Living in East Lawrence:

An Essay for a Multiple Listings Nomination

by

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with

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and the People of East Lawrence

2010

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David Evans proved again to be one of the best archival researchers in Lawrence, unearthing an enormous amount of information on our houses and helping to clarify complexities and contradictions that only a real expert could manage. Much of this information cannot be made available within the confines of this report because we cannot discuss every house in the same detail. So his work, to a great extent, must wait for a more comprehensive study of the architecture of East Lawrence.

Richard Kershenbaum felt this work so important and interesting that he volunteered to join the measuring team in the field where we spent hundreds of hours together. We don't know how many person days we spent in the field but we enjoyed every one of them. Richard has considerable knowledge about old buildings through renovations of several houses he undertook. He enlightened the discussions about what we found, and helped interpret both the mundane and the unusual.

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Dennis Domer

On Chicken Creek

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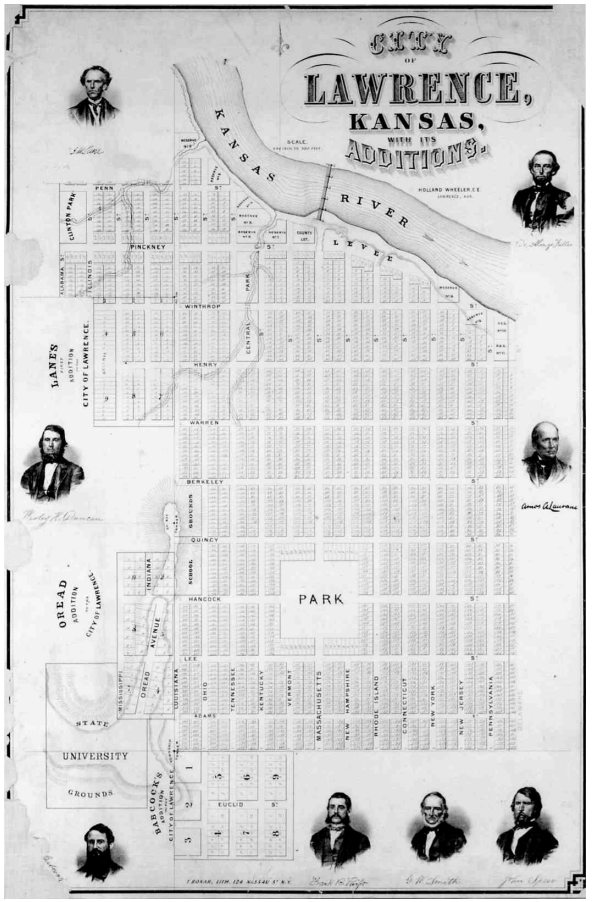
John Speer Residence, demolished, 1940

Chapter 1
Going Inside East Lawrence

A Working- class Neighborhood

East Lawrence, which that covers about fifty city blocks, has always been a "working class" neighborhood of diverse people who represent a number of ethnic backgrounds and races, hold a variety of religious beliefs and divergent political views, and come from a narrow range of socio-economic stations, with a number of pivotal exceptions. In spite of all the conflicting values and interests embedded in the countless differences among people who have contested the East Lawrence neighborhood both physically and philosophically since 1854, the neighborhood has maintained a clear and continuous identity as a place where plain-spoken, working-class people live. Their houses, which have filled in these 50 blocks that A. D. Searle laid out 300 ft. by 650 ft. with 50 ft. by 117 ft. parcels and Holland Wheeler later modified, (Map 1) make this identity very obvious. The boundaries of historic East Lawrence are Massachusetts Street on the west, Oregon (off map) on the east, the Kansas River on the north, and 15th Street (off map) on the south. Among the eight pioneers on this map is John Speer, lower right, who built 934 Delaware, a key working-class house in East Lawrence.

The stylistic variety of these houses achieves a unity in repetition and by the repetition of house types that appear again and again, block after block. Edgar Boles and Arthur C. Townsend described this unity as "an ever-changing succession



Map 1 City of Lawrence, Kansas, with its Additions
Holland Wheeler, 1855.

of kindred houses."[1] These kindred houses were built about the same time from the late nineteenth into the early twentieth century. They are about the same size and are made with the same building technologies and materials that came from the same lumber yards and quarries. Behind these houses lie shared building practices and social requirements. These houses were built for hundreds of dollars, not thousands, and so their original owners were in the same financial boat. They shared the same urban landscape, too, which creates a strong presence in the neighborhood with uniform streets, brick pavements and sidewalks, limestone curbs, verge, house setbacks, front lawns, and in some cases limestone hitching posts that stand like nineteenth-century neighborhood sentinels. The repetition of this landscape, block after block, yields a strong unifying effect to the neighborhood. These people have shared the same religious, educational, civic, and commercial institutions, all within walking distance of their residences, and they have shared the same jobs, many of which are still within walking distance. The pedestrian nature of the neighborhood is pervasive.

Beyond these physical qualities, the generations of people who have come to live here sense that they are different because they live in East Lawrence. This difference has a lot to do with economic capability, which is expressed as a proud apartness, the apartness of the never-say-die underdog, who generally leads a life with less money, means, and power than in much of the rest of Lawrence. Over the past 150 years this apartness has helped create a neighborhood reputation that has drawn people to the neighborhood and continues to hold it together as a vibrant, living, historic place. Cathy Ambler clarified many of the factors involved in this apartness in a graduate student essay "Identity Formation in the East Lawrence Neighborhood."[2] Based on Wilbur Zerlinsky's theory of first effective settlement,[3] Ambler identifies the main characteristics of East Lawrence as a contested site, with low elevations, and having less value than land in West Lawrence. Ethnic and racial groups tended to settle together. Germans, Scandinavians, blacks, and Mexicans filled up pockets along certain streets and built their churches close by. Many languages were spoken. But all of these people worked together, and their work was in close proximity to their houses. One of the typical historic characteristics of a working-class neighborhood is its close proximity to work, and this proximity reduced land values from the first effective settlement. The first manufacturing area, which began immediately after settlement,

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[1] Edgar Boles and Arthur C. Townsend, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination form, January 1978, 6.

[2] Cathy Ambler, "Identity Formation in the East Lawrence Neighborhood," For AMS 770, December 16, 1991. Kansas Collection, University of Kansas.

[3] Zerlinsky theorized and has shown convincingly that the characteristics of life among the first settlers have such a strong impact that those characteristics persist into the present and help create identity. See Wilbur Zerlinsky, *The Cultural Geography of the United States*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973, 13.

was built up along the Kaw River and that area still marks the north boundary of this neighborhood. The railroad, which employed many East Lawrence workers during the first hundred years of settlement, reinforces the neighborhood's north boundary and its working class qualities. The railroad was so important to manufacturing in Lawrence that it extended the early Kaw River manufacturing area around the east side of town to mark the neighborhood's eastern boundary with robust nodes of factories and elevators. Both of these manufacturing areas, still present in fragments, were places where thousands of East Lawrence people over several generations have spent their working lives, doing their jobs as conductors, engineers, brick makers, box makers, woodworkers, garment workers, iron workers, millers, elevator day laborers, canners, and many other trades. In 19th century Lawrence city directories, one of the most frequent professions listed in East Lawrence is simply "laborer." As laborers in many manifestations, the people of East Lawrence have been "almost exclusively made up of lower income categories."[4] People with the about same low incomes have often lived about the same lives in many ways in the history of this neighborhood. Their overlapping experiences have contributed to a feeling of solidarity. Widespread, long-lasting low pay has promoted an equally long-lasting social psychology of a proud underdog that is palpable and unduplicated in the rest of Lawrence. Comradery is an unstated reality in the neighborhood.

Similar lives and repeated details substantiate the solidarity of the neighborhood in an assertive physical self. The reiterations of houses, alleys, sidewalks, and streets weave back and forth over an insistent grid. These lots, which determine property lines, lay out the available building space, and force the buildings to line up on the street facing each other, are vivid parts of a larger urban picture that is expressly American and specifically Western in nature. A salient characteristic of East Lawrence's grid is its strong directional orientation, which contributes to the Western quality of the town and helps produce a unifying neighborhood effect. Albert Dwight Searle, who came to Lawrence as a trained surveyor in the second company of settlers from the New England Emigrant Aid Society, found the North Star at midnight, down by the Kaw River, and with that directional coordinate he lined up Massachusetts Avenue due north and south.[5] From there, in about four months, he laid out all the city streets and lots of historic Lawrence in exacting directions and parcels. What followed was a future city in which houses and yards and porches are basically lined up with the sun so that whether inside and outside the house, everyone knows where north is. The daily rituals of life are patterned inevitably around an

[4]"East Lawrence Neighborhood Plan," 1979, no page numbers. Author's Collection.

[5] Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence from First Settlement to the Close of the Rebellion*, Lawrence: E. F. Caldwell, 1895, 9-10.

awareness of east, west, north, and south, and where the sun rises and sets. This strong sense of direction is embedded within the surveyed landscape of Old West Lawrence, as well as East Lawrence, but their topographies were quite different. These differences have helped form their different senses of identity.

To overlook the uneven, low-lying physical nature of the land, situated in a vulnerable position along an unruly river, would be to misunderstand and underestimate how important the natural setting has been in the fate of East Lawrence and what it has come to mean. The "East Bottoms," with which East Lawrence has been historically identified, refers to the neighborhood's low elevation and all the negative connotations of lowness having to do with floods, swampland, and low life. The East Bottoms were in the 700 and 800 blocks of Pennsylvania Street, where brothels speakeasies promoted low morals, bootlegged liquor, and too much fun in a puritan city. These enterprises helped cast the East Lawrence neighborhood into the wrong side of town, but this wrong side was never far away from the Old West Lawrence residences, where the stringent codes of Victorian sociability were more difficult to breach. Sin committed on the east side of town stayed there at a price. People who lived there were perceived as morally lower by people on the west side of town, and those perceptions marked people long after the East Bottoms were closed in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Working-class Houses

People who live in East Lawrence have had to work for a living, whether "working" class or not, and the dreams and realities of seven generations of these working people cohere in the aesthetics, cultural ideas, social practices, belief systems, and technologies inherent in the houses, schools, businesses, and churches they built on a grid plan. All of the buildings and institutions have played irreplaceable roles in the physical, social, and psychological makeup of the neighborhood but by far the most frequent building in East Lawrence is the private house. It overwhelmingly determines the working-class building culture in the neighborhood.

There is no single working-class house type or style, however. Rather there are many types and styles of houses that working people chose to build in the nineteenth century that later working people have gladly adopted as their own into the twenty-first century. Working-class houses, like all buildings, have formal exterior stylistic qualities that have not gone unexamined during the past forty years. Studies of Lawrence architecture in general and of East Lawrence houses in particular have looked almost exclusively at exteriors. *Nineteenth Century Houses in Lawrence Kansas* in the 1968, 1986, and 1991 editions present exterior photographs and short histories of houses. A *Historic Building Survey **of** Douglas County* published in 1977, the 1996 *Guide to Kansas Architecture*, and *In Plain View* in 1996 focus their discussions

on exterior realities. Edgar Boles, Arthur C. Townsend, Dale Nimz, Cathy Ambler, and Deon Wolfenbarger have looked primarily at the stylistic qualities of East Lawrence houses in their contextual studies, but they seldom take us into interiors. When they discuss houses architecturally, they generally present an aesthetic point of view. There are several HABS-level drawings of houses in Lawrence, which do show plans and interior details, but none of drawings are of East Lawrence houses[6] Interpretations of the exterior styles of houses are always interesting and important for historic preservation purposes, but they do not usually lead to further interpretations. Many exterior interpretations are necessary for traditional survey purposes and have been done with steady accumulation. Going inside for a look at the interior spatial makeup of houses, however, helps to make clear their true nature. They are almost always very small, plain, and easy and inexpensive to build, no matter their exterior stylistic flourishes.

In his l984 master's thesis at the University of Kansas, Chin-chan Hsaw made the first concerted effort to go inside the houses that he analyzed along Rhode Island Street. In a comparative study he drew the plans of these houses as well as many exterior components and elevations.[7] In a 1985 master's thesis at the George Washington University, Dale Nimz drew the interior plans of three houses along the 800 and 900 blocks of Rhode Island Street as a part of his work on the "city building period."[8] In 1996 for the Vernacular Architecture Forum, Dennis Domer and Michael Swann published *Making Urban and Rural Landscapes on the Prairie Plains,* in which numerous interior plans and photos of Old West Lawrence,

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[6] Edgar Boles and Arthur C. Townsend, "East Lawrence Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form, 1978; Cathy Ambler, "North Rhode Street Historic Residential District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2003; Cathy Ambler, "South Rhode Island and New Hampshire Streets Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2003; Dale Nimz, "Living with History: a Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence, Kansas," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.: 1983; Deon Wolfenbarger, "Historic Resources of Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation form, 1997. HABS drawings have been done for residences at 603 Ohio, 1008 Ohio, 1408 Kentucky, 303 Indiana, 1613 Tennessee, and 1225 Vermont.

[7] Chin-chan Hsaw, "A Study of Dwelling Houses: Focusing on Rhode Island Street in Downtown Lawrence," Master of Architecture thesis, the University of Kansas, 1991.

[8] Dale Nimz, "Building the Historic City: Significant Houses in East Lawrence," Master of Historic Preservation thesis, George Washington University, 1983.

downtown Lawrence, North Lawrence, and East Lawrence were featured. Perhaps the most in-depth look at interior architecture and the culture it represents is Scott Roper's study of 713 Louisiana in Old West Lawrence.[9] Roper studied the exterior and interior with a full set of drawings, which led to his excellent research on how servants operated in one of Lawrence's most distinguished historic houses. Joan Hilger-Mullen studied the stair changes in 713 Louisiana and put these changes into the context of stairs in five other houses in Old West Lawrence. In her paper "Class in the Gilded Age" Stephanie Abbot Roper investigated how the Henley family, like other leading families in Old West Lawrence during the 1880s, used their house at 713 Louisiana to display their wealth and their interest in current fashion. These studies could not be done without going inside.[10]

The ways houses are laid out, used, and appointed are inseparable from what it meant in the past to be working class and what it means today and in the future to be from the working class. Knowing the plan of at least the first floor of a house is imperative to examine how the working class lives. Little about the social organism that a house represents can understood without examining the spatial relationships between rooms, room sizes, and the interior ornamental features of doors, windows, baseboards, railings and stairs. When these dimensional plans and features are put in the context of many other interiors, comparative analyses can lead to more insight about how these houses operate in a landscape of houses and beyond the bounds of a single house. To make this larger comparative analysis possible, this study focuses not only on the exterior of forty-four houses of working people in East Lawrence but also examines the interiors of each of these houses. We have turned these houses inside out to understand them by measuring, photographing, and discussing them with the people who live in them today, and researching their histories in numerous archives and collections. Our goal is to connect the insides of houses with their outsides and to develop a more comprehensive interpretation of houses belonging to working-class people who lived in them in the past and who live in them now. We believe that the permutations inside these houses provide the interpretative basis for understanding this working-class neighborhood and the complexity of working-class people who have lived here. By going inside and by researching these houses in detail, these houses can help reveal a history of Lawrence that would otherwise be lost in the past.

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[9] Scott Roper, "Maintaining the Cheery Fires: Servant's Space in a Turn-of-the-Century Kansas House," *Material Culture* 28 No 2 (fall 1996), 17-40.

[10] Joan Hilger-Mullen, "The Henley House 713 Louisiana Old West Lawrence, Kansas," unpublished paper for ARCH 800 Vernacular Architecture, fall 1994; Stephanie Abbot Roper, "Class in the Gilded Age: A Biography of Albert and Eleanor Henley," unpublished paper for ARCH 800 Vernacular Architecture, fall 1994. Author's collection.

Houses in the Study Area and Sample of Houses

Historic East Lawrence stretches north to south from 6th to 15th Streets and east to west from New Hampshire to Oregon Streets and comprises about 50 blocks of the original city. Within this area there are 798 houses, 603 of which or 79 percent were built before World War II and 168 or 21 percent after World War II.

Table 1
East Lawrence Neighborhood
Survey of House Types
N=798

House Type	Number	Percentage
One-story	119	14.9
Two-over-Two	114	14.2
T/L	86	10.8
Bungalow	72	9
Four-over-four	52	6.5
I House	50	6.3
Pyramidal	35	4.4
Side Entry	33	4.1
Queen Anne	21	2.6
Shotgun	17	2.1
Upright and Ell	11	1.4
Four-Square	10	1.3
Salt Box	6	.8
Stack	4	.5
Post World War II	168	21

Most of the 603 pre-World War II houses were built during the 19th century. The type with the highest frequency is the is the One-story house. There are 119 these one-story houses equaling 14.9 percent of the sample. The frequency of One-story type is high because it includes several subtypes, such as T, L, and Hall/Parlor houses, but all of them have only one-story as at 742 Connecticut. (Plate 7) The second most-frequent type is the Two-over-Two house with 114 houses or 14.2 percent. A good example of the Two-over-Two is at 1024 Pennsylvania. (Plate 29) The frequencies of other house types in East Lawrence are significantly lower than these top two**.** T and L types are both about 10.8 percent. 946 Pennsylvania (Plate 26) is a good example of the T-type. Bungalows, such as 738 Rhode Island (Plate 2), represent about 9 percent, and Four-over-Four houses like 739 Connecticut (Plate 6) are about 6.5 percent. Close behind come the I-houses, such as at 904 Pennsylvania (Plate 23) at 6.3 percent. After these house types, the frequencies of other kinds of houses drop significantly with Pyramidal houses (Photo 1A) and Side-entry houses at about 4.1 percent (Plate 20). The least frequent house types are the Queen Anne at about 2.6 percent (Plate 4), the Shotgun at 2.1

percent(Photo 1B), the Upright and Ell at 1.4 percent (Plate 3) and the four Square at 1.3 percent (Photo 1C). Saltbox houses and the "Little Dixie" Stack Houses are less than 1 percent each.[11] (Photo 1D: Stack house)



Photo 1A-Pyramidal House



Photo 1B-Shotgun House



Photo 1C-Four Square House

[11] For more information on the unusual stack house, see Howard Marshall, *Folk Architecture in Little Dixie*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981, 57-62.



Photo 1D-Stack House

Our sample of the 603 pre-World War II houses includes forty-four houses or 7.3 percent of the 603.

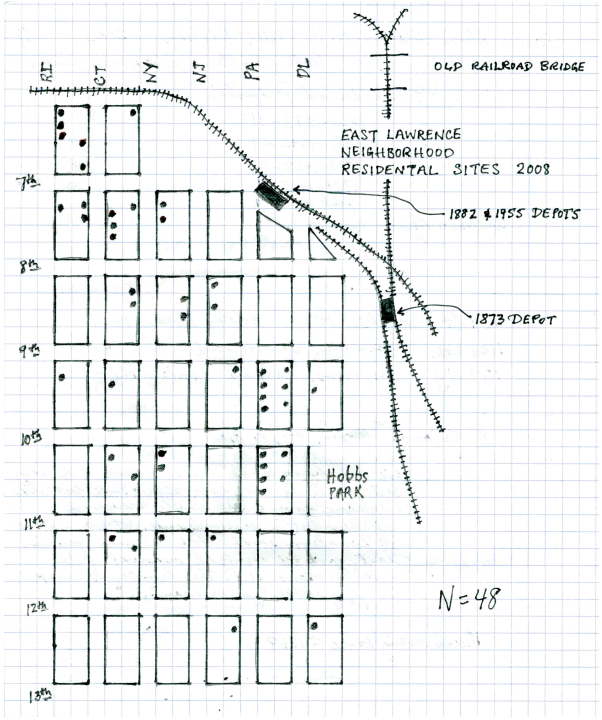
The sampled houses fan out diagonally from the northeast corner of the neighborhood on Rhode Island to the southeast edge of the neighborhood. (Map 2: East Lawrence Neighborhood Residential Sites, 2008)

Table 2
East Lawrence Neighborhood
Frequency of House Types in Sample Survey
N=44

Plate Letter	House Type	Number Surveyed	Percentage
A	Two-over-Two	12	29
B	Side Entry	6	14
F	T	4	10
D	L	2	5
C	Four-over-Four	3	7
I	I House	3	7
H	Queen Anne	3	7
E	1-Story	7	14
G	Upright and Wing	1	2
J	Bungalow	3	5

Since this study strives to offer interpretations that integrate the outside with the inside, this sample was determined completely by which houses and how many houses we were able to enter, measure, draw, and photograph over a period of one year. Statistically speaking, a sample of forty-four does not represent the universe of 603 houses very well, but it was

never our intention and was indeed impossible to be statistically correct in terms of the sample-universe relationship. We studied the houses available to us and as many as possible within the one-year period. We got a good look at the most important house types.



Map 2
Distribution of Surveyed East Lawrence Residential Sites
N=48
(Source: Dennis Domer, Field Book, 4/3/08-9/4/08, p. 95)

Over two-thirds of our surveyed houses, a somewhat larger number that our sample of house above that we studied in depth, were built prior to 1900, and so they represent working-class houses mostly from the City Building and Agriculture and Manufacturing periods from 1864 to 1900. Twenty-two were built between 1863 and 1873, and 12 between 1874 and 1890. The other 14 were built after 1891. (Table 3)

Table 3
East Lawrence Neighborhood
Surveyed Houses by Age, 1854-1945
N-48

Pre-1873	22
1874 to 1890	12
1891 to 1905	7
1905 to 1945	7

The exact ages of these houses are often subject to debate and conjecture but we attempted to verify their ages through archival research, interviews, family histories, construction techniques, tax records, mortgage records, and newspaper reports of sales. Tax records such as house valuations and taxes paid were central to the dating task but they are sometimes contradictory, and we could not always be certain

that the tax records represented changes that related only to the houses on a parcel of property. Sometimes we could not be sure whether a new house had been built or improvements and/or additions had been undertaken. The generally accepted approach to dating, however, looks for significant increases or decreases in taxes paid or valuations given and dates the houses accordingly. If, for example, there was a significant change in taxes in a given year, then the house was probably built the year before. When the archival record is contradictory, the contradictions can sometimes be resolved by looking at the building itself for clues; however, the exact dates of houses are less important than trying to understand these houses as cultural expressions of their time and place.

Two-over-Two Houses

Two-over-two houses are ubiquitous in East Lawrence, and we were allowed to study more of these houses than any other house type. Their high frequency in East Lawrence and in our sample is not surprising because they are perhaps the most characteristically urban of all working-class houses and are found throughout the United States. They have a long history in cities in England, the United States, and in relation to most houses in Lawrence. All of them in our sample of twelve were built in the nineteenth century from 1865 to 1895.

In previous studies that focus on the exteriors of Lawrence houses, researchers have adopted the name of "Folk National" for the Two-over-Two house type primarily because this is the name given it by Virginia and Lee McAlester who wrote a popular book about house styles.[12] The term "Folk National" is not, however, very descriptive of the two-over-two house because this term could easily refer to a number of house types quite different from the two-over-two. Folk National does suggest that this house has ethnic vernacular roots and that it is distributed widely in the United States, but this is true of many vernacular house types. To avoid these ambiguities, we use the two-over-two name because it describes the core configuration of two rooms downstairs and two rooms upstairs. This plan defines the character of this house and is one of the keys to its history. No nomenclature for American house types known to me is entirely satisfactory and completely consistent. Though we have tried to use the plans rather than exterior styles to guide our naming process, we have accepted some names, such as the bungalow and the shotgun house, that are not necessarily descriptive of their plans. To us those names signify a typical plan that we expect to see.

[12] Virginia and Lee McAlester, *American House Styles, A Concise Guide*. New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1996.

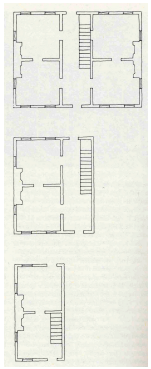
As is often the case in plans of working-class houses, the two-over-two plan derives from high architecture, with roots in English Georgian architecture, a neoclassical architecture established in England by Inigo Jones after he journeyed to Italy in 1613-14.[13] On that trip he measured the actual proportions of the buildings of Rome against the drawings that Andreas Palladio had drafted, and as Surveyor of the King's Works, brought that new rational, modern understanding of buildings to bear on The Queen's House in Greenwich from 1616-1635.[14] Besides the classical details, this new Renaissance modern architecture in England called Georgian architecture, as opposed to medieval architecture, was supposed to have a symmetrical exterior with doors and windows aligned in a well-proportioned mathematical way. Second, this exterior was supposed to reflect a symmetrical interior, what would eventually be called the Georgian plan. Third, the detached house became the ideal, though the Georgian plan could be pared down for common people to two-thirds or one-third size of the full Georgian and be used as vernacular options in urban row houses.[15] (Drawing 1) In the ideal Georgian plan, no matter if it was a full, two-thirds, or one-third Georgian, the stair was in the hall or where the hall normally would be. This was not the case in the so-called London plan, another subtype of the Georgian, which had a back stair and also found its way to America. (Drawing 2)

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[13] The idea that the vernacular often takes its cues from high style architecture is an old one and has been presented in many studies. The most specific use of this idea related to the two-over-two house is Mary Ellen Hayward's "Urban Vernacular Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore," *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 16, No. 1 (spring 1981), 33-63.

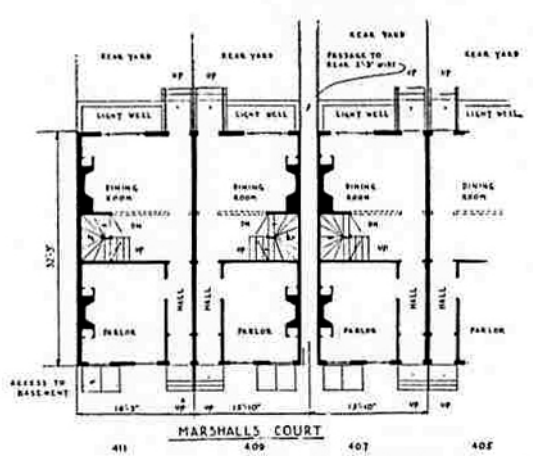
[14] William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: the Colonial and Neo-classical Styles*. Anchor Books, 1976, "Sir Christopher Wren in the Colonial World," 61-156.

[15] Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth-Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," *Common Places*, Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds. Athens: University of Georgian Press, 393-425.



Drawing 1:
One-third, Two-thirds, and Full Georgian Plans
(Source: Henry Glassie)

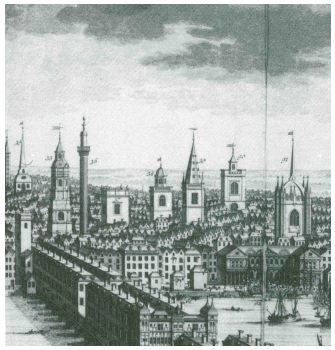
When Jones died in 1652, Christopher Wren assumed his role and, as a mathematician and astronomer, he carried out the mandates of Georgian architecture in baroque variations and for many people from high to low class. Especially in response to the London Fire of 1666, when it was necessary to replace hundreds of burned-down medieval structures with structures built with more modern building processes, materials, and social requirements, Wren and his colleagues developed the so-called "London Plan," which, as Murtaugh describes, was "a rectangle two rooms deep" with a hallway running along side the first room, leading to the back room, which had a stair to the second floor.[16] This London plan (Drawing 2) could be connected in row house fashion with party walls under a common roof, as it was so often in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other Eastern cities in the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century. (Photo 2) The London plan could also be used in small detached house with a gabled roof, such as the two-over-two house in nineteenth-century Lawrence at 819 New Jersey (Plate 11). It was a very urban house because it could be fit into narrow city lots and was easily varied depending on the width and depth of the lot.



Drawing 2
London Plan
(Source: William Murtaugh)

[16] William John Murtaugh, "The Philadelphia Row House, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 16, 4 (December 1957), 8-13.

In Lawrence, the long narrow lots were a good fit for small detached two-over-two houses. (Plates 5, 11, 12, 17, 18, 22, 24, 25, 29, 30, 36, 37) These two-over-two's are all freestanding with a London plan, a two-story symmetrically organized façade and a gabled roof with the exception of two which have hipped roofs as shown in Plates 25 and 37. The gabled roofs facing the street are somewhat reminiscent of gabled houses in London before the Great Fire.[17] (Drawing 3)



Drawing 3
La Ville de Londres
(Source: Colin Amery, Wren's London)

The builders in Lawrence didn't have to reach back that far, though, for examples of this working-class house type. They had seen it repeatedly and lived it in Philadelphia, throughout the Midwest and parts of the South, and they easily transplanted it to Lawrence. Rather than medieval, the gable front looks more like a Greek temple front inspired during the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries by America's growing admiration for Greek architecture through the work of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Robert Mills, Thomas U. Walter, Alexander Jackson Davis, and Andrew Jackson Downing. The temple front reminded the American people of the principles of Greek democracy on which our nation was established, and the successful Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire in 1821 and 1827, and the establishment of an independent Greece in 1832 caused the United States to reflect on itself once again. One of the most visible expressions of our democratic nature lies in our ubiquitous neoclassical architecture, Greek and Roman. In this context, the two-over-two working-class house in Lawrence may be interpreted as a result of the immediate influences of the Greek Revival architecture in the nineteenth century, as well as a product of the reconstruction of seventeenth-century London.[18]

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[17] For sources on the history of London, see Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography*. London: Chatto & Windus, 2000; Steen Eiler Rasmussen, *London: the Unique City*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982; Colin Amery, *Wren's London*. London: Lennard Publications, 1988.

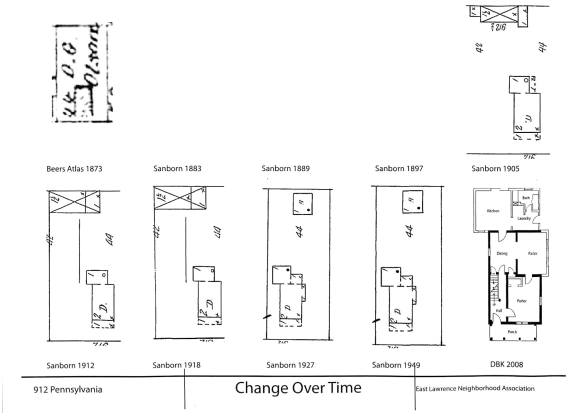
[18] W. Barksdale Maynard, *Architecture in the United States, 1800-1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, 1-49.

The two-over-two plan is susceptible to a number of variations, and Plate A illustrates these variations in twelve two-over-two working class houses we sampled in East Lawrence. The most obvious distinction is the placement of the stair leading to the second floor. Following the London plan, seven of the twelve have stairs in the back room, which functioned as a dining room and/or kitchen. Following the Georgian plan, the other five have a stair in an entry hall. Lawrence builders and owners had their choice, and based on cost, privacy demands, and responses to cultural directives they made their decision either creating the back stair subtype or the hall stair subtype. The back stair subtype is cheaper to build because there is no hall and expensive stair. The back stair is usually boxed in, therefore hidden, and is seen as a purely utilitarian way of reaching the second floor. The stair hall subtype squeezes its space out of the parlor, which the hall protects, and the stair is an aesthetic showcase of woodworking skill and style as well as a functional mechanism. The back stair is also more basic than the hall stair subtype because it allows direct entry into its parlor from the front door. The stair hall subtype protects the privacy of the parlor by preventing direct entry into the parlor from the street. Every two-over-two house that doesn't have stair hall has a side entry into the kitchen that helps to funnel everyday traffic away from the parlor, which functions at times as a hall/parlor, a multi-purpose space for circulation, sitting, and living space. In the hall stair subtype the parlor may be completely set apart ideally for the specific purposes of entertaining, sitting, conversation and formal occasions such as weddings, funerals, and Sunday visits from the preacher. But in these small houses, completely exclusive use of the parlor was unlikely in most cases. The hall/parlors and parlors are small, averaging about 178 square feet, which is smaller than the average of 194 square feet for all the house types in this study. The back room of both subtypes is somewhat larger, on average about 194 square feet, and so the core of the two-over-two house on the first floor is usually less than 400 square feet.

For this reason, all two-over-two houses call for first-floor extensions, usually a combination of a kitchen, porch, and bathroom reaching into the backyard. The extensions as we find them today are usually replacements for older extensions that had worn out, perhaps several times, or were modified based on the need for a kitchen and the later the introduction of indoor plumbing. The installation of sewer trunks during the first decade of the twentieth century set off a big wave of changes that would affect some houses as late as after World War II, when indoor toilets eventually replaced privies.

One of the best ways to evaluate this natural accretion process that regularly occurs in East Lawrence two-over-two houses is to follow a property's physical development, beginning with the Beer's Atlas map of Lawrence in 1873, and connecting that map with Sanborn insurance maps from 1883 to 1949. Both Beer's and Sanborn's maps outline the footprint of houses and how they are situated on their lots at specific

points in time. By putting these maps together it is possible to understand changes over time on each lot. 912 Pennsylvania's Change-over-Time development (Drawing 4) for example, shows that the house on the Beer's map in 1873 was a rectangular house and had no extensions.



Drawing 4
912 Pennsylvania Change over Time
Brenna Buchanan

This was the core of the two-over-two house, about 1100 square feet. By 1905, according the Sanborn map, the property was a two-story dwelling with a shingled roof, a one-story front porch with a shingled roof, and a rear extension composed of a one-story partition-wall back porch with a shingled roof and a one-story kitchen with a noncombustible roof of metal, slate, tile or asbestos shingles. This footprint was stable until sometime before 1912, when the back porch was taken off. By 1927, a new enclosed back porch was added, along with a south bay window. This footprint was stable until 1949, when Sanborn maps were discontinued. The footprint has essentially remained the same except that it grew once again with an indoor bathroom addition at the back of the house. With these extensions, the overall plan of the first floor of 912 Pennsylvania comes to about 923 square feet and about 561 square feet for the second floor bedrooms and circulation space for a total of approximately 1,485 square feet of interior living space. Sometimes eight to ten persons occupied these two-over-two houses during the nineteenth century, a number that went down in the twentieth century, and today is commonly two to four people. At 1,485 square feet, 912 Pennsylvania is spacious compared to most of the East Lawrence two-over-two houses we studied.



Photo 3
John Speer

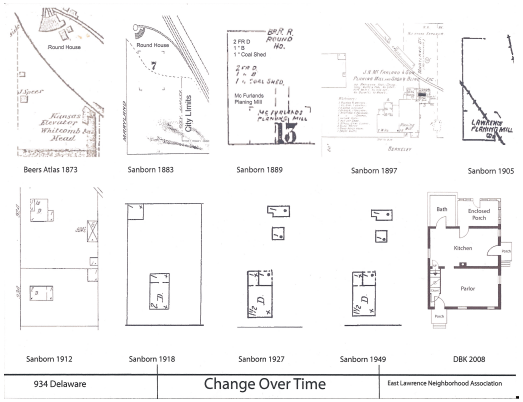
The two-over-two house at 934 Delaware (Plate 17), for example, which the illustrious John Speer (Photo 3) built between 1863 and 1873, is a classic working-class house perfectly situated for people who labored for industries along the eastern edge of the city, where a burgeoning manufacturing and merchandising district expanded.[19]

This district grew in surges during the second half of the 19th century along the railroad line of the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad (LL & G) that was vitally stimulated by the railroad bridge over the Kaw completed in 1867.[20] This line would later be purchased by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad in 1875. The LL&G round house and depot, which the Santa Fe took over, were down the street, as was Whitcomb & Mead's Kansas Elevator. (Drawing

[19] John Speer (1817-1906) is memorialized at Hobbs Park in East Lawrence just south of Corky Reed's house. An ardent abolitionist, Speer came to Lawrence in 1854, published the first number of the *Kansas Pioneer*, was elected to the first free-state territorial legislature, and lost two sons in Quantrell's raid in August 1863. He served several terms in the Senate and House of Representatives of the Kansas legislature, and was elected State Printer. Speer published *The Life of Gen. James H. Lane* in 1896. Speer died in Denver, Colorado, in 1906.

[20] Sally F. Schwenk, "East Lawrence Industrial District," National Register of Historic Places. US Department of the Interior National Park Service, Washington, DC, November 1, 2005; David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas: An Informal History*. Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982, 139-44.

5) A Missouri Pacific depot sat nearby, and just to the south were cattle yards. The house was within easy walking distance to the ice houses along the river and the manufacturing nexus that had been building there since 1854. In 1865-66, Peter D. Ridenour and Harlow W. Baker added to their grocery business on Massachusetts Street a meat-packing business just to the north of 934 Delaware on what at one time had been land that belonged to John Speer.[21] Ridenour and Baker put in the first telephones in Kansas in 1877, which connected their downtown business to their packing plant.[22] Eventually, the packing business in Lawrence could no longer compete with Kansas City packers and in 1881 Ridenour and Baker sold their buildings in 1881, which were used to house the Lawrence Cannery Company in 1881.[23] In 1883, the Santa Fe built its own depot at the end of 7th and New York, a short walk from 934 Delaware. Theodore Poehler built his Kaw Valley Canning Company in 1889 on the lot behind 934 Delaware.[24] J. N. McFarland and Son built their planning, sash, and blind factory just east of the house. Remnants of this nineteenth-century industrial area remain, and various new industries there still provide jobs to people from East Lawrence.



Drawing 5
Change over Time and Contiguous Industrial Zone
934 Delaware
Brenna Buchanan

Owing to its location, cost, and size, many types of working-class people could rent the house. City directories tell us about the amazing number of people who made do at 934 Delaware. For example, Alburtus Welsh, a traveling salesman for Kumler & Underwood, and his son Alburtus Jr., who was a traveling salesman for Western Supply Company, lived there during

[21] Ridenour and Baker rebuilt their burned-out grocery business after the raid and Baker recovered from his wounds.

[22] David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas: An Informal History*. Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982, 247.

[23] Peter D. Ridenour, *Autobiography of Peter D. Ridenour*. Kansas City: Hudson Press, 1908, 232-35; David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas-: An Informal History*. Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982, 185-86.

[24] "The Kaw Valley Canning Company," *Lawrence Daily World*, February 5, 1903, 9:1.

much of the 1890s. In 1907, Elton J. Osborn, a teamster, and his wife Nora lived there. In 1908 to 1909, George C Washburn, a lineman, and his wife Jennie and son Charles lived there. Artemus Cooper, a blacksmith from southwestern Pennsylvania and patentee of the "Mogul" spike and bolt puller, lived there in 1911 with his wife Iva Belle and son Elmer. Then came Henry Thornaden, a laborer, and his wife Minnie. Thaddeus W. Mundy, a laborer, and Agnes lived there in 1917 followed by George Hunkey, a laborer, in 1923. In 1925, Elmer E. Augustine, who worked for Kansas Plumbing Heating & Electric Company lived there with his wife Maude. Roy Rowland and his wife Goldie rented from Mrs. William Schell in 1927 to 1928. He drove a cab for the Yellow Cab Company.

From about 1930 to 2009, members of Glenn "Corky" Reed's family lived at 934 Delaware. Corky's grandfather rented the house first and worked for the Barteldes Seed Company and the interurban Kansas City-Kaw Valley Railroad. Corky's aunt and uncle, Tim and Marvel Murphy, started renting the house from Mrs. Schell, who bought the house in 1926 and whose husband William ran Schell's Grocery at 1000 New Jersey Street. Corky moved in with them in 1937. The Murphys eventually bought the house in 1946 with money they had worked for years to save. Tim, a cabby for over fifty years, started driving a Model T in 1917, charging ten cents a ride, and working for twenty-four hours a day (Photo 4). [25]

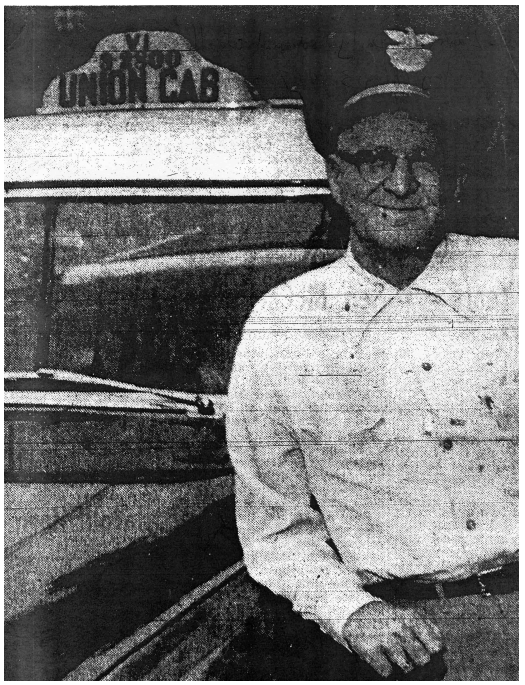


Photo 4 Tim Murphy, Cabbie
(Source: *Lawrence Journal World* Archive, the Kansas Collection of
Spencer Research Library, the University of Kansas)

[25] "'Old Pro' in Cabbie Ranks," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, May 3, 1957, 1-2. "Charles E. Murphy" obituary, *Lawrence Journal World,* February 22, 1982, 9.

Marvel was a much-revered supervisor at the Kaw Valley Canning Company and she ran the coal office in the off-season. Corky said that W. H. Pendleton, the owner of the company while Marvel worked there, came "over to the house all the time," and "personally brought her bonus to her."[26]

Corky also worked there two summers as a young man for 90 cents an hour, cooking the sauce for the pork 'n beans. Except for his two-year stint in the US Army during the Korean War, Corky lived at 934 Delaware from 1937 to 2009.[27] He considered his military period the greatest time in his life, and he proudly served as an army radio repairman from February 1951 to February 1953.[28] After he was mustered out honorably, he went back to live in his old house. During his working life he ran a television repair service and worked as a locksmith at the Sunflower Hercules plant in Desoto and as an electrician at the University of Kansas from which he retired in 1991.[29] (Photos 5 and 6)



Photo 5
Corky and Colleagues in the Electrical Shop, Dormitory Maintenance, University of Kansas, 1981 (Source: Author's Collection)

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[26] Mark Kaplan and David Evans, "Interview with Glenn "Corky" Reed, May 3, 2003, 3-4. The Lawrence Canning Company was established in 1881. The Kaw Valley Canning Company was established by Theodore Poehler in 1889. W. H. Pendleton bought the Kaw Valley Cannery in 1912. Marvel Murphy worked for Pendleton. See David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County Kansas: An Informal History*. Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982, 185-186, and "The Kaw Valley Canning Company," *Lawrence Daily World*, February 5, 1903**, 9:1.**

[27] Kaplan and Evans. Corky's interview is filled with stories of working- class people who lived in the neighborhood over the past seventy years.

[28] "Report of Separation from the Armed Forces of the United States," for Glenn Edward Reed. February 12, 1953.

[29] "Glenn Edward Reed," obituary, ***Lawrence Journal World*****,** March 12, 2009.

Left to Right:
Bill Hicks, Danell Cox, Bob Still Jr., Art Barton, Gon Sou Kem, Corky Reed, and Walter Mersmann



Photo 6
Corky and Colleagues in the Housing Electrical Shop, University of Kansas, 1981
(Source: Author's Collection)
Left to Right: Corky Reed, Bob Still, and Walter Mersmann

After his aunt and uncle died a few months apart in 1982, Corky owned the house. After his retirement, Corky became a well-known antique collector and was a regular among a group of old timers who still meet at McDonald's on 6th Street for their morning coffee.[30] Corky was an inveterate collector and filled up his house with a dizzying array of fantastic antique objects. Upon his death in 2009, he willed his house to Jan Girnius, who grew up in Lawrence in a working-class family. Her father was C.R. Parker, captain of the Lawrence Fire Department. One grandfather was a blacksmith and the other a farmer. Her family was dirt poor, and after graduating from Lawrence High in 1958, her mother gave her "a suitcase and a blanket." At eighteen, she joined the US Navy, and since her return she says she's worked "maybe 50 jobs," everything from motel clerk to bartender and finally manager of scholarship halls at KU, a position from which she retired in 2006.[31]

Though many working-class people have lived at 934 Delaware since 1873, not very many people ever lived there at one time. It is small, not insulated, and presents a no-frills interior with plain woodwork and the simplest details. One steps from an outside stoop directly into the first room formed by a tiny hall-space (Photo 7) that opens immediately into a living room.

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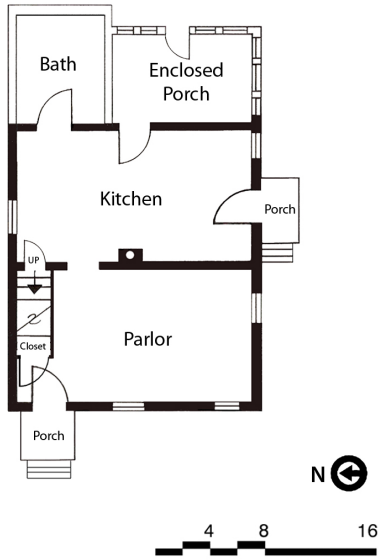
[30] "Antiques Session Focuses on Knives," Glenn "Corky" Reed at the Watkins Community Museum of History, October 21, 1998. *Lawrence Journal World*, October 16, 1998.

[31] Dennis Domer, Interview with Jan Girnius, February 7, 2010.



Photo 7
Entry

A door under the stairs leads to a storage room, which was originally a stairs to the basement and has been closed as long as Corky remembered. (Drawing 6)



Drawing 6
Plan, 934 Delaware
Brenna Buchanan

This first room is only 17 by 11 feet, which creates about 188 square feet of space. Its walls have been covered from floor to ceiling with walnut veneer paneling installed in the 1950s, which protects the old wallpaper laid down over the original plaster and lath surface beneath. (Photo 8) Owing to the dropped ceiling, the height of this room is 7′11″.



Photo 8
Parlor
934 Delaware

Walnut-stained cove molding hides the joint between the walls and the dropped ceilings; the corners have corner bead molding; and a 3-inch baseboard and quarter round base shoe, painted white, meet the floor. The woodwork is painted white throughout the house, and around the doors and four-over-four, double-hung windows it is original and uniform in detail. The floor of the first room and the floors throughout the house are 5-inch tongue-in-groove yellow pine boards painted dark brown and laid across 5-inch pine secondary flooring. In the living room, the original floor has been covered first with a new oak floor and then re-covered with green carpet. The gas floor furnace was part of the extensive modernization phase of Corky's house completely during the first half of the 1950s.

The second room, entered near the stair space, is a kitchen with a chimney, flue, and stove area, a back stair leading to the second floor, and 1950s double sink center with a Formica counter, and built-in cabinets all around. A kitchen pantry was built into the chimney as a part of the updating of the kitchen in the 1950s, when the wood stove was replaced with the floor furnace and a new gas cook stove. (Photo 9)



Photo 9
Pantry

This second room is an especially active living, eating, working, and circulation space because it has five doors: one to the first room, one to the upstairs, one to the bathroom, one to the back porch, and one to the south concrete porch outside. (Photo 10 and Photo 11)



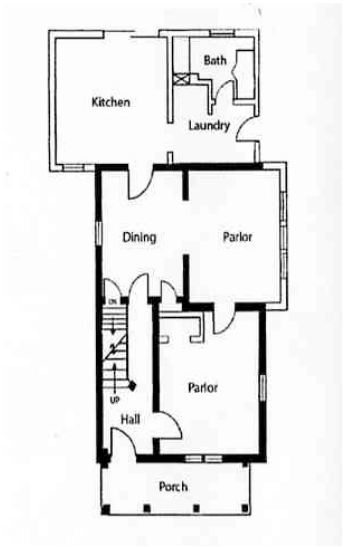
Photo 10
Back Stair Door



Photo 11
South Kitchen Door

Utility had to be the rule in this modern, 17 by 11-foot kitchen with a 7′11″ ceiling. Tough linoleum with a geometric pattern covers the original board floor. Paneled walls extend from the dropped ceiling to the cap rail of the 3-foot bead board wainscot that wraps around the base of this room. It is original, evidence that this room was always a kitchen. Because it has a side entry, the kitchen also functions importantly as a hall that diverts traffic away from the front living room. This diversion makes it possible to use the front

room for the more exclusive purposes of a parlor without sacrificing precious space for a fancy stair hall, as is the case at 912 Pennsylvania. (Drawing 7)



Drawing 7
Plan 912 Pennsylvania
Brenna Buchanan

This side-entry option at 934 Delaware was a cheaper alternative to the stair hall, and Plate A suggests that the side entry is typical in two-over-two houses that have back stairs. Two-over-two houses that have opted for the more expensive stair hall also often have side entries, but they enter into attached kitchens, which change the footprint of the house from a rectangle to and L-shape. Examples of this variation occur at 819 New Jersey, 1024 Pennsylvania, and 945 Delaware, as seen in Plate A.

For its purposes of cooking, eating and circulation, the kitchen at 934 Delaware is small but functional. The back stairs in the kitchen is of no aesthetic interest because it is fully boxed. The simple original black metal door knob has no locking mechanism (Photo 12). The original four-paneled stair door common from 1870 to 1940 is there for functional reasons, not asethetic.

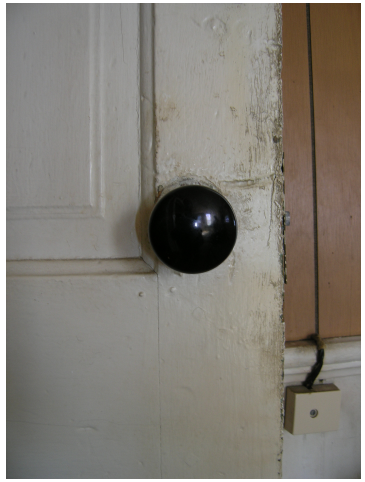


Photo 12
Door Knob, Back Stair Door

A square starter step begins the stair outside the door, (Photo 10) and this step eases the transition of the steep stair, which has carried heavy traffic for fourteen decades. (Photo 13)



Photo 13
Back Stair

The stringer and baseboard in the stair are plain white boards that match the rest of the woodwork in the house, and a brown wood rail is attached to the inside wall of the stair for support. The walls of the stair are wallpaper over original plaster and lath.

The kitchen also leads to the 6 by 12 foot, one-story shed indoor bathroom, which was a very significant modernization of the house that occurred in the 1950s when the house was tied into city sewer and gas lines. Before that, the privy in the backyard was the order of the day. This new bathroom with a linoleum floor seems also to have remodeled an old shingled shed extension that was in place by 1912 and was divided by 1927 into a room and screened-in porch. It remained that way until at least 1949. (Drawing 5) The screened-in porch was eventually filled on the southeast corner sometime after the new siding was applied. (Photo 14)



Photo 14
Back Porch

This porch was also reached from the kitchen and leads to a steep concrete outside stairs into the backyard, garage, privy,

and a meeting room attached to the back of the garage. With the bathroom and porch extensions, the first floor of the house provides about 564 square feet of space.

The upstairs, composed of two bedrooms (originally three), a hall way, and three closets, provides another 376 square feet, which brings the house to about 950 square feet of indoor living space. The upstairs has changed very little for well over a century. The floors, like downstairs, are brown 5-foot pine boards, and the ceilings are wallpaper over plaster and lath. The hall (Photo 15**)** shows the original brown board floor.



Photo 15
Upstairs Hall

The bedroom floors are both covered with old linoleum with flowered patterns in very good condition and a rare material since it was discontinued in the 1950s. (Photos 16 and 17)



Photo 16
West Bedroom Linoleum



Photo 17
East Bedroom Linoleum

The squared-off trim around doors and windows continues to be white, as in the downstairs. There are no corner, head, or base blocks. (Photo 18)



Photo 18
Upstairs Trim

Seven-inch base boards are finished at the floor with quarter round trim. The tall upstairs four-over-four windows bring plenty of light into these bedrooms and hallway during the day. The small closets in the bedrooms have no doors, and the nails on rails around the inside of the closet in the front bedroom indicate old ways of dealing with the few clothes of a working person. (Photo 19) The stair rails and newel posts may have replaced the original during the modernization of the 1950s.



Photo 19
Closet Rail

Like everything we've found in 934 Delaware, the interiors of most two-over-two houses in East Lawrence are modest with few stylistic flourishes, though the stair hall subtype usually exhibits more elaborate woodwork, especially open

stairways with ornate newel posts, and turned balusters. (Photo 20 and Photo 21)



Photo 20
Newel Post and Balustrade
1029 New York

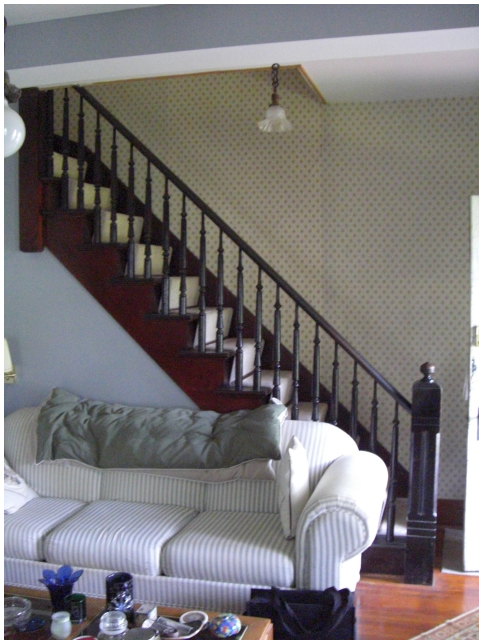


Photo 21
Newel Post and Balustrade
945 Delaware

Between the first and second rooms, 1029 New York has a Colonial Revival pedestal colonnade with Tuscan columns and capitals that carry an entablature. (Photo 22)



Photo 22
Pedestal Colonnade
1029 New York

This exuberance is an exception among two-over-two houses, and Henry Hart, one of the many German immigrants, probably built his fine brick residence in the early 1870s without it. (Photo 23)

The colonnade is more likely to have been installed during the early twentieth century because about 1908, Anna and John Taylor, superintendent of the Lawrence Paper Mill, added the south bay window and the classically detailed front porch. Given his position as a supervisor, the Colonial Revival fashion of that period it would be perfectly sensible for John and Anna to have made interior and exterior changes done at the same time. We don't know exactly what happened, or why. Another two-over-two house with exceptional interior woodwork is 1024 Pennsylvania, which presents Greek Revival casings around its windows. 945 Delaware has some original molded pilaster casings, bull's-eye corner blocks, and plain base blocks around its windows and doors. 936 Pennsylvania has exemplary interior woodwork. Doors and windows have center bead pilaster casings with bull's eye corner blocks and worked base blocks. The base board also has a beaded cap. (Photo 24)



Photo 23
1029 New York



Photo 24
Base Board Cap at Stair
934 Pennsylvania

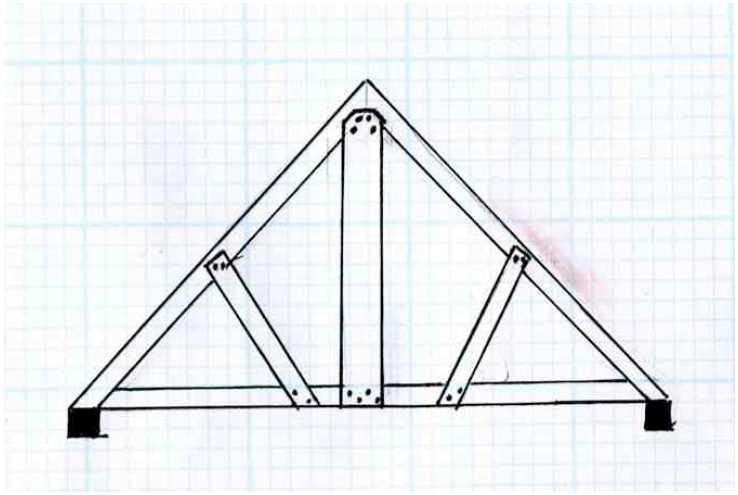
This kind of interior ornamentation is exceptional, but if a working-class family could afford it, it was comparatively inexpensive to purchase, especially after the McFarland Planing mill was established in 1887. That mill was capable of making just about any ordinary or elaborate detail, but it is difficult to prove who did millwork for houses in East Lawrence or in Old West Lawrence for that matter.[32]

Most two-over-two houses have balloon frame structural systems somewhat like the collar truss balloon frame down the street at 1001 Delaware that was built in 1908. (Photo 25) As in Drawing 10, its full-sized 2 by 4 studs sat on a wood sill on limestone foundation and were nailed into the floor joists that were mortared into the foundation. These studs rose all the way to the second floor plate, except where even longer studs in the pediment ends, which were up to 20 feet in length, stretched from the bottom sill to the rafters. The structure at 934 Delaware is like that, but its roof structure differs from 1001 Delaware.

[32] For encyclopedic sources for names of interior components, see three important books by Herbert Gottfried and Jan Jennings: *American Vernacular Buildings and Interiors, 1870-1960*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2009; *American Vernacular Interior Architecture, 1870-1940*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1988; and *American Vernacular Design, 1870-1940, An Illustrated Glossary*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1985 "The Lawrence Planing Mill," *Lawrence Daily World*, February 5, 1903, 3: 7; Keith A. Middleton, "Manufacturing in Lawrence, Kansas, 1854-1900." Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, 1940. Middleton states that the planing mill was hit hard by the 1893 depression and went under in 1896. This was evidently not the case since the mill was still advertising its services as late as 1903.



Photo 25
Open Truss Balloon Frame



Drawing 8
King Post Truss with Braces
Brenna Buchanan

934 Delaware has four kingpost roof trusses with diagonal braces or struts (Drawing 8) that alternate with five open roof trusses and one kingpost truss without braces, while 1001 Delaware has a much simpler collar truss system. The kingpost truss with braces is a holdover from a widely distributed medieval roofing system used by English immigrants to Massachusetts Bay and Virginia in the seventeenth century, as

well as early German carpenters in the colonies.[33] In Kansas the truss that John Speer employed at 934 Delaware was more likely the choice for barn structures and was even recommended for that purpose.[34] Speer was born in 1817 in western Pennsylvania and lived there until he moved to Ohio in 1839. In both places he would have likely come in contact with German carpenters and their conservative ways, and there were plenty of Germans throughout East Lawrence and on his block who may have built the house or advised Speer.[35] This structural conservatism is also evident in the two end bents that employ a 1-foot by 6-foot stiffening frame under the first rafter to make up for the end plate that was lacking so that the studs can rise unimpeded all the way to the roof. (Photo 27 and Drawing 9)

The roof truss system and the old under frame on the end bents argue for an early date for this house because the industrialized building process was rapidly developing during this period, a process that was accelerated by the building boom after the 1863 raid. The building boom lasted until the early 1870s, when the bubble burst. The population of Lawrence was rising so fast that there weren't enough houses for its residents, and what went up went up almost overnight. As one reporter noted, "To-day we see a hole digging for a cellar or foundation, to-morrow the frame rises, and the next day the family moves in. It is surprising how fast dwellings go up."[36] The faster these houses went up the greater the need to conventionalize and simplify the process. The later the house, the more likely it would have a conventional balloon frame. (Drawing 10)

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[33] Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*. New Haven: Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986, 42-43; Dell Upton, "Traditional Timber Framing," *Material Culture of the Wooden Age*. Brooke Hindle, ed., Tarrytown, NY: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981, 86-90.

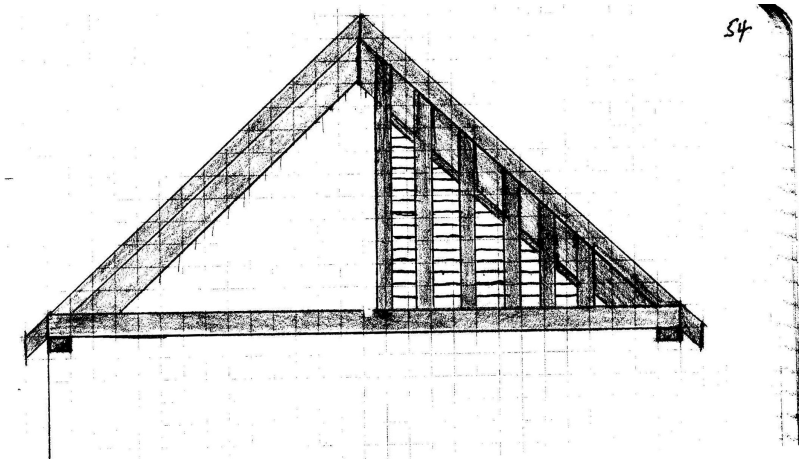
[34] "*Barn Framing," Carpentry and Building, A Monthly Journal*, IX, No 5 (May 1887), 34.

[35] Katja Rampelmann, "Small Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas, from 1854 to 1918," M.A. Thesis, University of Kansas, 1993.

[36] *The Kansas Daily Tribune*, Thursday, January 11, 1866.



Photo 27
End Bent Under Frame
934 Delaware



Drawing 9
East End Bent Detail
934 Delaware
(Source: Dennis Domer Field Book, 9/14/09, 54)

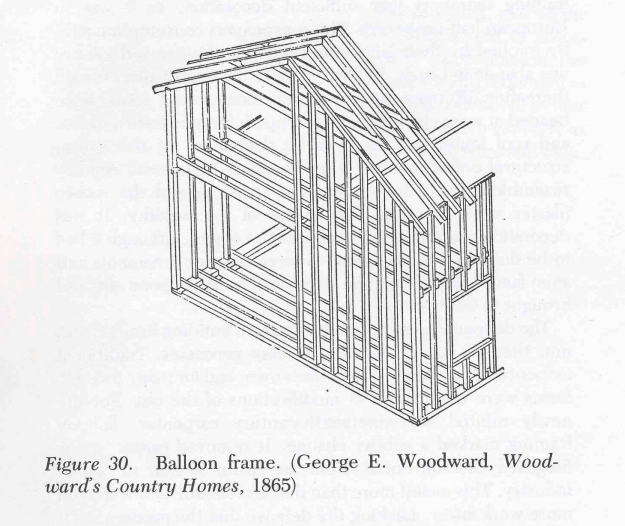


Figure 30. Balloon frame. (George E. Woodward, *Woodward's Country Homes*, 1865)

Drawing 10
Typical Balloon Frame 1865
(Source: *Material Culture of the Wood Age*, Brooke Hindle, ed.)

By 1870, 934 Delaware would likely have had a frame like the one in Drawing 10. The conservative frame was probably built earlier, sometime in the 1860s after the raid. All of the structure is sawn pine, which Speer may have purchased from Gurdon Grovenor. Grovenor had a lumberyard and received on August 18, 1865 "50 doors, 10,000 feet of lumber, and 28,000 laths" from the *E. Hensley*, a side-wheeler steamboat that was plying the Kaw at that time.[37] Speer also possessed a saw mill for a short period of time and could have sawn his own lumber for 934 Delaware. The sawn lath would certainly have fit his purposes to cover the inside of the frame on which plaster was applied to make his floor and ceiling surfaces.

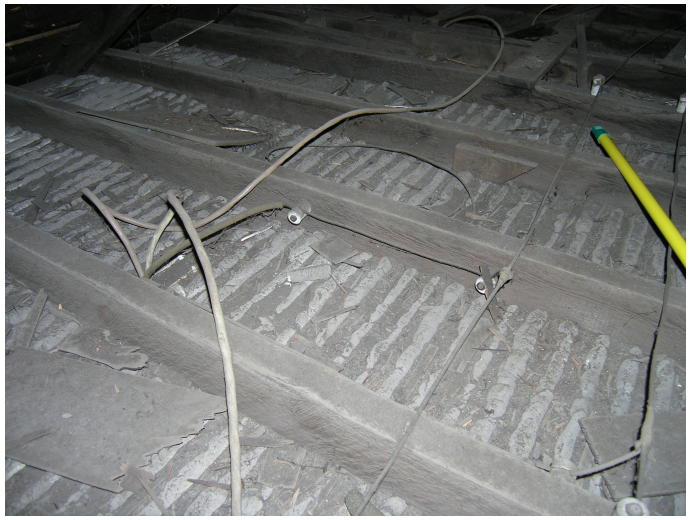


Photo 28
Lath and Plaster Ceiling

Another feature is the paper insulation system that Speer put up against the inside of the clapboard to cut drafts. (Photo 29) Using highly compressed paper for this purpose was a

[37] David Dary, *Lawrence, Douglas County, Kansas: An Informal History*. Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982, 136.

relatively new idea in construction that was introduced in the late 1860s in Chicago and New York. By 1874, it was used for roofing and sheathing because "paper will not shrink like lumber and leave cracks for the wind to penetrate; it is not affected by frost, cold, or heat, and if prepared as by the manufacturers mentioned, it is also water-proof, and will not be affected by dampness." This paper cost him less than $10 to purchase, and according to *The Manufacturer and Builder* was "one of the triumphs of modern practical science to place the comforts formerly only enjoyed by the rich within the reach of the greatest possible number."[38]



Photo 29
Paper Insulation System

Whatever the wood frame exactly looks like in our many nineteenth--century, wood-framed houses across East Lawrence, it is usually covered with clapboard siding, except for in about 10 percent of our sample in which asbestos siding has been laid over the clapboard. This occurred invariably during the 1950s modern period. 934 Delaware has asbestos siding, and in spite of its architectural and historic significance, it would be considered a noncontributing structure in an historic district because of its asbestos siding. This evaluation favors the exterior of a building as the way to determine its historicity, integrity, and significance. Superficial exterior analyses usually represent the end, unfortunately, rather than the beginning of the research process, and as such, they tend to mask the past rather than illuminate it. The exterior, interpreted in the context of the interior, can provide useful insights into the meaning of a house.

The exteriors of two-over-two houses, including their yards, are almost as simple as the interior, and though we began with interiors, exteriors also tell us much about working-class houses. All houses in East Lawrence within the historic city are set back significantly from the street behind a curb, verge, sidewalk, and front lawn. (Photo 30)

[38] "Paper as a Building Material," *The Manufacturer and Builder*, 6, 2, (February 1874), 32- 33.



Photo 30
912 Pennsylvania

The exteriors are likely to make some stylistic statement around their doors and windows, though that statement usually is subtle, as at Corky's house at 934 Delaware. (Photo 31)



Photo 31
934 Delaware Window

Several of these two-over-twos don't have front porches or they have been replaced but have a picturesque porch that usually presents a delightful display of turned columns, cross-gable with a sunrise motif, spindle frieze, and turned balusters. (Photo 32)



Photo 32

The expression of style goes well beyond the porches. Because two-over-two houses usually have a steep gable end, are two-stories, and are divided into three more or less symmetrical bays, they form temple-front façades facing the street. As Greek Revival architecture, they represent the ideals of independence, justice, and the democratic process in the new American republic. The two-over-two houses in East Lawrence join a host of other two-over-two houses built in cities throughout the United States during the nineteenth century.[39] Two of our houses, 945 Delaware and 936 Pennsylvania, have hipped roofs and don't have this Greek Revival character. Their roofs are more picturesque in character, but this obvious roof-type difference, though important on the outside, doesn't mean that the interior plan is different from a more typical two-over-two house with a gable roof. The exteriors of houses often indicate only skin- deep differences, and focusing only external formal characteristics often leads to the mistaken notion that the interiors, where the living primarily occurs, differ significantly, too. Both of these hipped-roof houses have classic stair hall, two-over-two plans just like the plans with gabled roofs. **(**Plates 18 and 25**)**

For a little house, 934 Delaware stands tall on a limestone foundation. It sits alone like a sentinel on a hill that is sloping in two directions, on a double lot and at the edge of an industrial landscape and park. The hitching post on the verge, in spite of the twentieth-century steps beside it, indicates that this residence has been here since the city building period. The temple front of 934 Delaware is all the more prominent

[39] John Jakle, Robert W. Bastian, and Douglas K. Meyer, *Common Houses in America's Small Towns: the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mississippi Valley*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989, 70-72, 143-45.

because no porch stands in the way to obscure its nineteenth-century genuflection to classical architecture. (Photo 33)



Photo 33
West Façade
934 Delaware

The lintels over the doors and windows, in the form of pediments held up by column-like trim or sash, re-enforce the overall expression of Greek Revival architecture. The façade is a good example of a vernacular expression of a high architectural style. Its asymmetrical composition in which windows on the second floor do not line up with windows on the first floor suggests that internal priorities have determined the placement of external openings. This is true for all exterior doors and windows at 934 Delaware. They don't line up but they work. Many people don't notice that they don't line up because the overall imposing architectural effect of the Greek Revival is still there. As one moves around the south side of the house to the back and north side of the house, it is obvious that this little house is not in the business for show. The nature of the side porch, back porch, and bathroom extensions are clear, forceful, and unmitigated by stylistic pretense. (Photo 34 and Photo 35)



Photo 34
South Façade
934 Delaware



Photo 35
East and North Facades
934 Delaware

The asbestos cement siding, which covers the original clapboard siding, gives this house a strong working-class character. After Corky came back from his service in the US Army in 1953, a traveling salesman for this siding, sometimes called novelty siding, came to the house. Along with many others in East Lawrence and Old West Lawrence, his aunt and uncle were persuaded to put the new siding on over the old clapboard. It was as a part of the big interior modernization project they pursued, a project that was undertaken by many other families in the 1950s. It was not only modern, but it was also a very American-thing to do. Asbestos siding was the siding used on the full-sized American house exhibited in Berlin in 1950 by the United States government under the auspices of the Marshall Plan. This house in particular, and modern American design in general, were strategic weapons used frequently against the Soviet Union during the Cold War to draw distinctions between the advantages of American democratic-capitalistic-consumer society and the disadvantages of Soviet dictatorial-communist-anti-consumer society. The house in Berlin drew 43,000 Germans, who stood in long lines to see it, and John McCloy, the US High Commissioner for Germany, called it a monument to American life at a cost of only $24,000. (Photo 36) If asbestos was so symbolic of American

Photo 36
Amerika zu Hause/America at Home House
Deutsche Industrieausstellung
Berlin, 1950
(Source: Cold War on the Home Front)



capabilities in 1950 and throughout the 1950s, why wouldn't the working class, people like Corky's family, adopt it not only as sensible but "real honest-to-god" American?[40]

Except for the asbestos, the original facade of 934 Delaware is entirely intact from its earliest days. This change should have no effect on whether the house is considered to have enough integrity for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. As long as the siding was installed during the period of significance of the house, as long as the siding is representative of what happened during that period, and as long as it is at least fifty years old, it can be listed. The period of significance for this house is 1925-2009, when Corky's working-class family, which is very representative of the working class in East Lawrence, lived there. Asbestos cement siding was not only characteristic of that modern period, but it was also characteristic of the period in much of Lawrence's residential housing. It is well over fifty years old and will last in many cases longer than stone or brick.

The originality of material on the exterior of houses has always been of special importance in the determination of their historic value. The original wood, brick, or stone is preferred over all other materials. If replacements to the exterior must be made, they should be in the form and in the same material as the original. Replace wood clapboard with wood clapboard. Substitute siding materials are deemed to aversely affect the historic nature of a historic structure, even though these materials show unabashedly that they are not original and do not damage the original material. Metal or vinyl siding that looks like wood clapboard is considered inauthentic and

[40] See Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010, 22-28.

frowned upon. According to this thinking, asbestos cement siding destroys the historic character of a nineteenth-century house that belongs to a preferred past. This kind of thinking means that many old houses of real significance are cast aside as noncontributing structures because they have had to change over time to meet the needs of different generations of working-class owners.[41] For that reason, the National Park Service urges caution when deciding about replacement siding. "A wise approach," the NPS notes in a statement on non-historic alterations and additions, "is to consider the effect siding has on the character of the individual dwelling, and the character of the neighborhood as a whole."[42] In her study of north Rhode Island Street, Cathy Ambler states that "the siding neither interferes with nor compromises the district's strong sense of visual integrity," and that "asbestos siding, especially, has become a historic material in its own right."[43]

Asbestos for building products was introduced in the nineteenth century in the United States by H. W. Johns Manufacturing Company of New York, but modern asbestos cement siding for residential structures only began to appear frequently in different sizes and forms in East Lawrence and throughout Kansas during the early 1950s.[44] It could be installed on any house type, and six of the some forty houses we studied have asbestos siding. A significant number of house, 114 out of 798 or 14.2 percent, have asbestos siding today. This number constitutes a significant secondary material in the neighborhood, which is required for listing. This siding was one change that the working class could afford to undertake. It was easy to install, it could be painted and the asbestos fibers, encapsulated in cement, would remain inert for centuries. Once this siding was on, it was safe for the ages and would remain so unless disturbed. It was also fireproof. It was the perfect, long-term answer to one of the enduring

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[41] Dennis Domer, "Old but Not Good Old History: Prospects and Problems of Freezing Time in Old Buildings," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 26: 2 (Summer 2009), 95-110.

[42] "Historical Residential Suburbs. Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places." National Register Bulletin of the National Park Service. Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., 13.

[43] Cathy Ambler, "North Rhode Island Street Historic Residential District," 2003, Section 7, 5. See also footnote 3 on that page about asbestos siding and its cultural significance in a period of changing building materials and technologies.

[44] "Johns Asbestos Products," *The Manufacturer and the Builder*, 14, 4 (April 1882), 76-77; "Usefulness of Asbestos," *The Manufacturer and the Builder*, 14, 4 (April 1882), 68; "Asbestos," *The Manufacturer and the Builder*, 14, 4 (April 1882), 102. Asbestossiding.org; Eurek4you.com/home/asbestos.htm; for a very good overview of the problems of asbestos siding and its effect on the National Register process, see Brenna Buchanan, "Asbestos Side: A Historical Material," Unpublished paper, 2010. (Author's Collection)

maintenance issues facing working-class owners whose budgets severely constrained them. In many cases, it did not destroy the original siding but rather protected the old clapboard underneath, and so it can always be taken off when installed in this way, if an owner wishes to restore the facade. Asbestos siding could be purchased in lumberyards or from salesmen who represented lumberyards and who came to make their often persuasive cases.

Asbestos cement siding cannot be summarily dismissed as not worthy of Lawrence architectural history because some people don't like it aesthetically. Like the 1955 two-tone Chevrolet and the picture window, asbestos cement siding was very characteristic of modern design and a cheap way for the working class to take advantage of the new materials made available to modern life during the 1950s. This aesthetic, subliminally at least, was also patriotic. One of the most pervasive aspects of modern life during the 1950s was American Cold War foreign policy. Putting on asbestos siding associated the working class with the American Way as opposed to the Soviet Way. Almost everything exhibited in the American house in 1950 has disappeared from the American domestic scene except for asbestos siding. Why not admit that asbestos siding represents a history we should not forget?

The two-over-two house, like the one Corky Reed lived in for so long, has been one of the most frequent choices of the working class in East Lawrence. It has been a very useful house type because it permits a number of variations. The oldest of these subtypes has the stair in the second room just like the London plan and like Corky Reed's house. The most significant variations on the interior involve the choice of where to put the stair, whether to carve a hall out of the parlor for that stair, and how to protect the parlor from too much day-to-day traffic. Usually this urban, free-standing residential structure is simple on the exterior and does not lend itself to very much stylistic analysis, though in the past that is often the beginning and the end of the interpretation of houses.

Focusing too much on the exterior and never going inside is like reading a book without opening the cover. Going inside is crucial to understanding any building and particularly so if the social structure of living is to be investigated. (Photo 37) After all, it is the social structure that drives the working-class house more than the aesthetic. This is also true for most houses, even the big, elaborate merchant-class houses in Old West Lawrence. Without the living inside, it doesn't matter what the house looks like on the outside.



Photo 37
Corky's Privy
(destroyed)
934 Delaware

Chapter 2
The Peoples′ Choice

While the Two-over-Two plan like Corky Reed's was chosen more often than any other single plan, there were many other possibilities, including the One-story, which has a variety of plans, but it was chosen only slightly more frequently than the Two-over-Two, even with all its sub-plans. We know what plan people chose but very little about why people chose one plan over another. We do know that there were many factors that may have influenced these decisions and their timing, such as the size and nature of the population, the state of the economy, the backgrounds of people who had choices to make that might influence others with similar backgrounds to do the same, the ups and downs of building cycles that deferred choices and changed them, the availability of building materials, and the availability and affordability of builders. Within the context of these and other factors, someone made a basic decision about every house in answer to the question: what type of house should this one be?

Population Fluctuations and Building Cycles

Population peaks and valleys correlated positively with economic and building cycles. The rush of people into Lawrence pushed the demand for housing at times and required choices that may not have been optimal for people. Even when there were too many people for the number of houses, sometimes houses stood empty, especially when the population increase slowed.[1] The population of Lawrence shot up dramatically in the mid-1860s with a wave of hopeful immigrant settlers who were looking for opportunity in the famous city at the edge of the plains. In 1860, the population was 1,645, which grew 260 percent to 5,969 in 1865, and by 1870 it had reached 8,320, an increase of over 400 percent during the decade. It was impossible to house all of these people adequately during this boom. There must have been a lot of temporary shelters, and people were packed into the relatively few houses that stood by the end of the City Building period. The *Republican Daily* reported that there were no vacant houses to be found in September 1873.[2]

During the boom years of the City Building Period from 1864-1873, the arrival of a flood of immigrants brought a pervasive sense of optimism about the future of Lawrence,

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[1] *Lawrence Evening Standard*, October 7, 1879.

[2] *Republican Daily*, September 24, 1873.

especially after the Civil War ended. A reporter for the *Kansas Daily Tribune* expressed the city-building euphoria in an 1866 article he wrote Lawrence's burgeoning population. "At the rate of increase of the past year, and we have no reason, in view of the Railroad and the other great public enterprises now going forward, to expect it to be less, the city of Lawrence will in five years, be a city, at a moderate estimate of 30,000 people, and the great emporium of the Plains." [3] To the great

Table 4
Lawrence Population, 1860-1980

Year	Total	Percentage Increase	Percentage White
1860	1,645		
1870	8,320	405.0	83
1880	8,510	2.3	77
1890	9,997	17.5	78
1900	10,862	8.7	81
1910	12,374	13.9	80
1920	12,456	0.7	82
1930	13,726	10.2	89
1940	14,390	4.8	90
*1950	23,351	26.4	
1960	32,858	40.7	91
1970	45,698	39.1	92
1980	53,029	6.2	87

U.S. Census Data

*University students were included in the Lawrence census data for the first time in 1950; the percentage of increase has been estimated.

disappointment of many early prognosticators, Lawrence never became a great emporium nor even reached 30,000 people until almost a century later in 1960.

That reporter--and no one else--did not foresee the economic depression that hit Lawrence like a landslide in 1873. Looking back on those dark days, *The Daily Journal* reported that "October 1873 to January 1879 was a period of 'hard times' such as our country fortunately rarely if never before witnessed."[4] By the 1875 state census, the population of Lawrence declined by 2,087, and by the end of that decade the population of Lawrence rose only 2 percent. During the up cycles of the economy in the 1880s and the first decade of the 20th century, however, the population of Lawrence grew 17.5 percent and 13.9 percent respectively. This growth increased the demand for new housing, helped to fill the additions and subdivisions with very recognizable 19th century house types. With the influx of new citizens, there were plenty of housing choices to be made.

The First Up Cycle

What house type to build and the decision to build also correlated with the availability of money or at least the possibility of making money. During the second half of the

[3] *Kansas Daily Tribune*, January 11, 1866, 2/1.

[4] *The Daily Journal*, January 3, 1880.

nineteenth century, Lawrence experienced economic cycles that were driven by forces that affected the whole nation. Lawrence enjoyed the euphoria of a robust and growing economy and suffered severe privations when the economy went bust. On the up side the economy sped up the construction of houses and buildings, but on the down side it slowed building to a crawl. In the high times between 1865 and 1872, 14 new subdivisions were established, and hundreds of buildings went up throughout the historic city. From 1869 to 1872, the *Lawrence Daily Journal and Evening Tribune* reported that 800 buildings were erected, "six hundred going up in one year."[5] Even that was too few during the frenzy. "Although houses are going up every day, there is still nothing like enough," reported the *Kansas Daily Tribune* in 1865, and the surge of new houses was still growing in 1866, when the Tribune reported that "new dwelling houses are going up in every part of the city, more than we had any idea until we saw them, yesterday, during a short ride around the outskirts of town."[6]

So about how many houses were there during this gut-busting period of growth? This is difficult to assess but more possible now than ever before. A visitor to Lawrence estimated that there were already about 150 houses in Lawrence in 1856. [7] Cathy Ambler estimates that "about 20 percent of the district's housing was constructed" from 1864 to 1873. If the current district has 797 houses by our count, then her estimate would mean that 159 houses were built in East Lawrence during that

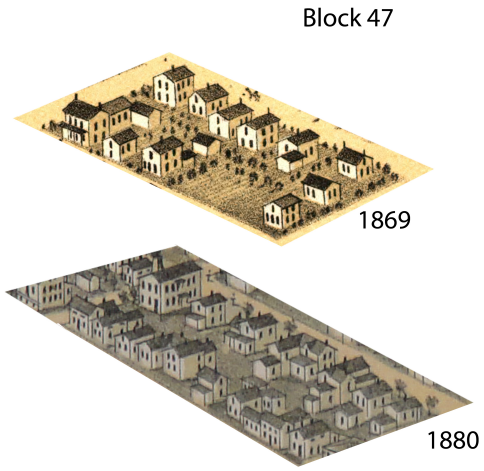
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[5] "The Past Year," *Lawrence Daily Journal and Evening Tribune*, January 1, 1895, 4:3.

[6] *The Kansas Daily Tribune*, September 20, 1865 and March 30, 1866.

[7] John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979, 434, quoted from a letter by Charles B. Lines to the *New Haven Daily Palladium*, April 15, 1856, in Alberta Pantle, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XXII (spring 1956), 14-15.

time, some of which replaced worn-out houses.[8] The Bird's Eye View of Lawrence in 1869 suggests that there were probably at least 300 houses in East Lawrence by 1873. (Map 3) This bird's eye drawing is one of seven completed during the nineteenth century to portray the development of Lawrence's urban structure and architecture. (See also Map 4.) This kind of drawing was done throughout the nation during that period by traveling architects and artists, and their work is consistently considered reasonably accurate, though not entirely so. In *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning*, John Reps uses the 1858 and 1869 bird's eyes of Lawrence to portray how western cities filled.[9] Because we have been able to computerize and magnify these bird's eye views in ways never before possible, we can count the number of houses on them and generally verify their accuracy.[10]



Block 47 illustrates well what these magnified maps look like and how much that block changed from 1869 to 1880.

By our count, there were 797 houses on the 1869 bird's eye: 281 houses in East Lawrence, 143 in north Lawrence, and 373 houses throughout the remaining parts of Lawrence. These 797

[8] Cathy Ambler, "South Rhode Island and New Hampshire Streets Historic Residential District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2003, Section 8, 25.

[9] John W. Reps, 430-37.

[10] Basically, we took high resolution digital copy of these bird's eyes and placed them into the software called InDesign (CS3). This program allowed us to magnify the bird's eye maps without any distortion, and we could zoom in on every building for analysis. We grided, numbered, and layered these bird's eyes, all in perspective, which gave us an analytical structure for counting and verifying that count. We recognized many structures on the bird's eyes that are standing today. Brenna Buchanan devised this method using various hard ware and soft ware technologies, and it provides a way to produce knowledge we've never had before.

houses--single family houses, rooming houses, and houses that boarded people--along with an array of hotels, cabins, tents, and hovels domiciled about 7,500 people by 1869. (Table 4) Throughout this essay, we present a cross section of the more permanent houses from the period between Quantrill's raid and the great economic bust of 1873. (Plates 1, 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39)

These 797 permanent houses were comparatively small to have housed 9.4 people on average, but more people lived together in the nineteenth century than in the twentieth century in East Lawrence. For example, according to the federal census of 1870, ten people lived in the David Evans household at 723 New York, and according to the Kansas census in 1875, a dozen people lived there. The 1880 federal census shows that 10 people still lived at the Evans' residence. This number may have been undercounted because it always had to include Evans' wife, as many as ten children, sometimes with as many as six boarders.[11] Eventually the mayhem as well as his great success in the overland hauling business may have convinced him to build his big new central hall house at 715 New York in 1883. (Plate 33 and I) He still had a full house in 1900 when all his children, his grandchildren, his son-in-law, and a servant, Eva Rohe, also lived there.[12] Evans boarded laborers, haulers, and servants throughout the last half of the nineteenth century. This kind of close living was typical of the time, when out of necessity just about everyone boarded people at one time or another. In addition, boarding houses were numerous, which relieved the continuous need for new housing during this up cycle. Further, there is plenty of evidence that people lived upstairs above the businesses, which would bring the ratio of people to residential structures to about 7.2 people in 1869.

There were also other living alternatives that relate to typical urban life in the nineteenth century: impermanent shelters and homelessness. These alternatives probably took up the rest of the slack in the thick stream of people who flowed into the city. There were likely many impermanent houses in this period, similar to what E. D. Ladd, later Lawrence's Justice of the Peace, saw in 1854. At that time there were log cabins, sod houses, thatched tents, frame houses of oak, walnut, and cottonwood, willow and daub houses, and earth houses.[13] (Drawing 20) Not all of the ragtag structures would have disappeared in fifteen years given the often

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[11] "David Evans," *Portraits and Biographical Records—Leavenworth, Douglas, and Franklin Counties*. Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1899, 477-78.

[12] *U.S. Federal Census*, 1900.

[13] James C. Malin, "Housing Experiments in the Lawrence Community, 1855," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (summer 1954), 95-121.

overwhelming need for housing by 1870. It is doubtful, however, that some of these impermanent houses would have been considered worthy of depiction on the 1869 map, though the map clearly shows one tent city west of town and one "hencoop," as they were called, on the south shore of the Kaw that looks like the saddle and harness shop depicted in J. E. Rice's drawing of 1855.[14] (Drawing 11) Two hencoops are shown on the 1880 perspective. The first house in Lawrence, a log structure built in 1854, was not razed until 1881, so it lasted almost thirty years as an impermanent structure. (Photo 98) It would appear, nevertheless, that the housing deficit during the heady days of the City Building Period might be described as egregious, and this deficit did not end in the nineteenth century. A significant number of people were homeless, and this situation would continue into the twenty-first century. Over the more than fifteen decades of Lawrence history, there have been many people like Miss Burnsides, who was recorded in the *City Directory* during the hot economy of the 1880s as "col'd" and living near the Bridge.[15] The number of homeless people went up in Lawrence and in East Lawrence during the tough economic downturns of the nineteenth century when there was no social net, no social security, no unemployment insurance, little sympathy for the poor, and everyone was expected to make it on their own. From our pampered place in time and history, it is nearly impossible to imagine the often dismal conditions our ancestors endured.

Most people lived in houses, however, and as the number of houses grew, East Lawrence filled up slowly from north to south over the first 100 years. In 1880, there were only 60 percent as many houses in East Lawrence as we find today, so the neighborhood was much emptier. Most of the houses standing in East Lawrence today were built before World War II, are north of 13th Street, and were plugged in here and there into unfilled subdivisions or into the empty spaces in new additions and subdivisions. Most post-World War II houses lie south of 13th Street.

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[14] For another insightful discussion about temporary structures in early Lawrence, see James C. Malin, "Emergency Housing at Lawrence, 1854," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 1(spring 1954), 33-49.

[15] *Lawrence City Directory*, 1886.



Drawing 11
Lawrence in 1855
J. E. Rice
(Source: Dary and Jansen, *Pictorial History of Lawrence Douglas County Kansas*)

A Big Down Cycle in the 1870s

In contrast to the burst of the housing bubble in the United States that started the Great Recession of 2008, the overextension in 1873 began in Europe when banks collapsed. The malaise spread, and a run on banks in the United States occurred, eventually closing four of the five banks in Lawrence and sending the fifth into receivership.[16] In response to an economic panic, the Union Pacific and Galveston Railroad shops were closed in 1873, and railroads in general entered a period of consolidation. Since the railroads were key employers in Lawrence, their contractions, in conjunction with the city's disastrous investment in railroad bonds that went belly up, put the brakes on development, reduced jobs, evaporated money that otherwise would have been used to create new houses, and scared people away. There was much less job security in the nineteenth century than in the twenty-first century and no safety net or bailouts. Skilled industrial workers and "white-collar" workers could expect regular hours over the course of a work year but laborers, the largest group of working-class people, were out of work on average about four months of the year. But when the so-called "Long Depression" of the 1870s swept in, between seven and ten percent of house owners lost their houses to foreclosure or forced sale.

The dismal years between 1873 and 1881 brought only one new residential subdivision to Lawrence, an expected outcome of a depression, but this didn't mean that building stopped. According to our count on the Bird's Eye of 1880 (Map 4) when compared with the count on the 1869 map (Map 3), there

[16] *Kansas State Atlas*. Philadelphia: L. H. Everts and Co., 1887, 211-12.

was still a significant increase in the number of new houses built in Lawrence and especially in East Lawrence during this down period. On the 1880 map we counted 528 houses in East Lawrence, up 88 percent from 281 houses on the 1869 map. East Lawrence housing stock grew faster during the 1870s than the rest of Lawrence, which grew by about 55 percent. This growth occurred in spite of the fact that by 1875 Lawrence's population had dropped 1,052 residents since 1870.[17] This supports the conclusion that because of the huge deficit of housing stock, there was still money in a depressed economy to respond to high demand. Much of this money was probably invested late in the 1870s when things began picking up after J. D. Bowersock arrived.



Map 3
Bird's Eye View of Lawrence, 1869

[17] Dale E. Nimz, "Workers' Housing, Workers' Neighborhood: Historic East Lawrence," *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict & Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001, 113.

But for many, the 1870s were years of trial and disappointment. Some people lost their houses, which were snapped up by others. Sarah and David Lindsey's story was typical. Sarah and David purchased a lot at 714 New York in 1870 for $1,000 and that same year built a T- plan cottage there.[18] (Photo 38, Plates 32 and F) The T-plan was a good choice because its cross-wing façade appealed to Victorian taste for the picturesque and fulfilled the desire to draw closer to nature by providing various views of the site from the inside of the house. In plan the T and its related type, the L (Plate D), provided efficient workable relationships between the parlor, the sitting room or library, and the dining room. Porches, which were essential to a Victorian way of life, were easily added at the cross where the forms fused to make the T or L. It was also easy to add a kitchen or a later addition, such as a bathroom, at the back on either side of this confluence.[19]

The Lindseys paid an inflated price for the lot but David was a carpenter and carriage maker, so it is likely that he built this durable house himself or had a significant hand in building it.[20] His labor certainly reduced his out-of-pocket expenses as did the nailed balloon frame, which cost about forty percent less than the older medieval post and beam structure held by mortises and tenons.[21] (Drawing 10) The balloon frame was so much easier to build, too, and required fewer hands. Lindsey covered the frame with clapboard, purchased two-over-two double-hung windows, installed panel doors, and framed the doors and windows with the simplest wood trim on the inside. He built his house without stylistic details on the exterior and the interior was plain without flourishes. Style is just not a factor at 714 New York. (Photos 38 and 39)

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[18] In the nineteenth century suburban houses were either cottages or villas, depending on the class and economic capabilities of the client. Cottages were for the middle class and villas were for the upper classes. Cottages could be smaller versions of villas and with plainer exteriors and interiors.

[19] At a cost of 50 cents or less, T and L plans were readily available in dozens of editions of pattern books published by nineteenth-century writers, including A. J. Downing, A. J. Davis, and Calvert Vaux. Fred Peterson argues that the cross-wing house is akin to the German Pfostenwohnhaus in *Building Community, Keeping the Faith: German Catholic Vernacular Architecture in a Rural Minnesota Parish*, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1998, 87-90.

[20] *Lawrence City Directories*, 1871, 63; 1873-74, 112.

[21] Thomas J. Schlererth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life*, New York: HarperPerennial, 1991, 99. For a full review of the origins and early use of the balloon frame, see Fred W. Peterson, *Homes in the Heartland: Balloon Frame Farmhouses of the Upper Midwest*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Though chaste, the house was still expensive. David probably made only about $1,000 a year, about average for a skilled laborer in the 1870s. That was adequate income for a good life in East Lawrence, but he couldn't afford to build a house without a mortgage. He probably paid five to seven percent interest on a five-year loan, which was standard practice.[22] Usually, the borrower expected to renew that mortgage several times before it was paid off.[23] He probably spent about $1,000 to build the house. David had six partners who helped with his mortgage, but by 1872 he and Sarah still owed over $2,000. Times got tough for them. They couldn't make the mortgage payments, and S. H. Church got a foreclosure judgment against them on December 17, 1872. This happened just before the Long Depression was about to become obvious to everyone and many more foreclosures followed. The Lindseys were not alone in their foreclosure misery.



Photo 38
714 New York

[22] Daniel E. Sutherland, *The Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860-1876*, New York: HarperCollins, 1989, 28.

[23] Thomas J. Schlererth, **Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life,** 101.

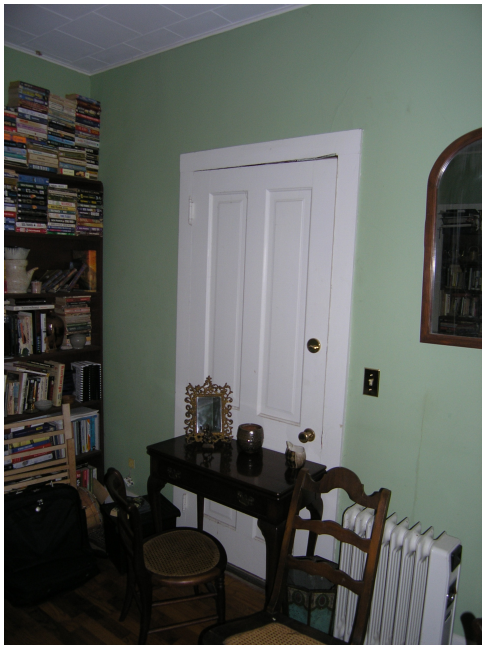


Photo 39
Paneled Parlor Door and Trim
714 New York

In 1874, Henry Hart, a grocer, apparently lost his brick house at 1029 New York which he built in 1872. (Photos 20-23, Plate A) Like Lindsey, Hart purchased the lot at the height of the land-speculation frenzy for $1,300, a high price then. The taxed value of the lot jumped $90 in 1871 to $1,900 in 1872, and by 1873-74, he and his wife Mary were living over their grocery store at 38 Massachusetts.[24] August Poehler bought out the Harts for $2,000 in 1874, and it was a steal.[25]

The 1870s continued to take a toll on home owners in East Lawrence. Worthy Bailey, a stonemason, built his limestone and sandstone two-over-two plan in 1869 and lost it at a sheriff's auction in 1878. (Plate 36 and Photo 40) This agony was repeated again and again across town.



Photo 40
1016 New York

[24] *Lawrence City Directory* 1873-74, 91.

[25] Douglas County Register of Deeds, Book 11, September 21, 1874, 348.

Things Pick Up in the 1880s

With the arrival of J. D. Bowersock in Lawrence in 1877, prospects for successful manufacturing began to pick up. Bowersock was a visionary and a business genius who positioned Lawrence for its next industrial boom and residential building phase with electricity from Bowersock Dam. Manufacturers, including Albert Henley, George Leis, John N. Roberts, the Wilder Brothers, and many others, took advantage of this new power source and built large new manufacturing plants in the 1880s.[26] With the help of Bowersock, J. B. Watkins and G. W. E. Griffin rebuilt the Lawrence banking industry that had collapsed in the 1870s. By 1882, a local newspaper stated that "carpenters, builders, plumbers, and painters rejoice because of the fact that building is on the increase."[27] The railroads came back, too. The Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad started building a new depot in 1882, and the Kansas City, Lawrence, and Southern Railroad moved to Lawrence, "bringing a large number of officers and employees with their families to add to the material welfare of the city."[28]

1882 was a pivotal year in the building economy. The *Lawrence Daily Journal* reported that "doubtless more buildings have been erected in Lawrence this year than altogether in five previous years. Dwelling houses at once find occupants and do not stand vacant as they did a few years ago."[29] Between 1883 and 1888, there were fourteen new subdivisions, which is a good indication of the number of houses these builders would eventually erect. By 1885-86, the housing boom was in full swing. *The Daily Journal* said that boom "would not be confined to any one part, but in all parts of the city new residences are either being erected or preparations are being made to commence them. The new houses are very frequently being built by men who want them for homes. The building will doubtless equal that of last year which should be satisfactory. This means several hundred new houses besides

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[26] See Brian Black, "Mastering the Kaw: The Bowerwock Dam and the Development of Lawrence Industry," *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict & Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins,eds. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 200, 121-29; **Kenneth A. Middleton,** "Manufacturing in Lawrence, Ks., 1854-1900," Master's thesis, the University of Kansas, 1940; Sally F. Schwenk, "East Lawrence Industrial District" national register nomination, November 1, 2005; and David Dary, *Lawrence Douglas County, Kansas An Informal History*, Lawrence: Allen Books, 1982, 171-87.

[27] *Lawrence Daily Journal*, December 31, 1882, 4:2.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

furnishing employment for a large number of carpenters and other mechanics.”[30]

Photo 41
J. D. Bowersock

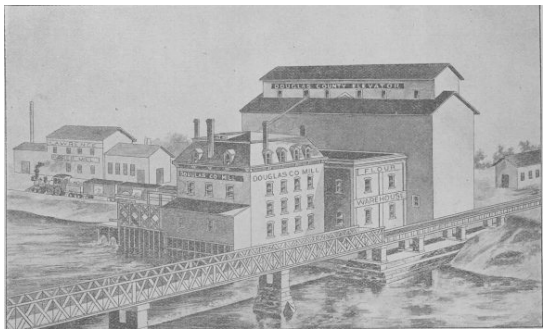


Map 4
Bird’s Eye View of Lawrence, 1880



[30] *The Daily Journal*, March 30, 1886**, 4**:1.

Drawing 12
Bowersock Dam, 1895 (Source Lawrence Kansas Memorial Album)



The 1880s economic recovery was not without its businesses failures, and these failures caused people who were once flush to make choices they didn't want to make. A striking example of this misfortune occurred at 1208 Delaware. (Plates 21 and B, Photos 42-46) On July 1, 1884, D. L. Hoadley, a real estate agent, advertised "the best built house in the city of Lawrence with 2 acres of most beautiful ground" for sale at a price "$2,000 less than real value" or "at three-fourths real value" owing to a "change in business alone" that "forces this property on the market."[31] On July 2, the house was snapped up for $5,000.[32] This type of hard loss and easy gain was not unique in the fabulous 1880s but during this decade most people succeeded in the pursuit of house happiness, making the choices they preferred, expanding their houses, and holding on to their mortgages for years. There were always two sides to every foreclosure equation. While someone lost a house, ultimately someone else more fortunate got it, in this case Dr. Samuel Coffin, an important figure in the Friends Church who went on to found Whittier College in California.

1208 Delaware was a great buy. It is a Double Side-entry house in the Italianate style with a balloon frame structure on a limestone foundation. It has a large wrap-around porch and side entries into the back parlor, the dining room, and a front entry into a stair hall. Its main floor is more than 800 square feet, and the interior appointments are extraordinary with elaborate faux marble hearths, a quarter flight stair with an open balustrade and brackets, heavy pocket doors separating the parlors and dining room, wide cornice trim and picture rails, a molded light canopy, and a cozy, squared-off bay window on the south elevation. As large and unusual as this house is, it did not have a back stair, which would have been expected at this time, so the owners probably never considered employing a live-in servant. The back stair, in addition to a formal front stair, would be considered more characteristic of a house whose owners had merchant-class pretentions.

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[31] "D. L. Hoadley Real Estate Agent," *The Lawrence Daily Journal*, July 1, 1884, **(?)3;3.**

[32] "Sold," *The Lawrence Daily Journal*, July 2, 1884**,(?) 4:**4.

From the exterior, 1208 Delaware might be considered out of place in a working-class neighborhood, except that there are other extraordinary houses in East Lawrence that don't seem to "belong" in the neighborhood either. (Plates 4, 20, 33, and 40) East Lawrence never was and still isn't exclusively a working-class neighborhood. Many members of the merchant-class preferred to live there in the 19th-century and they usually chose from among the same types of houses available to the working-class. In 1884, **Mina and John** Madson chose a big, elaborate and unusual sub-type of the frequent Side-entry house. Another Double Side-entry house stands at 725 Mississippi in Old West Lawrence, but there are many more examples of the main type with only one side-entry. 725 Mississippi in Old West Lawrence actually has three entries, an oddity that occurred owing to an Italianate tower built to impress visitors.



Photo 42
1208 Delaware
South Façade



Photo 43
1208 Delaware
Parlor Hearth

Photo 44
1208 Delaware
Quarter Flight Stairs



Photo 44
1208 Delaware
Balustrade

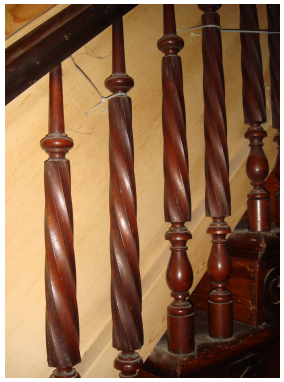


Photo 45
1208 Delaware
Pocket Door and Trim



Photo 46
1208 Delaware
Molded Light Canopy

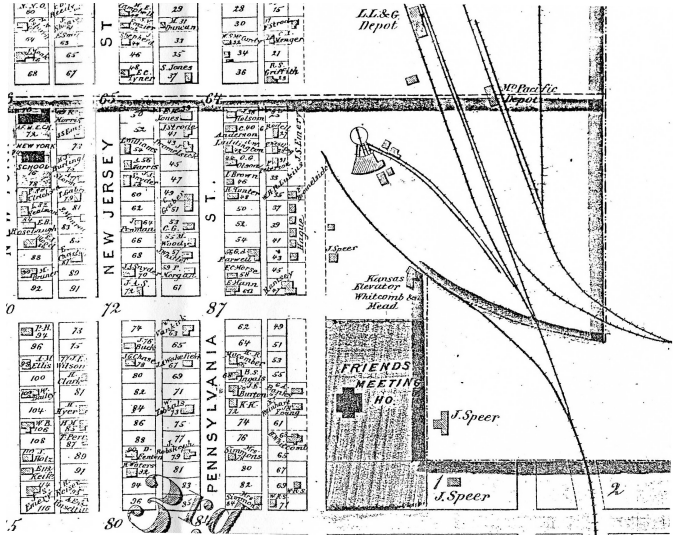


Twelve percent of our East Lawrence sample was Side-entry houses. (Plate B) The Side-entry house takes its basic plan from the more frequently chosen Two-over-Two house but makes the side entry that we saw at 934 Delaware more formal and comfortably accessible under the protection of the front porch that stretches around the side. (Plate 17) 835 New York (Plate 35) is a clear example of an original Two-over-Two house with a stair hall that has been transformed into a Side-entry house with an addition in the 1920s.

Hezekiah Whitcomb, a carpenter, built a large neo-classically detailed Side-entry house with a stair hall in 1872 at

1029 Delaware on Lot 63. (Map 5) He also bought Lot 65 and razed a house on that lot. His son, S. S. Whitcomb, bought Lot 61 next to his father's property, which was close to the elevator that he would erect with George Washing Ewing Griffith, a grain farmer, across the street and next to the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston line. This elevator was soon re-named the Kansas Elevator, owned by Whitcomb & Mead. By 1879 Theodore Poehler, Sr. was part-owner of the elevator and the Whitcomb's grocery business in the 900 block of Massachusetts Street. This partnership dissolved in 1884 and Poehler retained ownership of the elevator, which he leased back to Whitcomb. After the elevator burned in 1886, Whitcomb ran a grocery business with his brother, A. H. Whitcomb, until it went under in 1892. After that the Whitcomb brothers turned to the hotel business and operated the Santa Fe Hotel on 9th and New Hampshire. For twenty years, the Whitcomb's house was the home base of a big family until its business failed on the cusp of the Long Depression, causing S. S. Whitcomb to sell the house to his former partner, Theodore Poehler.

As a house type, the Side-entry house was often chosen by working-class and merchant class people. (Plate 20, Rendering 1, Drawing 13) The Whitcombs were productive merchant-class people, and Hezekiah and his wife, Salome, needed a useful house for themselves and ten children, their grandchild, and the tenants they also boarded. The 1880 census of the United States shows that fourteen people lived here.



Map 5
Delaware Street, 1873
Beer's Map

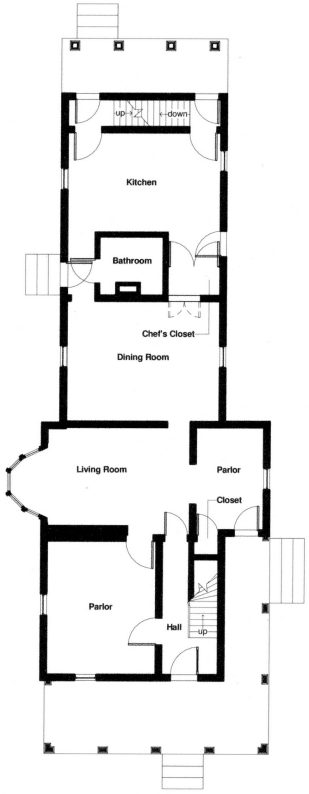


Rendering 1
1029 Delaware
East Elevation
Nick Nepveux

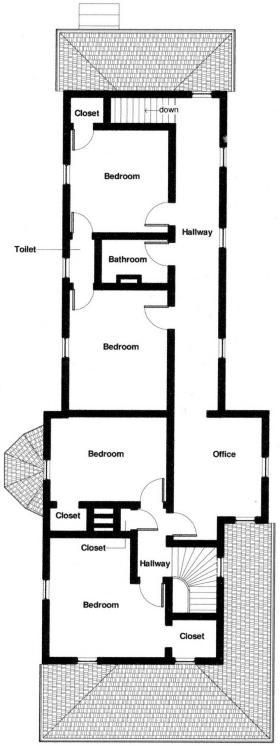


Drawing 13
1029 Delaware
South Elevation
Nick Nepveux and Brenna Buchanan

The house was more than twice as big as most working-class houses in the East Lawrence neighborhood with almost 2,800 square feet. (Drawings 14 and 15) The plan worked well because the side-entry allowed people to go from the front porch directly into the center of the house without disturbing the front parlor. They could enter a small parlor that opened into a richly appointed living room with a floor-to-ceiling five-bay window. (Photos 47 and 48) From there they could go into the large, wainscoted dining room that had a hearth and a chef's closet adjoining the kitchen. (Photos 49, 50, and 51) Using the back stairs, (Photo 52) they could go to the second floor without going up the formal stairs in the hall by the front parlor. If, however, an important business visitor came to call, he could be shown through the front door, instead of the side door. (Photo 52) The front door leads either to the parlor, down the hall to the living room, or up the formal stairs to the second-floor office at the top of the stairs. (Photo 53) Doors prevented the business visitor from going into the four private bedrooms. Owing perhaps to the size of the house, this particular side-entry plan also has two additional side entries into the kitchen which has four doors to the outside.



Drawing 14
First Floor Plan
1029 Delaware
Nick Nepveux and Brenna Buchanan



Drawing 15
Second Floor Plan
1029 Delaware
Nick Nepveux and Brenna Buchanan



Photo 47
1029 Delaware
Interior view of bay window



Photo 48
1029 Delaware
Exterior view of bay window



Photo 49
1029 Delaware
Dining Room Wainscoting



Photo 50
1029 Delaware
Dining Room Hearth



Photo 51
1029 Delaware
Dining Room Chef's Closet

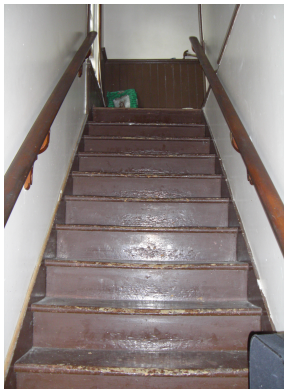


Photo 52
1029 Delaware
Back Stairs



Photo 53
1029 Delaware
Front Door

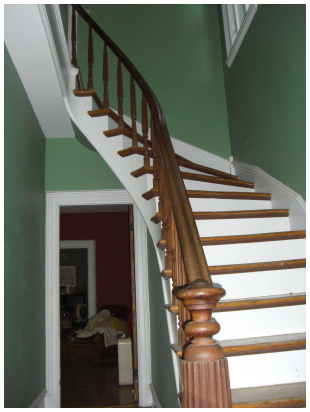


Photo 54
1029 Delaware
Front Stairs

The Double-Side-entry house at 1208 Delaware and the single Side-entry house at 1029 Delaware are not representative of working-class houses in East Lawrence but are good examples of middle-class houses owned by merchants who nevertheless preferred to live in this working-class neighborhood. There they lived close to their workplaces among people who worked for them and who were their friends. Middle-class people have probably always lived in East Lawrence, as they do today.

The four other Side-entry houses we investigated in the neighborhood were all within the financial reach of people making $750 a year. These houses are simple, plain, and small.

Edward Manter, who would become the chief and foreman of the Head Center Hose Company in 1869, bought 821 New York in 1866 for $800.[33] (Plate 34, Photos 56 and 57) The Manter family lived there until Ed's wife, Juliette, died in 1938 at the age of 96.[34] Built around 1865, this small house of about 800 square feet works much like its larger cousin, 1029 Delaware, with its stair hall behind a front entry and a side entry. But instead of entering into a parlor and living room as at 1029 Delaware, 821 New York opens into a dining room, which was probably the original kitchen. The elaborate front porch does not wrap around the house to shelter the side-entry, as is almost always the case in bigger side-entry houses. According to its Sanborn map sequence, this gabled house may have had a two-over-two plan, and the side-entry may have been created with a reconfiguration of the house completed sometime before 1889.



Photo 56
821 New York

[33]A. T. Andreas, 330.

[34]"Mrs. Juliette Manter," *Daily Journal World*, April 28, 1938, 2.

821 New York rests on a limestone foundation. Its balloon frame is covered with clapboard nailed to the frame. The windows on the front portion of the house on both floors are four-over-four wood sash and have champfered head trim. (Photo 58)



Photo 57
821 New York
Dining and Kitchen Additions



Photo 58
821 New York
Pedimented Window Hoods

The interior appointments change in this house, depending on the room. The interior walls were originally lath and plaster but have been replaced with dry wall in most of the house. The entry stair hall and parlor have more elaborate central bead casings around doors and windows than in the rest of the house because these were the most important rooms and were finished to impress. (Photos 59, 62 and 63)



Photo 59
821 New York
Woodwork in Stair Hall and Parlor

The front door to the hall has arched paneling and it opens to a straight flight stairs with a fancy turned newel post and turned balustrade and rail. (Photos 60 and 61) Nothing else in this house is fancy, which must have made a lot of sense to Ed Manter, one of Lawrence's famous fire chiefs.



Photo 60
821 New York
Front Door

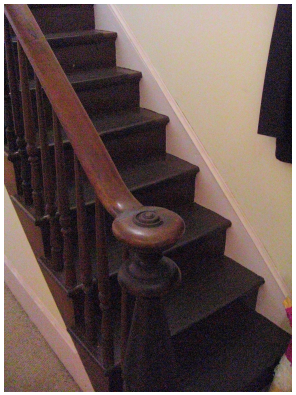


Photo 61
821 New York
Stair

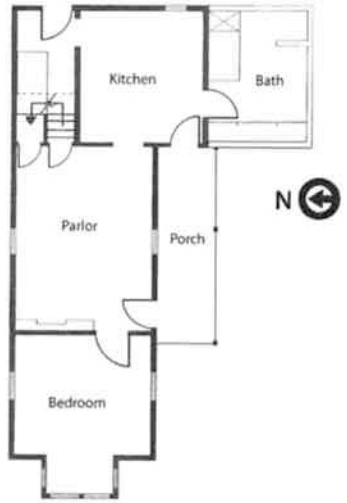


Photo 62
821 New York
Glazed Side-Entry Door, Basement Door, and Parlor Door



Photo 63
821 New York Dining Room
Plain Trim, Base Board, Cove Cap, and 5” pine floor

On a continuum of the fanciest to the plainest side-entry houses in East Lawrence, 1208 Delaware, which came out of the heady 1880s is the fanciest, followed by 1029 Delaware and 821 New York. 620 Rhode Island (Plate 1) has one the plainest side-entry plans.



620 Rhode Island

Drawing 16
First Floor Plan

Freeman Norman Blake, a graduate of Harvard Law School, who came to Lawrence in 1856, was a member of the Kansas Legislature, and a diplomat under Presidents Lincoln and Grant.[35] Freeman and his wife, Helen, built this side-entry house in 1870, and rented it almost immediately to William and Mercy Banks. William was a clerk in the Simpson Brother's Bank at 7th and Massachusetts, only a couple of blocks away. This house was next to Lawrence's historic industrialized riverside and on the edge of the commercial center. The location was perfect for the walking working-class. Owing probably to its location a block from their new shirt factory, which they built in 1882 on New Hampshire, the Wilder Brothers bought the house in 1883 from the Banks family. William Banks had died in 1878 at the age of 45 of an aneurism, leaving his wife and daughter to fend for themselves.[36] The Wilder Brothers employed many hands, requiring careful supervision, and the Wilders may have boarded one of their supervisors at 620 Rhode Island. It would have been easy to go back and forth from home to work. (Photo 68)

It was just as easy get into 620 Rhode Island with its side-entry opening directly into a kitchen, the most utilitarian space in the house. (Photo 64) There is no front entry, which is also a strong indication of the working-class nature of this house. Instead, the house has another side entry that opens into a living room, labeled parlor, (Photo 65) which must also function as a hallway to the front parlor, now a bedroom, a hallway to the kitchen, and a hallway to the stairs. (Drawing 14 and Photo 66)



Photo 64, 620 Rhode Island, Side Entries

[35] Francis E. Blake, *Increase Blake of Boston, His Ancestors and Descendants: with a Full Account of William Blake of Dorchester and His Five Children*, Boston: Press of D. Clapp & Son, 1898, 69.

[36] "Lawrence Happenings," *The Daily Tribune*, October 19, 1878, **4:2.**



Photo 65
620 Rhode Island
Side Entry into Living Room

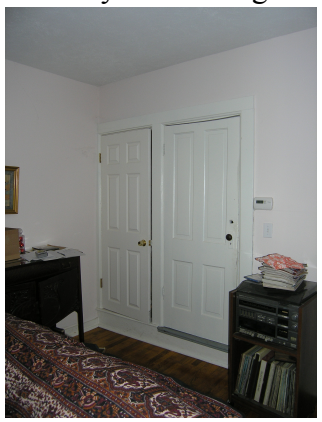
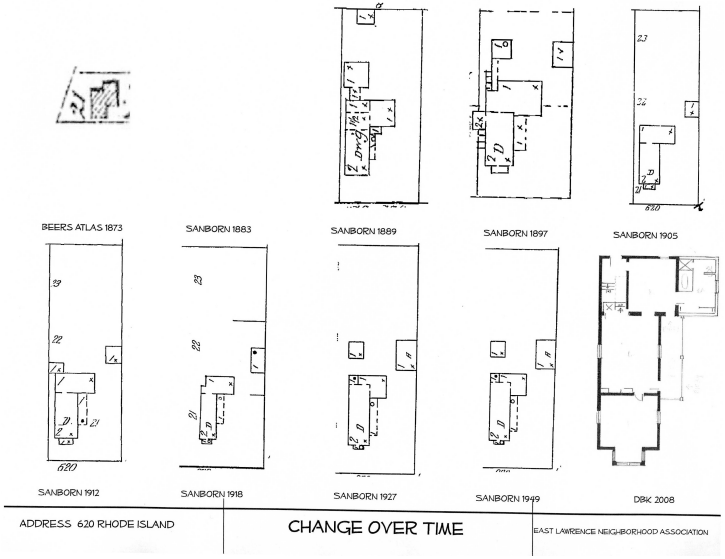


Photo 66
620 Rhode Island
Back Stair and Closet Stair in Second Parlor

620 Rhode Island has undergone two significant changes since Freeman Blake built it 140 years ago. Sometime between 1889 and 1897, according to our change-over-time study, a bay window was added to the humble front parlor, where William Banks had lain ten years before in his casket on October 19, 1878.[37] The bay window was a fashionable improvement in the High Victorian period. (Photo 67)



Drawing 17
620 Rhode Island
Change over Time, Brenna Buchanan

[37] "Died," *The Kansas Daily Tribune*, October 18, 1878**,** 4:4.



Photo 67
620 Rhode Island
New Bay Window and Asbestos Siding

Then in the 1950s with the original clapboard siding deteriorating, fancy new undulating white asbestos siding was installed. It was the modern thing to do to an old house, and now that this siding is over fifty years old and found repeatedly in the neighborhood, it can be considered a character-defining modern material with important meaning in the building history of the United States.

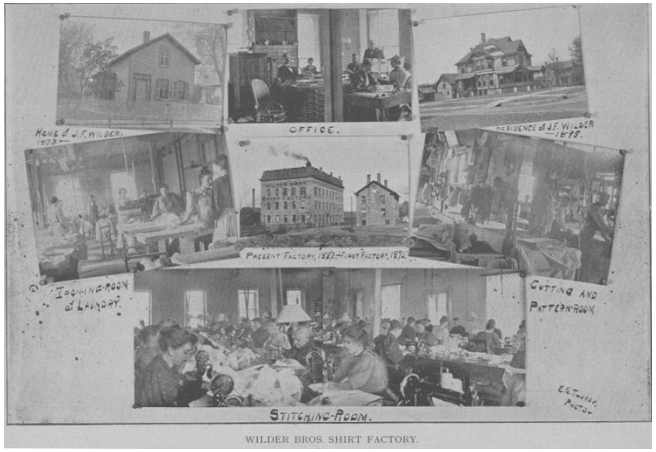


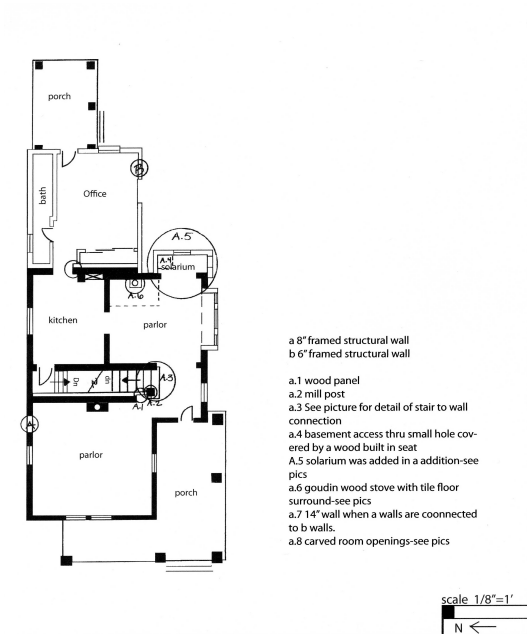
Photo 68
Wilder Brothers Shirt Factory
(Lawrence Memorial Album, 1895)

The placement of the stairway in 620 Rhode Island, which we call a back stair, is one variation of this back stair subtype. In another back stair variation built in 1899 at 1004 Connecticut (Plate 9 and Drawing 18), the stair operates transversely from a small reception hall and from the kitchen. This stair to the basement is hidden behind a paneled door in the kitchen. On the more public side of 1004 Connecticut, the stair steps down onto the edge of a tiny reception hall, peeking out from the wall and modestly announcing itself as a significant element in the entry way. (Photo 69) This stair,

however modest in the larger scheme of things, played the same role in the celebration of receiving and entertaining visitors in Victorian America as grander stairs in large reception halls had been playing in big houses in Old West Lawrence since the 1880s. The Neo-classical revival woodwork on the stairs and in the reception hall matches the woodwork in the back parlor, where light from the southern bay window brightens into a homey dining room and wood stove. (Photo 70) The more important front parlor is different, however, presenting beaded casings and corner blocks around its doors and windows. (Photo 71) The differences in the woodwork especially underline a hierarchy of spaces in 1004 Connecticut. These differences are not only aesthetic and stylistic in their material expression but subtly powerful indications of social standards and expectations.

In 620 Rhode Island little is indicated in its materials about the hierarchy of spaces, and nothing is made of the stairs to give the interior an aesthetic signature. The interior finishes are about the same, and the stairs are hidden from view and make no pretense beyond working as vertical passage ways to the second floor. In 1004 Connecticut, the reception hall and stair elevate the entry way experience, something working-class people frequently wanted to do if the money was available. In addition to making clear cultural signals about the varying importance of space through different styles of woodwork, 1004 Connecticut also effectively solves the problem in 620 Rhode Island's plan, which allocates too much space to circulation. 1004 Connecticut squeezes this circulation efficiently into a reception hall that opens to the front parlor, to the stair up to the second floor, and to the back parlor and dining room. (Photo 72)

The core of 1004 Connecticut is completely intact. An office addition was built about 1961, and the clapboard siding was covered with wavy asbestos siding in the 1950s. The asbestos siding was a powerful indicator of the modern idea that expressed itself in cars, new materials, new gadgets, architecture, and art. Even the working class was susceptible to modern, optimistic things, and this new siding was completely in character with the period, the working class, and the working-class nature of this house. (Photo 73)



Drawing 18
1004 Connecticut
First Floor Plan
Brenna Buchanan



Photo 69
1004 Connecticut
Stair and Hall



Photo 70
1004 Connecticut
Bay Window Interior and Woodwork



Photo 71
1004 Connecticut
Parlor Casings and Corner Blocks



Photo 72
1004 Connecticut
Entry Hall



Photo 73
1004 Connecticut
Wavy Asbestos Siding Addition, 1950s

The Down Cycle of the 1890s

1004 Connecticut was built during a long depression, which reminds us that some houses were built no matter how bad the economic situation in East Lawrence got in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 1880s spirit of

rapid and boisterous building carried into the early 1890s, but in 1893, another deep depression spread throughout the United States. Houses stood empty in Lawrence and builders added only two new residential developments.[38] This depression was also due to the over expansion of railroads and industries that could not meet their debt obligations when their profits dropped. Wages were cut and jobs were lost and eventually the credit crunch cascaded into 500 bank failures. Thirty-two steel companies and 16,000 businesses also filed for bankruptcy in 1893. Then there was a run on the US Treasury's gold reserves, and J. P. Morgan had to come to the rescue of the federal government. The economy still did not recover, especially not the farm economy, and "the tight money supply depressed housing construction, drying up important jobs and reducing immigration."[39]

The slowdown in housing went on for more than fifteen years in Lawrence when only nine new additions and subdivisions were platted, though even during this difficult period there seemed to be enough money at times in East Lawrence to build new houses and spruce up an already aging housing stock. An article in the *Lawrence Daily World* of February 5, 1903, suggested that there was no slowdown at all in Lawrence in the decade between 1893 and 1903. This seems improbable but the paper stated that, "In fact with the exception of one really bad year and one indifferent, the period has been the most remarkable in the history of Lawrence in the way of permanent improvements." Yet the article listed only $750,000 worth of building in that decade. The paper noted that "Lawrence has made a much better showing than the figures given" because some contractors did not respond to requests for information.[40] There are other indications that the national depression perhaps did not affect Lawrence as much as the rest of the nation. In 1902, the City Assessor, S. J. Churchill, saw real improvements over what he saw in 1900 in East Lawrence because "about four-fifths of the houses have been painted, and about forty new houses have been built, with a general repairing and fixing up all around."[41]

We surveyed ten houses built during the difficult period stretching from the 1890s into the first decade of the twentieth century. They include a T-house and an L-house, three Two-

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[38] Stanley Clay Hernley, "Cultural Influences on Suburban Form: With examples from Lawrence, Kansas," Master of Architecture thesis, the University of Kansas, 1985, 214.

[39]Details of this debacle are summarized well in Mary Beth Norton, David M. Katzman, David W. Blight, Howard P. Chudacoff, Thomas G. Paterson, William M. Tuttle Jr., and Paul D. Escott, *A People and A Nation: A History of the United States*, 6th Ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001, 568-69.

[40] "New Buildings," *Lawrence Daily World*, February 5, 1903**,** 3:2.

[41] *Lawrence Daily Journal*, April 12, 1902**,** 4:3.

over-Two houses, a Side-entry house that we analyzed in 1004 Connecticut, a One-story house, two Queen Annes, and a Bungaloid.



Photo 74
1002 Pennsylvania
Looking East

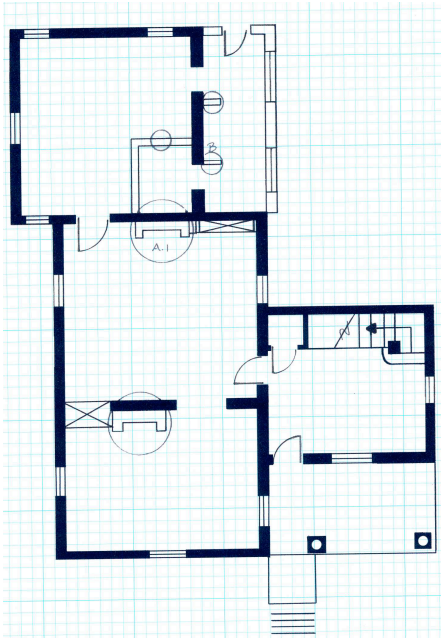
The T-house at 1002 Pennsylvania (Photo 74 and Plate 27), built around 1890, is almost 20 percent larger than the earlier T-house we investigated at 714 New York, which was built in 1870. It sits behind a high verge graded up from the street to the sidewalk and its perch at the corner of 10th Street makes 1002 Pennsylvania seem bigger in size and scale than it actually is. Its hipped roof, wide overhang, and frieze on the second floor suggest the sturdy look of the Italianate style, but Three Gables Preservation called the style of this house Classical Revival, referring perhaps to the Doric columns on the front porch.[42] Whatever style it is, it is so subdued that little can be made of it. It is more illuminating to say that



Photo 75
1002 Pennsylvania
Looking West

that is a two-story house with intersecting masses that come together as a T, which makes a plan that families frequently chose throughout the second half of the nineteenth century in East Lawrence. (Drawing 19) Originally it was not a T.

[42] "A. B. **Sirpless** House," Kansas Historic Resources Inventory Reconnaissance Form, January 30, 1995.



Drawing 19
1002 Pennsylvania Plan
Brenna Buchanan

The Change Over Time schema shows that Albert Sirpless originally built a Two-over-Two house with a kitchen extension in about 1890 and converted it into a T-house between 1918 and 1927. His addition, a large reception hall and stairs (Photos 76 and 77), was not altogether successful because it did not provide direct access to a dining room or kitchen, usually through a small hall that bypasses the living room or second parlor. Second, it did not provide direct access into the parlor and in that way did not become an extension of the parlor. A typical reception hall in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century would have done that, like the Four-over-Four house built at 739 Connecticut between 1915 and 1920. (Plate 6) Sirpless's addition makes it impossible to get to the more private zone at the back of the house without going through public zone in the front of the house. This variation in the typical reception hall also meant that the living room would always be used for circulation, making it awkward to manage as a comfortable room. The current owner remarked that he can't seem to make the space in the living room work well, no matter how he arranges it.



Photo 76
1002 Pennsylvania
Stair in Reception Hall



Photo 77
1002 Pennsylvania
Newel Post and Baluster

In spite of its imposing size on the outside, 1002 Pennsylvania on the inside is too small for its job because the new plan didn't work as well as hoped, no matter how beautiful the new woodwork in the reception hall was. (Photo 77) The way Sirpless attached his square reception hall to the rectangular core of his house may be unique in East Lawrence. Instead of choosing one of the well-worked-out reception hall plans familiar and available to him, he experimented. A square hall can be very workable, like the one at 319 E. 7th Street (Plate 40), but it has to have access to the parlor and to another room for passage to the rear of the house. Sirpless was not the only one in an experimental mood in the 1890s, a decade when High Victorian excess began to unravel tried and true plans and create Baroque facades with effusive embellishment, fanciful towers, and a variety of contrasting materials. The more variety the better, the more forms the better, the more objects the better—that was the High Victorian philosophy of life, outside and inside the house. **Sirpless** would follow that philosophy perhaps as much as a working man could with limited resources inside his house.

The woodwork throughout the first floor offers a variety of excellent carpentry that Mr. Sirpless may have done himself, because he was an engineer at the McFarland planing mill two blocks east of his house. Different wood work details distinguish the living room from the parlor and from the reception hall. (Photos 78, 79, and 80) Mr. Sirpless fashioned a unique sunflower hearth in his living room. (Photo 81)



Photo 78
1002 Pennsylvania
Door Frame Base Block
Entry Hall



Photo 79
Door Woodwork
Entry into Living Room



Photo 80
1002 Pennsylvania
Michael Riehm and Parlor Woodwork

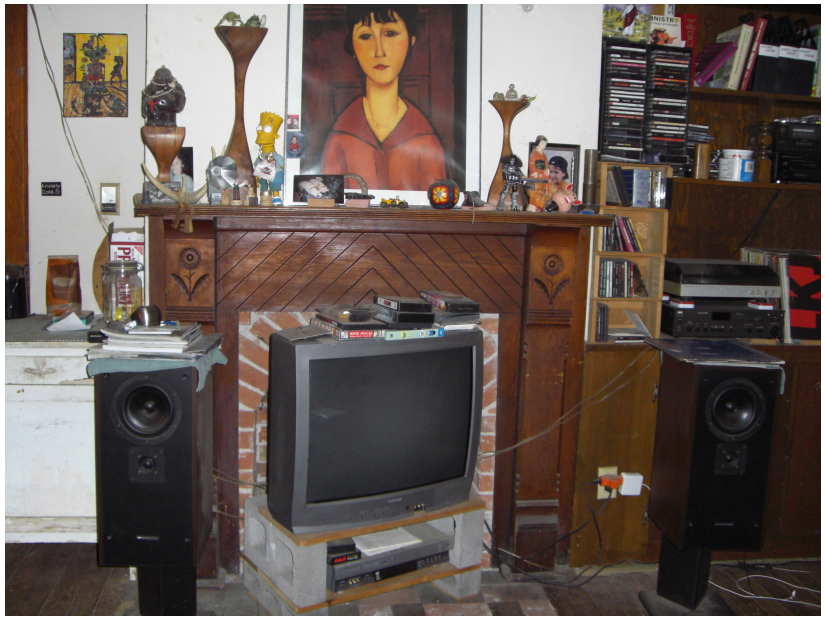


Photo 81
1002 Pennsylvania
Hearth, Living Room

All of this wood is yellow pine, which was also used in the floors throughout the core of the house in the form of 3-inch tongue-in-groove planks. The 2″ x 4” studs and the 2″ x 6″ joists set on 16″ centers and boxed with 1″ by 8″ plank are all yellow pine, and together they make this house a robust example of balloon framing. (Photo 82) Yellow pine had become very abundant in Lawrence by the mid-1880s, when Kansas City “emerged as a major rail center for the western distribution of Arkansas yellow pine” replacing the coveted white pine that was shipped from Chicago since the late 1830s.[43]



Photo 82
1002 Pennsylvania
Boxing in Kitchen

[43] William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1991, 160, 196.

The Economics of Availability: Wood vs. Masonry

The availability of building materials has always been an important part of the building-cycle equation, sometimes limiting building and slowing it down. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, wood was by far the predominant material out of which East Lawrence houses were created. During the 1850s and the first half of the 1860s, most of the lumber was locally grown hardwood that was sawn in saw mills by the river. (Drawing 20 and 11) There were six saw mills in Lawrence by 1863, and they often sawed extraordinary oak and walnut trees on the high ground along the rivers and tributaries. The editor of the *Kansas Tribune* in 1865 commented on the high quality of three-feet-wide walnut boards that that came from a tree measuring "eighteen feet in circumference" and which yielded "full five thousand feet."[44] The local trees, which were big but not abundant, were logged out quickly, however, and in the transitional period of the late 1860s, when the railroads were not yet running effectively, lumber was sometimes so scarce that brick and stone became the most available building materials.

Whatever the advantages of brick or stone over wood, there are relatively few brick or stone houses in East Lawrence from the nineteenth century for a number of reasons. First, somehow outside lumber nearly always got through by some means or another, no matter the difficulty. One means was overland hauling, which was made easier and more frequent by the extensive road building program that occurred in the 1860s that made Lawrence an entrepôt, "an intermediary center of trade and transshipment."[45] Nine new roads were built from Lawrence to Osawatomie, Olathe, Atchison, Neosho Rapids, Fort Scott, Leavenworth, and Ottawa between 1864 and 1866.[46]

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[44] *Kansas Tribune*, August 15, 1865, 3.

[45] *Merrian Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th Edition, Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Incorporated, 1999, 387.

[46] Dary, Lawrence *An Informal History*, 135.

Men like David Evans, who opened a transfer business in Lawrence in 1858 and from his success eventually built his new house in 1883 at 715 New York, took great advantage of these roads. According to the *Douglas County Republican*, "a large part of his work at first was bringing in freight from Leavenworth." He started with two mules in 1858, owned eight teams in 1899, and when his son sold the business in 1917, there were seventeen teams and one truck hauling overland goods, and he often hired additional teams to respond to demand.[47] They carried lumber and everything else.

There were also shipments of lumber that came in by steam boat as early as 1858 when the *Kate Swinney* delivered 300,000 feet of lumber.[48] These side wheelers required a deeper river than the Kaw to be reliable freighters during the droughty summers but some lumber got through anyway. Alexander Lewis, who later became a wealthy lumberyard dealer, floated a barge of lumber to Lawrence that he bought in St. Louis.[49] In 1865, steam boats like the *E. Hensley* were landing again. She was a small side wheeler with loads of goods, including "50 doors, 10,000 feet of lumber, 28,000 laths" for Gurdon Grovenor who had a lumber yard in Lawrence as early as 1859.[50] (Photo 83) Shipments of lumber continued in 1866 and probably through 1868 when the last side wheeler landed in Lawrence.

When the Kaw River was declared" unnavigable" in 1868, this new law caused no significant interruptions of lumber shipments because the railroad, which had reached Lawrence in 1864, took the steamboats' place as the main means of moving all kinds of materials into the city. Even before the cessation of steamboats, Lawrence's building industry started to benefit from large shipments of white pine that was cut in the North Woods, moved by water to Chicago, and sent out to towns like Lawrence by rail. In 1866, a "nice lot of white pine seasoned lumber, such as Dressed Flooring, Siding, Laths, &c." was advertised in the *Kansas Daily Tribune* by a lumber yard downtown, and in another advertisement on that same day the Delaware Lumber Company announced that it was "prepared to fill all bills for Lumber on the shortest notice. They are now

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[47] "The Evans Family Record Here Runs Back Into History," *Douglas County Republican*, Lawrence, Kansas, March 12, 1931**, 4-2**. *Portraits and Biographical Records*, 477.

[48] Albert R. Greene, "The Kansas River—Its Navigation," *Kansas Historical Collection* 9 (1905-06), 342-43.

[49] Dezeree Hodish, "723 Louisiana Street: A Study in Change over Time," Unpublished student paper, History of the American House, spring 2010, 4-5. Mary June Stough, A History of Lawrence through Old Houses, Lawrence, 1963-64, 1965, 24.

[50] Dary, *Lawrence An Informal History*, 136.

receiving by the U. P. R. R. from ten to fifteen thousand feet per day."[51] By the end of the 1860s, at least three railroad companies were operating through Lawrence, and one company added a second line to Topeka in the early 1870s. The 1873 depression dealt a temporary blow to railroad interests, but Cyrus Holiday consolidated all of them south of the Kaw into the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe by 1880. After that, there was always plenty of lumber, and brick and stone couldn't compete with lumber's availability and its ease of use.

Another reason brick and stone were infrequent material choices for houses in East Lawrence and throughout the city is that there was a much bigger building industry for lumber that stretched all the way to Chicago. The stone industry was local and could not compete with the world's most competitive lumber market, which was a vast transportation, financial, industrial, and commercial network that spread its tentacles over much of the North American continent, making it easy for provincial lumber dealers to purchase cut lumber and other building products. They had every reason to expect that their purchases would arrive safely and in a timely way by the end of the Civil War. The *Kansas Tribune* reported on March 21, 1865, that Mayor Grovenor was "superintending the hauling of carloads of lumber" that had arrived by the Union Pacific. (Photo 83) "Hereafter, Mr. Grovenor expects to procure his lumber from Chicago to Lawrence by railroad and river."[52] Lawrence was just a small regional market within a great continental market by 1865, and so it remains into the twenty-first century.

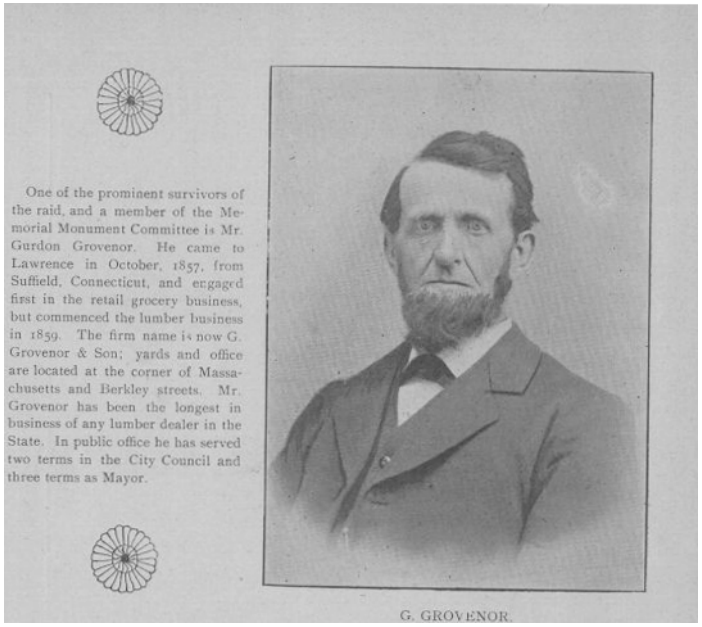


Photo 83
Gurdon Grovenor
Lumberyard Dealer and Lawrence Mayor
(Source: Lawrence, KS Memorial Album, 1895)

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[51] *Kansas Daily Tribune*, February 18, 1866, 3.

[52] *Kansas Tribune*, March 21, 1865. See also Nimz, *Living with History*, 77-78.

The local infrastructure for the lumber industry was much more extensive than for brick or stone. Sawmills started up in Lawrence almost before any other activity in the city, because they were needed to form lumber for the bustling little city. (Drawing 20) The mill in Drawing 20 apparently belonged to first to the Lawrence Association, which sold it to the Kimball Brothers.[53] The mill was supposed to have delivered about 4,000 feet of lumber a day, but it is reported that it didn't saw most of the time. By June 1855, three additional saw mills were running: Smith, Green and Company; the Hunt mill; and the Deitzler and Shimmons mill. Soon after, the Hunt mill's boiler exploded, which eliminated it, leaving at least three mills running during the pioneer period of Lawrence.

Ten years later in 1865, Orlando Darling's mill on the north side of the river was "running off lumber at the rate of from 5,000 to 10,000 feet per day," according to the *Kansas Tribune*.[54] Most of these mills were replaced by lumberyards, because lumber was more easily manufactured from trees in the North Woods, shipped by water to Chicago, and on by train to Lawrence.

By the 1890s, when Albert Sirpless built his house on Pennsylvania Street, yellow pine was king, and there was so much lumber available that five lumber yards were operating: G. Grovenor & Son Lumber Yard, Alex Lewis Lumber Company, A. Shaw & Son, C. Bruce & Son Lumber Company, and Pearce Coal & Wood Yard. In 1866 Gurdon Grovenor had built his new lumber yard at 10th and Massachusetts, where he started his business in 1857. (Photo 83) It covered ten lots on Massachusetts and contiguous streets.

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[53] Malin, "Housing Experiments in the Lawrence Community, 1855," **Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Summer, 1954),** 106.

[54] *Kansas Tribune*, February 21, 1865.



Drawing 20
Lawrence's Early Saw Mill
1854-1855
Loretta Fox Fisk
(Source: Dary, *Pictorial History of Lawr*ence)

He also owned several lumber yards in Lawrence, Ottawa, Garnett, and Iola, and was a fixture in the lumber business in eastern Kansas until 1899.[55] Alexander Lewis, after a short partnership with Grovenor, his cousin, opened up his own sprawling lumber company in 1868 at 11th and Massachusetts and remained in the lumber business until his death in 1905.[56] In size, it rivaled his cousin's lumber yard. (Illustration 1 and Drawing 21)

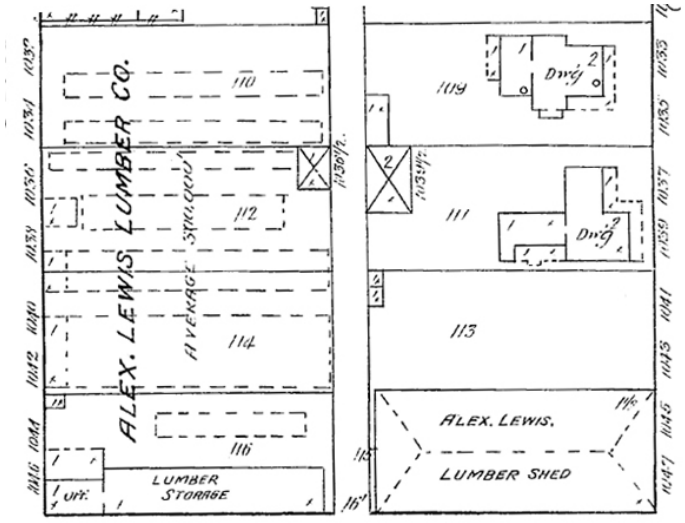


Illustration 1
Lewis Lumber Company Advertisement
(Source: *Holland's Lawrence City Directory for 1868-1869*)

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[55] Kansas Daily Tribune, March 4, 1866, 3/1; "Gurdon Grovenor," *Kansas**: a cyclopedia of state history, embracing events, institutions, industries, counties, cities, towns, prominent persons, etc.*** Chicago: Standard Pub. Co., 1912, skyways.lib.ks.us/genweb/archives/1912/g3/grovenor_gurdon.html.

[56] *Lawrence Daily World,* January 30, 1905, **4/2.**



Drawing 21
Alex Lewis Lumber Company
1889 Sanborn Footprint

C. Bruce & Son Lumber Company also covered ten lots. A. J. Shaw's and Pearce Coal & Wood Yard were considerably smaller, though Shaw's covered most of the area where the current city library stands.

It was also possible to get this lumber carefully milled into doors, sash, blinds, and moldings. As early as 1858, G. O. Arnold manufactured window sash and blinds, and H. W. Klemp produced turned and sawn building elements.[57] This local capability of making building parts came into its own at J. N. McFarland & Son Planing Mill, which was established in 1887 and could do wood turning, scroll sawing, stair work, hardwood floors, veneers, and designs for furniture and mantels.[58] Albert Sirpless and everyone else took full advantage of this company into the next century after McFarland died and his son continued to manage the business.[59]

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[57] Middleton, 75.

[58] *The Lawrence Daily Journal*, May 3, 1887, **3:3**; Lawrence Journal December 25, 1890; *The Lawrence Daily World*, February 5, 1903, 3:7; "Death of J. N. McFarland," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, September 13, 1905, 1:7.

[59] "Death of J. N. McFarland," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, September 13, 1905, 1:7.

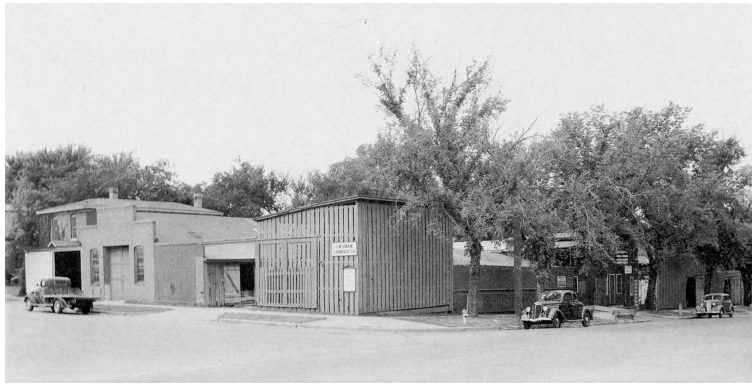
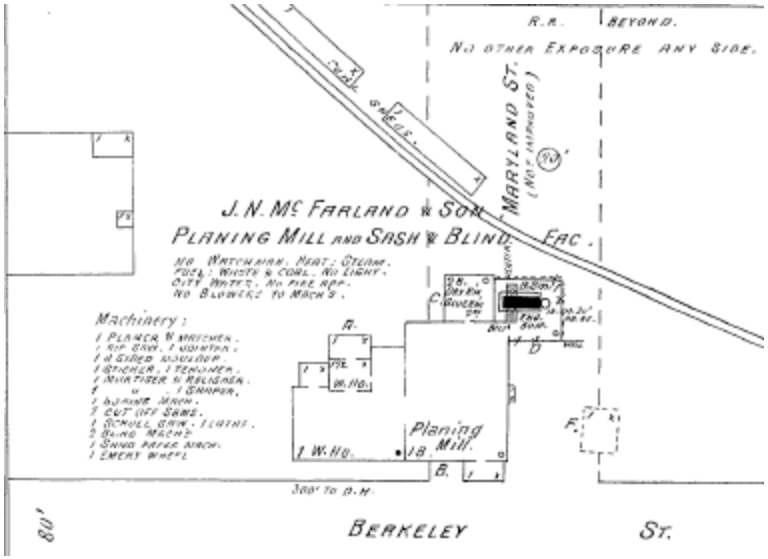


Photo 84
A. J. Shaw & Son
7th and Vermont
(Source: Dary, *Pictorial History of Lawrence*)



Drawing 22
J. N. McFarland Planing Mill
1889 Sanborn Map Footprint

Local specialty building industries such as the planing mill seemed to make building houses in East Lawrence much cheaper, quicker, and in the case of Sirpless's house at 1002 Pennsylvania, more elaborate. But this turned out to be an illusion and a misunderstanding of the power of a continental economy. Market forces consolidated the building manufacturing industry in the twentieth century within larger regional cities and national cities where all aspects of the production were advantageously connected. The railroad

system also improved dramatically, and many passenger and freight trains arrived daily in Lawrence on the Union Pacific line or the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe. The retail and distribution system for building became ever more efficient. Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck in Chicago had superior products that could be made cheaper and in large volume, which made them much more profitable than the McFarland Planing Mill business. These products could be shipped out to anyone in Lawrence who got a "Monky" Ward catalogue in the mail and ordered them. These building products were made mostly of wood, or paints, stains, and hardware like nails that were specifically manufactured for wood construction. These products made their big city producers and investors a lot of money that eventually took local industries in small towns like Lawrence under.

As powerful as the building industry in Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, and other large cities were, they could not, however, replace local carpenters and contractors who were necessary to assemble all the wooden and other parts that came out of a catalogue and arrived by train. Alexander Shaw, who later ran his lumber yard at 7th and Vermont, worked out of this address as early as 1871 as a carpenter, and continued to advertise his carpentry services until 1894. J. N. McFarland also offered carpentry services after he opened his planning mill in 1887, and the Pearce Brothers, who had a small lumber yard, worked as carpenters as well. The number of carpenters and contractors in Lawrence was much bigger than the number of brick layers and stone masons from the very beginning. James Malin calculates that among the first three groups of the Emigrant Aid Party there were seventeen carpenters and only one mason.[60] This advantage was never reversed. Between 1893 and 1927, for example, approximately four times as many contractors and carpenters advertised their services in Lawrence's city directories as stone masons and brick masons.[61] Many woodworkers, perhaps most, didn't advertise their services, except through word of mouth.

Brick by Brick, Stone by Stone

The relatively few masons who worked in Lawrence constructed most of their work during the city building period, according to Dale Nimz in "Living with History," but most of this work was in commercial building and stretched well beyond the city building period into the twentieth century. In 1883 alone seventeen new brick business houses were built on Massachusetts Street at an estimated cost of $108,000, and consequently the masons were often too busy for smaller jobs

[60] James Malin, "Housing Experiments in the Lawrence Community, 1855," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No.2 (summer 1954), 100.

[61] David Benjamin and Dennis Enslinger, "Resurvey of Old West Lawrence," July 1, 1991, 28-35.

in the housing sector.[62] Joel Gustafson, who lived at 838 New York, was born in Sweden, where he learned his stone trade, and had his stone business on Walnut Street, contracted in 1884 to help build Snow Hall on the University of Kansas campus. His other work included the Watkins building, Merchants Bank, the Opera House, Fowler Shops, the General Roberts building, the Donnely livery stable, the Soldiers Home buildings in Leavenworth, a bank in Hiawatha, the high school at Tonganoxie, a bank in Eudora, along with "some of the best residences in Lawrence."[63] This was a very heavy work schedule for his company and for other masons in Lawrence. Nevertheless, they managed to erect several masonry houses in East Lawrence. Our sample of some forty houses yielded eight brick houses and two stone houses, all but one of which were built in the City Building period. (Plates 3, 4, 7, 12, 15, 16, 22, 35, 36, and 37; Photos 23 and 40). This number, about 25 percent of our sample, grossly over-represents the actual number of masonry houses in East Lawrence.

It was very special in East Lawrence for the working class or middle class to choose a masonry house. If the choice for masonry was taken, it was a statement about solidity, longevity, pride of ownership, financial capability, and patience. This choice reflected a decision to spend more money on the house than the neighbor who built the wood frame house down the block. *The Western Home Journal* of August 23, 1883, listed the costs of houses built in Lawrence in that year, along with their main material. Through various comparative calculations, we believe that it probably cost about twice as much to build in masonry as in wood. A one-story stone house in that year cost $1,200, while the one-story frame house averaged just under $600. A one-story brick house cost about $1,800, a high price to pay. An ordinary two-story frame house could be built for about $1,500, which was only a little more than the cost of a single-story stone house, but it was twice as much house. The cost of a two-story brick house averaged about $2,800, just about double the cost of a frame house. It wasn't just the extra labor and time that added to the cost of a masonry house.

The brick industry in Lawrence has a problematic history, because there were frequent technical problems and business consolidations, and the industry couldn't compete with outside manufacturers. It survived, however, from the late 1850s to about 1920 and provided the material for much of the early

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[62] "Half a Million," *Western Home Journal*, August 23, 1883.

[63] *A Souvenir History of Lawrence, Kansas*, Lawrence: E. F. Caldwell, 1898, 73.

commercial city as well as streets in the downtown and in the historic residential neighborhoods during the early years of the twentieth century.

Ripley W. Sparr, who was born in Indiana, migrated to Kansas in 1857, and by 1859 he was manufacturing brick in East Lawrence near the distillery. By 1866, two other brick manufacturers joined the industry: Andrews & Lyons on the levee near the bridge and Abram Wilder in West Lawrence.[64] They all had their ups and downs and eventually folded. For example, the *Kansas Daily Tribune* reported in 1865 that the brick kiln had collapsed at the Sparr factory.[65] About a year later, the newspaper reported excitement at Abe Wilder's plant, because he had bought a new brick machine that supposedly could turn out 30,000 to 35,000 bricks a day, and Wilder would have his going in ten or twelve days.[66] A reporter visited Sparr's factory on July 15, 1866, and was "surprised by the rapidity with which he manufactures, as well as the perfection he has reached in finish and proportion. We saw two men mould 2,004 bricks in thirty minutes, which in a day of about ten hours would be 41,280. Mr. Sparr has sold near half million of his brick this summer, fully as many as he had sold last year up to this time, though at about half the profit."[67]

But in 1867, even though "builders had to contract a year in advance to obtain bricks," Sparr gave up brick making and became a grading contractor for the Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Galveston Railroad on its mission to reach Ottawa by January 1, 1868.[68] His grading business grew so that he eventually worked all over Kansas, keeping his headquarters in Lawrence, employing 150 teams and 125 scrapers.[69] Sparr was probably the best businessman of the bunch, but he dropped

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[64] "Ripley W. Sparr," *Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas, and Franklin Counties, Kansas*. Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1899, 158. *Lawrence City Directory and Business Guide for 1866*, Lawrence: Boughton & McAllaster, 1866.

[65] "Brick Kiln Fell," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, September 17, 1865, 3/1.

[66] "New Brick Machine," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1866, 3/2.

[67] "Brick Making," *Kansas Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1866, 3/1.

[68] Nimz, "Living with History: a Historic Preservation Plan for Lawrence, Kansas,"78.

[69] "Railroad Grading," *The Daily Journal*, April 12, 1881, 4:4.

out for greener pastures and by 1872, Andrews & Lyons and Abram Wilder also disappeared.

In that year only John McFarlane was making common building brick and tile on the south bank of the Kaw, and he was at the head of the local brick manufacturing industry from then on in Lawrence until his company closed in the twentieth century. In response to demand for better brick, especially brick for sidewalks and streets in 1897, he overhauled his plant, purchased a steam engine, vitrified brick machinery, and employed 35 men. In 1899, because the City of Lawrence needed lots of brick for paving Massachusetts so that an electric trolley system could be installed, the Lawrence Vitrified Brick and Tile Company was organized with McFarlane on the board of trustees. (Photo 149) The new company bought out McFarlane's old plant and the clay beds he owned that were "large enough to supply the new brick company for two hundred years."[70] East Lawrence was greatly affected by bricks from this company because many streets, alley entrances, and some alleys were bricked over during the first decade of the twentieth century. A number of city ordinances were passed, assessing residents for the cost of grading, curbing, and paving the streets with brick during that time.[71] The company could not always meet the demand because of the wet weather when bricks couldn't be hauled out of the factory.[72] Leadership changes in the company also compromised the quality of the product, and city engineers had to reject brick deliveries which "discredited" the company, as Middleton expressed it. This did not bode well for brick making in Lawrence, and energy costs really did it in. They were too high compared to costs of production at other factories in Kansas where natural gas, which was cheaper than coal or gasoline, was immediately available.[73]

All but one of the brick houses we studied in East Lawrence were made of the soft brick that came from factories like Sparr's, Andrews & Lyons', and Wilders'. The soft brick eventually had to be painted or stuccoed to keep it from crumbling.

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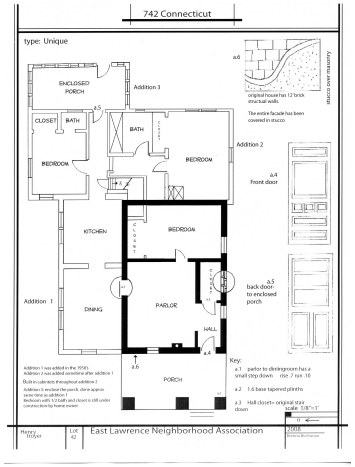
[70]Middleton, 163-167.

[71] "Ordinance No. 668," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, June 8, 1911, 1:2; "Ordinance No. 682," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, June 26, 1911, 3:3.

[72] "Good Road for Brick Company," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, June 24, 1911, 1:4.

[73] Middleton, 167. For a discussion of paving experiments in Lawrence before brick prevailed, see Cathy Ambler, "Mastering Mud on Main Street: Paving Technology in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict & Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001, 131-35.

Stucco was used at 742 Connecticut, a one-story house which Ripley Sparr built, lived in, and owned from 1863 to 1883. (Plate 7) Sparr built the core out of brick, and the next owner, Henry Johns, put a frame addition on the north in the 1880s. One-story houses rival Two-over-Two houses as the favorite choice of East Lawrence owners during the late nineteenth century. As Plate E suggests, these one-story houses could have any plan, and in our survey they have Upright and Ell, hall/parlor, T, L, and "bungaloid" plans. (Plates 3, 7, 10, 16, 28, 31, 41, and 42). The one-story was certainly a favorite of the working class, because it could be built for a lower cost. In 1883, for example, the average one-story frame house built in East Lawrence cost about $550, while a one-story stone or brick house could cost three times that much.[74] Johns bought the house for $1,000 in 1883. These one-story houses, like all the others, could easily take additions when life became too crowded or some other circumstance made an addition necessary. Since Sparr was in the brick- making business at the time, cost was less a consideration for him than for others. Sparr was also not from the working class, though he superintended many people who were. Henry Johns, an African-American, was more typical of people who chose this house type.



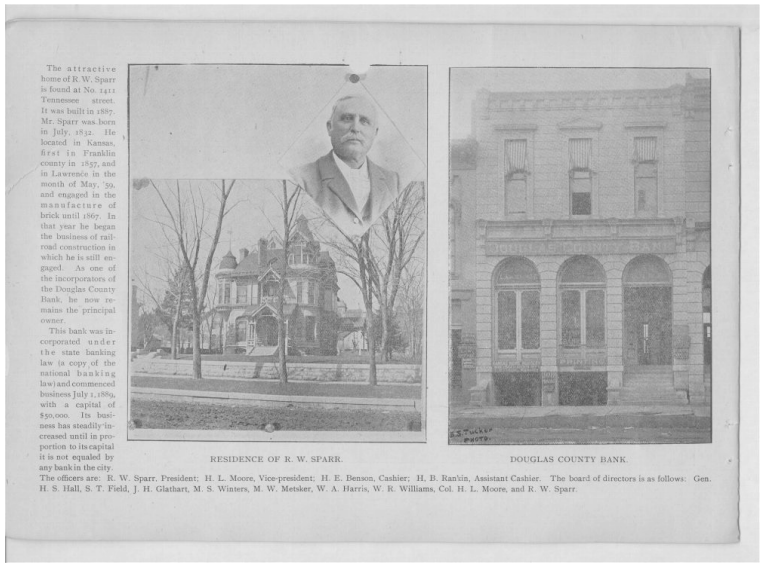
Drawing 23: 742 Connecticut
Brenna Buchanan

Sparr and Johns had at least one thing in common. Both of their wives died young and their funerals were held at 742 Connecticut. Mary Sparr was 37 in 1877 and Jennie Johns was about 40 in 1892.[75] Sparr might never have sold it to Johns, but he remarried in 1883 and built a grand Queen Anne house on Tennessee, which is no longer standing.

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[74] *Western Home Journal*, August 23, 1883.

[75] Oak Hill Cemetery listings; "R. W. Sparr Dead," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, August 25, 1902, 4/5; "Death of Mrs. Johns," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, November 23, 1892, 4:5.



The attractive home of R. W. Sparr is found at No. 1411 Tennessee street. It was built in 1887. Mr. Sparr was born in July, 1832. He located in Kansas, first in Franklin county in 1857, and in Lawrence in the month of May, '59, and engaged in the manufacture of brick until 1867. In that year he began the business of railroad construction in which he is still engaged. As one of the incorporators of the Douglas County Bank, he now remains the principal owner.

This bank was incorporated under the state banking law (a copy of the national banking law) and commenced business July 1, 1869, with a capital of $50,000. Its business has steadily increased until in proportion to its capital it is not equaled by any bank in the city.

RESIDENCE OF R. W. SPARR.

DOUGLAS COUNTY BANK.

The officers are: R. W. Sparr, President; H. L. Moore, Vice-president; H. E. Benson, Cashier; H. B. Rankin, Assistant Cashier. The board of directors is as follows: Gen. H. S. Hall, S. T. Field, J. H. Glathart, M. S. Winters, M. W. Metsker, W. A. Harris, W. R. Williams, Col. H. L. Moore, and R. W. Sparr.

Photo 85
R. W. Sparr
(Source: Lawrence Memorial Album, 1895)

Sparr had also made a lot of money by the mid-1880s in his railroad construction business, and as was often the case, people moved out of their modest houses in East Lawrence and built new, big houses in West Lawrence, when they became more affluent and had more status in the community. Sparr eventually became president of the Douglas County Bank.

Another brick and stucco one-story house in East Lawrence was built by Enoch Lewis Jones, who came to Lawrence from Pennsylvania at the age of 23 in 1857.[76] Jones bought six lots from John Speer in 1869 and helped build the house at 933 Delaware (Plate 16) and four other houses during the 1870s at 931, 929, 925, and 923 Delaware. Like many carpenters at that time, he could also do masonry work, and so he built the foundations for his houses and in case of 933 and 923 Delaware also the brick and stucco walls. The walls on the back portion of the house were wood frame and had brick nogging between the studs. (Photo 86) Jones also used an unusual false-plate system to raise the height of the roof. (Photo 87) Jones had no intention to own 933 Delaware for very long. Besides being a carpenter, contractor, and mason, Jones, who lived at 1210 Pennsylvania, was an early East Lawrence developer, and he sold his five houses as soon as he finished them in 1872 to Job Hague, who rented them to various laborers.

Unfortunately, the house at 933 Delaware was renovated in 2009, and it no longer retains its historic character inside or out. In contrast, the renovation of the brick and stucco Upright and Ell house at 938 Rhode Island was much more sympathetic to the past. (Plate 3) The current owners of 938 Rhode Island,

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[76] Charles S. Gleed, ed. "Register of the Old Settlers' Meeting," *The Kansas Memorial: a Report of the Old Settlers' Meeting Held at Bismarck Grove, Kansas, September 15th and 16th, 1879,* Kansas City, 1880.

marci francisco and Joe Bickford, are strong preservationists and have rehabilitated many old houses in Lawrence.



Photo 86
933 Delaware
Brick Nogging



Photo 87
933 Delaware
False-Plate System

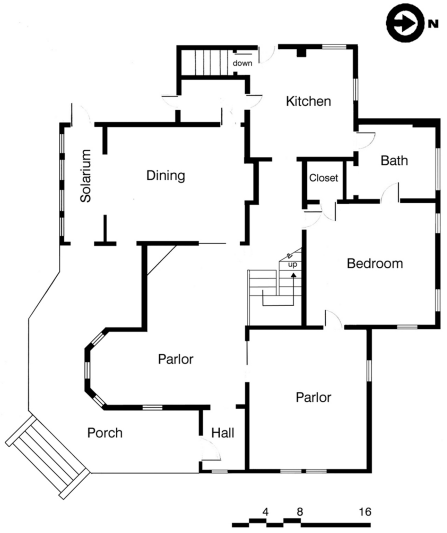
The masonry houses in East Lawrence are humble dwellings, except for the one at 645 Connecticut, built for A. J. Griffin, a merchant-class industrialist who initially dealt in lime, stone, coal, and owned the Griffin Ice Company. (Plate 4) He, like a number of other middle-class people, chose to live not in the high-income section of town west of Massachusetts Street but among the people whom he employed. He also built very close to the industrial district where he worked. 645 Connecticut was built in 1902 after Griffin tore down a house that stood there previously. Griffin chose the most fashionable house type of the period, a Queen Anne, and picked the finest vitrified brick. Apparently he bought the brick in Iola, where he had business interests and where there were two plants that could produce brick much more cheaply than McFarlane and his company in Lawrence.[77]

The Queen Anne plan can be almost any configuration but usually in Lawrence it is based a Four-over-Four plan, such as at 739 Connecticut, (Plates 16) that has been enlarged, modified, and reshaped into an unique, interior space. (Plates 14, 40, and H) Complexity is a watch word in the Queen Anne, on both the exterior and interior, which means a mix of materials, styles, and features as well as a plan that provides a large parlor with many views into the landscape. In this house, the reception hall is squeezed down, and the stair is hidden in the middle of the plan rather than accentuated in the usual Four

[77] *Kansas Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industry*, Vol. 1, Topeka, 1903, 152-53.

over Four plan. Rather than fulfill conventional expectations, the plan is designed to surprise.

On the exterior, Queen Anne wants to be organic and therefore has many forms, roof lines, and usually a tower to give a focal point to the otherwise turgid and unruly exterior. The porch is often big and wraps around the front and sides of the house so that there is plenty of outdoor-indoor space for public and private use. 645 Connecticut has all of these characteristics.



Drawing 24
645 Connecticut Plan
Joel Garcia and Brenna Buchanan

The grand display of materials and forms begins with the limestone entry stairs with elaborate stone newel posts and iron gate situated at the corner of the property, which articulates the corner of the block in high style. (Photo 88) Appropriately, it angles out from the corner, not straight on, and the steps curve large around the base and narrow at the top to accentuate the rise. The stone newels echo the tower that dominates the one-and- a-half story façade. The steps lead to an angled walk up to the front porch with Doric columns on brick plinths holding up the dentiled cornice. (Photo 89)



Photo 88
645 Connecticut
Entry Stairs and Gate

There are many contrasting masonry materials, different bricks types, window sizes, segmental arches, and lintels, as well as a unique water table of rough brick and limestone that make the exterior of this house special. (Photos 90, 91, and 92) Three shingled gables surround the central tower, complicating the façade even further but bringing needed light into the half story. This dazzling array of varied architectural elements creates a house that stands out from all other houses in East Lawrence. It rivals the Queen Anne houses in West Lawrence.



Photo 89
645 Connecticut
Front Porch



Photo 90
645 Connecticut
Façade



Photo 91
645 Connecticut
Entry Hall Window



Photo 92
645 Connecticut
Window to Second Parlor (now a bedroom)



Photo 93
645 Connecticut
Entry Hall Window



Photo 94
645 Connecticut
Stair



Photo 95
645 Connecticut
Corner Parlor Hearth

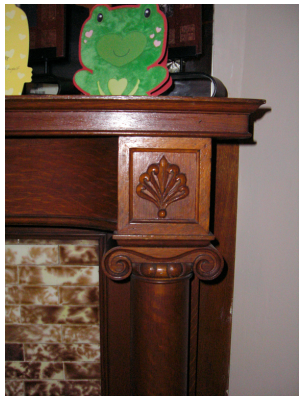


Photo 96
645 Connecticut
Detail, Corner Parlor Hearth



Photo 97
645 Connecticut, Dining Room Built-in Cabinet

The interior is also restless and full of details that fascinate the eye and draw attention to the varied richness of the interior. The interior wood in this house is the finest yellow pine that money could buy at the turn of the twentieth century, and the wood details are stylistically varied to give every room its particularity: Ionic in the parlor, Doric in the solarium with fluted columns, and a lively screened stair that seems to make up its composition as it goes along.

All of these details created a tour de force experience for Griffith's family and his wide circle of friends. The cost of building this house was $4,000, which Griffith could easily afford, because he had become an increasingly affluent businessman who had bought up all the ice houses in Lawrence by 1902, when he built his new house. Griffith employed hundreds of men in this business, and his ice was essential in every household throughout Lawrence. It is still easy to find ice boxes that his men filled in the back porches and halls of houses in East and West Lawrence.[78]

[78] *Lawrence Daily Journal*, January 1, 1902, 6:2; "A. J. Griffith Dead," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World,* August 12, 1907, 4/6; Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas, and Franklin Counties, 548.

Chapter 3
Melting Pot and Mask

Diversity and Houses in East Lawrence

Genealogy[79]

A little bit of Indian,
A Little bit of Mexican,
A whole lot of African,
And maybe a little White,
But that's all right,
I'm American anyway.

For me and most of my
Folks are a mix—
Not unlike my native
Land . . .
For wasn't "US" made
From the dust of many
Lots . . .
This melting pot?

On his visit to the University of Kansas School of Architecture and Urban Design in 1985, Professor Harold Deilmann from the University of Dortmund in Germany remarked that he had never seen a more beautiful residential architecture than Old West Lawrence. He was amazed by the diversity of its houses and how they fit so well together, making a unified fabric of architecture, yet allowing owners many different choices of house types, roof types, materials, styles, sizes, and colors. He thought it was very American, something that couldn't be done in the Ruhr, where he lived. We have too many regulations, he said.

I've pondered his analysis ever since and have come to the conclusion that if there ever was a "melting pot" in American history, which many historians don't believe, Old West Lawrence and East Lawrence are splendid architectural examples of it. The houses in these neighborhoods are more alike than different, though their scale differences make them seem more different than they actually are. The owners of these houses were choosing from the same cultural basket, a basket prepared by the likes of A. J. Davis and A. J. Downing and their many followers who developed America's nineteenth-century residential cottage architecture. By the time Lawrence was founded in 1854, this residential architecture had become so acceptable and so usable in Victorian life that it was already conventional.

[79] Clyde E. Daniels, "Where The Cedars Grove," *Juneteenth Texas: Essays in African-American Folklore*. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1996, 52.

Lawrence citizens were not going to invent a new residential architecture. They brought it with them. It was obvious to every owner eventually what type of house made sense in their circumstances and for their purposes. A wide variety was available to choose from, and any of a large number of house types was a ticket to join in the making of an expressive residential neighborhood, uniquely American in architectural terms. Any owner who tried to invent "outside the box" of choices, which sometimes happened at the end of the nineteenth century during the overripe "rococo" phase of the Queen Anne tradition, did so at the risk of building an awkward house. We've seen a number of these awkward ones in our studies of both East and Old West Lawrence but even the awkward houses seem to belong. They add to a singularly rich variety, expressive of a highly diverse people who somehow over time put this melting pot together, while retaining their individual identities.

The basket of new house choices in the nineteenth century made every city and town from the East Coast to the West Coast, from the North of Canada to the South as far as Mexico into an distinctly American place. These house choices came together in residential neighborhoods in each city in their own unique ways, choice by choice, street by street, block by block. Yet these nineteenth-century neighborhoods across America appear to be very much alike. They are alike and unique at the same time, because they are cut from the same cultural cloth and made from the same basket of cultural choices.

Lawrence's nineteenth-century neighborhoods, like all neighborhoods, have their own history, and understanding how that history played out behind the house choices people made is essential if we hope to comprehend, through architecture, dimensions of American life beyond the mere exterior aesthetic of our houses. In many cases, those dimensions are difficult and unpleasant, and it is no wonder sometimes that we chose to avoid the implications of architecture beyond its surface aesthetic. To avoid going deeper, we often even make up an aesthetic or style, which is part of the "ocular" bias of contemporary culture.[80] We have shown how much we can learn from residential architecture by going beyond the surface and conversely how much we miss if we don't. Instead of slicing through our topic by categories of houses, and illuminating another new history of a place, it is also important to look at categories of people who came to Lawrence and what kinds of house choices and living conditions they made that argued against the idea of a melting pot in which all people, regardless of their different ethnicity, color of skin, religion or belief systems, could live together freely in their new American lives.

There are several identifiably different populations who came to Lawrence to make it a whole place, "E Pluribus

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[80] Juhani Pallasmaa, *Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. London: Academy Editions, 1996, 9.

Unum." The largest groups were the so-called Easterners and Westerners, African Americans, German Americans, Swedish Americans, and Mexican Americans. Did they tend to select differently from the cultural basket of choices everyone had? Did they live in ghettoes, or were they scattered across the residential landscape, well mixed racially, ethnically, and socio-economically? What were the keys to their choices?

Easterners and Westerners

From the earliest days of Lawrence history, people from different regions had different ideas about what kind of houses should be built in the frontier town. Immigrants from Boston were not familiar with the log cabin tradition and insisted on the need to have sawn lumber for frame houses. These immigrants were called Easterners by the *Herald of Freedom*, which was edited by G. W. Brown, himself an Easterner.[81] For the Easterners sawing lumber and framing it up into a house was the only civilized way of building, and for that reason they needed saw mills. Loretta Fisk's early drawing of Lawrence shows frame and log traditions, thatched and wood shingled roofs, and walls of hay but most of the houses have sawn lumber walls and wood-shingle roofs. (Drawing 25)



Drawing 25
Lawrence, 1854-1855
Loretta Fox Fisk
(Source: Dary, *Pictorial History of Lawrence*)

These houses have a long history. Houses with vertical plank walls or horizontal plank walls and shingled roofs were built by seventeenth-century Massachusetts settlers, and many of the primitive houses that they built upon first arrival in America were like the A frames in Drawing 11. The New England Emigrant Aid Society brought carpenters to Lawrence, so that the sawn-lumber tradition would immigrate with them. There

[81] James Malin goes into more detail about the Easterner-Westerner split in "Housing Experiments in the Lawrence Community, 1855," Kansas Historical Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Summer, 1854), 95-99.

was "active hostility toward" the log cabin among some of these Bostonians, not just because of cultural reasons but also for economic reasons. Log cabins were supposed to be more costly to build than sawn-lumber houses, especially because there were too few trees.[82] Not everyone from Massachusetts was that narrow minded or convinced of these arguments, especially those who lived in the country and who built the ubiquitous log cabin of the Western frontier in spite of their Eastern origins.

The *Herald of Freedom* considered people Westerners who came from everywhere else but Massachusetts, especially people from Missouri, Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Iowa. The editor said that these immigrants were more used to frontier conditions, knew how to cut and notch trees, and had plenty of experience laying them one upon another into a log house. (Photo 98) He considered people who built log houses to be "professional squatters" who secured the best places before the permanent settlers arrived and put a high price on those places when they moved on. Josiah Miller and R. G. Elliot of the *Kansas Free State*, a competitor newspaper with the *Herald of Freedom*, defended the Westerners and pointed out to the "wise men of the East" that "the great majority of the settlers of Kansas are now and will be Western men."[83] He was right about that. In the first Lawrence census of 1855, only 29 percent of the settlers were from Massachusetts. Seventy-one percent were Westerners.



Photo 98
First Log House in Lawrence, destroyed 1881
(Source: Spencer Research Library,
University of Kansas Libraries)

As Miller and Elliot also pointed out, most of these Westerners were not moving on at all. They arrived in Lawrence sometimes weeks before the struggling Emigrant Aid Company arrived, which precipitated a battle over land claims that had

[82] Malin, "Housing Experiments in the Lawrence Community," 102, 104.

[83] Malin, 98.

already been made before the company came with its counter-claims. Eventually the Emigrant Aid Company formed the Lawrence Association, which did buy out many claims of the Westerners, such as the so-called Baldwinites who had already established a city on the Lawrence site. Many of these Westerners stayed on to purchase other properties and make other contributions to the emerging city. Charles Robinson bought out John Baldwin, who ran the first ferry across the Kaw River until a bridge could be built in 1863.

The battle over house types was a proxy for two bigger battles over land and the issue of slavery that consumed Lawrence in the initial period of settlement. These battles were fought on many fronts, not the least of which was in the exchanges between the *Herald of Freedom* and the *Kansas Free State*.[84] A bitter rivalry between these two early papers began the moment the *Free State* decided to open. The *Herald of Freedom* was clearly the organ of the Emigrant Aid Society and its northern patricians who could not tolerate differences of opinion. The *Kansas Free State* represented an immediate voice against this northern domination. Though it took an anti-slavery position, it critiqued Charles Robinson for attacking Westerners, "instead of producing a harmonious union of good feeling among all," which "had a tendency to drive [away] many on the **pro-slavery** side, who otherwise would have acted with us."[85] The *Kansas Free State* also disputed the notion that Kansas was settled preponderantly by the Easterners as the *Herald of Freedom* claimed. In the *Herald* Easterners also took credit for the creation of churches, schools, and other institutions. One response to that claim came in a letter from "A Western Man" to the *Free State* protesting that "Western and Southern men have become tired hearing of these intimations that none of these things can come from any other quarter except the East."[86]

The issue over framed vs. log houses was just another means for one side to assert its cultural, political, and economic power over the other. As impermanent structures frame houses and log houses both had advantages and disadvantages that have little to do with the character or the ultimate intentions of those who built them. The economic argument that log cabins were more expensive to build than frame houses didn't hold up. Malin reports that the first log cabins cost from $40 to $60, and John Doy, an early Lawrence abolitionist, said that log

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[84] Bill Cecil-Fronsman, "Advocate the Freedom of White Men, As Well As That of Negroes: The Kansas Free State and Antislavery Westerners in Territorial Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*. Vol. 20, No. 2 **(Summer 1997), 102-115.**

[85] *Kansas Free State*, July 9. 1855, quoted from Cecil-Fronsman, 111.

[86] *Kansas Free State*, March 3, 1855, March 3, 1856, quoted from Cecil-Fronsman, 110.

houses cost as little as $25 to build.[87] As far as longevity is concerned, a good number of log cabins survived well into the twentieth century in Douglas County, and we know of no early frame house that has survived that long.

Malin points out that the distinction between what Easterners and Westerners built quickly disappeared. Even the *Herald of Freedom* recanted its denunciation of Westerners as squatters, and we do not find any difference in the houses Easterners and Westerners built after 1865. Once the land disputes were settled and forgotten and the issue of slavery was won, almost everyone eventually built one of the house types designed during the early nineteenth century to fill up residential neighborhoods across America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The citizens of Lawrence had more or less the same American dream which no longer had much to do with East and West. That dream was in the middle of the United States, *Ad Astra Per Aspera*,[88] a dream that did not come true for all of Lawrence's new citizens.

African-Americans

African Americans, who saw the city as a beacon of hope during and after the American Civil War, presented a clear distinction in Lawrence's population throughout our period of study, and their numbers waxed early and then waned slowly as Jim Crow bigotry at the end of the nineteenth century began to replace the idealism of the abolitionists. In a detailed account Katie H. Armitage's article "Seeking a Home Where He Himself Is Free: African Americans Build a Community in

[87] Malin, 104.

[88] To the stars with difficulty.

Douglas County, Kansas" tells the story of triumph and tragedy that African-Americans experienced in the first seventy-five years of their lives in Douglas County.[89] They came as "contraband" slaves during the war and especially in great numbers during 1861 and 1862, according to Richard Cordley.[90] Ben Ellis, a slave from Missouri, came to Lawrence in 1861. His father was killed by Quantrill's guerillas, but Ben still "led an upright and industrious life" and lived at 1216 New Jersey Street, where he died in 1926.[91] On January 26, 1863, David and Rebecca Harvey arrived in the Lawrence area "with a hundred others, all of whom had been slaves" under the protection of General James G. Blunt who was court marshaled for acting without orders.[92] They became sharecroppers and sent their sons, Sherman, Frederick, and Ed to KU. They became a prominent black lawyer, doctor, and farmer respectively. Sherman was the first African-American graduate of the university, and his brother Dr. Frederick Harvey lived at 1230 Connecticut.[93] (Photos 100 and 101) Contraband slaves were declared free in 1862, and many struggled successfully to eventually own business in the downtown commercial district not far from their East Lawrence houses.[94]

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[89] Katie H. Armitage, "Seeking a Home Where He Himself Is Free: African Americans Build a Community in Douglas County, Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains,* Vol. 31 No. 3 (**Autumn** 2008), 154-75.

[90] Cordley, 23-24. David Evans, who worked on the research team with me, has provided a wealth of notes from various sources about many African-Americans who lived in East Lawrence. I indulge freely from those notes and add specific references when they are particularly important. I want to acknowledge, however, David's extensive contribution to my understanding of what happened in East Lawrence during the late nineteenth century.

[91] "Ben Ellis," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, August 7, 1926, 2:2.

[92]"Parents of Ed Harvey Reached Lawrence 75 Years Ago Today," *Daily Journal-World*, January 26, 1938, 2:2. Application for Charter, NAACP, April 8, 1921.

[93] Sherman Allen Harvey, "This story of my life," Kansas Collection, University of Kansas Libraries, July 30, 1933.

[94] The *Lawrence Journal-World* listed the thirty businesses owned by African-Americans from 1880 to 1910 on February 23, 1986, 2C.

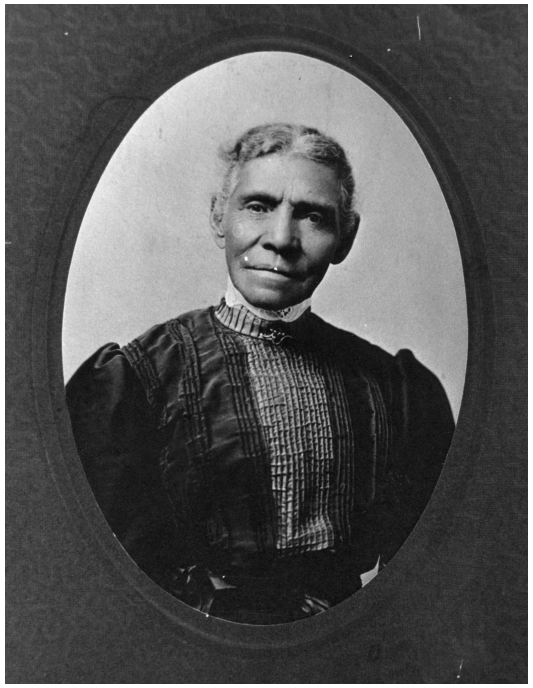


Photo 99
Rebecca Brooks Harvey
(Source: William H. Tuttle Collection)

The 1865 census names five African Americans who by the mid-1870s owned houses along New Jersey Street, including Troy Strode at 742 New Jersey, and Jordon Strode and John Johnson at 7th and New Jersey.



Photo 100
Dr. Frederick Harvey
(Source: Spencer Research Library,
University of Kansas Libraries)

Troy Strode, who lived at 24 New Jersey Street and later at 742 New Jersey, provides one of the many incredible life stories that African Americans experienced before they reached the



Photo 101
1230 Connecticut
House of Sherman and Frederick Harvey

promised land of their new Kansas home. Strode was an excellent blacksmith. He learned this trade from his master on a plantation in Tennessee, where he was born in 1823. Two of his children were sold into slavery there, and he and his slave wife never saw them again. Under the auspices of Colonel Jennison and 2,000 soldiers in October 1862, the couple and their other two children guided their wagon, pulled by oxen, over the prairie ruts from Independence, Missouri, to Lawrence. He hauled enough lumber to start a blacksmith business on New Hampshire Street, which was burned in Quantrill's raid, rebuilt, and then later moved to Vermont Street.[95] Jordon Strode, born in Missouri and unrelated to the Troy Strode family, was also a blacksmith who had $700 in 1865 to purchase a house and lot. The Strode families were pillars of the local African American community, many of whom lived in East Lawrence and in West Lawrence.[96]

They were joined by the Cloud family, who came to Lawrence in the early 1860s, and was listed in the 1865 census. In 1873, J. Cloud, the grandmother of Aubrey and Albert Cloud, owned a house at 800 Pennsylvania. Aubrey Cloud hauled trash for many years and eventually bought 917 Delaware (Plate 15, Photo 102), and his son, Albert, owned and operated a blacksmith business with George Snowden at 820 Vermont. Snowden lived at 900 Pennsylvania. He eventually owned a house at 1121 New York. Albert Cloud became a leader in Republican politics and represented East Lawrence in the state legislature. The 1870 census shows that 1,412 African Americans had joined the leading families during the heyday of the City Building Period.

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[95] "A Character Sketch," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, January 18, 1898, 4:6.

[96] The *Kansas Daily Tribune* of February 22, 1866, 3/1, reports that a Mr. Strode lived in West Lawrence. Cities directories show that African Americans with Strode surnames also lived on Indiana and Vermont Streets.



Photo 102
917 Delaware
Cloud Family House, 1928-1980

The 1870s brought another surge of African Americans, many of them so-called "Exodusters," even though the economic cycle was grinding against their luck in Lawrence. In 1875, approximately 9,500 exodusters from Tennessee and Kentucky made their way to Kansas, and in spring 1879 another stream of about 6,000 came from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas. [97] Nicodemus, Kansas, founded in 1877, was one of more than two dozen towns established by Exodusters in the Midwest, and a new colony of blacks into the hundreds settled in Topeka in that same year.[98] Many of these people settled in Lawrence, such as John W. Clark, who was born in Kentucky and came with his parents in 1879. He was a prominent attorney who lived at 1317 New Jersey and had an office at 730 Massachusetts.[99]

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[97] Nell Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986, 147, 200.

[98] *Promised Land on the Solomon: Black Settlement at Nicodemus, Kansas*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Rocky Mountain Region, the Kansas State Historical Society, and Kansas State University, no date, 1-7.

[99] *Lawrence City Directory*, 1902-03, 72.

Jacob Washington was among the Exodusters, too, because he first appears in the 1879 city directory. (Photo 103) He was one of the more fortunate. He lived first at 15 Vermont and by 1883 he resided in West Lawrence at 631 Mississippi in a One-storey L-house, where he lived until at least 1911.[100] His business partner, Abe Burns, was probably more typical of many African Americans. He never owned a house, boarded at 501 Walnut, and lived at 309 Rhode Island and 197 Locust in North Lawrence before disappearing from the city directory by 1902. Others rented houses, mostly from one man, according to Lizzie Goodnight, "from $2 up to $5" a month.[101] Many Exodusters were not that lucky. Some ended up begging for catfish heads from fishermen like Abe Burns and Jake Washington, who worked the Kansas River for big catfish and sold them to restaurants, grocery stores, and housewives.[102]

Fishing the Kaw and selling fish in Lawrence was not an exclusively African American occupation in nineteenth-century Lawrence, but most fishermen probably were blacks who made good money by selling their catch. As Elfriede Fischer Rowe remembered, "fresh channel catfish came from the Kaw and was usually purchased from someone needing the money for a livelihood. Carp was used for beer-fish, a sour sweet stew with ginger snaps predominating the seasoning."[103] She went on to say that "hardly a day went by that you didn't have someone knocking at your back door offering such things as fresh channel catfish (no one remembered that it was against the law

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[100] *Lawrence City Directories*, 1860-1911. David Benjamin and Dennis Enslinger date Washington's house to 1894.

[101] Lizzie E. Goodnight, "Negroes in Lawrence," Master's Thesis in Sociology, University of Kansas, 1903. Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries.

[102] Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-80*, Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978, 174. See also the *Evening Standard*, May 2, 1879, 10.

[103] Elfriede Fischer Rowe, *More about Wonderful Old Lawrence*, Lawrence: House of Usher, 1981, 24.

to sell catfish from the Kaw River)."[104] Norvel Elmo Woodard, who lived at 714 New York from 1885 to 1898, also remembered that "there was a mammoth cottonwood tree straight down from our house, with its roots in the water when the river was a little higher than usual. The fishermen used to hang the big catfish on the giant roots of this tree to skin and clean them (in the manner you skin and butcher a hog or deer). The larger catfish weighed eighty or ninety pounds and were sold to the butcher shops."[105]

It is not true, as Elfriede Rowe asserted, that no one remembered the new law in Kansas against certain kinds of fishing practices on the river. In 1911 Professor L. L. Dyche, the state fish and game warden, began enforcing a new law that allowed him to issue fishing permits only to fisherman whose net meshes were at least three inches. He issued fourteen permits to fisherman on the Neosho, Cottonwood, and other rivers but none to Lawrence fishermen.[106] Dyche was "determined to stop violations along the Kaw and will show no leniency in the prosecution of offenders" according to the Lawrence press.[107] He personally arrested eleven fishermen working their seines below the Bowersock Dam, noting in his pocket diary that "These men were friends of mine, who had caught fish for years for me for laboratory use; but they simply would not quit using unlawful nets until they were arrested. We arrested the whole bunch, took a wagonload of nets and hauled them through the city to the court house."[108] Dyche continued to press charges against these men in a serial round-up of cases that eventually dismembered the livelihoods of many African-American families and destroyed a local economy that had provided fresh fish for many years.[109]

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[104] Rowe, 92.

[105] Norvel Elmo Woodard (1883-1969), "Lawrence Memoirs," 5. (Author's collection)

[106] "Fishing Permits," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, June 16, 1911, **(?)1:7.**

[107] "Fisherman Guilty," *Kansas Daily Journal-World*, June 9, 1911, **(?)1**1:4.

[108] Quoted from William Sharp and Peggy Sullivan, *The Dashing Kansas: Lewis Lindsay Dyche*. Kansas City: Harrow Books, 1990, 166.

[109] "No Fish Verdict," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, June 8, 1911, **(?)1**1:6 and "Fish Cases Continued," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, June 15, 1911.



Photo 103
Jake Washington and Abe Burns, 189
Catfish from the Kaw: 90 and 110 pounds

Photo 104
Lewis Lindsay Dyche
(Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries)





Photo 105
Jake Washington's House
631 Mississippi Street

One of these fisherman families severely affected by Dyche's fervent prosecution of the new Kansas law was Albert Johnson. Johnson's mother and father, John and Ann Johnson, who were born into slavery in Arkansas, came to Kansas as contraband slaves and bought a lot on New Jersey Street from Reverend Richard Cordley and his wife Mary for $50 in 1863, thus fulfilling one of the purposes of the New England Emigrant Aid Society to sell property to African Americans.[110]

The Johnsons built the Two-over-Two house at 819 New Jersey in 1865 for about $650.[111] (Plate 11, Photos 106, 107, 108, 109 and 110) It was converted later to a Side-entry house with its entry into the new kitchen. 819 New Jersey is the oldest house in our study. Albert was born there in 1869, and he lived in this house until 1922. The interior of the house is especially distinctive, because it has all the original, plain woodwork of a mid-nineteenth-century working-class house (Photo 109) and a boxed back stair that was prevalent in Southern states such as Virginia by the mid 1750s. (Photo 108)



Photo 106, 819 New Jersey

[110] John and Ann Johnson already had children before their arrival in Kansas, though they were not legally married until May 16, 1866, by the act of Kansas State law of February 15, 1866, that declared marriage between people of color to be legal in Kansas.

[111] *Kansas State Census, 1865. Deed Book H*, 261.



Photo 107
819 New Jersey Side-entry



Photo 108
819 New Jersey Boxed Back Stair



Photo 109
819 New Jersey Door Frame and Wainscot



Photo 110
819 Delaware
Kitchen and Back Porch Additions

The boxed stair idea probably filtered west from the Southern colonies and states as far as Arkansas, where John Johnson became familiar with it. Johnson worked as a janitor at Quincy School in Lawrence and died in 1903. Johnson's wife and his children lived most of their lives in the house. Their son Albert, the fisherman, eventually sold the house in 1922 for $1,050.[112]

In 1947, the house was sold to Patricio Garcia, a Mexican American immigrant whose family still owns the house and who took the modern and patriotic step in the 1950s to clad their house with asbestos siding. (Photo 107)

Albert Johnson's father could not read or write, but Albert obviously went to school, perhaps sitting somewhere in the back row at Quincy School, which was a brick classical revival structure built in 1867 at 11th and Vermont Street and where his father worked. Albert wrote a long, articulate letter to the *Lawrence Daily Journal World* during the middle of the fishing crisis on the Kaw, deploring the loss of jobs and fresh food for hungry people and disputing that Game Warden Dyche was acting fairly or even understood the nature of the nets the river fishermen were using. Albert laid out the economic problem. "We have here in the vicinity of Lawrence as many as 25 regular fishermen who earn a living by fishing throughout the year and they employ as many as 15 or 20 people to assist them through the busy season. We have begun to feel the effect of the Laws having been changed so that it is a matter of impossibility for the public to be accommodated with this article of food any more (sic) and has also deprived a large number of people from making a living through this industry." Johnson complained that "the fish that were caught here were placed upon the market fresh from the river and have not laid in cold storage for months; whereas the situation now stands, the markets have to depend upon cold storage fish for their supply." Johnson went on to say that Dyche would not issue him a permit, even when he put up the required cash bond of $50 cash, unless the seines had no smaller than three-inch square meshes. Dyche was applying the law incorrectly, according to Johnson, who showed that the law did not mention square meshes and that there was a big difference between a square mesh and a stretched mesh. The Kaw fishermen used stretched meshes and a three-inch square mesh is the equivalent of a six-inch stretched mesh, "which would be impossible to use to any profit. So if the public is not supplied with fresh fish from now on, just attribute the cause to Prof. Dyche."[113]

There was obviously bitterness between the African American community and Dyche over the fishing issue, and at times probably confrontational but Dyche did not single out

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[112] ***Kansas State Census,*** *Deed Book* 111, 444.

[113] *Kansas Daily Journal World*, June 19, 1911, **1**7:1.

African Americans alone. Tryon Winchell and his son and grandson, Guy and Tyron A. Winchell, lived at 714 New York and were commercial fishermen on the Kaw. The family owned the house from1908 to 1930. (Photos 38 and 39, Plate 32) Perhaps apocryphal, the story goes that Dyche had decided to arrest old man Winchell, known as a rough customer, and went down to the river at New York Street to find him. He got Winchell to take him across the river and about half way across Dyche declared that he was the "Chief Fish and Game Warden from Topeka, put Winchell under arrest, and demanded that he turn the boat around. Winchell always took a shotgun with him and told Dyche that he was going to blow his head off. According to the story, Winchell agreed not to kill Dyche if he quit his job, and supposedly he quit.[114] Park Hetzel was a well-known raconteur and what happened may have been embellished somewhat, because Dyche was the state fish and game warden until the day he died.

Dyche may well have been applying the law fairly, regardless of race, but the African American community must have felt betrayed by an old friend, especially at this point in the early twentieth century when the hostilities of Jim Crow policies had dashed their hopes of living a free life in Lawrence, Kansas. African Americans had never gotten much respect from their first arrival in Lawrence in spite of obvious respectability, their many contributions to Lawrence, and their rising numbers. By the 1880 census, African American numbers in Lawrence grew to 1,995, representing 23.4 percent of the population. Except for the few doctors, lawyers, preachers, and teachers, they were working-class folk.[115] By 1890, that number was 2,155. These newcomer African Americans didn't just live in East Lawrence. Many lived on 4th and 5th Streets in West Lawrence in the Pinckney neighborhood and throughout West Lawrence. Many had homes along New Jersey, Delaware, New York, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut Streets between 7th and 11th Streets. [116] David Evans put together a list of 37 African Americans who lived along Delaware Street during the 1880s to 1900. Their occupations were listed as laborers, railroad workers, cabinet makers, paper hangers, fishermen, domestics, livery workers, metal workers, and haulers. Many blacks moved from place to place, such as Lettie Burnside who live on Louisiana Street in 1883, and by 1886 lived in impermanent houses near the bridge and had no recordable occupation, according to the 1886 *Lawrence City*

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[114] Park Hetzel interview with Paul O. Caviness, November 22, 1988. Author's collection.

[115] See Armitage, "Seeking A Home Where He Himself Is Free: African Americans Build A Community in Douglas County, Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Austumn 2008), 160-62.

[116] Donald B. Zavelo, "Areas of Black Residence in 1915 Lawrence," in "The Black Entrepreneur in Lawrence, Kansas, 1900-1915," senior essay, American Studies Program, the University of Kansas, 1975, 3-5.

Directory. She probably lived in the hen coop A-frame house we found near the bridge on the 1880 birds eye drawing. In spite of the prejudice and hardships faced on a daily basis, the African American community grew until the 1890s with a high of 21.5 percent of the population in 1890 that dropped to 14 percent in 1910 about the time L. L. Dyche got busy on the river.

About 17 percent of the houses we studied belonged to African Americans in East Lawrence who at one time or another lived in them during the late nineteenth century, and some were houses that African American families lived in a long time: 739 Connecticut (Plate 6), 814 New Jersey (Plate 10), 819 New Jersey (Plate 11), 820 New Jersey (Plate 12), 917 Delaware (Plate 15), 946 Pennsylvania (Plate 26), and 714 New York (Plate 32). Though many incredible stories are associated with these houses, as residences they were typical of the working class and middle class throughout Lawrence, no matter the race or ethnicity of individual owners or boarders. It should be noted, however, that no African American in our study owned or lived in a Queen Anne house, a fancy end-of-late-nineteenth-century choice **few** African Americans could have made. Few Lawrencians could afford the Queen Anne, even the small one at 1100 New Jersey (Plate 14), and even fewer African Americans could afford one because they were generally relegated to jobs that paid the least. The house type that is usually associated with the African American working class is the Shotgun house. Seventeen residences or two percent of the 798 houses in East Lawrence are Shotgun houses, and we unfortunately have not yet been able to study any of them in detail. It would not surprise us to find that many Shotguns did belong to blacks, but it would be an unusual finding if they all belonged to blacks or were lived in only by blacks.[117]



Photo 111
732 Connecticut
Shotgun House

[117] The most recent discussion of this important American house type is Jay D. Edwards' article, "Shotgun: The Most Contested House in America," *Buildings and Landscapes,* Vol. 16 No. 1 (Spring 2009), 62-96. The seminal study of this house type was written by John Michael Vlach, in his article "The Shotgun House: An African Architecture Legacy," *Common Places*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986, 58-78. This article was based on his dissertation, "Sources of the Shotgun House: African and Caribbean Antecedents for African-American Architecture," Indiana University, 1975.

It is certainly true that many African Americans in Lawrence didn't have many house choices, and in many cases they lived in deplorable conditions. Of the sixty houses occupied by blacks in the so-called East Bottoms that F. W. Blackmar surveyed in 1917, twenty-three were described as "shacks," twelve of which were "beyond repair." Many of these shacks may have been the last remnants of the worn-out impermanent houses that were erected during the nineteenth century. Most of these shacks had privies and were rented for about $5.50 a month with a 12.5 percent charge on unpaid rent. Twenty-two of the sixty were owner occupied.[118]

Prejudice against blacks in East Lawrence had little to do with the condition or type of their houses, though the former would become increasingly a stigmatic indicator in the twentieth century. What increasingly brought out the bigotry against them was their association, based purely on the color of their skin, with those who sold illegal liquor, sexual favors, and what most of us today would call fun in the East Bottoms, which centered along the 800 and 900 blocks of New York and Pennsylvania streets. Illegalities in this part of town made it into the newspapers as early as 1873 with the arrest of "Broken-backed Mary," who was "asked why, being a human being and not a hog, she keeps the kind of place she does down in the low grounds near the soap factory" at 8th and Pennsylvania.[119] Blacks weren't the only ones selling illegal liquor because German Americans often did this but by the early twentieth century blacks in East Lawrence were perceived as significant enablers of drinking. In a 1901 article the *Lawrence Daily Journal* the reporter calls this part of town the "Bad Lands".[120] In 1906 the police raided "Aunt Jane" Williams place at 817 Pennsylvania, which, according to a newspaper, was "one of the notorious joints of the town, which has been running now almost openly for the past five years, is growing large and is being patronized by dozens of men and boys, both white and colored, every night." The article about Aunt Jane goes on say that "the east bottoms are simply dotted with joints" and that "people of this class have short memories,

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[118] Zavelo, 3-5.

[119] "Police Court," *Republican Daily Journal*, March 20, 1873**, 3:1.** The Bangs Bros. soap manufacturing company was established in 1868 and sold out in 1881to Hauber & Sons.

[120] "Wholesale Liquor House Raided," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, May 8, 1899**, 4:3.** "Busy Day in the Bottoms," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, September 23, 1901, 4:6.

and the profits are so great that they are willing to take the risk of conviction in case they are arrested."[121]

Prostitution and gambling were irresistible attractions in the East Bottoms. The newspapers reported on the excitement that was stirred up from time to time. Four "colored girls," Nellie Palmer who lived at 916 New Jersey, Mary Henderson who lived at 618 New Hampshire, Lulu Bell, and Bess Trap were hauled in for "free for all" fights in 1906. "The scrap was one of the most noisy ones which has taken place in the bottoms for some time. Even after two policemen arrived on the scene, the fight went merrily on and the two guardians of the law were almost put out of commission before the girls could be locked up."[122] Fred Simpson, who boarded at 928 New Jersey, Henry Thornton, who boarded at 1340 New York, and Ernest Williams, who lived at 817 Elm in North Lawrence, were black men arrested at the corner of New Jersey and 8th Street for "wagering money on the roll of a pair of dice."[123] A second party, composed of Thomas Elston and Clarence Riddleston, was arrested "in a box car in the Santa Fe freight yards not far from the bottoms. All of these particular gamblers were "colored" men, whom white folk could point to as good examples of what people could expect from just about everyone who had black skin. Never mind that plenty of white men who lived on the east and west sides of town found the worldly pleasures in the East Bottoms just as irresistible as black men. As Lizzie E. Goodnight wrote in her master's thesis, "Negroes of Lawrence," "it would be very surprising to the majority of the people of Lawrence to know some of the

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[121] "Joints Flourishing," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, April 17, 1906, 1:3.

[122] Police Court," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, April 20, 1906, 4:6.

[123] "Police Court," Lawrence Daily Journal, April 20, 1906, 4:6;
"Raided Crap Games," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, August 16, 1920, 4:2.

customers, who drive up at Molly's Sunday evenings after dark, and other evenings as well . . . "[124]

Some African Americans resisted the pervasive prejudice that banned them from patronizing white businesses and placed their children in the back row in schools. Langston Hughes, who lived in East Lawrence with his grandmother from 1902 to 1913, called it "Jim Crow Row."[125] During that time African Americans began to speak out publically about their plight, which did not prevent the unhappy poet from leaving Lawrence when his grandmother died. (Photo 112) Elizabeth Schultz in "Dreams Deferred: Growing Up Black and Blue in Langston Hughes' Lawrence" writes eloquently about Hughes' problems in Lawrence and explains that Hughes, like Sandy in *Not Without Laughte*r, had to leave Lawrence because of the contradictions "between equality and oppression, justice and injustice, between friendly and hostile whites. . . ."[126] Many others in Lawrence faced the same contradictions and joined the flight from the historic city.

In a long letter to the editor of *The Daily Journal-World* in 1911, a group of black community leaders protested the blanket accusations made against them, laid out their many contributions to the city, and offered solid proof of the pride they took in Lawrence by claiming that only a very small percentage of African Americans in town were renters.[127] The pressure against them never subsided. A chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was established in 1921, and fourteen of the charter members lived in East Lawrence, including Henry N. Stone at 732 Connecticut Street (Photo 111), who worked in the anatomy department at KU, and Dr. Frederick Harvey at 1230

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[124] Lizzie E. Goodnight, "Negroes of Lawrence," Master's Thesis in Sociology, 1903. University of Kansas. Kansas Collection University of Kansas Libraries, 11.

[125] Langston Hughes writes about his childhood in Lawrence in his books *Not Without Laughter*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1969, and *The Big Sea*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940.

[126] Elizabeth Schultz, "Dreams Deferred: Growing Up Black and Blue in Langston Hughes' Lawrence," *Embattled Lawrence*: *Conflict & Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 201, 180.

[127] J. M. Brown, G. N. Jackson, Green Keith, F. D. G. Harvey, W. C. Brown, and P. H. Little, "Are Law Abiding," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 23, 1911, 6:1.

Connecticut, who was President of the Lawrence chapter.[128] (Photos 100 and 101) Their East Lawrence cohorts were lawyers, ministers, physicians, laborers, janitors, housekeepers, students, porters, and mechanics. Even under tremendous prejudicial pressure they overcame and achieved enough wealth to own houses. By 1926, there were 262 African American homeowners in Lawrence, eighty-two of whom owned houses in East Lawrence.

These houses were located principally in the established concentration areas along Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania Streets. On Delaware Street, which once had a concentration of blacks, only two African Americans owned houses in 1926.[129]



Photo 112
Langston Hughes in Lawrence
(Source: Internet, "Langston Hughes in Lawrence, 1902-1915, Watkins Community Museum Exhibit)

[128] Letter from the Director of Branches of the NAACP to Henry N. Stone, Secretary of the Lawrence Branch, 732 Connecticut, October 6, 1921.

[129] Lawrence Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. R. D. G. Harvey, President, "Colored Property Owners of Lawrence, Kansas," January 17, 1926. It is interesting to note that 65 percent of the houses owned by African Americans were in Old West Lawrence.

No amount of resistance against prejudice in the first half of the twentieth century got much attention from whites in Lawrence. Home ownership, work, family relationships, contributions to religious institutions, political engagement, size of demographic—apparently none of this made any difference to the white establishment. Wilt Chamberlain's fame in the 1950s helped integrate public facilities in Lawrence, but "the larger reconstruction of race relations in Lawrence, as elsewhere, would depend much more on grassroots activism than on isolated icons of black achievement and goodwill."[130] By 1960, African Americans in Lawrence represented only 8 percent of the population, though their numbers had grown to 1,564 by 1950 and continued to grow after 1960, reaching more than 2,000 in 1970 and surpassing 3,000 by 1970.[131] The struggle didn't get easier with numbers, protests or respectability. William M. Tuttle, Jr. concludes that, "Despite the progress, racial equality remained elusive in Lawrence during the postwar years."[132] Rusty L. Monhollon gives an excellent account of the social unease and elusiveness in his focus on the indignities blacks faced as they tried to swim in the Jayhawk Plunge in 1960.[133] It was no fun living in Lawrence in the 1960s if you were black, no matter what your house was like or where you lived, and it was also dangerous as Monhollon points out in his article about Lawrence in

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[130] Aram Goudsouzian, "Can Basketball Survive Chamberlain?: The Kansas Years of Wilt the Stilt," *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 28, No. 3 **(**Autumn 2005,), 165.

[131] William M. Tuttle Jr., "Separate but Not Equal: African Americans and 100-year Struggle for Equality in Lawrence and at the University of Kansas, 1850s-1960," *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict & Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Eduction, 2001, 148.

[132] Tuttle, 148.

[133]Rusty L. Monhollon, "Taking the Plunge: Race, Rights, and the Politics of Desegregation in Lawrence, Kansas, 1960," *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict & Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001, 193-208.

1970.[134] It had always been dangerous for black people in Lawrence. The hanging of three innocent black men by a mob on the Kaw River bridge almost a century earlier in 1882—George Robinson, Isaac King, and Pete Vinegar—proves that.[135]

Much has changed over the past forty years, but racial prejudice is subtle and alive in other forms in Lawrence, which must also live with a checkered past. The very people the early settlers of Lawrence wanted to save from slavery by founding a city in 1854 as a beacon of freedom were betrayed more often than not in the century following the Civil War.

German Americans

German-Americans were among the first settlers who came to Lawrence and made up the largest group of continental Europeans, roughly five times the number of the second largest non-English-speaking group, the Swedes.[136] A significant cadre of these Germans in Lawrence, about three out of five, lived in East Lawrence by 1895, though the ratio of those living on the east side to those living on the west side was about even for much of the late nineteenth century, according to Katja Rampelmann in "Small Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas, from 1854 to 1918."[137] Rampelmann also shows that these new Americans preferred to own property in clusters along East Lawrence streets and much more of it there than they owned along West Lawrence streets. (Map 6)

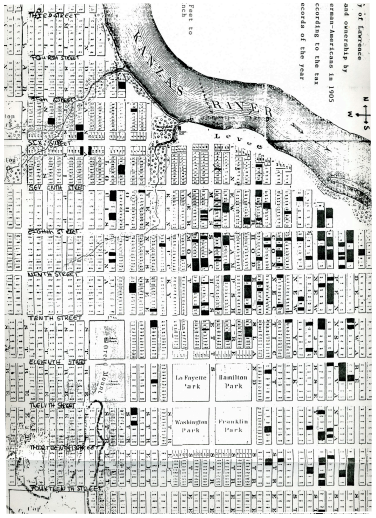
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[134] Rusty L. Monhollon, "Lawrence, Kansas, and the Making of the Sixties," *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict & Community*, Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins, eds. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001, 209-20.

[135]Cindy Schott and Kathy Scott Bates, *Boys, Let Me Down Easy: Murder and Lawlessness in a Small Town*. Lawrence, Kansas, 2005; "Law in Their Own Hands, How the Lynchers Did Their Work," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, June 11, 1882.

[136]J. Neale Carmen, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas. I. Historical Atlas and Statistics*. Lawrence: The University of Kansas Press, 1962, 126-129.

[137] Carmen, 128; Katja Rampelmann, "Small Town Germans: The Germans of Lawrence, Kansas, from 1854 to 1918," Master of Arts in American Studies, University of Kansas, 1993, 43.



Map 6
German American Property Ownership
Lawrence, 1905 (Source: (Rampelmann**,** Map 8)

The biggest reason for their preference of East Lawrence has to do with proximity and the maintenance of a community that re-enforced German cultural values and cohesion. German-Americans wanted to live close to their businesses downtown, close to a higher density of German families, close to the German American Turnhalle at 9th and Rhode Island, and close to their German-speaking churches, the German Methodist Episcopal Church and the German Lutheran Church in the heart of their neighborhood.[138] Their strong ethnic identity was based on the use of the German language, German-language churches, their immigration history from Germany, their continuing ties to that country, and a robust social life that revolved around the Turnhalle on 9th and Rhode Island where they danced, exercised, threw parties, and drank beer. On the other side of town, the Walrup Brewery at the north end of Maine Street down by the Kaw was also a significant center of their cultural lives. (Photo 113)



Photo 113
Walrup Brewery
(Source: Dary, *Pictorial History of Lawrence*)

[138] Rampelmann, 43-45.

German social centers, however, existed throughout Lawrence, and we conclude that in the historic city one didn't have to live on the east side to be a member of the German American community nor did East Lawrence German Americans confine their cultural life to the east side. Germans also had their newspapers, which "brought them together into communities."[139] *Die Freie Presse* was first published in Lawrence in 1868, and *Die Germania* was published from 1877 to 1918, which provided weekly German-language news to as many as 1,000 German-American families, according to the editor of *Die Germania* in 1885.[140] There were many German activities going on all over town and in the press before World War I. For all these reasons, the German-Americans proudly represented a strong ethnic community with a visible identity in Lawrence during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.

While there were certainly many working-class German Americans in historic East Lawrence, there were also many who were middle- or merchant-class people who owned businesses along Massachusetts Street. In 1865 there were fifteen German-American business owners on Massachusetts and by 1895, 56.[141] This statistic underscores what has been obvious in this study all along, because of the houses we have presented, that East Lawrence cannot be fairly described as an exclusive working-class neighborhood, as Katja Rampelmann also argues. (Photo 42: 1208 Delaware; Drawing 13: 1029 Delaware; Drawing 24: 645 Connecticut) From very early on it was a neighborhood in which the middle class and the working class lived next to each other or nearby. This mix of classes was also true of nineteenth-century Old West Lawrence, because of the houses that were built and still stand there. Regardless of their heritages, people in East Lawrence, including A. J. Griffin, David Evans, Theodore Poehler, C. A. Menger, S. O. Thatcher, and other business and government leaders, lived together across class lines. Class and socio-economic segregation in Lawrence residential neighborhoods did not prevail until well after World War II. German-Americans in the nineteenth century were much more interested in cultural cohesion than in distinguishing themselves strictly according to wealth, associating mostly with people of their economic status, or living apart from people they hired in their businesses.

In spite of this strong identity and association with German life, there is little left of any German building traditions or house types. Many of the early impermanent log cabins probably had German cornering techniques that would have

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[139] Eleanor Turk, "The German Newspapers of Kansas," *Kansas History: A Journal of Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 6, **(Spring** 1983), 46.

[140] Rampelmann, 105-14.

[141] Rampelmann, 73-75.

distinguished them from other ethnic traditions, but none of them is extant. It is quite probable that a number of hidden structural systems that relate to German ways, such as at Corky Reed's house still exist, but we had access to few of these secrets. On the surface, one can find some exceptional examples of German stonework, such as at the Bromelsick House at 905 Rhode Island that was built in 1863. In the heart of the German-American community, at 924 Rhode Island, there is also a two-door house that probably has a German double parlor plan, a plan type that reaches back to the late middle ages, and is found frequently in German settlements throughout the nation and in rural Douglas County.[142] Cathy Ambler dates the house to 1870 but its original owner was not a German.[143]



Photo 114
Bromelsick House, 905 Rhode Island

[142] Dennis Domer, "Genesis Theories of the German-American Two-Door House," *Material Culture*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Spring 1994), 1-36.

[143] Cathy Ambler, "North Rhode Island Street Historic Residential District, Douglas County, KS," August 15, 2003, 15-16.



Photo 115
924 Rhode Island
Two-Door House

That is not much evidence of a once-thriving German American community and there are several reasons for this lack of a German residential building culture. Most of the Germans who came to Lawrence in the 1850s had settled first in the German cultural hearths of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri before moving on to Kansas, so the assimilation process had already begun for them, though they didn't realize it. They also moved to an urban setting, where new ideas and the challenges of city life made them more susceptible to accepting the widely adopted American house culture designed for residential living. Their rural counterparts were much more conservative, lived apart in large enclaves encompassing thousands of acres, were not as frequently confronted with other building traditions, maintained their German building ways in the structure of their barns and often insisted on the anachronistic two-door entry to their houses and the double parlor.[144]

Most of the German Americans we studied in East Lawrence were middle-class people who lived in or owned houses that assimilated them, their families, and renters into the common American residential dream. Henry Holt migrated from Germany in 1847 and came to Lawrence in the early days to establish a grocery business. He built a Two-over-Two house at 1029 New York in 1872. (Plate 37, Photos 20, 22, 23). R.W. Sparr was born in Indiana in 1832 and his grandfather came from Germany to Pennsylvania in 1770.[145] He built a brick One-story house at 742 Connecticut. Later, when he got rich, he moved to a gigantic Queen Anne on Tennessee Street. At the height of East Lawrence German American life in 1892, Theodore Poehler purchased 1029

[144] Dennis Domer, "Commons on the Prairie," Master of Arts thesis, the George Washington University, Washington, DC: 1990.

[145] "R. W. Sparr Dead," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, August 25, 1902, 4/5.

Delaware, a Side-entry house that was a common residential structure unknown in Germany. (Rendering 1; Drawings 13, 14, 15; Photos 47-54) Poehler was born in Remminghausen, Germany, in 1832, landed in New Orleans in 1851, and moved to Burlington, Iowa.



Photo 116
742 Connecticut

He had been in the United States fifteen years before he came to Lawrence and had already assimilated to a certain extent. Though he was considered "of the ablest and large-hearted Germans," he tended to adopt options other than German when they pleased him. For example, he "was reared as a member of the German Evangelical Church, but for many years prior of his death was identified with the Congregational Church."[146] If he could change his strong German religious affiliation, he was also easily capable of adopting a thoroughly American house, though he had not been away from Germany for very many years. Conrad D. Reedy came to Lawrence from Ross County, Ohio in 1870 at the age of fifty-five. His grandparents immigrated to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century so his family had been in the United States for almost a century by the time C. D. and his wife moved to Lawrence. He had little knowledge of houses other than American ones he had seen in Ohio when he built his frame T house at 821 New Jersey. (Plate 13, Photo 117)

[146] William E. Connelly, "Theodore Poehler," *A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans*. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1918.

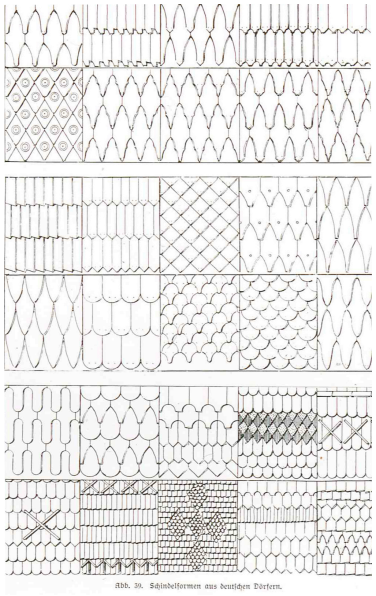


Photo 117
821 New Jersey

Robert Mann, a working-class man, also built a T house at 946 Pennsylvania in 1872. He was a carpenter by trade. (Plate 26, Photo 117) So both the German working-class and middle-class built the same house types and sized them up or down according to their needs and pocketbooks. Mann was able to make the exterior of his simple house fancy with cross-gabled front porch and special shingling in the pediment of his front gable that probably has connections back to German shingling patterns such as the one found in Drawing 26. These shingling patterns can be found throughout Lawrence, and this example made the house attractive for sale. Andrew Jackson Gray, an African American born into slavery in South Carolina, who escaped his bondage in 1846 in Kentucky, stole into Ohio in 1864, and arrived in Lawrence in 1879, bought the house in 1881 for $1,500, He was a stockman, a livery man, and a teamster, as was his son Curren, and the family lived here for twenty years until 1903 when Robert Edmondson Jr., the famous baseball player from Lawrence, purchased it.



Photo 118
946 Pennsylvania



Drawing 26
German Shingle Patterns

German Americans did not mind living close to their white workers, and in many cases they drank beer with them. They also rented the properties they accumulated to many different working-class people, but this did not mean that they always associated frequently or easily with people of color in East Lawrence. On the contrary, they sometimes took good economic advantage of people who were in financial trouble. It was the capitalistic thing to do and still is. Properties in the down cycles of the economy were easy to come by and there were a number of significant landlords in East Lawrence in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. None were as significant as Christian Adolf Menger who was born in Saxony and his wife, Anna Gracia Margaret Menger, born in Bremen. (Photos 119 and 120) They came to Kansas in 1854 and married in 1874.[147] On his arrival in Lawrence in 1871, C. A. set up business as a grocery man, but by 1886 he advertised himself as a capitalist.



Photo 119
Christian Adolf Menger
(Source: Shirley Linn)

[147] See Edith Bennett's "Ahnentafel," in *The Pioneer,* Vol. III, No. 1 (Summer 1979), 21.

Known as "Miser Menger," C. A. bought up many tax sale properties in the 1870s, such as Lot 49 on Delaware Street in 1877, which he purchased for $4.81 and 1001 Delaware in 1908. (Plate 19, Photo 121) He continued to purchase these properties, including 820 New Jersey, for the next thirty years. (Plate 12, Photo 122) He put many of these rental properties in Anna's name. Nicolette Proudfoot's research on 820 Delaware shows that in 1903, on New Jersey Street alone, Anna owned twenty-eight lots.



Photo 120
Anna Gracia Margaret Menger ca. 1914
(Source: Shirley Linn)

C. A. owned five more fractional lots on that street, according to the Douglas County Register of Deeds. Whenever the property of poor people who couldn't pay their taxes in East Lawrence became available, the Mengers made their moves.

His great-granddaughter, Shirley Linn, says that C. A. bought up half of the 900 block of Rhode Island, where he built 910, 913, and 916 Rhode Island.[148] 913 Rhode Island was his family's home. (Photos 123-125) After C. A.'s death in 1910, Anna built 917 Rhode Island, and it remained in the family well into the middle of the twentieth century. (Photo 126) All of these houses fit into the expected pattern of American residential structures that had become conventional by the time Lawrence was founded. There was nothing German about them nor should there have been. Lawrence was not Germany, and they had left Germany long ago.



Photo 121
1001 Delaware L-House

[148] Shirley Linn email to Brenna Buchanan, June 2010.



Photo 122
820 New Jersey Two-over-Two House



Photo 123
910 Rhode Island Two-over-Two House



Photo 124
913 Rhode Island T House



Photo 125
916 Rhode Island Bungalow



Photo 126
917 Rhode Island

The four children of C. A. and Anna Menger, including Louis H. Menger, who lived at 743 Louisiana and was the police judge from 1903 to 1911, inherited all of these rental properties at their mother's death in 1920. (Photo 127) Emma purchased additional properties after that to increase the size of the Menger domain. The children of the Mengers remained landlords until their deaths.



Photo 127
Louis H. Menger
(Source: *Lawrence Yesterday and Today*)

It was not easy work dealing with all these properties and diverse people, who, according to Shirley Linn, "were from a world I didn't know." Her grandmother Emma and great-uncle Louis knew how to handle things, which they had learned from their mother and father who had become very successful. Shirley described Judge Menger as "very firm."[149] Corky Reed claimed that the judge was a tough man who sent his hired men to take off front doors in the winter when renters didn't pay on time. Shirley Linn remembers going on scary rental collecting rounds in the 1930s and 1940s with her grandmother who told her "to be very quiet and polite, to be very careful and ready to

[149] Mark Kaplan, Interview with Corky Reed, May 8, 2003. Shirley Linn email to Dennis Domer, August 22, 2010.

leave quickly (run)." Emma rented to many African Americans and Mexican Americans in East Lawrence, and she told Shirley that "she would rather rent to a Mexican than a Black anytime because you could always count on a Mexican to pay their rent. She would continue to tell me that it was important to get there to collect the rent the first of the month when they got paid. You had to get it before they spent it on drink! It would be always cold and dark because she would want to get there as soon as they got home from work." Shirley said that "I had never been so scared in my life as when collecting rent."[150]

The Mengers lived on Rhode Island, far enough away from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware Streets, where their black and Mexican American renters lived for little Shirley to feel safe but not far enough away for her to forget her childhood fear of African Americans six to seven decades later. Deep-seated fear, established early in life, was often the source of conflict between ethnic groups and races, according to Ronald Bayor, who wrote about neighbors in early twentieth-century New York.[151] There was certainly fear among Germans in East Lawrence of the "Bottoms," though they contributed to its existence. Emil Putze was arrested in 1899 at his business on the corner of 8th and New York, for example, because it was considered the source of liquor for the East Bottoms.[152]

The tension between Germans and African Americans appeared often in statements and accusations made in *Die Germania* and *Historic Times*, an African American newspaper. *Die Germania* worried that "southern Blacks who migrated to northern cities endangered the economic position of white immigrants by working for less money," and recommended voting against these migrations.[153] In 1887, *Die Germania* complained that "A large number of Blacks were baptized in

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[150] Shirley Linn email, August 22, 2010.

[151] Ronald Bayor, *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, Germans, Jews and Italians of New York City, 1929-1941*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988, 14, as quoted in Rampelmann, 139.

[152] "Wholesale Liquor House Raided," *Lawrence Daily Journal*, May 8, 1899, 4:3.

[153] Rampelmann, 138, as quoted from *Die Germania*, October 28, 1880: "Seid ihr klug, dann stimmt ihr so dass die Schwarzen bleiben wo sie sind." "If you are smart, you will vote that Blacks stay where they are."

the [Kansas] River last week, and one can only pity the poor people of Kansas City who have to drink this water."[154] In 1891, *Historic Times* inveighed about William Wiedemann's attitude towards blacks who patronized his confectionary, noting that his "delightful mission is to insult intelligent colored people who per chance drop into his shop to purchase ice-cream or eat his sweet meats."[155] Fear continued to build in the late nineteenth century, and in 1896 the Supreme Court of the United States in the case *Plessy vs. Ferguson* voted 7 to 1 to legalize racial segregation based on the notion that the races could be separate and also equal. This decision instituted the Jim Crow laws that plagued African Americans well into the twentieth century and eventually drove most of them out of Lawrence into big cities, where they felt they could protect themselves in ghettos completely separated from whites. It did not work.

Unlike African Americans who simply left town in the first decades of the twentieth century, German Americans came under withering attack in the 1880s because of prohibition. Men like John Walrup, who owned the brewery on Maine Street that sold beer throughout Lawrence and in the region, were eventually run out of town. Beer was a significant aspect of German American culture and was served in the basement of the Turnhalle! So prohibition sliced one of the main arteries of ethnic sociability and cohesiveness while cutting the heart out of a big Lawrence business.



Photo 128
John Walrup

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[154]English translation of: "Eine grosse Anzahl Neger ist letzte Woche im Fluss getauft worden und die armen Kansas City'er, welche dieses Wasser trinken muessen, sind zu bedauern**."** *Die Germania*, March 17, 1887, as quoted in Rampelmann, 139.

[155] *Historic Times,* September 26, 1891, as quoted in Rampelmann, 138.

Less than twenty years later a second artery was cut: the German language. J. Neale Carmen gives 1910 as the "critical year" for German in Lawrence, that is to say "the year in which a community ceased to use f-lang (a foreign language) habitually in the majority of homes where there were growing children."[156] During World War I teaching German in elementary schools was eliminated, and some states prohibited German as an enemy language.[157]

World War I was pivotal in the German American community. In 1918 many German Americans who had been born in Germany and were not naturalized citizens were required to register as aliens. The *Lawrence Daily Journal World* reported the sentiment behind the new law: "Every German or Austrian in the U.S. unless known by years of association to be absolutely loyal should be treated as a potential spy. Keep your eyes and ears opens."[158] On February 16, 1918, the newspaper reported that eleven German aliens registered that week, and "some of them have been here since youth, being our most honored citizens, among others—civil war veterans."[159] Sixty-seven German Americans from Lawrence registered with familiar last names such as Altenbernd, Barteldes, Dreyer, Fischer, Haas, Holt, Kahle, Kahn, Koehler, Niemeyer, Seele, and Wiedemann.[160] (Photos 129-130).

Others got worse treatment. The minister of the St. Johns Evangelical Lutheran Church just south of Lawrence in Willow Springs Township was tarred, feathered, and run out of the church.[161] German-American churches in East Lawrence ended their services in the German language. They had no choice, even though substituting English for German at church was like substituting water for beer at the Turnhalle or over at Walrup's Brewery. These various attacks over a period of

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[156]Carmen, 2.

[157] Rampelmann, 161.

[158] *Lawrence Daily Journal World*, February 14, 1918, as quoted in Judy Metcalf Sweets, "Little Known Source: German "Alien" Registration Records," 57.

[159] *Lawrence Daily Journal World*, February 16, 1918. See Sweets, 58.

[160] Sweets, 63-67.

[161] Domer, "Commons on the Prairie, 159. In 1988, Walter Stoebener of the St. Johns community told me the story of the tar and feathering in German, which he had learned in the German School at the church. Seventy years before that, the Stoebeners stopped speaking German at home. Stoebener said that "wir haben Deutsch aufgeben muessen zu Haus, for our own good."

thirty years were one last straw upon another for many Germans who turned away from their culture or their lives. Many second-generation German Americans anglicized their names and refused to speak German. Theresa Thueringer in her master's thesis, "Henry Albach: Editor and Agitator, 1914-1918, reports that William Wiedemann, the downtown confectionary, left a suicide note in 1919, stating that "this [my suicide] is what propaganda has done."[162]



Photo 129
Henry Kahle, Registered Alien



Photo 130
Lisette Kahn, Registered Alien

The loss of sociability and language, the weakening of the German churches, and refusal of second-generation German Americans to be true to their German heritage eventually put an end to the great German-American cultural hearth in East Lawrence that stretched out to Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Delaware, and Germany. The Germans did not leave Lawrence for the most part, but they were forced to give up their language, forget their culture, and erase their German ways because otherwise they were un-American. The melting pot of houses that created a visually cohesive "community of houses" did not create togetherness at the social level. People generally lived in the same kinds of houses in East Lawrence regardless of race, ethnicity, or socio-

[162] Theresa Thueringer, "Henry Albach: Editor and Agitator, 1914-1918," Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, 62.

economic status, but this did not reflect the conflict, suspicion, and prejudice going on behind well-meaning facades.

Swedes in Lawrence

We do not know very much about the early Swedish-American community in Lawrence, though Carmen counts 321 Swedes in 1895 who spoke Swedish in Lawrence. The majority of them lived in East Lawrence, but almost an equal number lived in the rest of Lawrence. These immigrants were joined by more than 17,000 other Swedes who lived throughout Kansas by 1890 and often came together through their church networks and festivals, which were published by Swedish newspapers such as *Hemlandet*.[163]

Most of these Kansas Swedes lived in rural communities or on farms, which made them somewhat unlike their counterparts in larger cities such as Lawrence. Those who lived in rural areas tended to be more conservative, speak their native language longer at home and in church, and hold together longer as communities than the Lawrence Swedes. The nineteenth-century rural churches were generally larger and stronger than the urban Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in Lawrence, which was organized in 1869 but was only a small congregation by the mid-1880s. All this explains the more rapid assimilation of the Lawrence Swedish community into the melting pot of American life than might have been expected. While the critical year, when Lawrence Swedes gave up the habitual use of their language at home, was 1900, most other Swedish settlements in Kansas gave up their language at home after 1917.[164] More striking is that the Swedes gave up their language in Lawrence ten years before most German Americans in the city gave up their native tongue.[165] Lindquist attributes this to "the process of Americanization" in the schools where children became bilingual and "felt more at ease in the use of English than in Swedish."[166]

In spite of their early disappearance as an ethnic community, much evidence suggests that Swedish Americans made very significant contributions to the city's building history. In this study of East Lawrence houses and individuals, many of the Swedish men were stone masons or stone cutters.

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[163] Emory Lindquist, "The Swedish Immigrant and Life in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (Spring 1963), 1-24.

[164] Lindquist, 7, quotes J. Neale Carmen, who states that the estimated dates of these critical years could be off by a maximum of five years.

[165] Carmen, 128.

[166] Lindquist 7.

Some were grocers. The women we know about clerked at Barteldes, worked as waitresses, or were employed as cutters at the Wilder Brothers' shirt factory.[167]

In their time, Swedish stone masons were prominent and important men in the community. Andrew Palm, born in Lund, Sweden, in 1835, came to Lawrence in 1858. He is closely associated with the one of the earliest power sources of Lawrence, the windmill at the top of 9th Street, which he built with John Wilder. John Wilder was born in Massachusetts and came with the third party of New England Immigrant Aid Society in 1854. To complete the technical tasks on the mill, Palm went back to Sweden and brought back twelve Swedish immigrants to assist with the stone foundations, the complicated wood form, the mechanics, and the long sails.[168]

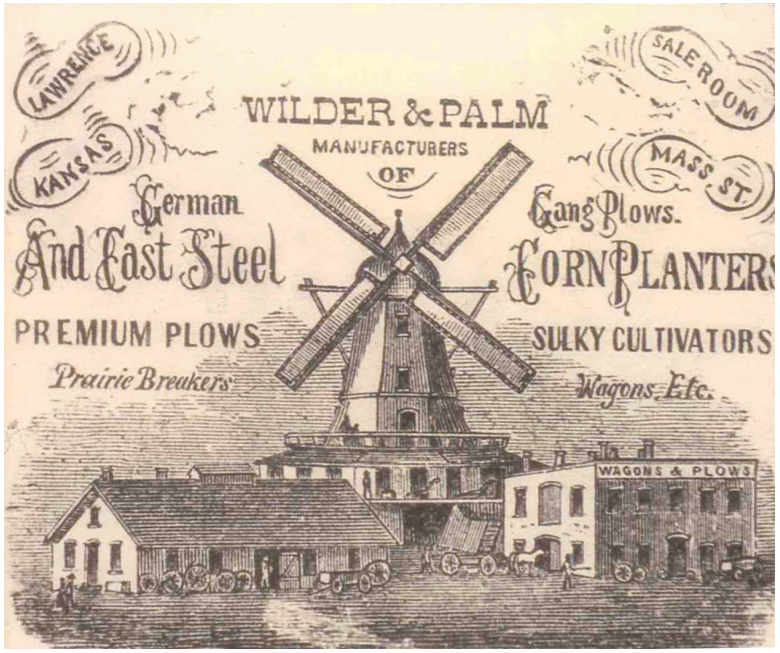


Illustration 2
Wilder and Palm's Windmill

[167] *Lawrence City Directories*, 1890-1928.

[168] Jean Paul Pentecouteau, "The Lawrence Windmill," 1987, 1-7. Unpublished paper, Spencer Research Library, the University of Kansas Libraries.



Photo 130
Old Windmill at Lawrence (Source: Internet)

Wilder and Palm's business failed in the 1880s, and Palm joined Joel Gustafson to found Gustafson and Palm, who were cut-stone contractors.

Gustafson was born in 1856 in Sweden, where he learned stone cutting before he set out for America in 1879 on the *Hull*. He married Mathilda Anderson, who also came from Sweden in the same year. By 1898, he was considered "one of the most successful stone contractors of Lawrence." His stone yard was in North Lawrence, and along the Santa Fe tracks "may be found all kinds of stone and building and paving brick." He worked on Snow Hall, the Solders' Home buildings in Leavenworth, the Watkins building, Merchants Bank, the opera house, the high school building, the Teasdale building, Fowler Shops, General Roberts' building, the Donnelly livery stable, paving and curbing of Lawrence, a bank at Hiawatha, a bank in Eudora, and the high school at Tonganoxie.[169]

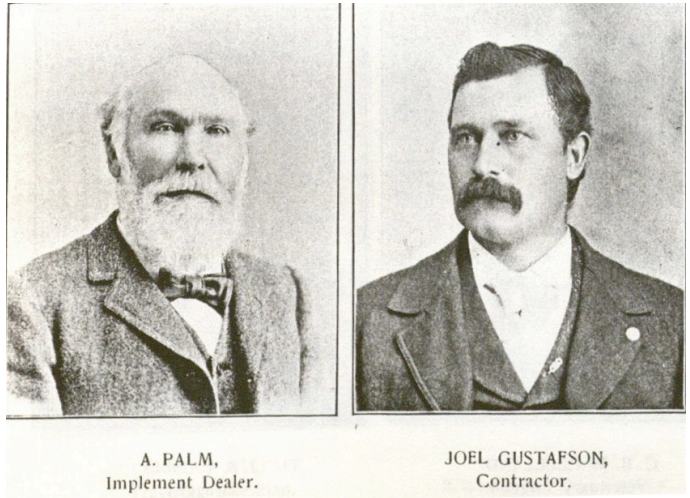


Photo 131
Andrew Palm and Joel Gustafson
(Source: *A Souvenir History of Lawrence, Kansas,* 1898)

[169] *Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas, and Franklin Counties Kansas*. Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1899, 803.

With all his work on big public buildings in Lawrence and in the area, it is no wonder that he had little time to build stone houses in Lawrence, even if they were cheaper, which they never were.

What is more difficult to learn is where Gustafson and other masons got their stone. Downtown building records, according to Allen Wiechert, who commissioned two engineers to search for local quarries that might have supplied stone to KU's buildings, show that most of their stone came from quarries which at that time would have been on the west side of town. Wiechert believes that one quarry was just east of Carruth O'Leary where the ground drops off and now forms a parking lot with two levels. Gustafson may have gotten his stone there, from several quarries farther west near Iowa Street, or from three other quarries where KU later got much of its stone near Junction City, Onega, and Cottonwood. This stone would have been shipped in on railcar.[170] A possible alternative lay among the many photos of the Bowers and Bryant families, Lawrence African Americans, which Professor William Tuttle gave to the Spencer Research Library. (Photo 132)

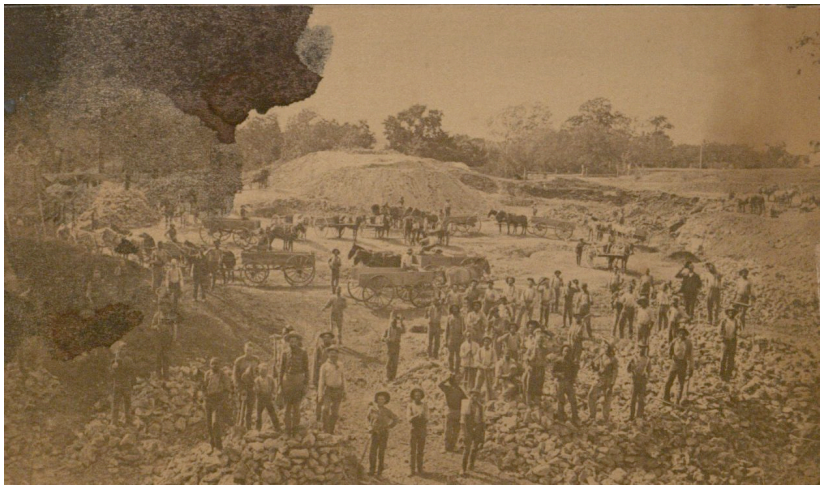


Photo 132
Stone Quarry
(Source: Spencer Research Library,
University of Kansas Libraries)

This quarry might have been near Lawrence, but that is uncertain. This photo does show how labor intensive the stone quarry business was. These quarries may have employed many Swedish stone cutters such as Peter J. Peterson, another Swedish stone mason who lived at 11th and New Jersey in East Lawrence.[171]

[170] Allen Wiechert Interview, August 28, 2010.

[171] *Lawrence City Directories*, 1871 and 1879, **111.**

August Wahl, another Swede who was a stone mason in Lawrence for about 18 years until he was employed as a laborer at Barteldes, was born in Sweden in 1849. He and his wife Louisa immigrated and came to Lawrence in 1882 and eventually lived in and paid the taxes on both the first and second houses built at 1004 Connecticut. He probably built at least the limestone foundation for the second house, a Side-entry house. (Plate 9, Drawing 18, Photos 69-73) One of his sons, Joe Wahl, was killed in the Philippines during the Spanish American war.[172] In this war he was joined by another son of East Lawrence, Fred Strode from the African American blacksmith family, who also died there, and Dick Shanafeldt, who lived in the Two-over-Two house at 1024 Pennsylvania and who was a hero with Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders.[173]

Another Swedish stone mason, O. G. Olson, was born in Westrejotlan, Sweden, in 1841 and in 1868 came to Lawrence, where he built a frame, stair hall, Two-over-Two house at 912 Pennsylvania before 1873, according to our Beer's map. (Plate 24, Photos 133 and 134)



Photo 133
912 Pennsylvania

[172] "Death of August Wahl," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, March 12, 1917. The first battle between American and Spanish forces was at Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, followed by the bombardment of San Juan, Puerto Rico on May 10, the invasion of Guantanomo Bay, Cuba on June 6, and the Battle of San Juan Hill on July 1, 1898.

[173] Woodard, 8. "Dick Shanafelt Dies at Age 88," *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, November 10, 1976, 1:1-2.



Photo 134
912 Pennsylvania Stair Hall

Olson learned his stonework skills in Sweden, where he was worked on a large railroad tunnel in Stockholm. In the United States he worked for the Kansas City & Fort Scott Railroad, the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad, and the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad. When he returned to Lawrence with his wife, Matilda Engstrom, he opened a stone yard on the Santa Fe Railroad, supplying stone for Haskell Institute, the Methodist Episcopal Church, Watkins bank, and several buildings at KU.[174]

There were other Swedish stone masons, including Elijah Wentworth Vermilya, who built an impressive stone villa north of the Kaw River in 1867.[175] (Photo 135) Vermilya, who came from Illinois, and all his other fellow Swedes, who came from Sweden, didn't build from the Swedish tradition. They all built out of the nineteenth-century American residential



Photo 135
Vermilya-Boener House

[174] *Portrait and Biographical Record of Leavenworth, Douglas, and Franklin Counties Kansas*. Chicago: Chapman Publishing Company, 1899, 703-704.

[175] Paul Caviness, "the Vermilya-Boener house," National Register of Historic Places nomination, 1991; Carl Parker Vermilyea "The Vermilyea Family," an unpublished manuscript, 2009.

tradition. Unlike the German Americans, they rushed to assimilate in their newly adopted country. Out of this assimilation emerged houses in East Lawrence and elsewhere that were fully recognizable to people who had come from many different parts of the world to make the United States their home. The Swedes came and were almost immediately accepted as full-fledged citizens.

Mexican Americans in Lawrence

The Mexican Americans were treated quite the opposite. It took them almost half a century of living in impermanent houses before they were able to live in more permanent ones, especially along New Jersey and Pennsylvania between the 8th and 10th Streets or in North Lawrence, and fit into the melting pot that Lawrence had become over the course of a century of building. These Mexican families moved to Lawrence, according to Brenna Buchanan, between 1900 and 1925 to work on the Santa Fe Railroad, but they moved around a lot when the head of the household was sent to jobs up and down the line.[176] Eventually, as the men were promoted to section heads, they were able to settle down after World War II and purchase a "normal" house that they coveted. Their family names are very familiar in Lawrence today: Del Campo, Chavez, Garcia, Bermudez, Ramirez, and Romero.

The Garcia family that eventually bought 819 New Jersey in 1947 provides a typical example of this sequence. (Photos 106-110) Juanita and Candice Garcia still live there in the house of their parents. (Photo 136) Juanita, anglicized to Jenny when she went to school, and Candice were both born in a box car. When they lived in Ottawa, the Garcias shared a box car with another family, and the railroad provided them another box car when they first arrived in Lawrence in the early 1930s.[177]

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[176] Brenna Buchanan, "La Yarda: Understanding the Development of the Mexican American Community in Lawrence, Kansas through Its Architecture," unpublished paper, spring 2009.

[177] Buchanan, 28-29.



Photo 136
The Patricio Garcia Family

The Garcias had hoped to live in Las Yardas, which was built in 1927 to house Mexican-American migrant workers and their families in barracks-like buildings south of the Santa Fe train station and east of the tracks near 8th and Delaware. (Illustration 3) The railroad called these barracks the Santa Fe Apartments. They were two gabled brick structures built in a "U" form on concrete slabs and facing each other with a community space and well between them. (Photos 137-138; Drawing 27)

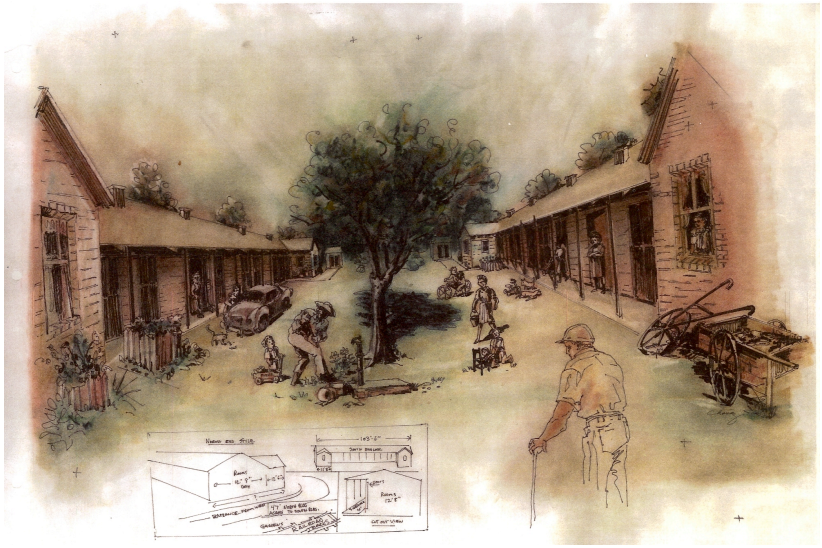


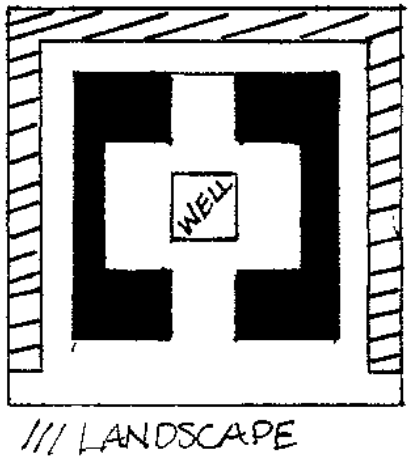
Illustration 3
Las Yardas
Frank Chaves



Photo 137
Las Yardas Barracks, 1933



Photo 138
Children of Las Yardas



Drawing 27
Las Yardas Footprint
Brenna Buchanan

Five to six families could live there in one-room, two-room, and three-room apartments. They tended gardens and kept chickens and other small animals. The Garcias were disappointed that there was no space for them in this communal living arrangement, because it was considered a good place to live.[178] Perhaps their box-car house was at least more comfortable than the other kind of impermanent house, the bunkhouse made of railroad ties that was available earlier to

[178] Buchanan, 29, 34.

some Mexican American families in Lawrence. The box car parked on a side track had the advantage, for example, of being close to water. Further, the box car could be moved from city to city, along with the families who lived in them, and this meant that they didn't have to start all over again in a new box car that they hadn't already arranged for their particular living purposes.

The Juan Romero family was privileged to live in Las Yardas before they were able to buy 904 Pennsylvania following the 1951 flood, which ran all of the Mexican-American families out of Las Yardas. (Photos 139, Plate 23, Plate I) Juan moved from Mexico in 1910 to avoid being

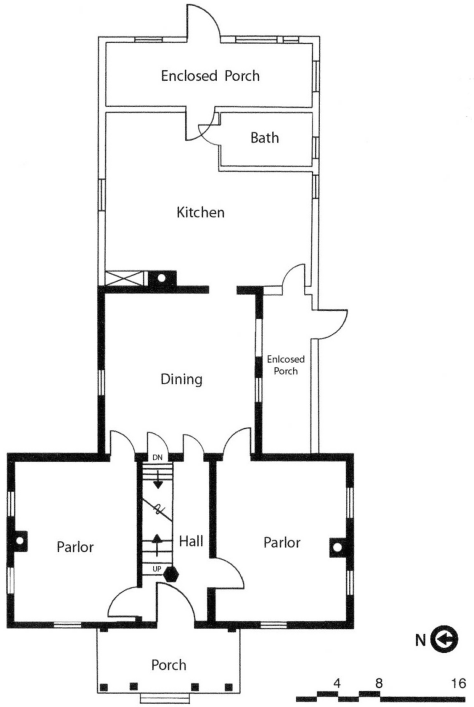


Photo 139
904 Pennsylvania



Photo 140
904 Pennsylvania

sucked into the Mexican Revolutionary War. Forty years later he was promoted to lead section hand on the ATSF Railroad and bought 904 Pennsylvania, which is a frame, central-hall house that Juan extended several times after the family moved in. (Photo 140 and Drawing 28) What once was the kitchen became the Romeros' dining room when Juan and his family added a kitchen, a bath, a south porch, and an east porch. He was handy, gathered up materials, and built the additions into a beautiful example of vernacular accretion. He was unaware of any architectural aesthetic that would have attracted historic preservationists fifty years later when he stuck on the additions one by one over a few years. (Photo 141)



Drawing 28
904 Pennsylvania
Brenna Buchanan



Photo 141
904 Pennsylvania
Southeast Porch Fenestration

The Romeros' central hall house was more typical of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American house types, sometimes known as an I-house, than what was being built in the mid-twentieth century. 904 Pennsylvania has lost its 1880's Italianate brackets that Three Gables Preservation found in 1995, but these brackets made little difference anyway when it came to understanding this hipped-roofed, clapboarded, symmetrically composed house that has handsome exterior scaling and striking interior details that have high integrity.

(Photos 142-143) The central hall provided the Romeros with an efficient way to steer people past the parlors into the less-formal spaces in the rear of the house and to give access to the second storey with an impressive stair. (Photo 145) This was not all that important, though, because the Romeros did not use the parlors the way they were intended originally. In addition to the traditional receiving and entertaining of important visitors, the Romeros used the parlors for food preparation and for children's play rooms. (Photo 145) With thirteen children in the house, the family could not relate to old English traditions they were unfamiliar with, traditions that by then were very weak in American residential life. The family needed room, which easily overruled tradition.



Photo 142
904 Pennsylvania

Interior Panel Door



Photo 143
904 Pennsylvania
Dining Room Wainscoting

The Romeros also needed make a lot of their own food, because Juan's salary could only stretch so far. They baked bread and tortillas in their outdoor "horno," tended a big garden on the south side of their house and several other gardens, and Juan built a chicken house for eggs and meat. (Photos 147-148)



Photo 145
904 Pennsylvania
Newel Post and Stair



Photo 146
The Romero Family, 1960

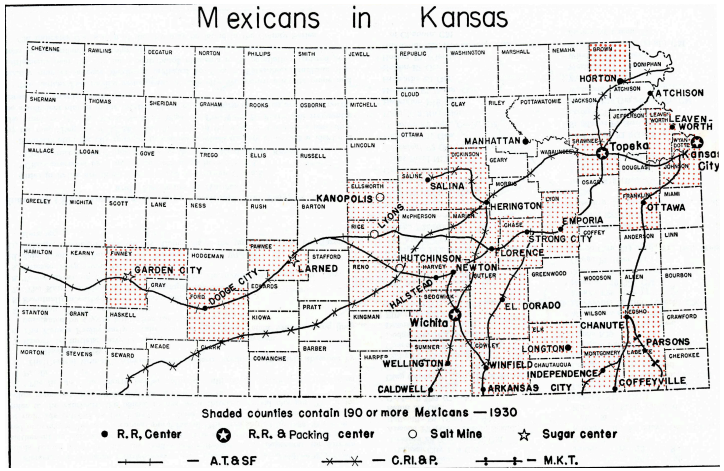


Photo 147
904 Pennsylvania “Horno”



Photo 148
904 Pennsylvania Chicken House

These challenges—leaving Mexico, living in box cars, moving around, living in barracks, and making do at 904 Pennsylvania—all helped knit the Romero family together, as did their strong faith, which they practiced at the St. John’s Roman Catholic Church, where many East Lawrence Mexican-Americans still worship. Like the Romeros, many of these families also had several kids, but even so there was never a large community of Mexicans in Lawrence, because it was not a major railroad or packing center like Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita.



Map 7
Mexicans in Kansas
(Source: Carmen, 40)

The relatively small numbers of Mexicans and cultural isolation, however, tightened their community bonds along with speaking Spanish, which petered out in the generations born after World War II. Carmen gives no critical year when Spanish tipped to English in Lawrence, but there was great pressure to anglicize.

By the third generation after initial migration, many families stopped using the tradition Mexican naming practices that related parents and grandparents to children.[179] In spite of these weakening factors, it appears that the Mexican American community is still strong and cohesive, a unity expressed in annual fiestas at the St. John's Church playground. (Photo 149)



Illustration 4
St. John's Mexican Fiesta

[179] Buchanan, 53.

Melting Pot and Mask

Different people had significantly different experiences in East Lawrence during the period of our study from 1854 to about 1941, and these experiences at times left the neighborhood social fabric in pieces and threads. Race, ethnicity, social economic, and gender inequalities were obvious, and they worsened during the troughs of a capitalistic system susceptible to failure. At no time during the nineteenth century were women and men treated equally, though women made significant contributions, especially in the preservation of the historic city, which should be the topic of another essay. The women of nineteenth-century East Lawrence need to be studied thoroughly for they are the least understood in a male-dominated society**.**

In spite of the many sources and causes of differences in East Lawrence, the physical residential fabric of the neighborhood that emerged appeared to be one piece, made from a variety of house types that were designed to fit together in scale, form, and materials into a carefully planned urban landscape. Both sophisticated and unsophisticated residents as well as visitors can see and feel an architectural and landscape unity, a unity that masks over the many differences behind manifold and complementary facades. The "ocular" bias of our culture prevents the real significance of residential architecture from being revealed. Going behind facades into the interior of houses; studying spatial arrangements that reflect social and relational expectations; examining materials and stylistic expressions imbedded in them that suggest hierarchies of use and meaning; comparing houses based on their plan type rather trying to name exterior stylistic features (Illustration 5); analyzing varying costs of building materials, labor, and structural systems; calculating and mapping changes over time; and connecting this information to people who lived in these houses are imperative tasks to overcome the ocular bias and to produce a new history of residential life in Lawrence that is more real, understandable, and interesting.

Andrew Jackson Downing, the leading theorist and designer of nineteenth-century suburban residential building types, along with the architect Alexander Jackson Davis, asserted in the preface of his book *Victorian Cottage Residences,* published in 1842, that "all beauty is an outward expression of an inward good." We could not confirm that in East Lawrence. We did not find "what an unfailing barrier against vice, immorality, and bad habits, are those tastes which lead us to embellish a home . . . ," and we did not learn that East Lawrence houses "all breathe forth to us, in true, earnest tones, a domestic feeling that at once purifies the heart, and binds us more closely to our fellow-beings!"[180] This is asking too much of architecture, which cannot overcome the much stronger influences on the character and hearts of people, such as economic, racial, and ethnic factors that separate rather than bring people together. We do not suggest that East Lawrence

[180] Andrew Jackson Downing, *Victorian Cottage Residences*, 1842. Republished by Dover Architectural Press, New York, 1981, ix.

was not and is not a cohesive neighborhood where people help each other live better lives. There is plenty of neighborliness, and there have always been many unselfish contributions made to the good of the community, but there were always many difficulties, disagreements, and conflict that one must expect in the social fabric of the human condition, no matter how beautiful the houses are. Downing was a romantic and an idealist, and he was starting from a different place and time than ours. He believed, for example, that the United States was a country where civil rights were equal and wages high. A century and a half later we know better.

Downing had much to say about what was really important in Victorian cottages, as he called them, and builders of houses in East Lawrence showed over the years that they agreed with Downing, who believed that use is "the first principle to be considered in all buildings." East Lawrence builders would likely agree that "our every-day comfort is so entirely dependent on a convenient arrangement of the rooms, or plan of the interior, that this is universally acknowledged to be the most important consideration."[181] Our builders accepted proven plans of houses from a deluge of publications that appeared in the nineteenth century, plans that described for mainstream tenants how Victorians wanted to live. Our builders also took the principle of use one step further by freely adapting proven plans to their specific situation and adding on to them in a variety of ways that Downing and Davis would have abhorred. In a variety of ways that were lively and only somewhat predictable, our builders made and modified the interiors of old houses in East Lawrence for six generations of users. They sometimes preserved the original materials and finishes or historic spatial arrangements. The adaptability of these historic house plans to new domestic users is the key to the longevity and legacy of East Lawrence houses.



Illustration 5
Hall Entry Plans
With
Unrelated Styles

[181] Downing, 2.

The exterior architectural mask of houses could be in any style as long as the interior was capable of change, the original plan and new added rooms created an interior unity, and the exterior additions were compatible in scale, form, and material. The style was of secondary importance and seldom reveals much about the history of a house. Style, however, was not irrelevant, because the application of style made many East Lawrence houses both deceptive and beautiful. This beauty is enhanced significantly when we know what's behind it, who the people were, and how they may have lived.

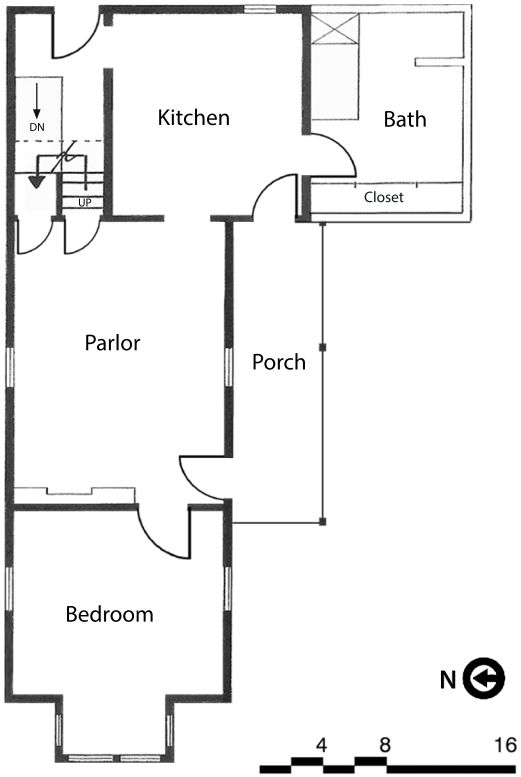


Photo 149
Lawrence Vitrified Brick

Side Entry

620 Rhode Island

B



Historical Significance

Freeman Norton Blake, born to a prominent family of wealthy entrepreneurs, graduated from Harvard Law School in 1855 and moved to Kansas in 1856, taking an active part in making Kansas a free state. He laid out Kansas Falls, a city that failed near Junction City. He helped incorporate Junction City and was elected a member of the Leavenworth constitutional convention. He was elected to the the first Kansas State Legislature as a member of the House of Representatives in 1861. He served as the American Consul to Canada under Presidents Lincoln and Grant. His brother, Ebenezer, owned lots in Lawrence, and Freeman purchased six of them, including 620 RI, in 1866, and built a house on lot 21 and 22 (which W.H. Banks owned) in 1870. Banks, a bookkeeper at Simpson's Bank and later a clerk for the Kansas Pacific Railroad, lived in the house with his wife who sold it in 1883 to the Wilder Brothers.



1870

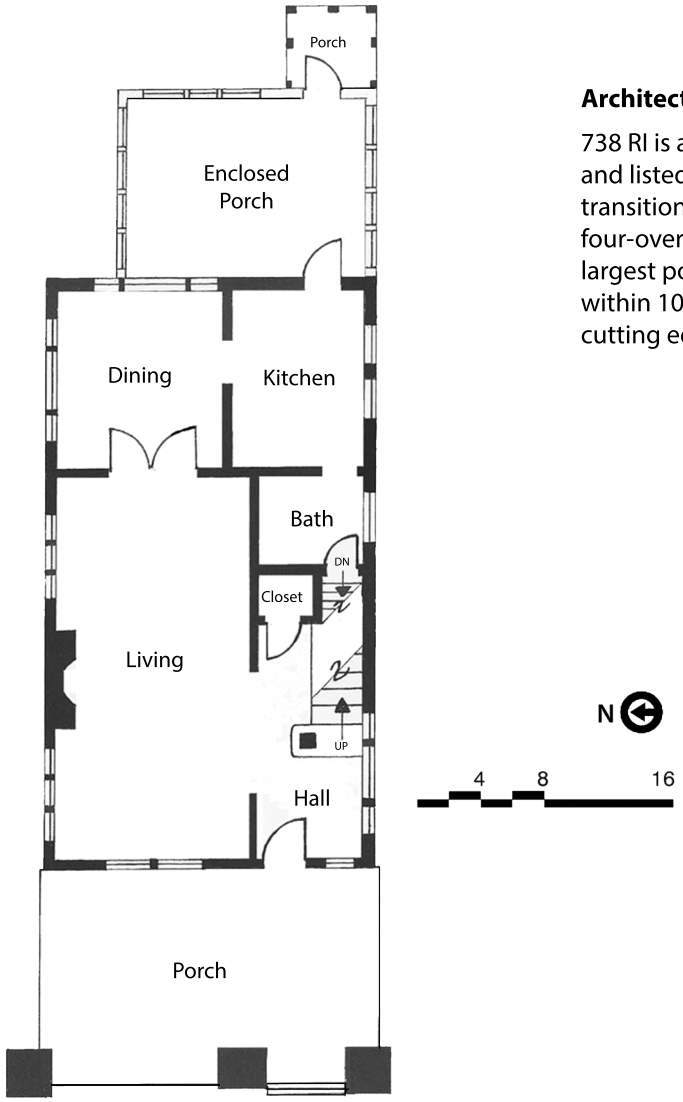
Architectural Significance

Built in 1870, the core frame structure of this side-entry house has remained stable since its erection and has remarkable integrity, though around that core frequent, sometimes even dramatic changes have come and gone. During the 1950s the owners covered the house with asbestos siding, retaining and conserving the clapboard beneath along with its balloon frame. Original two-over-two windows exist all around. A prominent two-bay window was installed in 1897. The interior finishes and appointments are original, including paneled doors, plain door and window surrounds, and 3 inch pine floors. The spatial arrangement of the interior has not changed since 1870.

Bungalow

738 Rhode Island

J



Architectural Significance

738 RI is a contributing structure in the North Rhode Island Street Historic Residential District and listed in the National Register of Historic Places. This unusual house demonstrates the transition between 19th century houses and modern 20th century houses. In this case a four-over-four 19th century plan is masked on the exterior as a bungalow and has one of the largest porches in Lawrence. 1915 is a very early building date for a bungalow in Lawrence, within 10 years of the Gamble House in Pasadena, California, so 738 RI was definitely on the cutting edge of residential building in Lawrence.



1915

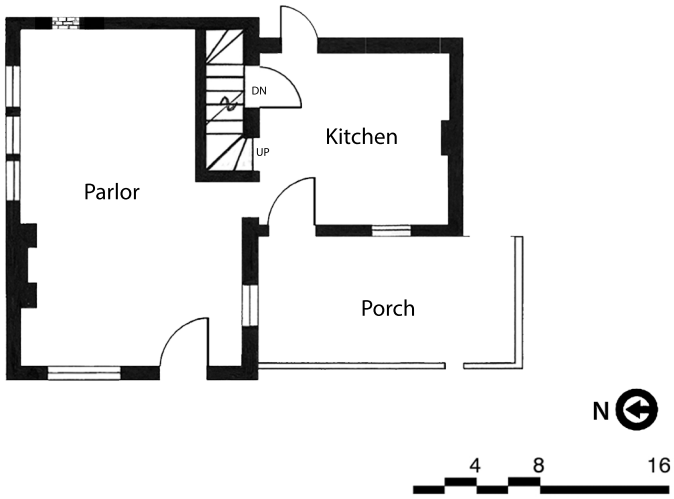
Historical Significance

Mrs. Ellen McElhney, who lived next door, built this house in 1915 on the north 30 feet of lot 40 and gave it to her daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Krum. Krum was a travel agent in the city. The Krum family sold it to William and Minnie Biggs in 1923. Biggs was a partner in Hutchings and Biggs Stove Store at 832 Mass. We don't know enough yet about these people but certainly Mrs. McElhney and her daughter had some connection to California architectural movements of the early 20th century, perhaps through their son-in-law who was a travel agent.

Upright and Wing

938 Rhode Island

G



Architectural Significance

This house is considered a contributing structure in the North Rhode Island Historic Residential District because metal siding has been recently removed. This Upright and Ell house, a Greek Revival house type that spread west from the colonies beginning in the early 19th century, features a large stuccoed brick temple front facing the street that announces the parlor below and main bedrooms above. The subordinate ell by was usually the kitchen, though this residence had a rear kitchen which appears to have existed by 1873. The woodwork on the 1st floor, the stair up to the 2nd floor, and the roof structure, which has very wide old timber purlins, are all original.



Pre-1873

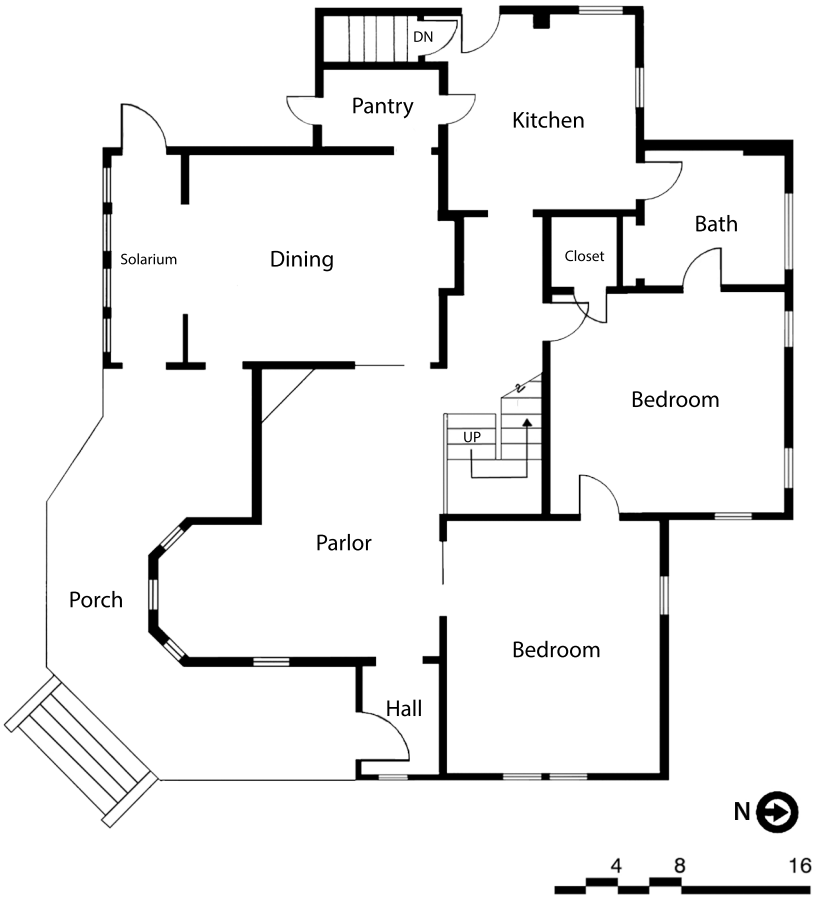
Historical Significance

Rueben Ludington was born in Springfield, MA in 1827, came to Lawrence in 1857, and lived at 938 RI from 1860 to 1863. His house survived Quantrell's raid. Ludington had a cigar and tobacco shop on Mass. Ave which was ransacked but Ludington was fortunately on a buying trip back East. George Collamore, the mayor, at the time of the 1863 raid, was killed, and Ludington returned to Lawrence to become the mayor who oversaw the re-building of the city, established schools, and organized the fire department. Ludington was popular and was re-elected mayor in 1876 and 1878. John Stillman Brown, a Unitarian minister, bought the property in 1863. He was born in New Hampshire, graduated from Union College in 1834, and moved to Lawrence in 1857. He was elected county superintendent of schools twice and served as Lawrence's city clerk and was on the state board of agriculture. He founded The Kansas Farmer magazine.

Queen Anne

645 Connecticut

H



Historical Significance

Andrew J. Griffin, one of Lawrence's most celebrated early businessmen, succeeded against unpredictable downturns of the business cycle. He fought in Ohio during the Civil War, and then moved to Lawrence in 1867 where he began a lime and stone business, adding coal later. In 1892, he paid the disgruntled laborers of the Polar Ice Company and established the Griffin Ice Company among more than a dozen other ice businesses in the city which he slowly bought up. He purchased a Hercules ice-making machine in 1894 and in 1896 Griffin, J. D. Bowesock, Junius Underwood, and W. L. Howe chartered a new company, doubling the capacity of the ice house. It was lost in the 1903 flood. By 1909, the company was again making 50 tons of artificial ice a day with two plants and 20 employees. The last ice plant, located at 616 Vermont and razed in 1994, covered 15,000 square feet.



1902

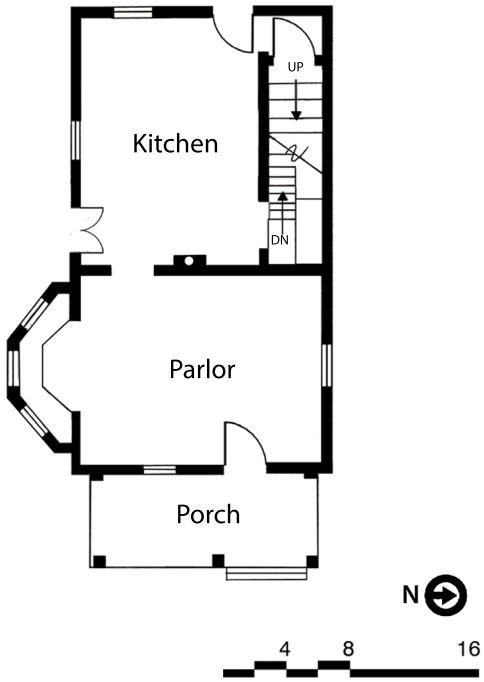
Architectural Significance

This exuberant, 1 1/2 story, Victorian house has high architectural integrity and represents the epitome of Queen Anne residential architecture. Its elevated site, diagonal orientation and entry to the street, gables and dormers reaching in every direction, modified octagonal porch and tower, and copious mix of architectural expressions, fine materials, and articulated building elements accentuate the desired complexity of the exterior. The interior spatial arrangement of double parlors and dining room that focus on a grand parlor staircase provide a panoply of original woodwork, fireplaces, built-ins, paneled pocket doors, brass hardware, colored glass, tiles, pressed metal ceiling and light fixtures.

2 over 2 backstair

737 Connecticut

A



Historical Significance

George Shearer, real estate owner and capitalist, owned dozens of rental properties, including 737 CN, 739 CN, a two-story brick boarding house at 724 Mass., and a residence at 1015 TN. He invested in an empty lot at 737 CN and after his death his family built the current two-over-two house in 1893. Shearer's obituary in 1890 stated that he came to Lawrence in 1860 and "has been closely identified with her history from the troublesome time of her early struggles until his death." His son, Bruce, was described at his death in 1898 as "one of the most prominent dry goods merchants of the city."



1893

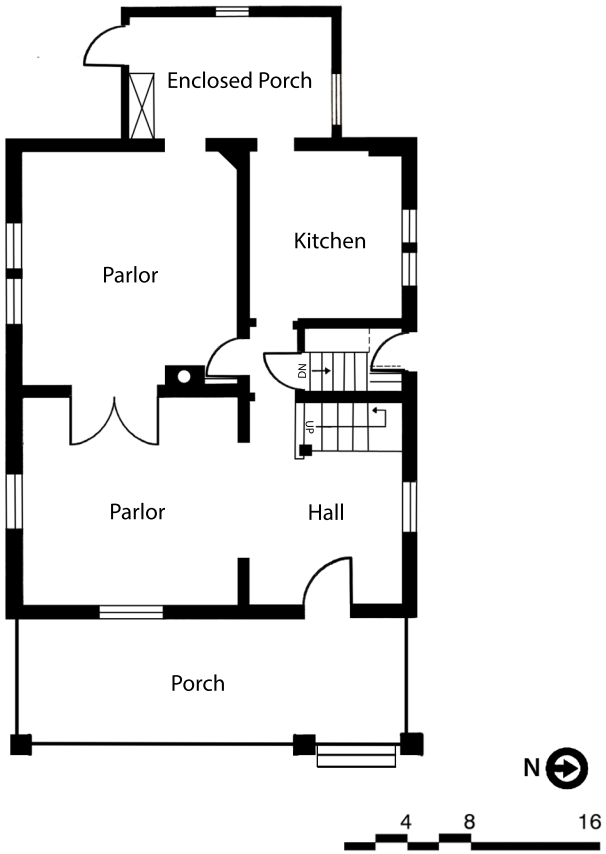
Architectural Significance

This two-over-two house has high exterior integrity with original clapboard, shingled pediment, sunburst at roof peak, ballon frame structural system, boxing, exposed rafter tails, porch with turned posts, spindle frieze, Eastlake capitals, beaded board bay window siding, and one-over-one wood window sash on main elevations and bay. The original first floor plan has been articulated with original woodwork on doors and windows.

4 over 4 Stair Hall

739 Connecticut

C



Architectural Significance

The classic four-over-four house replaced a stone house standing there since 1857. This early 20th century house has great architectural integrity inside and out, with original clapboard, ballon frame structural system, shingled pediments, front porch with manufactured stone columns and base, windows, doors, floors, stair, hardware, and classical woodwork of pine all around and in excellent condition.



1915-1920

Historical Significance

Gurdon Grovenor, Lawrence mayor and lumberman, stated in 1913 that the original house was stone and built in 1857. The tax records suggest that George Shearer, a prominent businessman, bought it in 1868. It was torn down between 1915 and 1929 when Stephen Fox, a black yardman who worked for the Union Pacific Railroad, built his fine new house. Though wages were low and benefits nil, it was possible for a hard working black man in early 20th century Lawrence to save enough to build a very substantial house with relatively high value. Fox's achievement was exceptional. His taxes rose from $600 in 1915 to $1,950 in 1920.

1-Story w/ shed addition

742 Connecticut

E



Historical Significance

R. W. Sparr came to Lawrence in 1859, established a brick manufacturing company that lasted until 1867, and was responsible for producing most of the brick that was used to build early Lawrence. A Tribune reporter paid a visit to his brick works in 1866 and was surprised by the perfection and rapidity of Sparr's brick making. He saw two men mould 2,004 bricks in 30 minutes, which in a day of 10 hours, would be 41,280." The reporter went on to say that "Mr. Sparr has sold near half million of this brick this summer, fully as many as he had sold last year up to this time, though at about half the profit." He closed his brick company in 1867 and became a grading contractor for the Santa Fe throughout the state. In 1881 he got the contract to grade the 20-mile railroad bed from Lyons to Ellinwood. His company owned 54 head of mules, 125 scrapers, and employed 150 teams. He completed the work in 60 days.



1865-1866

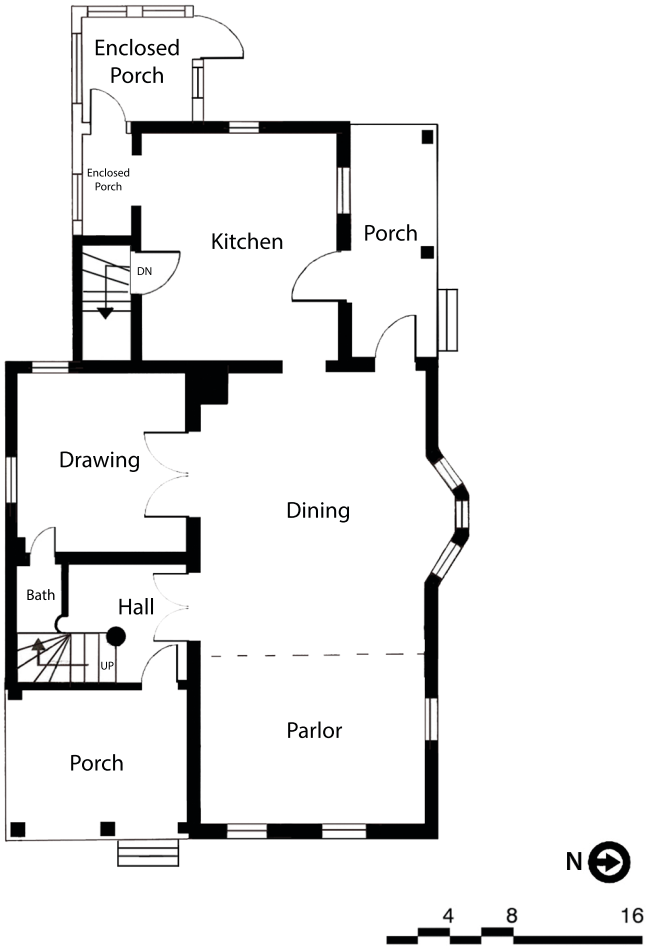
Architectural Significance

The original brick core of this 1-story cottage has a standard two-room plan of the two-over-two house with a stair entry hall and the stair leading to the basement kitchen and cellar, which was the typical layout for this house type in Lawrence during the 1860s. Because of its small size, framed additions expanded the house very early and changes continued to be made into the second half of the 20th century in response to changing needs. Ironically, this starter house that R. W. Sparr built from his own brick survived while his great house on 1411 Tennessee did not. The four room core of this house, established by 1889, and has very good integrity but the history of this house is change.

L plan

946 Connecticut

D



Historical Significance

Abram Watts, a stone mason, brought his wife, Sibella, and their young children to America and Lawrence from England in 1856. By 1870 the census shows that Abram was quite successful in the city building period because by that time he owned $10,000 in real estate. Eventually all of his six children came to America. Abram's five sons were all stone masons: Henry, William, Samuel, John, and Abram, according to 1870 and 1871 city directories, along with one other relative, Isaac, who was also a mason. William purchased the property in 1877 by paying tax arrears and after the three-year redemption period received the deed in 1882. It appears that he torn down an earlier house to build his new one. Peter Vinegar, one of three African-American men hanged from the bridge over the Kaw on June 10, 1882, lived in this earlier house. William's widow lived at 946 Connecticut until her death in 1932.



ca. 1882

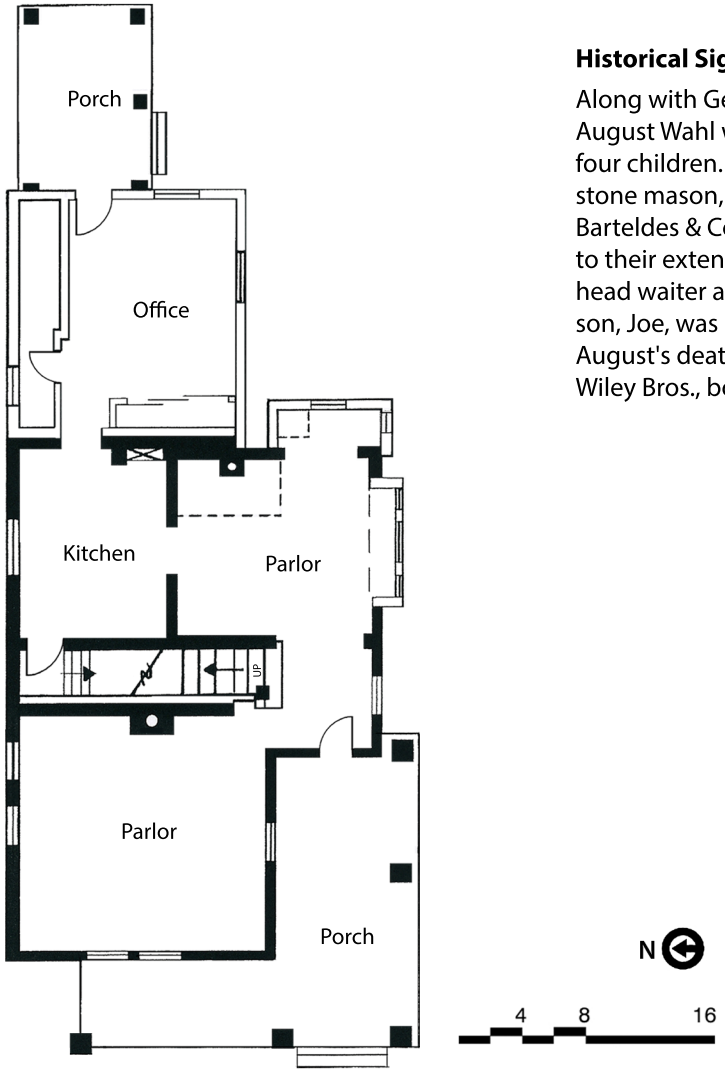
Architectural Signigicance

This "L" house, with Italianate buttresses under the eaves, has high integrity, though covered with asbestos in the 1950s. It has a balloon frame system with 2 x 10 inch floor joists, original doors, 1-over-1 windows, spindle frieze front and side porches, an exceptional two-story bay window with bead board bases, exterior horizontal basement door, original front door with colored panes, an outstanding staircase with an octagonal newel and fancy turned balusters, chamfered woodwork with bull's eye corner blocks, original oak floors in the entry hall and living room, and plastered walls in the parlor, dining, and living room. Joists in the basement indicate a removed parlor wall.

Side Entry

1004 Connecticut

B



Historical Significance

Along with German, Scots-Irish, English, and Africans, Swedish immigrants also came to Lawrence. August Wahl was born in Sweden in 1849 and 1873 he married Louisa Drag with whom he had four children. In 1882 he brought his family to America, Illinois, and Lawrence. August Wahl was a stone mason, a profession he practiced for 18 years. About 1900 he took a laborer's job with Barteldes & Co. As was often the case in the early 20th century, the Wahl's house was also home to their extended family, including Hilda Wahl who was a waitress and Mamie Wahl who was the head waiter at the Eldridge House and Minnie Wahl who was a cutter for Wilder Bros. The Wahl's son, Joe, was one of two Lawrencians killed in the Spanish American War in the Philippines. After August's death in 1917, Louisa sold the house to Nelson Piper who worked for Boring & Co and Wiley Bros., both grocery stores.



1899

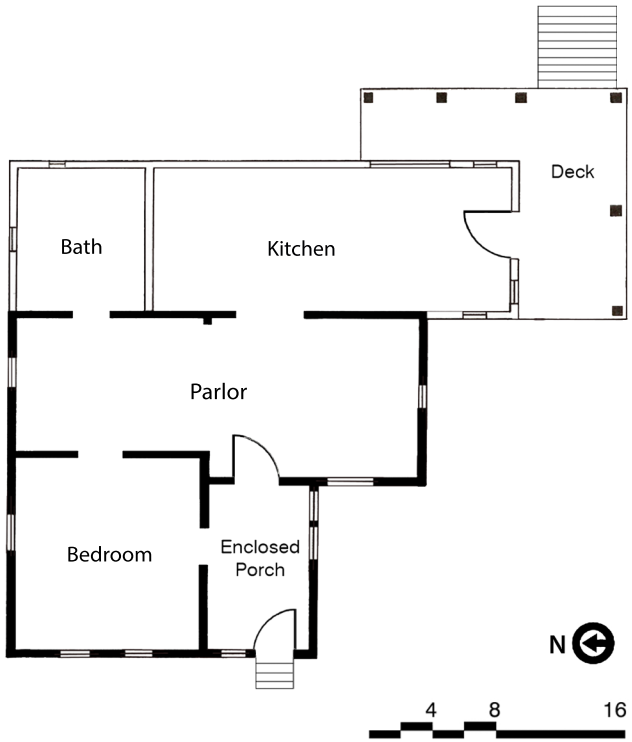
Architectural Significance

About 5% of our 751 neighborhood houseshave side-entries like the one August Wahl built in 1899, replacing the older house on his lot. This cross-gabled house has very good integrity with a full balloon frame, clapboards conserved since the 1950s by wavy asbestos siding, original 2 over 2 windows all around, and a wrap around porch with classical details, exposed rafter tails and drop ends. The side door opens into a vestibule celebrated with a classically detailed transverse stair and arched passageways with engaged pillars opening into the parlor and dining room. The pine floors, woodwork, baseboards, plastered walls,paneled doors, and alcove details are all original.

1-Story

814 New Jersey

E



Architectural Significance

This T plan house was originally a two-room cottage, like 742 CN. The stem of the T was added later, followed by an early kitchen addition. The house has changed considerably over time by accretion but it retains its original clapboard siding and balloon framing in the T and in some areas of the early kitchen addition as well as its five inch oak sub-flooring and three inch pine flooring. The full-sized rafters support skip sheathing purlins covered originally by wood shingles, still extant and easily observable at the time of this survey when the house was undergoing a renovation. The Sanborn maps show nothing here until 1912 but we know differently from other sources.



ca. 1872

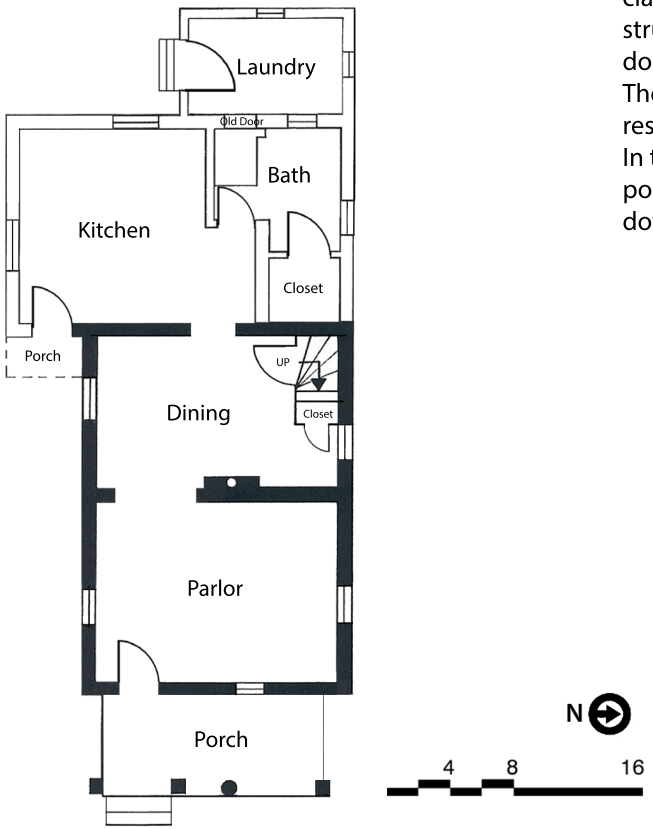
Historical Significance

Charles Ware was born in the 1850s and probably came to Lawrence from Missouri as an escaped slave, otherwise known as a contraband in Kansas, shortly after the Civil War began. His father, Silas, and mother, Rachel, were slaves from Missouri who were illiterate. They were in Lawrence in the 1860s, and also escaped to freedom along with their sons. Charles Ware survived Quantrill's raid. In 1865 Charles bought property on New Jersey from Silas but by 1872 he was renting 814 New Jersey. He purchased 814 New Jersey in 1888 and rented it to people of color, such as Jane Jenkins, a widow, in 1888, James Smith, a butcher, from 1893-94, and Evert Williams, a hardware store helper and later plumber, from 1917-1919. The cost of rental was around $5 a month. Ware was a prominent player in the 800 block of New Jersey where numerous blacks lived, several of whom helped establish the NAACP in Lawrence in 1921.

2 over 2 backstair

819 New Jersey

A



Architectural Significance

This two-over-two house with kitchen addition has high integrity. The original clapboard siding, covered in the 1950s with asbestos siding, conserves a balloon frame structural system. Original two-over two windows throughout and a paneled front door remain. A side-entry and kitchen were added at the turn of the 20th century. The kitchen and the dining room retain a 5-foot wainscot with molded and plain cap, respectively. All rooms have original plain woodwork around doors and windows. In the dining room a rare boxed staircase and door of 5 inch vertical plank with a black porcelain doorknob hides a winder stair to rooms above and covers the straight stair down, now a closet.



ca. 1865

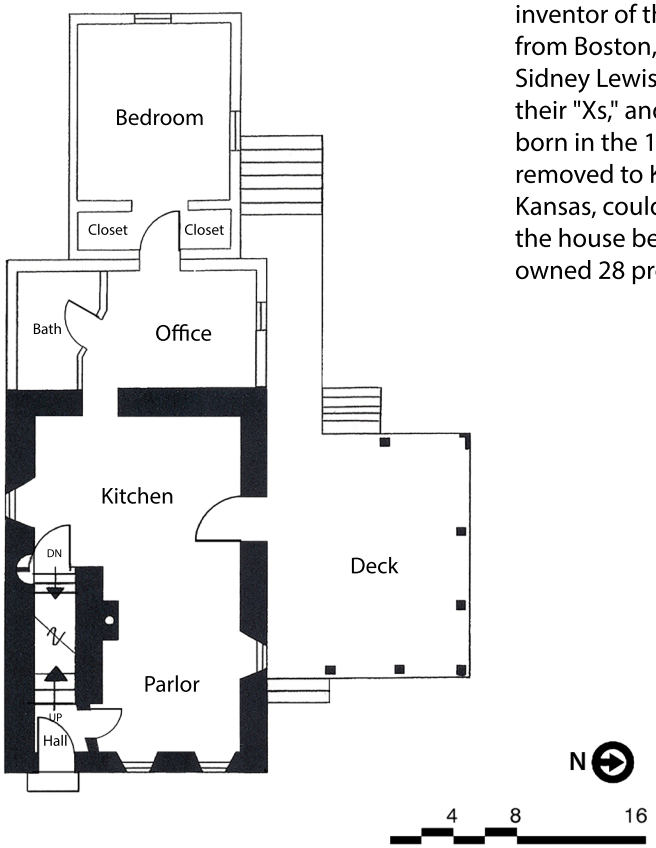
Historical Significance

In 1863, Rev. Richard and Mary Cordley sold this lot to John Johnson, an illiterate contraband slave who was born in Kentucky, and his contraband companion, Ann, also illiterate and born in Arkansas. They built a house in 1864-65 which was valued at $700 and where they raised a large family. Marriage was not recognized between colored people until a Feb. 15, 1866 act of the Kansas Legislature, and John and Ann were married on May 16, 1866. John worked as a janitor at Quincy School. The Johnson family lived until 1922 on New Jersey Street, along with many other influential African-Americans, such as Jordan Strode, a blacksmith from a family of blacksmiths, who also purchased a lot from Rev. Cordley in 1863. From the New Jersey Street crucible of color came the Lawrence Chapter of the NAACP in 1921.

2 over 2 Stair Hall

820 New Jersey

A



Historical Significance

The New England Emigrant Aid Company owned this lot from 1857 to 1861 when Isaac Adams, inventor of the Adams power press that revolutionized printing and Henry Ayling, an iron merchant from Boston, bought the lot. Both were members of the aid company. In 1868, Green Lewis and Sidney Lewis, once contraband and by that time freed slaves, signed the bottom line for the lot with their "Xs," and built the house immediately. In 1869, they agreed that James Overton, a freed slave born in the 18th century, who remembered Baltimore in the War of 1812, who was sold and removed to Kentucky, and who had driven Henry Clay on the political stump before he escaped to Kansas, could build the first rear addition to their house and live there the rest of his life. In 1899, the house became the rental property of the Menger family for the next fifty years. By1903, they owned 28 properties along New Jersey Street.



1868-1869

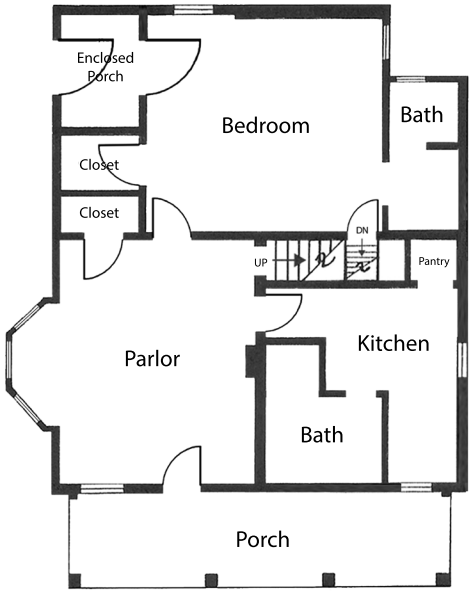
Architectural Significance

This two-story, brick, two over two house is a product of the booming late 1860s when brick, even for a freed slave who built it, was cheaper than wood because most of the area's timber useful for building had been logged out and wood was snapped up as soon as it was freighted in. At that time at least three brick factories were providing their product in the city. The original exterior has high integrity with a structural and wall system built of common bond brick. The tall, thin windows with double-hung wood sash have jack arches of brick and brick window sills. The rear addition is only the most recent and appropriate in scale and character to support the historic main section.

T plan

821 New Jersey

F





Historical Significance

C. D. Reedy came to Kansas from Ohio in 1870, a German-American whose ancestors settled in Pennsylvania. Reedy was a butcher and harness maker who purchased the first house on this lot in 1871 and eventually properties at 829, 831, and 835 New Jersey. In 1886, he established with his sons, Michael and Lewis, the Reedy Bros. grocers at 847 New Jersey which was also a cider and vinegar works. Reedy Bros. grocers was a typical, deep rectangular grocery store that advertised staple and fancy groceries, presented to the public on wall shelves, in counters, baskets, barrels, bins, and containers of sawdust. Clients could find vegetables in season, canned goods, confectioneries, enamel ware,feed and grain, condiments, spices, flour, sugar, tobacco, teas and coffees, fish and game in season, meat, poultry, and bakery goods. After C. D. and Michael died, Lewis sold the store to C. D. Edmondson in 1902 and became a traveling agent.



1889

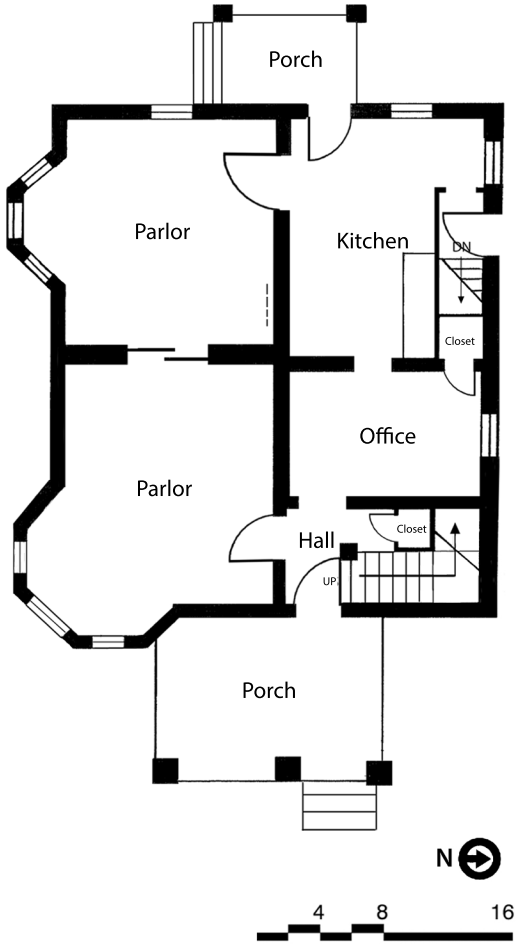
Architectural Significance

This T-house has changed very little in 119 years and is an excellent representative of its type. The original balloon frame, clapboard exterior, floor system, tongue in groove flooring, wainscot kitchen siding ,beaded parlor siding, stair and stair door, window sash, door and window trim, baseboards, and front board with spindle friezes, and turned posts with Eastlake capitals are intact. The bay window was added early in the 20th century and is unchanged. A pantry was transformed into a bath by mid-20th century. The second bath and enclosed porch are later, insubstantial but fully in scale with the T-plan. Normally, these additions will be replaced repeatedly over the life cycle of this kind of house.

Queen Anne

1100 New Jersey

H



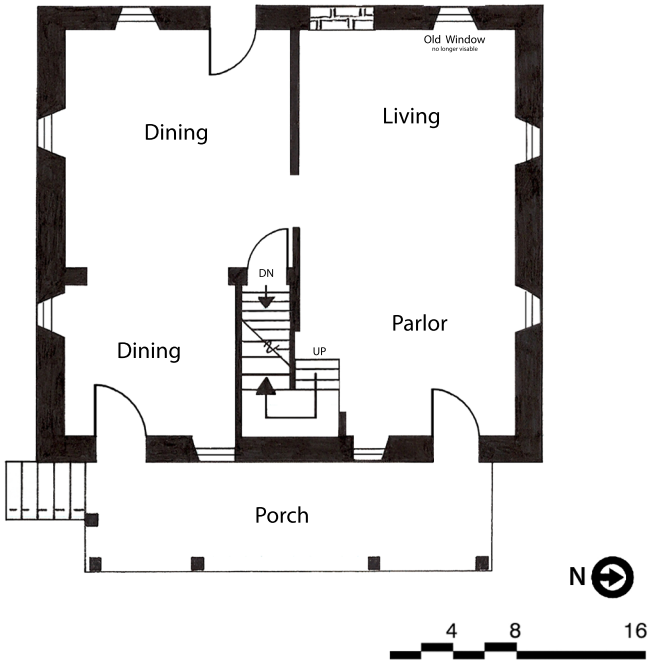


ca. 1900

4 over 4 central stair

917 Delaware

C



Architectural Significance

This early four-square house with its hipped roof and Italianate buttresses is symmetrically organized and has 18" limestone walls, two full stories and a four-room basement with 18" center walls. Original two over two windows with wood sills and crowned lintels and paneled and carved front doors with classical details and etched and colored glass support the structure's historic exterior character. Original pine floors carried by 2' x 8" floor joists on 16" centers are under plastered stone walls in the two front rooms and stone walls in the two back rooms on the first floor remain. A paneled door with black enameled doorknob and iron hardware leads to the basement.



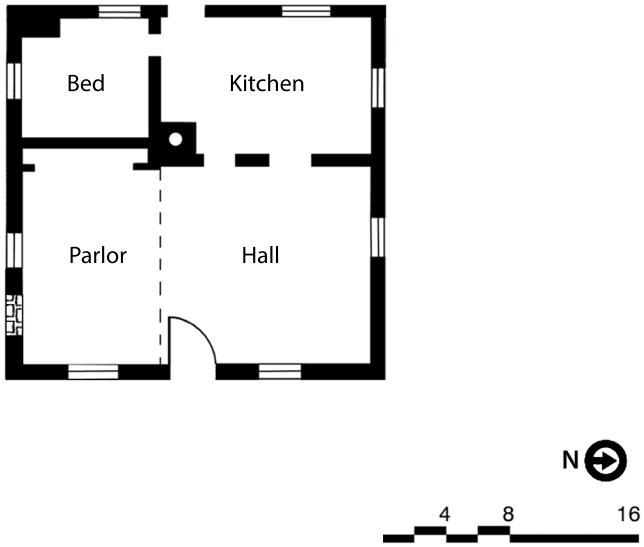
1872

Historical Significance

Though Frederick Bromelsick purchased this lot in 1872 and built the house, and his family owned it after his untimely suicide until 1889, the Bromelsicks never lived here. It was never a brothel, hotel, or boarding house, as reported, but rental property, often for railroad workers, including Thomas Johns of the L. L. and G. railroad, James Irwin, railroader, Orville Irwin, baggage master, William Livingston, section hand, and John Warner, section hand during the 1870s. In 1928, Aubrey Cloud, known as the mayor of East Lawrence by his friends, purchased the property. He was the son of Albert Cloud who was a contraband, worked for the blacksmith Troy Strode, ran a blacksmith business with George Snowden, and was recognized as a leader of the Republican Party. Aubrey conducted a successful trash hauling business until his death in 1946. Floyd, a city worker, and Mabel Evans, also African Americans, owned it from 1946 to 1980.

Hall Parlor with shed addition

933 Delaware



Architectural Significance

This hall parlor plan inside a saltbox exterior form originated in England during the late medieval period, was transported in the minds of builders and carpenters to colonial America in the 17th century and eventually was carried west at least as far as Lawrence. The brick walls as well as an unusual framing system that utilizes a false plate carry the broad roof composed of two planes. The front roof uses skip sheathing and the rear roof uses wide plank sheathing for purlins. The floor joists are a full 2 by 6 inches that hold a 5 inch sub-floor. Extant wallpaper and structural indications show that the hall and parlor were originally separated according to historic pattern.



1870

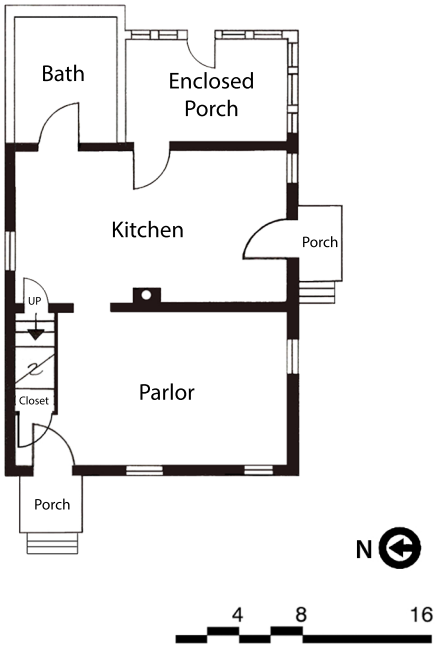
HIstorical Significance

Born in 1835 in Pennsylvania, Enoch Lewis Jones was a mason and carpenter and was in Lawrence at least by 1865. He purchased 56/100 of an acre of land from John Speer in 1869 for $540 and built five houses on Delaware Street in 1870 which had a tax value of $2,000 by 1871. In 1872 he sold the houses for $3000 to Rev. Job Hague and his wife, Lydia, who came to America about 1850 and to Lawrence in 1855. Job died shortly after that and Lydia lived in 925 Delaware until her death in 1906. Job was the minister at the Methodist Episcopal Church about 1860. Only three of the five houses, including 933 Delaware, survive.
933 Delaware is an example of an early rental property that provided inexpensive quarters for working people such as Sam Uppdegraff, painter, J. W. Turner, paper mill employee, Monroe Wilkerson, a cooper at Raible Bros, and John R. Simmons, a laborer, who lived there in the 1880s.

2 over 2 front stair

934 Delaware

A



Architectural Significance

This is a classic two-over-two urban house with a back stair to the second floor. It has no front hall and has a more basic plan than the two-over-two with a stair hall. This house has very high integrity. Its asbestos siding, installed in 1953, covers the original clapboard, helping to conserve it. The house retains a full balloon frame structural system, original four-over-four wood windows with crowned window covers, limestone foundation, and original interior wood work throughout the house, as well as paneled doors, glass doorknobs, and brass hardware. The additions are over 50 years old and appropriate in form and scale. The asbestos siding is also over 50 years old.



Historical Significance

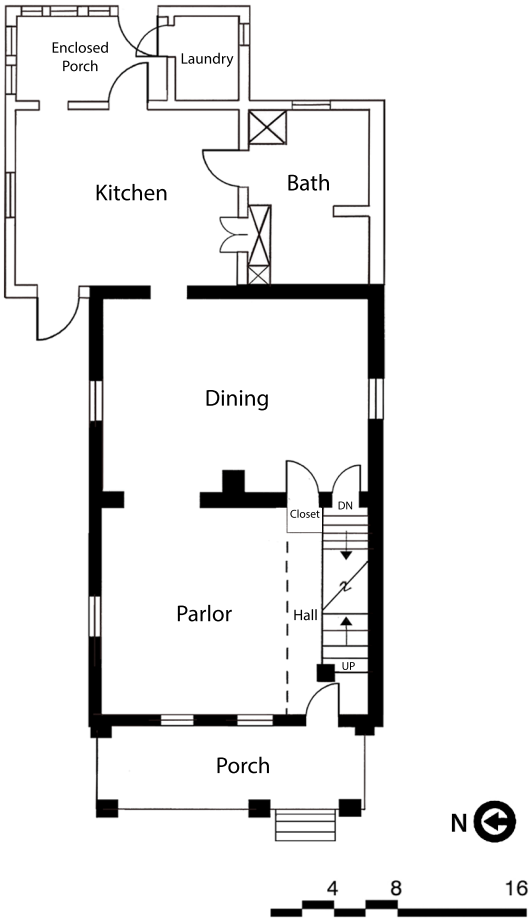
John Speer (1817-1906), a renowned editor of the Kansas Tribune and abolitionist who played a major role in Bleeding Kansas and rebuilding Lawrence after the 1863 raid, built this property between 1863 and 1873 and owned it for a short period of time. In a pedestrian city, this was perfect house for a working family. It was next to one of the industrial centers of Lawrence where numerous companies produced, stored, or distributed a variety of manufactured goods and provided many jobs, including the Kansas Elevator, the Colonial Soap Factory, the McFarland & Son Planing Mill, Kaw Valley Cannery, Poehler Mercantile Company, the Lawrence Canning Company, and the Santa Fe Railroad during the City Building period (1864-1873) and Agriculture and Manufacturing periods (1874-1889).

1863-1873

2 over 2 Stair Hall

945 Delaware

A



Historicial Significance

William H. Schell built this house in 1895 for $750. He was one of six sons and two daughters born to George and Mary Schell who married and came west from Pennsylvania to Iowa and then to Kansas after George mustered out of the military, "shattered and broken in health." Two of the Schell brothers, William and George, ran grocery stores in East Lawrence. Will's was at 1000 New Jersey and George's at 13th and New York. When Will married his wife Annie Edmondson, he married into another grocer's family that owned and operated C. D. Edmondson and Company Grocery and Feed at 847 New Jersey. Bob Edmondson, a famous major league baseball player, worked and later owned his father's business. William established his 1,000 square foot grocery store in 1895 which was 20 x 50 feet. William and his wife also owned a number of other residential lots and properties along Delaware Street, including 934, 937, 941, and 943 DE.



1895

Architectural Siginificance

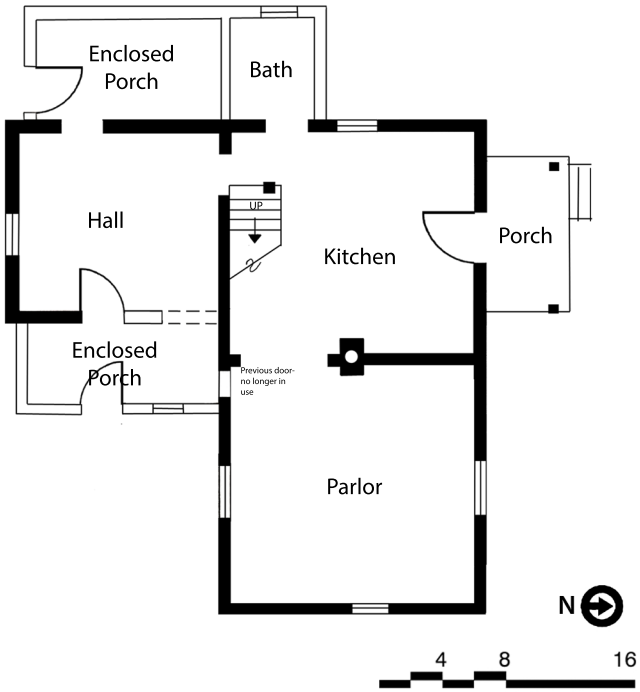
This two-over-two house with a side entry has high integrity and has changed very little since at least 1912. It retains a full balloon frame structure built on limestone, original clapboard, two-over-two windows on the core house, a spindle frieze front porch with a cross gable and sunburst over the door, 3 inch pine floors in the dining and living rooms, original woodwork throughout the core, a fancy turned stair case and newel post, original paneled door with carvings, paneled doors to the second floor and closet, and wainscotted and plastered walls in the kitchen and dining room. An exceptional framed carriage house with drop siding stands in the alley.

#18

L plan

1001 Delaware

D



Architectural Significance

This L-house with various porch additions is an excellent example of an early 20th century rental house in East Lawrence. Its integrity lies in the original balloon frame structural system, drop siding, pine floors throughout, a mixed group of wood windows, ranging from 2 over 2, 4 over 4, 2 over 1, and 1 over 1 sashes, and interior doors. Mrs. Menger paid taxes almost 30 years before she decided to build on the lot. She kept her building expenses down by using drop siding, usually applied to carriage houses and barns in Lawrence. She built this rental with a 1-story extension off the main gable form, which cost much less than a full two-story extension.



1908

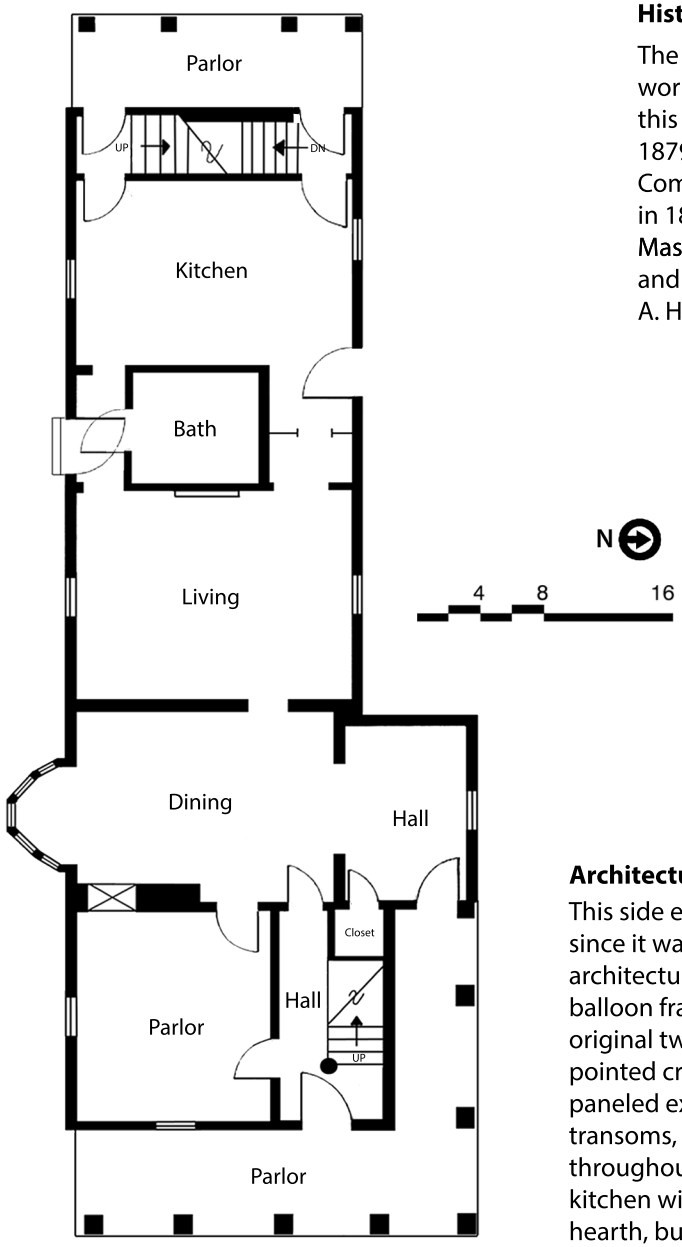
Historicial Significance

This property was one of dozens of lots, rental properties, and rural lands Christian Adolf Menger and his wife, Anna Grace, owned in 19th century Lawrence. C. A. and Anna were both born in Germany. He came to America in 1849, settled on Long Island, and was in Leavenworth by 1854, after serving in the Mexican war. He was discharged from the 9th Kansas Cavalry on injured status at the end of the Civil War, settled in Lawrence and married Anna in 1874. They bought many of their properties through tax title deeds in which they paid the unpaid taxes for three years and then got full ownership at bargain prices. Renters at 1001 DE included Tillie and Robert Hermel, Lydia Franklin, Simon Conley, all African-Americans. Other renters were Asension Vasquez, William and Hattie Howard, and Evander and Nellie Jenkins, all whites. All of these people were laborers, cooks, or janitors. Their son, Louis H. Menger, KU law school graduate of 1896, was probate and police judge in Lawrence for 26 years and also an East Lawrence landlord.

Side Entry Stair Hall

1029 Delaware

B



Historical Significance

The Whitcombs made important contributions to Lawrence's business history. Sargent was a clerk who worked with Whitcomb and Mead grain dealers and grocers at 114 Mass. In 1872, the Whitcombs built this house and operated the Kansas Elevator at 10th and Delaware. Theo Poehler bought the elevator in 1879 and Sargent went to work with him at Whitcomb and Poehler Grocery and the Poehler Mercantile Company. Poehler leased the elevator, then called the Kaw Valley Elevator, back to the Whitcomb Brothers in 1883 and it burned in 1886. In that year the Whitcomb Bros. started another grocery business at 902 Mass. Ave. which was foreclosed in 1892, causing Sargent to sell his house at 1029 Delaware to Poehler and move to Kansas City where he continued in the grocery business until his death in 1913. His brother, A. H., later operated the Santa Fe Hotel at 7th and Connecticut until his death in 1910.



1872

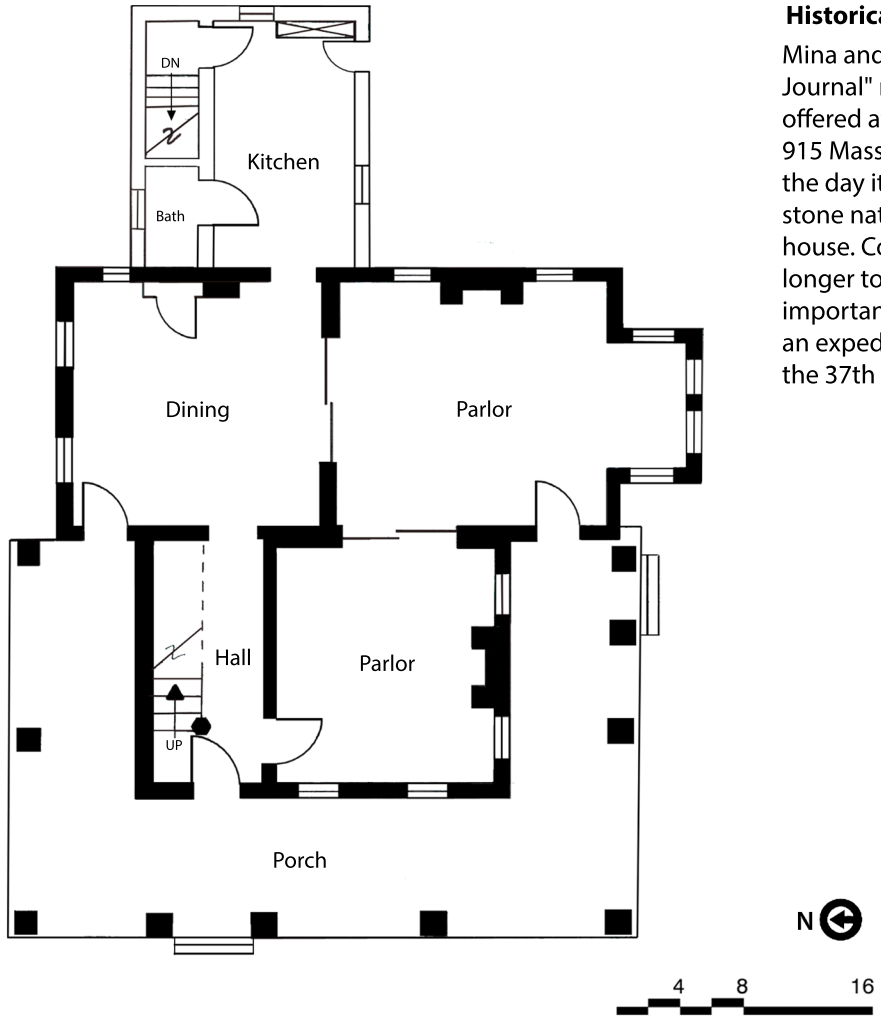
Architectural Significance

This side entry house has changed very little since it was built in 1872 and has high architectural integrity. It retains the original balloon framing system, clapboard siding, original two over two windows all around, pointed crown mouldings over windows, paneled exterior doors with working transoms, porch with paired pillars, oak floors throughout, wainscotted dining room and kitchen with turned corner pieces, cast iron hearth, built-in cabinets, five-window bay, baseboards, window and door surrounds, interior paneled doors, front stairs with turned newel and spindles, and rear stair.

Double Side Entry
Stair Hall

1208 Delaware

B



Historical Significance

Mina and John Madson sold their new house in 1884 because, as the "Lawrence Daily Journal" reported, a "change in business alone forces this property on the market and it is offered at three-fourths real value." By 1890-91, John had a going lunch counter at 915 Mass but his house was long gone. Dr. Samuel Coffin had snapped it up for $5,000 on the day it was advertised. Coffin was an national leader in the Friends Church and the big stone national meeting house was conveniently located down the block from his lovely house. Coffin left Lawrence in 1887 to found Whittier College but his son William stayed on longer to practice medicine. William eventually followed his family and became an important leader of the city of Whittier, California, accompanied Joseph Grinnell in 1898 on an expedition to Alaska, and in the 1920s was the doctor of Harold and Richard Nixon, the 37th President of the United States.



1884

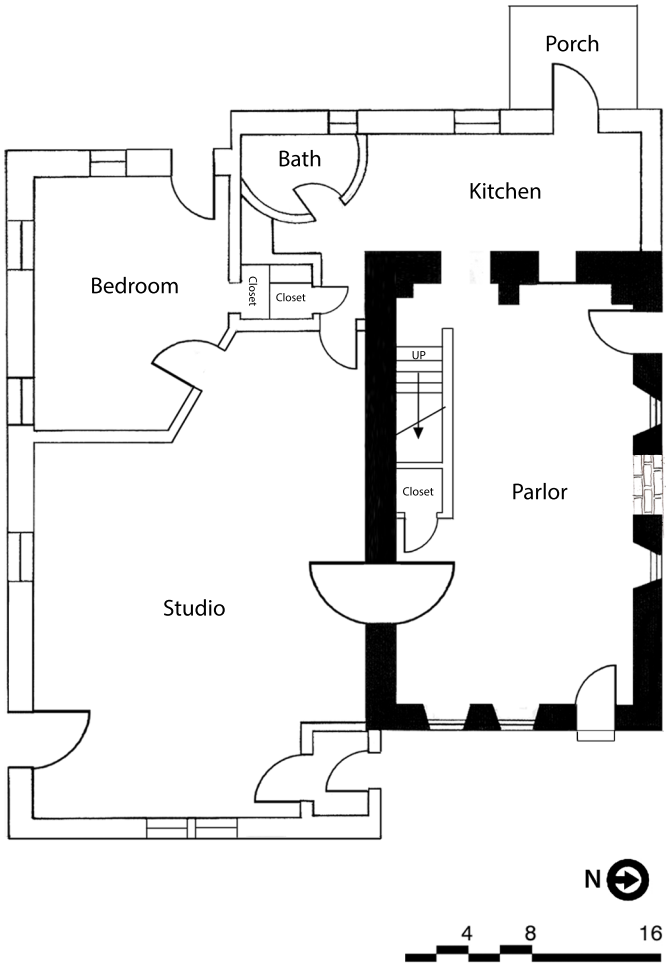
Architectural Significance

This double side-entry, hall house in the Italianate Style is an extraordinary example of High Victorian residential architecture in Lawrence. Erected in 1884, it was advertised as the "best built house in the city of Lawrence with 2 acres of most beautiful ground. The house was built with 7 large rooms, a fine bay window, all conveniences of closets, a pantry, and a cellar under the entire house . The interior of the house must be seen to be fully appreciated. Built for the owners home, no judicious expenses has [sic] been spared in uniting beauty with utility...." The house possesses high integrity. The interior is a dazzling display of historic interior appointments, doors, stairs, and hearths. The two parlor hearths are exotic with outstanding tile work.

2 over 2 backstair

901 Pennsylvania

A

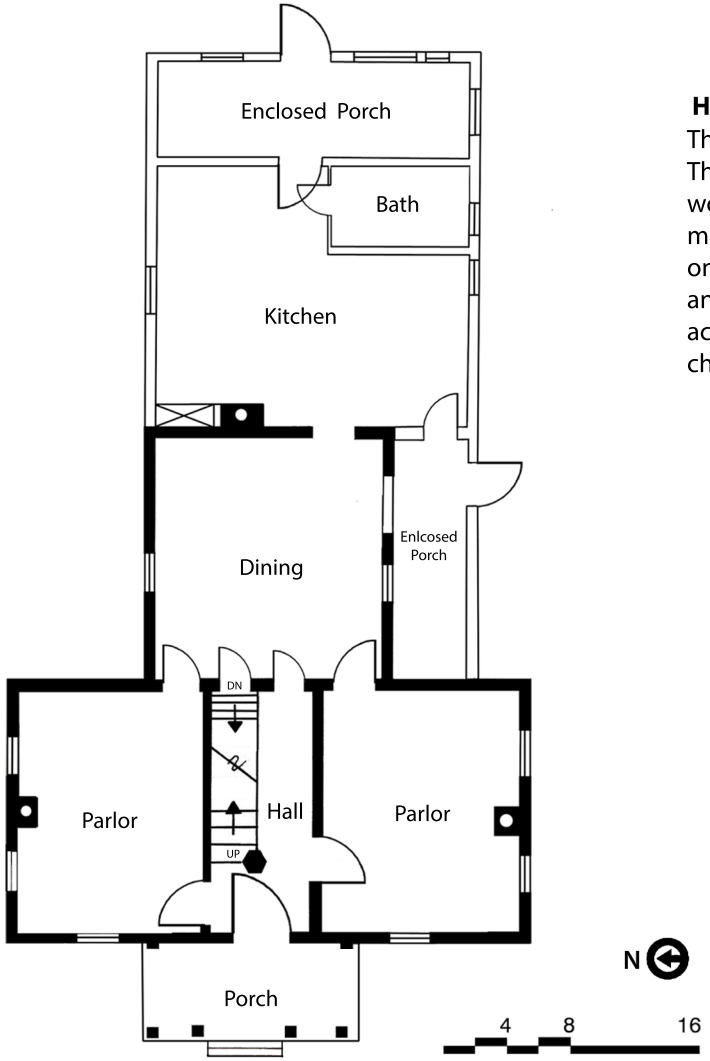




1870

#22

904 Pennsylvania



Historical Significance

The Romero family moved into Lawrence as Mexican-American workers for the Santa Fe Railroad. They lived their first years in Las Yardas, a barracks-like encampment that housed Mexican workers on the east side of the Santa Fe tracks and not far from the depot. These yards existed in many places in Kansas where the Santa Fe hired Spanish-speaking immigrants to work as laborers on their lines. Through hard work the family of Val Romero moved into 904 Pennsylvania in 1939 and have owned it for 70 years. With two lots, the Romero family were able to integrate diverse activities into the landscape during their most active period there, including a large garden, a chicken house and yard, garage, and a "horno" for baking bread that is still extant.



ca. 1880

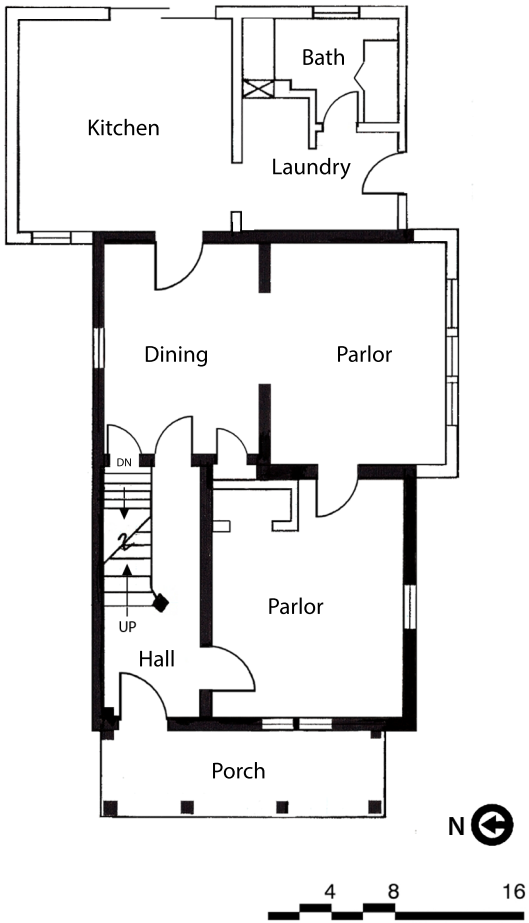
Architectural Significance

This "I" house has exemplary integrity and represents the most sought after house type of the second half of the 19th century from the eastern seaboard to the Rocky Mountains. This house type has its origins in England in the 17th century and was brought by early settlers to America and spread west by pioneers in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century. 904 Pennsylvania retains almost all of its original materials inside and out with exceptional interior woodwork articulating on the first and second floors 2 over 2 windows with full entablatures, paneled doors, stairs, octagonal newel post, turned baluster, and baseboards. The balloon frame uses 2 x 8 and 2 x 6 inch floor joists.

2 over 2 Stair Hall

912 Pennsylvania

A





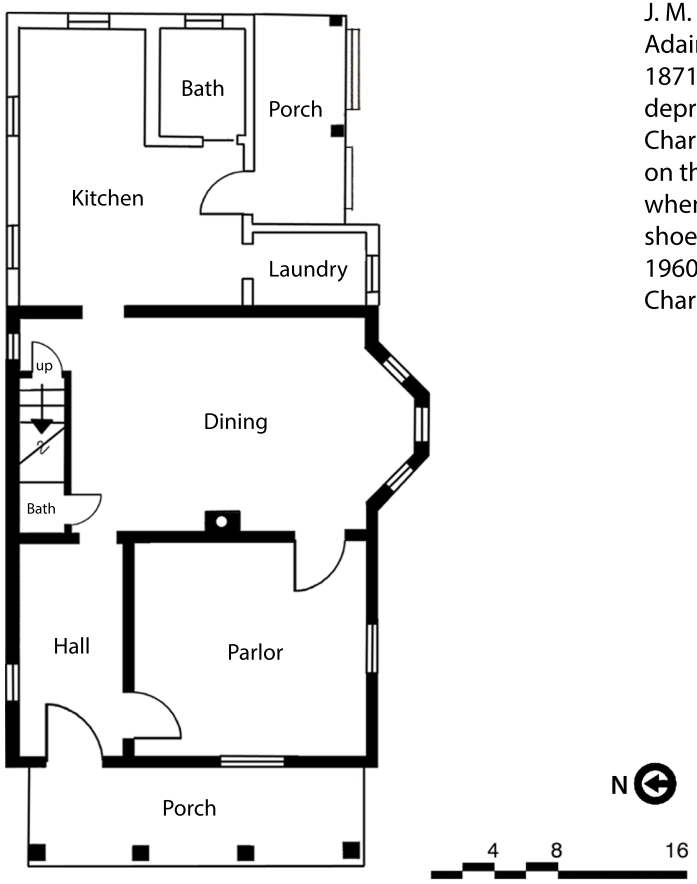
Pre-1873

#24

2 over 2 backstair

936 Pennsylvania

A



Historical Significance

In the heady days of 1867, when Lawrence investors were speculating beyond their means, J. M. Hayes bought lot 56 for $80, built a house on it, and sold it immediately to Charles Adair for $1,200. It was a bonanza for Hayes but Adair had to sell the house at a 33% loss in 1871 to Helen and George Farwell when the bubble began to burst that led to the depression of the 1870s. The Farwells built a new house with a mortgage furnished by Charles Foster but they, too, were caught in a financial bind in 1882 and Foster foreclosed on them with a judgment of $669 against them. He got the rest of his money out of it when he sold the house in 1883 for $670 to Mary and Robert Edmondson Sr. who was a shoemaker and grocer. The Edmondsons had 9 children who lived in the house until about 1960. In 1902, Charles, Harry, and Robert, Jr. bought Reedy Bros. Grocery at 847 NJ and Charles and Harry operated it until 1935.



ca. 1880

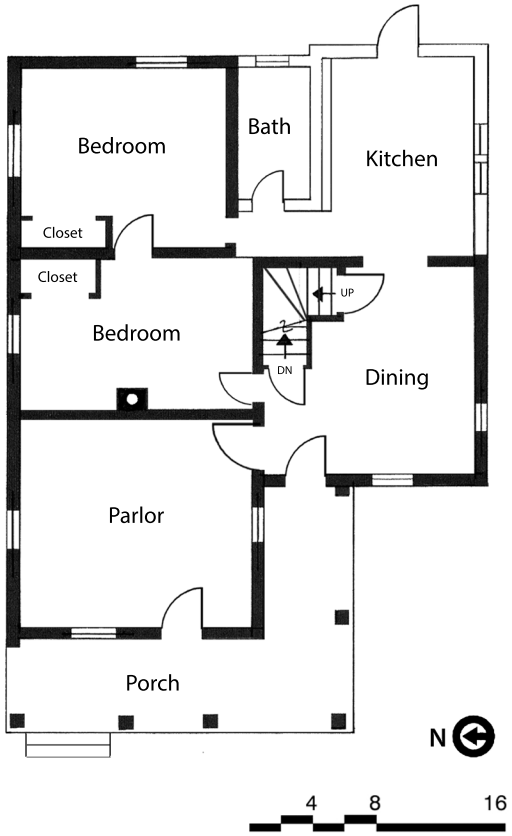
Architectural Significance

This residence is the second house on this lot. It replaced an "L" house set at the back of lot 56 in 1867. From the front, the current house appears to be a four-square but in plan it is a rectangular hall entry house with a back stairs and kitchen ell. The house has excellent integrity on the exterior and interior with very little change. The porch has a cross gable with Eastlake details, turned posts, and a spindle frieze. The curvy asbestos siding, now over 50 years old, has protected the clapboard well. Window sashes and bay windows are original. The interior boasts original panel doors, baseboards, door and window surrounds, fine hardware and doorknobs, wainscotting, pine floors, and stair.

T plan

946 Pennsylvania

F



Historical Significance

Robert Mann, a German-American carpenter, built this fancy house in 1872 and raised the property value by $625, a handsome sum. In 1883, he sold it to A. J. Gray, "a colored horseman," who was born a "mulatto" slave in 1820 in South Carolina and owned by his white father until he was 14 when he "fell in the hands of other parties" after his father's death. He and his wife, Agnes with whom he had 9 children, appear in the 1870 US Census in Franklin County, Kansas. They moved to Lawrence in 1881 and later purchased Mann's house for $1,500. A. J. was an important figure in the Republican Party in Lawrence in the 1890s. When A. J.'s widow died in 1903, Robert Edmundson, Jr. purchased the property. Edmundson was a famous KU baseball player who played major league baseball with the Washington Senators in 1906 and 1908. Until his death in 1931, he owned the grocery at 847 New Jersey with his brother, C. D



1872

Architectural Significance

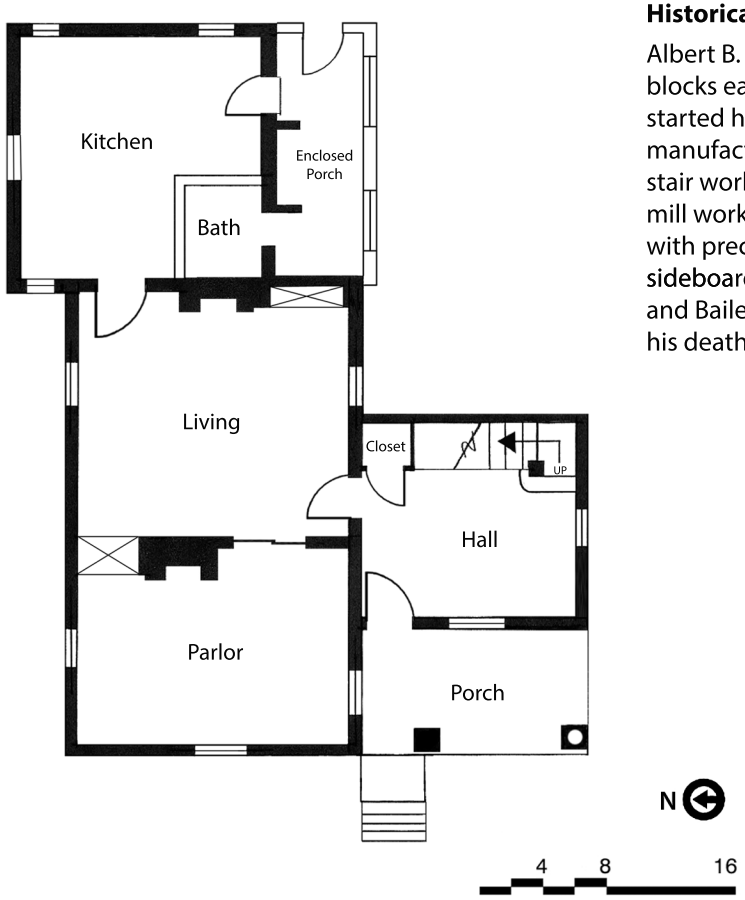
Built by the original owner who was carpenter, this exceptionally fine L-house possesses high integrity with its original balloon framing, limestone foundation, clapboard, brick chimney, scaled shingling in the front gable, 1 over 1 wooden sash all around, cottage window with leaded art glass upper sash, a wrap around porch with an entry cross gable and sun rise detail, elaborate Eastlake capital details, turned posts, and spindle frieze, a carved front door with egg and dart, rosette, scroll details, and transom window, and a paneled side door. The first floor dining room and bedrooms retain their original oak floors. A bullet hole remains from sniper fire from radicals against the police in 1970.

#26

T plan

1002 Pennsylvania

F



Historical Significance

Albert B. Sirpless was an engineer who worked at the J. N. McFarland & Son Planing Mill three blocks east of his house at the AT& SF railroad track. McFarland came to Lawrence in 1863 and started his mill in 1887 with about 20 men and all new machinery. He did a large business in the manufacture of doors, sash, blinds, mouldings, brackets, frames, wood turning, scroll sawing, and stair work which adorned many houses in the city. McFarland furnished estimates for all kinds of mill work and his mill operated as a subcontractor for builders, designing and manufacturing with precision woodwork of any hardwood finish, solid or veneered doors, furniture, mantles, sideboards, casings, blocks, and baseboards. The mill undertook large jobs, such as Snow Hall and Bailey Hall at the University of Kansas. Sirpless helped make McFarland's reputation and at his death was "one of the prominent contractors and builders" in Lawrence.



ca. 1890

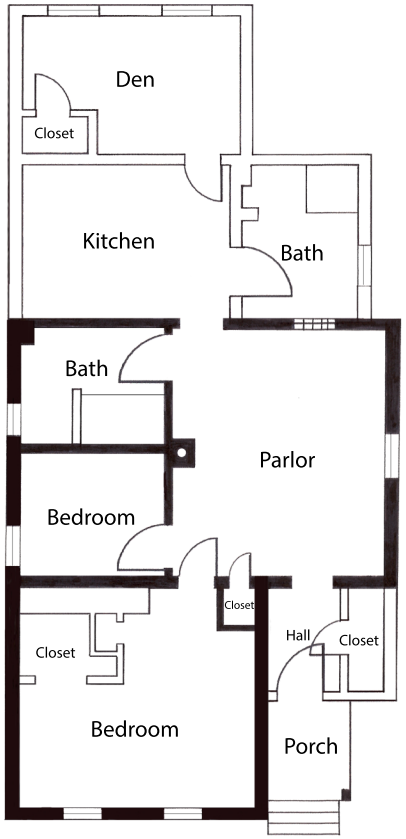
Architectural Significance

This two-story T- house with kitchen ell and large hipped roof with wide eaves is sited high on a corner lot which helps create its imposing architectural presence. The boxed balloon frame of large size 2" by 4"s covered with clapboard siding lends the house solidity, and the original doors and window sash have thin proportions which give the house a sparse Victorian character. The interior presents exceptional and original details, especially the varied and elaborate styles of head blocks, casings, and baseboards in the stair entry hall, the parlor, and the living room which make the house exceptional in East Lawrence. The hearth surround has unique sunflower head block details.

1-Story

1016 Pennsylvania

E





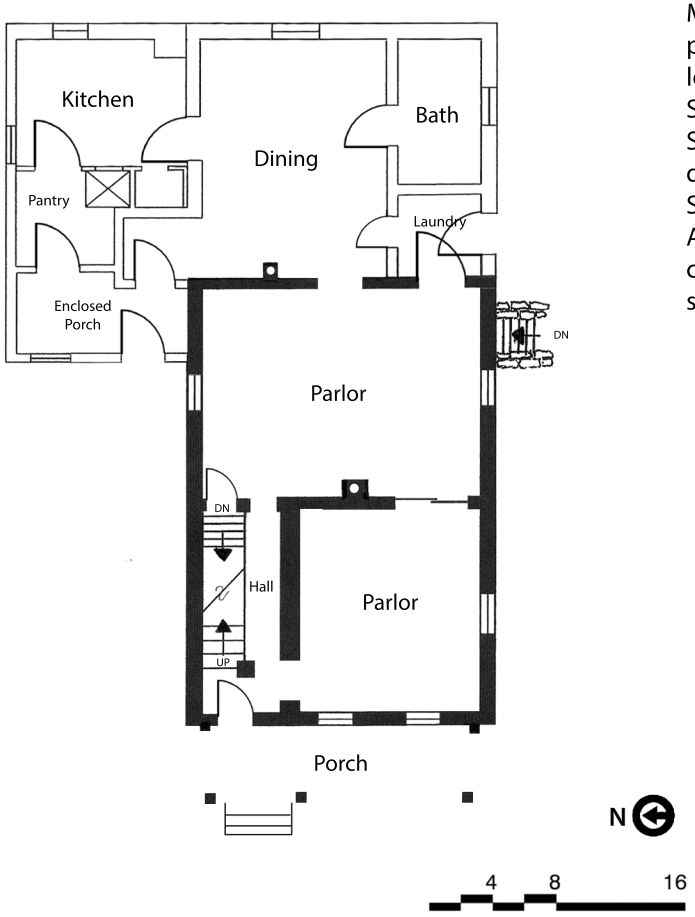


Pre-1873

2 over 2 Stair Hall

1024 Pennsylvania

A



Historical Significance

John Bunton, a blacksmith, left Ohio for Kansas in 1870 and set up a blacksmith shop at 1330 Massachusetts. For the next 33 years he had shops at three other locations on Mass. Ave. and partnered with John Ramsey, Trangott Gabriel, and J. D. Helm. He and his wife Eliza bought lots 74 and 76, built the house, and lived there until their deaths. Dick LeRoy Shanafelt, a Spanish-American War hero who rode with Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders up San Juan hill, lived here from 1944 to 1967. Roosevelt wrote that a trooper named Shanafelt darted under fire with coffee to embattled soldiers pinned down in trenches. In 1958, Shanafelt received the Order of the Spanish American War for his bravery from the Cuban Ambassador to the United States, Nicholas Arroyo. At that time, Life Magazine did a 10-page color spread on the Spanish American war, Shanafelt also fought in the Philippines and served as Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes.



1883

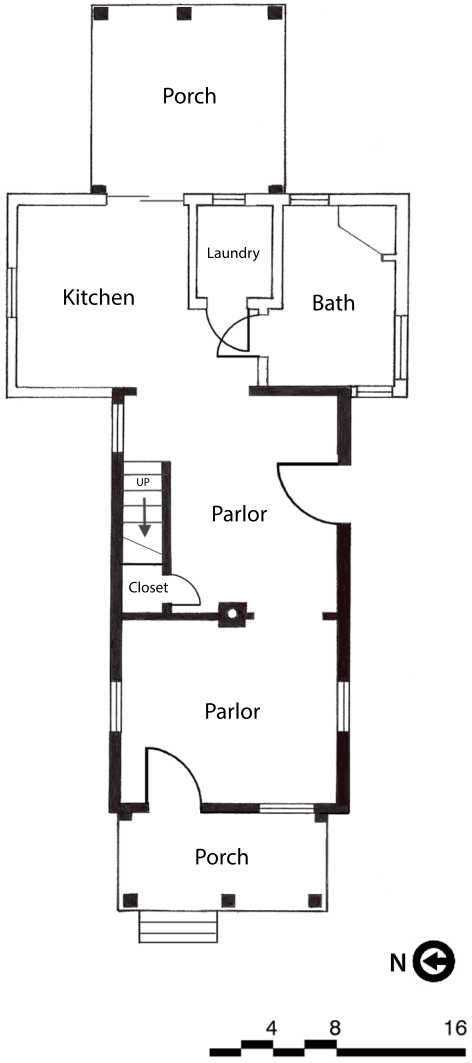
Architectural Significance

The 2 over 2 core of this stair hall entry house has undergone remarkably little change since 1883. Its balloon frame sits on a limestone foundation and partial basement and is covered with original clapboard. The residence retains all of its original wood 2 over 2 sash with tall and narrow proportions and full entablature window hoods all around. An exuberant front porch with a partial hipped roof boasts a cross gable and sunrise detail as well as turned posts and spindle frieze. Oak floors cover the entry hall, living room, and dining room which is also adorned with pine wainscotting. Plastered walls in the main rooms and concave and reeded casings around windows and doors remain.

2 over 2 backstair

1034 Pennsylvania

A



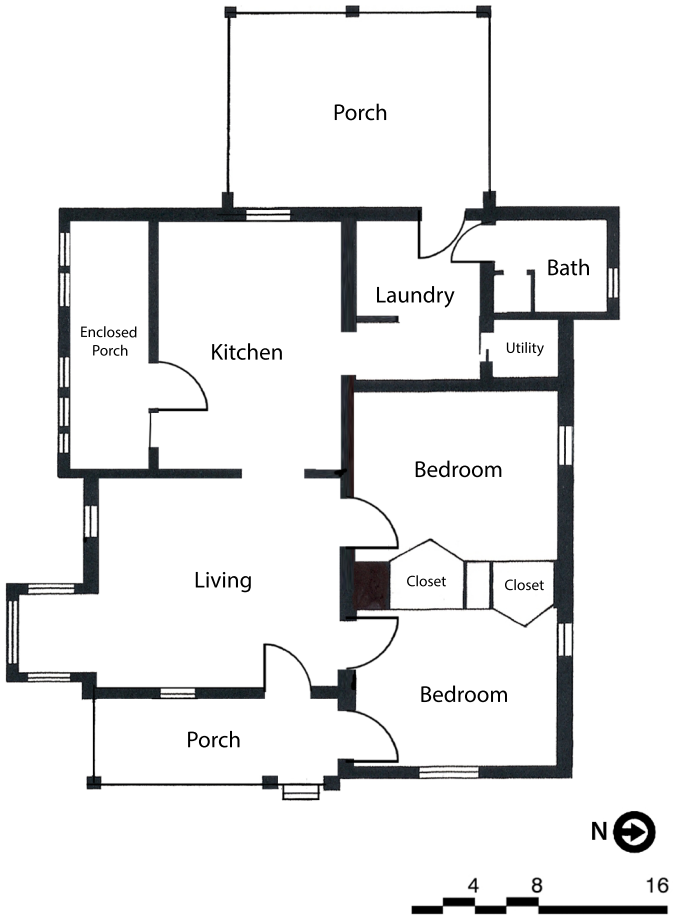


1893

1-story

1229 Pennsylvania

E



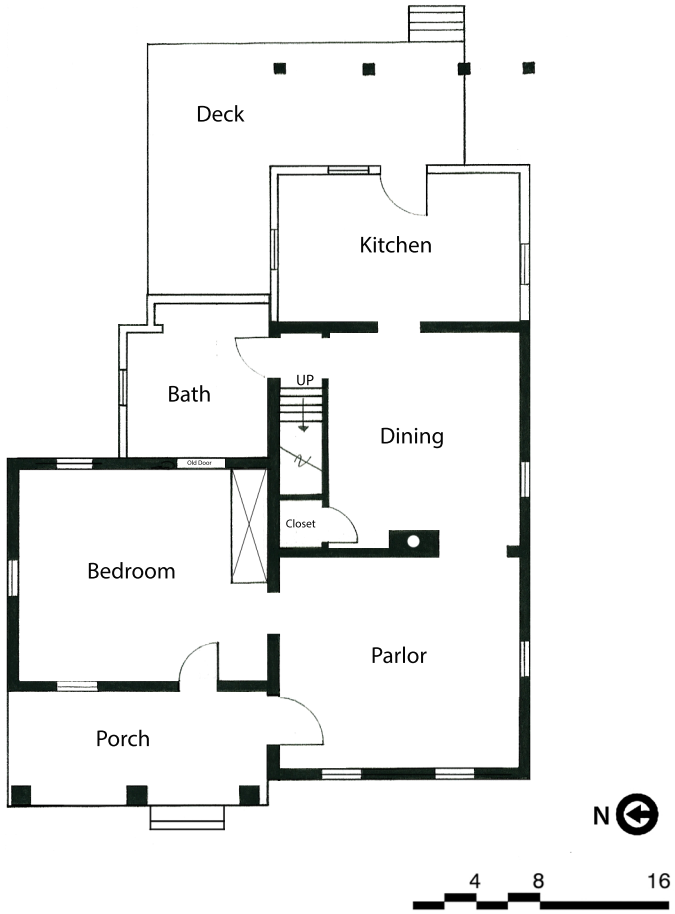


1889

T plan

714 New York

F



Historical Significance

Sarah and David Lindsey purchased this lot from Lewis Kelly for the high price of $1,000 in 1870, or ten times the price Kelly paid for it only three weeks earlier, and built their house on it. David was a carpenter and carriage maker. In 1872, at the end of the real estate frenzy of the post Civil War period, the property rose to a high value of $2,038.54 in that same year the Lindsey's lost it to foreclosure, and Amanda Clay snapped it up for $660 in 1873. By 1900, its value had fallen to half its 1873 value, and about that time the Winchell's, a black family who fished the Kaw River and sold their catch to Lawrence merchants, moved in. They were among about 25 thriving commercial fishermen who employed 15 to 20 individuals. Tryon Winchell became embroiled in the 1911 legal controversy in which Prof. L. L. Dyche, State Fish and Game Warden, prosecuted several Lawrence fisherman for using unauthorized seines.



1870

Architectural Significance

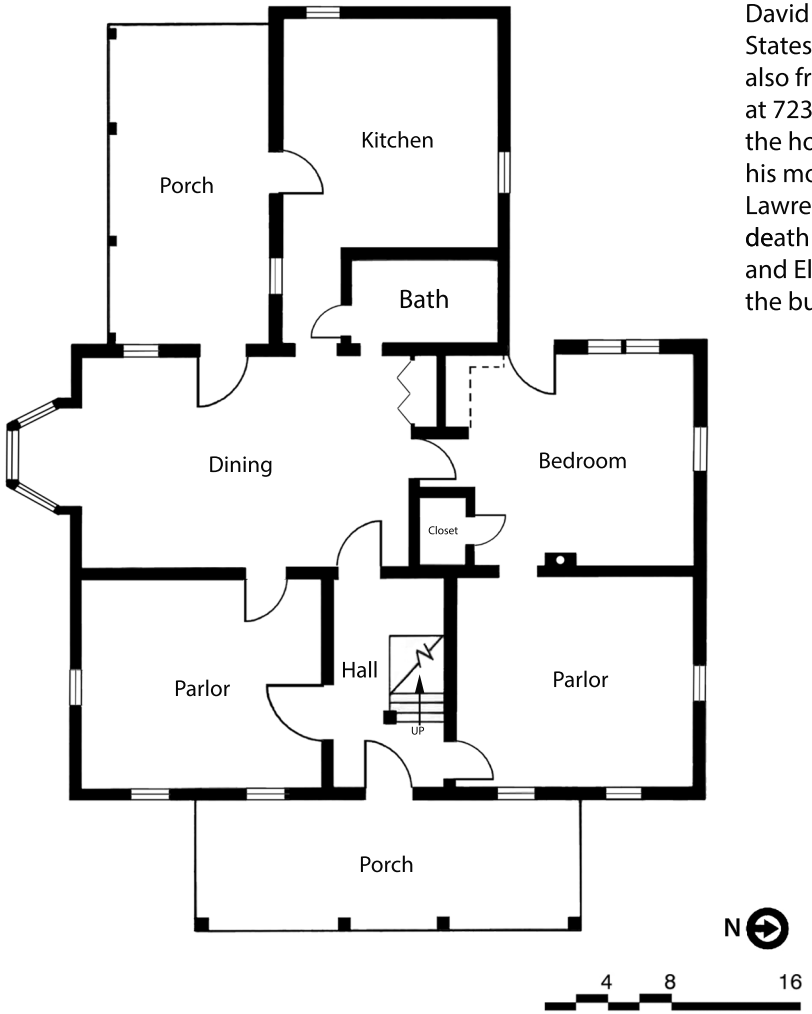
This 1870 house originally had a 2 over 2 plan with a back stairs, but was transformed into a T-plan in the Victorian period of the late 19th century. This T-core has high integrity as a balloon frame structure with original clapboard, corner boards, limestone foundation, 2 over 2 windows, window hardware, flooring, interior paneled doors, and electric chandelier. The porches, new kitchen, and bath have been added, enclosed or replaced around this core since the late 19th century. The T-plan was preferred in the Victorian period because it created a more dynamic, organic house that reached in multi-directions into the landscape, creating special places for porches and gardens.

#32

4 over 4 central hall

715 New York

C



Historical Significance

David Evans is a storied pioneer who was born in Wales in 1833, immigrated to the United States in 1853, and arrived in Lawrence in 1857. In 1859, he married Mary Edwards who was also from Wales and who came to Lawrence in 1854. She bore 11 children. By 1861 they lived at 723 New York until David built the new house in 1883. By that time Evans had conquered the horse Epizootics disease in the winter of 1872-73 with two Cherokee oxen, had lost most of his money in the 1877 collapse of Simpson Bank, but had bounced back to become one of Lawrence's important business leaders. He operated the Santa Fe Transfer Company until his death in 1902 with as many as 8 teams. He was a stockholder and director of the Lawrence Gas and Electric Company and a stockholder in the Watkins National Bank. In 1917 his son sold off the business to establish Evans Auto Supply, , there were 17 teams of horses and 1 truck.



1833

Architectural Significance

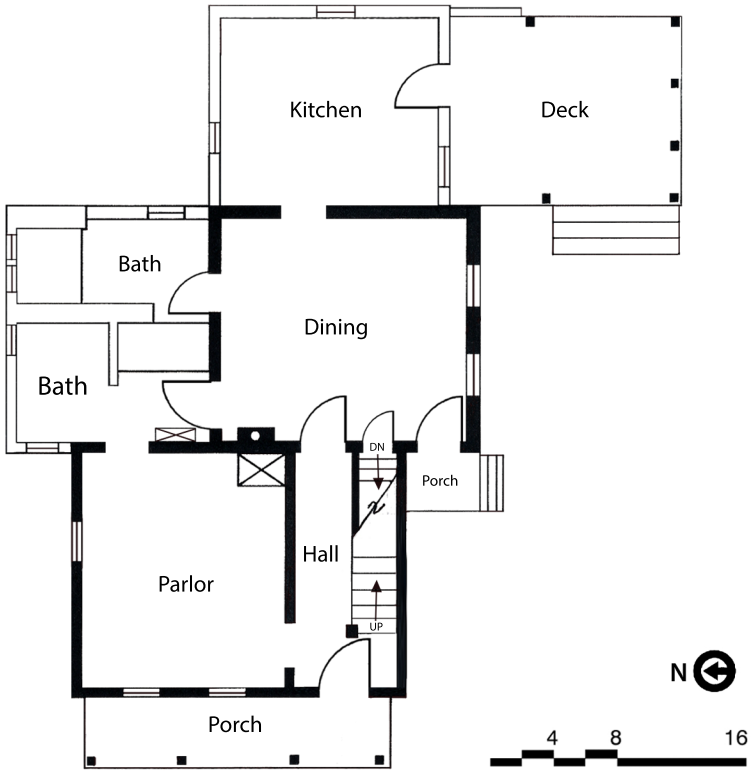
This two-story, five-bay, central hall, balloon framed, four-over-four house with a hip roof is rare in Lawrence and has exceptional integrity. On the exterior, almost everything is original, including the clapboard, stone foundation, 2 over 2 double hung windows, bay windows, and basement entry. Only the porch and roof have been replaced over the past 124 years. The interior presents an excellent display of original 5" and 3" pine floors, wainscotted dining room, turned newel post and stair, wood built-ins and pass-throughs, baseboards, four panel doors with enamel doorknobs, window hardware, inetched transom window over the front door, and an expressive bay window area. This house is big for a big family.

#33

Side Entry Stair Hall

821 New York

B



Historical Significance

Edward Manter was elected Chief of the Head Center Hose Company in 1875, which was formed in 1869, replacing the Republican Engine Company No. 1, founded in 1859. Before Manter's election, the company was filled with political appointees who received exemptions from local taxes and had no training in fire fighting, safety, or hose procedures. There were not even horses to pull the engines, resulting in much fire damage in the city. Manter put an end to this with his refusal to resign after the election of a new mayor and council in 1882. In a statement to the newspaper, he stated that "no longer would the fire department be a political pawn." Manter's refusal was supported by Lawrence citizens, permitting him to transform the department into a respected city service, to institute practical training and to buy horses to pull the equipment. Fires were significantly reduced. Manter remained Chief until 1889.



ca. 1865-1870

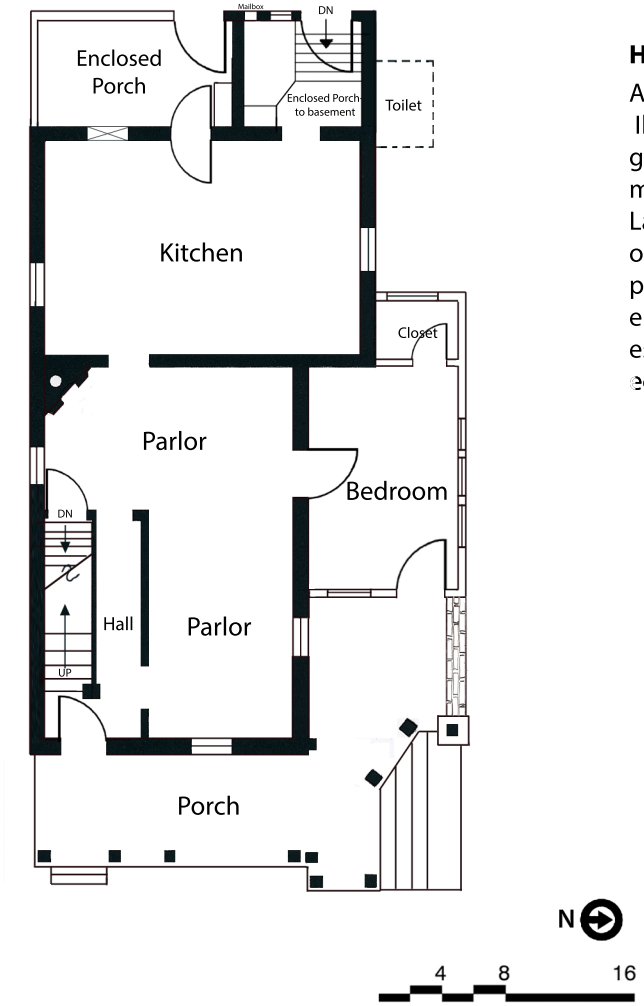
Architectural Significance

This hybrid between an 1860s hall-stair, two over two house, a side entry house, and a T-house that emerged in the late 1880s with rear additions still has distinguishing historic integrity. This integrity stems from the original balloon frame, clapboard siding, wooden four over four windows with pedimental exterior surrounds, an elaborate Eastlake front porch with turned posts and spindles and a cross gable with a rising sun in the tympanum, arch-paneled front door with side lights and transom, paneled interior doors, 5" pine flooring, capped baseboards, elaborate and plain woodwork around doors and windows, and a turned newel post and spindles of walnut on the front stair.

Side Entry Stair Hall

835 New York

B



Historical Significance

Alexander H. Baird, a merchant, and his wife and two sons came to Kansas in 1859 from Illinois. Baird bought 835 New York where they lived for 4 years, engaging with them in general merchandising and farming. Baird sold his property to George H. Bew in 1869 and moved his family to Elk City, Kansas, a town company he founded in 1868. Bew had come to Lawrence in 1870 with his family, worked in his father's grocery business, and established his own harness business, Bew & Sharpe, in 1868. By 1871, Bew had started a butcher and pork packing business, which extended into Kansas City and made him successful and wealthy enough to build 11 houses in Bew's Addition in the late 1880s. He also owned extensive real estate in California. The Broeker family bought the house in 1899. Herman Broeker was elected to the city council in 1909 and 1911 and in 1912 as county clerk on the Democratic ticket.



ca. 1869

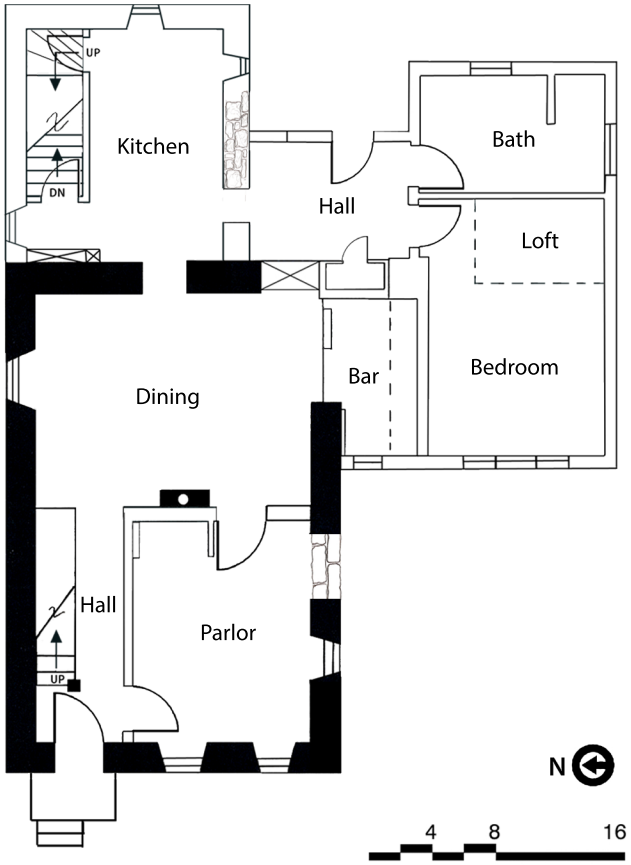
Architectural Significance

This 1 1/2 story, side-entry stair hall house has high integrity. It retains its original brick walls that are plastered on the interior, 1 over 1 wood sashes, carved Eastlake front pediment, oak floors throughout, stair and balustrade, door and window surrounds, baseboards, and paneled doors. The house has unusual ceilings of pressed tin throughout as well as pressed metal dormer exterior siding that was probably installed by William H. Broeker, a metal worker, who lived here in the late 1920s. There is a built-in vault in the basement, which was built out into a full apartment, and four original "ice" boxes in the back hall. The new brick north bedroom replaced the original side entry in the 1920s.

2 over 2 Stair Hall

1016 New York

A



Historical Significance

Worthy Bailey was a "dresser of stone," according to the "Lawrence Republican Journal" of May 4, 1869. He was listed in the Lawrence City directory as early as 1866. His services were in high demand during the boom years after Quantrill's raid, when the city's population grew 500%. Between 1869 and 1872, "six hundred buildings" went up in one year, according to "Lawrence Daily Journal and Evening Tribune." With the panic of 1873, the economy came to halt and by 1877 Bailey, like many others, was deliquent on his taxes. The sheriff auctioned off his house on September 4, 1878. Mary White bought, though Bailey rented it until the 1890s, when she rented to Frank Arthur, a baggage man at the Sante Fe Depot. Carpenters and tradesmen lived here one after the other in the early 20th century, including John Bishop, a well-known paper hanger, who died there and whose funeral was held there on February 28, 1903.



1869

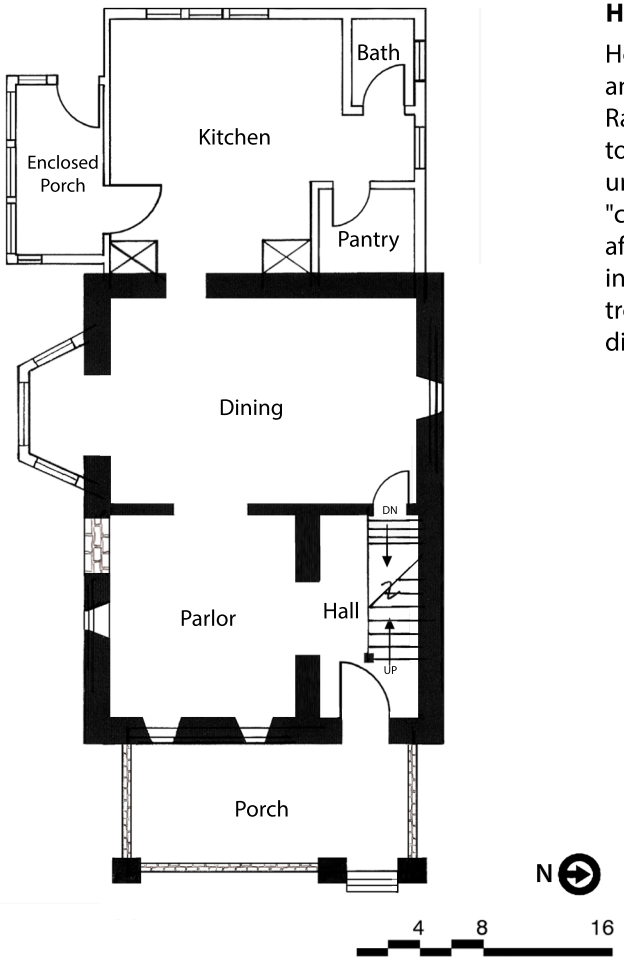
Architectural Significance

Built of random ashlar sandstone walls in 1869 for $2,000, 1016 New York is one of the oldest stair hall, two-over-two houses in East Lawrence. It also retains one of the city's oldest kitchen additions, which was built before 1873 of rubble limestone. A handsome temple front presents a tall gabled structure of carefully cut sandstone accentuated with a limestone half-oculus in the front gable, a fine date stone and half-oculus of limestone in the back gable, cut limestone sills and lintels for windows and doors, and a cut limestone facing covering the rubble limestone foundation. Sandstone houses are very rare in Lawrence because they erode easily and are difficult to maintain.

2 over 2 Stair Hall

1029 New York

A



Historical Significance

Henry Hart immigrated to America from Germany in 1847. He came to Lawrence in the early days and established a grocery store at 38 Massachusetts Avenue which was destroyed in Quantrell's Raid of 1863. Miraculously Hart survived but rumor had it that he survived because he was related to Charley Hart, Quantrell himself. He was no relative to Quantrell but the rumor caused him uninterrupted grief until his death in 1906, when the Lawrence Daily Journal twice denied the "cruel story" in a special article and in his obituary. In spite of the rumor, Hart re-built his store after the raid and ran it for many years. He and his wife, Mary, bought their lot on New York Street in 1871, had a fine brick house built, raising the property value to about $2,000. But Hart's troubles didn't stop. The depression hit in 1873, and he had to sell the house in 1874. Then Mary died and left him a widower "to live alone for many years."



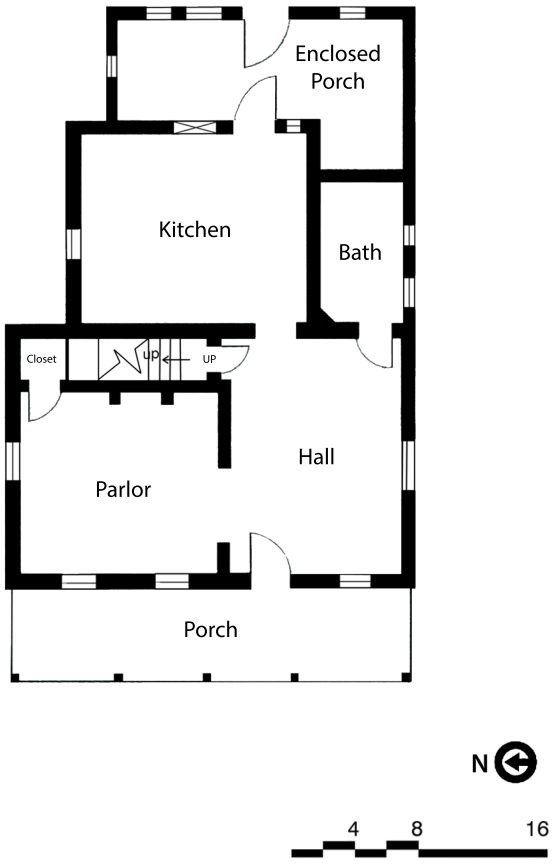
1872

Architectural Significance

This 2 over 2 house has high integrity. It retains its 2' brick walls, segmental jack arches, deep windows sills, original 4 over 1 wood sash, half oculus window in the front gable, paneled front door and transom, pine floors, turned newel and balusters, boxed stair closet, original window and door surrounds, baseboard, Doric entry ensemble between the parlor and old dining room, and original cut glass doorknobs and brass hardware. The house underwent an extensive, sensitive renewal and cleaning in 2005-06 when it received a new bay window, tile kitchen floor, kitchen casement windows, Zodiac counter tops, maple cabinets, and a new back porch. Though small, it has a grand feeling.

Hall Parlor with ell

1100 New York



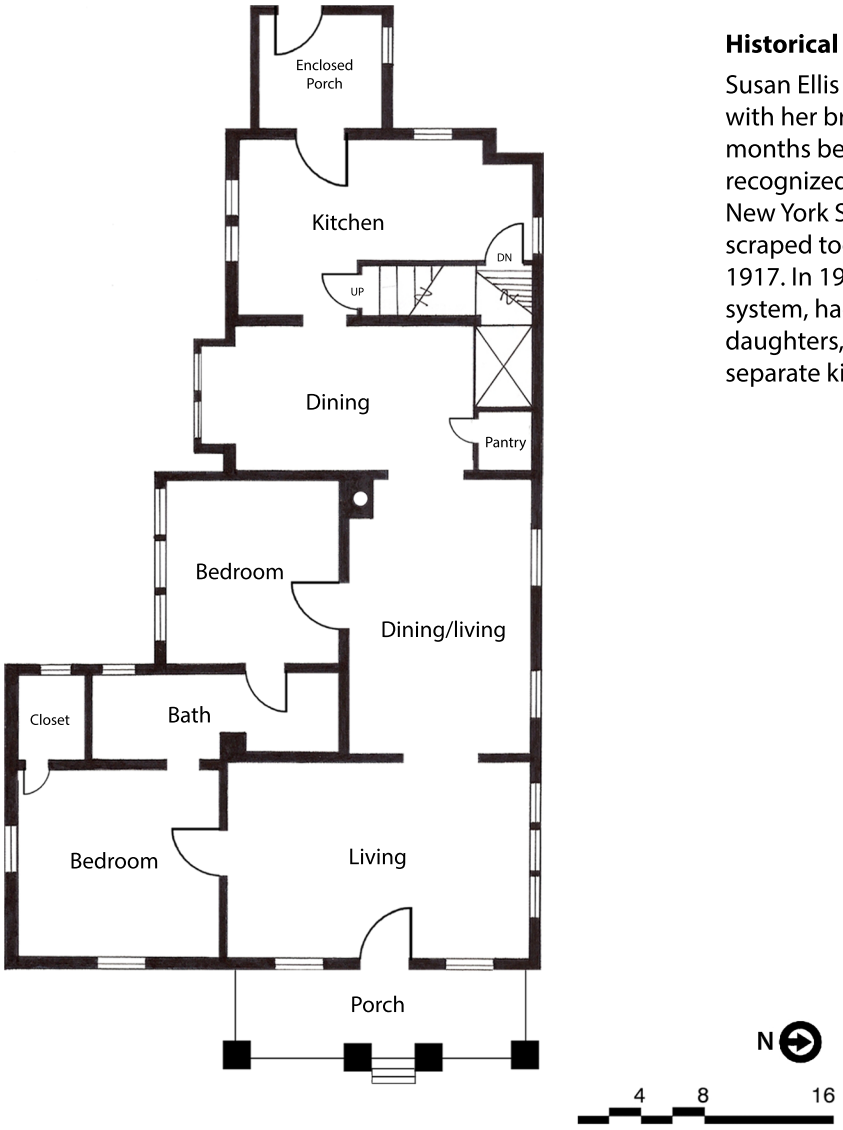


Pre-1873

1-Story

1117 New York

E



Historical Significance

Susan Ellis was born a slave in Kentucky. At the age of 22 she stole into Lawrence from Missouri with her brother, Ben, and their father, who later died in Quantrill's raid in August 1863, four months before she married Thomas Hawkins. "Contraband" African-Americans' marriages were recognized 1863. In 1873, when Thomas died, the couple owned a one-room house on New York Street, where they were raising 5 children. Susan, who could not read or write, scraped together enough by 1905 to add an ell to the house, where she lived until her death in 1917. In 1922 at the age of 67, Richard Crutchfield, a well-known custodian in the school system, had saved enough to buy the house valued at $1,100. He and his wife had 5 daughters, and needed more bedrooms, parlors, an indoor bathroom, a dining room, and a separate kitchen, all of which were completed behind a snazzy Bungalow style.



Pre-1873

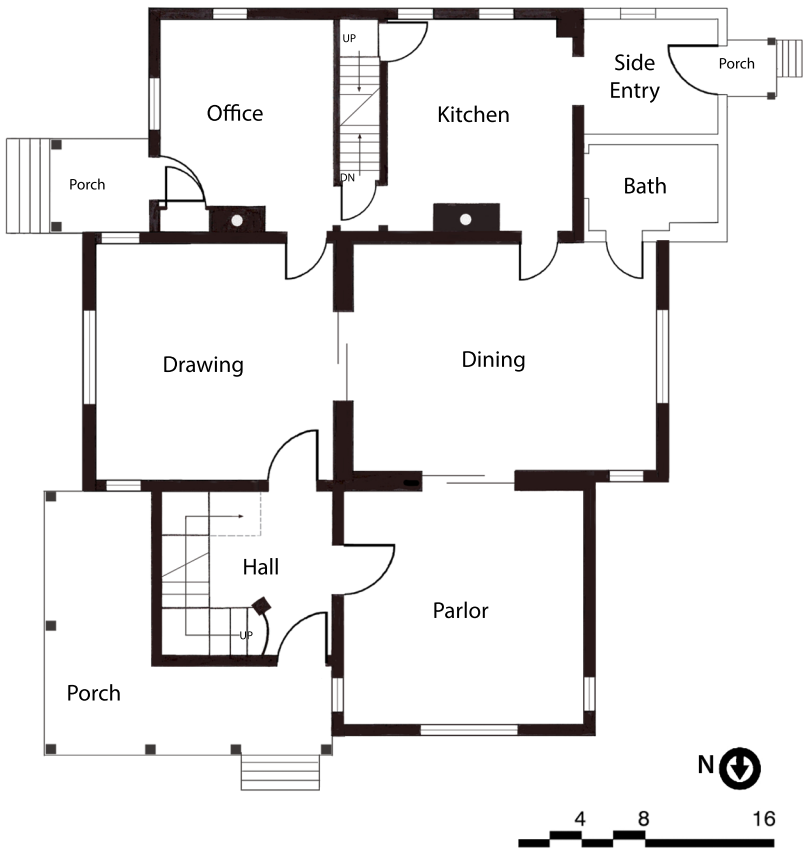
Architectural Significance

This L-house was originally a single room, frame house, built before 1873, that grew to its L-shape by 1905 little was done after that until Richard Crutchfield bought it in 1921. He began updating it with a series of significant additions, increasing its value in six years by 218%, "bungalowizing" it with an over-scaled porch, an airplane wing dormer that housed a sleeping porch, a stuccoed exterior, shingle-style pediments in the porch and dormer, a new dining room, kitchen, bedroom, and bath, and demonstrating how the working class created wealth through vernacular incrementalism.

Queen Anne

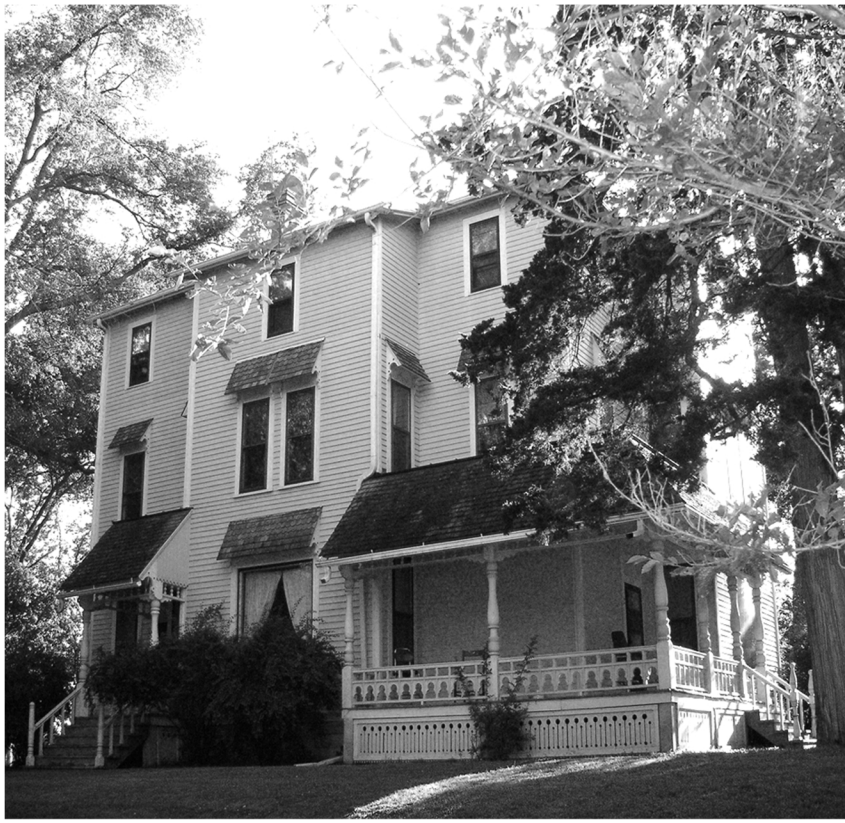
319 E 7th Street

H



Architectural Significance

Though the gabled roof and Italianate tower of this large Victorian hall entry house burned in 1972, it was still selected as one of Lawrence's most architecturally significant houses in honor of our nation's bicentennial in 1976. On the exterior, wrap-around and side porches boast elaborately turned posts on limestone piers, spindle friezes, carved capitals and brackets, balustrades and lower porch covers with Eastlake features, and cornices with scrollwork, a feature repeated under the shed roofs over all first floor windows. On the interior, original pocket doors, doors \windows, stairs, trim,hardware, gas fixtures, floor grates, crown mouldings, moulded baseboards, and basement safe are extant.



1888

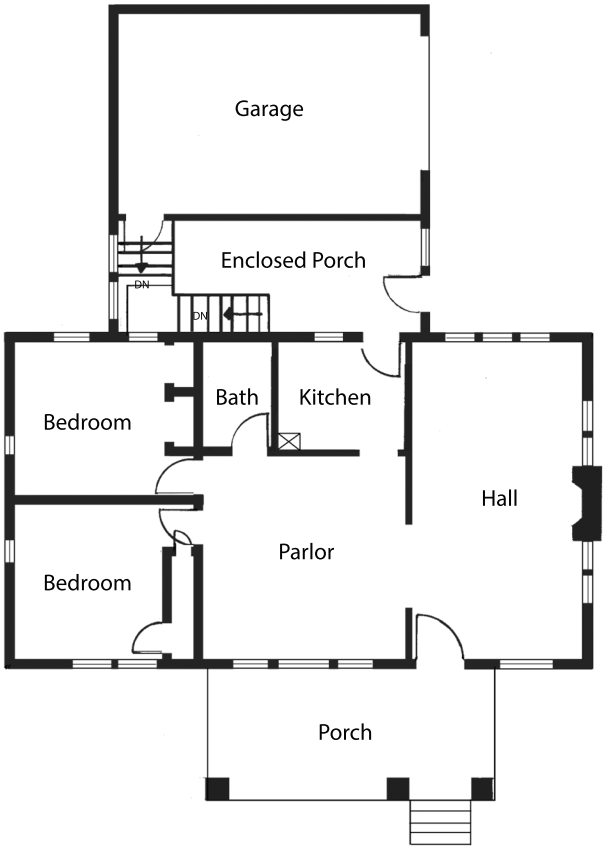
Historical Significance

In 1872, Judge S. O. Thatcher, drafter of the Kansas Constitution, and Andrew Carnes, U. S. detective and Lawrence marshal, bought the first house on this lot. In 1883, S. W. Sawyer, who owned a nearby lumber dealership, bought it and in 1888 razed it to built an impressive Victorian house, which he sold to William John Gilmore about 1890. Gilmore, an early pioneer, came to Kansas in 1860 with two brothers and a cousin to establish Gilmore Brothers & Wright freighters. They hauled heavy freight with wagons and oxen from St. Joseph and Leavenworth to Lawrence and down the Santa Fe Trail to Ft. Union, New Mexico, and along the Platte River routes to Denver and on to Leadville, Colorado. In 1867, Gilmore bought a farm in Grant Township which he farmed until 1908, though he moved to town to live in his fine Victorian house with his wife Emma, he died here in 1916. The Gilmore family lived here until 1964.

1-Story

746 Connecticut

E





1863-1873

N

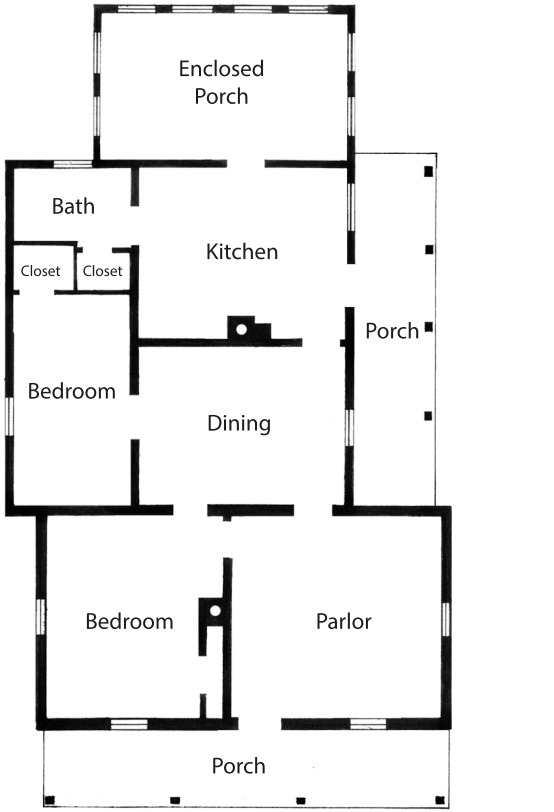
4 8 16

#41

1- Story

736 New York

E

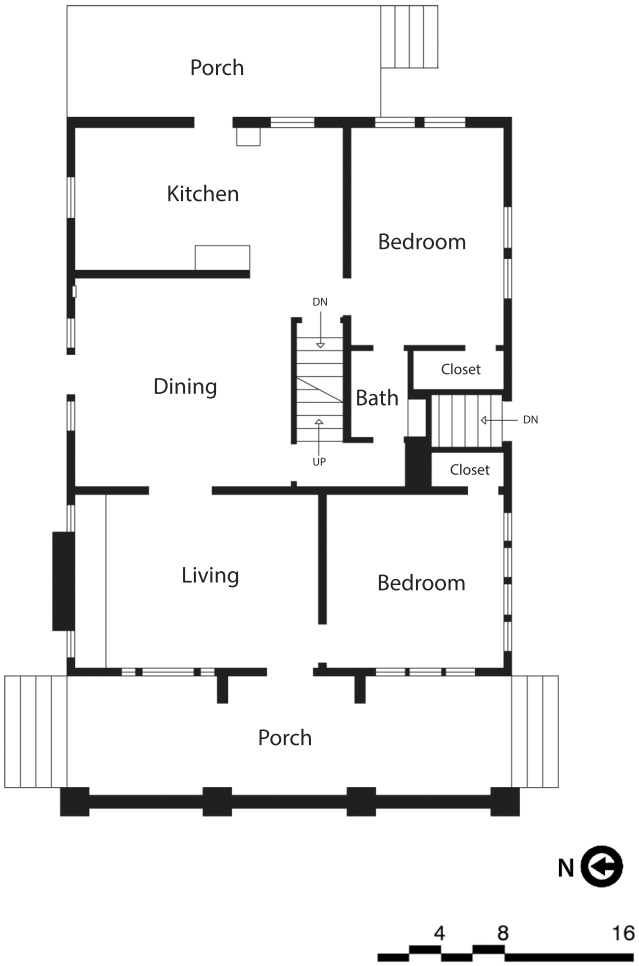


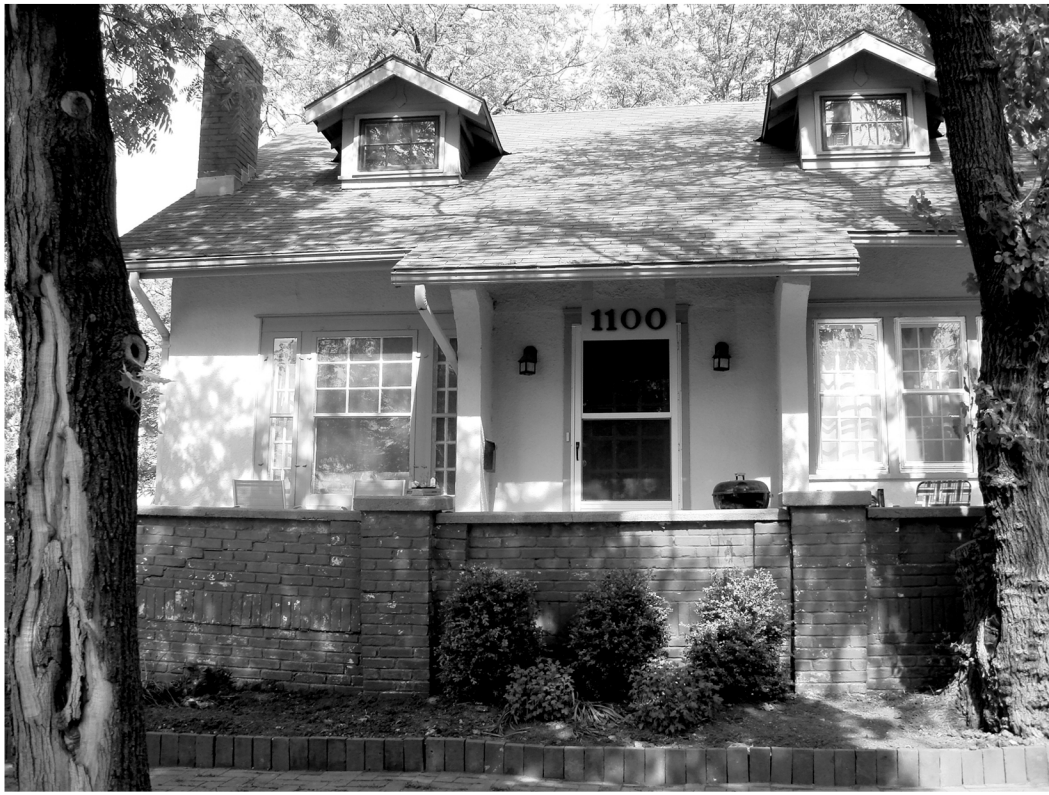


Bungalow

1100 Connecticut

C

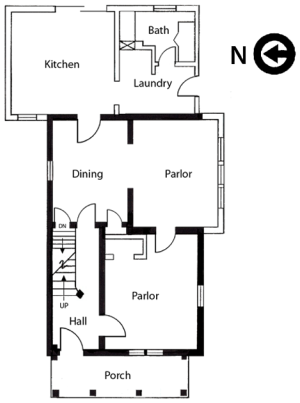




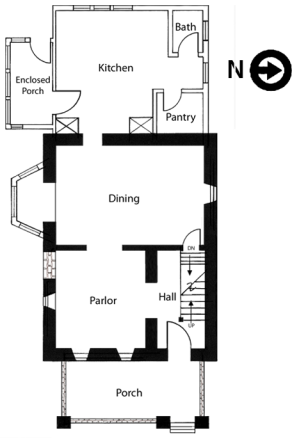
ca. 1900

#43

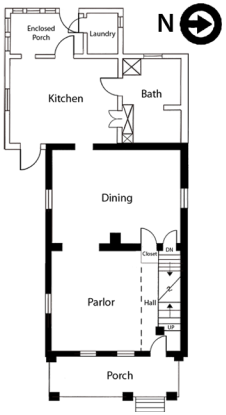
2 over 2 A



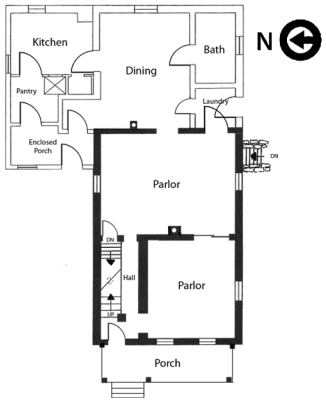
912 Pennsylvania



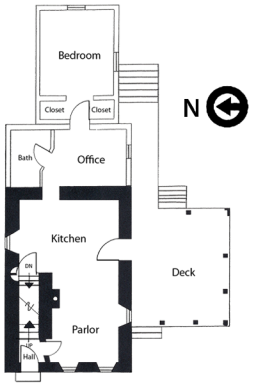
1029 New York



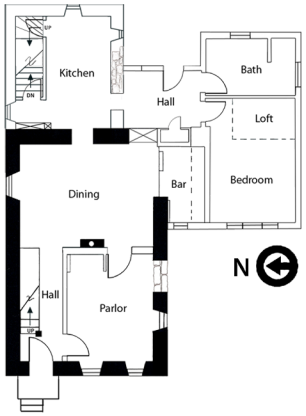
945 Delaware



1024 Pennsylvania

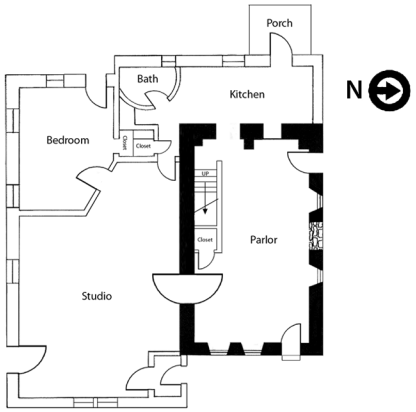


820 New Jersey

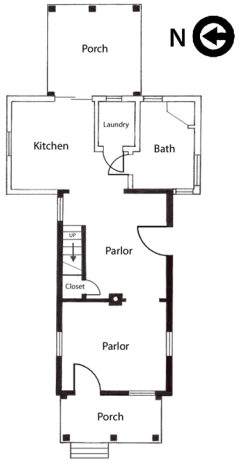


1016 New York

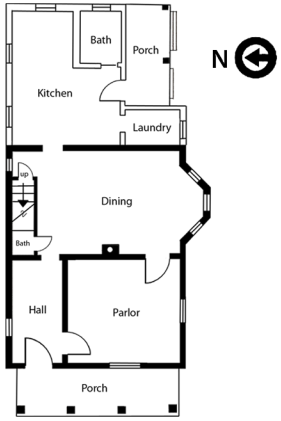
Stair Hall



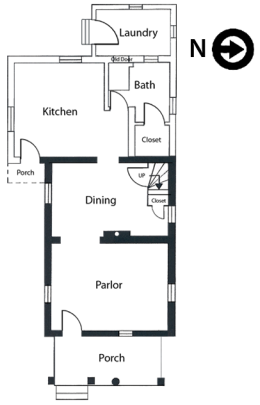
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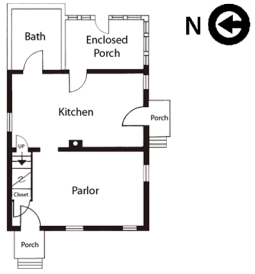
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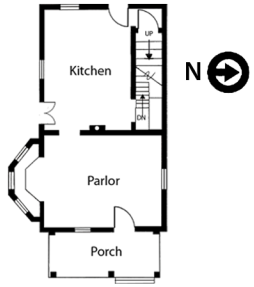
936 Pennsylvania



819 New Jersey



934 Delaware



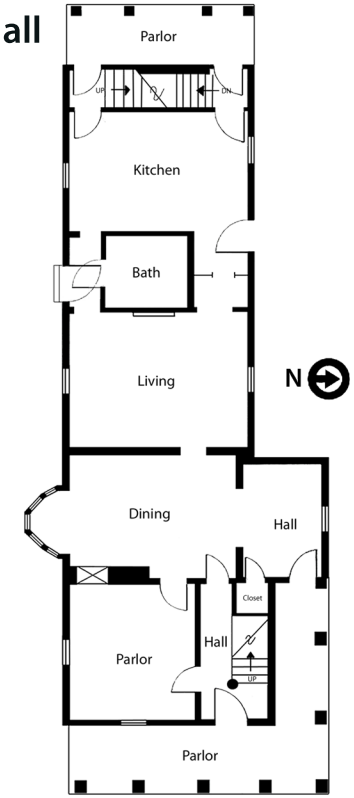
737 Connecticut

Back Stair

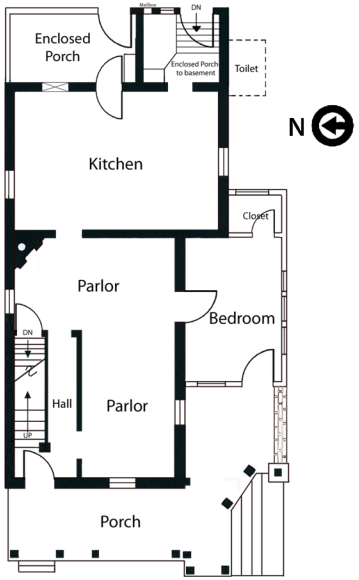
4 8 16

Side Entry B

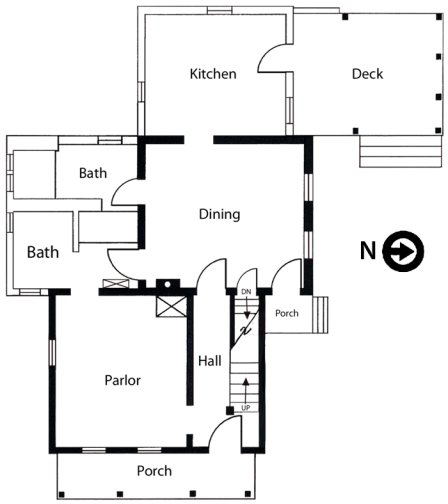
Stair Hall



1029 Delaware

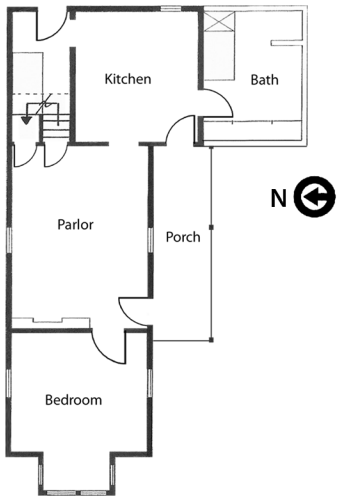


835 New York

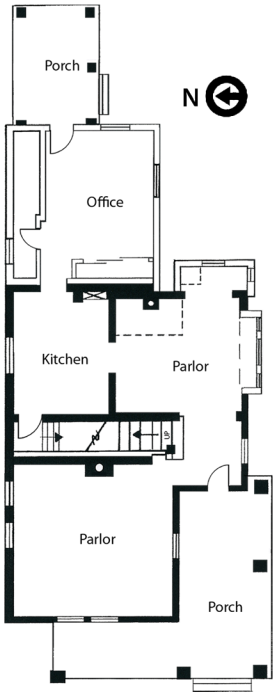


821 New York

Back Stair

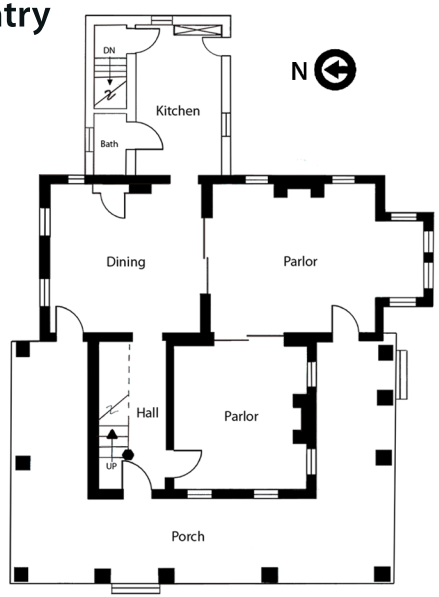


620 Rhode Island



1004 Connecticut

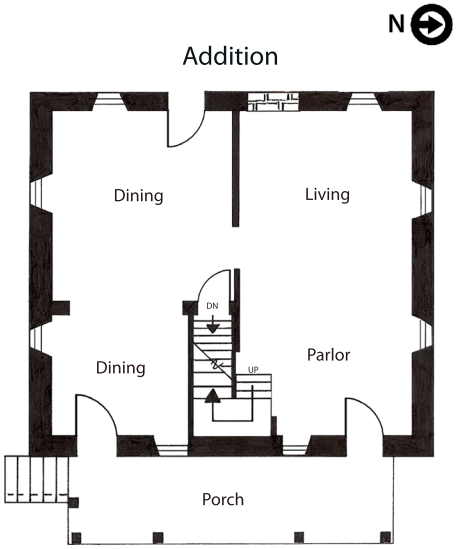
Double Side Entry
Stair Hall



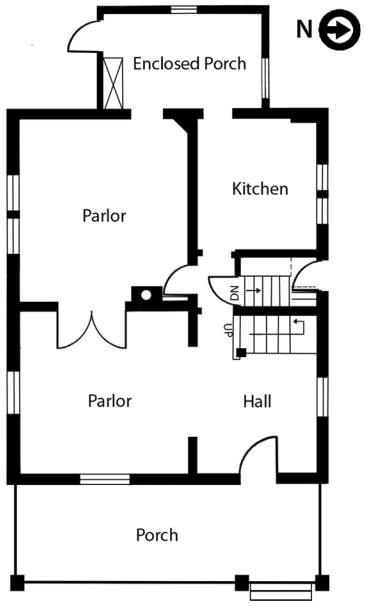
1208 Delaware

4 8 16

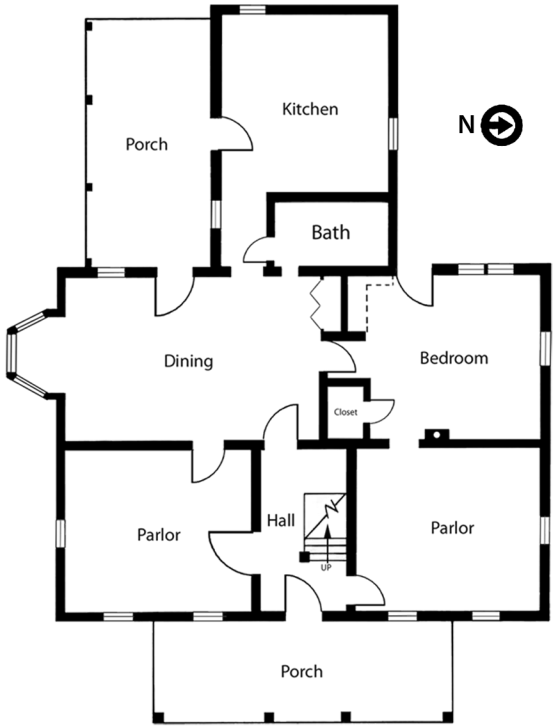
4 over 4 C



917 Delaware



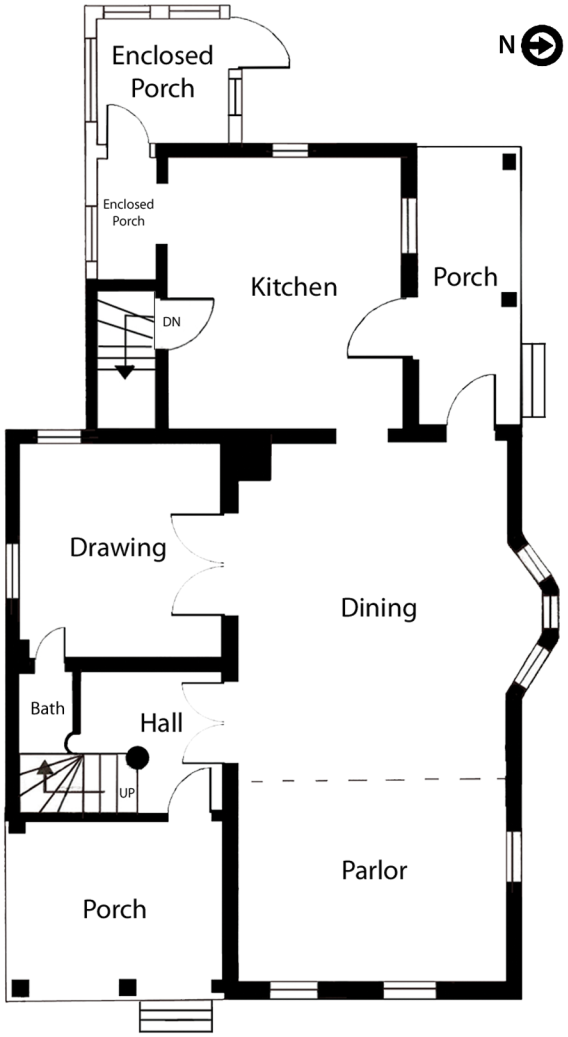
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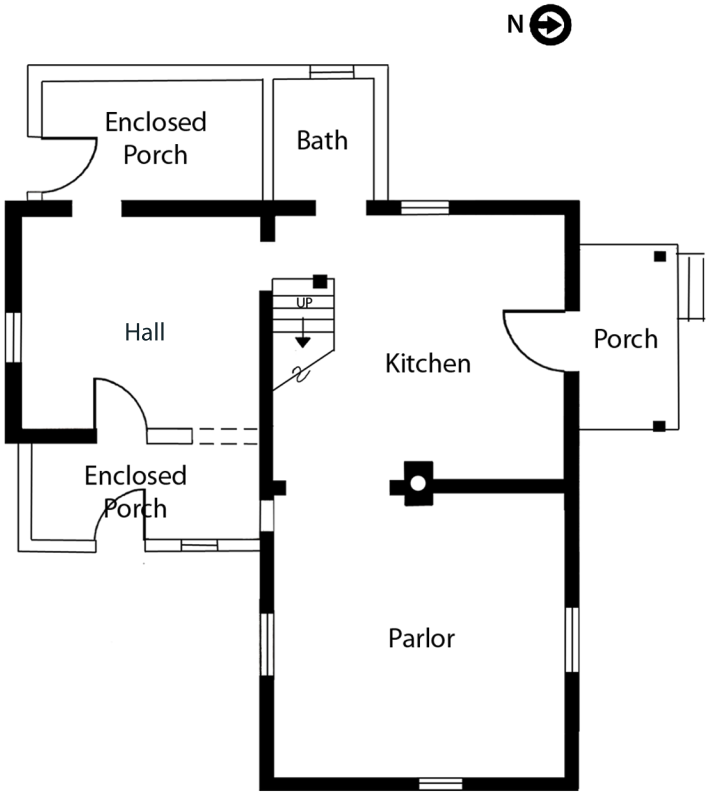
715 New York

4 8 16

L plan D



946 Connecticut

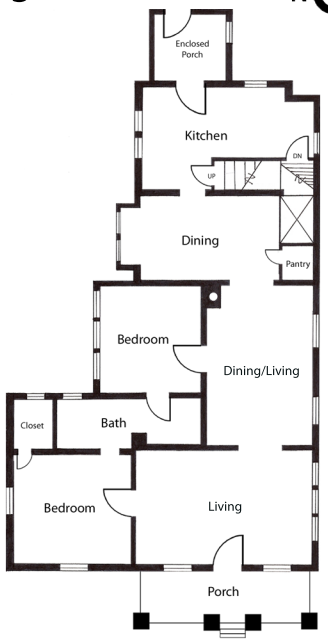


1001 Delaware

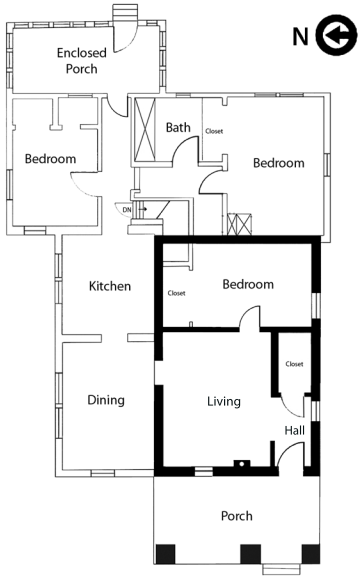
4 8 16

1-Story E

Bungaloid

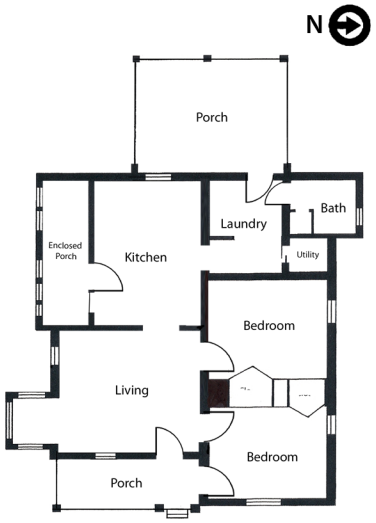


1117 New York

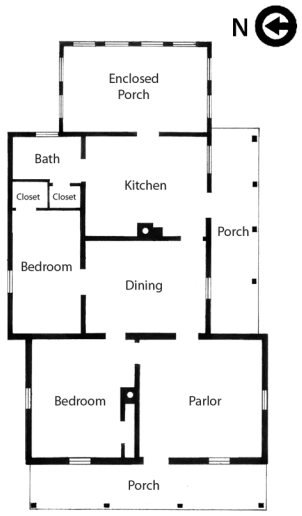


742 Connecticut

T

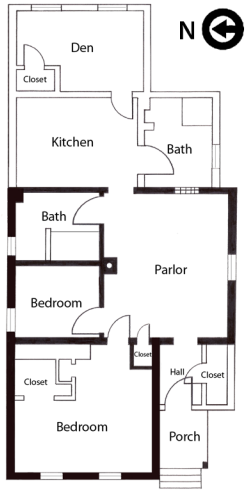


1229 Pennsylvania

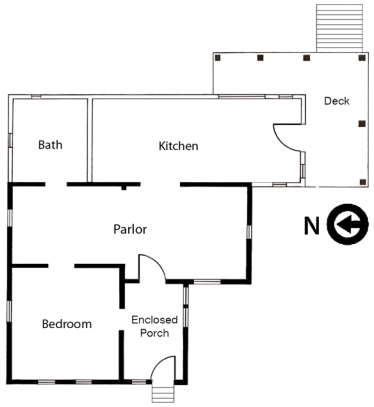


736 New York

L

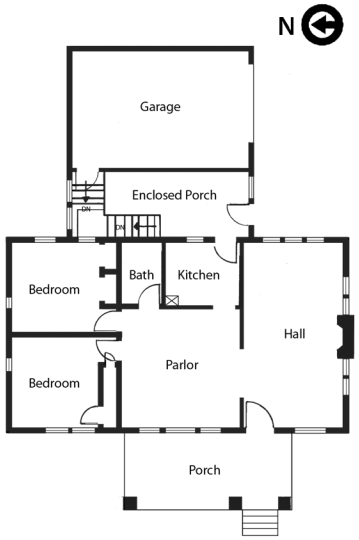


1016 Pennsylvania

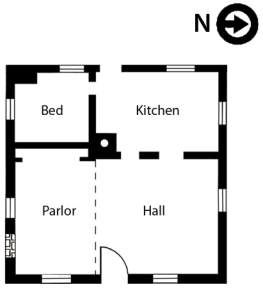


814 New Jersey

Hall/Parlor



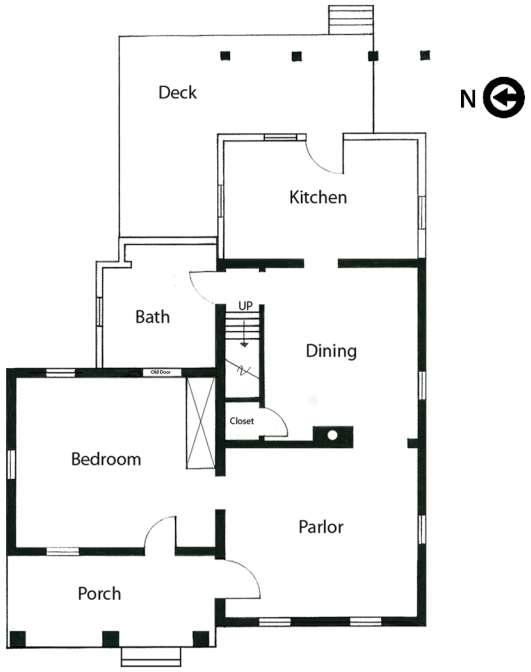
746 Connecticut



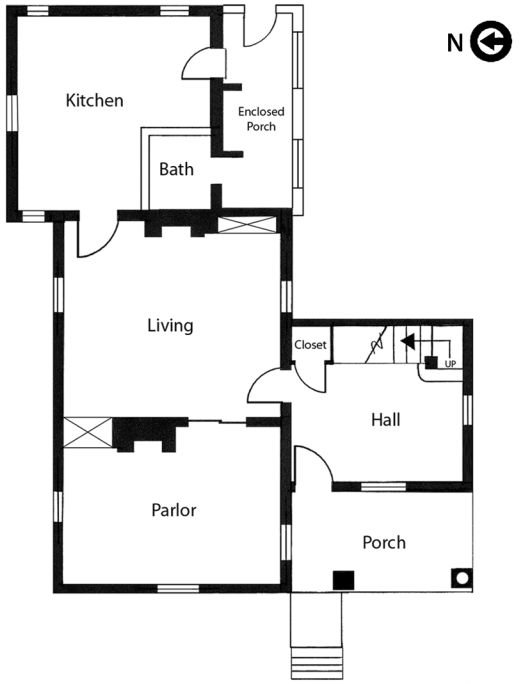
933 Delaware

4 8 16

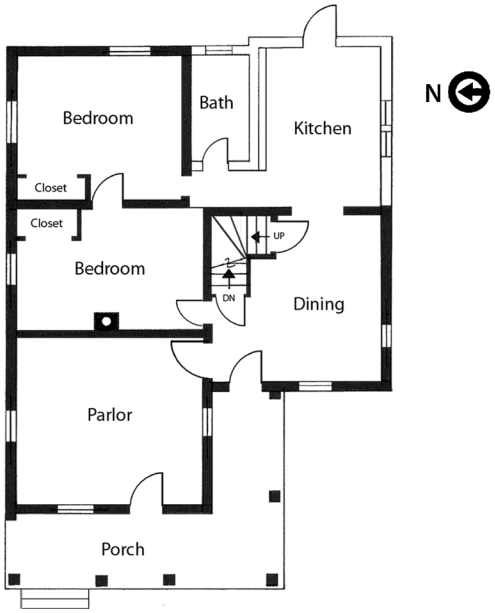
T plan F



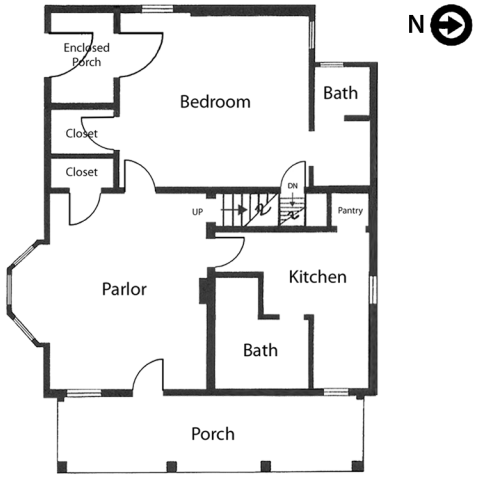
714 New York



1002 Pennsylvania



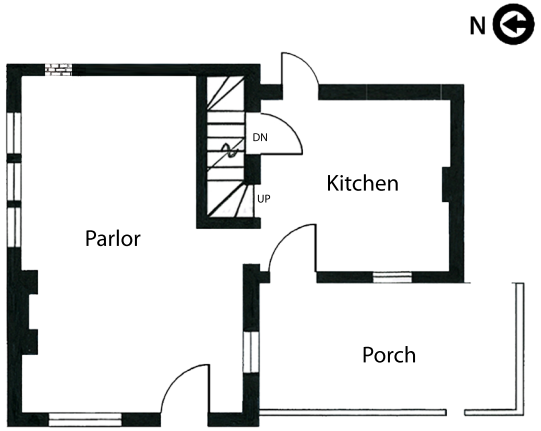
946 Pennsylvania



821 New Jersey

4 8 16

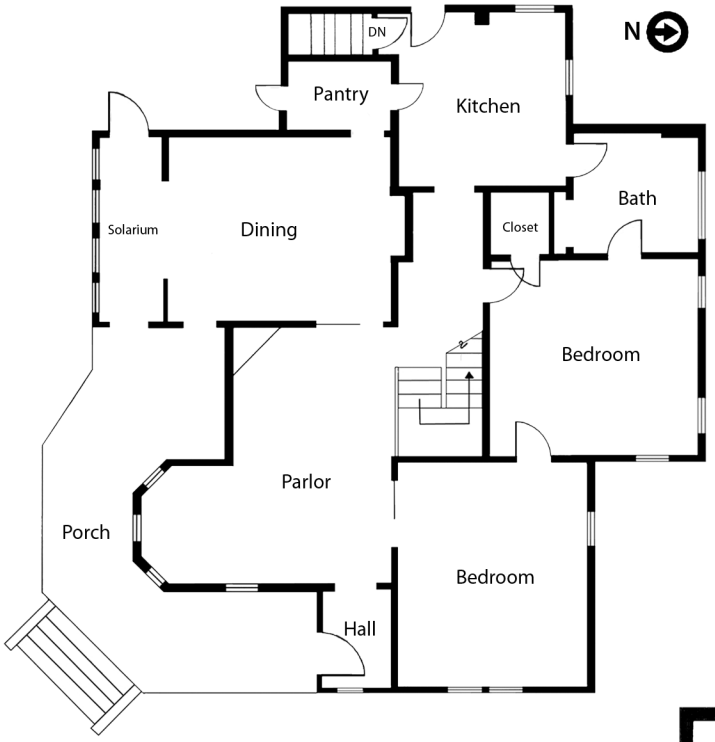
Upright and Wing G



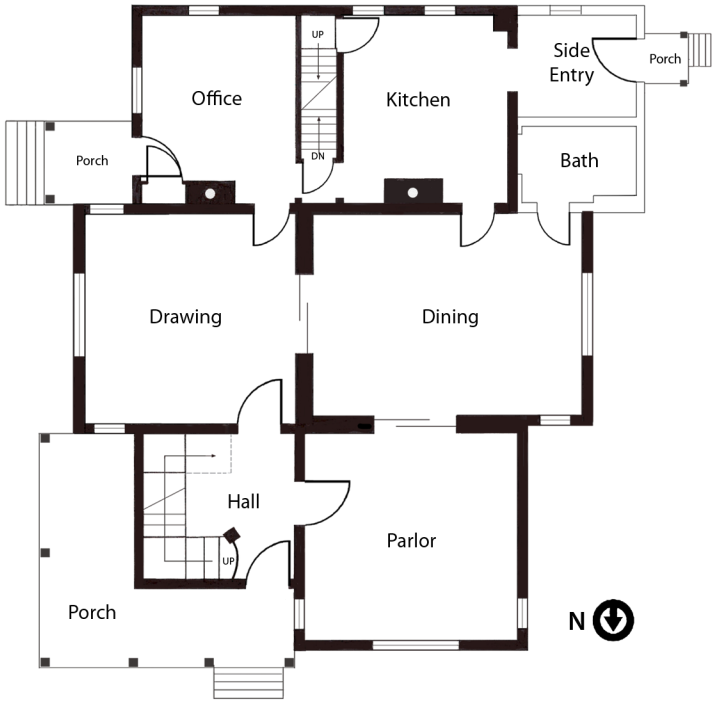
938 Rhode Island

4 8 16

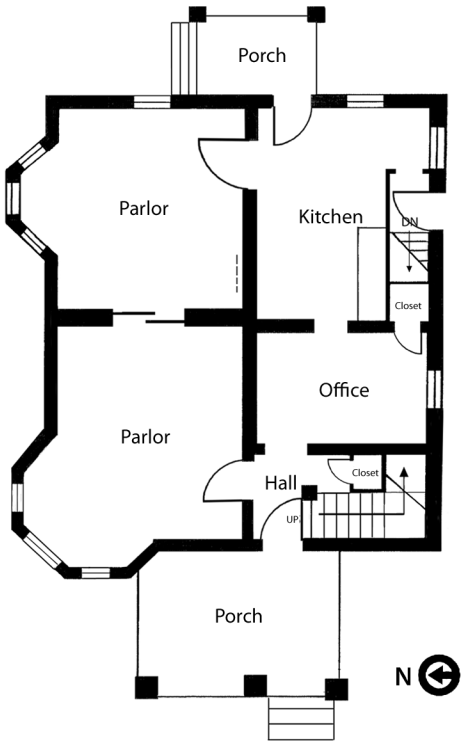
Queen Anne H



645 Connecticut

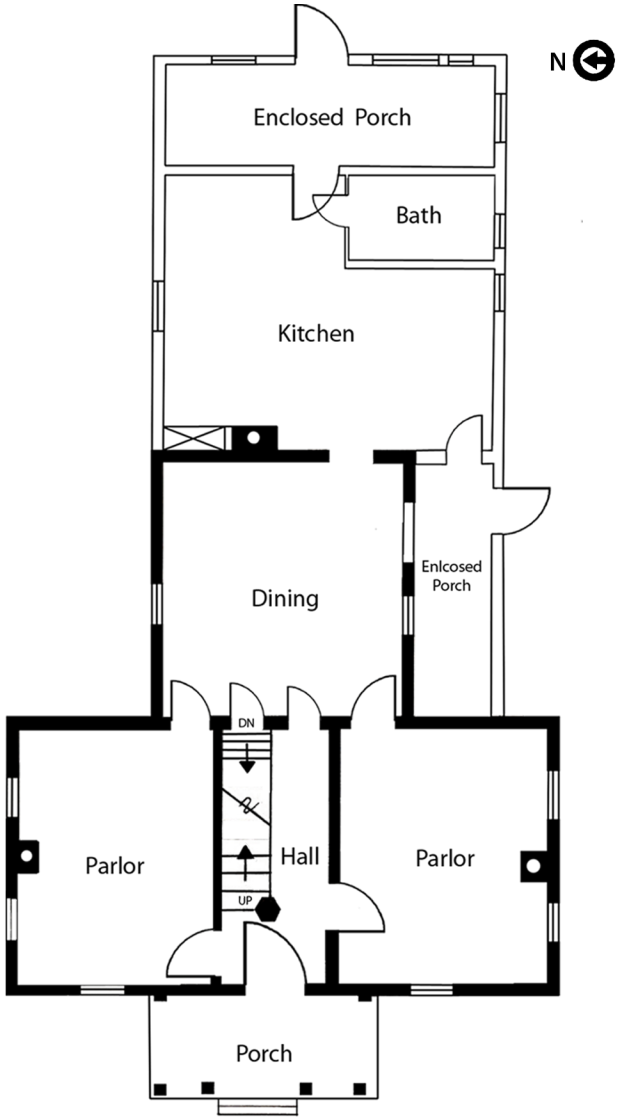


319 E 7th



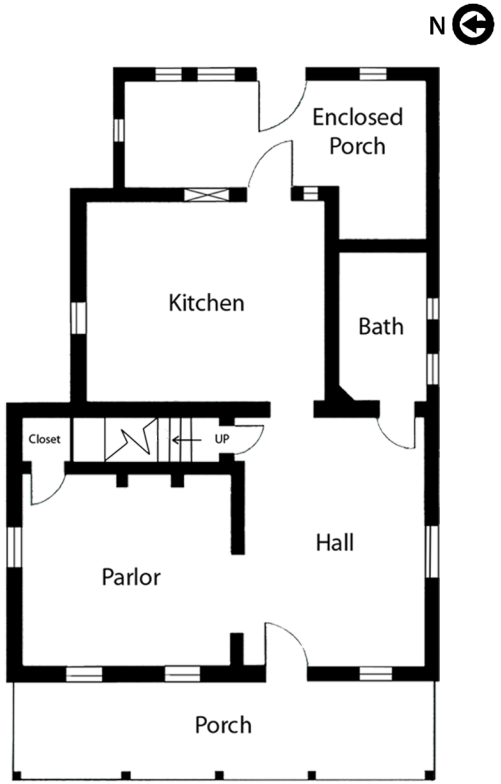
1100 New Jersey

4 8 16



904 Pennsylvania

Central Hall



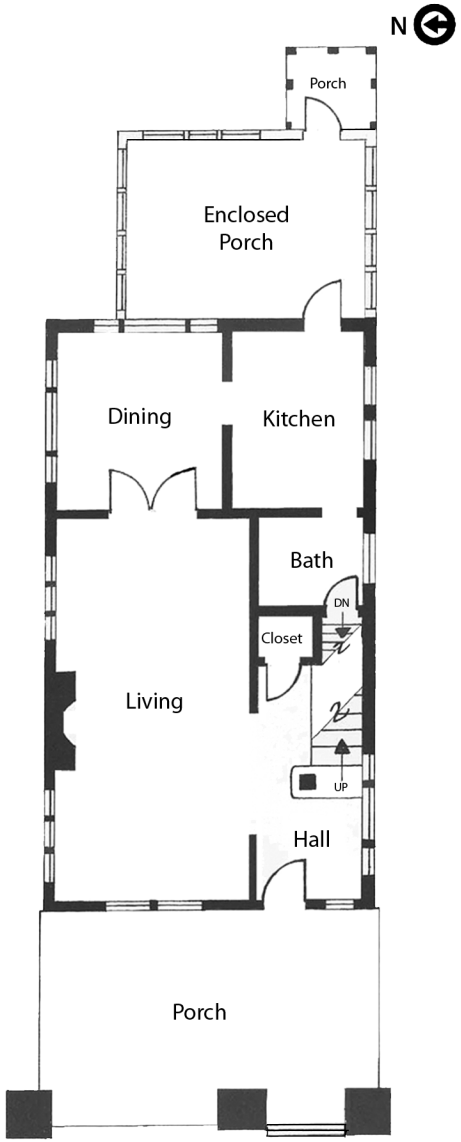
1100 New York

Hall Parlor

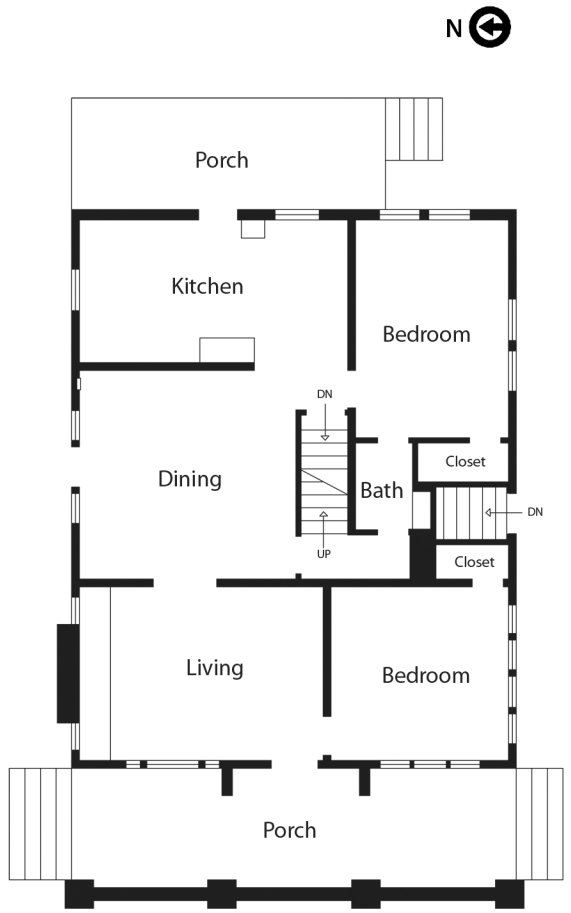
4 8 16

Bungalow

J



738 Rhode Island



1100 Connecticut

4 8 16