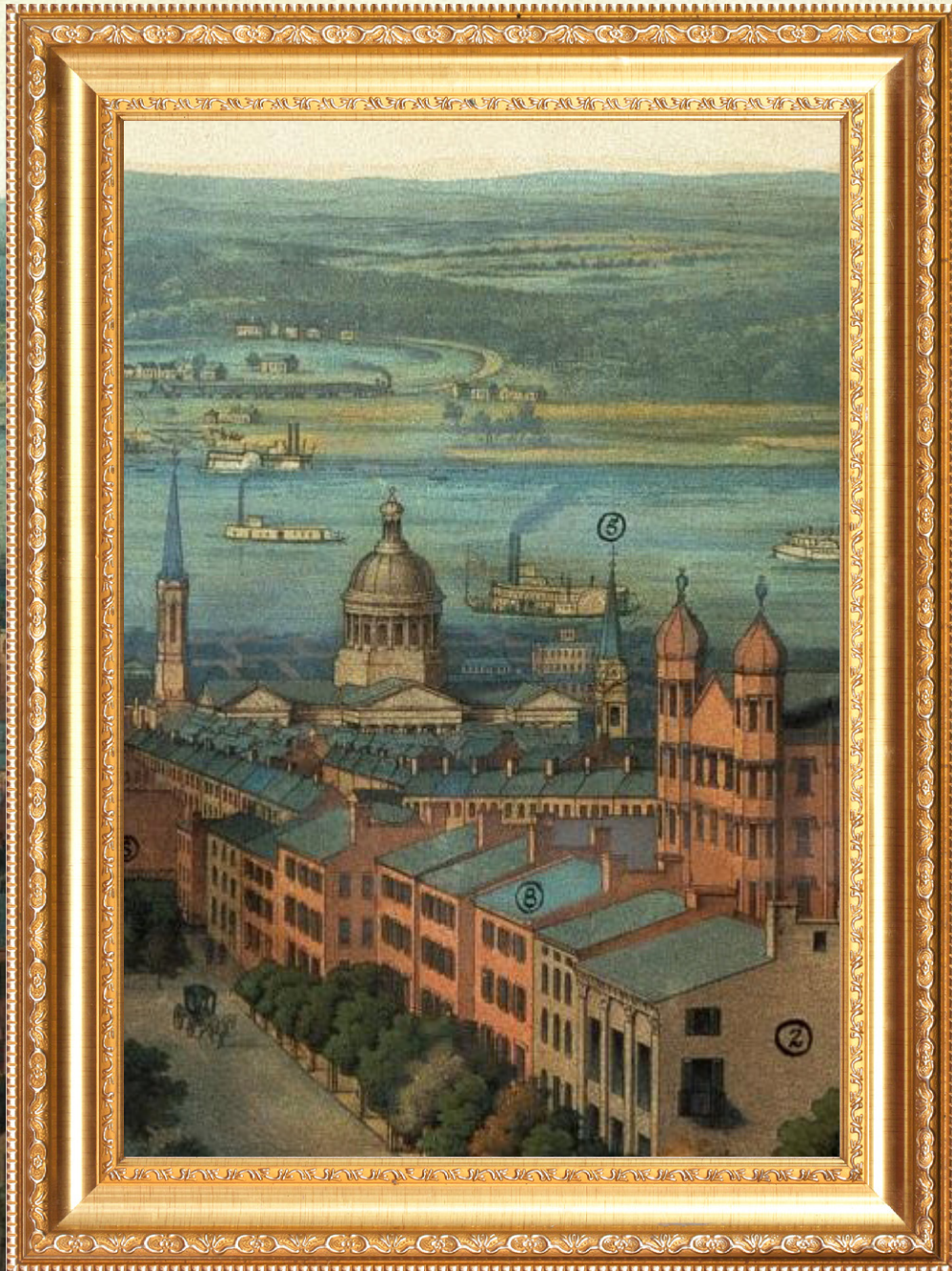
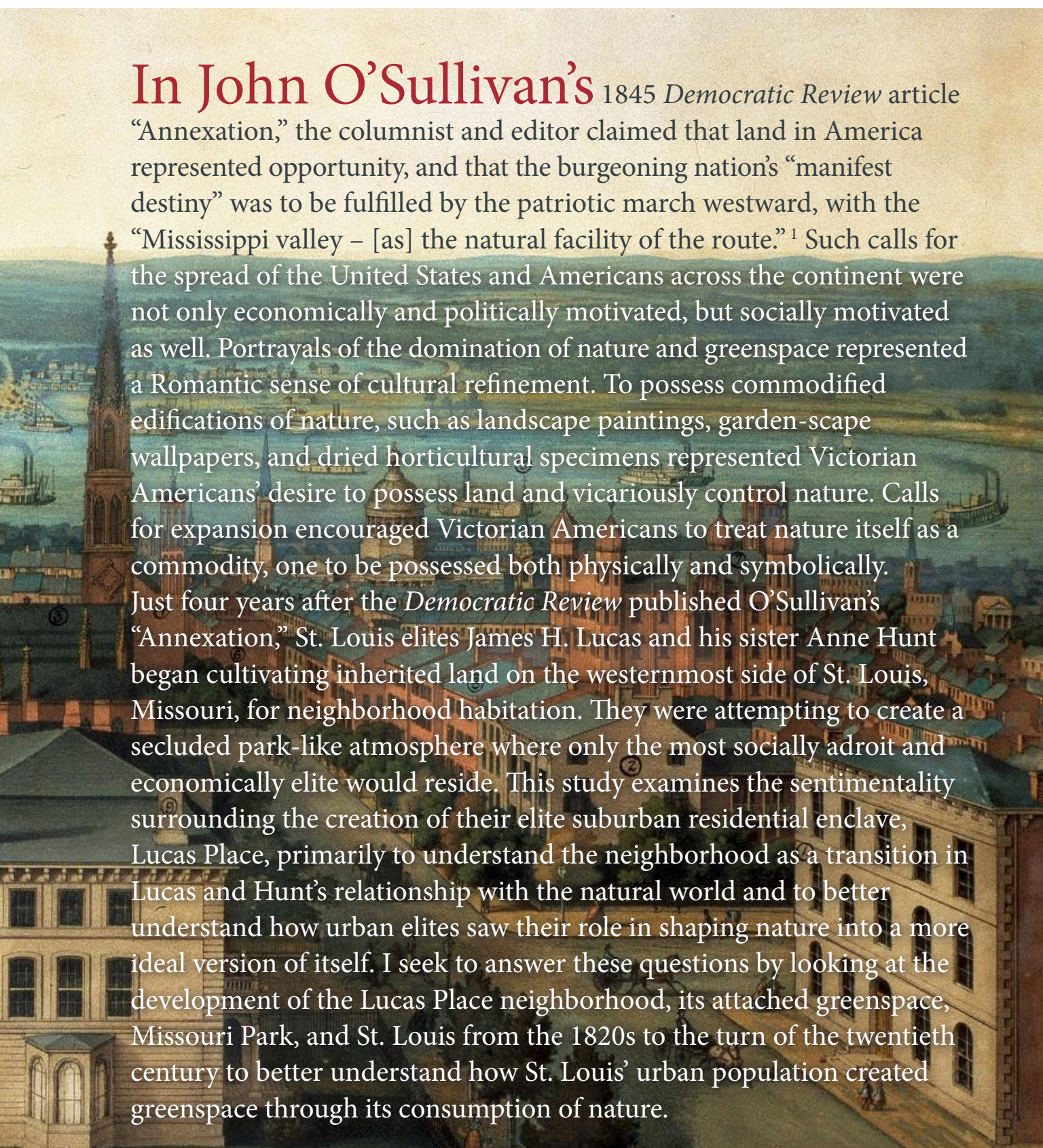


# *Nature Much Improved:* The Curation of a Nineteenth-Century Neighborhood and Greenspace

by SHANNAN C. MASON

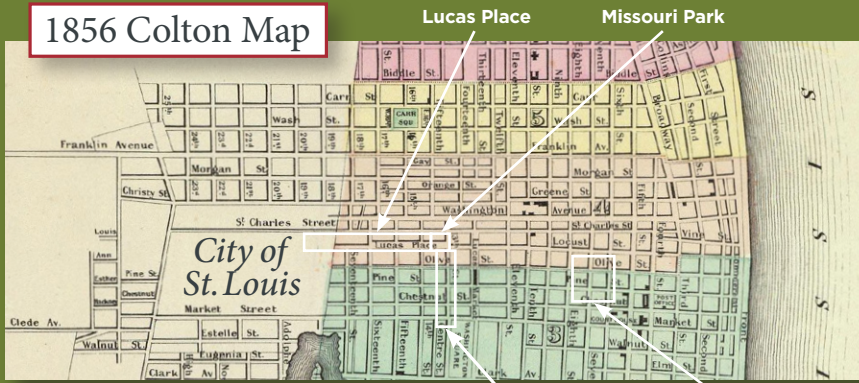






**In John O’Sullivan’s** 1845 *Democratic Review* article “Annexation,” the columnist and editor claimed that land in America represented opportunity, and that the burgeoning nation’s “manifest destiny” was to be fulfilled by the patriotic march westward, with the “Mississippi valley – [as] the natural facility of the route.”<sup>1</sup> Such calls for the spread of the United States and Americans across the continent were not only economically and politically motivated, but socially motivated as well. Portrayals of the domination of nature and greenspace represented a Romantic sense of cultural refinement. To possess commodified edifications of nature, such as landscape paintings, garden-scape wallpapers, and dried horticultural specimens represented Victorian Americans’ desire to possess land and vicariously control nature. Calls for expansion encouraged Victorian Americans to treat nature itself as a commodity, one to be possessed both physically and symbolically. Just four years after the *Democratic Review* published O’Sullivan’s “Annexation,” St. Louis elites James H. Lucas and his sister Anne Hunt began cultivating inherited land on the westernmost side of St. Louis, Missouri, for neighborhood habitation. They were attempting to create a secluded park-like atmosphere where only the most socially adroit and economically elite would reside. This study examines the sentimentality surrounding the creation of their elite suburban residential enclave, Lucas Place, primarily to understand the neighborhood as a transition in Lucas and Hunt’s relationship with the natural world and to better understand how urban elites saw their role in shaping nature into a more ideal version of itself. I seek to answer these questions by looking at the development of the Lucas Place neighborhood, its attached greenspace, Missouri Park, and St. Louis from the 1820s to the turn of the twentieth century to better understand how St. Louis’ urban population created greenspace through its consumption of nature.





No wards past Seventeenth Street  
- but signs of future development

Lucas Market

1828-Summit Square

This map is a section from the 1856 Colton Map, copied from the David Ramsey Map Collection Online. All additional information was added by Shannan Mason. Summit Square, Lucas Market, Lucas Place and, Missouri Park, all outlined in white were built in that order, starting in 1828 and continuing well into the 1870s. (Image: David Ramsey Historical Map Collection, Stanford University)

Portrait of James H. Lucas in 1878 by John Reid. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)



View of St. Louis from Lucas Place, labeled as 1854. This is a cropped version of the image, eliminating an informational border along the bottom of the image that contained incorrect labeling. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)

*Lucas Place was a new type of residential community,*  
developed predominantly by the newly wealthy,  
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with innovative midwestern styles.

pg. 5

In the early nineteenth century, St. Louis, was in transition, rapidly shifting from a French frontier settlement to a rising mercantile metropolis. By the 1850s the city had quickly prospered and expanded; however, it was increasingly confronted with the problems that accompany urban development, such as disease and overcrowding. These conditions provided the animus for residents to move further westward onto undeveloped lands, expanding the city limits through the creation of new residential areas such as Lucas Place, located between the city blocks of fifteenth and twentieth streets on the westernmost edge of St. Louis.

Lucas Place was a new type of residential community, developed predominantly by the newly wealthy, where old modes of high fashion and tastes blended with innovative midwestern styles. St. Louisans in the mid-nineteenth century abandoned the traditional row house in favor of a more experimental single-family detached style of city home, which favored the creation of front yards and side lots.<sup>2</sup> In Lucas Place, “there emerged a preference for detached homes surrounded by landscaped grounds.” “Spaciousness would become a guiding principle” in the American West, because land was not as limited as it was along the coast and in Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Out of desires to create a “self-contained world,” in 1828, Anne Hunt (1796–1879) had developed a residential neighborhood referred to as “Summit Square” between Fifth

and Sixth streets and Olive and Pine.<sup>4</sup> Because of the city’s swift growth, however, Hunt’s development at Summit was absorbed by intense urban expansion and commercialization, largely due to a lack of zoning restrictions. Its residents soon moved elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> Nearly two decades later the Lucas family developed another set of parcels in the former site of a well-known meadow surrounded by “natural growth” known as “Lucas Grove.”<sup>6</sup> The grove was destroyed, reshaped, and renamed “Lucas Market,” which featured attractive permanent buildings. The natural space of the Meadow surrounded by trees was transformed and valued for its commodification, or economic potential. As a grove, the land only represented the potentiality of speculative wealth, but while in operation, the market was widely lauded as “one of the finest” markets in the city, “a handsome edifice, built of most durable materials in every part. . . . Everything about it . . . betokens the most liberal spirit, and desire to secure permanent prosperity to that section of the city,” due to its attractive exterior and spaciousness.<sup>7</sup>

In 1849, with the success of Lucas Market, James Lucas and Anne Hunt decided to develop another plot of land, a neighborhood called “Lucas Place.” Unlike Summit Square, it would remain viable and desirable for the long term, hence the creation of a series of thirty-year deed restrictions on the land.<sup>8</sup> The proposed site for the neighborhood straddled both city and hinterland as it resided on the outskirts of town, and its

westernmost edge would have been considered distant, despite the neighborhood’s easternmost edge being just a block away from the city limits, but a mile from the riverfront. To further create a private and exclusive atmosphere, the deed restrictions were designed to make the neighborhood into a separate residential “place.” With the structure of the deed restrictions, greenspace, and mandatory housing setbacks from the road, the development would be a healthful alternative to the sickly and disease-ridden downtown area, especially after a particularly deadly Cholera epidemic in 1849.



ANNE LUCAS, (MRS. THEODORE HUNT).  
**Anne Lucas Hunt. This is the same image used to carve her likeness on her gravesite in the city's Calvary Cemetery.**  
(Image: Missouri Historical Society)

The land proposed for Lucas Place was forested; it was untamed, wild, and unlivable. However, by “improving” the rough “idle waste” and creating private places such as Lucas Place, people could be a part of nature, but in a strictly



controlled environment. This sense of control and community-led regulation makes the re-modeling of the untamed into a more ideal form of nature a consumptive practice, as the destruction of nature was then followed by the sale and construction of residential buildings, designed by and for the wealthy. Such distinction was reinforced by Hunt and Lucas' choice of name for the residential enclave; by using the moniker "Place," they were likely intentionally attempting to sell it as a place outside of the danger, decay, and disorganization of the city. The later 1854 addition of a park at the easternmost edge of the neighborhood physically solidified its separation from the thoroughfare of the city.<sup>9</sup> Yet the park was not the only actions Hunt and Lucas took to give the impression of a private landscape for residents. One of the neighborhood's unique features was the requirement that owners create a 25-foot easement. This setback was unique, because it is the first recorded instance of such a restriction in St. Louis. The easement had two effects: it created a front yard for residents to have grass or small gardens, while simultaneously causing the street to have the broader, more majestic appearance of a boulevard rather than a thoroughfare. In 1850 a *Missouri Republican* editorial justified the setback's establishment, even before the development's first house had been completed in 1851. Claiming it would make the surrounding area a more "attractive" and "healthful" portion of the city, the editorial stated:

Over this twenty-five feet, the owners have entire control as to the manner in which it may be adorned, but they cannot build upon it. . . . The space at present set apart for this purpose embraces about eighty lots, and if these should be improved in the manner proposed, it will make it one of the most healthy and beautiful parts of the city. As yet it is unimproved and the opportunity is thus afforded of erecting dwelling houses of such a character and in such style, as will distinguish it from all other parts of the city. A magnificent street, wide sidewalks and beautiful groves of trees, will ensure the circulation of fresh air, while it may reasonably be supposed that the houses to be erected will combine architectural beauty and every comfort which wealth can command. We hope the project will find general favor with the public . . . it must become the most attractive part of the city.<sup>10</sup>

The *Missouri Republican* was projecting the imagery and benefits of a park-like boulevard, where construction has a healthful benefit to the city due to its much-needed addition of fresh air and sidewalks aplenty to enjoy it. However, it was not the idea of the outdoors itself that was lauded for its "fresh air," but instead healthfulness created by a specifically curated space. Only a particular type of natural space was restorative and healthy — the natural that had been improved by men.

Because of St. Louis' French roots, Lucas may also have been envisioning the open pastoral French village style as a model while planning Lucas Place,

harkening back to the idea of a pastoral or gardenesque landscape. The Sarah Collier residence at 1603 Lucas, built in 1858, is an example of this French style, with its free-standing home surrounded by a garden-like environment.<sup>11</sup> The Collier residence included a new fledgling garden, complete with trees and a manicured lawn. Such depictions of saplings at the site of Lucas Place are ironic — they represent the destruction and reshaping of land that was previously known as Lucas Woods.<sup>12</sup> All signs of older growth, however, were removed and destroyed prior to construction in favor of a curated version of a carefully manicured ideal vision of nature. Trees were desirable, but only in specifically selected locations, appropriately distanced from each other and likely specifically selected based on their uniform rate of growth and appearance. In this way, the natural world was not necessarily desirable, but individual elements of it such as trees, flowers, and shrubbery — once properly selected and controlled by man — were desirable.

Similarly curated versions of the community were depicted in the newspapers, advertisements, and print media such as the wood engraving of Lucas Place entitled *View on Lucas Place*. Dated 1860, it offers us more than just a "view"; it is an example of the picturesque model of an idyllic version of Lucas Place. The choice to have a carefully manicured and picturesque lawn was not only an aesthetic one, but a moral sentiment as well.<sup>13</sup> Americans perceived the disorderly wilderness as a danger, indicative



.....  
*The Sarah Collier residence at 1603 Lucas, built in 1858, is an example of the French style, with its free-standing home surrounded by a garden-like environment.*

**Sarah A. Collier Residence in 1868, at 1603 Lucas Place, On the northwest corner of Lucas Place and Sixteenth Street.**  
*(Image: Missouri Historical Society)*







Wood cut engraving *View on Lucas Place* of the northwest corner of Lucas Place, dated 1860. Note the representation of Sarah Collier's residence (the first house on the left) in direct contrast to the wild and unmanaged lot across the street. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)



Lucas Place, 1875, from Richard J. Compton and Camille N. Drye, *Pictorial St. Louis, the Great Metropolis of the Mississippi Valley; a Topographical Survey Drawn in Perspective A.D. 1875*. View looking Northwest. In the bottom right corner of the image is Missouri Park. It is clear that by 1875, Lucas place was surrounded on all sides. (Image: Campbell House Museum)



*Lucas Street and Missouri Park at its easternmost point*  
 were lined generously with trees, creating a unique impression  
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 park or villa rather than the city...

pg. 9

of darkness, decay, and chaos, while cleaner, more orderly spaces were recognized as Godly and pure.<sup>14</sup> Such conceptions are on display in the photograph of the Collier residence as well. The neat, orderly lines of Sarah Collier's manicured lawn, representing good and Godliness, are sharply contrasted against the disorder and darkness of the weeds and shrubbery directly opposite it, especially during a time when the existence of yards in the front or side yards between urban homes was fairly rare.<sup>15</sup>

Lucas Street and Missouri Park at its easternmost point were lined generously with trees, creating a unique impression of the houses being in the country or situated inside of a park or villa rather than the city, especially when one looked from the east across Missouri Park towards the neighborhood. To create the park as a utilitarian greenspace and buffer against through traffic, the city spent \$1,357 to grade and fill the land in 1858.<sup>16</sup> After this construction, commonly referred to as "heavycutting," was conducted, the earth was then relocated to the riverfront wharf for removal.<sup>17</sup> To assemble a substantial amount of land to create the park on the easternmost end of Lucas Place alongside Lucas Market, Lucas and Hunt additionally purchased several buildings and land along the eastern edge of the "place." By 1854, the duo had donated the land to the city for use as a park in perpetuity.<sup>18</sup>

In 1870 James Lucas and other Lucas Place residents wrote a letter to the Board of Parks Commissioners, congratulating it on the job well done on a

series of improvements to Missouri Park. Their work showcased the continual investment of the city and the desires of the area's residents to maintain the greenspace as a showpiece. Lucas also used the opportunity to remind the Board of Parks Commissioners of the city's promise to permanently maintain and improve the land that he and his sister had privately developed (and generously donated).<sup>19</sup> The letter then personally congratulates the superintendent for his supervision of the installation of a public fountain inside of the park.<sup>20</sup> Such interactions illustrate the concern and connection residents of Lucas Place felt with the greenspace of Missouri Park. These connections simultaneously encouraged development while gently reminding the city of its responsibility to continually maintain the public space as a healthful and desirable location for the neighborhood.

In 1877, maintenance and careful attention to the greenspace was still apparent. Regular inventories were taken of the trees and shrubs that lined the park, creating the impression of a vast, verdant landscape. This effect was especially apparent along the boulevard-like atmosphere looking westward down Lucas Place. Until 1870, Missouri Park had been the only city park with gas lighting. It operated with an annual budget of about \$1,000.<sup>21</sup> Many St. Louisans remembered its carefully crafted beauty. For example, St. Louis resident Isaac Lionberger (1854–1948) claimed, "We who have lived a little while, recall the quiet charm of Lucas Place: the pleasant park upon the

east, the rows of stately trees and stately houses, the aristocratic tide which streamed from its doors, the smart carriages, and the constant hospitality of its gracious inhabitants."<sup>22</sup> Lionberger's statement illustrates Lucas Place's unique composition of rows of trees, stately homes, and the park to the east—all markers to outsiders of how well J.H. Lucas and his Lucas Place residents had created a park-like atmosphere.

The curation of the land and its transition from "idle waste," as it had been previously referred to by the *Missouri Democrat*, to an accessible and productive land was evident by 1854.<sup>23</sup> The *Missouri Republican's* editors even instructed other city residents to conduct a voyeuristic homage to the site of development and examine the location, stating that "in its natural state, it is most beautiful, and when improved . . . a more pleasant neighborhood will not be found in the country. Valuable improvements are already going up on some of the lots, and others have been enclosed, and in a little while it will present an enchanting appearance."<sup>24</sup> Both the editorial's tone and the language used to describe the land prior to its development and in the anticipation of development are striking. The land in its "natural state, it is most beautiful," an appreciation solely for its beauty to be sure, but this statement is placed after it has been commodified as a "for sale" listing. The second point of interest here is the authors' reliance and appreciations of "improvements" to the "lots." Here we can see that despite the natural beauty of the land, it becomes "enchanting" and "improved" only when the land is



essentially owned and subsequently shaped or transformed by man. As a wilderness, it yields little utility, but as a commodity to be “sold and improved,” it increases in attractiveness because it increases in commercial and social value. The editorial also lends to the idea of an exclusionary aspect of the development. Outsiders are instructed to go to the site to imagine its potential and their potential inclusion, or others’ exclusion, from the residential enclave. Even before it is fully developed, its potentiality for the cultural and social capital that could be gained through its construction is understood and celebrated. Nature itself garners no respectability for residents; man’s command over nature is what makes it desirable and exclusive.

Even as late as 1880, descriptions of Lucas Place and Missouri Park focused on the greenery and the careful maintenance of the social and physical curation of the space, such as the following October 1880 “sketch” of “Lucas Street” from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. It says the development is

one of those places which a certain class of reporters delight, once a year, to speak of as “the lungs of the city,” one of the city’s “breathing places,” etc. . . . Missouri Park abounds in shrubbery. . . . At Fourteenth Street begins one of the beauty spots of St. Louis, commonly known as Lucas Place. . . . All the houses are large and handsome, and the shade trees the best the city can show. The street is paved with large blocks of limestone, and is, consequently, very clean. It is an intensely quiet spot, and if children live there they are kept within doors and are never allowed to make mud pies in the gutter.<sup>25</sup>

Lucas Place and its adjoining park were a gem to its residents and the city, but in the same year the city had made several attempts to cut a thoroughfare through Missouri Park, much to the dismay of residents and the press. Directly petitioning the city through the *Globe Democrat*, the proposed alteration was described as an “impairment,” and residents lamented the inevitable devaluation of the surrounding land as a result, writing: “The first remonstrance against the extension of either Lucas Place or Locust Street through Missouri Park was received by the Street Commissioner yesterday. The objections raised to the extension are that it would greatly impair the value of Lucas Place, and that it is the belief of the petitioners that the city cannot open either of the streets named without forfeiting their right to the property used as the park. . . .”<sup>26</sup> Later attempts at cutting a street through Missouri Park were similarly referred to as “vandalism” to be “resisted vigorously,” as it would represent the “disfigurement of the only breathing spot near the crowded and smoky section of the city.”<sup>27</sup> Despite such appeals in April of 1880, a month later the city commissioner determined the park and its “fountains” and walking paths were an obstruction to city traffic and ordered them to be removed for the betterment of the city itself.<sup>28</sup> Concerns had shifted as the space no longer represented the refinement gained through the curation of the natural space. Rather, that conception had given way to a larger, more powerful narrative of industrial urban growth and development.

Industrial development and time were not kind to the Lucas Place neighborhood. Residents,

recognizing the impetus to change, decided to move. Unable to sell their stately mansions to individual homeowners, they unanimously voted to remove the deed restrictions put in place to protect the neighborhood from outside influence. As early as 1883, some St. Louis residents in a *St. Louis Post Dispatch* editorial aptly titled “Westward” were already considering the neighborhood for its potential utility as a “business street.”<sup>29</sup> Prominent St. Louisans seeking the same sort of verdant environment Lucas Place represented in its earlier years moved westward along the outskirts to areas such as Forest Park and the Vandeventer Neighborhood. Because of the demands of urban sprawl, a de-emphasis on nature and greenspace downtown occurred in tandem with an increased interest in the land’s productive economic utility rather than its social or cultural utility. In 1903 the city finally followed through with its proposals to connect Lucas Street with Locust by paving over the middle portion of Missouri Park.<sup>30</sup> And after the completion of the St. Louis World’s Fair in 1904, the city constructed a Carnegie Library over half of Missouri Park.<sup>31</sup> The stately houses that lined its streets were then torn down one by one, replaced with boarding houses and further business development until only one house remained. It still stands today as the Campbell House Museum.

Lucas Place neighborhood represents a unique opportunity to explore westward expansion in the “Gateway to the West” and the beginnings of suburbanization in St. Louis. It also offers a unique opportunity to examine the development and heritage of not only a neighborhood but also nineteenth-century conceptions



Taken by William G. Swekosky (1894–1963) in 1914, this image looks east on the intersection of 16th Street and Lucas Street (which had been renamed by that point to Locust Street). The neighborhood had dramatically changed by the turn of the century into an urban business neighborhood. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)



*Prominent St. Louisans* seeking the same sort of verdant environment Lucas Place represented in its earlier years moved westward along the outskirts to areas such as Forest Park and the Vandeventer Neighborhood.

of nature and its role in society — in the city, in the region, and nationally. As St. Louis began to grow and prosper economically, the city's inhabitants constantly re-negotiated their relationship with nature and its role in garnering respectability. As the city continued to thrive, businesses and industry were pushed further westward, transforming land yet again from residential curated versions of nature to what the contemporary individual would recognize as a downtown urban industrialized metropolis. In

their quest for social and cultural capital, prominent St. Louisans simultaneously adopted and rejected the natural world. Seeking social respectability, St. Louisans sought to create a curated version of the idealized form of the natural world in ways that enhanced the its residents' social status and health. The movement westward from the crowded, dirty downtown area not only represented a trend to escape the unhealthy effects of the riverfront, but also larger national trends towards land acquisition exemplified in John

O'Sullivan's calls for Manifest Destiny through westward expansion.<sup>32</sup> Yet such movements did not occur in a vacuum; the land was cut, cultivated, and curated, essentially to be harvested not for its nutritional bounty but instead for the potentiality for the social and cultural capital that its "improvements" represented in the nineteenth century. Ultimately, St. Louisans created and cultivated an "improved" greenspace through their consumption and destruction of the uncultivated natural world.



## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *Democratic Review* (July-August 1845), 5-11.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Allen Rosen, "St. Louis, Missouri 1850-1865: The Rise of Lucas Place and the Transformation of the City from Public Spaces to Private Places" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988). Richard Allen Rosen, "Rethinking the Row House: The Development of Lucas Place, 1850-1865," 22.

<sup>3</sup> Rosen "Rethinking the Row House," 22.

<sup>4</sup> Despite Anne's early attempts to develop the square on her own, in later developments, she was typically listed as co-owner, though many times it was her property being sold. Most transactions, however, were made under the name of her brother James H. Lucas (1800-1873) or his business. But in terms of land ownership, typically, if James owned one half of the block, Anne would then own the other side. Their father, Judge John Baptiste Charles Lucas (1758-1842), equitably distributed the land in his estate between his son and daughter.

<sup>5</sup> The land used for Summit Square was gifted to Anne by her father after her marriage to Theodore Hunt. See *Laws of the State of Missouri*, Chapter 85, dated 11 Dec. 1828 in *Laws of a Public & General Nature of the State of Missouri passed between 1824 & 1836*, Jefferson City, 1842, 2:139.

<sup>6</sup> The market's location is described as a meadow as late as 1842, according to the "Annual Review, History of St. Louis, Commercial Statistics, Improvements of the Year, and Account of Leading Manufactories, Etc.," from the *Missouri Republican*, January 10, 1854 (St. Louis, Chambers & Knapp), 1854, 43; for the quotation about the meadow and its surrounding of timber, see Elihu Hotchkiss Shepard, *The Early History of St. Louis and Missouri* (St. Louis: Southwestern Book & Publishing Co., 1870), 136.

<sup>7</sup> "St. Louis," *St. Louis Republican*, March 10, 1846, as cited in Joseph C. Thurman, "James H. Lucas: Eminent St. Louis Entrepreneur and Philanthropist" *Missouri Historical Review* 101, 3 (2007), 129-45.

<sup>8</sup> The deed restriction was established at the sale of each parcel of land, so they would be expiring at different times throughout the neighborhood. In 1888 a petition was created to end the deed restrictions on the street, and it successfully attained the necessary two thirds of landowners needed to sign it, according to "Real Estate Market," *Missouri Republican*, May 16, 1888, pg. 9, col 7. The deed for the land specified four major restrictions: "First, No tenement of any description shall be erected" and created a setback "twenty-five feet to the front line of said premises. . . . second, For the term of thirty years . . . [prohibits] any Family Grocery, Apothecary shop, Coffee House, Eating house, Restaurant, Dram Shop, Theatre, Circus, or any other business of amusement, or of the bargain or sale of any description of goods, wares, or merchandize." It then prohibited any construction of any of the above-mentioned businesses after thirty years without the express approval of all the owners on Lucas Place. If an owner of the land was found in violation of any of these restrictions, their property would then be reverted to the hands of James Lucas and his heirs, according to the deed. See James H. Lucas to Carlos S. Greeley and Daniel B. Gale, Missouri History Society Library, Treadway Papers Collection, January 1, 1853; Charles Savage claims the architect George I. Barnett worked with Lucas to introduce the deed restrictions on Lucas Place. See Charles C. Savage, *The Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis: The Architects and the Houses they Designed* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987) 13.

<sup>9</sup> Savage, *The Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis*, 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> "Lucas Place," *Daily Missouri Republican*, November 11, 1850, 3. The paper has changed names several times throughout the course of its run; the titles listed below are alternate names the paper operated under in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1919 the paper was sold to the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*. For more information, see "Daily Missouri Republican," State Historical Society of Missouri, <https://digital.shsmo.org/digital/collection/dmr> (accessed March 31, 2019).

<sup>11</sup> Sarah Collier Residence, Photograph, Missouri Historical Society, Lucas Place Collection, <https://mohistory.org/search?text=Lucas%20Place>

<sup>12</sup> "Along Olive Street," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 11, 1887, 21.

<sup>13</sup> Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 55.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> "City Engineer's Report - 10 May 1858," *Daily Missouri Republican*, May 18, 1858, 4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Lucas Market consisted of the block to the west of today's St. Louis Public Library, along the street we now refer to as Tucker Blvd. to the west of where Tucker now widens.

<sup>19</sup> James H. Lucas, et al., Letter to the Board of Park Commissioners, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis, October 29th, 1876.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Swecosky papers, S.1.7.2a, Missouri History Museum.



<sup>22</sup> Isaac Lionberger, as quoted in James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1990), 362.

<sup>23</sup> "City Items - St. Louis Enterprise - No. 5," *Daily Missouri Democrat*, September 29, 1854, 3.

<sup>24</sup> "Cote Brilliante Property," *Daily Missouri Republican*, March 19, 1854, 2.

<sup>25</sup> "A Street Sketch," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 16, 1880, 4.

<sup>26</sup> "City Hall Matters," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 25, 1880, 13.

<sup>27</sup> Editorial comment, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 28, 1880, 2, 4.

<sup>28</sup> "The Missouri Park," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 24, 1880, 4.

<sup>29</sup> "Westward," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 7, 1883, 2.

<sup>30</sup> "To Make Locust A Handsome Street," *St. Louis Republic*, May 14 1903, 2.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Others who have written on the development of St. Louis' residential areas have similarly argued that St. Louisans were increasingly seeking alternatives to housing above the downtown area of shops and industry. However, they posit that such a change occurred because of class anxieties and a concern for the social issues that emerged from blending residential and business social spheres. Glen E. Holt, "The Shaping of St. Louis, 1763-1860" (PhD dis., University of Chicago, 1975) 317-318, 325; Richard Allen Rosen, "St. Louis, Missouri, 1850-1865," 93.

## Morrow Prize

This article received the **2020 Lynn and Kristen Morrow Missouri History Student Prize**, awarded for the best student paper on an aspect of Missouri history presented at the Missouri Conference on History. The annual Missouri Conference on History brings together teachers of history and other professional historians to share in the presentation of the results of research, to exchange information on teaching and curriculum, to consider ways to promote interest in history and the welfare of the profession, and to discuss other concerns common to all historians.

