansas townships.[2] There were also Germans, Scandinavians, Irish, American Indians, and blacks in early Lawrence.

German-Americans comprised the largest group of foreign-born residents of early Lawrence. They were primarily bound together "by their shared national origin, their common language, and their immigration experience."[3] The earliest census of Lawrence taken by postmaster C.W. Babcock in February, 1855 recorded a population of 400. Out of the 41 foreign-born residents, only 7 were German-Americans. Later in the settlement period, a national recession in 1857 and a regional drought from September, 1859 to October, 1860 drove many residents back east and halted growth in Lawrence. Falling land prices and relative security in 1860-61 attracted more

---

[1]David Dary, Lawrence Douglas County Kansas: An Informal History Steve Jansen ed. (Lawrence, KS: Allen Books, 1982), p. 43; A.T. Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 310; Richard Cordley, A History of Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence: E.F. Caldwell, 1895), p. 159.

[2]James R. Shortridge, Peopling the Plains: Who Settled Where in Frontier Kansas (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), pp. 34-35; Nimz, "Living with History,"p. 61.

[3]Katja Rampelmann, "Small Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas, from 1854 to 1918," M.A. thesis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas (1993), p. 3.

Germans to Kansas. In the 1860 U.S. census, there were 84 Germans in the Lawrence population of 1,645.[1]

Commerce

The initial settlement area between Mount Oread and the Kansas River was relatively small and most buildings were simple and impermanent. At the end of 1854, Lawrence had "about fifty dwelling houses, some of shakes, some grass-covered, some sod and log, some of tarred canvas, and one or two covered with oak boards." There were two boarding houses, a saw and planing mill, a butcher's shop, and two stores.[2] Two years later, pioneer Rev. Richard Cordley reported, several substantial brick buildings were begun on Massachusetts Street late in 1857 and completed in the following year. When Cordley first arrived in autumn, however, the prospect was disappointing.

> The town seemed smaller than I had expected to find it, and had a more unfinished look. There were not only no sidewalks, but no streets, except in name and on the map. The roads ran here and there, across lots and between houses, as each driver took a fancy. This gave a scattered appearance to the town... There were scarcely any fences or dooryards, and gardens were almost unknown. There had been hardly a tree or bush planted on the town site.[3]

One of the greatest impediments to early commercial development was the problem of transportation. Lawrence was originally envisioned as a river town like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, but steamboating on the Kansas River was a failure. The pioneer ferry across the Kansas River was a critical link in the local transportation network. Along with building and transportation, the development of agriculture was the most important economic activity during this period. Notable businesses included sawmills and the Kimball Brothers foundry and machine shop near the river, newspapers, the Free State (later the Eldridge House) Hotel, and the Miller Block (later known as the House Building), a commercial building offering groceries, dry goods, clothing and general merchandise. Destruction by Quantrill's raid in 1863 was the most dramatic event of the settlement period (and one that has dominated the public imagination since then). Although both Union and secessionist fighters ranged back and forth across the border country of Missouri and eastern Kansas during the Civil War, perhaps the most publicized raid occurred when about 300 Confederate guerrillas surprised Lawrence residents early in the

[1]Ibid., 20-23.
[2]Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 317.
[3]Nimz, "Living with History, p. 67.

morning of August 21. Meeting no organized resistance, the raider looted banks, stores, and saloons. They killed approximately 150 men and burned most of the buildings in the central part of town.

The business of Lawrence was mainly on Massachusetts Street between 7th and 9th Streets. There were continuous lines of stores on both sides. About seventy-five buildings were destroyed in this area. As the Lawrence Daily Journal explained in 1880, "the entire business part of the town was burned and a large number of private residences. The town, as we now see it, has mainly been built since that date."[1] From the 1850s through the 1950s, the two-part commercial block was prevalent in downtown Lawrence. As the most common commercial building form, both high-style and vernacular buildings were constructed in this form. Within the boundaries of the downtown, there were also churches, residences, and civic buildings representative of the popular styles of each period.[2]

Residence
A bird's eye view of Lawrence in 1858 showed only scattered residential development in Lawrence with the greatest number of buildings near the Kansas River. An area west of Massachusetts Street was fairly well developed, but houses east of Massachusetts were more scattered. Present-day Fourteenth Street was shown as the southern limit of street development. Typically, such promotional views included streets and properties that were proposed as well as those that were actually developed, but the Lawrence example suggested the early spatial differentiation of commercial and residential areas in the settlement.[3]

A dispute over land claims in 1854-55 meant that the area east of Massachusetts Street was a "contested site" associated with pro-slavery squatters. Environmental problems also delayed development in east Lawrence. Early issues of the local Herald of Freedom warned against settling in the edge of the timber near the Kansas River because of resulting sickness (possibly malaria). Contaminated water from shallow wells near the river in east Lawrence also

[1]Andreas, History of the State of Kansas, p. 323; Lawrence Daily Journal "City of Lawrence," special edition (January 1880), p. 2.

[2]Wolfenbarger, "Downtown Historic Building Survey," pp. 17-19.

[3]Deon Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Historic Resources Reconnaissance Survey Report," (Lawrence: City of Lawrence, 1995), p. 6.

transmitted disease.[1] Although these disease patterns were not well understood, early settlers considered the property in the low-lying area of east Lawrence less desirable.

The destruction of Quantrill's raid in 1863 held back residential development for only a short time. A witness to the raid recalled that "nearly one-half of the residences were also burned--almost all those in the central portion of the town. Along the banks of the river, and around the outskirts, most of the houses were left." According to a list compiled on the fiftieth anniversary of the raid in 1913, eleven houses in East Lawrence survived the destruction. Three of those listed remain today, but at least three other standing buildings identified in survey appear to have been constructed prior to 1863 and four other houses were constructed in the 1860s, possibly before the raid. In West Lawrence only five houses constructed during the settlement period remain. Two were Italianate and three were examples of Folk House National style.[2]

Building construction evolved rapidly in early Lawrence from grass thatched huts and log cabins to wood-frame, stone, and brick buildings. Substantial stone, log, and frame buildings required skills, tools, and materials which were in short supply that first winter and for several years afterwards. Log houses, for example, were difficult to build and timber was too scarce. Once sawmills began operation in 1855, wood-frame buildings were the most common structures in early Lawrence. By 1856 brick was produced in small lots. Large quantities were needed for the construction of the four-story Eldridge House Hotel at the corner of 7th and Massachusetts. Although construction began in August, 1857, the hotel was not completed until December, 1858. Some lumber was delivered to Lawrence by steamboat, but low water in 1856, 1857, and 1860 made river travel impossible. Not until April, 1860 did the local newspaper report that, "for the first time in the history of Lawrence we have an abundance of good lumber, and at reasonable prices." By June, 1863 a half dozen sawmills were running at full capacity in the Lawrence vicinity.[3]

---

[1]Cathy Ambler, "Identity Formation in the East Lawrence Neighborhood," unp. paper (December 16, 1991), Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, p. 7, 10-12.

[2]Cordley, Pioneer Days in Kansas (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1903), 230; Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Survey Report," p. 7; David Benjamin and Dennis Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence Report" July 1, 1991, p. 13.

[3]Nimz, "Living With History," pp. 66-68. Quotation cited by Kenneth Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence, 1854-1900" M.A. thesis, University of Kansas (1940), p. 9.

City-building, 1864-1873

Introduction
Rebuilding the town after Quantrill's raid, the completion of a transcontinental railroad branch to Lawrence, and the end of the Civil War contributed to a notable, but short-lived, boom in Lawrence. An influx of settlers increased the town's population to 8,320 in 1870. Most of this increase occurred in the last five years of the decade. After 1873 the town never experienced anything like that growth until 1945.

Construction of the Kansas Pacific and of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston to the east side of Lawrence in 1867 created jobs in construction, associated businesses, and eventually in local manufacturing for immigrants and new residents of Lawrence. Overshadowing the earlier territorial conflict between New Englanders and Missourians, the emigration of new groups of German, Irish, Scandinavian, and African-Americans to Lawrence created a bustling Western city. Population diversity was a significant theme during the city-building period. According to the 1865 state census, only 23 per cent of the population in Lawrence were from New England, 29 per cent were from the North Midland cultural area (Ohio, Illinois, Indiana), 29 per cent were from the Upper South, and 18 per cent were from Europe.[1]

Railroad construction also created a new town north of the river. Geographic separation meant that North Lawrence developed as a distinct community with its own schools, churches, and businesses. North Lawrence was organized after the railroad began operation. A town site of 320 acres was laid out by S.N. Simpson in 1866 and incorporated in 1867. Immediately after the incorporation, "building began in earnest, and many of the buildings constructed during this period still remain standing." An attempt in 1869 to annex the new city to Lawrence failed, but on March 17, 1870 citizens of North Lawrence voted to consolidate. Lawrence voters also approved the consolidation so that North Lawrence comprised Wards Five and Six of the city with the ward boundary on what is now North Sixth Street.[2]

Rapid growth and unfulfilled ambition were themes of this period. Before 1869 both city and county business were transacted at different places in Lawrence. In Quantrill's raid, the county building and most county records were destroyed; county clerk George W. Bell was killed. The

---

[1]Shortridge, Peopling the Plains, p. 24.

[2]North Lawrence Civic Association (NCLA), "Early History of North Lawrence," Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. The quotation is from p. 13; see also p.16.

city purchased lots at the corner of 8th and Vermont in 1865 which were leased to a group of businessmen who planned to build a large city market. After they ran out of money, the city finally completed a large brick "Market House" in 1869. All the county offices, the courtroom, city offices, council chamber, and the city police and fire departments were housed in this downtown building.[1]

The first streetcar line was an unsuccessful venture inspired by the rapid growth of Lawrence. In 1870 the city awarded a franchise for a horse-drawn line from the railroad depot in North Lawrence down Massachusetts Street. Although the franchise never paid expenses, the streetcar line continued to operate until 1879 when it was finally abandoned.[2] In 1869 the Lawrence Gas and Coal Company built a plant to manufacture coal gas for cooking and lighting. Because Lawrence did not develop as hoped, this plant "proved to be larger and more expensive than the town and consumption then warranted, and for some years it was an unprofitable investment for its promoter."[3]

Mud on Massachusetts Street was a problem during the wet years of 1868-69. Late in 1870 a group of property owners petitioned the City Council to pave at least one block of the principal business street. Instead of macadam (paving with crushed rock or gravel), the lot owners decided to use a patented system of wooden blocks. Since this technique failed after only two years, a solution to the paving problem required municipal intervention. From 1875 on, then, the city assumed responsibility for the main street and regularly repaved with macadam until more permanent brick paving was laid down in 1899.[4]

Commerce

Extension of the Kansas Pacific railroad to Lawrence in November, 1864 marked the beginning of a new stage of local history. Under construction at the time of Quantrill's raid, a permanent bridge across the Kansas River was finally completed in December, 1863. When the railroad

---

[1]Andreas, History of State of Kansas, p. 311-312; Dary, Lawrence, An Informal History, p. 170.

[2]James C. Horton, "Two Pioneer Kansas Merchants," Kansas Historical Collections 10 (1907-08), pp. 615-616.

[3]E.F. Caldwell, A Souvenir History of Lawrence, Kansas, 1898 (Lawrence, KS: E.F. Caldwell, 1898), n. p.

[4]Cathy Ambler, "Mastering Mud on Main Street: Paving Technology in the Late Nineteenth Century," Pioneer America Society Transactions 17 (1994), p. 43, 45.

reached North Lawrence, business boomed on both sides of the river. As the Kansas Daily Tribune reported November 27, 1864.

> No man can stand an hour at the Lawrence bridge, and see the immense amount of merchandise constantly passing by teams, without being satisfied that a paying business will soon follow this new route, increasing day by day, until Southern Kansas will do all her business in Lawrence...[1]

At the time of the raid, Lawrence was second in commercial importance only to Leavenworth among Kansas cities, and Lawrence held this position for several years after the raid.[2] The rise of Kansas City to regional dominance, however, was launched with the construction of a key railroad bridge across the Missouri River in 1867. Kansas City became the regional railroad and urban center with a population of more than 32,000 in 1870 and more than 56,000 in 1880.[3]

Since almost all of the extant buildings in the downtown area of Lawrence were constructed after the raid in 1863, the pattern which today distinguishes Lawrence's downtown was implemented by building during this period. A.D. Searle's revised 1855 plan laid out the basic character-defining elements of streets and building lots to maximize the commercial potential of the downtown.[4] At both ends, the linear commercial area had definite boundaries with the Kansas River to the north and South Park to the south. The period of greatest commercial construction activity on Massachusetts Street occurred during the years from 1864 to 1873. In 1994 sixty-two buildings remained on Massachusetts Street that had been built during this city-building period.[5] After the raid, only stone or brick buildings were permitted on Massachusetts Street because of the danger of fire in the close-packed commercial area. Commercial buildings were rebuilt with stone walls and brick and cast iron fronts. Many of these buildings have been remodeled in later years so their present appearance no longer represents the architecture of the nineteenth century. On the south bank of the Kansas River, a number of industrial and manufacturing buildings were constructed. Interest in the water power of the river began during the city-building period, but it was not of practical importance until later in the nineteenth century.

---

[1] Cited in David Dary, Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas: An Informal History Steve Jansen ed. (Lawrence: Allen Books, 1992, p. 129.

[2]Kenneth Middleton, "Manufacturing," p. 19.

[3]I.E. Quastler, Railroads, p. 180.

[4]Wheeler map, "City of Lawrence with its additions," (ca. 1858).

[5]Deon Wolfenbarger, "Lawrence' Downtown Historic Building Survey," (Lawrence: City of Lawrence, 1994), p. 46, 48.

A distinct German-American presence in the Massachusetts Street business district appeared in 1865 and continued to grow until the late nineteenth century. German-owned businesses offered a wide variety of goods and services and increased from fifteen to thirty over a thirty-year period. After 1895 the number of German-owned businesses slowly declined as members of the immigrant generation began to retire and die. By 1915 there were only twenty German-owned businesses on Massachusetts Street.[1]

The settlement pattern north of the river directly reflected rapid growth during the brief city-building period. Commercial and residential districts developed as the first permanent buildings north of the river was constructed and many of the enduring families and social institutions were established. Two small intersecting commercial districts on Bridge (now North 2nd) and Locust Streets were built up at this time with residential districts paralleling the railroad tracks and the Kansas River. Today both historic commercial districts are threatened by redevelopment. North Second Street is becoming a modern commercial corridor like 6th and 23rd Streets. A study of the twelve surviving historic commercial buildings on Locust Street (constructed ca. 1869-1926) concluded that all were threatened by vacancy and neglect.[2] Along with the businesses, North Lawrence consisted of residential neighborhoods, churches, homes, and gardens with the Kansas Pacific repair shops and the Delaware grist and sawmill.

Residences

Throughout the history of Lawrence, the development of platted additions and subdivisions provided an underlying geographical structure for urban growth. At the end of the settlement period, four additions, Babcock's, Lane's First, Oread, and Solomon's were recorded in 1863. The post-war boom required additional subdivisions--fourteen during the citybuilding period: Babcock's Enlarged and Lane's Second Additions (1865), Simpson's and South Lawrence (1866), Earl's Addition (1867), West Lawrence (1869), Cranson's Subdivision (1870), North Lawrence (annexed 1870), Christian's, Lane Place, Northeast Central, Wilson's (1871), Smith's and Taylor's (1872).[3]

---

[1]Rampelmann, "Small Town Germans," p. 75.

[2]Julia Mathias, "The Locust Commercial Corridor: A History of the Four, Five, and Six Hundred Blocks of Locust Street in North Lawrence," unp. paper (December 4, 1996) Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, p. 1,16.

[3]Stan Hernly, "Cultural Influences on Suburban Form: With Examples from Lawrence, Kansas," M. Arch. thesis, University of Kansas (1985), Appendix B, p. 214.

During this period, the first permanent public school buildings were erected in Lawrence. As community landmarks, schools helped define the identity of Lawrence residential neighborhoods. Central was built in 1865. Quincy was built in 1867 and enlarged in 1871. New York School was constructed in 1869, Vermont in 1870, and Pinckney in 1871.[1] Two public schools were constructed in North Lawrence in 1868. They were known as the Fifth and Sixth Ward schools until the names were changed to Lincoln and Woodlawn in 1890. When Lincoln school was replaced in 1916, this new building along with McAllaster and Cordley Schools south of the river were all erected the same year from the same plan.[2] The most important educational institution in Lawrence, however, was the state University of Kansas which held its first classes in the fall of 1866. Identified as a symbol of community pride and distinction from the beginning, the University became a dominant economic institution after the turn of the century. Eventually, residential development was stimulated by the demand for housing near the university.

Examples of landscape architecture such as the city park system and Oak Hill Cemetery expressed significant community values and enhanced the pattern of residential development in Lawrence. In the original Lawrence survey plat of 1854, four large tracts were reserved for parks. Only South Park at the end of the Massachusetts Street commercial area and Clinton Park in the northwest part of the original town remain. Located in the center of historic Lawrence, South Park has been compared to a New England village green. The park was used for communal grazing during the settlement and city-building periods. A city ordinance forbidding this practice was passed in 1884, but not strictly enforced.[3] As the central public space in the developing town, South Park was the site of baseball games, band concerts, and public speeches. In 1912 a citizens' group organized to equip and maintain a playground and placed it in South Park near Quincy School. Besides its significance as a site for community events, the amenity value of South Park was suggested by the fact that properties adjoining the park were valued higher than nearby property of equal size.[4]

During the nineteenth century, the neighborhoods now known as Old West Lawrence and Pinckney were one residential neighborhood. The predominant style of the surviving residences

---

[1]E.F. Caldwell, A Souvenir History of Lawrence, Kansas, 1898 (Lawrence, KS: E.F. Caldwell, 1898), n.p.

[2]"Lincoln School is in 33rd Year," Lawrence Journal-World (November 13, 1948).

[3]Carolyn Berneking, Lawrence Preservation Alliance, "Application for Landmark Designation, Lawrence Register of Historic Places: South Park" (July 18, 1995), pp. 5-6.

[4]Berneking, "Landmark Application," pp. 9-10.

during this period was Folk House National. Other styles represented were Italianate, Queen Anne, Folk Victorian, and Gothic Revival.[1]

Residential neighborhoods of east and North Lawrence were shaped by similar economic, social, and architectural trends that developed after 1863 and differentiated these districts from west and south Lawrence. During the brief period from 1864 to 1873, many modest wood-frame houses were built in east and north Lawrence for workers on the railroad and in associated manufacturing, agricultural processing, and business enterprises. Many of the surviving residences were the gable-front subtype of the National Folk style; other types included gable front-and wings, I-houses, and hall and parlor houses.[2]

By 1869 the supply of native timber for local sawmills was depleted and building materials were transported to Lawrence on the railroads. Stone and brick houses were valued as more durable and fireproof than wood-frame houses. The comparatively low cost of labor and high cost of imported materials made stone masonry construction competitive for about two decades (ca. 1860-80). The use of stone as a building material was most wide-spread during the city-building period in Lawrence history. By 1866 three brick manufacturers were listed in the city directory.[3]

More nineteenth century buildings survive east of Massachusetts than west of the main street. East and North Lawrence were two areas available for rapid development because the land had been less desirable. As an indication, land values recorded in the 1865 tax records were lower for east Lawrence compared with west Lawrence. Of the 94 men holding real estate valued at $1,000 or more, only 23 owned property east of Massachusetts Street.[4] When a bird's eye view of Lawrence was published in 1869, the east side of Massachusetts was more developed than the west. The 1873 Atlas showed many residences on Rhode Island and Connecticut Streets and development extended from the river south to 13th Street. In North Lawrence, flooding was a obvious threat. Therefore, this land was cheaper and largely undeveloped in the early settlement period. By the mid-1870s, North Lawrence had all the physical elements and social institutions of a stable community.

At the end of the Civil War, the city-building period was marked by a strong influx of Germans. Cheaper farmland in Kansas attracted some immigrants, while the growing population and

[1]Benjamin and Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence," p. 15.
[2]Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Survey," p. 11.
[3]Nimz, "Living With History," p. 78.
[4]Ambler, "Identity Formation in the East Lawrence Neighborhood," p. 12.

railroads of Lawrence attracted merchants. Establishment of the University also promised a future of education and culture in the new town. German-Americans were prominent in East Lawrence during the city-building period. From 1860 to 1875, more German families lived east of Massachusetts than west, but a shift beginning in the 1870s resulted in a more balanced distribution so that about the same number of families lived in east and west Lawrence from 1885 to 1915.[1]

During the late nineteenth century, the social centers of the German-American community were located in East Lawrence. The Germania House, established by Henry and Anna Biebusch in 1865 at the northwest corner of 9th and New Hampshire, served new arrivals for thirty years. The Lawrence Turnverein, whose Turnhalle still stands at 9th and Rhode Island, first organized in 1857, lapsed during the Civil War, and flourished during the city-building boom. A large stone Turnhalle was built in 1868 and a frame addition was added in 1872. The Turnverein provided mutual aid, social and cultural activities as well as physical training for German-speakers. Because Lawrence was a relatively small town, many Germans joined the English Lutheran or Methodist churches and other English-language social organizations. The loyalty crisis during World War I led to persecution and the abandonment of key German-American institutions--the newspaper, Die Germania, the Turnverein, and the German Methodist Episcopal Church even ended services in the German language.[2]

African-Americans formed a distinctive population group in Lawrence. As early as 1857, slaves from bordering states passed through Lawrence on the way to freedom in Canada. There were only 627 African-American residents of the territory enumerated in the 1860 census. Beginning in 1861, however, blacks in increasing numbers fled to Lawrence as the Civil War allowed them to escape from slavery in adjoining states. By March, 1862 the Union government declared that contraband slaves belonging to those in rebellion were now free.[3]

Although not strictly segregated, African-Americans were more numerous in East and North Lawrence. For blacks and ethnic groups, the organization and location of churches indicated their presence in residential neighborhoods. Because of discrimination, as Dorothy Pennington concluded, black churches in Lawrence played a major role "in meeting the needs of blacks for

---

[1]Rampelmann, "Small Town Germans," p. 31, 36, 43.

[2]Rampelmann, "Small Town Germans," p. 131, 149, 162.

[3]Richard B. Sheridan, "From Slavery in Missouri to Freedom in Kansas: The Influx of Black Fugitives and Contrabands into Kansas, 1854-1865," Kansas History 12 (1989), p. 31, 39.

status and recognition, exercising leadership, self-esteem, social and spiritual acceptance, and the need for having a sense of territory or space that blacks could call their own."[1] Four churches established in the 1860s were most significant in Lawrence--the St. Luke African Methodist Episcopal church in East Lawrence, the Ninth Street Baptist church west of Massachusetts, the St. James A.M.E. Church and the Baptist Church in North Lawrence

Agriculture and Manufacturing, foundations of stability, 1874-1899

Introduction

City-building in Lawrence ended in the nation-wide financial panic of 1873. An end to the boom and the beginning of a shift to the development of local manufacturing was indicated by the popular sentiment expressed in a Lawrence Tribune editorial March 14, 1873 insisting that if more county bonds were approved, they should encourage manufacturing rather than railroads.[2] By this time, even the most optimistic booster realized that Lawrence was losing the competition with Kansas City for railroad connections, population and economic growth. The long-lasting recession of the 1870s was precipitated on September 18 by the failure of the well-known New York investment firm of Jay Cooke and Company. Two days later, the New York Stock Exchange closed and credit became difficult or impossible to obtain. The impact on Lawrence was catastrophic. During the boom, the city and county had issued a total of $900,000 in bonds to support railroad construction. After 1873 this debt became a crushing tax burden. In 1874 a drought and grasshopper invasion devastated the farms of Douglas County. Residents began to leave for more secure settlements in the East or for possible opportunities in the West. By the time the state census was taken in 1875, Lawrence had lost 1,052 residents. The population of Douglas County declined by 2,087. By 1877, all five banks in Lawrence either failed or reorganized.[3] Because of the continuing recession, the population of Lawrence in 1880 (8,510) was only slightly larger than in 1870.

When completed in 1879, the Lawrence dam provided water power for the Consolidated Barb Wire factory and the Wilder Brothers Shirt Factory. These three surviving structures still represent the late nineteenth-century period of industrial development. From 1874 to 1899 in

---

[1]Dorothy L. Pennington, "The Histories and Cultural Roles of Black Churches in Lawrence, Kansas," unp. Ms (1982), Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, p. 37.

[2]Nimz, "Living With History," p. 81; Editorial cited in Kenneth Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence," p. 32.

[3]Dary, Lawrence, Informal History, p. 186-187.

Lawrence, a pattern of slow population growth and building construction continued in an economy based on agricultural production and manufacturing. After 1880, Lawrence functioned as a market town for agricultural Douglas County in a regional economy dominated by the nearby larger cities of Kansas City and Topeka. There was little in-migration to increase the overall population or that of distinctive groups such as German or African-Americans. The town's population in 1890 was 9,997. The rate of growth was even slower in the 1890s and by 1900, the population was only 10,682. In 1895 the editor of the Lawrence Daily Journal admitted that Lawrence was "a little slow and conservative."[1]

Barbed wire manufacturing became the most important industry in Lawrence when a large new building was completed in August, 1884. In later years, "more of the wire used by Kansas farmers came from the Lawrence plant than from all other sources combined, and the company sent miles of wire to Indian Territory, Colorado, New Mexico, Wyoming, Utah."[2] Despite its success, the company was transferred in a forced sale January, 1899 to the American Steel & Wire Company. When the Lawrence plant was closed March 21, more than two hundred men were thrown out of work. The Topeka Capital referred to the closing as one of the greatest misfortunes that had happened to Kansas.[3] Although the Lawrence dam was unique as a power source in Kansas, manufacturing in Lawrence was fairly typical of local industry in the state and region. As industry consolidated in the late nineteenth century, the dam helped Lawrence retain enterprises that might have moved away or been abandoned.[4]

Except for the administration of limited police and fire protection, the city provided few municipal services in nineteenth century Lawrence. Inadequate water supply and sewage systems resulted in recurring sanitation problems. Gradually, these problems were addressed. The Lawrence Journal April 5, 1888 noted growing interest in "an intelligent and complete storm water sewerage of the whole city." A.L. Selig, elected mayor in 1891, became locally known as the leader who provided Lawrence with "the best system of sewage of any city its size in the west." When individual wells and cisterns proved to be inadequate, a franchised company was organized to distribute water in Lawrence. Although the central water supply system went into operation in 1887, the privately capitalized company struggled to solve the problems of quality

[1]Lawrence Daily Journal January 23, 1895, cited in Quastler, Railroads, p. 343.
[2]Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence," p. 179.
[3]Middleton, "Manufacturing In Lawrence," pp. 189-191.
[4]Middleton, p. 194.

and supply. Water quality and distribution was not really satisfactory until after the system was taken over by the city in 1916.[1]

Electricity was first generated in Lawrence in 1885 at the Pierson and Sons' flour mill. This mill was located near the river at the north end of downtown. Planning began July 13, 1887 when Professor Marvin surveyed the businesses on Massachusetts Street their demand for electrical power. Later in 1888, the Pierson dynamos were acquired by the Lawrence Gas, Fuel, and Electric Company along with another plant installed by the water power company. By August 31, 1888, Lawrence had fifteen electric street lights along its main thoroughfares. Although the University had a few electric lights in 1888, engineering students installed the first lighting system in 1891.[2]

Commerce

Most significant commercial buildings associated with this period survive in the downtown, but others are located in North Lawrence with a few in residential neighborhoods. Most of the commercial buildings on Massachusetts Street had been completed by 1873. Economic recovery from the recession began in late 1877 and continued through 1884. Information from the downtown survey indicated a period of modest prosperity during the 1880s. Commercial construction during this period occurred at the south end of Massachusetts, on New Hampshire, and on the cross streets.[3] Commercial and institutional buildings were usually constructed of brick and stone during this period. Masonry was more durable and fire-resistant. Before the advent of concrete, stone was used in large quantities because it was locally available.

Detached from the Massachusetts Street business district by just two blocks, a group of neighborhood commercial buildings at 14th and Massachusetts included two generations of businesses. Neighborhood businesses were particularly common in east Lawrence, but also were found in the west Lawrence and Oread neighborhoods. This pattern of mixed commercial and residential uses preceded later segregated patterns dictated by automobile routes and zoning. At the end of the century, there was more commercial specialization. In North Lawrence, for

---

[1]Jeffersonian Gazette, Semi-Centennial Edition, 1904, cited in Nimz, "Living with History," (1984), p. 85.

[2]Quotation from Lawrence Tribune July 13, 1887 cited in notes for Section 17, Robert Taft, Across the Years on Mount Oread (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1941), p. 175; Lawrence Daily Journal April 19, 1888. For campus lighting, see Taft, Section 17, p. 34.

[3]Wolfenbarger, "Downtown Survey," p. 49.

example, businesses provided goods and services only to the surrounding immediate neighborhoods and the agricultural hinterland to the north. By that time, clothing, drug, furniture, and hardware stores as well as attorneys and physicians were all concentrated south of the river.[1]

Residences

Platting in Lawrence was dependent on local economic and population trends. The street railway was reorganized in 1884 and extended south to 19th and Massachusetts and down Tennessee to 17th Street. There were connections to Bismarck Grove in North Lawrence and to the Santa Fe Depot in East Lawrence.[2] Years of relative prosperity during the 1880s followed by slower growth in the 1890s were reflected in the dates of the seventeen additions recorded during this period. These included Bew's, Doane's, Sinclair's Subdivision (1881), Frazier's in North Lawrence, Sinclair's Addition, Steel's (1884), Walnut Park in North Lawrence (1885), Moreland Place (1886), Haskell Place, Logan Place, Raymond Place, South-view, University Place (1887), University Place Annex (1888), Rhode Island Street Extension (1891), and finally, Wilder's Addition (1897).[3]

The accumulation of wealth by a few leading residents of Lawrence was displayed in the construction of several large houses on multiple lots in the area of west Lawrence south of Sixth Street. These homes now form the key contributing buildings in the Old West Lawrence National Register Historic District. New architectural styles were introduced during this period and earlier styles continued to be constructed. The predominant style in west Lawrence was Queen Anne while the Folk House National was almost as popular. Several Italianate and Folk Victorian houses were built while there are single surviving examples of the Chateauesque, Stick, Shingle, and Colonial Revival style house.[4]

While a few of the prominent residences in Lawrence were constructed of brick and stone during the late nineteenth century, most residences were wood-frame construction. This was the cheapest material on the market. For example, local builders were served by the construction of

---

[1]Barbara Anderson, "North Lawrence Historic Context Statement," (Lawrence: City of Lawrence, 1996), p. 12.

[2]Carl Thor, "Chronology of Public Transit in Lawrence, Kansas," (May, 1980). Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

[3]Hernly, "Suburban Form," Appendix B, p. 214.

[4]Benjamin and Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence Report," p. 17-18.

a wire-drawing mill and nail mill at the Consolidated Barb Wire factory in 1893.[1] Cheaper wire nails soon replaced cut nails for most purposes after this date. Residential construction also incorporated a wide variety of materials and new services into more elaborate and sophisticated homes. Machine-produced ornamentation, window glass, terra cotta, brick, plaster, and paint were available in more varied and durable forms. "Sanitary" plumbing, forced-air furnaces, gas and electric lighting were innovations which made up a higher percentage of the cost of a home.[2]

Both east and North Lawrence depended on their proximity to the riverfront manufacturing district on the south bank of the river. After inactivity during the late 1870s, more surviving buildings were constructed in east Lawrence during the 1880s than in the 1890s.[3] The same pattern of population stability and slow growth occurred in North Lawrence. Compared to east and North Lawrence, there was much more residential construction during this period in the Oread neighborhood between Massachusetts Street and the University of Kansas campus. The neighborhood developed from the edges inward with early commercial development on Massachusetts and University-related development on Louisiana Street. Reportedly, Oread had residents of "diverse racial makeup" and families of all economic and social classes ranging from laborers and dressmakers to physicians and university professors. Students at the University of Kansas rented rooms in the adjacent neighborhood, although some complained as one did in 1884, "it is a long, cold climb to get to the university, especially hard upon young women." The first campus dormitory was not built until 1923.[4]

Established on the east edge of town in 1865, Oak Hill Cemetery was a significant ceremonial landscape in Lawrence. Although Lawrence did not develop as expected, the new cemetery still "provided a sense of social order and continuity" from the city-building period to the early twentieth century. After the deaths incurred in Quantrill's Raid in 1863, community leaders called for a new cemetery. They were dissatisfied with Oread, the town's first cemetery on the west side of town. Oak Hill Cemetery was beautifully landscaped and maintained to demonstrate a civic pride and cultural sophistication appropriate for the new "city."

---

[1]Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence," p. 180.

[2]Gwendolyn Wright, Moralism and the Model Home (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 89.

[3]Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Survey Report," p. 12.

[4]B. Allison Gray, "The Heart of Oread: Historic Resources of the Oread Neighborhood, Survey Report," (Topeka: Kansas State Historic Preservation Department, 1987), p. 3, 10. Quotation is from p. 4.

> The curving lanes and paths took advantage of the natural rise and fall of the land. The circular drive at the top of the main hill provided a northern panorama of the Kansas River valley. Their arrangement of large lots were planned to emphasize family monuments, and they [the designers] used the natural beauty of the location, along with the trees, shrubs, and flowers that they added, to create the effect they desired.[1]

As residential neighborhoods expanded, other public spaces and landscapes such as Bismarck Grove and Haskell Institute were developed during the late nineteenth century. Bismarck Grove was a tract in the countryside originally associated with the Kansas Pacific repair shops on the east side of North Lawrence. The grove became a popular community gathering place and hosted such formal meetings as the Odd Fellows Lodge convention in 1876, a National Temperance convention in 1878, and regional fairs held by the Western National Fair Association from 1880 to 1888. Because of low farm prices in the 1890s and management problems, the fairs were discontinued. Eventually, the grounds were sold in 1900 to a private owner, Captain W.S. Tough, for use as a supply station for his horse and mule market in Kansas City.[2]

Just beyond the southern city limits of Lawrence, Haskell Institute, a national Indian Training School, was opened September 1, 1884. This boarding school had 280 students by January, 1885. Three fine stone buildings were erected in the late 1880s. Because the school was intended to be self-supporting and to train Native American youth in agriculture, the property included cropland and pastures. The campus setting in a pastoral landscape has persisted to the present.[3]

A Quiet University Town, 1900-45

Introduction

By the turn of the century, Lawrence had matured; its commercial and industrial interests had stabilized. In 1910 a promotional issue of the Lawrence Daily Journal boasted that the town was

---

[1]Cathy Ambler, "A Place Not Entirely of Sadness and Gloom: Oak Hill Cemetery and the Rural Cemetery Movement," Kansas History 15:4 (Winter 1992-93), p. 243, 253.

[2]Dary, Lawrence: An Informal History, pp. 207-208; Jimmie L. Lewis, "Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, Kansas, 1878-1900" M.A. thesis University of Kansas (1968), p. 134.

[3]Thelma Haverty, Buildings on the Haskell Campus: Past & Present (Lawrence, KS: Haskell Press, 1975), p. 3.

"the trading metropolis for a rich and populous agricultural county."[1] During this period, there was a trend toward centralization of some types of businesses in the downtown, although small neighborhood businesses also proliferated. The town lost many of its most important manufacturing establishments by the turn of the century. When manufacturing in Lawrence was assessed in 1940, four of the surviving plants were dependent on agricultural products (flour and feed milling, vegetable canning, vinegar and dairy products).[2] During this period, the town's population grew at a slow gradual rate. There were 12,374 Lawrence residents in 1910, only 12,456 in 1920, 13,726 in 1930, and 14,390 residents in 1940. While Lawrence did not lose population, the town's rate of growth was much slower than the larger urban centers of Kansas City and Topeka.

Early in the twentieth century, city leaders made some long overdue improvements in the urban infrastructure. Local publisher E.F. Caldwell boasted in 1898 that, "a complete system of water works has been put in, uniform street grades have been established, a number of streets have been macadamized, a great mileage of curbing and guttering, and stone and brick sidewalks laid." Despite Caldwell's praise, macadam or gravel paving had never been satisfactory. During the 1890s there was simultaneous agitation for paving the streets and for building up a fund for an electric trolley transportation service. Paved streets were necessary for efficient trolley operation and brick was the preferred paving material if it could be obtained locally. After the city made a commitment to pave Massachusetts Street in the summer of 1899, the McFarlane brick plant in Lawrence was expanded to provide durable paving brick. John and Ben McFarlane, along with other prominent Lawrence citizens, became directors of the Lawrence Vitrified Brick and Tile Company which operated into the 1920s.[3]

Improvements in public facilities were matched by development in the transportation system. Beginning first with the downtown commercial area, the system encouraged the development of outlying residential neighborhoods. After the great 1903 flood, the horsecar street railway ended its operations. Six years later, the Lawrence Light and Railway Company organized to build an electric trolley system for Lawrence. Besides the main route from the Union Pacific depot to the southern end of Massachusetts Street and branches on Indiana Street and Mississippi to Kansas University, a line was extended in 1910 to Woodlawn Park in East Lawrence. Later, an electric

---

[1]Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence," p. 109; quotation from "Live Lawrence," November, 1910, p. 1..

[2]Ibid., p. 194, 197.

[3]E.F. Caldwell, Souvenir History (1898), n.p.; Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence," p. 165. 167.

interurban railway, the Kansas City, Kaw Valley, and Western, was built in 1916. This line ran from the depot in North Lawrence along the north side of the river to Kansas City. The streetcar system in Lawrence reached its maximum extent during the years from 1922 to 1927. After that the company gradually replaced trolleys with buses. In 1935 passenger service on the Kansas City interurban was discontinued.[1]

In 1909, when Lawrence had about one hundred automobiles, the owners formed an auto club. Later in the late 1920s and 1930s, growing use of the automobile stimulated the dispersal of services along traffic corridors. This urban development remains to be studied. By the end of 1927, Lawrence was connected by two paved roads to Topeka and one to St. Joseph, Missouri. Along with the proliferation of automobiles during this period, the opening of a municipal airport in 1929 also represented another new transportation trend.[2] Popular use of the automobile was reflected in the development of auto service garages and dealerships which were constructed on the edges of downtown, particularly in the 600 block of Massachusetts and on New Hampshire Street.[3] With the decline of manufacturing in the north end of downtown, the most important businesses during the twentieth century were agricultural services and auto-related businesses. The Reuter Organ Company which relocated to Lawrence in 1920 was an exception.

In 1921 the Kansas legislature passed the first state zoning enabling act which authorized cities over 20,000 to zone. As a smaller town, Lawrence also wanted zoning authority and by 1927 the state law was revised to allow towns of all sizes to zone.[4] During this period, public concern about the commercial development along Ninth Street and adjacent to the University of Kansas led to the appointment of the Lawrence Planning Commission in 1925 and the institution of the first city zoning ordinance in June, 1926. Community leaders responded to "a general alarm that Kansas University would be completely surrounded by 'business houses' unless some sort of regulations were adopted."[5] By 1930 the first Lawrence city plan pointed out that,

> the city has spread from the original site to the hills on the west beyond the promontory on which the University is located on the south, and to the tributary on the east, with

---

[1]Carl Thor, "Chronology of Public Transit in Lawrence, Kansas," (May 1980), p. 1.

[2]Dary, Lawrence: An Informal History, p. 263, 326.

[3]Wolfenbarger, "Downtown Survey," pp. 50-51.

[4]Hernly, "Suburban Form," p. 133.

[5]Bartholomew and Associates, "Comprehensive Plan: Lawrence, Kansas" vol. 1 (St. Louis: Bartholomew and Associates, 1963), p. 40-41.

some population beyond the valley outside the corporate limits. It has also covered a portion of the flat land to the north of the Kaw River.[1]

By 1930 the population of Lawrence (13,708) was distributed 15% north of the river, 35% north of 12th Street west of Massachusetts, 17% north of 12th, east of Massachusetts, 17% south of 12th, east of Massachusetts, and 16% south of 12th, west of Massachusetts Street. Planners recommended construction of a major thoroughfare system to provide for "the increasing demands of present day automobile traffic" but this was not implemented. They also noted that there was "no direct or convenient approach to the University of Kansas from the growing district on the south side." Following a recommendation in this plan, a street was later opened along the southern route of the street car line.[2] This new access to the University facilitated the development of University Place and other residential additions south of campus.

Like other Kansas communities, Lawrence was profoundly affected by the Depression beginning in 1929. There was virtually no building for years except for those projects financed by the state and federal government. In the 1930s, federal assistance was used to improve the municipal water system, enlarge the library, improve parks, and to pave streets.[3] Between 1933 and 1937, the Public Works Administration initiated twelve projects in Lawrence and Douglas County. Enrollment dropped at the University of Kansas in the early 1930s, and faculty salaries were cut, but enrollment later increased and by 1939 the Lawrence Journal-World pointed out the importance of the University as "one of the city's major industries."[4]

Commerce

The first two decades of the twentieth century were years of relative prosperity and growth manifested in the public buildings that were constructed. In downtown Lawrence, the Douglas County Courthouse, the old Public Library (1904), and the old Post Office (1912) are surviving landmarks from these years. Of the surviving downtown buildings dating from this period, almost twice as many were constructed during the years from 1900 to 1920 as during the next twenty-five years. These different phases of commercial development were based first on a stable local economy and gradual population growth followed by the nation-wide Depression of the 1930s.

---

[1]A City Plan for Lawrence, Kansas: Report of the City Planning Commission (Kansas City, MO: Hare and Hare, 1930), p. 6.

[2]City Plan (1930), p. 10, 18, 38.

[3]Nimz, "Living With History," p. 95.

[4]Dary, Lawrence An Informal History, pp. 331-334.

During the early twentieth century, many storefronts, especially those constructed in the citybuilding period after 1863, were remodeled to give a more modern, up-to-date appearance.[1] While the two-part commercial block was still the most important form, the majority of surviving one-part commercial block buildings in the downtown were constructed after the turn of the century.[2] In addition to brick for paving, durable pressed and gas-fired brick was widely available for building construction during the early twentieth century. Concrete, a new material, gradually replaced stone for foundations. Concrete and steel-framed commercial buildings appeared in Lawrence at this time.

Within the central business district during the years from 1900 to 1915, there were three clusters of black businesses that increasingly served a mostly black clientele. Businesses operated by African-Americans were located in the 600 block of Massachusetts Street, on 9th Street between Vermont and New Hampshire, and the 800 block of Vermont. There was a high turnover in black businesses because of their lack of capital. Businesses offered limited opportunity because of the declining black population in Lawrence; entrepreneurs could not succeed with black patronage alone.[3]

Residences

As the Lawrence Daily Journal boasted in 1910, "Lawrence is conceded on all hands to be the most beautiful residence city in Kansas. Its homes present a uniformity in good architecture, a tasteful construction and in delightful surroundings." Few of these homes were for rent, "most of them having been built to be occupied by the owners, which means good construction and well-kept grounds."[4] Many smaller houses were replaced by larger residences in the Oread neighborhood.[5] In the late nineteenth century, younger and more prosperous residents tended to move to the residential districts developing in west and south Lawrence. The development of new residential districts south of 15th Street was a significant trend during this period.

As the 1922 School Survey reported,

---

[1]Wolfenbarger, "Downtown Survey," p. 50.

[2]Wolfenbarger, "Downtown Survey," p. 18.

[3]Zavelo, "Black Entrepreneurs in Lawrence, Kansas, 1900-1915, " (1975), pp. 30-31, 36, 46.

[4]Lawrence Daily Journal, "Live Lawrence," (November, 1910), p. 1.

[5]Gray, "Heart of Oread Survey Report," p. 10. Early in this period, east-west streets in Lawrence were given numbers instead of names. See Lawrence city ordinance #973, "Renaming certain streets in Lawrence, Kansas," (December 13, 1913).

> the desirable vacant lots available for future residences are for the most part west of Illinois street and north of the University, and in the territory south of the vicinity of 15th Street... It is an interesting fact that Lawrence is only about 50% occupied. Not more than one-half of all the lots in the city are occupied.[1]

The densely-settled area of the city was a zone three blocks wide on either side of Massachusetts extending south to the vicinity of 19th Street. Satisfactory elementary schools in Lawrence included Cordley (1914) and New York (1868). The report recommended condemnation of Quincy and McAllaster schools constructed in 1868. Since the part of town north of the river was sparsely settled, the report recommended that Woodlawn School (1867) should be abandoned, Lincoln School (1914) expanded and the two districts combined.[2]

During this period building continued in west Lawrence and Oread. Residences were constructed in the earlier Folk House National and Queen Anne styles, but the largest number of new houses represented the twentieth-century revival and American movement styles such as the Prairie, Craftsman, Colonial and Tudor Revival styles.[3] During the university town period, brick for residential construction was widely available and relatively inexpensive in the first two decades. Concrete replaced stone for residential foundations. Blocks cast in imitation of stone were an innovation. There are a few examples in Lawrence of houses built entirely of these blocks. In the 1920s, stucco was introduced as an alternative exterior material.

Prospects in east Lawrence were hurt by removal of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad bridge located northeast of the neighborhood. In December, 1893 repair work began on the bridge, but it was in such bad condition that train traffic was suspended. Eventually, the crossing was abandoned and the tracks were torn out in February, 1895. Removal of the tracks hurt the east Lawrence businesses that had grown up near the railroad. Another blow to economic vitality and residential values was the closing of the Barb Wire manufacturing plant in March, 1899. The loss of jobs in the manufacturing enterprises located on the Kansas River also contributed to the neighborhood's decline.

---

[1]School Survey of Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1922), p. 56.

[2]School Survey (1922), p. 66, 68, 70-71.

[3]Benjamin and Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence," p. 20; Gray, "Heart of Oread Survey," pp. 29-30.

By this time, east Lawrence was associated with vice and crime. As described by Lizzie Goodnight in 1903, "on the east side of Massachusetts Street in the seven and eight hundred blocks of Pennsylvania and Delaware Streets is a district known as the East Bottoms."[1] The "bottoms" were associated with illegal liquor sales, gambling, and sub-standard housing. By 1917 social scientists F.W. Blackmar and E.W. Burgess extended the image to the whole neighborhood in commenting that, "unfortunately, Lawrence has its 'bottoms,' with all their geographical, economic, moral significance."[2]

In 1917 the fourth ward including the north part of east Lawrence had the highest proportion of foreign-born residents, rented houses, and mortgaged homes in Lawrence. New residential construction continued in the south part of the neighborhood with few new homes constructed in the older part to the north. Because of the neighborhood's maturity and the effects of the Depression in the 1930s, there was little construction during the years from 1930 to 1945. After the turn of the century, there was greater variety in the types of houses constructed in east Lawrence. National Folk and Victorian style houses were built, but pattern or plan-book houses increased in number after the first decade. By the 1920s, bungalows and foursquares comprised more than half of the extant houses in east Lawrence.[3]

Downtown businesses, west, and south Lawrence benefitted from the growth and increasing importance of the University of Kansas beginning in the early twentieth century, but east and North Lawrence did not. North Lawrence was damaged by the two "great floods" of 1903 and 1951 as well as several lesser floods. When the Kansas River inundated North Lawrence in 1903, residents fled across the bridge south into Lawrence and after the bridge was washed away, most were evacuated by small boats. On June 1, "the Kaw River was ten miles wide just east of Lawrence." Part of the original North Lawrence town site was lost to the river in that flood. The riverfront was unappreciated as a notable landscape feature. Instead, Lawrence was geographically and socially separated by the river. According to the Lawrence Social Survey published in 1917, the floods of 1903, 1904, and 1908 intensified the "social and economic chasm between the two sections of the community.[4]

---

[1]I.E. Quastler, Railroads of Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1979), p. 344, 347; Lizzie E. Goodnight, "Negroes of Lawrence," M.A. thesis University of Kansas (1903), p. 10.

[2]F.W. Blackmar and E.W. Burgess, Lawrence Social Survey (Topeka, KS: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1917), p. 8.

[3]Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Survey," p. 13, 15.

[4]Blackmar and Burgess, Lawrence Social Survey, p. 8.

In the University Town period, Lawrence was a mature community with social and residential stratification by occupation. At the time Wards 1 and 2 were located west of Massachusetts Street, Wards 3 and 4 in East Lawrence, and Wards 5 and 6 in North Lawrence. Blackmar and Burgess pointed out,

> The second ward has by far the largest proportion of the professional group. The first ward leads in number both of business men and of employees. The third and fourth wards possess the largest proportion of men in the skilled trades. The proportion of unskilled laborers rises to one-third of the men in the fourth ward and to over one-half of the men in North Lawrence, while in the second ward the ratio falls to 1 in 10.[1]

In the early twentieth century, African-Americans in Lawrence were not strictly segregated, but their residences were dispersed in clusters throughout the town. Most men were laborers, teamsters, and janitors. Most families lived in rented sub-standard houses. Racial separation, however, was instituted in churches, schools, and places of recreation.[2]

A leader in this trend toward southern and western residential development was C.B. Hosford, who began developing real estate in 1906 and incorporated his investment and mortgage company in 1910. Later, the Lawrence Journal World concluded that, "one of the principal contributions to the city has been the residential development carried on by this firm. Eight additions and sub-divisions have been developed and placed on the market by them."[3] At the southern end of Massachusetts Street and the streetcar line where the main street intersected with 23rd, Charles E. Sutton developed Breezedale Addition.[4] On the site of the Poehler estate, Elmhurst, Sutton built five homes with similar architectural character between 1906 and 1913. This was the first attempt in Lawrence to create an identifiable suburban neighborhood.[5]However, the addition situated far from the center of Lawrence near the pastoral landscape of Haskell Institute grew slowly over the next three decades. At the terminus of the

---

[1]Ibid., p. 29.

[2]Goodnight, "Negroes of Lawrence," p. 6, 14; Donald B. Zavelo, "Black Entrepreneurs in Lawrence, Kansas, 1900-1915," B.A. honors thesis (1975), pp. 3-4, 9, 11.

[3]Lawrence Journal World October 10-11, 1929, p. 8.

[4]Lawrence: Yesterday and Today (Lawrence, KS: Lawrence Daily Journal-World, 1913), p. 41.

[5]Hernly, "Suburban Form," p. 112.

east streetcar route in far east Lawrence, Fairfax and Belmont Additions were platted at the intersection of 13th and Prairie Streets.[1]

South of the University, University Place was platted in 1887 when a streetcar route was proposed on Louisiana and Illinois, 17th and 18th, but the addition was not actually developed until after 1910. E.W. Sellards promoted University Place in 1914 as a neighborhood offering a "beautiful view, fresh air, near the University--an Ideal spot for a home." The oldest extant residence in the neighborhood is the Italianate Benjamin Akers residence constructed in 1874. Another notable landmark is "The Outlook" built by banker J.B. Watkins in 1913. This Neoclassical mansion is now the University Chancellor's residence. Several other houses in the Craftsman and Colonial Revival styles constructed from ca. 1910 to the 1930s were the homes of University professors.[2]

In the chronological development of residential subdivisions in Lawrence, there was a pause between the prosperous early decades and modest growth during the 1920s and 1930s. There were twenty-nine additions and subdivisions recorded between 1901 and 1919, primarily in the south part of Lawrence. Only seven new plats were recorded after 1920--the first in 1925 and the last two in 1938. These included some of the first residential developments adjacent to the University to the west and the first to break out of the western grid pattern. Given Court platted in 1926 had the first loops and curving roads. Westhills Number 1(1931) had the earliest winding roads with lots that were not strictly oriented to the four cardinal directions. Colonial Court (1935) had the first true cul-de-sac in the city's residential development.[3]

Although the first plan for the original University campus was presented by Professor F.O. Marvin in 1897, the 1904 George Kessler plan for long-range campus development was even more significant. Kessler proposed to organize future building around a huge central administration building. This focal point was eventually realized in the construction of Strong Hall. Kessler also projected the development of "Dormitories or Other Buildings," "Club Houses," and "Homes of Faculty" on the west ridge of Mount Oread.[4] In this respect, the Kessler

---

[1]Hernly, "Suburban Form," p. 100.

[2]Advertisement in Lawrence Daily Journal World May 16, 1914. Cited in "University Place Homes Tour," brochure (1992). Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

[3]Hernly, Appendix B, p. 215.

[4]Marvin's plan was discussed in the University Weekly November 13, 1897. A view of the Kessler plan was reproduced in Robert Taft, Across the Years on Mount

plan foreshadowed the eventual development of both University-related facilities and significant residential districts west of the campus. Individual professors in the School of Engineering and the Department of Architecture influenced campus planning and the construction of residential districts west of campus.

With an innovative curvilinear street pattern and irregular building orientation, the development of University Heights west of the campus demonstrated modern trends in suburban design and residential styles. In 1909 Ralph W. Cone, a sociology professor, subdivided the northern 8.7 acres of a 24-acre farm tract. Cone instituted protective covenants regarding location, use, occupancy, and minimum cost of residences that were enforced by an association of lot owners. The first house, a Prairie style, was constructed in 1910 at 1505 Crescent Drive for George and Martha Hood. Hood was a professor of engineering. Two other houses were completed in 1911 and then none until 1924. A landmark from that year was a Tudor style house for Goldwin Goldsmith, the director of the Department of Architecture.[1] The subdivision was replatted in 1928 and the main street was renamed Crescent Road. University Heights was not annexed into the city of Lawrence until 1947.[2]

The first paved road between Lawrence and Topeka was completed by August 22, 1922. West Lawrence was divided by street improvements for automobile traffic. In 1944 a plan to make 6th Street a through route for east-west traffic on Highway 40 was proposed to reduce congestion at 7th and Massachusetts. Although the PTA and Board of Education opposed this routing in front of Pinckney Elementary School, the state highway commission eventually authorized the relocation in 1950. To solve the traffic hazard, the commission agreed to construct a pedestrian underpass with ramps opposite Pinckney School.[3] Construction of this trafficway divided the Pinckney neighborhood from what is now known as Old West Lawrence. North Lawrence was affected by the paving of the intersections of highways 10, 73W, and U.S. Highway 40 just north of the city limits. This improved the connection between the road leading out of Lawrence and the main road linking Kansas City and Topeka.[4]

Oread (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1941), pp. 164-165, notes pp. 188-189.

[1]Elaine Warren, "University Heights Part Two, 1906 to 1996," unp. paper Architecture 600 (May 13, 1996). Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, pp. 1-7

[2]Warren, "University Heights Part Two," pp. 15-16, 25.

[3]Lawrence Journal World, May 22, 1944; November 7, 1944; September 4, 1950.

[4]Lawrence Journal-World January 14, 1930.

Centennial City, 1946-54

Introduction

The outbreak of World War II and its consequences made a dramatic change in the city's fortune. Sunflower Ordinance Plant, which opened in nearby Johnson County in May, 1942, brought three thousand new workers to the area. Most of them were housed in Lawrence. After the war ended, the crowd of veterans returning to finish their education at the University of Kansas launched the modern era in local history.[1] Population growth and economic development characterized the post World War II period in local history. In the decade from 1940 to 1950, the population grew by more than 26 percent from 14,390 to 18,638 residents.

New industrial enterprises were established and remarkable growth of the University initiated a modern boom. To compensate for the inaction of the Depression and war years, a Civic Action Committee organized in 1945 promoted the "Lawrence Victory Plan" for community improvements. The plan provided for seventeen projects including new fronts on downtown business buildings, an improved airport, additional city parks, city water improvements, and an effort to attract more visitors.[2] As the Lawrence Journal-World reported August 19, 1948, "the city of Lawrence is having its face lifted." On Massachusetts Street, some storefronts were "completely torn down and modern structures put in their place." The value of construction was expected to surpass $1,000,000 by the year's end.[3] Fifteen extant commercial buildings, for example, were constructed in the downtown during the years from 1945 to 1954. In 1949 the city's original zoning ordinance was revised. This instituted segregated uses and rezoned portions of the older residential districts which discouraged investment in the city core.

After World War II, commercial development of North Lawrence was stimulated by the development of the Kansas Turnpike between Kansas City and Oklahoma. A route was chosen for the high-speed toll road roughly paralleling U.S. Highway 40 on the north side of the Kansas River because it linked the capital city of Topeka and gave the most convenient access to the business centers of the two Kansas Cities. The completed turnpike just north of the Lawrence city limits was opened to motorists October 21, 1956.[4]

---

[1]Nimz, "Living with History," p. 95.
[2]Dary, Lawrence: Informal History, p. pp. 343-344.
[3]Nimz, Living with History, p. 95.
[4]Sherry Schirmer and Theodore Wilson, Milestones: A History of the Kansas Highway Commission and the Department of Transportation (Topeka, Kansas: Department of Transportation, 1986), pp. 22-23, 26.

The separation and economic stagnation of North and East Lawrence continued in the post-war years despite the construction of new industrial enterprises. In 1949 East Lawrence was rezoned to allow multi-family and commercial uses. With improved transportation, the existing neighborhood groceries, churches and other institutions declined in importance. Residents of North Lawrence also shared relatively less of the prosperity during the wartime boom of 1942-45.

In 1951 the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce boasted that the city's population had grown more than 60% since 1940. From 1949 to 1951, the industrial payroll increased 40%. A Chamber brochure promoted Lawrence as a site for plant relocation because the government had recommended that "industry move inland from heavily industrialized coastal areas." Lawrence offered a mid-America location, building sites on main-line transportation, proximity to markets, and "a ready pool of skilled craftsmen and dependable labor."[1] A Westvaco sodium phosphate plant and Cooperative Farm Chemicals nitrogen fertilizer plant were opened in 1950 and 1951 east of Lawrence. On the east edge of North Lawrence, a FMC Phosphorous Chemicals plan was built in 1951. The Lawrence canning plant on the east border of East Lawrence was operated by Stokely Foods. During the Korean War, the Sunflower Ordinance plant in western Johnson County was reactivated to produce munitions.

Nearly two thousand new industrial jobs were created in the 1960s. By the 1970s the neighborhood was noted for its blighted condition.[2] Beginning in the 1970s, investment and population in North Lawrence began to grow. Construction of a new divided bridge with a modern city hall nearby on the south bank of the river finally ended North Lawrence's isolation. Since then the developed area of the city north of the Kansas River has continued to expand.

---

[1]Chamber of Commerce, "Look to Lawrence, Kansas," (Lawrence, KS: Lawrence Daily Journal-World, 1951). Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

[2]Wolfenbarger, "East Lawrence Survey Report," pp. 15-16.

Residences

After 1945 suburban planning changed dramatically so that subdivisions were laid out with long blocks, curved street, T-intersections, and cul-de-sacs rather than through streets on a grid. The Housing Act of 1949 stimulated investment in large housing developments. A prominent example in Lawrence was Park Hill, a new addition with 100 homes located southwest of the intersection of 23rd and Vermont Streets.[1] On October 3, 1949, city leaders proposed the annexation of West Hills, Belmont, and Fairfax Additions in order to reach the population of 15,000 necessary for designation as a city of the first class.[2]

When the community organized to celebrate the 1954 centennial, Lawrence was experiencing a time of accelerating growth and change. In a pageant loosely based on local history, ten of the seventeen scenes portrayed events in the years leading up to Quantrill's raid with only general sketches of history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Manufacturing and agriculture, for example, were not recognized as significant activities in the city's past. Looking forward to an utopian future instead of the past, the organizers portrayed their present as "The Atomic Age."[3]

---

[1]Hernly, "Suburban Form," (1985), p. 144, 149-150, 159.

[2]Lawrence Journal World October 3, 1949.

[3]Lawrence Centennial Corporation, "Trails West" manuscript (September 23-28, 1954), Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

This outline of National Register context statements is based on current knowledge and is subject to revision.

Appendix

Potential contexts related to architecture

John G. Haskell, architect

As a pioneer settler of Kansas Territory, John G. Haskell first opened an architect's office in Lawrence in 1857 and he was actively engaged in a building project at the time of his death in 1907. His work was a unique contribution to the historic architectural contexts of the settlement, city-building, and manufacturing periods. During his most productive period from 1865 to 1885, Haskell was the leading architect in Kansas. He was a versatile and practical designer, an eclectic in his choice of architectural styles who was able to design a building "in the style which best fitted the needs and wishes of his client, the site, the proposed material, and other pertinent factors." Besides his significance in the state as a designer of major public and institutional buildings, John G. Haskell also influenced younger architects such as Louis M. Wood, John F. Stanton, and George P. Washburn.'[1]

Although probably not the original designer, Haskell was involved in the construction of the Eldridge House Hotel in 1857-1858. Later in 1858, he designed the front of the Miller and Elliott commercial block on the south half of Lot 35 on Massachusetts Street. A second unit of the building was constructed in 1860 and the block was one of two commercial buildings to survive the destruction of Quantrill's raid. Haskell's original facade has been changed and the structure is now known as the House Building. Also during the city-building period, Haskell designed the Congregational Church dedicated May 20, 1870 as well as the English Lutheran and United Presbyterian churches.[2]

Haskell was appointed architect of the Kansas State House in 1866. This position supported the construction of a family home on the far east edge of Lawrence. The Haskell residence was completed by 1868 (remodeled in 1892). By 1870 the related Dudley Haskell and Charles French families also were living in their separate houses in a row next to the J.G. Haskell residence.

Although Haskell presumably directed the construction of these residences, he was not known for designing houses. His daughter said that he preferred to design public buildings rather than residences. In addition to the State House and other public buildings, schools and University buildings, and churches, John G. Haskell was

---

[1] John M. Peterson, John G. Haskell: Pioneer Kansas Architect (Topeka, KS: H.M. Ives & Sons, 1984. Distributed by Douglas County Historical Society), x-xi.

[2]Peterson, John G. Haskell, for the Eldridge House, see p. 9; Miller block, p. 14; Congregational Church, p. 48-49; Lutheran and Presbyterian churches, p. *59.*

associated with Frederick C. Gunn in the design and construction of the Douglas County Courthouse in 1902-1904. This building served as the twentieth-century anchor of the downtown. Haskell also designed at least two landmark residences--the J. N. Roberts residence (1893-94) and the Roscoe Stubbs residence (1906-07).[1]

William A. Griffith, designer

Besides John G. Haskell, whose remarkable career spanned the years from settlement until after the turn of the century, other figures were associated with architecture and building in later years. A professor of painting and drawing at the University of Kansas, William A. Griffith, designed houses for friends during the years from about 1901 to 1918. Several were constructed in the Oread and west Lawrence neighborhoods. Many of Griffith's designs were produced for university colleagues or fellow members of the local Masonic Lodge #6, A.F.& A.M.[2]

JohnT. and John L. Constant, contractors

Father and son, John T. and John L. Constant, were significant building contractors over an extended period in Lawrence history. Their work included both institutional, commercial and residential buildings. John T. Constant settled in Lawrence in 1880 and worked as a carpenter. Constant established his own woodworking factory in 1901. By 1903 he had "won distinction and a large patronage by executing all work in a high class and artistic manner, having erected some of the finest residential buildings in this city." The Constant Construction Company built the old Bowersock Opera House, the Roscoe Stubbs residence, and the Masonic Temple. After John T. Constant died, John L. (Tommy) Constant continued the company until 1973.[3]

---

[1] Peterson, John G. Haskell pp. 39-40, 77, Courthouse, pp. 222-223; Roberts residence, p. 248; Stubbs residence, pp. 226-227.

[2] Benjamin and Enslinger, p. 26.

[3] Benjamin and Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence," quotation from "Ten Years of Progress in Lawrence," Lawrence Daily World (1903), pp. 36-38. Other architects and carpenters are listed on pp. 24-39.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CONTINUATION SHEET

I. Name of Property Type: *Residences*

Residences, as the name implies, are the domestic buildings of Lawrence citizens. Because of Lawrence's early history as a free-state stronghold, its designation as the county seat, its importance as a commercial and small industrial center in eastern central Kansas, and its location as the site of the University of Kansas, the city was home to a variety of individuals from many walks of life. Also, this property type is associated with all periods of Lawrence's development, covering a span of nearly 140 years. Thus the residential buildings of Lawrence's citizens include a wide variety of types and styles of dwellings, reflecting the socio-economic status of their owners as well as their period of construction. For the purposes of the multiple property nomination, these residences have been classified into four main subtypes; *Late Victorian Residences, National Folk Residences, "Comfortable" Houses,* and *20th Century Revival & American Movement Houses.* All of the properties pictured in this section are located in Lawrence, Kansas.

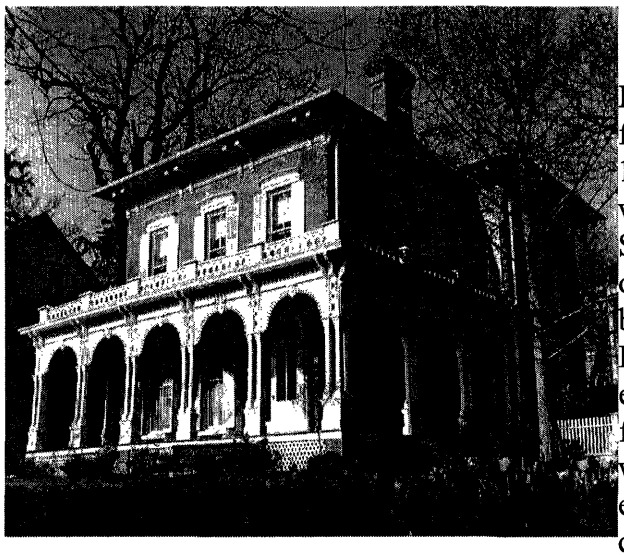
Late Victorian Residences

These buildings reflect the range of styles popular during the late nineteenth century in American residential architecture. They are primarily high-style houses, and were often designed by skilled professionals who showed an understanding of prevailing architectural styles and basic design principals. Some of the designs may have appeared in pattern books, but nonetheless represented a more formal approach to the application of ornamentation and details. Others were designed by architects or local builders.

Some of the earliest examples of this subtype were constructed either outside of the city limits, or in portions of Lawrence which were still rural in character. Thus, the original lots or parcels of land associated with the residences were typically quite large. Over the years, however, annexation by the city and subdivision of the original lots into smaller surrounding lots has reduced the size of many of the properties. Most of the houses retain their original set-back (which was some distance from the street) and large front yards. Most contain driveways to the side of the house, leading to auxiliary buildings in the rear, some of which are historic and contribute to the historic character of the property.

Later examples, particularly from the Queen Anne style, were constructed in neighborhoods which were popular with the "well-to-do" set in Lawrence. The "Old West Lawrence" local historic district contains a high number of examples of this property type. In these instances, the tracts are larger than those in the working class neighborhoods, but are relatively small in comparison to the grounds of some of the older residences.

Italianate



The Italianate style of domestic architecture was popular in this country from 1850 through 1880. In Lawrence, Italianate Residences were constructed from just before the start of the Civil War to the late 1880's. Italianate style residences are found in both working class and merchant class neighborhoods. Some of the best examples are found on larger tracts of land which were located just outside the City boundaries. As is true of the vast majority of Italianate Residences in America, all of Lawrence's examples are two-stories high. A distinguishing feature is the low-pitched, multiple roofline with wide overhanging eaves. Set beneath the projecting eaves are decorative brackets, emphasizing the cornice line as a principal area of elaboration. Windows and porches are another area of emphasis.

The Italianate style is often divided into two distinct phases: formal Renaissance Revival and the informal Italian Villa. Examples in Lawrence generally follow the Andrew Jackson Downing "Picturesque" model of the informal Italian Villa with a wide variation in decorative details. In Lawrence, design features from this architectural style were sometimes applied to traditional plans, such as a gable-front-and-wing house, which in turn were made irregular in plan with the addition of wings and bays. Corresponding with the irregular plan are multiple rooflines - either gable, hipped, or both - all of shallow pitch. Common form types are low-pitch hipped simple square plan, asymmetrical (L-shaped) plans without a tower and asymmetrical L-shaped with a tower. Construction materials in Lawrence range from masonry brick units to wood frame construction. The majority of Italianate structures are constructed of wood frame. The widely overhanging eaves are all supported by brackets, and in a few cases, knee braces. A wide cornice band under the eaves provides an additional area for elaboration, with many representatives having classically inspired dentils located there. The windows are another area of elaboration on the Italianate Residences in Lawrence. The windows are typically tall and narrow, and are located either singly or in pairs. Arched and curved tops are found, as are the more typical rectangular top. The window enframements vary, but are generally fairly elaborate on the primary facades.

Second Empire

Part of the Picturesque movement, Second Empire residences are distinguished by a mansard roof with dormer windows located on the steep lower slope. The style takes its name from France's Second Empire period which used the mansard roof developed by Francois Mansart. The edges of the dual-pitched roof generally feature molded cornices, and decorative brackets are beneath the eaves. Many of Lawrence's most elaborate examples also have a rectangular or square tower, with also has a mansard roof. Windows are typically tall and narrow, and are located either singly or in pairs. Usually constructed of brick, very few examples of this style survive. The surviving examples are generally located on large parcels of land and were located on the outskirts of the City at the time of their construction.

Queen Anne

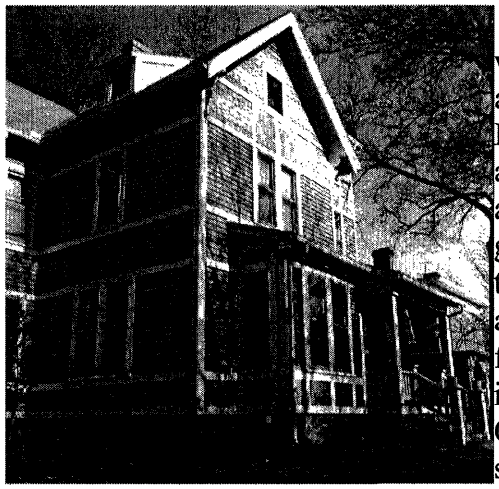
One of the most popular styles nationwide during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Queen Anne style typically features irregular massing, multiple rooflines, and a variety of devices to avoid a smooth-walled surface. These devices include a variety of wall coverings, projecting bays, and applied decorations. Some of Lawrence's more prominent examples are the "patterned masonry" subtype.[1] The masonry walls are distinguished by patterned brickwork or stonework. Gable dormers, if present, are often parapeted and shaped.

[1]As defined in Virginia & Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), p. 264.

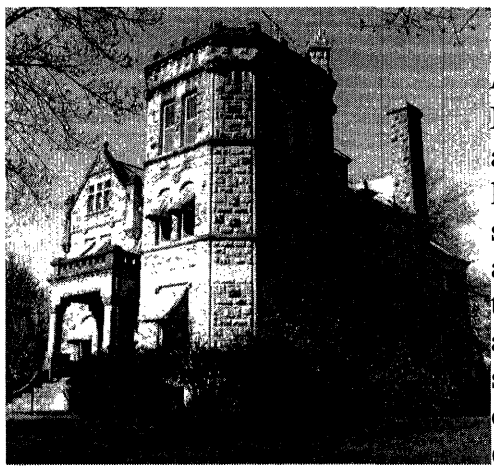
The Queen Anne style can be found in all of Lawrence's original townsite neighborhoods. Several examples, originally farm residences, can also be found in neighborhoods established in the 1920s through the 1950s. The hipped-roof with lower cross-gables roof form is the most prevalent roof form. Materials range from masory to wood clad structures with examples representing decorative detailing of spindlework, free classic, and half-timbered subtypes.

Stick

The Stick style was popular in this country from 1860 to 1890. Typically viewed as a transitional style between the Gothic Revival styles and the Queen Anne Style, it is variation of the Medieval English building traditions. The Stick style is differentiated from the Queen Anne style by stressing detailing of wall surfaces as opposed to applied ornatmenation.



Several of Lawrence's best examples were built after the period of popularity and are very simplified in detailing. In Lawrence, design features from this architectural style were sometimes applied to traditional plans, such as a gable-front-and-wing house, which in turn were made irregular in plan with the addition of wings and bays. While pure forms of the style can be found primarily in the merchant class neighborhoods of Old West Lawrence and Pinckney, structures containing Stick style detailing can be found in the working class neighborhoods such as East Lawrence and North Lawrence. The Stick style typically features a gabled roof, usually steeply pitched with cross gables. The gables commonly show decorative trusses at apex and the overhanging eaves are usually are detailed with exposed rafter ends. The wall covering is typically wooden claddings interrupted by patterns of horizontal , vertical, or diagonal boards (stickwork) raised from wall surface. Porches commonly show diagonal or curved bracing. Very few examples show all of the features in a single combination.

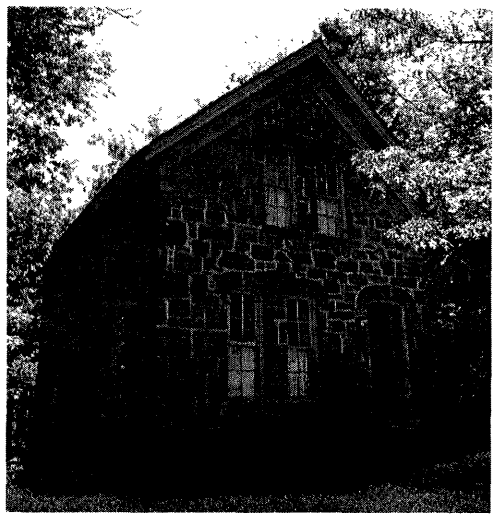


Richardsonian Romanesque
Richardsonian Romanesque houses are always of masonry and usually show at least some rough-faced, squared (ashlar) stonework. Most structures are asymmetrical in form and contain a tower element. Wide, rounded arches are a distinquishing attribute to the style. These Romanesque arches may occur above windors, porch supports or entries. Wall surfaces are often ornamented with floral or other decorative details Windows are usually recessed and contain one over one window sashes.

Many of Lawrence's examples of this style were demolished in the 1960. The remaining examples typically are found on major streets in the community and are constructed off native limestone materials.

National Folk Residences
Some of the earliest folk housing types descended from Tidewater South building traditions. Later, especially after the railroad made lumber more readily accessible and construction techniques changed, other types of folk dwellings were relatively simple and inexpensive to construct. Especially in Lawrence's working class neighborhoods, the National Folk Residences property type is the predominant housing stock. These, in turn, can be further categorized according to the floor plan or form. Variations of this subtype are as follows.

Gable-Front
The gable-front form evolved from the Greek Revival style, where its front-gabled shape mimicked the pedimented temple facades of that style. It was common in New England and the northeast region in the pre-railroad era, and continued with the expansion of the railroads after the 1850s. It became a dominant urban folk form up through the early twentieth century, and in Lawrence was popular in neighborhoods like East Lawrence, where the plan was best suited for the narrow tracts in the rapidly growing neighborhood. Unlike the smaller "shotgun" houses of southern cities, in Lawrence the typical gable-front house was two stories with a moderate to steeply pitched roof. The earliest examples harken back to the Greek Revival style, while later examples from the early 20th century derive more of their influence from the prevailing Craftsman and Prairie styles, particularly in their porch details.



Gable-front & wing

Gable-front & wing houses are believed to have also descended from styled Greek Revival houses like the Gable-Front residences which dominated urban settings. Gable-front & wing houses were more common in rural areas, however. In this form type, a side-gabled wing was constructed at right angles to the gable-front section, forming an L-shaped plan. Some of the earliest examples in Lawrence were large houses with popular stylistic details added. The style continued to be popular throughout the years, and many later examples were simple folk houses. Both one- and two-story examples are found.

I-house

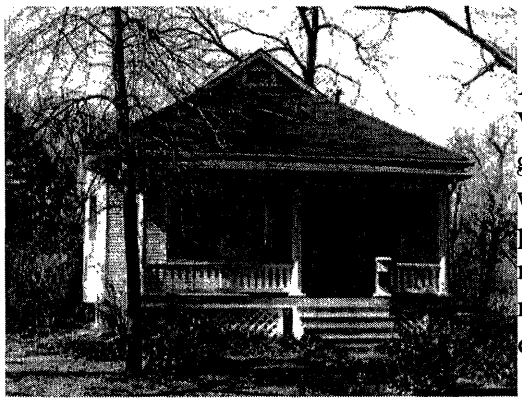
I-houses are typically two stories in height, two rooms wide, and one room deep. They evolved from traditional British folk forms, and are found in both the pre- and post-railroad building era. They are a prevalent rural form in the Midwest, and are not found in great numbers in Lawrence. This was partly due to the narrow tract size in the close-in neighborhoods. Only a few examples of

this subtype exist in Lawrence. Many of the early I-houses in Lawrence were built on double lots in areas that were rural in character at the time of their construction. As more of the rural area surrounding Lawrnce is incorporated into the City it is expected that this subtype will increase in number.

Hall & Parlor

Hall & parlor houses are simple one-story side-gabled houses which are two rooms wide and one room deep. They are another traditional British folk form which have been constructed over a long period of this country's history, although most extant examples in Lawrence were constructed in the 1850s through 1870s. Variations to the form are found through the porch sizes and roof shapes, differing chimney placements, and various patterns of additions which were necessary to accommodate the small buildings for modern living.

Hall and parlor residences can be found in all of Lawrence's original townsite neighborhoods. This style of structure can also be found in a number of areas which were out side the city boundaries at the time of their construction. Some of these residences are associated with the African-American community.



Pyramidal

While rectangular plan houses were generally covered with a gable roof, houses with a square plan commonly had pyramidal hipped roofs. Although slightly more complex in their roof framing, they required fewer long rafters and were less expensive to build. One-story examples

are more typically found in southern states and are true folk forms.

One of the most prevalent Folk House National style variations, pyramidal residences can be found in all of Lawrence's original townsite neighborhoods. This style of structure can also be found in a number of areas which were out side the city boundaries at the time of their construction. Some of these residences are associated with the African-American community. This style of structure is more prevalent in working class neighborhoods such as East Lawrence and North Lawrence.

The "Comfortable" House

The "Comfortable" House, a term popularized by Alan Gowans, refers to the profusion of styles and types built in suburban settings from 1890-1930. Some of these houses were built either from partial or total prefabrication, or from plans published nationwide in plan books or magazines, hence their other common name of "pattern book" or "plan book" houses. Found throughout Lawrence, these buildings are the predominant housing type in neighborhoods south of downtown. These residences freely combined forms and ornament, making distinct classifications based on architectural style difficult.[1] Some of the main subtypes, based primarily on form, are as follows.

Princess Anne

The Princess Anne house was commonly constructed after the turn of the century, and is derivative of the more pretentious Queen Anne style which preceded it. The name (popularized by *Old House Journal*) alludes to the simpler treatment, particularly on the exterior siding materials.[2] Generally two- to two-and-a-half stories, the Princess Anne house was still asymmetrically massed, like the Queen Anne house, but was generally clad with simple clapboards (or sometimes shingles, or both). By contrast, the Queen Anne residences of the late nineteenth century featured a variety of siding materials, often on the same house, in order to break up the texture exterior surface. The Princess Anne house retained the irregular roofline of the Queen Anne style, corresponding with the asymmetrical floor plan, as well as the steeply pitched roofs. Wrap-around front porches are another feature which the two styles had in common. Gone, however, were the elaborate jig-sawn decorations and turned spindlework found on Queen Anne residences. In its place were a few classically inspired features, such as classical porch columns and dentils, which foretold the soon-to-be-changing fashions in American residential architecture.

---

[1] Alan Gowans, *The Comfortable House* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1987), p. xiv

[2] *Old House Journal*, July 1982.

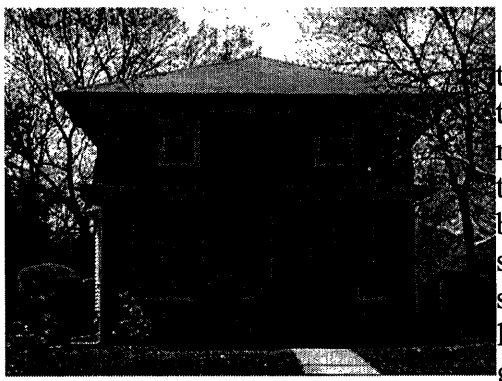
Shingle

The majority of Shingle style houses constructed in Lawrence are constructed post 1900. The Shingle style does not emphasize decorative detailing around doors, windows, cornices, or on wall surfaces. The wall cladding and roofing are a continuous wood shinges. The first story is often cladded with either stone or a clapboard siding. Window surrounds are simple in detailing and there are usually bay windows or multiple window groupings.

Bungalow/Bungaloid

The bungalow or bungaloid type represents one of the most popular forms of housing for the middle class in early twentieth century America. Although typically identified with the Craftsman style, the term for the form type "bungalow" has been confusing from its inception after the turn of this century. Generally thought of as a one- or one-and-a-half story house noted for its porch roof extending from that of the main house and sweeping over a verandah, the typical Craftsman features were found in the porch supports, windows, materials, and exposed rafters or brackets in the eaves. However, bungalows were found with ornamentation from other styles as well.

Foursquare

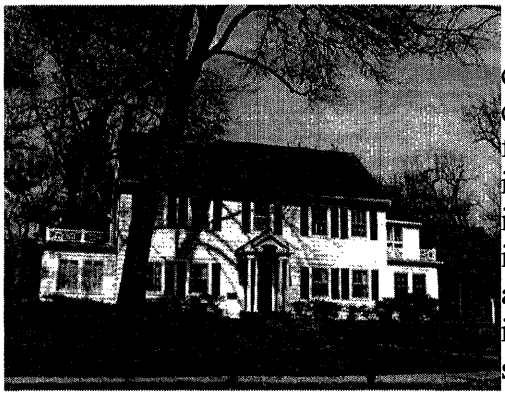


The foursquare, another popular early twentieth century housing form, is a two-story building, two rooms wide and two rooms deep, also with a low-pitched roof. Its features and details, like that of the bungalow/bungaloid, are usually borrowed from the Prairie and Craftsman styles, such as wide, overhanging eaves, square or tapered porch supports, full length front porches, and horizontal groupings of windows. The most distinctive feature of the Foursquare is its massive appearance. It generally featured a hip roof, whose wide, overhanging eaves were usually enclosed. Often, there were front and side dormers. The front porch was full-length, and the porch columns would vary from those reminiscent of the Craftsman style to round classically-inspired columns.

20th Century Revival & American Movement Houses

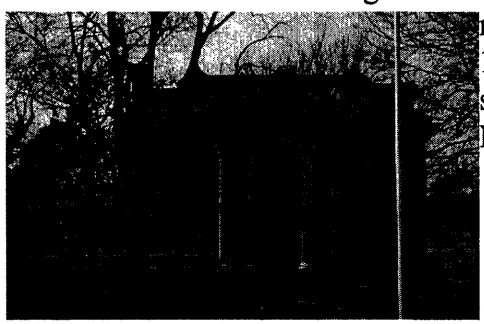
Middle- to upper-class Lawrence residents, whether new to the community or the sons and daughters of long-time citizens, desired quality residences executed in the latest styles. Compared to other Midwestern towns of its size, a proportionately high number of architects, some associated with the University of Kansas, designed up-to-date homes for residents. The Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival, and Prairie styles were the most common in this subtype.

Colonial Revival



The Colonial Revival style was a dominant style for American residences during the first half of the twentieth century.[1] Colonial Revival homes ranged from historically correct copies, to free interpretations which contained details inspired by earlier precedents. Typical identifying features of this style include an accentuated front door. These accents may incorporate a decorative pediment or crown supported by pilasters, or a pedimented portico serving as the entry porch. Fanlights or sidelights, or both, are also typical of entry elaborations. The facades are symmetrically arranged. Windows are double-hung and multi-paned (often 6/6 or 12/12). Palladian windows are found, as are other classically inspired detailing.

The Colonial Revival style can be found in a number of neighborhoods, however it more prominate in neighborhoods which were developed in the 1910s through the 1930s. A number of structures can be found in the West Hill Neighborhood and the Barker Neighorhood.



Neoclassical

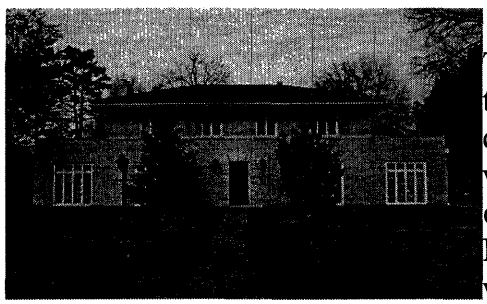
[1] McAlester, p. 326.

One of the main features of this style of house is the domination of the façade by a full-height porch with roof supported by classical columns. The façade is symmetrically balanced and may contain side and wing porches. Doors commonly have very elaborate and decorative surrounds. Neoclassical houses have boxed eaves and can have roof-line balustrades. Windows are typically rectangular with multi-pane or single pane upper sash and a single-pane lower sash. There are a number of principal subtypes including front-gabled roof, full-façade porch, and full-height entry porch.

Tudor Revival

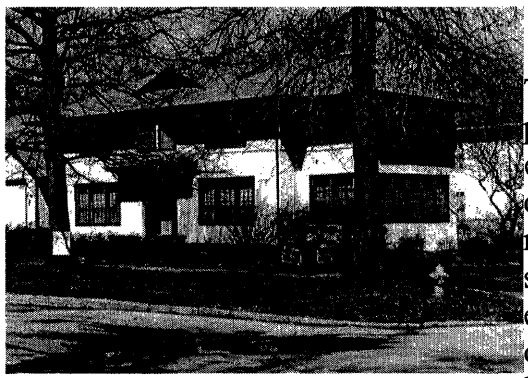
The examples of Tudor Revival house in Lawrence are generally small but well-designed versions of the style. Common identifying features are steeply pitched gable roofs, with at least one front-facing gable. Many have ornamental false half-timbering and stucco in the upper story, although brick is the most common wall cladding. The windows are tall and narrow, often in bands of twos or threes, and are multi-paned, some with diamond-shaped lights. Chimneys are large and prominent, located on the exterior on a front or side elevation.

The Tudor Revival style can be found in a number of neighborhoods, however it more prominate in neighborhoods which were developed in the 1920s through the 1930s. A number of structures can be found in the Univeristy Heights Subdivision, West Hill Neighborhood and the Barker Neighorhood.



Italian Renaissance

The Italian Renaissance style house is typically a low-pitched hipped roof covered by ceramic tiles. Upper story windows tend to be smaller and less elaborate than lower story windows. Facades are commonly symmetrical with entrances accented by arches, classical columns or pilasters. Usually constructed of either masonry materials or clad with a stucco wall cladding.



Prairie

The Prairie style is typified by a low-pitched roof with widely overhanging eaves. The emphasis in the detailing is on the horizontal, although the overall massing of the house may be vertical or squarish. Along with the overhanging eaves, the cornices, porches, wings, and other details all focus on horizontal lines. Massive square piers are used for porch supports. Dormers are commonly present.

International
The International style was introduced to the United States in the 1930s and brought a great deal of change to residential dwellings. The International style has a flat roof with out a coping at the roof-line. Windows are usually metal casement set flush with outerwall. The wall sheathing is smooth and unornamented with no decorative detailing at the doors or windows. Facades are typically asymmetrical in design.

III. Significance

Lawrence's Residences are significant under criterion C in the area of ARCHITECTURE as local representatives of the variety of national housing types and styles found in Lawrence. Even among the more modest structures, a wide variety of floor plans and detailing are evident among the extant historic residences. Some are excellent representatives of the work of local architects. They may also be significant under criterion A in the area of COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT or ETHNIC HERITAGE. In the former, the residences are located in a cohesive grouping of other dwellings, and represent one or more of the contexts. For the latter, the residence must be a building associated with Lawrence's African American or German history.

As a city and county seat, Lawrence provided opportunities for all levels of citizens, from the well-to-do to working class. *Late Victorian Residences* are physical manifestations of the success of some of Lawrence's citizens in the late nineteenth century. Symbolic of their owners' financial wealth and social standing, these houses represent stability of not only the individual residents, but of the community as well. These were the houses which replaced the early rough settlement houses, and reflect the owner's desire to appear modern and urbane.

The *National Folk Residences*, generally built by the less affluent, are typical of others built across the country. They are linked by common methods of construction, and within each subtype, by plan, form, and in some instances, architectural detailing. In some cases, the individual buildings may lack distinction, but when concentrated within a district, analysis of the entire group reveals a greater significance.

The railroad was responsible for changing the nature of simple, vernacular dwellings across the country.[1] Modest dwellings were no longer restricted to local building materials. Lumber, as well as ready-built stylistic details, could be shipped virtually anywhere across the country. Residences no longer reflected regional or ethnic trends as much as nationwide trends instead. As a result, American domestic architecture became more homogenous, and Lawrence contains typical examples of these wide-spread vernacular residences. While some of the earlier vernacular residential forms continued to be utilized for many decades, now they could be adorned with architectural detailing which was popular nationwide. Those built before the turn of the century, for example, utilized the turned and jig-sawn decorative features also found on more elaborate Queen Anne homes. In plan and form, however, many of these early working class residences maintained earlier vernacular traditions.

"Comfortable Houses" were first and foremost houses of comfort and convenience. Indoor plumbing, built-in gas, electricity, and central heating, all luxuries a few decades before, were common now. Laundry facilities began to appear in basements, instead of back yards or rear porches. Coal-fired central heating systems almost entirely superseded the wood or coal-burning stoves in the post-Victorian period, even though they had been introduced in 1818. By the 1920s, alternative heating system utilizing steam, hot air, and hot water were available.

The technological improvements in the kitchen, bath, heating and ventilation systems required a good deal more space, now comprising 25% of the total cost of the house. To compensate for this, houses overall were smaller and the square footage decreased. The average size of the American family decreased as well, from five children in 1870 to three and one-half in 1900. Contrasting with Victorian single purpose rooms and their accumulated clutter, these new houses had multiple-function spaces, simpler interior woodwork and furnishing for more efficient, sanitary living. Isolated box-like rooms continued to be designed for sleeping areas, however, probably due to the owners' desire for privacy, although communal sleeping porches were rooms promoted for health.

For the majority of houses built nationwide and in Lawrence, the design of such buildings fell not to a commissioned architect, but from cheaper and ready sources. Local contractors replicated and adapted entire building plans form a variety of sources, such as books, catalogues, and trade literature. The *Ladies Home Journal* was a major arbiter of residential taste, and supplied plans for a nominal fee. Entire books of plans, such as the Radford catalogues, offered blueprints through the mail. Ordering plans for houses through the mail evolved to ordering entire houses. While the idea of ordering parts of a building was not new, mail-order building firms felt that by ordering an entire ready-made house, an owner could eliminate the mistakes and

[1] Ibid., p. 89.

misinterpretations of local carpenters. The Alladin Company, Sears & Roebuck, and Montgomery Ward were among the major suppliers of ready-built homes .

20th Century Revival & American Movement Houses were part of a nationwide movement which occurred after the Victorian era, when the country as a whole was rejecting the old-fashioned exuberant styles from the previous decades. Tastes in residential architecture were either turning in favor of revival styles, which harkened back to an even earlier era, or to the simpler lines of the Prairie style. The level of detailing on many of these residences reveal the direction of a professionally trained designer, and a number of these dwellings in Lawrence were designed by professional architects. Nationwide, architects were beginning to enjoy higher status and profiles, and were certainly prominent within the university town of Lawrence. The University of Kansas started its architecture department in 1913, and professors or recent graduates practiced their skills with comparatively modest residential designs. In these instances, the building may be a good representation of a particular architect's body of work. Whether or not the building was professionally designed, if it is a typical representations of a their particular style, it would be significant under Criterion C.

A collection of historic residences may also be significant under Criterion C in the area of COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT. Districts with a majority of dwelling dating to a specific period represent periods of prosperity in Lawrence's economic development, while those with a variety of residential forms or styles are representative of those periods of slow and steady growth in Lawrence.

Specific forms and/or buildings types may be associated with certain ethnic groups in Lawrence, and would therefore also be significant under Criterion C in the area of ETHNIC HERITAGE. In addition, neighborhoods or small districts may have association with either African American or German American residents of Lawrence. Unlike other communities where segregation of the races was strictly, albeit unofficially, enforced, African Americans in Lawrence had comparatively greater freedom of choice in where they could live. Economic conditions, however, resulted in the confinement of such choices generally to East or North Lawrence. The largest group of early European settlers in Lawrence were German. They lived in small groups near their place of business, church, or community centers, with a large concentration in East Lawrence. Some, after achieving financial success, moved into more prosperous sections of the city.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be individually eligible under Criterion C in the area of ARCHITECTURE, the resource must retain integrity in the areas of design, materials, workmanship, and location. For those that were originally modest structures, there can be very little allowance for facade alterations or loss of features. Of utmost importance is visual integrity of the floor plan, as viewed from a public street. Additions to the rear, however, are allowable. Original fenestration patterns, facade symmetry (or asymmetry), and exterior finishes should also be evident. The original plan and mass of the front porch should also be retained. However, with eclectic vernacular

houses, it may be difficult to determine if the porch detailing is original. Porch columns and balustrades, therefore, may be altered, but should display patterns which are complimentary in size and detailing to the residence. The building should still be identifiable to the time it was constructed, however, and should not reflect details which falsely correspond with an earlier period. Alterations which have achieved their own significance over time (generally, those over fifty years in age) are allowable.

High-style homes, such as examples of the *Late Victorian Residences* or the *20th Century Revival & American Movement Houses* property types, must be good examples of their period and style of construction in order to be eligible under Criterion C. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are of particular importance, especially those features which are identifiable to a specific style. In Tudor Revival homes, for example, the steeply pitched roof and decorative half-timbering are identifying features which are typical of that style's character. Roof shapes, window and door openings, exterior wall materials, and porches are areas which should retain their integrity from time of construction. Integrity of association and feeling should also be retained in well-preserved examples of a particular subtype. Complementing the historic sense of feeling is integrity of setting and location as well. As the homes of the "well-to-do" of Lawrence, the setting often added to the feeling of affluence. Loss of some acreage is typical for many of the older homes originally constructed in the more rural parts of Lawrence, however, and will not detract from the building's overall eligibility. New garages which are set back to the rear of the house and do not overwhelm the original residence will not diminish the integrity of location and setting.

The affect of alterations and/or additions on the eligibility of a resource will vary for the subtype, or particular architectural style. For Colonial Revival homes, the symmetrical facade is an important identifying characteristic. Alterations to window and door openings, or side additions which detract from this symmetry, would not be acceptable. Rear additions, however, would not remove these buildings from consideration. While exterior wall materials are important, replacements which match in size, scale, and appearance would be acceptable. As many of the high-style homes had irregular massing, additions to the side and rear are acceptable if the are secondary in size and scale, if the details are in proportion with the original house, and utilize complementary design features. Enclosure of side porches is thus allowed, provided such construction follows the preceding principles. Porch enclosures are acceptable only if the original proportion of solid to void is retained (which would include retention of original porch supports). Rear additions are acceptable, providing they are not visible from the public street.

If located within a district and eligible under Criterion C, examples of this property type should still be recognizable to the period in which they were constructed, and should contribute to the overall sense of time and place of the district if they are to be considered contributing elements. Integrity of location and association are critical, but design and materials remain important as well. They should retain the most important features of their historic appearance. Even for contributing buildings located within a district, this leaves little room for alterations of some of the more modest dwellings. However, porch enclosures which still indicate the former

open areas are allowed. Total infill, or "closing down" of these areas by solid material would alter the pattern of openings visible from the street, and would not be allowed.

To be considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A in the area of ETHNIC HERITAGE: BLACK, the building must have some historic association with the African American community in Lawrence. This is especially critical for buildings which have suffered some loss of integrity. Buildings would be individually eligible for the National Register if they were the residence of a significant person, or also housed a key commercial enterprise in the neighborhood. Vernacular residences which have historic association with the African American community, which retain their form/plan type and at least one, and preferably two of the following: original wall material, original fenestration pattern, or historic front porch, shall be considered as contributing resources to a potential National Register district. Buildings which retain *all* of the above, or which served as the residence of a significant person, shall be considered for individual listing.

Under Criterion A in the area of ETHNIC HERITAGE: GERMAN, the building must have historic association with the German settlers of Lawrence. As with the residences of African American residents, buildings would be individually eligible for the National Register if they were the residence of a significant German American citizen, or housed a key commercial enterprise in the German community. Vernacular residences which have historic association with the German American community, which retain their form/plan type, and which retain at least one, and preferably two of the following: original wall material, original fenestration pattern, or historic front porch, shall be considered as contributing resources to a potential National Register district. For both *Black* and *German* areas of *Ethnic Heritage*, integrity in the area of location is important as well.

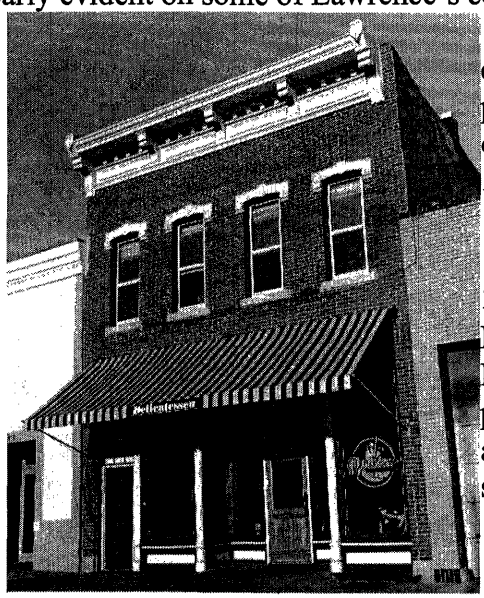
For collections of historic residences being nominated as a historic districts eligible under Criterion C in the area of COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT, integrity of location, setting, and association are critical. A historic sense of time and place should be evident. This is enhanced not only by a number of historic individual buildings, but by landscape features as well. Original road layout, sidewalks, street trees, and patterns of buildings should be evident. The latter is retained by original setback and lot sizes.

I. Name of Property Type: Commercial buildings

II. Description

The earliest commercial buildings, like nearly all of the structures from Lawrence's settlement period, were crude. Some were log cabins, others were A-framed pole buildings with the sides thatched with prairie hay or wood shingles[6]. As soon as entrepreneurs were financially able, however, they constructed more permanent buildings. The style and form of these permanent commercial buildings were typical of other small towns in that the architectural styles of larger, more elaborate commercial buildings found in big cities were generally diffused into simpler, smaller examples in outlying areas. The extent to which small town commercial buildings reflected urbane styles was dependent upon the town's or owner's available economic resources and aspirations. Some buildings received a higher degree of ornamentation than others, showing the owner's or builder's awareness of current architectural styles. This variation of design sensibility is evident in Lawrence. The level of stylistic sophistication in Lawrence is not necessarily reflective of the age of the buildings, however, as some of the earliest extant commercial buildings were designed by architects.[7]

Although stylistic references are clearly evident on some of Lawrence's commercial buildings, two main subtypes of commercial buildings categorized by plan or form are prevalent. These subtypes are based on Longstreth's classification from *The Buildings of Main Street.*[8]



Two-Part Commercial Blocks

Historically, Two-Part Commercial Blocks were the most common property type (based on facade arrangement) for small and moderate-sized commercial buildings throughout

[6]6David Dary, *Pictorial History of Lawrence* (Lawrence, KS: Allen Books, 1992), p. 13.
[7]7Deon Wolfenbarger, "Lawrence's Downtown Historic Building Survey," (n.p., August 1994), p. 11.
[8]8Richard Longstreth, *The Buildings of Main Street,* (Washington, D.C. Preservation Press, 1987).

the country.[9] They were prevalent from the 1850s to the 1950s across America and in Lawrence as well. Extant examples of this property type, however, are virtually all post-Civil War due to Quantrill's raid. Most of these can be found along Massachusetts street, with a few scattered at commercial nodes throughout the city as well as on the two streets paralleling Massachusetts. Massachusetts Street was shown in A.D. Searle's plan of Lawrence from 1854 as wider than the other streets in Lawrence, and was lined with narrow lots so as to maximize the commercial potential for the street. Utilizing this forethought of planning, Massachusetts Street has remained the "backbone" of commerce in Lawrence. The vast majority of historic commercial buildings are located here, representing styles or forms from 1863 through the present. Along Massachusetts, the Two-Part Commercial Block buildings filled up the entire lot; thus they not only abutted the sidewalk, but the adjacent building as well. This utilized all of the available land fronting the square, which was a valuable and scarce commodity as the prime location for commercial activities in Lawrence. The lots are narrow and rectangular in dimension, and are deeper than they are wide, determining the size and floor plan of this property type. Except for those on corner lots on the square, Two-Part Commercial Blocks were designed for row construction and common walls. The fronts were the prime area for ornamentation.

In Lawrence, Two-Part Commercial Blocks are generally two stories in height, although some are taller. The prime defining characteristic is a horizontal division of the front facade into two distinct zones. The lower zone at the first-story indicates public use, such as a retail store or bank. The upper zone, which can be one to three stories high, suggests more private spaces. In Lawrence the upper floors were generally offices, rooms for let, or meeting halls. The lower and upper zones may either be different in their architectural treatment or be similar in character, but nonetheless still reflect the differences in use.

Two-Part Commercial Block buildings in the late nineteenth century were virtually all of masonry construction and featured flat roofs. The cornice was accentuated and more ornate, serving as an elaborate terminus to the building. Most typically, the cornice projected outwards from the plane of the front elevation, and featured either a wood or metal entablature with brackets, or elaborate patterns of corbelled brick. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, an increasing amount of ornamentation and a greater variety of design elements and materials were utilized on the facades of Two-Part Commercial Blocks. Larger areas of the wall surface were covered with decorative patterns of brick, wood, stone, and cast iron. New technological advances allowed for mass manufacturing of ornamentation, larger panes of glass, and the casting of iron. As this latter material was thought to be fire-proof, the enframing materials of entire storefronts were sometimes constructed of cast iron.

Retail stores, in particular, utilized the new technology of glass manufacturing. Large windows were the perfect means by which to display merchandise. Often, virtually the entire storefront was of glass, divided only by

[9]Ibid., p. 89.

window frames and cast-iron columns supporting the wall above. However, since these buildings were usually part of a row of connecting buildings, the availability of light was still greatly decreased. Buildings owners compensated for this lack of light with not only the large display windows, but with transom lights above these. The first-story, storefront section was then usually topped by its own cornice, further delineating the first story from the second.

The windows in the upper zone were tall and narrow, arranged in regularly-spaced patterns across the facade, and in general more closely resembled those of residential buildings in that they were usually double-hung, rather than fixed panes of glass. As was also common with residential architecture during the Victorian-era in America, a variety of fenestration openings were utilized in order to provide visual interest.

The architectural details of Lawrence's Two-Part Commercial Block buildings' facades were typical of those found across the United States in this period. The underlying desire was for these commercial structures to look urban, even if the amount and/or lavishness of detailing may have been restricted by the available resources of the building's owner. The Two-Part Commercial Blocks which are extant from the "City-Building Period" up through the "Quiet University Town" era reflect the influence of the variety of architectural styles prevalent nationwide during those times. They run the gamut from simple vernacular expressions to high-style representatives. During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the most common architectural design elements on Two-Part Commercial Blocks in Lawrence come from the Italianate, Romanesque, Queen Anne, and Classical Revival styles. Sometimes architectural features from a variety of styles are utilized in an eclectic manner, with a few buildings borrowing from the Mission and/or Spanish Eclectic revival styles, and two theaters containing Modernistic design elements. Singular examples of the Art Deco, Egyptian Revival, and Tudor Revival styles are also represented among Lawrence's commercial buildings.

During the "Quiet University Town" era, many of the commercial buildings which were constructed in the boom period just after Quantrill's raid underwent remodeling. This remodeling, and the few new buildings which were constructed, still retained the basic form of the earlier Two-Part Commercial Block buildings, but generally utilized plainer and simpler decorative features than those constructed in prior decades. The division between upper and lower stories is still quite pronounced, however, and cornices remained accentuated although not nearly as prominent. Retail storefronts are often little more than a wall of plate glass, made possible by the development of steel and concrete frame construction and lightweight steel trusses.[10] The windows on these buildings tended to be more square in their proportion, rather than the tall and narrow windows of the nineteenth century. Concrete was introduced as a building material, and some original brick storefronts were stuccoed in this period in an attempt to emulate this "modern" material.[11]

---

[10] Ibid., p. 89.
[11] Wolfenbarger, p. 51.

One-part Commercial Blocks

A one-part commercial block is a single story building with a flat roof. The storefront is arranged in much the same manner as the lower zone of the two-part commercial blocks in Lawrence. In some cases, the facade contains little more than plate glass display windows and an entry topped by a cornice or parapet. Most one-part commercial block buildings in Lawrence are plain and modest, having few historical references.[12] Some are located in Lawrence's historic downtown commercial area, generally on the extreme edges of Massachusetts or along New Hampshire or Vermont Streets.

III. Significance

Commercial buildings in Lawrence are significant in the areas of either COMMERCE, ARCHITECTURE, and/or ETHNIC HERITAGE. Under COMMERCE, the buildings are directly associated with Lawrence's periods of commercial expansion in the downtown area and at various commercial nodes. The buildings contained a variety of commercial enterprises which served not only Lawrence, but as the county seat, other Douglas County residents as well. From hardware stores to banks to doctors' offices, these properties represent the range of business which was conducted in Lawrence from the latter half of the nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. They are tangible links to periods of commercial growth in Lawrence, and are therefore eligible under Criterion A for their association with various periods of development in Lawrence.

Two-part Commercial Block buildings in Lawrence were constructed prior to the Civil War, but most were destroyed during Quantrill's raid. Accurate records from this period are naturally scarce, but it is likely that the buildings constructed after the Civil War differed in many ways from the earliest commercial buildings. Many of the earliest commercial buildings were probably a combination of residential and commercial uses, housed within a single wood frame building. There were no features to distinguish the special functions of the building. The rapid growth of commerce led to the supplantation of these buildings by more substantial structures, particularly along Massachusetts Street. Few of these buildings survived the raid. Of those built immediately after the raid, historic photographs reveal that the prevailing form was that of the Two-Part Commercial Block.

---

[2]12Ibid., p. 18.

The arrangement of the facade of this property type, including both the distinction between the lower and upper zones as well as the distinction between commercial and residential structures, was born out of practical considerations. Entrepreneurs, in Lawrence as well as other towns across the country, wanted their building to serve as an "advertisement" for their business. Strangers to the town should be able to recognize the structure as a commercial structure, simply based on the building type and the arrangement of its facade. For both one- and two-part commercial blocks, an accentuated entry door, transom lights above to allow for light (as there were generally no side windows), and large display windows for merchandise, all let the passerby know of the purpose of the building. Thus, not only are these two property types representative of the changes in commerce in Lawrence, but also of a commercial building form which came to dominate small-town commercial landscapes for nearly a century.[13] They are therefore significant under Criterion C in ARCHITECTURE as physical illustrations of these commercial forms.

Many of Lawrence's Two-Part Commercial Block buildings are also good examples of a specific architectural style or type, particularly the Italianate, Romanesque, and Queen Anne style. While generally typical of level of stylistic treatment accorded to small-town commercial buildings, there are a comparatively high number of architect-designed buildings. Although the vast majority of these buildings in Lawrence's historic downtown area are very similar in form, the individual Two-Part Commercial Blocks remain distinct from adjacent properties due to stylistic or ornamental treatment. These examples would also be eligible under Criterion C for ARCHITECTURE.

Some of Lawrence's commercial buildings have historic associations with either African American or German American citizens. African American businesses were often established to provide opportunities that were denied to these citizens by the rest of the community, while German American businesses generally enjoyed the patronage of the entire community. In fact, some of the earliest and/or longest surviving businesses in the downtown area were founded by German American residents. These buildings would be eligible under Criterion A in the area of either ETHNIC HERITAGE: BLACK or ETHNIC HERITAGE: GERMAN.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be eligible under Criterion A in the area of COMMERCE, the resources must retain a strong association with the growth and development of commerce in Lawrence. A variety of commercial enterprises were found in Lawrence, typical of those necessary for small town life before the turn of the century. The historic associations will obviously vary from building to building; some businesses stayed in the same location for over one hundred years, and some buildings housed a variety of differing enterprises over the years. In addition, examples of this property type, particularly those located in the historic downtown commercial area, must retain

[3]13Longstreth, p.104.

a high degree of integrity in location, setting, and feeling. To be eligible under Criterion A in the area of ETHNIC HERITAGE, the building must have an association with either the African American or German American communities in Lawrence. They should retain integrity of association, location, setting, and feeling. Integrity of design is important as well, particularly if the design reflects some aspect of the ethnic group's heritage.

Two-Part Commercial Blocks were constructed in Lawrence from just after the Civil War, up through the 1950s, while most One-Part Commercial Blocks were built after the turn of the century. Thus a variety of architectural styles is represented, but all examples should retain integrity of the basic design composition of their facade in order to be eligible, both under Criterion A or C. The facade is the key element by which these structures are evaluated, as that is how commercial buildings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were designed to be viewed.[14] These property types were not generally conceived as free-standing objects.

For those Two-Part Commercial blocks eligible within a historic district, the distinction between the lower and upper zones is the primary design feature which should be retained. This distinction includes a well-defined storefront, with features reflecting its public use. For both One- and Two-Part Commercial Blocks, the lower zone should retain its public features, including an entry door, usually single but sometimes double in width and often recessed, and large display windows. The upper zone on Two-Part Commercial blocks, generally containing more private functions, should retain its regularly spaced fenestrations, usually with some form of detailing. An accentuated cornice line for both subtypes should also be retained. The basic rectangular building form, original height, and flat roof should also be retained.

It is typical in small town commercial buildings for some sort of alteration to occur over the years, either with a change in function, ownership, or merely in a desire to "keep up with appearances". However, these alterations may not affect the building's individual eligibility, providing either that the alteration has achieved its own significance over time, or that the alteration did not diminish the degree of integrity in overall building form (e.g., the distinction between upper and lower zones). First-story storefronts are the most likely area to have undergone changes over time; the rare building which retains its original storefront is clearly individually eligible under both Criteria A and C. Buildings whose storefronts have been altered may still be individually eligible, however, if the arrangement of the storefront design features remains, such as pattern of fenestrations, and proportion of window to bulkhead and transom area. Integrity of materials and design from one of the historic periods should still be evident on the upper zone of a Two-Part Commercial Block, or on the cornice and wall materials of a One-Part Commercial Block. Alterations to non-street or square-facing elevations, including subsidiary additions, will not prevent the example from being eligible.

---

[4]14Ibid., p. 104.

Under Criterion C, a higher degree of integrity should be evident in materials and individual design elements (such as doors, windows, and cornices), decorative details and stylistic features. These characteristics are critical for identifying those buildings which exhibit a particular architectural style, and usually, for identifying the period of construction (or alteration). The division of the building into distinct zones is the underlying similarity that ties all of the Two-Part Commercial Block buildings together. The architectural features, on the other hand, are what help to distinguish one building from another.

Under Criterion C, therefore, the resource must at the minimum represent the form of one of the two subtypes. Storefront features should be retained, including the pattern of recessed store entries, large display glass windows, bulkhead, and transom area. Again, the distinction between the storefront and the upper zone is vital, and could at the minimum be represented by enframing elements at the sides of the storefront and by the presence of a distinguishing element separating the lower from the upper zone. The upper story should retain the original fenestration patterns, cornice line treatment, and exterior wall cladding material. In addition, as a good representative of a particular style of commercial architecture, the building should possess an integrity of materials. Specific architectural design elements which represent the particular style should be present, such as arched window surrounds, brackets, brick corbeling, or cast-iron storefront piers.

G. Geographical Data

The 1950 city limits of Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Lawrence has been fortunate to have been the subject of much research and publication on its architectural history. This multiple property listing is based upon that research, most of which has occurred since 1984. However, as much of this research was not conducted systematically, there are biases in the historical perspective and areas of coverage. Additionally, the quality of the work is sometimes uneven. While most of the most significant themes in local history have been identified, there are undoubtedly several individual properties not yet identified that could have important roles in defining historic contexts and values. Areas of the city not yet studied include the southern section of Massachusetts and the Oread neighborhood--neighborhoods which are facing intense modern development pressures. Also under-represented in existing research are the outlying rural and suburban properties that may have potential significance, and which are also threatened by development. Nonetheless, there was a realization that the multiple property submission form represents the most efficient method of addressing all of Lawrence's historic resources, and provides the flexibility for addition and amendment when new research is conducted.

Several individual properties have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places and in the Kansas Register of Historic Places. Some of these nominations date back to 1971. Additional resources and districts have also been designated as local landmarks under the city's historic preservation ordinance. Most of these listings have focused on buildings from the "City-Building" and the "Agriculture and Manufacturing" periods, and generally deal with Victorian-era buildings constructed of masonry.

The city has conducted intensive level survey, followed by reconnaissance level survey in more recent years, in several residential neighborhoods as well as the downtown commercial area of Lawrence. Over 300 buildings were inventoried in the 1991 "Old West Lawrence," and over 200 buildings were inventoried in the 1993 survey of Downtown. Both the 1995 and 1996 surveys of East Lawrence and North Lawrence (respectively) inventoried over 700 buildings at the reconnaissance level. Additionally, several other areas of the community have been surveyed as class projects for students at the University of Kansas. Again, due not only to the variety in depth of research (intensive vs. reconnaissance), but to the age of data and other factors, the quality of information varies. Nonetheless, the survey provided an excellent database for the development of property types. Except for buildings of a few specific functions (such as education or roadside architecture) and rural architecture, virtually all types of residential and commercial buildings have been inventoried in Lawrence. Additional survey may provide insight as to the relative scarcity of some building types, but it is unlikely that any new types will be discovered from these periods.

Based on the focus of the existing surveys, this submission centers on historic residential and commercial architecture in Lawrence. Property types were based upon individual building forms and/or styles sharing similar architectural features and functions; integrity requirements for the property types were based on a knowledge of the condition of existing properties.

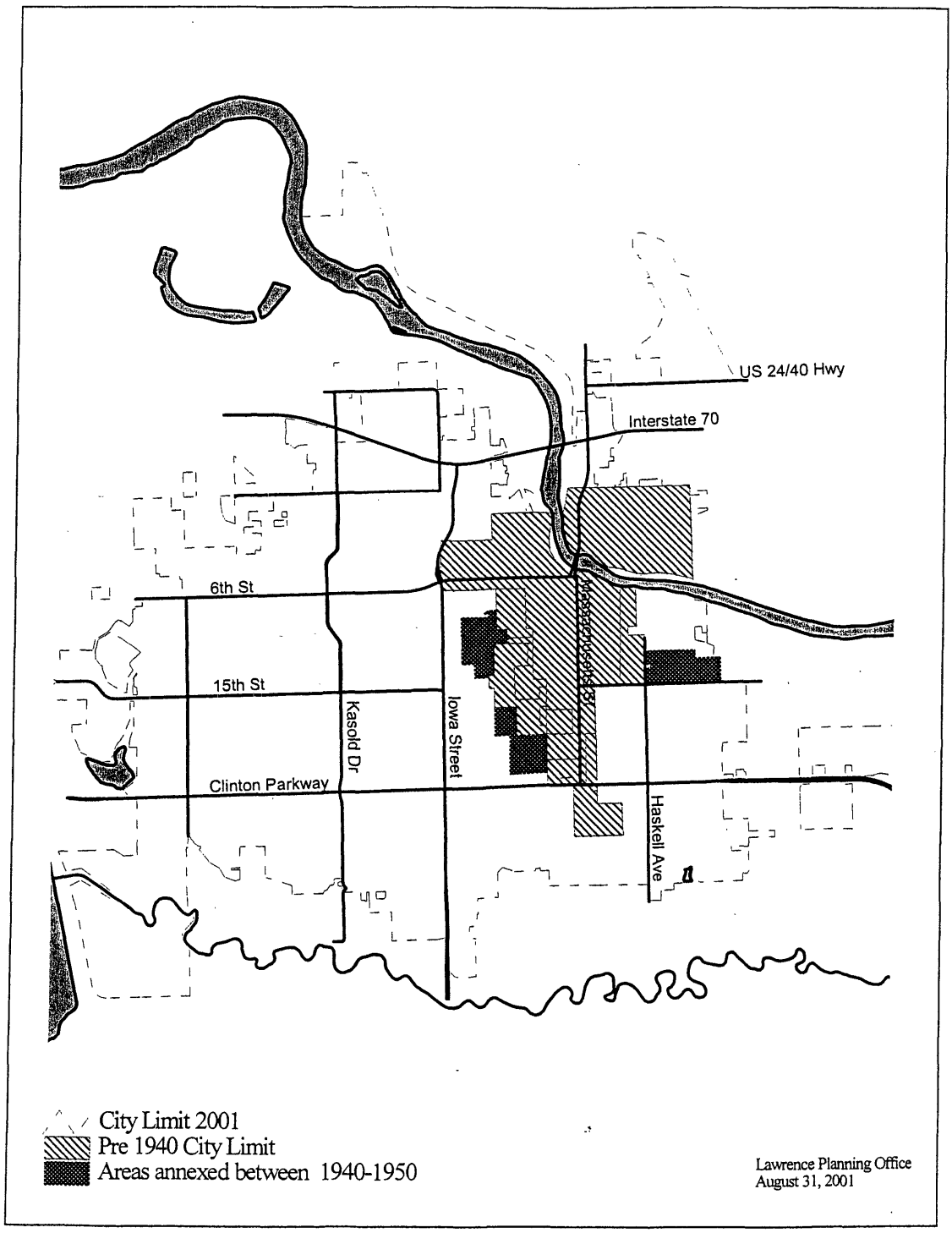
The contexts were based on an existing monograph, Living with History: A Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence, Kansas.[113] This report interpreted the city's developmental and chronological history, emphasizing the social history of architecture and design. Four main periods of history were discerned up through World War II. Survey work conducted since this report have utilized and supported these four periods of Lawrence's development in summarizing their findings. Thus the **chronologically-based approach** for historic contexts seemed most fitting for the multiple property submission. The constraints of the grant dictated that the multiple property form be submitted first as a cover document. It can then be utilized by interested citizens or groups for a variety of National Register nominations--from individual residences to neighborhoods, and from singular commercial buildings to an entire commercial district.

[113]Nimz, Living with History, 1984.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number G Page 2



Published articles, books, and pamphlets

Andreas, A.T. History of the State of Kansas Vol. 1 (Chicago: A.T. Andreas, 1883).

Ambler, Cathy. "Mastering Mud on Main Street: Paving Technology in the late $_{19}$th Century," Pioneer American Society Transactions (1994) Vol. 17, 39-48.

---"A Place Not Entirely of Sadness and Gloom: Oak Hill Cemetery and the Rural Cemetery Movement," Kansas History *15:4* (Winter 1992-93), 240-253.

Armitage, Katie and John Lee. 19th Century Houses in Lawrence. Kansas rev. ed. (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1991).

Black, Brian. "Mastering the Kaw: The Bowersock Dam and the Development of Lawrence Industry," Kansas History 16:4 (Winter 1993-94), 262-275.

Blackmar, F.W. Annals of a Historic Town (Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1893).

Carman, J. Neale. Foreign-Language Units of Kansas: I. Historical Atlas and Statistics (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1962).

Caldwell, Martha B. "The Eldridge House," Kansas State Historical Society Collections Vol. 9 *(1905-06).*

Cordley, Richard. A History of *Lawrence,* Kansas (Lawrence, KS: E.F. Caldwell, 1895).

---Pioneer Days in Kansas (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1903).

Dary, David. Lawrence. Douglas County. Kansas: An Informal History (Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982).

---Pictorial History of Lawrence. Douglas County. Kansas ed. Steve Jansen (Lawrence: Allen Books, 1992).

Douglas, Richard L. "A History of Manufacturing in the Kansas District," Kansas Historical Society Collections Vol. 11(1909-10), 81-215.

Frances, Carol Buhier. The House Building: My Search for Its Foundations (Lawrence: Transom Works Press, 1990).

Gowans, Alan. The Comfortable House (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1987).

Greene, Albert R. "The Kansas River-Its Navigation," Kansas Historical Collections Vol. 9 (1905-06), 317-358.

Griffin, Clifford. The University of Kansas (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1974).

Haverty, Thelma D. Buildings on the Haskell Campus: Past and Present (Lawrence: Interior Department, Haskell Press, 1975).

Longstreth,, Richard. The Buildings of Main Street (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1987).

Malin, James C. "Emergency Housing at Lawrence, 1854" and "Housing Experiments in Lawrence, *1855,"* Kansas Historical Quarterly 21 (Summer 1954), 34-49 and 94-12 1.

---"Kansas: Some Reflections on Cultural Inheritance and Originality," Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association 2 (Fall, 1961), 3-19.

McAlester, Virginia & Lee. A Field Guide to American Houses (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984). Old House Journal (July 1982).

Peterson, John M. John G. Haskell: Pioneer Kansas Architect (Lawrence: Douglas County Historical Society, 1984).

Quastler, I.E. The Railroads of Lawrence (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1979).

Reps, John W. Town Planning in Frontier America (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965).

---The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West before 1890 (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1981).

Rowe, Elfriede Fischer. Wonderful Old Lawrence (Lawrence: World Company, 1971).

---More Wonderful Old Lawrence (Lawrence: World Company, 1981).

Schirmer, Sherry L. and Theodore A Wilson. Milestones: A History of the Kansas Highway Commission and Department of Transportation (Topeka: KDOT, 1986).

Shortridge, James R. Peopling the Plains: Who Settled Where in Frontier Kansas (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).

Taft, Robert. Across the Years on Mount Oread (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1941).

Unpublished

Ambler, Cathy. "Identity Formation in the East Lawrence Neighborhood" unp. paper (December 1991).

Anderson, Barbara. "North Lawrence Historic Resources Survey Report," (August 1996).

Benjamin, David and Dennis Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence," (July, November, 1991).

Goodnight, Lizzie F. "Negroes of Lawrence," (1903). Kansas Collection, Spencer Library, University of Kansas.

Lewis, Jimmie L. "Bismarck Grove, Lawrence, Kansas, 1878-1900," M.A. thesis University of Kansas (1968.

Mathias, Julia. "The Locust Street Commercial Corridor," unp. paper Arch. 600 University of Kansas (1996).

Middleton, Kenneth, "Manufacturing in Lawrence, 1854-1900," M.A. thesis University of Kansas (1940).

Nimz, Dale E. "Building the Historic City: Significant Houses in East Lawrence," MA thesis George Washington University (1984).

Nimz, Dale E. Living with History: A Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence. Kansas (1984).

North Lawrence Civic Association. "Early History of North Lawrence," Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas (1930).

Pennington, Dorothy L. "Histories and Cultural Roles of Black Churches in Lawrence," (1982).

Rampelmann, Katja. "Small Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas," MA thesis University of Kansas (1993).

Ritterbush, Lauren W. and India Sun Hesse. "Douglas County, Kansas Archaeological Survey," University of Kansas Museum of Anthropology. Project Report #97 (1996).

Thor, Carl. "Chronology of Public Transit in Lawrence, Kansas," Ms-Kansas Collection, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas (1980).

Warren, Elaine. "University Heights Part Two, 1906 to 1996," unp. paper Arch 600 University of Kansas (1996).

Wearing, Ben. "Nineteenth Century Buildings of Lawrence," Undergraduate thesis, University of Kansas *(1955).*

Wolfenbarger, Deon. "Lawrence Downtown Historic Building Survey," Three Gables Preservation, City of Lawrence (August 1994).

---"East Lawrence Historic Resources Survey Report" Three Gables Preservation, City of Lawrence (August 1995).

Zavelo, Donald B. "The Black Entrepreneur in Lawrence, Kansas, *1900-15,"* Honors thesis University of Kansas *(1975).* Kansas Collection, Spencer Library, Lawrence, KS.

Primary sources

Bartholomew and Associates. Comprehensive Plan: Lawrence, Kansas Vol. 1 (St. Louis: Bartholomew and Associates, 1963).

Blackmar, F.W. and E.W. Burgess. Lawrence Social Survey (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Office, 1917).

Caidwell, E.F. Souvenir History of Lawrence, Kansas, 1898 (Lawrence: E. F. Caldwell, 1899).

Directory of Lawrence Public Schools (Lawrence, KS: Board of Education, 1931).

Hare and Hare. A City Plan for Lawrence, Kansas: Report of the City Planning Commission (Kansas

City, MO: Hare & Hare, 1930).

A City Plan for Lawrence, Kansas: Report of the City Planning Commission (Kansas City, MO: Hare & Hare, 1948).

Kansas:A Guide to the Sunflower State Federal Writers' Project. (New York: Hastings House, 1939).

Lawrence Chamber of Commerce. "Annual Report," (1926).

Lawrence Daily Journal-World 75th Anniversary edition. (October 10-11, 1929).

Lawrence Kansas Souvenir (Lawrence, KS: Freeman Publishing Co., 1909).

Lawrence: Yesterday and Today (Lawrence Daily Journal-World, 1913).

School Survey of Lawrence, Kansas (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1922).

Tucker, E.S., comp. Lawrence Memorial Album (Lawrence: Journal Publishing Co., 1895).

Maps

Babb, B.M. "Map of Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas" corrected to January, 1949. (Lawrence,Ks: City Engineer, 1938).

Beers, F.W. Atlas of Douglas County (New York: F.W. Beers, 1873).

"Bird's Eye View, Lawrence," (1869). "Bird's Eye View, Lawrence" (1880).

Dunmire, E.H. "Plat, City of Lawrence," (Lawrence: City Engineer's Office, 1916).

Ogle, Geo. A Standard Atlas of Douglas County (Chicago, Geo. A. Ogle, 1902, 1921). State Atlas of Kansas (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1887).

Sanborn Insurance Company. Map of Lawrence, Kansas (1883, 1887, 1897, 1912, 1927). Wheeler, Holland. "City of Lawrence with its additions" (ca. 1858).