

E. J. ECKEL (1845-1934):
THE EDUCATION OF A BEAUX-ARTS ARCHITECT
AND HIS PRACTICE IN MISSOURI

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of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
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Dissertation Supervisors

DECEMBER 1994



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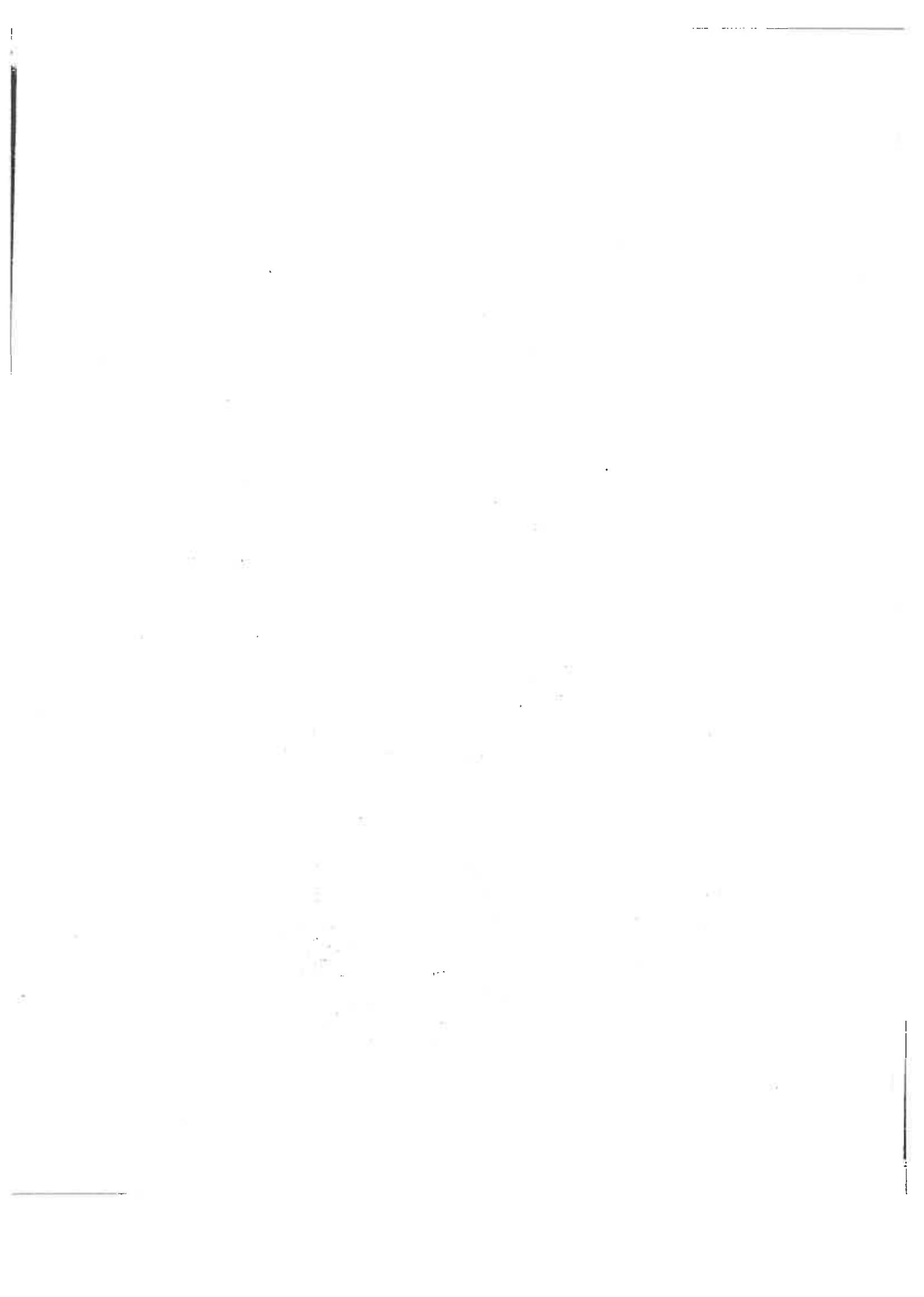
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Toni M. Prawl

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ABSTRACT

Architect E. J. Eckel (1845-1934) studied in his native country at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, emigrated to the United States when he was 23, and pursued his career in St. Joseph, Missouri, from 1869 until his death in 1934, a sixty-five year period in which he achieved national attention. This study includes not only the familiar elements of the traditional art historical monograph--biography, artistic evolution, and catalogue raisonné--but also focuses on the theme of partnership-practice. The study explores how Eckel, influenced by his education and experiences at the École des Beaux-Arts, managed his own practice in St. Joseph much like a French atelier, or studio, and contributed designs for most of the outstanding buildings in the city.

Eckel's childhood in Strasbourg and his educational background at the École des Beaux-Arts are traced to determine how his career as an architect took form. His

motives for immigrating are linked to rising employment opportunities in St. Joseph--a growing midwestern river town and gateway city. The partnership-practice issues address the state of the architectural profession in the United States at the time of Eckel's arrival and his relationships with his numerous partners, the roles his partners played in design and construction, his participation in actual preparation of drawings and plans, his relationships with his clients and how those clients affected the building types (functions), sizes, and designs his firm produced, and Eckel's role as creative business manager, mentor, and designer.

Primary sources, especially those office records produced by Eckel's firms during his productive career, as well as the typical secondary sources, offer evidence about Eckel's role as an architect and the success of his firms. Interpretation and analysis of these materials reveals how he contributed to the development of American architecture, namely in St. Joseph, as he participated in the community's evolving image of itself. An unillustrated catalogue raisonné presents an inventory of his firms' work and provides the framework for future analysis of Eckel's architectural achievements, building by building.

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I am indebted to Dr. Richard Chafee, Roger Williams College, Bristol, Rhode Island, for his early interest in my subject, his encouragement and recommendations, and his special visit to Missouri on my behalf. His assistance was especially helpful in evaluating Eckel's student achievement at the École des Beaux-Arts. Dr. Dennis Domer, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, discovered Eckel before I did

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A study like this is not strictly an individual's pursuit because it affects the lives of family members, too.

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LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Programs Related to Eckel's Education at l'École Imperiale des Beaux-Arts, Section d'Architecture	68
2. Eckel's Student <u>Concours</u>	78

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1-1. E. J. Eckel, 1845-1934	425
2-1. Strasbourg Cathedral	426
2-2. Examples of "Rhineland Renaissance" buildings in Strasbourg	427
2-3. Hôpital Civil, Strasbourg, designed by François Rudolphe Mollinger, 1718-1724	427
2-4. Hôtel de Klinglin, Strasbourg, (Prefecture) Jean-Pierre Pflug, 1731-1736	428
2-5. Palais des Rohan, Strasbourg, planned 1727-28, erected 1731-35, and completed 1742.	428
2-6. Joseph Massol's Hôtel de Hanau-Lichtenberg, or Hôtel de Ville, Strasbourg, 1731-1738.	429
2-7. L'École de Medecine, Strasbourg, 1866	429
2-8. E. J. Eckel's birth certificate, 1845	430
2-9. Eckel's plan for a primary school, Strasbourg, undated	431
2-10. Tomb of Francois I rendering, Eckel, 1859	432
2-11. Cathedral cross-section by Eckel, 1 December 1859.	433
3-1. E. J. Eckel with former classmate, Leon Fleury, Versailles, France, 1927	434
3-2. H. H. Richardson's student dossier from the École, 1860-1865	435
3-3. Eckel's student sketches of sculpture	436
3-4. Eckel's student drawings of floor plans	437

3-5.	Measured drawing by Eckel, École des Beaux-Arts: Portique de la Cathédrale de Spolete.	438
3-6.	Measured drawing by Eckel, École des Beaux-Arts: Camp des Soldats à Pompeï	439
3-7.	Measured drawing by Eckel, École des Beaux-Arts: Elévation de l'Hopital de Fuligno.	440
3-8.	Eckel's drawing of sculpture, École des Beaux-Arts.	441
3-9.	École program for a theatre or "un odéon ou salle de concert," issued to students of the Second Class 7 November 1866.	442
3-10.	Eckel's student architectural drawing of a theatre or "odéon".	443
5-1.	St. Joseph, Missouri, 1850	444
6-1.	Joseph Davis House, 2100 North 11th Street, St. Joseph, William Blair, 1847	445
6-2.	Isaac Miller House, 3003 Ashland Avenue, St. Joseph, William Blair, 1859	445
6-3.	Patee House, 12th and Penn Streets, St. Joseph, Missouri, J. H. McMachen, original architect, Lewis Stigers, architect, 1856-1858.	446
6-4.	"Ravenswood," Residence of Charles E. Leonard, Tipton, Missouri, W. Angelo Powell, 1880.	447
6-5.	Bird's Eye View of the City of St. Joseph, Missouri, Albert Ruger, artist, 1868	448
7-1.	Corby Memorial Chapel, Old Amazonia Road, St. Joseph, Meagher with Eckel, 1871-1872	449
7-2.	St. Joseph Cathedral, Tenth and Isadore Streets, St. Joseph, Meagher with Eckel, 1871-1872	450
7-3.	Buchanan County Courthouse, Fourth and Jules Streets, St. Joseph, P. F. Meagher, 1873	451
7-4.	"Eckel & Meier Archts." architectural drawing, ca. 1873	452

7-5.	Christ Episcopal Church, Seventh and Francis Streets, St. Joseph, Stiger, Boettner & Co., 1877	453
7-6.	Wyeth Residence, Eleventh and Charles Streets, St. Joseph, Missouri, 1879	454
9-1.	George R. Mann, 1856-1939	455
9-2.	E. J. Eckel Residence, 515 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1885	456
9-3.	George R. Mann Residence, 3401 South Eleventh Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1886-1887	456
10-1.	Harvey Ellis, 1852-1904.	457
10-2.	Capital detail, Nodaway County Courthouse, Eckel and Mann, 1881.	458
10-3.	Panel details, Turner, Fraser & Co. Wholesale Grocers, 302-308 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882	459
10-4.	Ornament detail, Nathan P. Ogden Residence, 809 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1885.	460
10-5.	Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. Building, 213-223 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888.	461
10-6.	Insurance Exchange Building, Chicago, Burnham & Root, 1884-1885.	462
10-7.	The Rookery, Chicago, Burnham & Root, 1885-1888.	462
10-8.	Architects' rendering of the Tootle-Hosea Dry Good Co. Building, 213-223 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888.	463
10-9.	Arch detail, Tootle-Hosea Dry Good Co. Building, 213-223 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888	464
10-10.	Wilder Building, Rochester, New York, Warner & Brockett, 1887	465

10-11.	C. D. Smith Drug Co., 313-323 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888.	466
10-12.	Detail, C. D. Smith Drug Co., 313-323 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888	467
10-13.	German American Bank, 624 Felix, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889.	468
10-14.	Chateau de Chenonceaux, France, 1515-1523 .	469
10-15.	Eckel's correspondence to Charles Baltzell with floor plan, 27 January 1891	470
10-16.	Charles Baltzell Residence, 1222 Twelfth Avenue, Altoona, Pennsylvania, Eckel and Mann, 1891.	471
10-17.	Moss Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889	472
10-18.	J. B. Moss Residence, 906 Sylvania, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889	473
10-19.	J. W. McAlister Residence, 105 North 19th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1890.	473
10-20.	J. W. McAlister Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889	474
10-21.	J. W. McAlister Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889	475
10-22.	S. M. Nave Residence, 2121 Clay Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889	476
10-23.	"Proposed Residence for S. M. Nave," St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889	477
10-24.	"Residence for S. M. Nave," St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1889	478
10-25.	J. D. McNeeley Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889	479

10-26.	J. D. McNeeley Residence, 701 South 11th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889.	480
10-27.	Calvin C. Burnes Residence, 301 South Tenth Street, Eckel and Mann, ca. 1888 . . .	480
10-28.	Samuel Gale House, Minneapolis, LeRoy S. Buffington with Ellis, 1888 . . .	481
10-29.	George W. Van Dusen Residence, Minneapolis, Fremont D. Orff and Edgar E. Joralemon with Albert H. Levering (Ellis), ca. 1893 . . .	481
10-30.	Burnes Tomb, Mount Mora Cemetery, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889	482
11-1.	Turner, Fraser and Co. Wholesale Grocers (later known as Sheridan Clayton Paper Co.), 302-308 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882	483
11-2.	Nave-McCord Mercantile Co., 310-324 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882	484
11-3.	R. L. McDonald and Co., 202 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880	485
11-4.	R. L. McDonald and Co., 202 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880, after alterations	486
11-5.	Englehart-Winning & Co., 212 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880 (joining R. L. McDonald and Co.).	487
11-6.	Englehart-Winning & Co., 212 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880 (joining Englehart-Winning & Co., at 214 North Fourth Street)	488
11-7.	Brittain-Richardson & Co., 224 North Fourth, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882	489
11-8.	Brittain-Richardson & Co., 224 North Fourth, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882	490
11-9.	Englehart-Winning & Co., 214 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1884	491

11-10.	Schuster Residence, 703 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel, assoc. architect, ca. 1881	492
11-11.	John S. Lemon Residence, 517 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, improvements ca. 1889	493
11-12.	Ogden Residence, 809 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1885.	493
11-13.	Robison Residence, 631 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888	494
11-14.	Alfred T. Smith Residence, 802 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1891	495
11-15.	Alfred T. Smith Residence, 802 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, John Richmond, delineator, 1891	496
11-16.	Union Depot, St. Joseph, 6th Street and Mitchell Avenue, Eckel and Mann, 1881-1882	496
11-17.	New Union Station, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1895	497
11-18.	New Union Station, 1221 South 6th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1895	498
11-19.	Hose House #6, 103 North 18th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1890-1891	499
11-20.	Central Police Station, 17th and Messanie Streets, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1890	500
11-21.	(Old) Central High School, St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1894	501
11-22.	(Old) Central High School, St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, architect, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1894	502
11-23.	Allegheny County Courthouse, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, H. H. Richardson, 1883-1888	502
11-24.	Administration Building, Palmer College, Albany, Missouri, Eckel and Mann, 1891 (or E. J. Eckel, 1892)	503

11-25.	Steinacker Public School, 22nd and Lewis Streets, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, ca. 1883	504
11-26.	Nodaway County Courthouse, Maryville, Missouri, Eckel and Mann, 1882.	505
11-27.	Pottawattamie County Courthouse, Council Bluffs, Iowa, Eckel and Mann, 1885	506
11-28.	St. Louis City Hall, St. Louis, Eckel and Mann, 1890.	507
11-29.	St. Louis City Hall, St. Louis, Eckel and Mann, 1890.	508
11-30.	Hotel de Ville, Paris	509
11-31.	St. Louis City Hall, St. Louis, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1890	510
11-32.	St. Louis City Hall, St. Louis, interior elevations by Ben Trunk, 1895	511
12-1.	Washington State Capitol, design submitted by George R. Mann, 1893.	512
12-2.	Minnesota State Capitol, design submitted by George R. Mann, 1895.	513
12-3.	Arkansas State Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas, design submitted by George R. Mann, 1901.	514
12-4.	Arkansas State Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas	515
12-5.	Montana State Capitol	516
13-1.	John Van Brunt	517
13-2.	Richardson, Roberts, Byrne and Co. Wholesale Dry Goods House, Eckel and Van Brunt, architects, John Van Brunt, delineator, 1892	517
13-3.	Richardson, Roberts, Byrne and Co. Wholesale Dry Goods House, 302 North Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Van Brunt, 1892.	518
13-4.	Corner entrance detail, Richardson, Roberts, Byrne and Co. Wholesale Dry Goods House, Eckel and Van Brunt, 1892	519

13-5.	Auditorium Building, Chicago, Adler and Sullivan, 1896-1889	520
13-6.	Emery, Bird and Thayer Department Store, Kansas City, Van Brunt and Howe, 1889-1890	521
13-7.	L & N Railroad Building, St. Louis, Isaac Taylor, 1888	522
13-8.	"New Public Library," St. Louis, Isaac Taylor, 1891.	522
13-9.	Marshall Field Wholesale Store, Chicago, H. H. Richardson, 1885-1887	523
13-10.	Richardson, Roberts, Byrne and Co. Wholesale Dry Goods House, after addition	523
14-1.	E. J. Eckel accompanied by assistants at his office, ca. 1904	524
14-2.	Three draftsmen in Eckel's employ, ca. 1910	525
14-3.	Eckel's <u>atelier</u> , 1908	526
14-4.	Group of Eckel's assistants	527
14-5.	Ben Trunk	527
14-6.	Hotel Building, St. Joseph, Missouri, E. J. Eckel, architect, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1894	528
14-7.	Missouri and Kansas Telephone Co., 116 South Seventh St., St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1895.	529
14-8.	Tootle-Lemon Bank, 521-523 Francis St., St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, architect, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1900	530
14-9.	Tootle-Lemon Bank, 521-523 Francis St., St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1900	530
14-10.	New Free Public Library, 925 Felix, St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, architect, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1900	531
14-11.	New Free Public Library, 925 Felix, St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1900.	532

14-12.	Public Library, Carnegie Branch, 316 Massachusetts, St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1901.	532
14-13.	William Jewell College Library, Liberty, Missouri, E. J. Eckel, 1906	533
14-14.	Chateau de Blois, Orleans (north) wing, Mansart, 1635-1638	534
14-15.	Palace at Versailles, garden facade, 1678-1688	534
14-16.	Louvre, eastern facade, 1667-1674	535
14-17.	Palazzo Theine, Vicenza, Andrea Palladio, 1524	536
14-18.	D. L. Bartlett Residence, 1923 Clay St., St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1900	537
14-19.	John J. Tootle Residence, Frederick Avenue, St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1900	537
14-20.	Elks Club, 209 North Fifth St., St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1904	538
14-21.	Elks Club, 209 North Fifth St., St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1904	538
14-22.	J. Burnett Collins Mausoleum, Mt. Mora Cemetery, St. Joseph, E. J. Eckel, 1906.	539
15-1.	Walter Boschen	540
15-2.	E. J. Eckel Residences, 1320 and 1324 North 25th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Boschen, 1909; Eckel and Aldrich, 1912	541
15-3.	Robidoux School, 201 South 10th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Boschen, 1909.	542
15-4.	First Presbyterian Church, 301 North 7th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Boschen, 1909	543
15-5.	First Presbyterian Church, 301 North 7th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Boschen, 1909	544

15-6.	St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, James Gibbs, 1721-1726	545
15-7.	Interior, First Presbyterian Church, 301 North 7th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Boschen, 1909	546
15-8.	Interior, St. Paul's Chapel, Broadway, New York, New York, Thomas McBeaw, 1764-176	547
16-1.	Eckel and Aldrich: Will Aldrich (left), E.J. Eckel (center), George R. Eckel (right)	548
16-2.	J. M. Frazer Residence, 1002 North 25th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Aldrich, 1911	549
16-3.	Frazer L. Ford Residence, 2820 Lovers Lane, St. Joseph, Eckel and Aldrich, 1915.	550
16-4.	National Biscuit Company Factory, Mateo and Industrial, Los Angeles, California, Eckel and Aldrich, 1925	551
16-5.	Missouri State Capitol Competition, Eckel and Aldrich Entry, 1912	552
16-6.	St. Joseph News-Press Building, 815 Edmond Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Aldrich, 1912	553
16-7.	St. Joseph News-Press Building, floor plan, 815 Edmond Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Aldrich, 1912	554
16-8.	St. Joseph City Hall, 11th Street and Frederick Avenue, St. Joseph, Eckel and Aldrich, 1924-1927	555
16-9.	Unidentified Beaux Arts Study, E. J. Eckel, ca. 1867	555
16-10.	Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts, McKim, Mead and White, 1887-1895	556
16-11.	École des Beaux Arts, Palais des Etudes, Paris, Duban, 1834-1840	556

16-12.	Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris. Labrouse, 1838-1850.	556
16-13.	St. Joseph City Hall, floor plans, Eckel and Aldrich, 1924-1927	557

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.	vii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Introductory Statement	
Statement of the Problem	
Justification for Research	
Review of Literature and Related Research	
Objectives	
Research Methodology	
PART I. GENESIS OF AN ARCHITECT: ECKEL'S YOUTH AND EDUCATION	
2. ECKEL'S CHILDHOOD IN STRASBOURG, 1845-1864	16
The Cultural Heritage of Strasbourg	
Roman Influence	
An Independent Republic	
French Affiliation	
Eckel's Family	
Eckel's First Interests in Architecture	
3. ÉCOLE DES BEAUX-ARTS, PARIS	43
Origin and Architectural Theory of the École	
Admission and Ateliers	
Student Advancement	
Eckel's Dossier	
Influence of the École in the United States	
PART II. BEYOND THE HOME FRONT: THE YOUNG PROFESSIONAL IN A NEW SETTING	
4. IMMIGRANT TO AMERICA, 1868	91
In Search of Opportunity	
Departure from the École	
To the Midwest	
5. ECKEL'S ADOPTED CITY, ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI	104
Robidoux's River City	
Gateway to the West	
Civil War Strife	
Post-War Recovery	

6.	THE STATE OF ARCHITECTURE IN MISSOURI, 1869.	129
	The Profession	
	Education of American Architects	
	Counted Architects	
	Advancing the Profession	
	Architects in St. Joseph before Eckel	
	William Blair	
	J. H. McMachen	
	E. D. Mason	
	W. Angelo Powell	
	The Built Environment of St. Joseph	
7.	EARLY PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES: ECKEL'S EMPLOYERS AND PRACTICES IN ST. JOSEPH, 1869-1880.	161
	P. F. Meagher	
	Lewis Smell Stigers	
	Francis R. Boettner	
	Eckel & Meier, 1873	
	Eckel, 1874	
	Stigers, Boettner & Co., 1875-1877	
	Boettner & Eckel, 1878-1880	
PART III. FROM PROMISE TO PROMINENCE: ECKEL & MANN		
8.	ST. JOSEPH'S GOLDEN AGE.	174
9.	CONTRAST AND COMPROMISE.	183
	George R. Mann, Partner	
	The Dynamic Partnership: 1880-1885; 1887-1891; 1902-1905	
	Private Dwellings and Personalities	
10.	HARVEY ELLIS, MASTERFUL DRAFTSMAN.	207
	A Journeyman's Life	
	Diversity within the Architectural Firm	
	Development of Eckel and Mann's Romanesque- Inspired Architecture	
	Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co.	
	C. D. Smith Drug Co.	
	German American Bank	
	Ellis-Inspired Residences	
	Burnes Mausoleum	
11.	CLIENTS AND COMMISSIONS.	252
	Commercial Architecture	
	Warehouses	
	Wholesale Row	
	R. L. McDonald & Co.	
	Englehart-Winning & Co.	
	Brittain-Richardson & Co.	

Englehart-Winning & Co.
 Residences
 Historic Hall Street District
 Public Buildings
 Legislative Buildings
 Nodaway County Courthouse
 Pottawattamie County Courthouse
 St. Louis City Hall

12. ECKEL & MANN, ST. JOSEPH AND ST. LOUIS. 292
 From Dissolution to Renegotiation
 In Pursuit of Commissions
 Arkansas State Capitol
 The Partnership Perishes

PART IV. INDEPENDENT PRACTICE AND BRIEF PARTNERSHIPS

13. ECKEL & VAN BRUNT, 1892. 331
 John Van Brunt
 Richardson, Roberts, Byrne, and Co. Building
 Partnership Trends

14. INDIVIDUALITY: 1886, 1893-1902, 1906-1908 344
 Eckel's Atelier
 Ben Trunk
 Rudolph Heim
 E. Gray Powell
 Eckel's Neo-Classical Revival Architecture

15. ECKEL & BOSCHEN, 1908-1910 366
 Walter Boschen
 Eckel & Boschen Projects
 Robidoux School
 First Presbyterian Church

PART V. MATURE YEARS

16. THE FINAL PARTNERSHIP: FATHER, SON, &
 PARTNER, 1910. 382
 William S. Aldrich
 George R. Eckel
 Eckel and Aldrich Projects
 National Biscuit Company Factory
 Missouri State Capitol Competition
 St. Joseph News-Press Building
 St. Joseph City Hall
 The Last Years

17. CONCLUSION 419

APPENDIX

1. ECKEL'S ÉCOLE PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS . . .	559
2. ST. JOSEPH ARCHITECTS AND ASSOCIATED WORKS .	576
3. A COMPILED LIST OF ARCHITECTS AT WORK IN ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI, 1859-1939 . . .	583
4. ECKEL'S EMPLOYEES	587
5. CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF ECKEL BUILDINGS . . .	588
BIBLIOGRAPHY	619
VITA	661

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Introductory Statement

Architect E. J. Eckel (1845-1934) was born in Strasbourg and trained at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris (fig. 1-1). In 1868, he immigrated to the United States where he eventually settled in St. Joseph, Missouri, and was principal of highly successful architectural firms. His work is evident throughout St. Joseph and his firm occasionally designed buildings in major cities, such as the St. Louis City Hall. Eckel worked in this Missouri River city north of Kansas City as it was burgeoning with wealth. Its economic climate, largely derived from trade networks afforded by an ideal proximity to river and rail transportation, was ripe for the proliferation of Gilded-Age architecture manifest most in public buildings and in dwellings.

Eckel had important and interesting associates, including George Mann and William Aldrich (both formerly with McKim, Mead, and White) and draftsman Harvey Ellis. During this period, both the corporate firm and the atelier tradition emerged. This dissertation is a study of Eckel's academic training and professional life and the way he brought his architectural interpretation to the city of St. Joseph and other areas of the Midwest.

Statement of the Problem

Although E. J. Eckel was one of the most productive and

talented architects in Missouri, surprisingly little scholarship has been devoted to understanding his education, career, and designs. While the place where he practiced-- St. Joseph, Missouri--has been the subject of historical research, few studies have focused specifically on the city's architectural community. Eckel presents the opportunity to explore how an immigrant architect educated at the École des Beaux-Arts conducted his profession in midwest America shortly after the Civil War through the early twentieth century.

This study explores the thesis that Eckel, influenced by his education and experiences at the École des Beaux-Arts, managed his own practice in St. Joseph much like a French atelier, or studio, and through his career he and his firms contributed the designs for most of the outstanding buildings in the city. As the principal of his firms, he was involved in various aspects of the entire architectural process. He created designs of his own and supervised other designs prepared in his office by working closely with partners, draftsmen, and contractors to ensure that projects fulfilled his expectations. As a mentor and teacher, Eckel advanced the professional development of individuals who worked in his presence. As a practicing architect, he simultaneously shaped the built environment of St. Joseph through the construction of his firms' designs.

These ideas are tested by posing questions concerning

Eckel's chief responsibilities in his firms, the roles his partners played in design and construction, his participation in actual preparation of drawings and plans, his relationships with his clients and how those clients affected the types, sizes, and designs his firm produced, and Eckel's role as creative business manager, mentor, and designer and how that role affected the success of his firms.¹ In sum, the study examines how Eckel's influence extended to the design and construction of his firms' wide range of buildings and interprets the impact of his career on his chosen community.

Justification for Research

Eckel's architectural firms of St. Joseph designed numerous types and styles of buildings locally and throughout the country. An evaluation of Eckel's work, especially its concentration in St. Joseph, establishes his place in the history of American architecture. Such analysis assists in the understanding of architecture on the regional, national, and international levels. A study of the role of an academically-trained architect in a progressive late nineteenth-century midwestern town is helpful in many areas of knowledge. It establishes the

¹Appendix 5, Catalogue Raisonné of Eckel Buildings, is divided into categories based on building types or functions (for example, residences, shops and offices, factories and warehouses, etc.). See Nikolaus Pevsner's A History of Building Types (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976) for one approach to arranging buildings by their type.

extent and kind of relationships the architect maintained with clients and colleagues, especially during an era of economic growth. The research not only makes Eckel better known, but also adds to our understanding of the work of Harvey Ellis and others.

Many of Eckel's buildings survive without serious cause for worry, but others are threatened by abuse, neglect, and deterioration. This endeavor allows several buildings attributed to Eckel to be correctly linked to the architect, his partners, or reassigned as another's work. Remaining examples of Eckel's architecture can be photographically recorded before they are demolished. At least twenty-five of Eckel's buildings are included in the National Register of Historic Places; dozens more are potential candidates. With developed ideas about Eckel, city officials of St. Joseph may apply for competitive grant monies to prepare a thematic nomination of Eckel buildings for the National Register.

Review of Literature and Related Research

As the bibliography suggests, an assortment of primary and secondary materials in the form of brief biographies, newspaper accounts, articles from architectural journals and trade magazines highlight accounts of Eckel's life and work. In addition to these sources, scholarly books and essays, master's theses and doctoral dissertations, and published histories establish the tradition of the École des Beaux-

Arts and define the architectural context at the time Eckel practiced. These sources are discussed in greater detail under the methodology heading below.

Two important works which reveal the role of the École des Beaux-Arts in the education of aspiring architects are The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts, edited by Arthur Drexler (1977), and The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture, edited by Robin Middleton (1982). Richard Chafee, author of "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts," (pp. 61-109 in Drexler's book), has examined the school records of American students who attended the École as well as the French pupils who migrated to the United States. Among the documents he examined are those containing information about Eckel. Through personal correspondence and telephone conversations, the author Chafee has generously shared his notes and encouraged further research on this particular and noteworthy architect. In 1992, Chafee accepted an invitation to visit Missouri and deliver his thoughts on Eckel at two public lectures: one at the University of Missouri-Columbia campus, and one at Missouri Western State College, St. Joseph.

Dr. Dennis Domer, Associate Dean of the School of Architecture and Urban Design at the University of Kansas, discovered Eckel's presence in St. Joseph through the architect's extant buildings and has presented speeches to

local organizations like St. Joseph Preservation, Inc., and the St. Joseph Historical Society. His efforts have generated interest in Eckel and have stimulated controversies regarding the discrepancies between Eckel's work and that of his partners or employees.

Leonard K. Eaton's Gateway Cities and Other Essays (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989), includes a chapter on the warehouses of the city, "St. Joseph and the Western Trails." Like Chafee and Dömer, Professor Emeritus Eaton considers Eckel an excellent dissertation subject and has offered his suggestions through personal correspondence as well.

This dissertation, while incorporating the related research, goes beyond it to look broadly at Eckel and the multiple facets which affected his intellect: Strasbourg, his family, the École and ateliers, St. Joseph, clients, designs, other architects, and the period in which he lived.

Objectives

The scope of work encompasses the following six objectives:

1. To investigate Eckel's family life and childhood surroundings in Strasbourg;
2. To establish the importance of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, explain its organization, and present Eckel's educational background as a student of the institution;
3. To consider Eckel's motives as a young immigrant to

America through an evaluation of the state of the architectural profession in the United States and the architectural community in St. Joseph at the time of his arrival in 1869;

4. To identify buildings designed or influenced by Eckel during his early employment as a draftsman, and subsequently, the head of an architectural firm in Missouri;
5. To document Eckel's continued professional development in a growing midwestern town and to analyze his association with other professional architects, at a local and national scale, with emphasis on his relationships with partners and the designers of his own firm; and finally,
6. To conclude which factors influenced Eckel most and summarize how they caused him to respond architecturally, thereby establishing the significance of his career.

Research Methodology

A plethora of primary sources from Eckel's professional years have been organized into an archival collection at the office of the succeeding architectural firm, Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph. More than fifty boxes measuring 15 x 12 x 10.5" contain assorted drawings, specifications, correspondence, photographs, books, diaries, and receipts that offer information regarding Eckel's practice. The quantity and integrity of the material is impressive; some bundled documents regarding particular buildings appear untouched since the projects

were completed. Correspondence in Eckel's hand, copied by wet letterpress on tissue pages, is bound in chronological volumes. These volumes were eventually replaced with individual typewritten letters, usually filed by the addressee or author's name. The uninterrupted business correspondence begins with the first bound volume dated 1884-1893. The records continue beyond 1934, the year of Eckel's death. The variety of business records offer validity for identifying Eckel's work: clients are addressed in letters, their names are recorded within title blocks on drawings and among the first pages of specifications.

The Brunner collection offers the most extensive single group of primary records from Eckel's practice; however, the future accessibility and safety of these records is uncertain. Various institutions and individuals have expressed an interest in owning some or all of them (e.g., private collectors, manuscript collections at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, and the University of Kansas, Lawrence). Therefore, the contribution of these materials to the study of Eckel is timely because eventually they may be divided and moved from the firm's premises. Private collectors may deny permission to consult the records entirely, yet an institution may also restrict public use of the documents in order to process or care for the collection as a new acquisition.

The organization of primary materials at the office of Brunner and Brunner, initially conducted by Dr. Dennis Domer, University of Kansas, identified the nature of the collection. In turn, this dissertation has shed light on their significance and encouraged their preservation, although greater stabilization is in order until their future can be resolved. Two other Eckel collections formerly in the possession of individuals have been placed in archive and museum collections where they are available for scholarly research and exhibitions. The Edmond J. Eckel Architectural Records, a joint collection of the University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, contain student assignments from Eckel's days at the École des Beaux-Arts, 1865-1868. The Eckel collection at the Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph, complements these assignments with a colorful group comprised of more than 400 drawings and sketches created by Eckel from about 1857 to 1868, or age twelve to twenty-three. Stored and forgotten since George Eckel's death in 1959, the latter collection was discovered in a damp St. Joseph basement during the epoch "Flood of 1993" and donated to the museum in 1994.

Additional primary documents are available at various historical societies and archives. These include contemporaneous manuscripts, newspapers, census records, building permits, and city directories. These materials

furnish statistical and pertinent data about St. Joseph, its residents, architects, and architecture during Eckel's lifetime. Interviews with Eckel's descendants, relatives of his co-workers and clients, and contemporary users of his buildings provide additional information not available elsewhere. In 1989, Eckel's granddaughter Margaret Brown--the only surviving relative who personally knew Eckel--was interviewed just a few months before her death.

Primary documents are the "raw data" from which the study is nourished and are the basic and preferred materials for historical research. Secondary sources, created "after the fact," represent another's opinion or interpretation of a primary source. Yet, secondary sources are useful as they become examples of historical research, contribute knowledge to the field, guide fellow historians as they pursue related studies, and often lead investigators to additional references previously unknown or overlooked.

The basic biographical data regarding the architect's life and historical information about the places Eckel lived comprise the first parts of the research. Theoretical queries which involve testing ideas about Eckel and his influence on architecture and other architects are posed later, but create the crucial problems of the study and ultimately, the conclusions. Leland Roth's book, McKim, Mead & White, encompasses the theme of partnership-practice and includes familiar elements of the traditional art

historical monograph, including biography and artistic evolution. It serves as a model since the same components are addressed in this study.

Brunner's collection of business records helps to explain the interaction of the members of the Eckel office. There are several business correspondence books and numerous architectural drawings (perhaps 300 tubes, each containing multiple projects) available. With other recent studies of comparable, more familiar architects, such as Richard Morris Hunt, H. H. Richardson, or Charles F. McKim, it is possible to address these issues within a broader context and to look for national patterns. Published literature presents historical context for interpreting how Eckel fits into the scheme of the École des Beaux-Arts and how he differs from his contemporaries. Correspondence with scholars who share an interest in this topic is an ongoing activity that stimulates an exchange of information and new ideas.

To establish the Eckel catalogue raisonné, a computerized database has been developed. Many procedures help to identify and confirm buildings reputedly designed by Eckel's firm during his lifetime. Specifications and drawings at Brunner's generally name clients (but not always addresses), property owners occasionally have Eckel blueprints in their possession, and previously published articles on Eckel usually list some of his work. Although premature office figures credited nearly 900 buildings to

Eckel and his firm, nearly half of them were built after Eckel's death in 1934 and therefore are not included in the inventory.

Once attributed to Eckel or his firm, pre-1934 buildings are entered into a customized computer database. More than 425 Eckel buildings--a corpus including courthouses, schools, hospitals, churches, libraries, businesses, and residences--can be retrieved from the database and analyzed by date of construction, location, building type, and architectural style. The classifications Alan Gowans established for architectural styles and types of buildings in his book, Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression (1992), were consulted for the Eckel database. Gowan's system was originally created for the slide collection of the National Images of North American Living, Research and Archival Center, Washington, D.C.

The database program allows any combination of fields to be selected so the data can be manipulated numerous ways. For example, all the Missouri courthouses Eckel designed can be compiled and compared, all his churches built between 1880-1900 can be readily listed, or all the firm's Richardsonian Romanesque-inspired residences of St. Joseph can be featured. While the original catalogue raisonné is illustrated and contains historical background information, it exceeds 500 pages and remains in the author's possession.

Because various chapters of the dissertation focus on key buildings representative of the firm's work, entries for the dissertation's catalogue are reduced to a four-line entry containing client or project name, address, architect, and date of construction (see appendix 5).

One of the initial challenges of historical research is the location of relevant sources or the science of sources, known as heuristic.² Since historical research depends upon the analysis of evidence from the past, whether provided by written documents or original artifacts, the abundance of informative sources is crucial to the success of the study. In historical research, data and variables cannot be controlled as easily as in experimental research. Kerlinger comments on the distinguishing difference between historical studies and other academic pursuits in his book, Foundations of Behavioral Research:

Actually, the historical method, or historiography, differs from other scholarly activity only in its rather elusive subject matter, the past, and the peculiarly difficult interpretive task imposed by the elusive nature of its subject matter.³

Thus, what data that exist must be accepted in the form they are found. Fortunately, nearly one hundred and fifty years after his birth, an abundance of primary and secondary

²William Leo Lucey, History: Methods and Interpretation (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1958; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984), 22.

³Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, 2d ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), 701.

materials survive to support this study of E. J. Eckel and his architecture.

PART ONE

GENESIS OF AN ARCHITECT:

ECKEL'S YOUTH AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER 2

ECKEL'S CHILDHOOD IN STRASBOURG, 1845-1864

The Cultural Heritage of Strasbourg

Edmond Jacques Eckel was born at Strasbourg, a bilingual city on the border of northeastern France in the region of Alsace. Strasbourg has been both a French and German city for significant portions of its history. Influences of the two cultures are expressed in the architecture of the city which created a stimulating built environment as young Eckel's playground. The architect's formative years were shaped by his surroundings, his family life, and early education in Strasbourg.

Due to Strasbourg's strategic and often vulnerable location as a river port serving the Rhine and Ill Rivers, people of various cultures have occupied and influenced the development of the city. Strasbourg was part of a number of realms until 1262 when it became a free imperial city of the Holy Roman Empire. It remained independent for approximately four centuries until it was peacefully seized by France under Louis XIV in 1681.

The capital of the Alsace province, Strasbourg was governed by the French crown until 1871 when it was captured by Germany as a spoil of the Franco-Prussian War. Eckel was born and reared a French citizen, although his native Strasbourg was recognized as a German city by the time he reached his twenty-sixth birthday. France eventually

regained Strasbourg in 1918 after the first World War, but the city was occupied by German troops again for four years during the second World War. The political and military powers of the forces occupying Strasbourg influenced its physical development throughout its history, as remnants of the early city plan and surviving historic buildings demonstrate.

Roman Influence

The oldest part of the city, an island created by two arms of the Ill River, became an important site to the Romans who settled the area in 12 B.C.¹ In the Roman tradition, the city inherited an organized crisscrossing plan of roadways: the intersection of a cardo and decumanus.² Romans also utilized the numerous channels of the rivers surrounding and interrupting the city. Because Strasbourg was located at the junction where the Ill River meets the Rhine, it was significant as a ferry crossing point as well as a center of wagon traffic. Combined with its role in Roman times, and the completion of the town's first Rhine bridge in 1388, Strasbourg gained the reputation

¹Bernard Vogler, Strasbourg, 2000 Ans d'Histoire (Strasbourg), 1988, unpaginated. Hereafter cited Vogler.

²Pierre Lavedan, Les Villes Française (Paris: Vincent, Fread and C., 1960), 13. Hereafter cited Lavedan, Les Villes.

as a "crossroads city."³

The intersecting streets introduced by Romans in Strasbourg were the results of a rectilinear, or checkerboard, city plan.⁴ Although it was significantly altered after antiquity, a classical pattern helped guide its development in later years. At the west end of the island, four towers and remains of an ancient wall reveal methods of Roman town planning.⁵ The parallel and perpendicular characteristics of the streets within the town were outlined by the geometric qualities of the city walls. Argentoratum, as the city was known to the Romans, was quadrilateral in form and the location of its four sides are still visible in the contemporary city.

The lines of enclosure created by the ancient Roman camp remained the same in the third and fourth centuries. The two streets, Dôme and Hallebardes, continued to represent the primary axis.⁶

An Independent Republic

Strasbourg traces its early organization to the Romans, but the city's growth as a free republic in the Middle Ages

³Franklin Ford, Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 23. Hereafter cited Ford.

⁴Lavedan, Les Villes, 13.

⁵Bryan de Grineau, "Strasbourg Today and Medieval Strasbourg," Illustrated London News 214 (August 1949), 297.

⁶Lavedan, Les Villes, 32.

also affected its form. Increases in population called for the extension of city boundaries and the erection of new city walls. The first expansion took place about 720 A.D. and followed the bend of the Ill, taking in previously unclaimed land to the west and south of the oldest part of Strasbourg. By the first quarter of the thirteenth century and the second phase of expansion (1202-1220), the entire island was occupied.⁷

Strasbourg soon encircled itself with more waterways to "supplement the protective effect of its fortifications."⁸ Five additional periods of enlargement followed up to the seventeenth century.⁹ Strasbourg continued to extend itself in an organic, yet restricted manner like many other cities in medieval times. The city's form varied according to the conditions of the site, but remained surrounded by protective walls.¹⁰ The checkerboard plan was not lost, although it appeared subdued.

Strasbourg developed characteristics of the medieval town between 1220-1350. Although the plan continued to recognize its geometric heritage of rectilinear pattern,

⁷Georges Delahache, Les Villes d'Art Célèbres Strasbourg (Paris: Renouard, 1923), 5. Hereafter cited Delahache.

⁸Frederick Hiorns, Town-building in History (London: George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd, 1956), 128. Hereafter cited Hiorns.

⁹Delahache, 6.

¹⁰Hiorns, 124.

more emphasis was placed on the way the city related to human needs and the way the town adapted "to location, ground, conformation and other physical circumstances."¹¹

The central market square with the town hall and church, was of primary importance.¹² Strasbourg Cathedral, built in four distinct phases over a period of more than 250 years,¹³ was completed in 1439 and remains the architectural pride of the city (fig. 2-1). The cathedral and its remarkable spire of 465 feet helped earn the building a reputation as one of the wonders of the world, especially since it was the tallest structure completed during the Middle Ages.¹⁴ Near the end of the fourteenth century, Saint Martin Square (Gutenberg Square) evolved in front of the Cathedral and became the center of

¹¹Ibid., 121.

¹²Ibid., 124.

¹³According to Sir Banister Fletcher's A History of Architecture (London: Royal Institute of British Architects and the University of London, 1987, 19th ed., 460, 463) the east end of the cathedral was the first portion erected between 1176 and 1190. North and south transepts were added during the second quarter of the thirteenth century; the nave was built about twenty-five years later; and the west facade was started in 1277. The two towers were connected by a belfry between 1383 and 1388 which resulted in a solid block formation. The proportion of the Gothic cathedral was improved when the single north tower was enlarged in 1399. The spire was finished in 1439 and although plans were made for a corresponding south tower, one was never constructed. Hereafter cited Fletcher.

¹⁴Ibid.

administrative life for the republic.¹⁵ The cathedral has always been an important architectural monument for Strasbourg. It undoubtedly captured young Eckel's attention and perhaps inspired him to pursue an education in architecture.

Except for the outstanding Gothic cathedral, the city resembled many other towns of the period and had little impressive architecture. It featured the typical town hall complex, warehouses, towers, and medieval churches, but none of the buildings "distinguished the town from numerous others in the Empire."¹⁶

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Strasbourg achieved prominence as a center of humanism. Gutenberg's printing inventions, reformation activities, and the founding of a secondary school, enabled the city to reach an unprecedented high level of internal development.¹⁷ Like many cities in the region, growth was spontaneous but not entirely left to chance.¹⁸ As Josef Konvitz notes, "Until the eighteenth century, vernacular, utilitarian construction evolved satisfactorily along established lines, enabling cities to grow and change with

¹⁵Delahache, 61.

¹⁶Ford, 2.

¹⁷Vogler, n.p.

¹⁸Hiorns, 128.

little direction from architects and planners."¹⁹
Strasbourg did not have to wait for the eighteenth century to experience city designs created by professional engineers. At the end of the seventeenth century, Strasbourg lost her independence and soon reflected changes imposed by a new French government.

French Affiliation

France viewed Strasbourg as an essential military site necessary to "complete the ring of defense posts" and add to its power as a nation emerging from the Wars of Religion.²⁰ In addition, Strasbourg possessed the bridge across the Rhine, which provided the only link between the city and the Empire. Louis XIV intended to gain control of Strasbourg so France could patrol the ramparts and command the bridge.²¹

The city was terrified into submission and surrendered to France in September 1681, when a French army of 35,000 men invaded Strasbourg under the command of War Minister Louvois.²² Louis XIV lost no time in ensuring that the city would be transformed into a fortress and immediately appointed Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1717) to

¹⁹Josef Konvitz, The Urban Millennium (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern University Press, 1985), 40.

²⁰Denys Sutton, "Eighteenth Century Strasbourg: A Meeting Place of Two Cultures," Apollo, August 1971, 86. Hereafter cited Sutton.

²¹Ford, 58.

²²Ibid., and Sutton, 86-67.

execute a plan to fulfill the king's mission.²³

Vauban was a brilliant military engineer whose work "changed the aspect, and to some extent the internal planning, of between 100 and 150 towns and cities."²⁴ Upon his survey of military battalions at Strasbourg, Vauban identified the city's fortification weaknesses: a vulnerable gap where the Ill River flowed from the city, shallow moats, and unsubstantial walls. He proposed four ways to strengthen the city: construct a new citadel to the southeast between the city and the bridge to totally dominate both; create a new emplacement on another small island to deter any alternate crossing; expand the fort at Kehl; and, enlarge the blockhouse on the midstream island. Once Vauban's recommendations were followed, Strasbourg was practically impenetrable--a "gigantic porcupine."²⁵ Even Vauban considered Strasbourg, "the finest and most secure arsenal in Europe."²⁶

Vauban, like his fellow planners, applied many concepts learned from Vitruvius' De Architectura. Although written by the Roman architect and engineer during the first century, the book was read widely during the Renaissance, thus some of Vauban's extensions and rebuilding suggested

²³Hiorns, 196 and Sutton, 87.

²⁴Hiorns, 196.

²⁵Ford, 55-56.

²⁶Ibid., 63.

classical qualities of a previous age. Vitruvius advocated walled and fortified towns which were served by towers, gates and other forms of protection.²⁷ Vitruvius' main contribution to town planning was his original design for arranging internal roads in a radial-concentric pattern. Through this spatial organization, communication within the city (from the gates to the center and visa-versa) was facilitated and quickened.²⁸ Vauban adopted Vitruvius' radial-concentric principle, but altered it so the citadel at Strasbourg, which featured five bastions in pentagon fashion, combined with the city's standard grid pattern. Vauban's esplanade was linked to Strasbourg before 1690 which marked the last modifications to the exterior configuration of the city until 1870.²⁹

After Vauban, Jacques-Francois Blondel (1705-1774) was influential for improving Strasbourg's role as a military headquarters.³⁰ Blondel was a member of the Academie Royal d'Architecture, precursor of the École des Beaux-Arts, where he taught during the years 1762-1774. He was the author of Cours d'Architecture and Architecture Française, both published 1771-1777, and De la Distribution des Maisons de

²⁷Hiorns, 188, 196.

²⁸Ibid., 188.

²⁹Delahache, 22.

³⁰Pierre Lavedan, Histoire de l'Urbanisme Renaissance et Temps Modernes (Paris: Henri L'Aurens, 1959), 427. Hereafter cited Lavedan, Histoire.

Plaisance, 1737-1738.³¹ In 1764, he was assigned to upgrade the system of streets in the town and make them more accommodating for army troops under the authority of le Duc de Choiseul, Chief Minister to Louis XV.³² The plan focused on such works as the transformation of certain barracks and the construction of new ones, the expansion of the garrison, and widening and straightening of streets to ease the procession and movement of troops from the barracks to the Place d'Armes Square (Place Kleber).³³

Although the origin of the project was based on the importance of the army, Blondel also was put in charge of a plan to beautify the city. In his attempts to impose order and regularity on the city, he proposed to offer travelers en route from France to Germany, "une certaine quantité d'aspects intéressants et la décoration d'une certaine quantité de bâtiments d'importance."³⁴ In the eighteenth century, large cities throughout France found it fashionable and useful to feature grand squares and straight axes on a large scale.³⁵ Strasbourg was no exception and Blondel

³¹Sutton, 91.

³²Ibid., and Jean-Daneil Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture in the Eighteenth Century," trans. by Agnus Malcom, Apollo, August 1971, 138. Hereafter cited Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture."

³³Delahache, 115.

³⁴Lavedan, Les Villes, 53.

³⁵Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture," 138.

advocated the use of standardized town squares in Strasbourg in effort to "Versailliser the old Gothic city."³⁶

Blondel's project was approved by Louis XV in 1768,³⁷ but few of his plans were fully executed, or in the words of Lavedan, "Ce magnifique project est demeuré presque entièrement sur le papier."³⁸ Work had started on the Place d'Armes (Place Kleber) as well as the Aubette, a building designed for military use, when Choiseul was dismissed from his office in 1770 and banished to his property in Touraine.³⁹

The fulfillment of Blondel's plans would have caused several picturesque facades to be destroyed in order to make way for the new construction; it called "for nothing less than a demolition of 'old Strasbourg.'"⁴⁰ Blondel was aware that the historic fabric of the city was endangered and was concerned that Strasbourg would perhaps become "too regular, too uniform."⁴¹ Local officials of the city thought likewise and regarded Blondel's plans as too ambitious and too expensive. According to Lavedan, the 1789 records of the Tiers Etat de la ville Strasbourg reveals the

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Lavedan, Les Villes, 153.

³⁸Lavedan, Histoire, 428.

³⁹Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture," 138-139.

⁴⁰Ibid., 138.

⁴¹Ibid.

request for, "le plan du sieur Blondel soit exécuté, mais restreint aux simples principes d'alignement."⁴² Thus, besides the architect's drawings, the work at Place d'Armes (Place Kleber) is "le seul témoignage évident de l'activité de Blondel."⁴³

Up to 1681, most citizens of Strasbourg were German speaking. After the Reformation, the city was dominantly Lutheran by religion.⁴⁴ Once the town became governed by royal representatives of the Sun King, citizens gradually experienced numerous cultural transitions. Changes in architectural taste were slowly implemented and soon became more apparent.

With ties to Alsatian customs, buildings in Strasbourg exhibited many "Rhineland Renaissance" qualities (fig. 2-2). Typical characteristics include an arched entrance, square window frames situated flush against the wall, ground floor window frames usually grilled with bars, and a facade of almost always four stories. A hallmark of the style is a heavy cornice above the upper story. Most buildings like this are at least in part vernacular and portray characteristics of taste according to time and fashion.

⁴²Lavedan, Histoire, 428.

⁴³Jorg Garms, "Le Plan d'Urbanisme de Strasbourg Dressé par Jacques-François Blondel en 1764-1769," Cahiers Alsaciens d'Archeologie, d'Art et d'Histoire, 21 (1978): 109.

⁴⁴Ford, 90 and Sutton, 86.

Examples of these buildings are situated along the Ill and the old areas west of the cathedral.⁴⁵

Local materials such as red sandstone and flat tiles continued to be utilized and were customary at Strasbourg until the 1730s. Tall, steep-pitched roofs accented with dormer windows, although quite medieval in form, were commonly constructed in Strasbourg up to the early eighteenth century. The Hôpital Civil, designed by François Rudolphe Mollinger and built 1718-1724, illustrates these "old fashioned" features (fig. 2-3).⁴⁶

French styles arrived in the city upon the construction of Vauban's citadel, yet a preference for the familiar endured. Eventually, by the time of Louis XV's reign, "there appeared to be the city's first Louis XIV buildings."⁴⁷ An increasing number of aristocrats accustomed to court life in Paris began to make their homes in Strasbourg and desired to reside in buildings which reflected their rank. About 1720, the affluent patrons sought Parisian-trained architects to offer an option to the local tastes of Strasbourg. The Regence or French Regency style of Louis XV under Philippe d'Orleans (1715-1783) became popular in the city as a number of buildings erected

⁴⁵Ford, 200.

⁴⁶Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture," 132.

⁴⁷Ford, 200-201.

between 1730-1765 demonstrate.⁴⁸

Regency-inspired buildings usually involve a horseshoe plan with a courtyard on one side embellished by a garden or terrace. The opposite side generally features a monumental gateway visible from the street. Central blocks mounted by a pediment often occur on the facades while Mansart roofs with pavilions projecting at both ends are also characteristic of the Regency influence.⁴⁹ Stylistically, Regency follows the Louis XIV Baroque period and is generally regarded as the first phase of the Louis XIV Rococo period.⁵⁰

The Hôtel de Klinglin (1731-1736), known as the Prefecture today, portrays some of these design elements (fig. 2-4). The architect, Jean-Pierre Pflug, was Franconian and introduced unique qualities seen in his native land. Two unusual applications are wide, carved brackets placed under window frames, and simple, but continuous moldings on the dormer windows. The hotel shows German Rococo elements combined on an elegant French Regency facade.⁵¹

Perhaps the most majestic example of Regency

⁴⁸Ibid., and Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture," 134.

⁴⁹Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture," 135.

⁵⁰Philippa Lewis and Gillian Darley, Dictionary of Ornament (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 254.

⁵¹Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture," 136-137, and Ford, 202.

architecture in Strasbourg is the Palais des Rohan (planned 1727-28, erected 1731-35, and completed 1742) (fig. 2-5). Robert de Cotte, an architect of the King, designed the palace for Cardinal de Rohan-Soubise, the reputed bastard son of Louis XIV.⁵² Through Rohan's intentions to represent the French court in Alsace, the palace "stands as a bastion of sophisticated French taste--a visible and elegant symbol of French supremacy, politically as well as architecturally."⁵³

Another example, Joseph Massol's Hôtel de Hanau-Lichtenberg, or Hôtel de Ville, was built 1731-1738. A relationship may be observed with its facade and the Palais Rohan (fig. 2-6). The Hôtel was designed by de Cotte, but Massol, one of Cotte's pupils, executed the plans. The building displays Regency characteristics including a courtyard side and peristyle with a semicircular block at the center.⁵⁴

Although alterations to the city were imposed on people in Strasbourg in 1681 at the onset of French control, citizens seemed reluctant to adopt French styles of building as their own. They maintained their traditional and local

⁵²Jean-Daneil Ludmann, "Palace of the Bishops," trans. by Maria Fairweather, *Apollo*, August 1971, 96 and Jean Nirouet, *Strasbourg* (Rennes, France: Ouest-France, 1980), 27.

⁵³Sutton, 92.

⁵⁴Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture," 136.

architectural patterns until the mid-eighteenth century. The late Baroque style eventually found acceptance by the elite. It became a popular treatment for prestigious buildings associated with courtly life and several examples may be found in Strasbourg.

Strasbourg ultimately adopted French manners by the 1730s, but still retained elements of past cultural influences. Throughout the century preceding Eckel's birth, Strasbourg continued its development as a French city. Eckel may have witnessed the construction of two "modern" buildings in Strasbourg: the École de Santé Militaire in the Place de la Cathédrale, completed 1862, and the École de Médecine, completed 1866 (fig. 2-7).⁵⁵

Eckel's early awareness of architecture was based on the buildings he saw and occupied as a youth in his native Strasbourg. The home of his family for generations, the city provided the context and cultural framework for his formative ideas about architecture during his childhood and adolescent years.

Eckel's Family

Edmond was the youngest child and second son born to Philippe Jacques Eckel (1804-1852) and Louis Elizabeth Caroline Schweighaeuser (1815-1886) on 22 June 1845 (fig. 2-

⁵⁵Jean-Pierre Klein, et. al., Strasbourg: Panorama Monumental et Architectural des Origines à 1914 (Strasbourg: Contades, 1984), 316; and Richard Chafee's lecture, "The Strasbourg and Paris of E. J. Eckel," at the University of Missouri, 13 March 1992.

8). The couple's first four children were daughters: Caroline, Louisa, Albertine, and Valerie, followed by a son, Jules, and their last child, Edmond. With the exception of the second child, the Eckel children were born at two year intervals, from Caroline's birth in 1837 to Edmond's birth in 1845. His two oldest sisters died in childhood; Louisa Mélanie died at age ten in 1848 when E. J. was just three, while Caroline Elisa's death occurred sometime in the 1850s. Thus, Edmond and only three of his siblings survived childhood.⁵⁶

Eckel's family inherited a strong Strasbourgeois heritage, he being "a descendant of one of the oldest families of Strassburg [*sic*]."⁵⁷ Eckel's mother and father were natives of Strasbourg and their families were well known in Alsace. The Eckel family relocated to Alsace from Saxony about 1630, while his mother's family was "an old and prominent German family" of Strasbourg.⁵⁸ Both E. J.'s

⁵⁶Information regarding Eckel's family in Strasbourg derives from several primary French documents, including certificates, at Eckel's succeeding firm, Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, St. Joseph, Missouri. Hereafter cited Brunner archive collection.

⁵⁷W. P. Tracy, Men Who Make St. Joseph a City Worthwhile (St. Joseph, Missouri: Combe Printing Co., n.d., ca. 1920?), unpaginated. Hereafter cited Tracy.

⁵⁸Chris L. Rutt, History of Buchanan County and the City of St. Joseph and Representative Citizens, 1826-1904 (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1904), 717, hereafter cited Rutt, 1904; Chapman Brothers, Portrait and Biographical Record of Buchanan and Clinton Counties, Missouri (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1893), 195, hereafter cited Chapman Brothers.

father and maternal grandfather were involved in the manufacturing industry and each held prestigious positions in the area.⁵⁹

Eckel's handwritten affirmation titled, "My Profession of Faith and My Resolutions for the Day of My Confirmation," dated 5 April 1860, clearly supports his family's German and Protestant heritage. Eckel's three page composition of fluid German letters suggests an exercise in penmanship as well as philosophy. At age fifteen, Eckel contemplated the reverence of his confirmation, his relationship with God, and his many responsibilities:

With the Confirmation I shall start a new life, I will strive with all my might to be useful to my parents; so far they have clothed and fed me and have made it possible, through lots of instruction, that I am now capable to take care of my personal needs. I now shall apply this knowledge and these abilities towards my and my fellowman's well being and thus perform my duties as a son, citizen, and christian with diligence until death.⁶⁰

Eckel's father Philippe Jacques Eckel was born at Strasbourg in 1804 and earned a bachelor's degree from the

⁵⁹Rutt, 1904, 717; E. L. McDonald and W. J. King, History of Buchanan County and St. Joseph, Missouri (St. Joseph, Missouri: Midland Printing Co., 1915), 717, hereafter cited McDonald and King, 1915; National Cyclopedia of American Biography, vol. 41 (New York: James T. White and Co., 1956), 324, hereafter cited, National Cyclopedia of American Biography); and Chapman Brothers, 194.

⁶⁰E. J. Eckel Papers, Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph, Missouri, hereafter cited Albrecht-Kemper collection. Translated by Dr. Susanne Rinne, Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri; this portion is the last paragraph of Eckel's manuscript.

Université de France, Académie de Strasbourg, at age twenty-two. His diploma, presented by the faculty of Protestant Theology and dated 8 April 1826 provides supplemental data including the date of his birth, 23 November 1804 and the school he attended as a youth, l'École Ecclésiastique Protestante de Strasbourg. Philippe was awarded an additional certificate, written in Latin, two days after he received his diploma which testified completion of his seminary studies, but whether he worked in theology seems unlikely.

On 21 April 1831 at the age of twenty-seven, Philippe Eckel was notified of his appointment to a paid position at the Collège Royal Militaire through correspondence from the Minister of War at Paris. Although the correspondence discloses the salary of Eckel's new assignment, his teaching responsibilities are not revealed. Later correspondence from the military institute dated 4 March 1833 verifies Eckel's continued association with the school, and announces his promotion to the first class. Unfortunately, neither letter identifies Eckel's title nor describes his duties and it is uncertain how long he was associated with the Royal College.

Philippe married Caroline Schweighaeuser on 16 July 1836. He was thirty-two and his bride, twenty-one. Caroline, like Philippe, also was a native of Strasbourg. Her father, Jean Michel Schweighaeuser, was involved in one

of the manufacturing enterprises in Strasbourg and may have introduced his son-in-law to the business.⁶¹ Active in community affairs, Schweighaesuer was appointed city Police Commissioner by the Mayor of Strasbourg in 1833--a post he held for nearly twenty years. The Schweighaesuers also were Protestants and Caroline had at least three cousins on her father's side who were Protestant pastors.

Philippe Eckel died 5 July 1852,⁶² less than two weeks following Edmond's seventh birthday, leaving the responsibility of rearing two daughters and two sons to his widow, Caroline. The Eckel family's source of income after Philippe's death presents questions. Since women were not customarily employed during the era, Caroline probably did not work outside the home. She may have considered it unnecessary to secure a new family provider; little evidence suggests she ever remarried.⁶³

E. J. Eckel's family records provide scant information about his father's genealogy, however his mother's side, the Schweighaeuser family, is documented, including the

⁶¹This manufacturing business has not been identified. According to E. J. Eckel's birth certificate, his father was a manufacturer of children's toys in 1845 (Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁶²Tracy, n.p.

⁶³Her obituary in the St. Joseph Gazette, 8 December 1886, states that Mrs. Louisa Elizabeth Eckel died Monday, 6 December, and mentions that her husband, Philip [sic] Jacques Eckel, died in 1852.

occupations of Caroline's paternal uncles.⁶⁴ Caroline's father, Jean Michel Schweighaeuser (1781-1855), named after his father, married Sophie Caroline Endlich (1782-1861) in 1802. The couple had two children, but the first child, George Michel died at ten months, thus Caroline, born 1815, became an only child. Caroline's parents probably offered financial assistance to their widowed daughter, although they too died within the decade following her husband Philippe's death.

It is difficult to determine the social and economic status of Eckel's family and the quality of his childhood without more information. Caroline could have been heir to her husband's and parents' assets, but she could have inherited their debts as well. Nevertheless, Schweighaeuser relatives might have contributed to the well-being of Caroline Eckel and her young children. They lived in the region, were gainfully employed if not in business for themselves, and were familiar with the immediate needs of children since most were parents themselves.⁶⁵

⁶⁴Their occupations varied: two uncles were merchants, one a brewer, and another a saddler. Caroline's uncles were uncles by marriage since her father was the only son in his family (Brunner archive collection).

⁶⁵During an interview with E. J. Eckel's granddaughter, Margaret Agnew Brown, on 26 October 1989, she commented that the Eckel family had known prosperous times in Strasbourg. Although she could not remember the circumstances, Mrs. Brown stated that E. J.'s parents, "were wealthy people at that time, . . .but then they lost everything." Mrs. Brown did not know why the family was forced to surrender its holdings, but it was probably related to the family business

Caroline's maternal and paternal families, the Endlich and Schweighaeuser families, were linked by two marriages which further strengthened the family ties. Besides the marriage between Caroline's parents Sophie Endlich and Jean Michel Schweighaeuser, a second marriage involved the two families. Caroline's aunt (and Sophie's sister) Marie Madeline Endlich, married F. Pfeffinger, but she died shortly after the union. Her widower Pfeffinger then married into the Schweighaeuser family when he wed Jean's twin sister, Louise Schweighaeuser. Pfeffinger remained an uncle to the Eckel children, first through their mother, then on their father's side.

Sophie's only other sibling, Marguerite, died at age nineteen and both her parents were deceased by 1828, which made Sophie and her children the only descendants of the Endlich family. Thus Edmond's relatives from his mother's paternal family, the Schweighaeuser family, probably shared in his upbringing since most members of the Endlich family had died. The lack of documentation among the Eckel family papers concerning Philippe Eckel's parents (not even their names are recorded) suggests the Eckel family may not have

since she vaguely recalled "employees" were involved. She remembered visiting Eckel's childhood home in Strasbourg at age twenty-three when she accompanied her grandfather on a trip to Europe in 1927. She was impressed with the family's former home, but especially liked the beautiful gardens. Further investigation would determine if this was the house of Eckel's parents or maternal grandparents, or perhaps one in the same.

been as involved with Edmond's childhood as the Schweighaeuser family. Yet surprisingly, E. J.'s biographies reveal that his father's relative, not his mother's, helped the young man cultivate an appreciation for the building trades.

Eckel's First Interests in Architecture

Eckel attended the Gymnase Protestant, Strasbourg,⁶⁶ a protestant school which stressed languages, mathematics, science, history, and religion in its curriculum.⁶⁷ Watercolor drawings of three-dimensional geometric forms made by Eckel at age twelve and dated 1857 suggest that he developed an early interest in mechanical drawing.⁶⁸ Eckel began his informal study of architecture two years later under the supervision of his father's relative, a building contractor in Strasbourg.⁶⁹ Through this association, Eckel was involved in the "practical part of construction"

⁶⁶National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 324; and "E. J. Eckel, Noted Architect, Dead," St. Joseph Gazette, 13 December 1934, hereafter cited, "E. J. Eckel, Noted Architect."

⁶⁷Dennis Domer, "The French Connection: E. J. Eckel and Harvey Ellis in St. Joseph, Missouri," (A speech delivered to the St. Joseph Historical Society on 9 August 1987 and printed by St. Joseph Historical Society). Hereafter cited, Domer, "French Connection."

⁶⁸Brunner archive collection.

⁶⁹"Contemporary Architects and Their Works: E. J. Eckel, F.A.I.A.," Western Architect (September 1911), 81, hereafter cited "Contemporary Architects," 1911; Rutt, 1904, 717.

for about three years.⁷⁰ His experiences were furthered enriched as a teenager who worked under the city architect.⁷¹ One of Eckel's first architecture projects in conjunction with the city may have been a primary school (fig. 2-9). The undated site plan he prepared reveals a symmetrical school with a center vestibule and classrooms on either side. The proposed school is situated at a town square, "sur la place de la rue des tannerus," and despite its uniform plan, the jagged and irregular streets that surround it convey the medieval past of Strasbourg's urban landscape.

Eckel's drawings indicate he continued to experiment with architectural projects during this period, some which he labeled in German. Although most are undated, three drawings bear dates. At age fourteen, Eckel rendered his version of the tomb of Francois I (fig. 2-10) and represented a cathedral interior through a cross section drawing that he signed and dated 1 December 1859 (fig. 2-11). The following year he completed a construction project for a guardroom on 3 July 1860. He probably remained at his entry-level posts in the city improving his skills until he was ready to apply for admission to the world's most famed school of architecture, the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 324; "E. J. Eckel, Noted Architect."

While there were other schools of architecture that Eckel could have attended, the École was second to none. To the French, there were few institutions to consider when it came to pursuing an education in architecture. Besides being on foreign soil, other architectural schools were younger than the École, founded 1671. In his book, A History of Architecture, Sir Banister Fletcher comments:

From 1819 architectural training of an academic nature was provided by the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and in due course there were similar facilities in the academies of Fine Arts in Copenhagen and Vienna, at the Architectural Academy in Berlin, and elsewhere.⁷²

Likewise, in a special Beaux-Arts edition of the Architectural Record, Eugene Muntz explains that the École was considered the oldest and most respected school of its kind north of the Alps:

Although the Academy of Florence has been in operation since the sixteenth century (1562), both as an institution for the consecration of talent and as a teaching establishment, the Academy of Fine Arts at Berlin only sprang into existence in 1703 (its earliest heads were Frenchmen--first Antoine Pesne and then N. B. Lesueur), and the Academy at St. Petersburg in 1757. The Royal Academy of London is of still more recent origin, as it only dates back to 1766.⁷³

Weatherhead does not acknowledge England's eighteenth century date, but regards 1894 as a more accurate year: "The pupilage method of architectural training was almost universal in England until 1894, when the first professional

⁷²Fletcher, 835.

⁷³Eugene Muntz, special Beaux-Arts edition of the Architectural Record (January 1901), 2-3.

school of architecture was organized at the University of Liverpool."⁷⁴

Although two additional schools in Paris--the École Polytechnique and the École Centrale des Arts et Manufactures--offered instruction in architecture, the former admitted only French students. The École Centrale attracted some foreign students, like William Le Baron Jenney of the United States and Theodore Link of Germany, who studied architecture through the school's division of civil engineering. Professor Osmund Overby discusses the schools:

Students learned that planning and design were closely integrated with structure and construction. It [École centrale] was a much more practical training than what was given at the institution where architects normally trained in Paris, the École des beaux-arts. From 1846 when Richard Morris Hunt was admitted to the École des beaux-arts--the first American to study there--it had been the first choice for young Americans aspiring to careers in architecture.⁷⁵

⁷⁴Arthur Clason Weatherhead, "The History of Collegiate Education in Architecture in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1941), 21, hereafter cited Weatherhead. Weatherhead relied on the Prospectus of the School of Architecture, University of Liverpool Session, 1928-29, 5, for his data. For further discussion on the "Development of [Architectural] Education in Europe," see that section in Turpin Bannister's Evolution and Achievement: The Architect at Mid-Century (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1954), 82-93, hereafter cited Bannister.

⁷⁵Osmund Overby, "A Place Called Union Station: An Architectural History of St. Louis Union Station," St. Louis Union Station: A Place for People, A Place for Trains (St. Louis: St. Louis Mercantile Library, 1994), 66, hereafter cited Overby, "A Place Called Union Station." For more on the École Centrale and Jenney's studies there, see Theodore Turak, "The École Centrale and Modern Architecture: The

James Murray Howard evaluates the quality of education afforded by the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, in his dissertation, "Richard Morris Hunt: The Development of His Stylistic Attitudes." Howard writes, "From 1846 until 1853, he [Hunt] acquired a formal education that could not be equalled by any other institution of higher learning in the world.⁷⁶ Thus, not only was the École des Beaux-Arts the logical choice for an aspiring French architect like Eckel during the 1860s, but often the preferred school of aspiring architects world-wide.

Education of William Le Baron Jenney, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 29 (March 1970), 40-47.

⁷⁶James Murray Howard, "Richard Morris Hunt: The Development of His Stylistic Attitudes," (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1982), 55.

CHAPTER 3

ÉCOLE DES BEAUX-ARTS

Origin and Architectural Theory of the École

The history of the École can be traced to the Royal Academy of Architecture, founded in 1671, by Jean-Baptiste Colbert. The school was transformed between 1793 and 1819 when the French monarchy was restored and the royal schools were restructured. The institution was reorganized in 1819 as the École des Beaux-Arts when it adopted a new classicist attitude to architecture, drawing from Italian and French Renaissance sources, which endured until its closing in 1968.¹ Due to the significance of seventeenth century Italy on French art, architectural design theory at the École des Beaux-Arts was destined to reflect principles of the Renaissance. France is credited as the first country to adopt the art of antiquity and Italian Renaissance art as the fundamental base for teaching the fine arts.²

In the seventeenth and early to mid-eighteenth centuries, Roman art with its classic abstract forms, was the source of inspiration for École students and teachers.

¹Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts" in The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts, Arthur Drexler, ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 61, hereafter cited Chafee, "Teaching," 1977; and Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, American Architecture, 1607-1976 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1981), 268, hereafter cited Whiffen and Koeper, 1981.

²Translated from Paul Landowski, "Du Timbre a La Seine," in L'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Paris: La Grande Masse, 1937), 23.

Paul Cret theorized, "If the trip to Rome was not a prerequisite for election to the academy, that did not alter their belief that Roman art was the highest and final expression of architectural truth."³ By the second half of the eighteenth century, a new trend evolved in the expression of Neoclassicism and marked an early example of Romanticism in architecture:

While a group of architects . . . carried on the French tradition of measure and restraint, free from servile imitation and therefore in constant evolution, the neo-classic reformers in their flight to an imaginary antiquity were far more slavishly archaeological while aiming romantically at force, at the colossal, and at a simplification of forms which ignore the needs of their contemporary civilization. It is pure Romanticism, an escape from the surrounding world.⁴

No matter what the influence, direct copying was taboo at all times and scholarly eclecticism was recommended. However by 1830, a handful of architects who had been awarded the highest student honor at the École--the Grand Prix de Rome--challenged the historic precedents with new ideas. They advocated that materials, such as iron, be used more freely for architectural applications, and they also introduced innovative decorative forms to a limited design vocabulary. These "modernistic" measures were acclaimed in new buildings of the period, like the Bibliothèque Ste.

³Paul Cret, "The École des Beaux-Arts and Architectural Education," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 1 (April 1941), 7. Hereafter cited Cret, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.

⁴Ibid, 9.

Genevieve (1838-1850), but the movement was too slow to change the conservative nature of the old institution. These initial efforts were transformed into the Néo-Grec style among followers from 1850 to the 1880s.⁵ By the mid-nineteenth century, Viollet-le-Duc supported a second form of Romanticism, the Gothic Revival, but his efforts failed and the school returned to its classical roots and ideals.

Students of the École were urged to reason logically and learn from ancient examples. Their exercises in architectural drawing emphasized spatial arrangement through careful planning. According to Alexis Lemaistre, author of L'École des Beaux-Arts, architectural students at the École manipulated three particular forms: the plan, section, and elevation. Each had its purpose, but all three were essential for beauty. The plan expressed the convenience of the building, the section revealed solidity, while the elevation suggested elegance or nobility.⁶

Of all these, the plan was primary. Students learned early in their professional development that the plan revealed the solution to the architectural problem at hand. The French used the term parti to distinguish the scheme or basic concept of the design. An architect's response to specific architectural requirements was generally addressed

⁵Ibid., 10.

⁶Alexis Lemaistre, L'École des Beaux Arts (Paris: Librairie Fermin, 1889), 161. Hereafter cited Lemaistre.

and evaluated through analysis of the plan:

As the parti is most clearly shown on the plan, the plan becomes the chief consideration, and upon it is lavished by far the greatest study and care. For the same reason the plan is the chief consideration of the jury; it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that in making awards the plan counts for nine points out of ten.⁷

The plan readily demonstrated the "fitness of a building to its uses," and was essential to good design at the École.⁸ Facades, or elevations, were secondary to plans since they were created only once the parti unfolded. Architectural character was also stressed in the parti, because buildings were expected to portray an appropriate association with the function they were intended to fulfill.⁹

Admission and Ateliers

Anyone between the ages of fifteen and thirty who could pass the entrance examinations was eligible to attend the École.¹⁰ There was no charge for tuition and although enrollment was limited, it was not restricted to those of French birth. There were four main categories at the École: aspirants, students of the Second Class, students of the

⁷Ernest Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part III," Architectural Record 4 (July-September 1894), 40.

⁸Cret, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 12.

⁹Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 97.

¹⁰Correction: Almost anyone could attend the École. Eugene Muntz recalls the institution was not open to women until they were permitted to take the admission exam for the first time on 29 June 1896. See the special Beaux-Arts number of the Architectural Record, January 1901, 14.

First Class, and competitors for the Grand Prix de Rome.¹¹

To become a pupil of the École, the usual course of action was to seek a studio where students practiced and improved their design techniques. Ateliers, or studios, fulfilled a vital role in the course of a student's development since the school's instruction of design was based on lectures and competitions. Because most of the student work required for the École was done outside of classes, the architectural studios and the drafting opportunities they provided were fundamental to an architect's education. Ateliers were as essential to the École as they were to the students. One author, Emmanuel Pontremoli, rationalized:

To understand the École, its greatness, and life, it is necessary to understand the atelier; to know its special value, originality, it gives to our higher education of art, one must know that the École exists only through the ateliers, by the masters who direct them and who answer to the expressive term of 'patron.'¹²

¹¹Richard Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 82. Perhaps no American scholar has studied student records of the École des Beaux-Arts more thoroughly than Richard Chafee. During the 1970s, Chafee recorded information from the dossiers of the American students who attended the École as well as the French pupils who immigrated to the United States. Chafee initially examined École records housed at the school, and later, at the Archives Nationales where they were transferred in 1975. He completed his dissertation, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts and Its Influence in Britain and America" (London: Courtauld Institute of Art) in 1983. I am indebted to him for his numerous contributions to this study on Eckel.

¹²Translated from Emmanuel Pontremoli, "L'École Actuelle," in L'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (Paris: La Grande Masse, 1937), 13. Hereafter cited

The majority, fifteen to twenty ateliers, were privately operated (ateliers privés), but eventually a few ateliers were established by the school.¹³

The first ateliers were outside the school and organized by the students themselves who rented the spaces. They invited a distinguished architect to supervise their work as their appointed chief or master (maître), also called the patron,¹⁴ but not professor.¹⁵ To John Mead Howells (1868-1959), an American student of the École, ateliers materialized when:

a working association of students, got together to do the school work, and criticized and directed by an architect of high standing invited to the position of patron by the students, except in the case of the 'school' ateliers, when he is nominated by the administration of the school.¹⁶

The ateliers were for teaching; they were not architectural offices, unless there was only one student who

Pontremoli.

¹³Ernest Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part I," Architectural Record 3, (January 1884), 306.

¹⁴Arthur Drexler, ed., The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 9. Hereafter cited Drexler.

¹⁵The title professor was reserved for professionals who taught courses at the École, such as "le professeur d'anatomie, d'histoire, de perspective, etc." Students typically developed closer relationships with their patrons from the beginning. While patrons were chosen, professors were not, as explained by Lemaistre in his book, l'École des Beaux-Arts, 39.

¹⁶John Mead Howells, "From 'Nouveau' to 'Ancien' at the École des Beaux-Arts," Architectural Record (Special Beaux-Arts Number, January 1901), 37. Hereafter cited Howells.

also might be the architect's employee.¹⁷ Eckel selected the atelier Paccard,¹⁸ one of the three ateliers officiels or ateliers intérieurs established at the school in 1863. Previously, all ateliers were independent; they were organized and funded by students. The new ateliers officiels--Alexis Paccard, Simon-Claude Constant-Dufeux, and Jean-Charles Laisné--were directly affiliated with the École.¹⁹ They were physically situated on the École grounds,²⁰ financially supported by the École, and the patrons were appointed by the government. They embodied the École's "three main schools of architectural thought--classical, Néo-Grec, and Gothic."²¹

Although each student had the privilege to select his own atelier, there were formalities which enabled the patron to mutually accept the student as well. Lemaistre described the general procedures that students followed to become associated with ateliers and patrons at the École. First, upon individually selecting the atelier or patron which best suited him, the student asked someone to introduce him to

¹⁷Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 89.

¹⁸"Contemporary Architects," 1911, 81; and "Architect Edmond Jacques Eckel Seventy Years Old," Western Contractor 27 (30 June 1915), 9. Hereafter cited Western Contractor, 1915.

¹⁹Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 102.

²⁰Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part I," 306; Howells, 54.

²¹Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 102-103.

the patron. If a student did not have a direct connection to the patron or special recommendation, he presented himself through examples of his work and could be received just as favorably. This was a relatively painless process, unless the aspirant's work was severely insufficient or if there were numerous students who already filled the atelier. The compassionate patron remembered his own student experience and always considered the aspirant's potential for improvement, thus a candidate's entry into his chosen atelier was rarely denied.²²

With free choice involved, one wonders why Eckel joined the atelier Paccard. There were several ateliers to consider unless Eckel desired to study at a new official atelier, which limited his choice to three. Because the ateliers officiels were sponsored by the school and required no fees from students, they were referred to as the free ateliers also. For this reason, the ateliers officiels were economical for students. Perhaps Eckel regarded this a distinct advantage since money kept in his pockets could be spent on sight-seeing excursions or art history books, both important supplements to his education as an architect.

Finances may have been only one advantage Eckel considered before choosing Paccard's atelier. According to the Western Architect, Eckel became associated with the École in 1863--the same year the official ateliers were

²²LeMaistre, 27-28.

established. This date would have marked a first for Eckel as it did for the new ateliers and the government-appointed patrons. The young architect might have been comforted by this common characteristic or perhaps thought it expressed a certain significant or memorable historical quality. However, a document signed by Paccard and dated 15 August 1866 suggests Eckel did not join this atelier until 1865.²³ Nevertheless, the three ateliers officiels, including Paccard's, soon became the principal ateliers and remained dominant until 1890.²⁴

²³In his letter lacking a salutation, A. Paccard attested that Eckel "entered the atelier that I instruct at the École des Beaux-Arts" in 1865. Translated from the French document in the Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection.

²⁴Donald Drew Egbert, author of The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), claims that the three official ateliers were most powerful up to the last decade of the nineteenth century when "Victor Laloux (1850-1937), Grand Prix of 1878, was asked by a group of students to become their patron. He thereupon opened his own atelier, which was destined to be the most prominent of what after 1863 were called ateliers extérieurs or ateliers libres because of their independence in having a patron freely selected by the students (28)"; hereafter cited Egbert. During a telephone conversation with Richard Chafee on 13 September 1992, he explained that although the distinction between official and independent ateliers was first made in 1863 with the creation of the three interior ateliers, that traditionally, students were always allowed to choose the atelier of their choice, whether it be inside or outside the school. Information from Weatherhead supports that while the three official ateliers were established when the École was reorganized, that "other independent ateliers also began to spring up at this time under famous architects as patrons, largely as a result of the antagonism toward the non-classic, functional teachings of Viollet-le-Duc, who was then the director, and the revision in methods that he

Furthermore, Eckel might have selected his atelier based on the patron or the other students. Howells attributed, "either the student judges from the work as shown at the monthly expositions, or he simply goes in where he has friends."²⁵ Howard considered the selection of an atelier of critical importance and advised the student to select "the master with whose personality, talent and method he feels himself to be most in sympathy."²⁶ Most patrons visited their respective ateliers to advise students only about two or three times a week, yet had extraordinary influence on pupils who unquestioningly accepted the patron's words as the last.²⁷

In respect and admiration for the revered leader, a solemn hush would fall over the otherwise noisy atelier when he appeared. As customary, the patron would pass from one student to another, his criticism being that and rarely complimentary. As harsh as his comments may be, even to the most advanced students, all acknowledged the superiority of

attempted to effect." Independent ateliers were not new as Weatherhead attests, "The first independent atelier was organized in 1750 by Jean Francois Blondel." See Weatherhead, 16.

²⁵Howells, 45.

²⁶John Galen Howard, "The Spirit of Design at the École des Beaux-Arts," Architectural Review [Boston] 5 (5 April 1898), 27. Hereafter cited Howard, "The Spirit of Design."

²⁷Walter Cook, "The Story of Design at the École des Beaux-Arts," Architectural Record (Special Beaux-Arts Number, January 1901), 60.

the grandmaster for, "From the original conception to the finishing stroke of the rendu, the patron stands unrivaled."²⁸ Thus, the atelier was as much an institution as the École, but usually more personal. Howard's words expressed the intimate relation between students and their chosen patrons: "The loving trust which springs up between patron and pupil is a thing very fine and rare, worthy to be treasured all a life."²⁹ Pontremoli explained the role of a patron at the atelier:

the ateliers are [places] devoted for direct work, under the eye of the patron, who knows each student, observes him, corrects him, and advises him; the student's confidence reflects the value of the patron and his council which he lavishes on him as a guide and a friend.³⁰

Patrons most sought were typically former recipients of the Grand Prix de Rome and probably government architects, as well as highly respected professionals engaged in active practice.³¹ Paccard was awarded the Grand Prix while a

²⁸Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part III," 42.

²⁹Howard, "The Spirit of Design," 27.

³⁰Pontremoli, 14.

³¹Patrons with reputations as teachers were in high demand, but any architect could be a patron if just one student sought him. The outside ateliers were not "approved" by the École, nor were they regulated. Paul Cret remarked on this liberal characteristic of the École in his article, "The École des Beaux-Arts: What Its Architectural Teaching Means," Architectural Record 23 (May 1908): "The right to teach is the right of every one at the École-- provided, only, he can obtain a sufficient number of followers. And he may teach what he pleases. A newcomer may open an atelier to teach Oceanian or Romanesque, or be a fanatic in Art Nouveau or Tudor--the École does not object.

pupil of the "old-fashioned classicist Lebas"³² for an Ambassador's Palace design in 1841.³³

Once in an atelier, a "would-be student" of architecture was allowed to enroll in the École on the list of aspirants a l'École des Beaux-Arts or those aspiring to be students of the École. The atelier created a setting for camaraderie and personal growth; masters offered their guidance and students shared their education. In order to be admitted to the school officially, aspirants were required to pass the entrance examinations. They were encouraged to participate in activities at the atelier, use the school's library, attend lectures, and sketch casts grouped in the institution's collection.³⁴ Study booklets further helped aspirants anticipate questions and prepare for the approaching examinations.³⁵

Admission exams were originally given once a year; after 1865 they were given semiannually.³⁶ They were both

His pupils have selected him, and are following him because they want him, and only so long as they want him (367)."

³²Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 102.

³³Egbert, 182.

³⁴Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 82 and 89.

³⁵One of Eckel's study guides, "Programme d'Histoire Générale et de Mathématiques" survives in the Albrecht-Kemper archive collection.

³⁶Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 82. One reason exams were changed from annual to semi-annual events was because more students desired to attend the École, thus they could apply more frequently. Chafee estimates that approximately

written and oral, designed to measure a student's understanding of mathematics, descriptive geometry, history, and also his drawing ability, and architectural design potential. The first three segments of the exam--les admissibles--tested an aspirant's artistic faculties. The applicant was allowed twelve hours to complete the first of the three admissibles, the architectural sketch. This portion of the exam was followed by modeling clay and drawing from casts, each lasting up to eight hours. If the student was successful at passing these sections he proceeded to the next tests, if not, he was ineligible from taking the others until the exams were offered again.³⁷

In his Autobiography of an Idea, Louis Sullivan (1856-1924) reflected on his oral examination at the École. During his exams in 1874, it took one and one-half hours "of constant talking" for him to answer three questions on the

thirty-seven students were admitted to the École in the 1820s, but by the 1890s almost 100 were accepted. To further illustrate the increase in students who attended the institution, Chafee provides more specific figures on page six: "In the Section d'Architecture in the school year 1851-52, there were 281 enrolled. In 1890-91, there were 606. In 1906-07, there were 950."

³⁷Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part I," 306 and John Galen Howard, "The Paris Training," Architectural Review [Boston] 5 (January 20, 1898), 4, hereafter cited Howard, "Paris Training." Howells ("From 'Nouveau' to 'Ancien,'") refers to the first parts of the exam as "eliminary," since "only those retained can follow out the examinations (39)."

history portion of the test.³⁸ The exams were competitive, difficult, and disliked by many, but fortunately an aspirant could take the exams until he passed or reached his thirtieth birthday.³⁹

Another American architect, Ernest Flagg (1857-1947), recounted the outcome of his examination, "Having successfully passed the examination . . . I find my name posted along with twenty-nine others, all that remain of the army of nearly three hundred."⁴⁰ It is estimated that approximately one-eighth (or sixty to eighty) of the 500 to 600 aspirants who applied to the École each year were accepted.⁴¹ Only a few students passed the exams, therefore merely gaining admittance into the school was a great honor. Although students occasionally worked part-time in their chosen field, being a pupil of the École was

³⁸Sullivan justified the École's demanding admission requirements through recollection of what his examining professor told him in 1874 immediately after he was accepted to the school: "The object of these examinations is not to ascertain an array of facts devoid of shaping context, but to discern the degree of intelligence possessed by the candidate; to ascertain his capacity for interpretation, and if he possess, to any perceptible degree, the faculty of constructive imagination--without which the pursuit of history is merely so much wasted time." See Sullivan's The Autobiography of an Idea (New York?: American Institute of Architects, 1924; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 219-233 for more information about his preparation for the admission exams at the École.

³⁹Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 82.

⁴⁰Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part I," 312.

⁴¹Bannister, 87.

more prestigious.⁴²

The examinations were challenging for foreign and native applicants alike; in fact, "most Frenchmen needed about two years of preparation to get into the school."⁴³ Eckel was no exception and also needed time to study for a position at the school.⁴⁴ Because the date Eckel became affiliated with Paccard's atelier is somewhat uncertain, his tenure as an aspirant may range from one to three years.⁴⁵ According to Chafee's research notes, Eckel attempted the entrance examinations in the fall of 1865, however he was not admitted to the Second Class until 24 April 1866.⁴⁶ An

⁴²Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 85.

⁴³Ibid., 82.

⁴⁴Among the things Eckel kept from his school days at the École was a study guide titled, Questionnaire des sciences pour l'admission en seconde classe, published by Imprimerie Impériale, March 1865. The booklet emphasizes arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and descriptive geometry and its worn, soiled condition indicates that Eckel took his studies seriously. The study guide is preserved in the "Edmond J. Eckel, Architectural Records" collection, Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, hereafter cited Western Historical Manuscript Collection.

⁴⁵According to page 81 of the "Contemporary Architects" article in the Western Architect, Eckel entered the Atelier Paccard in 1863, yet Paccard's signed statement supports the year 1865.

⁴⁶David de Penanrun, Les architectes élèves de l'École des Beaux-Arts (Paris: Imprimerie Chaix, 1895), 15 provides the date Eckel officially was accepted to the École. Hereafter cited de Penanrun. Richard Chafee confirmed the admission date based on primary records at the École, but in his speech, "The Strasbourg and Paris of E. J. Eckel" he noted that Eckel tried to get in the school in autumn 1865,

aspirant was admitted to the Second Class after passing the entrance examinations and only then was permitted to call himself an élève de l'École des Beaux-Arts, a student of the École des Beaux-Arts.⁴⁷ Eckel was the school's 2358th student.⁴⁸ Even after admittance to the Second Class was earned, students of the École usually continued to work in their respective ateliers until they left the academy.

Within the ateliers, there were two classifications of students: the nouveaux and the anciens. Aspirants, as newcomers, were in the first classification, while anciens had worked in the atelier a few years and were enrolled in the school. Lemaistre defined nouveaux as those who had not rendered four projects or obtained two mentions, a process that sometimes required two or three years.⁴⁹ New members were customarily welcomed to the atelier by initiation pranks or honored traditions, like repeating the atelier

but did not succeed until the following spring. In correspondence to George Ehrlich, 24 September 1987, Chafee explained that student records from the École are bound in large volumes titled, École des Beaux-Arts élèves d'architecture présences antérieures au 31 décembre 1895. Eckel's record is in vol. XII of the series, catalogued vol. AJ-52-364 at the Archives Nationales.

⁴⁷Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 82.

⁴⁸de Penanrun, 15 and correspondence from Richard Chafee to George Ehrlich, 24 September 1987, 2. Chafee cited E. Delaire's Les Architectes élèves de l'École des Beaux-Arts, 1793-1907, Paris, 1907, 29, and Eckel's dossier in École des Beaux-Arts, élèves d'architecture, présences antérieures au 31 décembre 1895, volume XII (AJ-52-364), 248, for this figure.

⁴⁹Lemaistre, 63.

oath. With emphasis on loyalty, a nouveau might pledge his steadfastness to his respective atelier, and more specifically, to no other.⁵⁰

Everyone in the atelier helped the other in a mutually benefiting system, whereby the greenest aspirants had frequent opportunities to assist seasoned students on advanced projects, especially when tight deadlines deemed it necessary. In return, anciens voluntarily criticized the work of the nouveaux and offered suggestions to improve their fresh designs.⁵¹ George Chappell provided a foreigner's impression of the atelier in his article, "Paris School Days: How the Student Lives and Works at the École des Beaux-Arts," in Architectural Record:

If he is a new man, he has his "service" to do--one day a week when he is at the beck and call of the older associates. Between times he works on his own projects or niggers for a comrade who needs a helping hand. The school program is arranged so that first and second class projects are completed in alternate months and students of the two classes are free to help one another--an opportunity which is seized with truly splendid avidity. This is another of the specific traits of Atelier activity which cannot fail to awaken enthusiasm. The Anglo-Saxon is a curious combination of self-reliance and supersensitiveness. He works doggedly, industriously, blunderingly, sheepishly, inclined to hide his youthful efforts from an overcurious eye. But his French comrade will have none of this. A man's work is but a part of the Atelier's work, and it is the interest of all that prompts some bearded veteran to slide gracefully into the novice's place, quickly covering the drawing with a scrap of tracing paper while his practiced hands fly over the surface, indicating with telling precision faults which

⁵⁰Ibid., 78.

⁵¹Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 92-93.

seem to leap under his touch.⁵²

Such informal exchange created a lively atmosphere which bonded members of the atelier and produced remarkable esprit de corps. Flagg, impressed by the sense of loyalty, fellowship, and unselfishness demonstrated at the Parisian ateliers, observed:

The generous way they work for one another is surprising to one of Anglo Saxon blood, who as a rule does not feel called upon to work for days and often even all night long for a comrade behindhand with his work, but such devotedness is of continual occurrence at the atelier where it is considered matter of course.⁵³

The unity that Flagg described prevailed throughout the year, but was rarely more evident than during the Grand Prix competition. Chafee explained the situation:

If an ancien in the atelier reached the last stage of the concours for the Grand Prix, all the men he needed would become his "assistants." Thus, for months, the nouveaux would have their hands in the development of a complex project, and the competitor, like an architect with an office, would keep in mind not only his design but also the efficient management of his staff.⁵⁴

Under the atelier Paccard, Eckel experienced this common practice first-hand. Students in Paccard's atelier were undoubtedly a cohesive team as the 1867 Grand Prix competition approached. Eckel and his cohorts, in intense rivalry with all other ateliers, helped their fellow member

⁵²George Chappell, "Paris School Days: How the Student Lives and Works at the École des Beaux-Arts, Part 2," Architectural Record 28 (November 1910), 352.

⁵³Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part II," 428.

⁵⁴Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 92.

Henri-Jean-Émile Bénard prepare his winning entry for the annual top prize. By securing the Grand Prix title for his Palais pour l'exposition des beaux-arts that year,⁵⁵ Bénard brought glory to the studio and all the men who aided him. It was the atelier's first--and last--significant honor. Paccard died the same year, thus marking the end of the atelier Paccard. Eckel had been under Paccard's influence nearly the duration of the atelier, shortly following its conception in 1863 to the patron's death in August 1867.⁵⁶

Upon Paccard's death, the authorities of the school invited Jules André to replace him,⁵⁷ yet Eckel elected to join the atelier Vaudoyer.⁵⁸ Aware of the differences between school and private ateliers, Eckel may have acted timely on the event of his patron's death to explore what the private ateliers offered. Atelier officiels were less

⁵⁵Egbert, 185.

⁵⁶Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 501; "Contemporary Architects," 1911, 80.

⁵⁷Correspondence from Richard Chafee to Toni M. Prawl, 2 March 1988, 1-2.

⁵⁸"Contemporary Architects," 1911, 80; Western Contractor, 1915, 9; and Henry F. and Elise Rathburn Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased) (Los Angeles: New Age Publishing Co., 1956), 87, hereafter cited Withey and Withey, 1956. In Chafee's letter to the author (see previous footnote), he concluded that Eckel must have been a student of Léon Vaudoyer, son of A.L.T. Vaudoyer. Léon conducted his own atelier from 1832-1850, and again from 1864-1872. Eckel could not have joined A.L.T. Vaudoyer's atelier because Vaudoyer died in 1846. There was yet a third Atelier Vaudoyer, one operated by Lebas Vaudoyer, A.L.T.'s nephew, from ca. 1832-1864.

"chic," had more pupils,⁵⁹ and were reputed to have less student and patron control than those outside the school.⁶⁰ Larger enrollments in the official ateliers meant the patron had less time to spend with each student. Eckel might have regarded Léon Vaudooyer a more qualified patron than André, but both were extremely capable.

Vaudooyer, a second generation patron, operated his atelier from 1832 to 1850 and again from 1864-1872.⁶¹ He earned the Grand Prix while under his father's atelier in 1826. Regardless why Eckel switched to a private atelier, his stay was short. His atelier friendships, however, endured. Besides Bénard, Eckel studied with Prosper-Étienne Bobin, Alfred Vaudooyer, and Léon Fleury.⁶² In 1927, Eckel and Fleury represented the last surviving members of their 1868 atelier and posed for a photograph at Versailles (fig. 3-1).⁶³

Student Advancement

Students of the Second Class and the First Class participated in competitions, or concours d'emulation, in

⁵⁹Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part II," 422.

⁶⁰Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 105.

⁶¹Ibid., 500.

⁶²"Contemporary Architects," 1911, 82.

⁶³The photograph appeared in Bartlett Boder's, "Edmond Jacques Eckel," Museum Graphic 14 (Winter 1962); and Edwin R. McDonald, "Buildings His Monuments," St. Joseph News-Press, 1 December 1974, 8A, hereafter cited "Buildings His Monuments."

order to earn points which were recorded and required for advancement. Only competition successes were entered in the student's dossiers; failures could be forgotten.⁶⁴ The competitions were judged by juries; the better they considered the design to be, the more points they awarded.⁶⁵ Points (valeurs) were regulated and only a certain number could be awarded with each success.⁶⁶

Because competitions were held on a monthly basis (concours mensuels d'emulation), new projects were presented frequently throughout the year. Each pupil in the First and Second Class had to enter at least two competitions every academic year or face expulsion and reapplication for admission which included the detested entrance exams. If the student did not wish to execute a proposed project, another one would be offered the next month and perhaps he would find it more favorable. Of course, the more competitions the student entered, the greater his opportunities to earn credits.⁶⁷ The school was praised

⁶⁴Richard Chafee, "Richardson's Record at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 36 (October 1977), 177. Hereafter cited, Chafee, "Richardson," 1977.

⁶⁵Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 85.

⁶⁶Chafee, "Richardson," 1977, 177.

⁶⁷Annie Jacques, "The Programmes of the Architectural Section of the École des Beaux-Arts," in The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth Century French Architecture, Robin Middleton, ed. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), 59. Hereafter cited, Jacques, 1982.

for evaluating the work of the individual; each student progressed at his own pace, independent of classmates.⁶⁸

Flagg was not reluctant to discuss the merits of this strategy:

Advancement is determined not by time, but by results; the student's progress being gauged not by the number of years he has studied, but by what he has accomplished. Each one is left to walk by himself. The bright are not yoked to the stupid. The student passes from one grade to another not at stated times, nor in the company with others, but upon the receipt of certain honors, singly, by himself, and prizes are offered to those who lead.⁶⁹

The competitions of the École during Eckel's time were based on five types: architecture (plans, elevations, and sections), construction, mathematics, perspective, and drawing.⁷⁰ The subjects of the competitions were determined by the professor of architectural theory, the most important position at the École des Beaux-Arts.⁷¹

Eckel's projects were written by Jean Baptiste-Cicéron Lesueur (1794-1883), whose signature appears on his architectural programs that survive at the State Historical Society of Missouri, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri. Lesueur was the professor of architectural theory for two terms. He won the

⁶⁸Cret, Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 11.

⁶⁹Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part III," 38.

⁷⁰Chafee, "Richardson," 1977, 177.

⁷¹Jacques, 1982, 59, and Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 83.

Grand Prix in 1819 and was elected professor of the École in 1853. Lesueur maintained the post for thirty years until his death in 1883.⁷²

Eckel's construction projects were written by P. J. E. Baude who was professor of construction from 1865-1871.⁷³ Requirements for the construction drawings varied. Although all were meant to convey how a building was erected and included evidence of mathematical calculations that confirmed the building would stand, the projects focused on the building materials stone, iron, and wood. Besides these, a competition on general construction also was offered for a total of four annual construction projects.⁷⁴

Construction requirements were perhaps the most challenging for students of the Second Class since credit for each of the four competitions was mandatory before advancement to the First Class could be considered.⁷⁵ Construction problems were not an obstacle for Eckel. His class records indicate they were his strong suit: six of his ten successful projects were construction programs. Eckel's construction drawing skills probably were enhanced by the experience he gained as a youth working with his

⁷²Jacques, 1982, 59-60 and Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 102.

⁷³Domer, "French Connection."

⁷⁴Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 83.

⁷⁵Ibid.

relative and the city architect in Strasbourg.

There were three main topics of student projects: (1) public buildings, (2) ecclesiastical buildings, and (3) private buildings. As might be expected, subjects were similar, but First Class projects were of a grander nature and larger scale than Second Class assignments. While pupils of the Second Class designed buildings to serve small towns, students in the First Class concentrated on design projects intended to fulfill the requirements of larger communities. The Grand Prize competitions were the most advanced and intricate. They dealt primarily with the capitol and were of national significance.⁷⁶

Almost thirty of Eckel's programmes from his student days at the École are preserved in the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri. Dated programmes, like assignments, systematically informed students of the latest projects offered. The topic of the project, such as a library or town hall, is readily identified below the heading, "École Imperial des Beaux Arts," and subheading, "Section d'Architecture" with the kind of project--sketch, rendering, or construction, for example--clearly designated in the upper-left corner. Eckel's saved programmes illuminate the type of Second Class projects he may have executed: designs for a music hall or theater, grand staircase, church, confessional, home in the

⁷⁶Jacques, 1982, 62 and 65.

mountains, spa, greenhouse, gazebo, library, primary school, city hall, hospital, restaurant, and a residence for middle-class clients. These projects and others are listed in Table 1.

Table 1
Programs Related to Eckel's Education at
l'École Imperiale des Beaux-Arts,
Section d'Architecture

<u>Date</u>	<u>Programme</u>	<u>Type</u>
07 Jun 1865	Un chateau d'eau	R
07 Oct 1865	Un péristyle	CA
08 Nov 1865	La décoration du plafond d'un chauffoir de séminaire	E
07 Feb 1866	La distribution d'un terrain irrégulier	R
29 Mar 1866	Une chapelle pour un hospice d'orphelins	E/CA
02 May 1866	Un pont dans un jardin d'agrément	E
06 Jun 1866	Le grand escalier d'un palais de souverain	R
04 Jul 1866	Une grotte	E
07 Nov 1866	Un odéon ou salle de concert	R
05 Dec 1866	Un exèdre joint à une salle de billard	E
09 Jan 1867	Une mairie	R
04 Feb 1867	Projet d'une maison de refuge dans les montagnes/de la pierre	C
06 Feb 1867	Un confessionnal	E
13 Apr 1867	Un pavillon de plaisance dans un parc	R
08 May 1867	Une maison bourgeoise	R
27 May 1867	Projet de dock dans un port de commerce/fer	C
07 Aug 1867	Une orangerie	R
17 Sep 1867	Projet d'un restaurant de chemin de fer et d'une passerelle/générale	C
08 Oct 1867*	Une bibliothèque pour un chef-lieu de département	R
09 Oct 1867	Une salle à manger d'été	E
06 Nov 1867	Un amphithéâtre d'histoire naturelle	R
04 Dec 1867	Une école primaire	E
05 Feb 1868	Un portique pour descendre à couvert	E
08 Apr 1868	Une maison d'arrêt pour la garde nationale	E
01 May 1868	Proj. d'un établissement de bains de mer/fer	C
06 May 1868	Un établissement de restaurateur	R
03 Jun 1868	Un pont en pierre	E
08 Jul 1868	Une église paroissiale pour une population de douze mille âmes	R
05 Aug 1868	Un hospice de refuge pour la veillesse	R

Key for type of program: E: Esquisse (Sketch), R: Rendu (Project), C: Construction, CA: Concours d'admission, Aspirants.

*First Class program; the others listed are Second Class programs with the exception of two aspirant programs (07 Oct 1865 and 29 Mar 1866).

Competitions for architectural compositions were offered monthly, but rotated based on the degree of difficulty and the amount of time demanded for the completion of an entry. Sketches, or esquisses, were given every other month, hence they could be made six times a year. Twelve hours were allowed for the completion of sketches. On alternate months, different programs were issued for projet rendus, or rendered projects, which began much like the sketching competitions and required two months to execute.

When a student contemplated entering a competition, he went to a particular building at the École to register. Upon his registration he was provided with a copy of the proposed program and was allowed to work on a sketch for half a day while he remained there. If he decided to continue in the competition he submitted his preliminary sketches before he left the building. Before his departure however, he made a tracing of his rough sketch so he could refine it at the atelier before the competition's deadline. Once the rendered project reached the jury, it would be evaluated partly on its similarity to the initial design. If the two differed significantly, the entry was disqualified.

Juries of the École were notorious for rejecting the majority of entries in every concours. Therefore, "an experienced hand," as Flagg noted, took care to "make his

esquisse just definite enough to avoid being placed hors-de-concours, but sufficiently vague to allow of considerable latitude of interpretation."⁷⁷ Although the rendered project could consume two months of atelier work, it generally earned points for the student more readily than the sketch that was produced in a single day. The latter was made without the resources provided at the atelier. Thus, advancement could be a slow process. There were no short cuts at the École and as Chafee concluded, "Standards were high; the École was difficult."⁷⁸

When a student earned enough valeurs, he would be admitted to the First Class. Although Eckel completed a minimum of ten projects while at the École, he lacked sufficient credits in mathematics and perspective drawing to be promoted to the First Class.⁷⁹ Had he stayed longer and entered more competitions, he surely would have fulfilled the requirements for promotion to the First Class.⁸⁰ It

⁷⁷Flagg, "The École des Beaux-Arts, Part II," 421.

⁷⁸Chafee, "Richardson," 1977, 179.

⁷⁹Chafee to Prawl, 2 March 1988, 3. de Penanrun provides a list of students admitted to the First Class between 1819 and 1894, but Eckel's name does not appear in the appropriate section on pages 35-36.

⁸⁰Chafee to Prawl, 2 March 1988, 3. Chafee also provided a brief evaluation of Eckel's student abilities in the closing of his letter to Ehrlich, 24 September 1987: "Finally, let me say that Eckel's record is good if not outstanding. It is comparable to Richardson's and Létang's. Robert Swain Peabody and Charles F. McKim were both admitted to the École in the spring of 1868 and left in 1870; McKim got credit in no concours and Peabody in one."

generally took from two to four years for a student to receive the adequate number of points to advance from the Second Class to the First Class.⁸¹

The routine of the First Class differed little from the curriculum followed by the Second Class. While the assignments were more detailed and difficult, the means of entering competitions and obtaining credits were identical. Once a student of the First Class, a pupil endured the same process usually for another two to three years until he earned enough credits to enter the competition for the Grand Prix de Rome.⁸² The Grand Prix competition was open only to French citizens. The incentive to enter the competition was great since tremendous honors accompanied the prize. Not only was the winner recognized as the most promising architect of the year, but he was sent to the French Academy in Rome for four or five years to acquire a better knowledge of antiquity. His expenses were paid by the French government and once he returned to his homeland he often became an official architect for the government, "l'architecte du gouvernement," responsible for the design of public buildings. He might also teach at the École or be a patron of an atelier.⁸³ The odds of winning the competition were slim however, as the figures testify, "In

⁸¹Drexler, 8.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 86.

all, 6,500 pupils were admitted [to the École] between 1819 and 1914, a period in which only 100 were to win the Grand Prix.⁸⁴ The contest, which lasted six months, actually involved three competitions instead of one. The first stage was open to any French citizen, the second step reduced the contest to thirty participants, the third phase limited it to ten, and finally a winner was selected based on the final design submitted.⁸⁵

Students recognized their potential and the possibility of winning the Grand Prix long before they reached this level, for great dedication and perseverance accompanied students of the fourth echelon. Those who endured were likely to be approaching the age restriction of the school since it normally took twelve to fifteen years to gain the talent and style jurors valued.⁸⁶ Therefore, most students left the École and ateliers without ever attempting to earn the coveted prize.

There was no point of termination or "end" in sight for students' education at the École during Eckel's early years there. The École did not issue diplomas until 1867 and even then they were awarded only to those who were "winners of a special annual competition, open to students credited with

⁸⁴Jacques, 1982, 59.

⁸⁵Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 86.

⁸⁶Ibid, 88 and Domer, "French Connection."

about two years worth of concours in the first class."⁸⁷

Continuing in the words of Chafee:

The culmination of the course was only for one man [the Grand Prize winner]. Until 1867 this prize was the only termination of the curriculum other than the age limit. No students graduated, in the sense that the word is commonly understood in America. In November 1867 a diploma was instituted, but for 20 years it had no effect.⁸⁸

Thus, Eckel was like the majority of his colleagues who concluded he did not possess the necessary talent, patience, or persistence to earn the top prize and therefore, "left the École when he felt ready to go."⁸⁹

Eckel's Dossier

Eckel earned respectable marks while at the École, although he did not stay long enough to earn the necessary number of points to join the ranks of the First Class. His school records may be compared to better-known students who attended the École during this decade, such as H. H. Richardson (1838-1886). Richardson, a student at the École from 1860-1865⁹⁰ earned credit for nine projects, "as many as most of his contemporaries successfully completed" (fig.

⁸⁷Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 105.

⁸⁸Ibid., 88.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Two months after Richardson's graduation from Harvard, he became an aspirant in the architectural atelier of Louis-Jule André in September 1859. He failed the entrance examinations on his first attempt in October-November 1859, but was accepted to the École when he passed them the following year. See Chafee, "Richardson," 1977, 175.

3-2).⁹¹

Eckel's records report the accumulation of points for ten successful projects.⁹² During Richardson's best year at the École, five of his competition entries were accepted.⁹³ In Eckel's best year, 1867, he earned six successes.⁹⁴ Although there is no evidence that Richardson and Eckel were acquainted, they both pursued an education in architecture at the same school about the same time. Eckel and Richardson's exposure to the École may have overlapped two years or perhaps not at all: from the time Eckel became an aspirant at the École, possibly in 1863 but probably 1865, until Richardson's departure in 1865. They were part of different ateliers; Richardson was a pupil of the atelier André. Yet their experiences at their respective ateliers were similar since the École's faculty and programs encountered change slowly and were marked by conservatism. Domer offered,

Richardson's and Eckel's studio teachers were closely related in time, by tradition and comradeship. These relationships were even more tightly bound by the fact that there were not that many of them.⁹⁵

Furthermore, Chafee concluded that the majority of

⁹¹Ibid., 181.

⁹²Chafee, correspondence to Ehrlich, 1987.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Domer, "French Connection."

students represented only a few ateliers. For example, in 1851-52, about 112 out of 281 students enrolled in the architecture section at the École presented drawings in each monthly competition. The 112 students who participated in the competitions belonged to thirty-seven ateliers, yet almost half of them (fifty-five to be exact) were pupils of just three ateliers.⁹⁶

Eckel and Richardson never entered the same competitions because Eckel was not officially admitted to the school until after Richardson left, however the nature of their projects were quite similar. The dates Eckel's projects were judged span a two year period, from October 1866 to August 1868. His records from the École do not reveal the subjects of the competitions he entered since it was not customary to indicate the subjects of Second Class students.⁹⁷ However, his records do show the type of competitions Eckel entered.

The dates Eckel's competitions were judged; the type of competition he entered; the number of points earned; and the results of the programs were noted by Richard Chafee when he examined student records from the École in Paris during the 1970s. Because the École kept no drawings by students of the Second Class and only a few of the First Class,⁹⁸ it is

⁹⁶Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 89.

⁹⁷Chafee, correspondence to Ehrlich, 1987.

⁹⁸Ibid.

difficult to determine which of Eckel's projects were accepted by the juries. A collection of his student work survives, but only a small portion of it is identified.

Eckel's sketches of sculpture (fig. 3-3), floor plans (fig. 3-4), and three measured drawings (figs. 3-5, 3-6, 3-7) are found in the Western Historical Manuscript Collection. His free-hand sketches probably were based on the casts he saw exhibited in the school's gallery, and he might have copied Italian floor plans from published plates, but the *raison d'être* for his measured drawings is more perplexing. Two of three carefully scaled drawings are executed in monochromatic brown tones while the third employs red, white, and brown hues. These time-consuming student drawings dated 1868, were not made for competition entries. The titles, Élévation de l'hôpital de Fuligno, Camp des soldats à Pompei, and Portique de la Cathédral de Spolète identify the subjects, thus they are not exercises based on programmes but may have served as history projects. Few of Eckel's student drawings at the Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph, are identified, but provide multiple examples of the architect/artist's developing style (fig. 3-8; also see the illustrations in appendix 1).

Examples of his studies while a student at the École are published in the 1911 issue of Western Architect.⁹⁹ At

⁹⁹Photographs of this project and other Beaux-Arts studies survive at Brunner's; some of the originals are preserved in the Eckel collection at the Albrecht-Kemper

least one of these projects can be linked to a program preserved at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection. The program for the project un odéon ou salle de concert or theater, was issued to students of the Second Class on 7 November 1866 (fig. 3-9). This endeavor took Eckel about two months to complete and because the jury awarded points for the projet rendu, the success is included on his class record. On 4 January 1867, a rendered project which earned Eckel one point is listed.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the criteria specified on the program may be observed in Eckel's finished elevation (fig. 3-10). The building was to feature an exterior portico surrounding the entire building, designed in the Greek Ionic order, or as indicated in the programme:

"Un portique extérieur, d'ordre ionique grec, entourant tout l'édifice, servira d'abri pour prendre les billets, et aussi de refuge aux promeneurs surpris par un orage. Ce portique donnera accès à un vestibule, aux bureaux de recette, et aux escaliers, couloirs et dégagements nécessaires."¹⁰¹

An additional documentation links the program with the project. The journal of the "Intime-Club," Croquis d'Architecture for the year 1866-67, cites the subject of the Second Class project, judged 4 January 1867, as Detail

Museum of Art, St. Joseph.

¹⁰⁰Chafee, correspondence to Ehrlich, 1987.

¹⁰¹École Impériale des Beaux-Arts, Section d'Architecture programme for "un odéon ou salle de concert" dated 7 November 1866. This programme is one of twenty-nine stored in Eckel's papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection.

de Concours d'order Ionique (Odéon)."¹⁰² Other connections between program and project pairs have been conjectured based on the date of enrollment or date the program was issued, the type of program or competition, and the date projects were judged (table 2).

Table 2
Eckel's Student Concours*
(See Appendix 1)

<u>Date Enrolled</u>	<u>Type of Program</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Date Judged</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Points</u>
?	Construction, Desc. Geo.	?	24 Oct 1866	?	2
07 Nov 1866	Architecture, Project	Theatre	04 Jan 1867	2nd M.R.	1
04 Feb 1867	Construction, Stone	House in Mtns.	15 Apr 1867	Mention	2
?	Construction, Wood	?	10 Jun 1867	Mention	2
?	Architecture, Sketch	?	29 Oct 1867	2nd M.E.	1
17 Sep 1867	Construction, General	Restaurant	14 Dec 1867	Mention	2
08 Oct 1867	Architecture, Project	Library	30 Dec 1867	2nd M.R.	1
?	Construction, Design	?	30 Mar 1868	Mention	2
?	Architecture, Project	?	12 May 1868	2nd M.R.	1
01 May 1868	Construction, Iron	Sea Bathing Est.	05 Aug 1868	Mention	2

Result Key:

Mention = somewhat like the letter grade B

2nd Mention = the mark below grade B; B-

2nd M.E. = B- for esquisse (sketch)

2nd M.R. = B- for rendu (project)

*During the late 1970s, Richard Chafee analyzed the dossiers (records) of American students who studied architecture at the École and the École's French architecture students who immigrated to the United States. Chafee provided the data that appears in the columns "type of program," "date judged," "result," and "points" to George Ehrlich, University of Missouri-Kansas City. Information in the columns "date enrolled" and "subject" are hypotheses based on the dates and descriptions of programmes in the Eckel archives at the State Historical Society, Western Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri-Kansas City (collection #355).

Eckel's last success was recorded 5 August 1868. Two months later, he received a handwritten note on École

¹⁰²Chafee, correspondence to Ehrlich, 1987.

Impériale et Spéciale des Beaux-Arts stationery commending him for the "painstaking attention" devoted to his studies at the École. Dated 12 October 1868, the Director of the École affirmed:

His studies of architectural composition have been several times noticed and mentioned by the juries charged to judge the open competitions between the students and at the same time Mr. Eckel has obtained all the degrees required by the regulations in his studies of construction.¹⁰³

Appendix 1 illustrates eight projects Eckel completed at the École, including four successful projects for which he received credits. Coordinating programmes, when available, accompany his art. Eckel's records and surviving projects prove he was a competent student, one capable of becoming a competent architect.

Influence of the École in the United States

Eckel encountered few American contemporaries at the École. Richardson was only the second American to attend the school. The first American enrolled at the École was Richard Morris Hunt from 1846 to 1855. Richardson was next, beginning in 1860, but after his funds were depleted he returned to his homeland near the close of the Civil War in 1865. Hunt and Richardson's days at the École were separated by five years. The next Americans who attended the École were anxious to follow their example: E. D. Lindsey in 1863, and A. H. Thorp in 1864, with numbers

¹⁰³Translated from the French document in the Albrecht-Kemper archive collection.

increasing steadily the following years.¹⁰⁴ Turpin C. Bannister, author of The Architect at Mid-Century: Evolution and Achievement, estimated, "In the 1860's, ten Americans studied at the École; in the 70's, 26; in the 80's, 25; and in the 90's, 110."¹⁰⁵ By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Parisian-bound American architects had established an École pilgrimage that continued into the twentieth century and reached its peak between 1896 and 1921.¹⁰⁶

Schools of architecture evolved slowly throughout the United States. About the time Eckel was leaving the École, students across the Atlantic were enrolling in the nation's only school of architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Founded in 1865 as the first institution of architectural education in the country, the objective of the department was to "give to its students the instruction and discipline that cannot be obtained in architects'

¹⁰⁴James Philip Noffsinger, The Influence of the École des Beaux Arts on the Architects of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1955), 106. Hereafter cited Noffsinger.

¹⁰⁵Bannister, 99.

¹⁰⁶Noffsinger, 45. In his article on, "The Influence of the École des Beaux-Arts on American Architectural Education," Architectural Record 23 (April 1908): 242, A. D. F. Hamlin calculated there were a dozen to fifteen Americans in attendance at École each year after 1880.

offices."¹⁰⁷ MIT adopted a French curriculum for the instruction of architecture, placed French professors on its faculty, and finally opened in the fall of 1868.¹⁰⁸ At last, students who could not travel to Paris had the opportunity to learn from a veteran of the French École at home.

Other early architecture programs in the United States followed MIT's example and looked to the École for inspiration. In his study of "Academic Eclecticism," professor Richard Longstreth summarized, "The école formed the precedent for establishing architectural schools in the United States and provided the primary model for developing their curricula."¹⁰⁹ The philosophy of the École was widely accepted by the late 1880s as Longstreth continued:

The notions of maintaining continuity with the past; of balancing tradition and innovation; of studying the best historic examples from all periods in order to learn the principles of good design; of achieving unity, order, and simplicity through careful, rigorous compositional techniques; of striving for a traditional synthesis of beauty and utility; and of the architect's

¹⁰⁷1875 MIT course catalogue, 51 (enclosed in correspondence from Elizabeth Andrews, Reference Archivist, Institute Archives and Special Collections, MIT, 10 February 1993).

¹⁰⁸Noffsinger revealed that although MIT had announced its plans to offer an architectural curriculum in 1865, the new department was not opened until the fall of 1868 (18). William Robert Ware, founder of MIT, did not attend the École, but was familiar with Beaux-Arts training since he was a student in Hunt's atelier; Weatherhead, 25.

¹⁰⁹Richard W. Longstreth, "Academic Eclecticism in American Architecture," Winterthur Portfolio 17 (Spring 1982), 61. Hereafter cited Longstreth, 1982.

role as an artist were all prevalent French attitudes during the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰

The École repeatedly was credited as the prototype for the first architecture schools in the United States. In his 1941 dissertation, Arthur Weatherhead recognized the École des Beaux-Arts was the most powerful factor which influenced a comprehensive movement in professional architectural education in the United States. According to Weatherhead, "the system identified with the École was the chief guide in America for over fifty years. This institution had been the leading one for the training of architects throughout the world for two centuries."¹¹¹

If imitation is the highest form of flattery, American schools readily complimented the École des Beaux-Arts through attempts to produce domestic versions of the celebrated institution. The newly formed American Institute of Architects (AIA) praised the École and recommended the creation of a national school of architecture "comparable to the Parisian École."¹¹² No single school was organized, rather a number of independent American schools resulted.

Based on the quantity of new programs that looked to the École, it appears an understanding of the institution was regarded indispensable for the establishment and success

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Weatherhead, 5.

¹¹²Bannister, 96.

of architecture schools in the United States. To Americans, the successful École offered a solution for advancing the profession in the United States: a proven curriculum, sound design theory, and government support.¹¹³ In Noffsinger's study of The Influence of the École des Beaux-Arts on the Architects of the United States (1955), he confirmed that nine out of the country's first ten architectural schools founded in the thirty year period between 1865 and 1895 were modeled on the École.¹¹⁴ The École could not be cloned however, and the AIA abandoned hopes to produce a solitary outstanding architectural academy in the United States. To many, the École remained an oasis for higher learning. Once the United States established architectural schools, the École was increasingly regarded a graduate school of design.¹¹⁵

The influence of the École on American architects during this period was threefold. Not only were Americans

¹¹³Joan Draper, "The École des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States: The Case of John Galen Howard," in Spiro Kostoff, ed. The Architect (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 209. Hereafter cited Draper.

¹¹⁴Noffsinger, 23. Noffsinger's table on page 24 identifies the nation's first schools of architecture, the dates they were established, and the school founders. The exception, University of Illinois, founded in 1867, was the only school without École influence at this period. Briefly, the nine other schools were: MIT (1865); Cornell (1871); Syracuse (1873); Michigan (1876); Columbia (1880); Pennsylvania (1890); Columbian University (1884); Armour I. T. (1895); and Harvard (1895).

¹¹⁵Draper, 221.

traveling abroad in pursuit of an education at the institution, but École-trained French architects were coming to America to teach also. Furthermore, once American architects returned home they often applied the atelier system to their own practices. In the familiar setting of their own offices, Beaux-Arts architects educated draftsmen and designers who could not afford to study architecture in Europe or American universities. Bannister concluded that most American students cherished their experiences at the École and "returned home fired with missionary zeal to recreate the whole École-atelier system in the United States."¹¹⁶

One result of this unbridled enthusiasm was the founding of the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects by seventy-two American alumni in 1894. Society members promoted the École and not only urged American students to attend the institution, but also introduced École teaching concepts through an academic agenda that included ateliers and judged student competitions centered in New York.¹¹⁷ The number of 238 students who entered the society's competition in 1905 increased to 1,110 in 1913 and illustrates the successful phenomenon of design contests sponsored by the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects.

The society's focus on education effectively attracted

¹¹⁶Bannister, 99.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

more students to enter its organized competitions until record-high participants prompted members to create the new Beaux-Arts Institute of Design (BAID) in 1916 for administration purposes. Thereby, the École continued its indirect reign over design teaching at American schools through the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects and its Beaux-Arts Institute of Design, a hold that endured more than another decade. Figures for BAID competitions during a typical year reveal that thirty-one of the nation's forty-eight schools were associated with BAID in 1928. Bannister interpreted the significance of the relationship in other terms that year when he stated, "the B.A.I.D. program affected almost 70 per cent of all architectural students in the U.S."¹¹⁸

As previously discussed, the École and the related ateliers tested original concepts that were unique to the institution. Through their implementation in American schools, architecture education was greatly affected. For example, the École's teaching methods that measured student progress through individual competitions proved to encourage peer interaction and learning in the United States as it did in France. Based on atelier principles, American students learned to assist one another with minimal restraint, to evaluate fellow student's work, and to identify qualities which made one project more outstanding than another.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 101. For quote, see page 190.

As briefly mentioned above, an additional way the École influenced the teaching of architecture in America was the re-creation of the atelier atmosphere, either at schools or offices. As at Paris, rivalry among the different ateliers encouraged students to work for the common good of the group. It simultaneously reduced jealousy among the students or co-workers, and stimulated a frequent exchange of services between advanced and beginning architects, like the traditional ancien and nouveau relationships at the French ateliers. These concepts, born at the École, were soon embraced by architectural schools and offices in the United States.¹¹⁹

The École's architectural and teaching concepts swept the country, especially between 1885 and World War I, when American attendance at the École was at its zenith and numerous buildings inspired by Beaux-Arts principles dotted the American landscape.¹²⁰ American architect Thomas Hastings attended the École in the 1880s and expressed his first-hand views of the institution's influence in 1901:

In the last fourteen years, since the writer's return from the Beaux-Arts, he has noticed a most remarkable growth in the influence of the Paris School upon American Architecture, and when one considers that there are more than twenty times as many American Students in the school to-day, as there were fourteen years ago, how much this growth must increase in the

¹¹⁹Weatherhead, 19.

¹²⁰Whiffen and Koeper, 1981, 268. Noffsinger reduces the peak years of American attendance at the École from 1896 to 1921 (45). Also see Drexler, 7.

near future.¹²¹

Thus, by the turn of the century, the École's teaching had influenced a new age of American architects who studied at the École directly; were instructed by Beaux-Arts faculty in American schools; or trained at architectural offices in the United States which doubled as ateliers. In 1908, Professor A.D.F. Hamlin of Columbia University praised the École, for it had "supplied a professional training at that time unattainable elsewhere; it gave us new standards of draftsmanship; and it taught our architects new ideas of monumental planning and composition."¹²² Even by the second decade of the twentieth century, Hamlin continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the French school. In his estimation, the École:

furnished the model upon which all our American schools were shaping the teaching of design, and in a majority of cases for the last twenty years and more the instructors in design in these schools have been Paris-trained men, and in many instances Frenchmen.¹²³

Due to the broad extension of the École during these years, students of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were acknowledged as the nation's first generation of professionally-trained architects. They, in turn,

¹²¹Thomas Hastings, "The Influence of the École des Beaux-Arts Upon American Architecture," Architectural Record (Special Beaux-Arts Number, January 1901), 66.

¹²²A.D.F. Hamlin, "The Influence of the École des Beaux-Arts on our Architectural Education," Architectural Record 23 (April 1908), 242.

¹²³Ibid.

steered architectural taste in this country.

Through all phases of his career, Eckel was a dynamic participant in the Beaux-Arts movement. From his youth in Strasbourg, even before he went to Paris to join an atelier, he seized design and building opportunities. As an adolescent he realized that early experience was advantageous for an aspirant seeking admission at the École. After he made his way to the École, he selected a patron and atelier with care, knowing this choice would greatly affect his academic career and Parisian social life.

Through dedicated preparation for his entrance examinations, he gained an appreciation for discipline and when he achieved favorable passing scores, he was rightfully proud of his accomplishment. As an official student of the École, Eckel toiled for hours on sketches and devoted months to rendered projects in the name of education and the rigors of professional development. He was loyal to his atelier, giving and taking as was expected of all the members.

Eckel's life at the École spanned approximately four years through his twenties, but it did not end there. This chapter demonstrates that his immediate association with the academy may be charted from 1864-1868, but the following chapters explore how Eckel internalized his education so that his Beaux-Arts background shaped the evolution of his American designs, practice, and partnerships. With his arrival in the United States, he introduced Beaux-Arts

principles to fellow architects while disseminating designs endorsed by the École (and others), mostly throughout St. Joseph. Like the patron of an atelier, Eckel was a respected professional who instructed young architects in his presence, allowing them independence to assert their own designs.

As will be demonstrated through a representative sample of buildings that reveal the École's influence, Eckel contributed to the abundance of Beaux-Arts architecture in the United States. The Beaux-Arts mode leant itself to large-scale buildings particularly well, therefore Eckel occasionally selected it for public or institutional uses. Yet, Eckel did not confine his designs to the Beaux-Arts style; one hallmark of his career was his versatility. His firms designed a diverse assortment of buildings in many architectural styles, often combining elements of one style with those of another for eclectic results, a skill he developed during the late nineteenth century as an American architect.

PART TWO

BEYOND THE HOME FRONT:

THE YOUNG PROFESSIONAL IN A NEW SETTING

CHAPTER 4

IMMIGRANT TO AMERICA, 1868

In Search of Opportunity

The garrison city of Strasbourg, while heavily fortified, also was greatly confined. Civic activities, including building projects, were contained within protective barriers that shielded citizens from enemy armies but simultaneously constricted Strasbourg's future growth. By the time Eckel contemplated his career in architecture, there was minor construction activity occurring in Strasbourg and few opportunities in the immediate future. During the decades of 1850 and 1860, Strasbourg was a garrison city primarily, with nearly 6,000 soldiers stationed in it.¹ Young Eckel was eager, yet he also was sensible. Building-dense and wall-locked, the city represented unpromising potential to an ambitious architect. Strasbourg, although his cherished home, already was built. Undeveloped pockets were virtually non-existent. Eckel must have concluded that Strasbourg was not the ideal place for him to seek or achieve architectural fame.

After departing his hometown, Eckel resided in Paris. Although centuries-old like Strasbourg, Paris experienced a real estate boom that was quickly followed by new

¹In his correspondence to M. Jean-Pierre Klein, Conservateur, Le Musée Historique, Strasbourg, on 8 October 1992, Richard Chafee, summarizes information Klein shared with him at the museum on 9 January 1992.

construction projects. As the center of arts for France and the headquarters of the École des Beaux-Arts, the city was both home and workplace to a significant corps of artists and architects. While numerous design opportunities existed, the surplus of competing and highly skilled architects probably intimidated the novice. Furthermore, most of the few commissions characteristically were awarded to architects of Catholic faith, whereas Eckel was Protestant.² If Paris and Strasbourg were equally inappropriate cities for Eckel to launch his architectural career, where would he find the proper setting?

Compared to France and its multitude of heritage-rich cities in 1868, the United States was a vast country of extensive unsettled spaces. There were, of course, important commercial and political centers among the youthful states, but the majority of America was rural. In many ways, the country symbolized a fresh canvas in the architect's mind. Compared to Europe's cultural landscape, America appeared an untamed wilderness. Unlike the built environments which defined Europe and recorded her past civilizations, America possessed abundant virgin regions where buildings had never existed but were quickly demanded. All types of buildings, and lots of them, were needed

²Leonard K. Eaton ponders why Eckel came to the United States and in his letter to the author, 6 April 1990, speculates, "The only reason I can think of is that he was a protestant, and the big commissions from the gov't. always went to catholics in good standing."

throughout the country--a need that generated work for architects. As a newfound republic, the United States embodied many ideas: independence, youth, and opportunity, among them. With this awareness, Eckel set forth to make his career in this unfamiliar place.

Departure from the École

After two years as a student at the École, and possibly five years association with the school through his atelier affiliations, Eckel left the institution "to try his fortunes in America."³ In September 1868--just one month after his last student competition was judged--he boarded the steamer, "Ville de Paris," in Le Harve and landed in New York city on 5 October 1868.⁴

One important difference between Eckel and some of his École comrades is that he did not immigrate to the United States with the intention to teach at new institutions. Eckel arrived before architects from the École were in high demand as faculty members. Moreover, he lacked the necessary experience required to gain an academic appointment as an instructor. Eugène Létang was the first Frenchman from the École to teach design in American

³Chapman Brothers, 195.

⁴McDonald and King, 717 and "Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel Stand as Monuments to His 'Hard Work Combined with Ability,'" St. Joseph Gazette 17 May 1931, 1B, hereafter cited "Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

schools.⁵ Recruited by William Robert Ware, Létang came to the United States to join MIT faculty as the school's first director in 1872, four years after Eckel had emigrated.⁶ Other French École architects followed Létang to new posts as instructors and directors of design programs, but not immediately.

In his study on "The History of Collegiate Education in Architecture in the United States," Weatherhead discovered

⁵Létang was the first École-trained French architect to teach architecture at MIT, the nation's original school of architecture recognized for its specific curriculum (Weatherhead, 25; and Richard Walter Lukens, "The Changing Role of Drawing and Rendering in Architectural Education," [Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1979], 22, hereafter cited Lukens). According to William H. Pierson, Jr., American Buildings and their Builders: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), another Frenchman, Maximilian Godefroy (1765-1840?), may be credited "the first professor of architecture in the United States (373)." Although Godefroy taught architecture courses in 1805 following his exile from the Napoleonic regime, he was not a product of the École, nor did he establish permanent residency in the United States. Affiliated with St. Mary's College, Baltimore, before architectural schools and departments were realized in America, he was largely self-educated and therefore does not fit within the tradition of École architects. See "Maximilian Godefroy," by Robert L. Alexander in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 2, 221-222.

⁶Arthur Weatherhead reports Létang's unanticipated coming to the United States and the novelty of the occasion: "By the end of four years it was obvious to Ware that the school needed a well-qualified instructor in design, such as could not be obtained in the United States. To fill this position he turned to the École des Beaux-Arts where he made a most fortunate choice in Eugene Létang. . . . He could not speak a word of English at the time of his appointment, and it was necessary for Ware to meet him upon his arrival in New York (25)." For more on the early period of American education in architecture at MIT, see Weatherhead, 25-32.

that although Ware initiated the practice of importing faculty in 1872, MIT was an exception in this regard for several years, because "no other early school had followed the plan." Finally, more than one quarter of a century later, Ware's idea had been adopted and French faculty could be counted at several institutions. Weatherhead reported, "During the first five years of the twentieth century, at every important Eastern school, design was in charge of a Frenchman, assisted in most cases by American instructors who had also studied at the École."⁷ The effect of the École and French faculty on American schools of architecture was even more noted six years later, especially when compared to earlier days:

Whereas only three of the eight schools existing in 1894 had any École-trained teachers, by 1911 all of them, plus Harvard, had one or more French or American alumni on their staffs. Despradelle succeeded Létang at MIT in 1892; Brockway and Gaggin came to Syracuse soon afterward; Pennsylvania appointed Seeler about 1893, Perkins and Nolan in 1898, and Cret in 1903; Cornell secured Van Pelt in 1896 and, later, Nash, Prevot, Hebrard, and Mauxion. In 1905 Columbia reorganized its school and set up three internal ateliers.⁸

⁷Weatherhead, 76. Weatherhead, like other scholars, emphasizes that this integration of Beaux-Arts trained Frenchmen among American faculty in the nation's architectural programs significantly contributed to the dissemination of the École's principles and methods.

⁸Bannister, 99. Louis Millet, who was born in New York in 1855, admitted to the École in 1874, and promoted to the first class in 1878 (de Penanrun, 210) also followed the pattern of École-trained architects who became instructors in American universities. Millet joined Armour [now Illinois] Institute of Technology after its formation in 1889. Initially, the school offered a partial program, but

Thus, before these École-trained Frenchmen even initiated their teaching careers in the United States, Eckel had been counted among at least one census record and had established a respectable practice in Missouri. Considering the dates Beaux-Arts trained Frenchmen were called to instruct design classes at American schools, Eckel's departure from the École to the United States in the late 1860s was surprisingly early.

When Eckel is compared to other Beaux-Arts trained architects who left the École to establish practices in the United States, his presence in America is seemingly singular. A directory published in les architectes élèves de l'École des Beaux-Arts, 1895, lists thirty-one former students of the École who resided in the United States in 1895; only three were transplanted Frenchmen. Eckel and his countrymen, Paul-Émile-Marie Duboy and Emmanuel-Louis Masqueray, were different than American alumni who had returned to their homeland. But Eckel was not like his French colleagues either. To a certain degree, he was a pioneer. In contrast to Duboy and Masqueray, Eckel was older; attended the École and emigrated to the United States earlier; and once in America, he paused only briefly on the

in 1895, it united with the Art Institute of Chicago to form a full four-year professional curriculum (Bannister, 98-99).

East Coast.⁹ Unlike Duboy and Masqueray who established residency in New York city amidst at least fourteen Americans who also attended the École, Eckel lived a solitary Beaux-Arts existence in St. Joseph, Missouri beginning in 1869. Remarkably, Eckel was at home in Missouri almost a decade before Duboy and Masqueray even were admitted to the École.¹⁰

The directory in les architectes indicates more Beaux-Arts trained architects lived in the United States in 1895 than previously. According to C. H. Blackall, architects trained at the École were seldom found among those architects at work in the United States before 1876. The level of professionalism and few standard policies probably contributed to their absence, as Blackall commented:

The architects were paid 5% commission, if they got it.

⁹According to de Penanrun, Duboy was born in 1857 (156) and Masqueray was born in 1861 (205). de Penanrun's 1895 directory notes both architects at work in New York, however Masqueray eventually gravitated to the Midwest where he may have been affiliated with the St. Louis architect Isaac Taylor. Withey and Withey report that in 1903, Masqueray "was appointed Chief Designer of buildings at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, and under his direction plans were prepared for the Horticulture and Transportation Buildings, also he designed a major part of the landscape work on the grounds (397)." According to Bannister, Masqueray's New York atelier was fundamental to the organization of the Society of Beaux-Arts Architects in 1894 (99). This important École architect deserves further study.

¹⁰Information presented in de Penanrun reveals that Duboy was officially accepted to the École in 1877 (156); Masqueray was admitted in 1879 (205). As previously discussed, Eckel was admitted to the École in 1866 and left in 1868. He settled in St. Joseph the following year.

There were no professional draftsmen and no corps of Beaux-Arts men to draw from. The architects who had studied abroad could almost be numbered on the fingers of one hand.¹¹

Eckel was one of the rare men trained at the École who worked in America before 1870. His Strasbourgeois heritage made him even more atypical.

The second edition of the les architectes élèves de l'École des Beaux-Arts appeared twelve years later in 1907. While the roster of École alumni living in the United States included more than 172 architects, Eckel remained an exception on the list. Although the nation's total of French-born École architects increased to nine by 1907, Eckel was the only one in the Midwest. Like Duboy and Masqueray, École-trained French architects Henri Deville, Armand-Pierre Lacroix, and Lloyd Warren were attracted to New York. The other three French newcomers did not practice in New York, but had teaching careers elsewhere. Constant-Desiré Despradelle resided in Boston and taught architecture at MIT; Paul Phillippe Cret was a professor at the University of Pennsylvania; and Jacques-Maurice Prévot was an instructor at Cornell University. Although École-trained architects in the United States were more common by 1907, Eckel's French presence in St. Joseph, Missouri, was still a curiosity. New York won most École alumni with more than 120 former students working there in 1907. Another five to

¹¹C. H. Blackall, "Fifty Years Ago," American Architect, 129 (5 January 1926), 7-9.

ten École architects could be found in Boston, San Francisco, Chicago, and Philadelphia, but only Eckel represented the Midwest.¹²

To the Midwest

Immigrant Eckel first arrived in New York "working for a short time"¹³ in the city before it was known as the nation's center for the Beaux-Arts movement. However, he soon left the eastern coast for Ohio. Eckel's older brother moved to the United States the preceding year and was living in Cleveland awaiting his sibling's arrival.¹⁴ By traveling to Cleveland, E. J. not only was reunited with his brother Jules who already was engaged in the building trades

¹²E. Delaire, Les architectes élèves de L'École des Beaux-Arts, 2d ed. (Paris: Librairie de la Construction Moderne, 1907), 479-480. Hereafter cited Delaire.

¹³John Albury Bryan, Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture (St. Louis: St. Louis Architectural Club, 1928), 50. Hereafter cited Bryan.

¹⁴Withey and Withey, 1956, 188; and "E. J. Eckel is Dead at Age of 89, Was Nationally Known," St. Joseph News-Press, 12 December 1934. Hereafter cited, "E. J. Eckel is Dead." Appreciation is extended to William G. Myers of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, and John J. Grabowski of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, for consulting Cleveland city directories for the years 1865-69 and 1871-72 for Eckel entries. Although the directories in their collections did not confirm the Eckels' presence in Cleveland, the Cleveland Leader City Directory, 1869-1870 did. Thanks to Judith G. Cetina, Ph.D., Manager of the Cuyahoga County Archives, for consulting it, recovering the Eckel brothers' names, addresses, and occupations, and forwarding that information to me.

as a mason,¹⁵ but he also found less competition among fewer architects there. Once Eckel joined his brother he obtained a position in the city as a draftsman for eight months until he decided to follow Horace Greely's advice and proceed further West. Eckel entrained for Kansas City, intending to make the city his new home.¹⁶ He arrived in Omaha upon the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad where he transferred to the Kansas City line, via St. Joseph. On 3 July 1869, an altered itinerary caused Eckel to be delayed in St. Joseph when he changed his mind about his future residency.¹⁷ The story is retold in many of his biographical accounts:

On their way from Omaha to Kansas City the train was detained thirteen hours in the woods just North of St. Joseph on account of a bridge having been washed out. Finally the train arrived in St. Joseph, then a city of 10,000 people, late Saturday afternoon. In those days trains stopped running Saturday night and waited until Monday morning to resume the schedule. At least that was the custom on this particular line. Because of

¹⁵The mason and architect brothers boarded together at 121 Fulton according to the Cleveland Leader City Directory, 1869-1870, 122.

¹⁶It is uncertain why Eckel selected Kansas City. During an interview with Eckel's granddaughter, Mrs. Margaret Agnew Brown on 26 October 1989, she suggested that E. J. was invited to Kansas City by an architectural firm, but she did not know which one. For professional reasons of his own, Jules may have stayed behind in Cleveland, went elsewhere, or accompanied his brother to St. Joseph; his educational background is not known. Whitney and Whitney document that they traveled to Missouri together (188), but perhaps Jules continued his trip to a different destination. He is not listed in city directories for St. Joseph until 1872, although E. J. Eckel appears in the 1870 directory.

¹⁷Ibid.

this however, St. Joseph gained a much needed architect and Kansas City lost one, for the young architect looked over St. Joseph and decided it was a good place in which to locate.¹⁸

Eckel saved the unused railroad ticket to remind him of what might have been. At age twenty-four, he made St. Joseph his home and remained for sixty-five years until his death at age eighty-nine in 1934.

Eckel's early success in the Midwest may have enticed his family to leave their beloved Strasbourg and immigrate to the United States. All surviving members of his immediate family eventually resided in St. Joseph. E. J. Eckel and his brother Jules were first joined by their mother in 1870 or so, followed by their sister Albertine's arrival around 1874 and other sister Valerie's reunion with the family by 1882.

Eckel's two older sisters never married, but managed their own household with their mother until her death on 6 December 1886.¹⁹ Like E. J., who could speak "German fluently, and of course, his native French,"²⁰ Albertine utilized her bi-lingual heritage in her new town where she obtained immediate employment as a teacher at St. Joseph Female College versed in three languages. City directories

¹⁸"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel." According to "Contemporary Architects," 1911, 82; Western Contractor, 1915, 9; and Bryan, 50, E. J. Eckel was detained in St. Joseph due to a railroad wreck, not washed out bridge.

¹⁹"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

²⁰Ibid.

indicate that after Valerie moved to St. Joseph, she and Albertine became business partners and owned a "worsted goods" or fabric store known as Misses Eckel, from 1882 to 1895 or so.²¹

Less is known about Jules Victor Eckel than his brother Edmond. Jules' educational background or occupational training was not recorded like Edmond's, but childhood drawings suggest a similar affinity to the building trades. Jules held various positions in St. Joseph: beginning in 1872, he co-owned the liquor business and saloon, Poirier and Eckel, and by 1875, he joined Armstrong and Brother where he was employed as a laborer and later a clerk. Jules married Nanette Strasser and had two children during these years: their first child, Eunice (born 31 August 1875), died before her first birthday on 22 July 1876. Just three months later a son, Edward Jules, was born 9 October 1876. Sadly, the joyous birth was followed almost immediately by the untimely death of Jules at age thirty-four on 5 December 1876. Having resided in the United States for approximately a decade, Jules was identified in his brief obituary as a "member of one of the oldest and most prominent families of Strausberg [sic]." But more surprisingly, he also was a

²¹City directories provide information regarding the occupations of Eckel's family members and offers dates and addresses as points of references. Rutt claims Eckel's mother "came to America in 1870" (1904, 717), and while her name does not appear in the 1870-71 local directory, she is listed in the 1872 volume.

"silent partner in the house of Stigers, Boettner & Co.," the firm where his younger brother was junior architect.²² Jules' premature death marked a life about one-third the length of E. J. Eckel's nearly ninety-year existence.²³

²²"Julius Eckel Dead," St. Joseph Gazette, 7 December 1876, 1. Identified as Julius in his obituary, city directories provide the name Jules as do family records. Furthermore, his signed drawings from the 1850s in the Albrecht-Kemper collection present the name, "Jules Eckel."

²³Handwritten notes recording Eckel's genealogy accompany his business papers in the archive collection at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri. Information regarding Eckel's immediate family and their occupations in St. Joseph was obtained from city directories.

CHAPTER 5

ECKEL'S ADOPTED CITY, ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI

Robidoux's River City

As a newcomer to the city, Eckel had not been present to witness the initial settlement of St. Joseph. Although recent development throughout the city was evident in 1869, historically, St. Joseph was a river community. The city's location in the northwest corner of Missouri afforded ideal proximity to the Missouri River and made it the last point in the state along the uninterrupted river route to eastern St. Louis. St. Joseph, according to historian Sheridan Logan, "was the optimum northern and western point which could be reached in the relative security and comfort of the steamboat."¹ Therefore, because St. Joseph was the natural juncture where most northern river voyages on the Missouri River ended, it logically became an important place where overland ventures further West began.

Even before the city's origin, it was the river that brought French explorer and fur-trader, Joseph Robidoux III (1783-1868) to the area on a trading expedition in 1799. Robidoux returned as an agent for the American Fur Company in 1826, and with the permission of the government, established a post along the river at Roy's Branch in the Blacksnake Hills. Robidoux, accompanied by his few trapper-

¹Sheridan A. Logan, Old Saint Jo: Gateway to the West, 1799-1932 (St. Joseph, Missouri: John Sublett Logan Foundation, 1979), 3. Hereafter cited Logan.

trader assistants in this Indian territory, was popular among the native people and he traded with them frequently. With his presence in the region welcomed, Robidoux purchased the post from his employer for \$500 in 1834. That same year, Maximilian, Prince of Wied, visited and commented on the two white houses which comprised the post, and the "extensive fields of maize protected by fences, and very fine cattle grazing the plain."²

While Robidoux continued his trading practices in peace with the Indians, this triangular parcel which separated the state from the northern course of the Missouri River became a source of increasing contention for their cultures. Indians valued this region; besides being the home of local tribes that inhabited the area, the bluffs overlooking the river were important ceremonial and meeting places to other surrounding Indian nations. Although legally recognized as Indian territory through the Prairie de Chien treaty, settlers relentlessly encroached the boundaries. In its efforts to reduce tension between indigenous people who occupied the land and disobeying squatters who moved north beyond their geographic limits, the federal government sent soldiers from Fort Leavenworth to forcefully evict the white

²WPA Guide to 1930s Missouri, with a Foreword by Charles van Ravenswaay and a new Introduction by Howard W. Marshall and Walter A. Schroder (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1986; originally published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce in 1941 under the title, Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State), 284; hereafter cited, WPA Guide.

trespassers. While fur traders remained in the area undisturbed, the government deliberated alternative means for reducing settler-Indian conflicts in the area. One scheme, a new boundary proposition, relied on the Missouri River--a natural resource whose linear, aqueous body defined zones more clearly.

In 1836, Missouri senators Benton and Linn introduced a bill to Congress which called for government acquisition of this disputed region. Missouri entered the Union as the twenty-fourth state in 1821, but with passage of the bill fifteen years later the northern boundary was extended.³ Negotiations were arranged between William Clark (Lewis and Clark), representative for the United States government, and Indian chiefs at a meeting at Fort Leavenworth on 17 September 1836. A purchase treaty, the Platte Purchase, was the outcome of the meeting which called for the peaceful removal of Indians from the territory to designated lands farther west in exchange for payment from the federal government.⁴ The Platte Purchase enlarged Missouri with

³There were three arguments why the land should not be acquired: 1) This land previously was regarded outside settlement limits by having been endowed to the Indians in perpetuity; 2) Missouri, the largest state in the Union at the time, would be made even larger; and 3), Missouri was a slave state which meant free soil to the north would be obtained as slave territory.

⁴Logan lists the items included in the federal government's payment: \$7500 in American money, livestock (specifically 100 calves, cows, and hogs for each tribe), a mill, blacksmith, schoolmaster, interpreter, agriculture advisors, houses, and farm implements for a five year period

the addition of nearly 2,000,000 acres and smoothed the way for white settlement, especially among immigrants from neighboring and southern states.

While this annexation of land contradicted the Missouri Compromise of 1820 by adding more slave territory to the state, pioneers from Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Indiana, and Ohio readily settled here and quickly discovered the region's agrarian assets. Their success with hemp, corn, and tobacco crops lured more farmers to the area--especially those with slaves. Six counties were eventually carved out of this land acquisition, including Buchanan County which was organized in 1838.⁵ Although Sparta was named the county seat two years later, commerce activities centered on Robidoux's post.

Because Robidoux recognized the significance of his trading place and its value to the community, he platted the area surrounding his site in 1843. At least three schemes for the city were provided. One plat was presented by Frederick Smith and the other two by Simeon Kemper. Both of Kemper's plats--one with a north-south orientation and the other designed in an oblique pattern to correspond with the topography--designated wide, generous streets and included

(16). One questions how the Indians regarded foreign village "amenities and services" such as these so highly valued and offered by their Anglo-American counterparts.

⁵The five other counties are Andrew, Atchison, Holt, Nodaway, and Platte.

parks. In contrast to Kemper's plans, Smith's design was influenced by his childhood in Germany and charted narrow, medieval-like streets on the semi-hilly terrain. Smith also cleverly incorporated the names of Robidoux's children for vital east-west arteries.

Stimulated by his entrepreneur motives, Robidoux favored Smith's plat over Kemper's because it provided opportunities for greater returns on his land. Because Robidoux intended to "sell my land in lots, not give it away in streets," Smith's plan received his approval and the plat was filed 26 July 1843 with the clerk of Common Pleas, St. Louis.⁶

Robidoux proceeded to sell his 160 acre parcel, lot by lot. Corner lots commanded \$150 each, while interior lots sold for fifty dollars less.⁷ John Corby erected the first brick house in the city at the corner of Fifth and Felix Streets the same year.⁸ The first local newspaper, The Weekly Gazette, appeared two years later on 25 April 1845⁹ and thereafter routinely depicted the latest activities in St. Joseph. In May 1845, the editor William Ridenbaugh,

⁶Logan, 24.

⁷C. H. Dunn and Co., An Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri, Comprising a Brief History of the Metropolis of the West (St. Joseph, Missouri: L. Hardman, 1887), 3. Hereafter cited Dunn, An Illustrated Review of St. Joseph.

⁸Logan, 23-26.

⁹Logan, 28.

provided an update in the town's progress:

It is now about twenty months since this place was laid off into town lots: it contains 682 inhabitants; the original proprietor Joseph Robidoux has sold 316 lots to private individuals; there are twelve large mercantile establishments, three hotels, with a host of mechanics of all trades.¹⁰

City growth continued unstifled near the river's edge and contributed to the transfer of the county seat of government to St. Joseph the following year in 1846. That same year, according to Father De Smet, the city was enjoying a "most prosperous condition . . . 350 houses, two churches, a city hall, and a jail" all built by "American, French, Creole, Irish, and German" settlers.¹¹ Citizens focused their attention on the river since their livelihood and well-being depended on it to varying degrees. The bulk of goods which entered the city, whether for sale or purchase, were transported by steamer. Thus, the town's early core of buildings, oriented westward to the docks, revealed the city's economic faith in the nurturing waterways.

Missouri's native son, author Mark Twain, captured this golden era of steamboat navigation in his entertaining tales about growing up in his river city, Hannibal. During the 1850s, the steamboat dominated the Missouri and Mississippi waters. The crafts' sizeable cargos and numerous passengers

¹⁰Logan, 31.

¹¹WPA Guide, 284.

stimulated local economies wherever they docked and proved to be an important source of commerce for merchants in St. Joseph. The transporting fees for crafts on the Missouri during the early 1850s was determined by weight, but with intense river traffic, a standard fee of seven dollars per trip was imposed for all steamers by 1855.¹² In 1849, an average of twenty ships paused at St. Joseph daily where each routinely was charged a five dollar wharf fee.¹³ Valuable goods were unloaded from steamers at St. Joseph where they generated additional revenue in the form of storage fees collected until the cargo could be shipped overland.

Furthermore, ferry companies which operated at St. Joseph, like the Wright Williamson and Co., enticed more immigrants to the city with advertising claims that their ferry-boats traversed the river quickly and frequently while carrying great loads:

The St. Joseph Steam Ferry called attention to the advantages of St. Joseph as an outfitting point and provided a ferry-boat which was capable of crossing the river every five minutes, and of carrying two hundred head of cattle and at least 12 wagons. This boat was

¹²Edgar A. Holt, "Missouri River Transportation in the Expansion of the West," Missouri Historical Review 20 (April 1926), 362. Before one flat fee for transporting cargo on the river was charged, rates increased as loads became heavier. In 1850, they were as follows: \$10 for crafts under 150 tons, \$20 for crafts between 150-300 tons, \$25 for the next weight category of 300-400 tons, and finally, \$30 for those crafts weighing over 400 tons. Hereafter cited Holt.

¹³WPA Guide, 285.

large and contained a hall and commodious staterooms sufficient to accommodate 125 persons comfortably.¹⁴

Besides advertisements, travelers' accounts provide additional descriptions of the city and rarely neglect mention of the river. For example, Rudolf Friederich Kurz, a Swiss artist and journalist, arrived at St. Joseph via the "Tamerlane," in the spring of 1848. Although he merely was seeking lodging, his journal entry for the day illuminated life in St. Joseph just one score and one year before Eckel arrived:

On April 18 [1848] at 11 o'clock at night, while the ship's black crew were singing a jubilee song, we docked at St. Joseph. In my eager gladness I went in search of an inn, although I should have fared just as well if I had spent the rest of the night on board.

St. Joseph, once the trading post of Joseph Robidoux, is situated at the foot of the Black Snake Hills on the left bank of the Missouri. Though the town was founded only six years ago, there are evidences already of a rapidly expanding and flourishing city. In spite of the fact that there are many new buildings, both of wood and brick, houses, either for homes or for business purposes, are hard to get. Upon my arrival the principal streets were much enlivened by fur traders and immigrants on their way to regions, as yet little known, in Oregon and California Only the most daring fur traders had penetrated into that far country and, following in their wake, a rough, lawless set of adventurers, eager for gain and best pleased with what the strong hand won, traveled the same trail in armed bands with pack mules and covered wagons.¹⁵

¹⁴Holt, 367.

¹⁵J.N.B. Hewitt, ed., Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz: An Account of His Experiences Among Fur Traders and American Indians on the Mississippi and Upper Missouri Rivers During the Years 1846-1852, trans. Myrtis Jarrell (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937), 29.

Inn or no inn, Kurz stayed until May, 1851¹⁶ and recorded more colorful accounts of St. Joseph during that period as it was gradually transformed from Robidoux's rowdy frontier town to a more civilized, but hardly genteel, Victorian city.

Gateway to the West

Beginning in the 1840s, St. Joseph demonstrated potential as a gateway city to the West. Although the Oregon Trail originated about sixty miles south of the city at Independence, immigrants discovered advantages for starting their overland journeys at St. Joseph. In less than a decade, Westward immigrants were a common sight in the city. Those bound for California, and later Colorado, traveled to St. Joseph where they were greeted by merchants and farmers eager to outfit their wagons. By mid-century, St. Joseph had emerged as a foremost gateway city, its role and development as a point of departure steadily fostered by the Missouri River. Its northwest course brought the masses to St. Joseph where they jumped off to begin overland journeys further west.

Compared to older and better-known Western gateway cities, St. Joseph received little initial traffic. Overlooked by early travelers who departed from nearby Independence and Westport, St. Joseph's gateway potential was unrealized at first. Due to the early popularity of

¹⁶Ibid., 335.

these cities and the masses that congregated there, St. Joseph did not encounter the same initial volume of travelers. Likewise, St. Joseph was less affected by the illnesses and poor health of traversing immigrants. Following the outbreak of severe cholera epidemics in both Westport and Independence, increasing numbers of immigrants soon chose St. Joseph as their gateway west in efforts to avoid exposure to the disease.¹⁷ Although St. Joseph did not escape cholera, it was less widespread in the area than further south where crowded boarding houses like the Independence House counted seven cholera deaths in a twenty-four hour period, and the Noland House reported another ten dead within one day.¹⁸

Yet, the majority of western-bound immigrants who departed via the northern route from St. Joseph probably were more anxious than health-conscious. In the race to get the gold, immigrants learned they could save traveling time by taking the river to St. Joseph before beginning the overland journey. By mid-February 1849, thousands rushed to the city giving St. Joseph a boost over other gateway junctures. Although they poured into the town quickly, some of the westward-bound were detained in St. Joseph while

¹⁷WPA Guide, 285.

¹⁸Susan C. Chiles, "Southeast Wind, Damp Days Mean Cholera Atmosphere a Century Ago," excerpts from an article for the Kansas City Star, 2 February 1949 in Missouri Historical Review 48 (January 1954), 214.

impatiently waiting for the prairie grasses to green. Kurz, an eye-witness, depicted the fever:

The city was packed so full of people that tents were pitched about the city and along the opposite bank of the river in such numbers that we seemed besieged by an army. Every house lot that was enclosed became a stable and brought in money to the owner.¹⁹

Once docked in St. Joseph, emigrants readied themselves for the rugged overland trip ahead through the purchase of supplies from local merchants and farmers. No longer light-travelers on the river, it was not uncommon for settlers to spend their entire life savings buying an assortment of equipment and stock--wagons, tools, oxen, mules, and food staples--that would enable them to reach their destinations. In addition to outfitting immigrants with these goods, area farmers profited through similar trade supplying the military at Fort Leavenworth. Typically, items were overpriced at starting points, and according to Kurz, "the prices of provisions, cattle, and goods became exorbitant." He elaborated about the prices in St. Joseph at the onset of the gold rush:

The farmer fixed no price for his products but advanced them higher and higher with each new band of adventurers. A bushel of corn, formerly only 15 cents, advanced to \$1; a barrel, containing 5 bushels, was \$5. Ham, formerly from 3 to 7 cents a pound, was now 12 cents; butter, from 8 to 25 cents.²⁰

Yet in competitive spirit, supplies were slightly less

¹⁹WPA Guide, 285.

²⁰Kurz, quoted in Logan, 45.

expensive at St. Joseph than Independence. For example, while wagons sold at Independence for approximately \$100, they could be purchased in St. Joseph from \$65 to \$95. These comparative prices, along with others for related items like oxen, mules, flour, coffee, and sugar, were printed in the St. Joseph Gazette on 9 February 1849. The newspaper claimed, "most of the articles demanded by the emigrant can be procured in St. Joseph from ten to thirty per cent less than they can be obtained at Independence."²¹

Such media served merchants well and once circulated, pulled even more trail-goers into St. Joseph. In 1849, some 1,500 to 2,000 prairie schooners crossed the river at St. Joseph.²² Collectively assembled, they comprised one long caravan en route to their final destinations as recorded by Charles Scarlett Raffington: "There was one continuous line of wagons from east to west as far as the eye could reach, moving steadily westward, and like a cyclone, drawing into its course on the right and left many of those along its pathway."²³ Similarly, the sheer number of immigrants crowded at the starting point of the trail and the accompanying fleets of wagons prompted John McWilliams, an eighteen-year-old trail participant, to capture the moment

²¹Logan, 49.

²²David D. March, The History of Missouri (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1967), 786. Hereafter cited March.

²³Logan, 48.

in his journal entry:

We left St. Joseph on May 7, 1849 and had a strenuous time getting across the Missouri River, as did the other outfits. We had to move our wagons by hand for two or three days to get them to the ferry; and we had to keep our cattle away back in the open spaces in the street which, I recall it, was miles long. All the wagons were canvas-backed, crammed to the ash-bows that supported the covers; and they were so close together that the wagon tongues ran each under the wagon preceding it. Many of them had sheet-iron camp stoves lashed on behind, and also had water buckets and tar pails dangling beneath. This long stream of wagons never stopped day or night, and a number of steamboats were used as ferries to help them get across.²⁴

Swollen migration patterns brought wealth to the city; the value of merchandise stocks alone was estimated at \$400,000. Fortunes could be made overnight in some cases, thus St. Joseph was fast becoming one of the richest cities in the United States as merchant-residents kept their eyes peeled on the future of the wholesale and retail trading business.²⁵

Building starts were on the rise as townspeople raced to keep pace with the city's growth. A reported 123 buildings, sixty-four of them brick, were erected in a seven month period in 1849,²⁶ but even more were necessary. An illustration overlooking the Missouri River and dated 1850, reveals the vernacular nature of the architecture throughout the town during this epoch (fig. 5-1). This view, although

²⁴Logan, 50.

²⁵WPA Guide, 285.

²⁶Ibid.

an artist's idealized conception, suggests a fairly complex and impressive group of vernacular buildings of British ancestry. Western migrants came and went, but some stayed behind to become local settlers and contribute to the city's increasing population. Over a ten year period beginning with the onslaught of trans-west migration in 1849 to the end of the decade marked by census records of 1860, the population had grown from 1,800 to 8,932, promoting St. Joseph to the second largest city in the state, after St. Louis.²⁷

The wagon trains to California gradually subsided, but the discovery of gold at Pikes Peak, Colorado, on 15 January 1859 summoned a second mass-migration to the West. Eager prospectors flocked to the river where they boarded crafts to expedite their western journeys. As a result, 1859 was "probably the most profitable year in the history of Missouri River steamboat navigation."²⁸ The preparation rituals for trans-west ventures continued in St. Joseph, including the sale and transport of livestock. Along with the establishment of western settlements came tremendous demands for all kinds of products, beef and pork being two. Texas cattlemen steered their herds eastward to market and as a result, St. Joseph took an early lead in stock-related industries such as the meat-packing house. In the early

²⁷March, 787.

²⁸Holt, 377.

1850s, cattle purchased for ten dollars a head in Missouri brought fifteen times that amount in California. Profits eventually decreased, however; but not before St. Joseph became a major center for livestock trading and slaughtering.²⁹

The Missouri River was a crucial and positive factor in the history of the town, but its magnitude was diminished by the completion of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad--the first railroad to cross Missouri on 13 February 1859.³⁰ Previously St. Joseph possessed the state's last river dock to the West, but the city also boasted the last Western terminus of all the railroads in the United States. The terminal was an important asset to the city and remained the nation's most western terminus until 1869 when Union Pacific linked the transcontinental railroad to vying gateway cities, Omaha and Council Bluffs following the Civil War. Through the railroad and river enterprises in the city, St. Joseph was equipped with substantial transportation and

²⁹Milton D. Rafferty, Missouri: A Geography (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 183; hereafter cited Rafferty. According to David March, the pork industry got its start in St. Joseph when 5,000 hogs were processed in 1846 (v. 2, 1071). The St. Joseph Gazette of 19 January 1853 propagated the increased value of cows in California, most worth \$150 each. According to Popplewell, on the authority of the St. Joseph Morning Herald, 4 February 1864, approximately 500,000 cattle from northwest Missouri were driven to Colorado in 1864 when typical beef prices were \$12 per 100 pounds there (see Frank Popplewell, "St. Joseph, Missouri as a Center of the Cattle Trade," Missouri Historical Review 32 (July 1938), 443-457 for more on this subject).

³⁰WPA Guide, 286.

communication mediums that resulted in an impressive distribution network for the period, especially the 1859-1869 decade. The livestock business continued to thrive and in one year alone--1866--Texas cowhands accompanied more than 260,000 longhorn to railheads in St. Joseph.³¹

By 1859, St. Joseph had evolved beyond its early stages, but was still much a frontier town as Elias Marsh, a ship's doctor, commented in his journal:

On June 4 [1859], we arrived at St. Joseph's in the morning, where we stopped for some time and we almost all went above to procure some articles forgotten in St. Louis. St. Joseph's is considered the finest town on the river, but has been built up within a few years so that most of its streets are not graded and though there are some good stores it does not have a comfortable appearance.³²

The "comfortable appearance" was fast approaching. With more wealth and more people than ever before, St. Joseph was gearing up for greater prosperity. Historian David March remarked, "By 1860, St. Joseph, a town of about

³¹Rafferty, 183. Rafferty and other authors, like WPA writers explain that the Texas cattlemen originally planned to drive the cattle through southwest Missouri to the Pacific Railroad at Sedalia, but were detoured west through Kansas by objecting Ozark citizens who opposed the tick and flea-infested herds (287). The longhorns were re-routed west, along the eastern border of Kansas and eventually arrived at the railhead centers of St. Joseph instead. For more on this topic see, Virginia Sue Hutcheson, "Cattle Drives in Missouri," Missouri Historical Review 37 (April 1943), 286-296, especially pages 294-295.

³²These observations by Thomas Elias Marsh, the ship physician on board "Chippewa," were published in Hazel A. Faubion's, Tale of Old "St. Joe" and the Frontier Days (Cassville, Missouri: LITHO Printers and St. Joseph Missouri Branch of the National League of American Pen Women, Inc., 1977), 28.

11,000, was a principal point of departure for travel and transportation across the plains, an important market for grain and hemp, and a pork packing center."³³

In addition to the river, trails, and rails, St. Joseph had two other noted links to the West--Hockaday's stage coach line to Salt Lake City and the Pony Express to Sacramento. Each was a fairly brief, although innovative, chapter in the history of St. Joseph. Both were instrumental measures which helped preserve the West, namely California, for the Union. The swift Pony Express connected two thousand miles of rugged terrain in ten days, while the more cumbersome coach offered slower, but dependable communication service between the Union army post in Utah and Washington's War Department. Although the initial run of the Pony Express on 3 April 1860 did not mark the first

³³March, v. 2, 1071. Besides distributing and selling goods, numerous people of St. Joseph pursued occupations in manufacturing. Employment figures for 1900 reveal a nearly equal ratio among individuals who earned their incomes through trade and transportation occupations (16,484) versus those who pursued manufacturing and mechanical work (15,815). Of the total population at least ten years of age engaged in "all gainful occupations" (47,897), the 1900 census reports that 2,118 people provided professional services, while only 557 pursued agricultural ventures. Another 12,923 provided domestic and personal services, thereby completing the tally for the five employment classifications represented by "Table 88: Population at Least 10 Years of Age Engaged in Gainful Occupation" (Abstract of the 12th Census of the United States, 1900, [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1976], 128. Earlier occupational statistics could be consulted to compare St. Joseph's labor force, decade by decade, shortly before and during Eckel's residency in the city.

time overland mail service was provided west of the Missouri, it did publicize the central route.³⁴ The Pony Express was a success up to its final venture on 26 October 1861, when it was replaced by the more efficient telegraph.³⁵

³⁴Sheridan Logan explains that before the advent of the Pony Express, mail was routinely delivered to the West by ship (Old Saint Jo, 67). In 1851, Congress established mail service from the east coast to the west via ships and overland across the Isthmus of Panama twice a month. This route required thirty days for mail to travel from New York to San Francisco. Five years later the construction of the Panama Railroad helped dispense the mail from San Francisco since incoming mail could be distributed to camps on express cars. Prior to the Pony Express, overland mail was barely a reality. In The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroad (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1926), author LeRoy Hafen acknowledges the government awarded an overland mail route to Jacob Hall for transporting mail on a sixty day schedule from Kansas City through Sante Fe and Albuquerque to Stockton, California for \$79,999 in 1858. The six mule team wagon set out on the Sante Fe Trail on 1 October and delivered the mail to Stockton in fifty-four days, but not without uncertainty and complications due to Indian attacks.

³⁵Logan, 76. The Pony Express consisted of horse, rider, and urgent mail contained in a specially designed leather mail bag known as a "mochila." There were 190 relay stations along the 2,000 mile journey, each separated by approximately twenty-five miles. In relay fashion, each rider (preferably young, skinny orphans), covered seventy-five miles daily, stopping at three change stations where fresh horses were waiting to ensure mail and rider were transferred in less than two minutes (David March, The History of Missouri v. 1, 802). The most important news transported by Pony Express was President Lincoln's Inaugural address. Logan summarizes the significance of the event: "Keen interest was felt in this [the address] all over the land, foreshadowing as it did the policy of the administration regarding the secession and slavery question. In order to establish a record, as well as for an advertisement, the company determined to break all previous records. Every precaution was taken to prevent delay and the result stands without a parallel in history: seven days and seventeen hours--185 hours--for 1,950 miles, an average

Civil War Strife

Trans-west migration, distribution, and communication patterns of the mid-1800s put St. Joseph in a favorable commercial position. St. Joseph thrived during the frontier period due to a geographic location on the river that gave it a natural advantage along the route of westward movement. The city achieved its healthy economic base largely at the expense of migrating masses that traveled west prior to the extension of railroad lines. Popplewell remarked, "St. Joseph prospered from the fact that poor transportation conditions prevailed throughout the west."³⁶ By 1860, the city outranked the trading centers of Omaha and Kansas City. According to federal census records for 1860, the population of St. Joseph numbered 8,932. This figure not only surpassed the population of Kansas City (4,400); Omaha (1,883); and Council Bluffs (2,000); but exceeded the combined population of all three cities (8,283).³⁷ Yet, St. Joseph's good fortune and brisk progress began to lose momentum as the decade advanced. The divided loyalty of citizens evoked by the threatening war between the states, inhibited prosperity and led to greater conflict among neighbors. While prominent Southern families who owned more

of 10.7 miles per hour. From St. Joseph to Denver, 665 miles were made in two days and twenty-one hours--the last ten miles being negotiated in thirty-one minutes (79)."

³⁶Popplewell, 448.

³⁷Logan, 59.

than 2,000 slaves comprised a large segment of the Buchanan County population, abolitionists also could be counted among the city's influential citizens whose appeals were further strengthened by supporters just across the river in "Free Kansas."³⁸

Tumultuous events which occurred within the city demonstrated the clash in views between those of Secessionist and Unionist sympathies, as elsewhere throughout Missouri. In 1859 for instance, abolitionist Dr. John Doy was arrested for inducing slaves to flee Missouri, but a band of supporters organized his successful jail-break from St. Joseph and prevented his case from going to trial. In defense of the Confederate cause, a pro-slavery mob organized by local citizen and real estate dealer M. Jeff Thompson, rallied at the post office and tore down the United States flag during the spring of 1861. The local newspaper, the Daily Gazette, took a secession stance, but at a costly price. The office was closed by federal agents in 1861 to prevent the vociferous publisher (and former Virginian), J. H. R. Cundiff, from spreading his unacceptable political ideas. Outraged, Cundiff left town to join the Confederate military.³⁹ After his removal, Charles B. Wilkinson, a New York Yankee who moved to the city in January 1860, began a Union campaign by publishing

³⁸WPA Guide, 286.

³⁹Logan, 95.

the St. Joseph Morning Herald in February 1862.

In his book, Old Saint Jo, Logan reprinted Wilkinson's detailed and lengthy accounts of Civil War tension in St. Joseph, including one instance that occurred just six days after the start of the war. Within the week following the fall of Fort Sumter on 14 April 1861, a group of gallantly-dressed local men paraded through the city shortly before a public meeting convened at the Buchanan County Courthouse. These red and blue color-bearers with revolvers at their sides created a wave of excitement and loyalty among citizens who had Southern ties. Wilkinson's stirring narrative captured their effect and reported, "Secession flags waved from the windows and balconies of private residences and the current was very overpoweringly secessionward."⁴⁰

While the majority of St. Joseph residents supported the Confederate States of America, Missouri officially chose to remain in the Union. The heated conflict in St. Joseph over appropriate banners ensued until the city adopted a local ordinance on the issue.⁴¹ Opposing Union and Confederate companies who occupied the city alternately, frequent outbursts of guerrilla warfare among bands of area

⁴⁰Logan, 95.

⁴¹Wilkinson chronicles how the ordinance attempted to reduce tension by forbidding citizens to raise any flag within the corporate city limits, and authorized the Marshall to forcibly remove "every such cause of irritation (Logan, 97)."

bushwhackers, and clashes between angry mobs of looting residents drained the local economy. Recurring pillages forced several stores out of business, while accompanying calamity caused schools to close and townspeople to evacuate the city making it nothing more than a "deserted village."⁴² An account from the St. Joseph Morning Herald of 27 February 1862 described the chaos:

our streets are filled with armed men and our business houses are used for stables, our school houses are used for barracks, our merchants are insolvent . . . business is dead in the highways.

Post-War Recovery

By the following year, 1863, daily activities were restored in the city and trade was once again free to operate, although not without the protection and presence of Union guns. Post-war recovery was not instantaneous, but soon suppressed the destructive war toll and helped rejuvenate the town's vigorous economic life. During these uneasy years, reconstruction was a demanding process that required some citizens to rebuild their homes and livelihoods. Eventually, the revived city triumphed again as a significant center of distribution and transportation for both goods and people. While St. Joseph was still a destination point for some, the increasing railroad lines provided new routes and options for shippers and travelers. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad Company expanded its

⁴²Wilkinson, by Logan, 102.

operation with the purchase of the Quincy and Palmyra Railroad in 1867, but ferries remained a necessity at St. Joseph until a bridge across the Missouri River was constructed in 1873.⁴³

Eckel arrived in St. Joseph in the midst of post-war recovery and on the eve of Independence Day. Although Eckel intended to continue his rail route to Kansas City, his Saturday evening timing in St. Joseph coincided with numerous patriotic festivities that may have further preempted his original plans.

The area's latest news was printed in the St. Joseph Daily Gazette for 3 July 1869, the day Eckel made his way through the city exploring the foreign environs.⁴⁴ Headlines from the front page revealed the flavor of local happenings, while less imperative articles on national events, like the "Unveiling of Gettysburg Monument" or the "Total Fall of a Bridge at Richmond," appeared on following pages. Sections of the newspaper focused on various groups in the community and the social activities planned to enhance the country's birthday party. Picnics, brass band ensembles, firework displays, and even upcoming performances

⁴³March, v. 2, 1034.

⁴⁴Coincidentally, the opening ceremonies of Kansas City's first railroad bridge across the Missouri River were scheduled for this date. Had Eckel continued his trip to Kansas City as planned, he could have been one of the first to inspect the Hannibal bridge (March, v. 2, 1034). St. Joseph's bridge was four years removed.

by "the celebrated Lilliputians, the original Tom Thumb and wife and Commodore Nutt and Minnie Warren," were announced.

European immigrants represented some of the most passionate celebrants in town. Their involvement in such a holiday suggests deep nationalistic sentiments for their adopted homeland and city. In particular, the German-Americans (who had tended to be loyal Unionists during the Civil War) appeared to be most engrossed in the fun. The paper announced the grand picnic at Corby's Grove sponsored by the German Catholic Association and the German Turners (Turnvereins) festivities at New Ulm Park.

Regardless of one's cultural heritage, each was expected to savor the occasion, or as the reporter promoted, "ample opportunity will be afforded to all for the enjoyment of the national birthday, and he will be but a sluggard in patriotism who does not find place or company for a day of quiet or hilarious pleasure." Such gaiety surely fostered civic pride and boosted local morale, while greeting Eckel with a favorable impression of the city. The fair-like atmosphere welcomed Eckel to St. Joseph on this occasion, his first Fourth of July in the United States.

If Eckel was encouraged by this setting, his optimism would have been only supported by the city directory. The publisher of the 1867-68 directory, Frank Swick, enticed newcomers to consider advantages St. Joseph offered. In his short introduction titled, "Our City," three paragraphs in

particular may have persuaded Eckel to linger and explore St. Joseph more thoroughly:

During the war, commerce and energy here seemed completely prostrated, as this city was believed to be in continual danger of invasion; but since the return of peace, its course has been onward with speed. Its population is now fully double what it was two years since, while the improvements are much more rapid, and are of the most substantial kind.

Two hundred and forty six residences, costing each from \$500 to \$5,000; and ninety-six business houses, costing each from \$4,000 to \$25,000 have been built within the city limits during the year just past; and yet the demand far surpasses the supply, and seems continually on the increase. Rents are steadily advancing, and it is now evident that we must either have five hundred more residences or witness a decrease of population that cannot be pleasing to any capitalist or friend of the city.

So great has been the increase of mere trading capital of late, that we feel justified in saying that the supply far exceeds the demand. But talent, energy and capital are much needed in all departments of manufacture and in these callings we offer the most inviting and profitable field to be found.⁴⁵

Obviously growth looked steady, if not tremendous, to Eckel. At age twenty-four, he saw the flourishing economy in action, ascertained first-hand the demand for buildings, and recognized the career opportunities that could be his in this burgeoning city of St. Joseph.

⁴⁵Frank Swick's Resident and Business Directory of St. Joseph (St. Joseph, Missouri: Frank Swick Publisher and Co., 1867), 9.

CHAPTER 6

THE STATE OF ARCHITECTURE IN MISSOURI, 1869

The Profession

Education of American Architects

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, very few architects working throughout Missouri were academically educated in the profession. This was not atypical, but customary throughout the country during the period. Architecture, as a profession, was slow to develop in the United States. There were neither schools of architecture nor educational requirements for architects in America before the 1860s. Because few building designers shared the same training experiences and credentials, the profession suffered internally and lacked recognition. Building standards were not universal, reference libraries were limited if they existed at all, and business policies varied among architects.

Architect Henry Van Brunt (1832-1903) embarked upon his study of architecture during the middle of the nineteenth century despite the numerous obstacles he and others who shared his profession faced. According to his recollections:

The study of architecture at that time was pursued under the most discouraging conditions. The art was ill understood and indeed hardly respected by the public. There were no schools in which it was recognized as a desirable subject for study. There were but few books available and our traditions were eminently provincial. Examples of good work were so rare that our ideals of perfection were incoherent and

doubtful, and were swayed, now in one direction and now in another by the literary warfare then prevailing between Gothic and classic camps.¹

Van Brunt persisted in his chosen field although the lack of professionalism among his colleagues continued through the early years of his career. He lamented those days when:

community of thought [and] mutual friendship hardly existed among architects. The hand of each was turned with jealousy and suspicion against his brother. His processes of design and his business methods were personal secrets. Each concealed his drawings from the rest as if they were pages of a private diary. Even books and prints were carefully secluded from inspection by any rival. . . . There were no ethics of practice, no common ground of mutual protection, no unity of action or thought, no national literature of architecture.²

While Van Brunt was at work in Boston at mid-century, his passages depict the architectural climate across the nation. The character of the profession fared no better in the Midwest; in fact it was less advanced when compared to more densely populated areas of the East where architects congregated. In St. Joseph as elsewhere, anyone could open an office or establish an architectural firm, regardless of his background, and many did. Without guidelines defining and directing the practice, confusion clouded the role of the architect in society. Consequently, the public

¹Henry Van Brunt, "Richard Morris Hunt," Journal of Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects, (Providence: 1895), 71-84, reprinted in William Coles' Architecture and Society: Selected Essays of Henry Van Brunt (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 328-341, quote from page 331.

²Ibid., 335.

perceived little distinction between the work that carpenters, builders, and architects performed and often regarded the word "architect" a fancy synonym for builder.³

Because no school in the United States afforded a complete curriculum in architecture, and considering only a minority of Americans were able to study abroad, there were few measures available for Americans to become architects. Students occasionally attempted to study architecture through existing engineering programs at American schools.⁴

³Correspondence from Eckel to Rev. John J. Jermain, Milan, Missouri, on 25 April 1907, indicates an architect's role was still a novel concept for some. Eckel explained his work and how it differed from a builder's or contractor's:

I received your telegram also your letter. I notice by your letter that you do not understand my position, in this matter, as an architect.

As an architect I do not contract to erect buildings all I do is make plans, elevations, specifications and full size details for the contractors to figure from, what I done exactly for Father Cullen.

I make first different sketches to get the plans as you like to have them then I make the working drawings from which the contractors figure. And then the contract is awarded to the lowest & best contractor. I charged to Father Cullen 3 per cent on the cost of the building the same I charge for all such work" (Business correspondence, 1906-1908, 24, Brunner archive collection).

⁴The history of engineering schools in the United States predates that of architectural programs. In 1802, the Military Academy at West Point inaugurated "the first organized technical curriculum in the country." More technical schools followed, and some, like the Lyceum based in Gardiner, Maine, and organized by Benjamin Hale, provided individual courses in surveying, carpentry, and civil architecture as early as 1823. Civil engineering classes appeared at the University of Virginia in 1836 where architectural drawing and building construction augmented the curriculum shortly thereafter. There were engineering schools in Philadelphia and Boston by 1846, Harvard introduced its program in 1847, and Yale opened its School

This approach generally proved acceptable since the subjects were closely related and often regarded as one combined profession. Ware, frustrated that architecture was not a respected profession like medicine and law, devoted his life to making it one. In Joan Draper's essay on "The École des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States," the author includes one of Ware's statements from his 1866 outline of the MIT course: "The profession is at present in the hands of mechanics," who might be good at practical matters, but are "ignorant of the higher branches of their calling."⁵ Comments like Ware's were necessary if the profession was to be examined and improved.

Institutional and financial limitations forced most students to gain an understanding of the building and drafting trades at the workplace rather than the school. Weatherhead confirmed the custom, "Before the Civil War the few practitioners who possessed any technical training had acquired it in England, and the only method of qualifying for practice available in the United States was by apprenticeship in the office of an architect."⁶ While there are exceptions to Weatherhead's statement (like the first American students who studied at the École beginning

of Engineering in 1852. Most these schools looked to European polytechnic examples. See Bannister, 94-95.

⁵Draper, 215.

⁶Weatherhead, 13.

with Richard Morris Hunt's admission in 1846), he accurately generalized that office training was the conventional mode of architectural education in the United States until the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Counted Architects

Due to the absence of educational programs in architecture, architects educated in distant lands--whether American or immigrant--found regular demands for their expertise in the developing United States. Scarcity of architects and the related deficiency of competent masters in the field encouraged foreign architects to contemplate careers in America. Immigrants rounded out the figures of architects enumerated in the nation's census records until American institutions created appropriate schools and eventually educated architects of their own. The proportion of native-born to foreign architects in the United States steadily reflected the evolution of American collegiate programs in architecture. Additional schools and faculty enabled more architects to be educated, yet foreigners comprised a significant portion of the architects working in the United States during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Prior to the founding the nation's first architectural program at MIT in 1865, census records for 1860 indicate there were 1,263 architects in the country, an increase from

591 architects counted in census records for 1850.⁷ By 1870, the census reported the profession had expanded by 754 for a total of 2,017 architects, but about one-third of them were immigrants. Ten years later, 3,375 architects were at work in the United States and while the number had grown, so did the proportion of native-born architects to foreign architects. The profile of the nation's native-born architects increased from 66 percent in 1870 to almost 71 percent in 1880.⁸

The next decade marked a third rise in the number of architects born in the United States versus American architects born elsewhere. By 1890, the number of architects in the United States had more than doubled. Up from the 3,375 architects of 1880, the 1890 census counted 8,070 architects with nearly 73 percent native born. Over the twenty year period, from 1870 to 1890, the segment of foreign born architects in the United States declined from one-third to almost one-fourth of all practicing architects. By 1920, the portion of foreign born architects was reduced

⁷Bannister, 96.

⁸As previously noted, census records for 1880 record 3,375 architects in the United States, but surprisingly 17 architects were women. Native born architects numbered 2,382 while the census reports 395 architects were born in Germany, 255 were born in Great Britain, 92 were born in Ireland, 90 were of British American (Canadian) nativity, and 27 were from Scandinavia. France's contribution is not recorded singularly, but counted among the 134 architects born in "other countries." This last number would have included Eckel (Compendium of the 10th [1880] Census [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883], 1368-9).

to 16 percent.⁹

In 1868, Eckel had something in common with one third of the architects in America. Considering the national figures, he--like one out of three architects in the United States--was an immigrant. Yet Eckel's extensive training at the École set him apart from the majority of immigrant architect peers who studied elsewhere. As Eckel pursued his practice, he represented a shrinking minority. As the years progressed, Eckel encountered few immigrant architects and met even fewer immigrant architects who also prepared at the École.¹⁰ Because increasing numbers of Americans studied

⁹Noffsinger provides census data for the number of architects in the nation: 1850: 591 architects (17); 1860: 1,263 architects (17); 1870: 2,017 architects (1,343 of them born in the U.S., 20); 1880: 3,375 (2,382 native-born, 29); 1890: 8,070 (5,890 native-born, 2,180 immigrants, 25); 1900: 10,581 architects (49); 1910: 16,613 architects (61); and 1920: 18,187 architects (63).

¹⁰Foreign architects continued to immigrate to the United States in later years but in declining numbers. Although Eckel was one of the earliest foreign-born and educated architects to establish his career in St. Joseph, Missouri, other immigrant architects also made their mark on Missouri and deserve study. One example is Ludwig Abt (1882-1967) of Moberly, Missouri, an architect of German birth who trained at the Technicum Hildburghausen, Thuringen, Germany. Professor Howard Marshall, Department of Art History at the University of Missouri, considered Abt's work in a 1989 manuscript he prepared for the Randolph County Historical Society titled, "An Introduction to and Preliminary Catalogue of the Work of Moberly Architect Ludwig Abt." Abt's birth in 1882 and his immigration in 1906 followed Eckel's same events of 1845 and 1868 nearly four decades later, yet his saga in Moberly (a town established by railroad development of the 1860s) may be similar to Eckel's career in the older river town of St. Joseph. Although Abt and Eckel represent different generations, educational backgrounds, and cultures, they experienced similar careers in Missouri. Thus, there must

architecture at home, the demand for outside architects was reduced.¹¹

Advancing the Profession

Architects concerned with fostering their profession and regulating its practice in the United States felt the acute need to establish an organization to accomplish their mission. Inspired by England's efforts to establish the (Royal) Institute of British Architects in 1834, the American Institution of Architects was organized in 1836. Although it represented a noble cause and was steered by dignitaries of the profession such as William Strickland and Thomas U. Walter, the entity lacked members and it declined. Its premature course did however pave the way for future

be additional immigrant architects in Missouri to document and explain, especially those whose practices spanned the years between Eckel and Abt's careers.

¹¹In 1890, the number of French immigrants was proportionately low in St. Joseph compared to the 7,073 population of foreign born in the city. France ranked ninth among twenty-two countries individually represented by population census figures for St. Joseph. German immigrants outnumbered all other foreigners as the following list demonstrates: Germany--3,208; Ireland--1,215; England--652; Switzerland--307; Poland--305; Sweden--208; Russia--129; Scotland--129; France--98; Bohemia (Czechoslovakia)--98; Denmark--92; Italy--90; Austria--54; Norway--34; Wales--20; Holland--15; China--11; Belgium--10; Luxemburg--6; Hungary--4; Spain--2; Asia--2 (Compendium of the 11th [1890] Census [Washington: Government Printing Office], 604-07). The few French born architects throughout the country and the small population of French immigrants in St. Joseph illustrate the uncommon nature of Eckel's existence in the city. Based on city directories, the number of architects in St. Joseph ranged from roughly five to eleven architects per decade from 1870 to 1930 (1870--5; 1880--7; 1890--5; 1900--6; 1910--11; 1920--7; 1930--7), but their nativity has not been examined.

success. After two decades, the organization was incorporated and became the newly formed American Institute of Architects in 1857.¹² To architects like Hunt and Van Brunt, the celebrated formation of the AIA became a dominant force for emancipating the business from the old ways.¹³

Activities of the AIA were neglected briefly during the Civil War, but reconciliation throughout the country strengthened the organization and local groups partitioned to join as chapters.¹⁴ The greatest membership surge occurred in 1889 when the Western Association of Architects affiliated with the AIA. The Western Association of Architects originated in Chicago in November 1884, and although it was not as old as the AIA, it boasted a larger membership. While scattered AIA chapters affirmed the organization's national scope from coast to coast, the nucleus of the Western Association was more regional as its name implied. The AIA maintained two membership categories--fellows and associates--whereas, the Western Association

¹²Noffsinger, 7, 17; Bannister, 72; Weatherhead, 14.

¹³Paul R. Baker, Richard Morris Hunt (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), 108. Hereafter cited Baker.

¹⁴Bannister records, "From 1862 to 1864 the Civil War forced suspension, but with the return of peace, The AIA promptly renewed its activities. The necessity for accommodating local groups was gradually recognized and, at the first convention in New York in March, 1867, a system of chapters was adopted, with the New York group becoming the first unit. In 1869, the Philadelphia and Chicago chapters were welcomed; and, in 1870, chapters were established at Boston, Baltimore, and Cincinnati. Rhode Island followed in 1875, and San Francisco in 1881 (73)."

did not distinguish between its body of Midwest architects. Once the two organizations became one, the associate classification was eliminated, the constitution was revised, and the chapter system was preserved. Eckel, cognizant of the merits of professional organizations, joined the Western Association in 1885.¹⁵ He was a member of the Western Association first--probably due to geography more than any one factor. Like other Western Association members, he became a fellow of the AIA upon their consolidation in 1889.¹⁶ École alumni were counted among some of the most valuable and numerous members of the AIA. By 1907, the organization's membership consisted of eighty-four corresponding members, sixty-two honorary members, 420 associates, and 339 Fellows of which 100 were former students of the École.¹⁷

The country's first professional journal of architecture, The American Architect, did not appear until 1876. With William Rotch Ware as its editor until 1907, the publication enabled architects to keep abreast of progress in the field and provided a vehicle that was circulated

¹⁵"Contemporary Architects," 1911, 82; and Western Contractor.

¹⁶Ibid., and National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 325. See Bannister, 73 and Baker, 327-328 regarding the coalition of the two organizations.

¹⁷Delaire, 458.

throughout the nation.¹⁸

New organizations and publications promoted the architect and his *raison d'être*, but the profession was elevated to unprecedented heights through the founding of new schools. American schools of architecture, while initially modeled after the *École des Beaux-Arts* and frequently staffed by French teachers, were among the most significant institutions to advance the profession in the United States. They offered formal educational programs that did not exist previously in the country and were instrumental for producing graduates on an annual basis.

The status of the architect during the first decade of the twentieth century differed little from previous years since only a fraction of all practicing architects were professionally trained and educated. Frederick Mann, a professor at Washington University, St. Louis, attempted to assess the situation in 1906 when he conservatively estimated that, "of all the architects of the country at most only seven hundred and fifty in three thousand, or one in four, have had systematic training for the profession they are practicing."¹⁹ The ratio was incredibly unbalanced, but there were more formally educated architects

¹⁸Noffsinger, 27.

¹⁹Frederick Mann, "Training of Architects," Architectural Record 22 (September 1907), 244, includes excerpts from "Architecture and Progress," the paper Mann prepared for the convention of the American Civic Association in 1906.

in the country than ever before and the proportion of trained to untrained architects was escalating, especially with the introduction of new state laws restricting the practice.

No architectural registration law existed in the country until the state of Illinois enacted one in 1897. The Illinois Act was the outcome of the Western Association of Architects' (WAA) goal to regulate the practice through lawful measures. The WAA named a Committee of Statutory Revisions headed by Dankmar Adler of Chicago that proposed that states require architects to meet professional qualifications as a legal prerequisite to practice. Adler promoted the act in his state for more than twelve years until it was eventually passed, but it took more than half a century for all fifty states to adopt similar legislation.²⁰ Gradually, universal stipulations throughout the country ensured that all architects were professionally registered.

The development of the architectural profession in the United States, like other professions, was supported by institutions of higher education, professional organizations, regulated standards, published journals, and competent individuals dedicated to its advancement. To his advantage, Eckel reached the United States before many of these factors were defined or implemented. Unlike most

²⁰Bannister, 356 and Noffsinger, 29.

contemporary architects, Eckel was formally trained in the practice. It was doubly beneficial that he came from the École and his competition in St. Joseph did not.

Architects in St. Joseph before Eckel

The first builders in St. Joseph predate city directories as well as published biographies and histories for the area, therefore little data exists about most these pioneers. William Blair, J. H. McMachen, and E. D. Mason were responsible for some of the early architecture in St. Joseph, but few of their contributions survive and are difficult to confirm. More information is available for later architects, like William Angelo Powell, who also is introduced.

William Blair

Two antebellum residences credited to Blair and listed in the National Register of Historic Places are the Joseph Davis Residence at 2100 North Eleventh Street, built 1847 (fig. 6-1), and the Isaac Miller Residence, 3003 Ashland Avenue, constructed 1859 (fig. 6-2). Blair designed both brick buildings in the late Federal style typical for the period, but little is known about his educational background as an architect. Both two story houses are similar in plan and form: each is two rooms wide with a central hall, however the older Davis house is one room deep (single pile) instead of two rooms deep (double pile) like the Miller house. The brickwork of the Davis house creates a Flemish

bond, a pattern and bond formed by bricks that alternate from header to stretcher position in each course. The principal facade of the Miller house features cast iron lintels over the windows that were shipped from St. Louis.²¹ Oral history reports that Blair suffered great economic hardship during the construction of the Miller house, perhaps even personal ruin. As a result, he may not have remained in St. Joseph. Some sources suggest that he committed suicide rather than face bankruptcy, while others report that the disgraced architect left town on a steamboat, never to be heard from again. Regardless of the lack of biographical details about Blair, no other St. Joseph buildings have been documented as his work.²²

J. H. McMachen

Another early architect in St. Joseph was J. H. McMachen, born 1818.²³ He received his education in his

²¹St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, St. Joseph Landmarks: A Record of Our Significant Historical and Cultural Resources (St. Joseph, Missouri: St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, 1984), 2, 8. According to the Landmarks Commission, Miller built his house in 1859 "with the profits of one year's hemp crop which brought \$4,900" (8). Hereafter cited St. Joseph Landmarks Commission.

²²Unfortunately, there are few records on the earliest architects in St. Joseph. This information about Blair was obtained through personal interviews in St. Joseph with historian and octogenarian Sheridan A. Logan, April 1989, and Nancy Miller, homeowner of the Isaac Miller Residence, March 1989.

²³History of Buchanan County, Containing a History of the County, its Cities and Towns (St. Joseph, Missouri: St. Joseph Steam Printing Co., 1881), 824. Hereafter cited History of Buchanan County.

native Baltimore, Maryland, where he was employed by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. for eleven years--a period in which he supervised the construction of all the depots along the line, including the Camden depot at Baltimore and the company's depot in Washington, D.C. He also was responsible for the design of the first iron bridge built on the route. Although at work in St. Joseph by 1856²⁴ at age thirty-eight, McMachen is not listed among the first architects in John Albury Bryan's book, Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture. In the 1861 city directory, "Architect and Superintendent" McMachen advertised: "Plans and specifications can be had for any kind of building on short notice. Orders from a distance promptly attended to."²⁵

According to his biography of 1881, McMachen's two early works in the city were hotels--the Pacific House and the Patee House. The Patee House at 12th and Penn Streets (fig. 6-3), once considered the finest hotel west of St. Louis, was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1961. Its construction dates, 1856-1858, coincided with McMachen's arrival in St. Joseph, although McMachen probably was not the only architect involved in the design of the building. According to local lore, McMachen encountered complications with the staircases in the four story building which led to

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵City of St. Joseph City Directory, 1861, 70.

his prompt dismissal from the project. Architect Lewis Stigers was hired to complete the construction.²⁶

Important visitors in St. Joseph generally stayed at Patee House such as Abraham Lincoln's campaign associates, William H. Seward, and Seward's secretary, George Ellis Baker. Commenting on their stay of 23 September 1860, Baker remarked, "We are most comfortably accommodated at the Patee House. It is very large, well arranged, and admirably conducted. Indeed, I know of no better hotel in the Western country."²⁷

McMachen must have continued his architectural work in St. Joseph directly following the Patee House project, but the lack of directories from the early 1860s hinder confirmation. By 1867-1868, the directory reveals architect McMachen was associated an evasive Mr. Cole. McMachen's name does not appear in local directories after 1868.

E. D. Mason

E. D. Mason must also be included in the discussion of first architects in St. Joseph even if his name is merely mentioned. According to Bryan, Mason was "among the early architects in St. Joseph" who was in the city before 1870. Mason was admitted to American Institute of Architects in

²⁶Personal interview with Sheridan A. Logan, St. Joseph, Missouri, April 1989.

²⁷Logan, 75.

1873,²⁸ yet his name is omitted from the business section of all St. Joseph city directories. None of his works have been identified.

W. Angelo Powell (1828-1906?)

According to the business segment of the 1869 city directory there were three architects working in St. Joseph at the time of Eckel's arrival: W. Angelo Powell, and Lewis S. Stigers with partner Francis R. Boettner.

Powell, a most accomplished architect, was relatively new in St. Joseph. He came to St. Joseph in 1866,²⁹ just three years before Eckel. At age thirty-seven, Powell was regarded a veteran architect respected for his wide range of professional experiences.

Walter Angelo Powell, seventeen years Eckel's senior, was born in Baltimore, Maryland on 7 January 1828.³⁰ His grandparents immigrated from Wales and arrived in America before the Revolutionary War. Engineering and architectural design was the family profession, for Powell's grandfather and father were engineers, and eventually, W. Angelo Powell pursued the field as well.³¹ As a young man, Powell

²⁸Bryan, 50.

²⁹Rutt, 717.

³⁰History of Buchanan County, 1881, provides the year of Powell's birth as 1828, while Rutt's History of Buchanan County, 1898, cites the year 1829. The birth date 1828 must be correct since Rutt uses that year in his later 1904 publication.

³¹Ibid., 716.

developed good drafting skills without effort; he found satisfaction "in the work of his pencil, which fell naturally to tracing symmetrical lines."³²

Yet architecture was not the only trade he considered. While in Baltimore, Powell devoted his winters to studying medicine with the renowned Dr. Smith and entertained the idea of becoming a practitioner in the future. Powell's parents, however, wished their son to be a Presbyterian minister and arranged for him to study theology at Princeton, New Jersey.³³ Powell dismissed these potential careers and decided that architecture captured his interest most. He went to New York to study architecture under Minard Lafever (1798-1854) where he stayed for five years. In the 1820s, self-taught Lafever worked in his native New Jersey and nearby New York, but his book, The Modern Builder's Guide (1833) and other building manuals he wrote, facilitated his transition from carpenter and builder to architect.³⁴ Powell worked in New York for a period following his tutelage under Lafever, but departed for familiar Baltimore in 1846.³⁵

While in his hometown, Powell studied civil engineering

³²Ibid.

³³The History of Buchanan County, 862.

³⁴Jacob Landy, "Minard Lafever," in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 2, 598-601.

³⁵Rutt, 1904, 716.

and assisted his father in the design of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad system, working throughout for the area especially between Peditant and Grafton.³⁶ Rutt, the nineteenth-century historian of St. Joseph claims that at the start of Powell's career, "architecture and civil engineering as special sciences had few devotees, there being only eleven skilled architects in the whole United States, and Mr. Powell had a personal acquaintance with them all."³⁷

With his professional network established, Powell joined Robert Carey Long in Baltimore and formed the firm Long and Powell. But shortly after the partnership was arranged, Long fell victim to cholera and the firm dissolved.³⁸ Next, Powell went to Washington, D.C., where reputedly, he became affiliated with Robert Mills (1781-1855), the government's supervising architect. Mills, hailed the first native-born and trained American architect, inherited an extraordinary foundation in the profession as a student-assistant under three leading masters of the country: Hoban, Jefferson, and Latrobe. According to Powell's biographer, he worked with Mills from 1847 to 1853, when the firm prepared designs for the expansion of the United States Capitol Building, the Washington National

³⁶Ibid.; and History of Buchanan County, 862.

³⁷Rutt, 1904, 716.

³⁸Ibid.

Monument, Marine Hospital(s), and other public buildings.³⁹ The plans he and Mills made for the Capitol were accepted by both houses of Congress, but as Powell's biography continues, "at the critical moment, political influence antagonistic to this firm was brought to bear, and the vote was reconsidered. A prize of \$500 was offered for new plans. These were prepared by Thomas U. Walters [sic], for whom Mr. Powell made the perspective drawings."⁴⁰

Although the complete publication of Mill's papers and drawings, The Papers of Robert Mills, 1781-1855, does not explain Powell's relationship with the architect, a letter written in Powell's hand is included in the microfilm collection. As Mills was approaching his seventieth birthday, he was appointed architect to extend the Patent Office with east and west wings on 1 June 1849. But the aged architect's failing health probably contributed to his dismissal from the job (and also the Capitol project) in July 1851.⁴¹ Powell's letter was written the following

³⁹Ibid.; and History of Buchanan County, 862. According to Robert Mills: Architect of the Washington Monument, 1781-1855, by Helen M. Pierce Gallagher (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), Mills designed Marine Hospitals at Charleston, South Carolina (1833); New Orleans, Louisiana (1855); St. Louis, Missouri; Natchez, Mississippi; Napoleon, Arkansas; Paducah, Kentucky; Cleveland, Ohio; and Wheeling, West Virginia (43). Powell's biography does not name any particular marine hospital.

⁴⁰Rutt, 1904, 716.

⁴¹Robert L. Alexander, "Robert Mills," in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 3, 200-208.

month.

In his two-page letter "To his excellency, Millard Fillmore," Powell indicated he was associated with Mills for at least two years, from 1849 to 1850. Powell expressed his interest in serving the government as an assistant architect or architect, for the design or supervision of the construction of the United States Patent Office. His letter, dated 4 August 1851 and written when Eckel was just six years old, offered perspective on the architectural profession in America and its rising importance. While living in Washington, D.C., Powell wrote:

Mr. President:

Your excellency having discharge[d] Mr. R. Mills from the office as Architect of the Patent Office building; I am informed that your excellency contemplate[s] placing Mr. T. U. Walter in the Office. Being informed that Mr. Walter does not desire to occupy the office and in all probability that you will replace Mr. R. Mills I would respectfully solicit that in the even[t] of Mr. Mills being reinstated that I may be considered an applican[t] for the office of Assistant Architect on the Patent Office with Mr. R. Mills. Should you not be disposed to replace Mr. Mills I would respectfully be considered an applican[t] for the Office of Architect on Patent Office.

I am throughly [sic] conversant with the details and business of the Patent Office. Having been in the office with him and assisting him for about two years. I am an Architect and Civil Engineer by profession. I studied in the North and had the best advantages the Cities could afford me in preparing my studies. I have been in business for more than eight years for myself and feel myself fully competent to fill the office. In relation to my Ability as an Archt. & C.E. I can furnish testimonials from R. Mills Esq. from Gentlemen of my profession and from Gentlemen of influence and undoubtd ability.

I hope that your excellency will favor me with your consideration in relation to the written named office. I am fully aware of the responsibility that would devolve on myself should I Be the Architect. But

as An Architect I always make it a rule to consider well any thing as(?) I progress with it. The character of an Architect would be there exposed and the least mishap on my part(?) or that relative to the building would either ruin me or benefit me in my profession. Your excellency will therefore discern that it requires caution on the part of the Architect as(?) he makes application for such an office. I have considered all and feel confident that I will do justice to my profession.

I have applied [sic] several times for an office under Government and of late, being disappointed I take this opportunity of respectfully addressing a few lines to your excellency with a view to be appointed in the office within named. If your excellency should reinstate Mr. Mills an Assistant Architect with him will prevent all further delay and trouble relative to the proper completion of the extension.

By one of the within named courses or mode of proceeding with regard to the office I would respectfully assure your excellency that all further anxiety will be obviated.

I am

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
W. A. Powell⁴²

The post evidently appealed to Walter more than Powell predicted. Walter accepted the new appointment as government architect for both Patent Office and Capitol projects after Mills's removal. The extent of Powell's involvement on these two buildings has not be determined.

As a result of his disappointment over the design of the capitol in D.C., Powell again returned to his native Baltimore and collaborated with his three architect brothers in their own practice until 1857.⁴³ The same year, he

⁴²Pamela Scott, ed., The Papers of Robert Mills, 1781-1855 (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1990), microfilm record number 3060.

⁴³Ibid; and History of Buchanan County, 863.

married Celia Gillmyer of Hagerstown, Maryland.⁴⁴ By this time, Powell's brothers were looking to New York city for greater business opportunities and relocated their practice, but Powell chose to go West. He went to Cincinnati, Ohio, carrying numerous letters of introduction written by his influential acquaintances of Baltimore and Washington, D.C., and was readily accepted in his new town.⁴⁵ He organized a large practice in the Midwest and employed twenty draftsman⁴⁶ to assist him with his work. Yet the economic conditions brought by the onset of the Civil War caused Powell to lose \$6,000⁴⁷ and abandon his business in Cincinnati.

During the war, Powell offered his engineering expertise to his personal friends, the Generals George McClellan and William Rosecrans. He was made engineer of the Eighth Army Corps and earned captain's wages for his services. His designs were utilized for the construction of fortifications at Harper's Ferry and Winchester and Washington City. He eventually was released from his duties as a Colonel on 21 May 1866.⁴⁸

After the war, Powell took brief stays of residency in

⁴⁴History of Buchanan County, 863.

⁴⁵Ibid., 862.

⁴⁶Rutt, 1904, 716.

⁴⁷History of Buchanan County, 862.

⁴⁸Ibid., 862-863; and Rutt, 1904, 716-717.

Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama where he accepted engineering contracts with various railroad companies and planned preliminary lines for their future development.⁴⁹ Once again he ventured West with his wife and children, keeping in mind his Eastern friends' words "not to go so far West, as the country was not sufficiently advanced to afford him employment."⁵⁰ At one time he returned to Cincinnati, but "finding the city full of architects, turned towards Missouri."⁵¹ Powell could not ignore the tremendous building activity in St. Joseph and the way the town was developing when he arrived in September 1866.⁵² He paused in the "crude and overgrown town"⁵³ and made it his permanent residence. With his combined experiences on the East Coast and his latest exposure in the Midwest, Powell announced his professional qualifications to potential clients in St. Joseph. He had created designs for public and private buildings in thirteen states: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington D.C., West Virginia, Ohio, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado,

⁴⁹Rutt, 1904, 717.

⁵⁰History of Buchanan County, 863.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Rutt, 1904, 717.

⁵³Ibid.

Texas, and Oklahoma.⁵⁴

Powell's use of advertising is notable in the 1869-1870 city directory. He lists many works "from a large number of buildings designed and supervised by myself"⁵⁵ and offered to provide "drawings, details, specifications, and contracts . . . for public and private buildings, also parks, gardens, monuments, patents, and etc."⁵⁶ His designs were "prepared to cost a stipulated amount and sent to all parts of the country, on application."⁵⁷ His 1869 Prospectus mentions numerous St. Joseph buildings he designed as well as some of his out of town works.⁵⁸ One of Powell's newspaper advertisements from the same year suggests he began his long career at age fourteen, since he had "twenty-five years

⁵⁴Illustrated St. Joseph of Today, 1903-1904 (St. Joseph, Missouri?: n.p., 1903), 12.

⁵⁵1869-1870 city directory for St. Joseph, Missouri, 35.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷St. Joseph City Directory, 1869-1870, 35.

⁵⁸W. Angelo Powell, 1869 Prospectus, (St. Joseph, Missouri: n.p., 1869), n.p. Powell lists several plans he submitted for buildings in his Prospectus, including the following out of town work that was not investigated for this study: Maryland: Peabody Institute, Baltimore; St. Michael's Church, Baltimore; New Howard Street Bank, Baltimore; St. Charles College, Howard County; German Reformed Church, Cumberland; Lutheran Church, Frostburg; Lutheran Church, Middletown; Courthouse, Hagerstown. Washington, D.C.: Metropolitan Hotel; National Theatre. Ohio: Neil House, Columbus; Swedenborgian Church, Cincinnati. Pennsylvania: York County and City Hospital, York. Powell would make a promising dissertation subject and, as this brief biography suggests, he deserves further study.

experience as [an] architect."⁵⁹

Powell maintained his interests in government architecture and shortly after settling in St. Joseph, he entered the 1866-67 competition for the new War Department Building in Washington, D.C.⁶⁰ His work soon focused on tasks at hand and within three years of his arrival Powell had designed ten single-family residences, three housing complexes, eight commercial buildings, two churches, and three schools for citizens in St. Joseph.⁶¹ Powell's 1869 Prospectus identifies twenty-seven buildings he designed in St. Joseph. Fifteen of these buildings are believed demolished, two may survive, and due to insufficient addresses, it is unknown if the remaining ten are extant (see appendix). The J. M. Bassett Residence at 503 N. Fifth Street and the Webster Public School at 1815 Highly Street may be the last examples of Powell's work in the city, although both have been altered. One of his better known works in Missouri is "Ravenswood," the residence of Charles

⁵⁹St. Joseph Daily Gazette, 3 July 1869.

⁶⁰Correspondence from Pamela Scott, Washington, D.C., to Toni M. Prawl, Jefferson City, Missouri, 11 January 1994. Scott, co-author of Buildings of the United States: Buildings of the District of Columbia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), and editor of the Papers of Robert Mills, 1781-1855 (1990) discovered Powell's involvement in the War Department competition (a competition that never matured) during research for a forthcoming index to American architectural competitions and graciously volunteered this information to the author.

⁶¹Ibid.

E. Leonard, built in 1880 near Tipton (fig. 6-4).⁶²

The city, it seemed, possessed the essential components for an architect's playground: the demand for new buildings, space to erect them, necessary resources to finance and enable substantial construction, and few talented rival designers. Powell's immediate success in St. Joseph verifies the conditions were right for an able architect. Three years following Powell's arrival, Eckel too saw a market for his own architectural services in St. Joseph. In contrast to previous architects in the city, Powell's biography is more complete, yet his influence in St. Joseph remains to be evaluated.

Powell and Eckel were contemporaries in St. Joseph for more than three decades but their relationship is undocumented. Considering the elder Powell's accomplished training and experience, perhaps he competed with young Eckel most. Because a host of commissions were available throughout St. Joseph, they probably were not adversaries but rather colleagues who envisioned a better built city through the skills of competent architects. After studying with his father, E. Gray Powell joined Eckel's firm to continue his family's tradition. W. Angelo Powell worked in the city for about forty years until 1906 when his name no

⁶²For more information regarding "Ravenswood," see James M. Denny, "Vernacular Building Process in Missouri: Nathaniel Leonard's Activities, 1825-1870," Missouri Historical Review 78 (October 1983), 23-50.

longer appeared in city directories. Undoubtedly, he "wrought many changes"⁶³ to the city, but a vast number have disappeared.

The Built Environment of St. Joseph

There were, of course, several buildings in St. Joseph by Eckel's arrival in 1869. Although some can be linked to architects, the overall built environment of the period was vernacular in nature. Vernacular architecture describes traditional buildings often created of indigenous or readily available materials and constructed according to time-honored methods by local people who intend to use or occupy them. Prior to Eckel (and professionals like him), people in St. Joseph routinely relied on themselves or carpenters to erect their buildings. Although the work of academically trained architects gradually changed the built environment, numerous folk houses, outbuildings, stores, and other structures continued to be constructed throughout the region; many extant examples represent that important building tradition.⁶⁴

⁶³Rutt, 1904, 717.

⁶⁴Howard Marshall offers several discussions of vernacular architecture and compares scholars' views on the subject in his books, Folk Architecture in Little Dixie: A Regional Culture in Missouri (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1981), especially pages 17-20; and Vernacular Architecture in Rural and Small Town Missouri: An Introduction (Columbia, Missouri: University Extension, University of Missouri, 1994). For a case study regarding the W. L. Cornett family's vernacular architecture and stylistic details, see his article, "The Sisters Leave Their Mark: Folk Architecture and Family History," in The

By contrast, the type of architecture Eckel designed generally was academic or "high style." His architecture emphasized historical and stylistic elements, was built according to prepared plans, and conveyed his perception of how custom designs could fulfill his clients' personal and professional needs. His designs could be especially meaningful to clients with increasing demands, such as those successful businessmen whose expanding capital had outgrown single-cell warehouses and whose families desired elaborate residences to demonstrate visibly their prominent positions in the community.

One of the best historic views of St. Joseph documents the way it looked just one year before Eckel appeared in the city. In 1868, Prussian-born panoramic artist, Albert Ruger prepared a bird's eye view of the town (fig. 6-5). Ruger's color lithograph depicts natural features of the landscape, including the proximity of St. Joseph to the Missouri River, but perhaps the most remarkable quality of his illustration is that it presents numerous buildings and streets as they existed at the time.

Ruger emphasized the importance of the river and railroads as highways for steamboats, ferries, sailcrafts,

Old Traditional Way of Life, Essays in Honor of Warren E. Roberts, ed. Robert E. Walls and George H. Schoemaker (Bloomington, Indiana: Trickster Press, 1989), 208-227, and my Master's thesis, "The W. L. Cornett Farmhouse, Linn County, Missouri: Cultural Expression and Family History through Architecture and Furniture, 1884-1986" (University of Missouri-Columbia, 1986).

and locomotives in his illustration. The railroad tracks, complete with an advancing and puffing train, divide the view diagonally from the upper-right corner to the lower-left corner, while the river's commanding presence consumes almost half the picture. Even the warf, with at least eight craft docked, enhanced the city's image as a river town. Ruger presented the town obliquely, from northwest to southeast, so buildings near the river are more clearly defined than those in the distant east.

Several buildings in Ruger's view are small and lack detail, but suggest the type and kind of architecture present in St. Joseph. The courthouse at Fifth and Jule and other public buildings such as the markethouse, city hall, jail, and schools can be identified in addition to places of worship, cemeteries, parks, and some businesses. A border at the bottom includes vignettes of four buildings: Patee Female College (formerly Patee House), Odd Fellows Hall, the Engine House, and the German School.⁶⁵

A list of businesses for 1868, provided by the city directory of the same year, indicates several businesses were housed in St. Joseph: fifteen blacksmith shops; five brickyards; eighteen feed lots and stables; fifteen

⁶⁵Frederick W. Slater, "St. Joseph as it Looked in 1868," St. Joseph News-Press, 4 January 1976, 1B. This newspaper article is illustrated by Ruger's bird's eye view with numbers superimposed near thirty-three buildings to locate landmarks; nearly one-half no longer exist or have been replaced.

freighters; seventy-eight grocers; fourteen dry goods stores; thirty-two hotels; and seventy-one saloons. Of course the city offered its share of professional services as well. The directory lists thirty-two attorneys; fifteen pharmacy stores; thirty-seven physicians; and four dentists. In all, ninety-six individual buildings that house businesses are represented in the 1867-1868 city directory.⁶⁶

Besides commercial and government buildings, private residences dot Ruger's lithograph. Faced with an undeniable housing shortage, many citizens erected small, sometimes temporary cottages or found living quarters in the one-story brick tenement houses like those built by Joseph Robidoux. These modest vernacular houses, rarely dressed in fashionable styles of the period, are depicted in Ruger's view. A multitude of little rectangular dwellings with gable roofs are occasionally lined up in rows, but more often punctuate blocks throughout the city's grid-like form. Frank Swick, editor of the city directory for 1867-68, counted 246 residences built that year, but recommended that twice as many be constructed within the following year.⁶⁷

St. Joseph, with its prime transportation and distribution systems, increasing population, and expanding

⁶⁶Frank Swick, Frank Swick's Resident and Business Directory of St. Joseph for the Years 1867-1868 (St. Joseph: Frank Swick), 9.

⁶⁷Ibid.

capital was ripe for Eckel's architectural talent. Both the city and architect were prepared to offer something the other needed. Prospering St. Joseph could benefit from knowledgeable individuals who could design stylish buildings that would transcend frontier and settlement days of the past decades. Granted, there were earlier architects who had made their marks on St. Joseph, but Eckel's training at the École, his meticulous precision, and his steadfast practice and residency would set him apart from the others.

At a decisive moment in Eckel's life, when he pondered his future career and where it would lead, he assessed the city's architectural predicament as well as his own. Whether he accepted his personal observations, reviewed the statistics offered in local promotional literature, or merely captured the festive mood of citizens as they celebrated Independence Day, Eckel changed the course of his life by remaining where his altered itinerary left him. One source reports that Eckel liked the pioneer residents of St. Joseph "so well that he determined to locate there."⁶⁸ Together, he and his new town, embarked on a mutually-beneficial arrangement that would shape each.

⁶⁸Western Contractor, 9.

CHAPTER 7

EARLY PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES: ECKEL'S EMPLOYERS AND PRACTICES IN ST. JOSEPH, 1869-1880

P. F. Meagher

During Eckel's tenure in St. Joseph, he was affiliated with many architects. From 1869-72, he collaborated with the architect P. F. Meagher and assisted him with original drawings and designs for Corby Memorial Chapel (fig. 7-1) and the Saint Joseph Cathedral (fig. 7-2), both erected 1871-1872.¹ Few facts exist about Meagher's practice in St. Joseph and most that do are unclear.²

Meagher provides another example of a talented architect who left little documentation about his life. Bryan testifies that Meagher located in St. Joseph prior to 1870, but the precise year he made his way to the city is uncertain. Meagher was the architect of one of St. Joseph's best-known public buildings, the Buchanan County Courthouse, erected 1873-76 at a cost of \$173,000 (fig. 7-3).³ The two

¹"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel." Both are significant local landmarks for the city, although they are not listed on the National Register.

²Bryan claims Eckel, "worked first for P. F. Meagher and later for Stigers and Boettner" (50) and so do the articles, "E. J. Eckel is Dead,"; "Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel,"; and Withey and Withey, 1956, 188. Eckel is not listed in the 1869 nor 1870 city directories. His occupation as draftsman is supplied in the 1871 and 1872 directories, but his employer is not mentioned.

³Brink, McDonough and Co., An Illustrated Historical Atlas Map of Buchanan County, Missouri (N.p.: author, 1877), 15.

story brick Classical Revival courthouse with Corinthian portico housed county offices on the first floor while temporary offices on the second floor were rented to lawyers and other citizens until the county needed the additional space for its own use. The grand scale, commanding central location, and democratic style of the building clearly announced its governmental purpose. Ranked the second largest public building of its kind in Missouri at the time of its construction, the courthouse adequately expressed the civic pride of Buchanan County citizens and their confidence in their local government and economy. The building, listed in the National Register in 1972, was restored in 1978.⁴

Meagher was mentioned in a few sources,⁵ but unfortunately little more than his name (sometimes P. E. Meagher) rarely occurred. He is listed in St. Joseph city directories from 1871-1875 but later directories do not mention him.

Lewis Smell Stigers

Lewis Smell Stigers (1817-1904) also was one of Eckel's

⁴St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, 13.

⁵Bryan, 50; "Landmark Designation for Courthouse," St. Joseph News-Press/Gazette, 13 October 1971; Marian M. Ohman, Encyclopedia of Missouri Courthouses (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, Extension Division, 1981), unpaginated, hereafter cited Ohman, Missouri Courthouses; WPA Guide, 193; and Withey and Withey, 188.

early employers in St. Joseph.⁶ By the time Eckel arrived, Stigers probably had been practicing his trade in St. Joseph longer than other builders in the area. Stigers was born in Waynesburgh,⁷ Pennsylvania, on 27 February 1817.⁸ In the tradition of American settlement patterns, Stigers' family migrated westward--to Mt. Vernon, Ohio⁹--when he was a boy. While in Ohio, Stigers learned the carpenter's trade and earned a living at his craft.¹⁰ Continuing west, his family moved to Waterloo, Illinois,¹¹ where Stigers resided until he was twenty-seven. Stigers married Harriet Gooding of St. Clair County, Illinois, on 28 November 1840 and departed for St. Joseph four years later. Upon his arrival in the city, Stigers rented a residence and went into business as a builder in 1844.¹²

Stigers quickly earned a reputable name in construction work and was hired to erect some of the earliest landmarks

⁶Chapman Brothers, 195; Rutt, 1898, 393; Rutt, 1904, 717; and M. L. Van Nada, ed., Book of Missourians: The Achievements and Personnel of Notable Living Men and Women in the Opening Decade of the Twentieth Century (St. Louis: T. J. Steele and Co., 1906), 51, hereafter cited Van Nada.

⁷"Death of Two of St. Joseph's Old Residents," St. Joseph Gazette, 7 November 1904, 1. Hereafter cited, "Old Residents."

⁸History of Buchanan County, 907.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹"Old Residents."

¹²History of Buchanan County, 907.

in St. Joseph, many of which were very large. Because Stiger's business predates the publication of city directories, his first professional associates remain anonymous. It is believed that William J. Taylor assisted him with the construction of the first Buchanan County Courthouse in 1846 or so,¹³ just a couple of years after Stigers made St. Joseph his home.

About a decade later in 1856, Stigers "drafted the plans and built the Patee House,"¹⁴ at 12th and Penn Streets.¹⁵ Like fellow architects Francis Boettner, P. F. Meagher, and W. Angelo Powell, Stigers was recognized in Bryan's, Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture, as a pioneer architect who was at work in St. Joseph before 1870.

Stigers and Francis Boettner became partners in 1869 and worked together until 1877.¹⁶ During this period, Stigers's wife and the mother of his five children died on 25 May 1874.¹⁷ Stigers, in his upper fifties, continued his business in St. Joseph, but around 1877 or 1878 he

¹³Ohman, Missouri Courthouses, unpaginated; and "Old Residents." The first courthouse was demolished in 1871.

¹⁴History of Buchanan County, 907 and "Old Residents."

¹⁵The building, a National Historic Landmark, houses a public museum operated by the Pony Express Historical Association.

¹⁶City directories for the city of St. Joseph, Missouri.

¹⁷Ibid.

withdrew from the firm he co-founded.¹⁸

Francis R. Boettner

Significantly less is known about Francis R. Boettner, Stiger's partner who may have moved to St. Joseph only shortly before Eckel.¹⁹ Stigers and Boettner's immediate success caused the architects to advertise for a draftsman in 1869, the same year they formed their partnership. According to one source, their sign, "Draftsman Wanted," sparked Eckel's interest as he strolled by the office when touring the city on his first day in St. Joseph.²⁰ Eckel inquired and was "at once made a draftsman in the firm of Stigers and Boettner."²¹ Eckel worked at the firm two

¹⁸Thereafter, Stigers established a partnership with Mr. Knell, but it dissolved in 1883. In 1882, the sixty-five-year-old widower Stigers married Bettie McCrownat. Stigers' name no longer appeared in the business section of city directories, but he was identified as an architect in the general pages of the directory for the next three years. He might have continued practicing up to 1886 but not full-time. His family residence at 1023 Church Street was built in 1887 and is a fine example of Queen Anne architecture in the Cathedral Hill area of St. Joseph. Stigers' name is associated with some of the city's oldest architecture which continues to be preserved today.

¹⁹Boettner is not listed in the classified section of city directories before 1869. Bryan claims Boettner was working in St. Joseph by 1870, so perhaps he arrived around 1868, shortly before data was collected for the 1869 directory.

²⁰"Buildings His Monuments."

²¹According to the Chapman Brothers' Portrait, 1893, Eckel's immediate employment in St. Joseph was with Stigers and Boettner (195). Rutt's 1898 volume states, "He at once obtained employment as a draftsman with the firm of Stigers & Boettner (393)." In 1904, Rutt again claimed, "He easily obtained employment in his profession, becoming a

separate periods: from 1869 to 1872 or so; and again from 1875-77, when he was made a junior partner²² and the firm's name changed to Stigers and Boettner and Co.²³

Eckel and Meier, 1873

Information gleaned from city directories reveals Eckel formed his first partnership in St. Joseph with Alfred Meier by 1873. It endured for only one year. Meier, like Eckel, was an educated and transplanted European who sought work as an architect in the prospering city.²⁴ Three years Eckel's junior, Meier was born in 1848 at Lucerne, Switzerland, where he lived until he moved directly to St. Joseph in 1866 at age eighteen with his parents. In spite of the contrasts between the two individuals, they shared similar cultural and immigrant experiences that may have been reinforced by German conversations. Meier was well-known throughout the German-American community in St. Joseph and an active

draughtsman for Stiegers [sic] & Boettner, with whom he continued for nearly three years (717)." Van Nada's Book of Missourians, lists Eckel's employment in chronological order beginning with his post as draftsman with Stiegers [sic] & Boettner (52). Yet, contrary to these sources, Bryan states, "He [Eckel] worked first for P. F. Meagher and later for Stiger & Boettner (50)" making it unclear who was Eckel's first employer in St. Joseph.

²²"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

²³City directories for St. Joseph, Missouri.

²⁴The following information regarding Meier was obtained from obituaries, "Alfred Meier is Dead, Prominent German-American," St. Joseph Gazette, 8 May 1916, and "Alfred Meier, Late of the B.P.W., Dead," St. Joseph News-Press, 8 May 1916, courtesy of Dan Moore, member of the St. Joseph Landmarks Commission.

participant in local Turnverein events. At the time of his death in 1916, he was the president of the St. Joseph German-American Alliance and third vice-president of the National German-American Alliance. Although proud of his heritage, Meier reassured fellow war-conscious citizens of the era that he was, "first, last and all the time an American."²⁵

The brief Eckel-Meier partnership did not produce many records which survive, however one architectural drawing of an unidentified building is preserved among the Eckel papers at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, University of Missouri (fig. 7-4). Due to an absence of data, Eckel's association with Meier may not be adequately explored. With the exception of the city directory, no records could be found that document their practice of 1873 or suggest why the pair did not sustain a longer partnership. In later years, Meier divided his talents among his clients in St. Joseph and Atchison, Kansas. Beginning in 1878, he lived and worked in Atchison for two decades. However in 1898, he returned to St. Joseph to reside there permanently where he eventually held posts as the city engineer and county surveyor. While Meier maintained his office in Atchison, he lived in St. Joseph with his wife Caroline Wildberger and their eleven children. Two of Meier's sons, Rudolph A. and

²⁵"Alfred Meier, Late of the B.P.W., Dead," St. Joseph News-Press, 8 May 1916.

Eugene R. Meier, followed their father's chosen profession. Rudolph operated the Meier office in St. Joseph after his father's retirement, active as an architect in the city from 1909-1922 or so.²⁶

Stigers, Boettner & Co., 1875-1877

Eckel practiced independently following the year he spent with Meier, but by 1875 he returned to the security of his previous employer, Stigers and Boettner. Betrothed to the daughter of a St. Joseph manufacturer, Eckel may have preferred his stability as an employee to the uncertainties that accompany self-employment. A bachelor until age thirty, Eckel's return to the firm coincided with his marriage to Minnie L. Schroers on 28 November 1875.²⁷ Upon his reunion with the elder architects, Eckel was made junior partner and the firm was renamed Stigers, Boettner & Co. Eckel's brother, Julius, may have helped him gain his vested position with the firm since he too was connected with the business. Or, one may speculate that E. J. invited his

²⁶City directory listings and Toni M. Prawl, "Historic Architects of Saint Joseph, Missouri," report submitted to City of Saint Joseph and the State Historic Preservation Office, 1989.

²⁷"E. J. Eckel is Dead,"; and Rutt, 1904, 718. Minnie was a native of St. Joseph. According to her obituary, "Mrs. M. L. Eckel, 63, Ill Two Days, Dead," (St. Joseph Gazette 22 March 1920, 3), she was a "lifelong resident" of the city. Her mother, Mrs. Anna Schroers, was born in Switzerland on 18 April 1831, immigrated to St. Joseph during the spring of 1853, and married D. G. Schroers that fall ("Mrs. Anna Schroers Dead," St. Joseph Daily News 3 September 1901).

brother to become affiliated with the architects in a profit or stock-sharing capacity after he secured his junior architect position. In 1876 at the time of his death, or two years after the formation of the new architectural firm, Julius was known first as "brother of Edmund [sic] Eckel, Esq.," and identified secondly as a "silent partner in the house of Stigers, Boettner & Co."²⁸ The brevity of his obituary (possibly a consequence of his premature death at age thirty-four), suggests Julius was not employed in a professional capacity nor as active in the community as his younger brother--ideas that strengthen the latter theory.

Shortly following Eckel's reunion with the firm he was involved in the design of Christ Episcopal Church (fig. 7-5). Built in 1877,²⁹ the Gothic Revival church of brick and stone trim is recognized as "the oldest building in the city used continuously as a Protestant congregation,"³⁰ however the extent of Eckel's contribution to the design is unknown.

Boettner and Eckel, 1878-1880

For some reason Stigers left his partnership in 1877; one source reports that he retired.³¹ Thus, Stigers'

²⁸"Julius Eckel Dead," St. Joseph Gazette, December 7, 1876, 1.

²⁹"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

³⁰Saint Joseph Landmarks Commission, 22.

³¹"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

departure from Stigers, Boettner & Co. elevated Eckel to full partner. The pair established their own association of Boettner and Eckel which existed from 1878-1880.³² Near the onset of their partnership, Eckel planned an eclectic mansion with crenelated towers for wealthy hardware merchant, William M. Wyeth.³³ The forty-three room estate was constructed on top a hill overlooking the Missouri River at Eleventh and Charles Streets in 1879 and was one of the first significant residences that Eckel designed in St. Joseph (fig. 7-6).

Wyeth desired a medieval-inspired residence of his own to resemble castles he and his family admired during their travels in England and voyages on the Rhine. After returning from his European vacation in 1878, Wyeth selected the site of his future home and Eckel as his architect. The setting, a spacious hilltop consuming nearly the entire block, resembled elevated sites occupied by imposing castles on the crests of river banks. Eckel undoubtedly realized

³²City directories for St. Joseph, Missouri.

³³An example of adaptive-reuse, the former private estate was converted to a museum after it was purchased by William L. Goetz in 1947. It now houses the ethnological, historical and natural history collections of the St. Joseph Museum. Situated in the heart of the Museum Hill Historic District, the museum is accredited by the American Association of Museums. Bonnie K. Watkins, the museum's Curator of Collections, was writing her thesis on the Wyeth-Tootle mansion for her Master's degree at the University of Missouri-Kansas City at the time of her death, 6 November 1994. Her obituary, "Bonnie Watkins, Curator at Museums, Dies at 49," was printed in the St. Joseph News-Press, 7 November 1994, 3B.

the relevance of this commission, his first monumental residence. Although it was important for him to please his influential client, the architect could not abandon his classical inclinations entirely. Under his client's supervision, Eckel combined Italianate features like the arched windows, arcaded porch, bay windows, and attic story with Gothic touches such as gargoyles (removed) and most notably, the three-story crenelated tower pierced by only a few narrow windows. The building required more than one year to construct; Eckel made his final inspection of the residence on 25 January 1879.³⁴

The Wyeth Mansion represents one of Eckel's earliest opportunities to demonstrate his talent in St. Joseph. Formerly under the shelter and restraint of his employers, Eckel practiced his abilities as an educated, but rather inexperienced fledgling. Compared to previous commissions, the Wyeth Residence was distinctive for several reasons. Wyeth represented a new breed of clientele in St. Joseph-- the type of client who favored liberal design programs and could afford their costs. The Wyeth commission enabled Eckel to exercise his creativity and simultaneously improve his credentials as chief designer.

This client-architect relationship was advantageous for both parties. Wyeth's faith in the architect's skill helped

³⁴Bartlett Boder, "William M. Wyeth and His Times," Museum Graphic 8 (Summer 1956), 3.

Eckel launch his career in St. Joseph while Eckel satisfied his client with a fresh interpretation unlike any other residence in the city. The Wyeth residence signalled a departure from buildings created for clients of an antebellum river town to an architecture indicative of their rising prominence. Forthcoming endorsements from Wyeth's business associates meant new clients for Eckel. Yet along with that recognition came the challenge to transform the built environment into one that reflected St. Joseph's status as a distributing headquarters in the Midwest.

PART THREE
FROM PROMISE TO PROMINENCE:
ECKEL & MANN

CHAPTER 8

ST. JOSEPH'S GOLDEN AGE

The year 1880 introduced a new era for Eckel. Boettner left the firm and the city, while their young draftsman, George R. Mann (1856-1939), quickly advanced to become Eckel's new business associate.¹ After working together only a few months at Boettner and Eckel, Eckel and Mann formed a new partnership in 1880² with E.J. Eckel as senior member³ of the architectural firm.

Mindful of the economics of architecture, Eckel and Mann organized their partnership during St. Joseph's "Golden Age." In the early 1880s, a renewed period of prosperity manifested itself throughout the community. St. Joseph's accelerating economy surpassed former figures--a trend that was hindered briefly by the financial depression of the 1893

¹Boettner is not listed in city directories for 1881 and 1882, however later directories support that he eventually resumed his St. Joseph building activities. By 1883, he was working independently. The following year, he and T. C. Smales formed a brief partnership (1884-1885), but by 1887, Boettner went back to working alone. He continued to work as an architect in the city until 1896. Of the buildings he helped design, only two are known: Christ Episcopal Church (1877), and the William M. Wyeth Residence (1879), which were identified through a newspaper article about his former partner in "Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel Stand as Monuments to His Hard Work Combined with Ability," St. Joseph Gazette, 17 May 1931. Like so many St. Joseph architects of this period, little is known about Boettner.

²City directory for St. Joseph, Missouri; and Portrait, 1893, 195.

³Rutt, 1904, 717.

Panic--but continued through the last decade of the century. Property values soared, vast fortunes were created, and previous mercantile records were repeatedly exceeded.

The river, and to a greater degree the railroads, fostered a steady flow of money and westward traffic through St. Joseph. Like other cities affected by Civil War strife, St. Joseph was quickly mended through the advance of the railroad and by 1890, it had become one of the wealthiest cities its size in the country. Throughout the nation, the burgeoning railroad system accelerated reconstruction and geographic expansion at a rapid pace. Authors Borris Emmet and John Jeuck summarize the railroad frenzy, "From 1860-1910, railroad construction in this country averaged over 4,000 miles per year until, at the end of the first decade of this century, the United States had one-third of the world's railroad mileage."⁴ The change wrought by the development of the railroad was national in scope and its impact on individual towns and cities was realized immediately.

Historians such as David March have documented the contributions railroads made to communities like St. Joseph throughout the country. The railroad: (1) promoted property values; (2) increased agricultural production and profits

⁴Borris Emmet and John Jeuck address the role of the railroad and its contribution to catalogue industries like Sears, Roebuck and Co. See their book, Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Co. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), 11.

(uncultivated land which bordered rural lines was cleared and farmed, thus expanding the scale of agriculture operations); (3) reduced "isolation and provincialism by bringing remote areas of state into contact with centers of learning and culture;" and (4) spawned the establishment of many towns and contributed to the growth of others into cities.⁵

The completion of the railroad bridge across the Missouri River at St. Joseph in 1873 further advanced the convergence of lines in the city.⁶ At least three railroad lines were introduced in St. Joseph before 1892--the Rock Island Railroad, the Sante Fe Railroad, and the Chicago Great Western Railroad.⁷ By 1904, nine railroad entities intersected the city: the Atchison, Topeka and Sante Fe Railroad; the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad; the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad; the Chicago Great Western Railroad; the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad; the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad; the Kansas City, St. Joseph and Council Bluffs Railroad; the Missouri Pacific Railroad; and the St. Joseph and Grand Island Railroad.⁸

⁵March, 1041.

⁶Logan, 139.

⁷March, 1073.

⁸M. E. Mayer and John J. Bittinger, "St. Joseph," in The State of Missouri: An Autobiography, edited by Walter Williams (Columbia, Missouri: E. W. Stephens Press, 1904),

St. Joseph held fast to its reputation as a major western wholesale center. Heavy western migration patterns continued through the 1870s and '80s and the exodus of individuals from St. Joseph to points further west enriched the city's trade base, classifying it within the league of mercantile giants. Near the end of 1871, the local press thought the tremendous growth of the fair city newsworthy and commented:

Never at any previous period in her history has St. Joseph been favored with as large a wholesale trade as during the past year. In some branches the increase has been fully twenty per cent. The gas works have been greatly enlarged, the streets are nearly all supplied with mains, and the principal thoroughfares are brilliantly lighted at night. St. Joseph is steadily gaining in population and possesses a greater amount of capital and commercial activity than any other city of its size west of the Alleghenies. Year by year we have steadily advanced in all the elements of metropolitan grandeur and now stand without a commercial or financial rival in the State of Missouri, excepting only our older sister, St. Louis.⁹

Good fortune in St. Joseph seemed so rampant, it frequently attracted the attention and admiration of outside reporters. Wholesale trade statistics in St. Joseph climbed steadily and in 1879 they outranked those of any other city its size.¹⁰ By 1886, the Chicago Times proclaimed, "St. Joseph a Modern Wonder." The journalist's words regarding the city brim with confidence and optimism:

288. Hereafter cited Mayer and Bittinger.

⁹Quoted in Logan, 139.

¹⁰Logan, 140.

St. Joseph is a modern wonder--a city of 60,000 inhabitants, eleven railroads, 70 passenger trains each day, 170 factories, thirteen miles of the best paved streets, the largest stockyards west of Chicago (440 acres), a wholesale trade as large as that of Kansas City and Omaha combined. This is the place for investment of all Western towns, and its advantages are rapidly being recognized by Eastern capitalists. There is no locality in the West where money can be so profitably invested as there and one can hardly doubt the prediction, from the remarkable importance just now being attested to the place by such railroads as the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific, as well as by large Eastern enterprises, that it will inside of five years be head and shoulders above any of the Western cities, and number 150,000 to 200,000 inhabitants, with manufacturing interests larger than those of any town West of the Alleghenies.¹¹

Increasing numbers of transit and resident consumers alike stimulated production rates and advanced sales in the market place; the flour mills, packing houses, and horse and mule centers of St. Joseph were leading industries of interstate importance by 1890. In 1887, the aggregate deposits of the seven financial institutions in St. Joseph totaled \$7,675,000.¹² When combined with the 1890 population count of 52,324 individuals, such figures supported the town as "the wealthiest city per capita in the

¹¹Quoted in Logan, 140.

¹²Board of Trade, Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Trade of St. Joseph, Missouri for the Year 1887 (St. Joseph: C. P. Kingsbury Steam Printer and Binder, 1888), 71, hereafter cited Board of Trade, Ninth Annual Report. The annual report offers deposit amounts for seven banks in St. Joseph: State Savings Bank; National Bank of St. Joseph; Schuster, Hax & Co.; Merchants Bank; Saxton National Bank; and includes St. Joseph's newest banks that were only two months old: the German American Bank and the Commercial Bank.

Nation."¹³ Commerce in St. Joseph approached the level of trade in Kansas City and Omaha combined: "The totals for the seven leading [trade] groups: groceries, dry goods, hardware, furniture, lumber, boots and shoes, and drugs were St. Joseph \$45,300,000, Kansas City \$31,800,000, and Omaha \$21,500,000."¹⁴

As the second largest city in Missouri at the time, St. Joseph was burgeoning with wealth derived from its commanding trade networks. The presence of new buildings throughout the city dramatically altered the landscape, yet even more structures were necessary to accommodate an increasing population and greater manufacturing and trading activities. The city was ripe for the proliferation of Gilded-Age architecture as demonstrated by hundreds of first-rate buildings erected during the 1880s. In 1884, the construction of over 200 new residences ensured the employment of 250 men at eleven local brick yards. Production exceeded 60 million bricks and the proceeds of the brick sales totaled nearly \$360,000.¹⁵

Near the end of the decade, the escalation of building starts was documented more carefully. On 5 March 1887, the

¹³WPA Guide, 287.

¹⁴Logan, 141.

¹⁵Board of Trade, Sixth Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of the City of Saint Joseph, Missouri for the Year 1884 (St. Joseph: Combe & McCreary Steam Printers, 1884), 43.

city issued its first building permit through the recently organized Office of Building Inspector. In the first year alone (from March to December 1887), 1,009 building permits were filed representing \$767,208 of new construction in the city. Merchants typically headed the list with permits for their businesses:

There are few cities in the United States of the extent of St. Joseph's population that can boast of so many fine private business houses as this city. Our merchants have long ago discovered the advantage of transacting business in handsome business houses, and they have spared no expense in building them. The wholesale trade of St. Joseph is transacted in but few buildings costing less than \$40,000, and ranging as high as \$120,000.¹⁶

Two buildings designed by Eckel and Mann and constructed in 1888 reinforce these estimates: the C. D. Smith Drug Co. wholesale house cost an estimated \$40,000, while the Tootle, Hosea and Co. wholesale house at \$110,000 cost almost three times as much.¹⁷ Annual reports from 1887 to 1889 prepared by the St. Joseph Board of Trade reveal succeeding increases in building permits and construction spending. In 1888, 1,039 permits were issued for buildings costing \$1,030,728; in 1889, 1,181 permits were filed for buildings valued at

¹⁶Board of Trade, Ninth Annual Report, 31; and Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Saint Joseph, Missouri for the Year 1888 (St. Joseph: C.P. Kingsbury, 1889), 23, hereafter cited Board of Trade, Tenth Annual Report.

¹⁷Board of Trade, Tenth Annual Report, 21.

\$1,413,067.¹⁸ These numbers underscore Eckel and Mann's decision to forge their partnership during this opportune decade.

Although the population of St. Joseph never reached the 125,000 mark, the wholesale center was indeed unequalled by comparable cities. Shortly after the turn of the century, 1,400 traveling salesmen represented St. Joseph businesses.¹⁹ Even more remarkably, by 1909, the city ranked among the country's top four largest dry goods markets after New York City, Chicago, and St. Louis.²⁰

Improvements in transportation and distribution during this golden period, combined with a booming economy and consumer spending, linked customers and markets more readily. The widespread dissemination of materials, techniques, and craftsmen enabled Eckel and Mann to incorporate fashionable architectural features with greater ease. Elements created by distant artisans and specialists, such as stained glass and terra cotta created in Chicago or exotic woods imported from Africa, began making frequent appearances in St. Joseph and elsewhere.²¹

¹⁸Board of Trade, Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Trade of Saint Joseph, Missouri for the Year 1889, 32. Hereafter cited Board of Trade, Eleventh Annual Report.

¹⁹Mayer and Bigginger, 282.

²⁰Logan, 180.

²¹The firm's correspondence during this period includes frequent orders to the Northwest Terra Cotta Company, and McCully and Miles, two Chicago-based businesses that

As the following four chapters demonstrate, many of Eckel's most noteworthy commissions were secured during this height of local prosperity when wealth was ostensibly displayed. As a result, Eckel and Mann's buildings have become monuments to the Golden Age in St. Joseph. They reveal the talented architects' good fortune to live among clients of an era who sought buildings that could convey their affluent socioeconomic status.

typically shipped their goods to St. Joseph by rail.

CHAPTER 9

CONTRAST AND COMPROMISE

George R. Mann, Partner

In 1869, Eckel accidentally discovered St. Joseph while en route to Kansas City. Ten years later, the city was George Richard Mann's chosen destination. In October 1879,¹ the twenty-three year-old draftsman departed Kansas City in response to a newspaper advertisement that announced a drafting position in St. Joseph.² Mann found employment with Boettner and Eckel and succeeded Boettner sometime the following year as Eckel's partner. A look at Mann's youth, training, and early experience helps identify the assets he offered Eckel and his new community.

George Mann was born in Syracuse, Indiana, on 22 July 1856 (fig. 9-1). Mann's family was of Southern heritage; both his parents were natives of Virginia. His father, Captain Richard F. Mann, was a loyal Confederate who was killed during a Civil War battle at Corinth, Mississippi.

¹The History of Buchanan County, 826.

²George R. Mann, page four of an unpublished, untitled, and typewritten autobiography composed as a letter to his children 6 October 1932, hereafter cited, Mann, autobiography. Thanks to Steve Mitchell, National Register Coordinator, Missouri State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), formerly of the Arkansas SHPO; and Kenneth Story, National Register Coordinator, Arkansas SHPO, for their assistance locating Mann's transcribed manuscript at the Arkansas SHPO, Heritage Center, 225 E. Markham, Little Rock, Arkansas. Along with Mann's autobiography, Story graciously sent other duplicates from the Arkansas SHPO records related to Mann for which I am grateful (see archive section in bibliography).

His mother, Elizabeth DeFreese, died in 1890.³

While in Indiana, Mann was educated in public schools of Goshen and Middlebury until he was 16.⁴ For two years he studied architecture in his home state where he trained as an apprentice in the Indianapolis office of William H. Brown.⁵ Later, he was admitted to Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Boston, and upon achieving a satisfactory score on an entrance examination he was qualified to bypass two years of general study.⁶ Although he claimed to have graduated with high honors in 1876,⁷ "taking all the prizes in the different classes, and the premium at the Centennial for the finest designs,"⁸ his student records reveal that he did not complete the program nor earn a degree from the

³Ibid.; David Y. Thomas, ed., Arkansas and its People (New York: American Historical Society, 1930), 214, hereafter cited Thomas, Arkansas and its People; and Mann, autobiography, 1.

⁴Mann, autobiography, 1.

⁵Mann, autobiography, 3; and Withey and Withey, 195. According to James Cox, Old and New St. Louis: A Concise History of the Metropolis of the West and Southwest, with a Review of its Present Greatness and Immediate Prospects (St. Louis: Central Biographical Publishing Co., 1894), Mann spent one year with Brown (437); hereafter cited Cox.

⁶Mann, autobiography, 3.

⁷Ibid.

⁸The History of Buchanan County, Missouri Containing a History of the County, its Cities, Towns, Etc. (St. Joseph, Missouri: Union Historical Co., 1881), p. 826. Hereafter cited History of Buchanan County, 1881.

prestigious institution.⁹

Mann entered his professional career as a draftsman in architectural offices at New York, Minneapolis, Detroit, Washington, D.C., and other cities where he "acquired training and experience."¹⁰ According to his obituary in Pencil Points, Mann was "connected with the office of McKim, Mead, and White."¹¹ Charles Savage, author of Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis, suggests that perhaps Mann worked for the firm during its earlier years when it was known as McKim, Mead and Bigelow. In his autobiography, Mann refers to the firm as McKim, Mead & White and contends that after the Centennial Exhibition of 1876:

I went to New York where I worked for a short time for McKim, Meade [sic] and White, Architects. There I became acquainted with the late lamented Stanford White, designer for the firm. He took quite an interest in me, and upon each of my later visits to New York I was always entertained by him. From New York, I went to Goshen where I made several plans for several residences and stayed there until September 1877, when Mr. Stebbins . . . joined me, and we went to Minneapolis, Minnesota and opened an office, as architects.¹²

⁹Elizabeth Andrews, Reference Archivist, Institute Archives and Special Collections, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, consulted Mann's records. In correspondence to the author dated February 10, 1993, she stated, "Mann attended MIT in the school year 1875-76 as a third year student, assigned to the class of 1877. He did not receive an MIT degree."

¹⁰History of Buchanan County, p. 826; and Withey and Withey, 1956, 389.

¹¹"George R. Mann," Pencil Points, 20 (May 1930), 64.

¹²Mann, autobiography, 4.

Like the information Mann's autobiography presents about his academic career at MIT, there are contradictions with this data when it is compared to other sources. The chronological progression of his autobiography supports that Mann was at the New York firm between 1876 and 1877, when it was indeed McKim, Mead and Bigelow.¹³ If Mann's Minneapolis practice with Stebbins in 1877 followed his New York experiences, Mann could not have worked with Stanford White at McKim, Mead and Bigelow. White did not work with the acclaimed firm until he became a partner in September 1879.¹⁴

Although the firm's official employee rosters were initiated in the 1880s, they trace employees back to the founding partners. Mann is not listed in the records as an architect or draftsman during the late 1870s, but as a stenographer employed from November 1889 until 27 January 1894.¹⁵ These dates strengthen Mann's affirmation that he

¹³Leland Roth, McKim, Mead & White, Architects (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), see chapter 2, "Fledglings, 1870-1879," particularly pages 42, 35, and 55-56. Hereafter cited Roth, McKim, Mead & White.

¹⁴Charles Savage, Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1987), page 211, note 15. Hereafter cited Savage.

¹⁵Correspondence from Leland Roth, Professor of Art History, School of Architecture and Allied Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, 3 January 1992 to Toni M. Prawl, Jefferson City, Missouri. In his book, McKim, Mead & White, Architects, Roth identifies Mann as "an office assistant (155)." Information matching Roth's dates for Mann's employment is presented in the appendix, "Office Roll of McKim, Mead & White," of Charles Moore's book, The Life and

knew White, however place him in New York when he was Eckel's partner.¹⁶ Presumably, unless George Mann shared his name with another employee at the firm, the years of his New York service must have been erroneously entered by the time the posterior records were fabricated. While the firm's records identify Mann's clerical role, Mann does not reveal his position in his autobiography.

Although Mann's association with McKim, Mead and White is questionable, the information he provides about his first partnership is subject to less scrutiny. As previously mentioned, Mann formed a partnership with Edward Stebbins, a former classmate of MIT, in 1877. Stebbins and Mann, Minneapolis, Minnesota, existed two years until 1879,¹⁷ when Mann looked elsewhere for design opportunities in larger cities.

In efforts to find employment in a town which could keep an aspiring architect busy, Mann joined a traveling opera troupe. He "went with the company, trying in every town . . . to get a job, and in Kansas City, Missouri

Times of Charles Follen McKim (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929), 329. Hereafter cited Moore.

¹⁶Mann's partnership with Eckel was interrupted at least three times, yet the dates of one Eckel and Mann partnership consumes the years 1887-1891. Discussion regarding Mann's later years follows, including time he spent in St. Louis, from 1891 to 1893.

¹⁷Who's Who in Little Rock: An Accurate Biographical Record of Men and Women of Little Rock, Arkansas (N.p.: n.p., 1921), 95. Hereafter cited Who's Who in Little Rock.

succeeded."¹⁸ Mann was hired by A. B. Cross, Kansas City, but soon headed for the more densely populated St. Joseph, when he noticed an advertisement for a draftsman printed in the Globe Democrat of St. Louis.¹⁹ Once Mann arrived in St. Joseph, he was employed as a draftsman by Boettner and Eckel where he doubled his former Kansas City wages.²⁰ He worked as a draftsman until the following year upon Boettner's departure, when he and Eckel became partners and established the firm Eckel and Mann in 1880.²¹

The Dynamic Partnership, 1880-1885; 1887-1891; 1902-1905

Eckel and Mann's successful practice spanned twenty-five years, but not without frequent interruptions. The dates of their partnership indicate a series of dissolutions and reconciliations, for the firm's history is traced in city directories as an on-again, off-again relationship consisting of approximately eleven, although not

¹⁸Mann, autobiography, 4.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹See city directories for St. Joseph, Missouri, 1878 to 1906. According to the 1880 Directory, the firm was still known as Boettner and Eckel. By the time the 1881 directory was published, it was Eckel and Mann. Mann's obituary in the St. Joseph Gazette and biography in Who's Who in Little Rock, claim Eckel and Mann merged in 1880, so they probably formed their partnership sometime after the 1880 directory went to press, but before the 1881 directory was released.

consecutive, years.²² The two architects merged forces from 1880-1885; 1887-1891; and a last time from 1902-1905. During 1886, both architects practiced independently in the city of St. Joseph, but reconstituted the firm in January 1887.

Both Eckel and Mann were educated at institutions whose curriculum and faculty were related in philosophy and practice. Because the École des Beaux-Arts had profound influence on the first school of architecture in America--Massachusetts Institute of Technology--Mann's academic training was modeled after Eckel's course of study. Although Mann's program was not as lengthy or intense as Eckel's, as students they were taught analogous design methods and theories. MIT's course catalog for 1875--the year Mann enrolled--describes a program of study much like the École with attention to mathematics, engineering, art, physics, and also including chemistry and geology. During the student's second year, the first half was devoted to "the study of the Five Orders, and their application, and to

²²As the following discussions illustrate, Eckel and Mann's relationship as partners was intensified by their friendship. Letters from the partners indicate the union was emotionally charged at times with revealing phrases such as, "we agreed to agree again" (3 January 1887, Brunner archive collection) and "if you are willing to let bye goones be bye goones I will join you and we will spend the rest of our years together (13 January 1902, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

Greek and Roman Architectural history."²³ The catalog continues:

During the third and fourth years the students are constantly practiced in original design, the character of the problems given out and the time allowed for their completion varying according to the advancement of the class and the kind of drawings required. . . . Special exercises are also had in shades, shadows, perspective, and the perspective of shadows, and in tracing, sketching, modelling, and drawing with charcoal and crayons.²⁴

Furthermore, MIT's Architectural Museum contained a large collection of photographs, prints, drawings, and casts for student use, including photographs from "French competitions for public buildings, and from the Concours of the École des Beaux-Arts."²⁵ Therefore, it is reasonable to assume the two architects shared comparable design ideas and formed an intellectually compatible partnership. If both architects viewed architecture similarly, it is puzzling why they abandoned their partnership three times. Business correspondences acknowledge the two architects did not always agree, but the source of the partners' disputes may never be documented entirely.

Records from Eckel and Mann's first four years together are sorely missed, but bound office correspondence of 1884-

²³1875 Course Catalog for MIT, pages 51-2, as photocopied and provided by MIT Reference Archivist, Elizabeth Andrews, in correspondence to the author, 10 February 1993.

²⁴Ibid., 52.

²⁵Ibid., 53.

1893 offer data about the firm's activities and relations. Letters, handwritten by Eckel with only a few exceptions, indicate he was the chief of the firm, making and enforcing executive decisions. Yet Mann's autobiography suggests otherwise. According to Mann, he succeeded his employer to become head of the firm at age twenty-three.²⁶ Mann attributed his quick promotion to Mr. Tootle, "the wealthiest man in the state of Missouri," who liked his work.²⁷ He elaborates how he advanced to principal from draftsman in less than four months:

He [Mr. Tootle] said that the architects, Boetner [sic] and Echel [sic] never went out of town and while he tried to explain what he wanted they never seemed to understand him and they always did about the same thing. He said he would give me his work if I would go into business for myself. Mr. Boetner [sic] heard of this and went to Mr. Tootle and sold his interest to him. Then Mr. Tootle turned this interest over to me with the understanding that he would give me enough work so that I could pay back what he had paid Boetner [sic]. So after arriving in St. Joseph on September 22, 1879 I went in as head of the firm January 1, 1880.²⁸

Mann's personal accounts like this are rarely substantiated or refuted by other sources, thus they are difficult to confirm. The deliberate omission of motives and pertinent details in this case, makes one ponder why Boettner would have offered his share to Tootle without consulting his partner first or why Tootle would have

²⁶Mann, autobiography, 6.

²⁷Ibid., 5.

²⁸Ibid., 5-6.

purchased Boettner's interest if he found the firm's work unsatisfactory. Furthermore, why did Mann chose to work with Eckel if he could have practiced independently, endorsed by Tootle? The fact that Eckel and Mann established a partnership is uncontested. It is disturbing however that Mann's abridged version is not more complete or more compatible with other sources, including the firm's letters.

When the two architects are compared, evidence supports that Eckel was more accomplished than Mann and that the latter had more to gain through an affiliation with the former than vice versa, although Mann's autobiography does not divulge their relationship. Although Eckel was more mature, educated, experienced, and established in St. Joseph, Mann completely ignored his senior partner's qualities as a mentor in his autobiography. In fact, Eckel is neglected in all regards. Indeed, through Mann's consistent use of the first person, he never credits Eckel at all and takes singular credit for buildings designed by the firm: "Within the following two years I built the large wholesale houses of Nave & McCord; Turner-Frazier; D. M. Steele; R. L. McDonald; J. G. Englehart; John S. Britton [sic] and many others."²⁹

²⁹Ibid., 5. Mann's claims regarding buildings he designed elsewhere also have been investigated. In "Arkansas Listings in the National Register" written by staff of the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program for Arkansas Historical Quarterly 43 (Spring 1984), the authors

Not once throughout his entire autobiography does Mann identify the new firm of Eckel and Mann by name. Rather, his autobiography insinuates he was principal of his own firm, until following pages of his prose finally clarify that Mr. Eckel had been his partner. While Mann's statements are an asset to this study, it must be remembered that his autobiography is just that--a historical account of his life narrated in old age from his own perspective. Full of self-praise for his accomplishments, Mann's autobiography is of questionable credibility.³⁰ It rightfully acknowledges his views, not those of Eckel. Because the two partners were individuals, they naturally interpreted

comment, "Some controversy persists over who actually designed the [El Dorado, Arkansas] courthouse. George R. Mann states in an unpublished autobiography written in 1932 that he was responsible for the design, but the blueprints still on file in the county judges office are signed by [his partner] Stern alone (80-81)."

³⁰John C. Paige and Laura Soulliere Harrison, historians for the National Park Service, consulted Mann's autobiography for their study, Out of the Vapors: A Social and Architectural History of Bathhouse Row, Hot Springs National Park (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior/U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986). With a footnote commentary on page 203 they conclude, "Mann's apparent exaggeration throughout the document is evident."

Written at the age of seventy-six, a few of Mann's statements from his autobiography follow to illustrate his boastful nature: On page three, "While I had had a very limited common school education, I had always been a great reader, had a very retentive memory, was a natural born mathematician, and had put in a great deal of study in connection with my work in Mr. Brown's office"; and page four, "I was quite successful in school, as I won a majority of the first mentions in the monthly competitions that was given the class"; and ". . . I was quite an expert draftsman."

experiences, even the same experiences, differently. Had Eckel penned an autobiography, portions of it certainly would challenge Mann's recollections.

Few letters disclose the topics of the partner's conflicts, but occasionally particular outcomes are exposed. Evidently the first dissolution of the firm occurred around January 1886. The signature "Eckel and Mann" appears on the letter in the firm's ledger book dated December 1885, but does not reappear for a year. This letter was written by Eckel as were most letters that precede and follow this correspondence. One dated 3 January 1887 finally announces the partners' reunion, "By the heading [letterhead stationery] you can see that we agreed to agree again and the old firm of Eckel and Mann is in the field again."³¹

Thus, each architect obviously had his opinions about various matters, but was willing to compromise (at times), for the sake of the partnership. Mann's first departure from the firm in 1886 did not affect his St. Joseph residency. As an "architect and superintendent of government buildings" his office at Eighth and Edmond Streets was about five blocks from his former office with Eckel at Fourth and Felix Streets.³²

In spite of occasional episodes of disharmony between

³¹Letter addressed to W. W. Caldwell of Concordia, Missouri, dated 3 January 1887, page 112 of bound business correspondences dated 1884-1893, Brunner archive collection.

³²St. Joseph city directory for 1886, 262 and 445.

the two, Eckel and Mann worked together as a team on several design projects. Or at least the firm Eckel and Mann was perceived as one entity and not the work place of two estranged architects who shared an office. The extent of their cooperation is ambiguous since few primary sources exist to fill the gaps.

Without early samples of Mann's architectural drawings nor knowledge of buildings he designed before joining Eckel, his contributions to the firm Eckel and Mann remain obscure. In his autobiography, Mann names numerous buildings he built while working in St. Joseph, but avoids earlier examples. He attests that he "made plans for several residences" in Goshen, Indiana; secured county commissions and "some other small work" in Minneapolis; and "designed several buildings for Mr. Cross" while in Kansas City.³³ These vague references regard projects Mann executed within three years--after he left MIT in 1876, but before moving to St. Joseph in 1879.

Likewise, in his Selections from an Architect's Portfolio (1893), Mann features buildings that represented his recent labors in Missouri, not those of the past.³⁴ Mann's title was appropriate; he was indeed "selective" about the buildings he emphasized. With the exception of

³³Mann, autobiography, 4.

³⁴George Mann, Selections from an Architect's Portfolio (St. Louis: I. Haas and Co., 1893).

one student drawing from MIT, the book does not contain any examples of Mann's work before he joined Eckel. Moreover, a note appearing on Mann's title page explains that the work in his Portfolio was of a professional caliber, "Being a selection of Sketches and Drawings arranged in accordance with the date of their production and covering the period of his professional practice." The majority of illustrations (thirty-three of thirty-six), depict Missouri specimens, mostly those by the St. Joseph firm Eckel and Mann.³⁵ Had Mann prided himself on his early work too, perhaps he would have documented his buildings in Goshen, Minneapolis, and Kansas City as further testimonies to his capable drafting and design skills. Their absence suggests that Mann did not consider buildings from this phase of his career to be significant professional accomplishments.

On 25 September 1893, the four-story Commercial Bank building that housed Eckel and Mann's office was severely damaged by fire.³⁶ The subsequent loss of Eckel and Mann

³⁵Mann includes the following Eckel and Mann buildings in his portfolio: Union Depot; Board of Trade Building; Tootle & Hosea Building; Turner & Frazer Building; Nave & McCord Building; Burnes Tomb; St. Louis City Hall; Ogden Residence; five other unlabeled residences that can be identified as houses for Moss, McAlister, and Nave; and the Beloit State Bank, Kansas. In some cases, more than one illustration depicts particular buildings.

³⁶The St. Joseph Daily Gazette, 26 September 1893, covers the fire story with the headline, "Eight Hundred Thousand, The Most Disastrous Fire That Has Ever Occurred in the City of St. Joseph." The article states, "The handsome Commercial Bank together with its contents entirely consumed." The building was re-built.

architectural papers further complicates the investigation of the roles each partner played.³⁷ Despite the shortage of drawings, additional information about the partners and their practice can be gained from the buildings themselves. In particular, the architects' own residences from the mid-1880s may illuminate the designers' individual preferences, values, and lifestyles. Naturally, the partners' strong personalities not only affected the way they conducted their business affairs, but also how they managed their private lives.

Private Dwellings and Personalities

During the first ten years of Eckel's marriage, the couple and their children lived at three addresses until Eckel built a new house at 515 North Fourth Street in 1885 (fig. 9-2). The births of the Eckel children occurred every two years, almost like clockwork: the eldest, Edmund George, was born 28 December 1876; a daughter, Minnie Albertine, arrived 7 April 1878; Elvie E. was the third child born 1 May 1880; and the fourth and last child, George Robert Eckel, was born 30 December 1882. Eckel's two sons

³⁷In firm correspondence to Eugene D _____?, Chicago, Illinois on 10 October 1893, Eckel states, "One week after returning from Chicago my office burnt out with very near all _____? although I saved some articles" (bound office correspondence, 1893-1899, 49, Brunner archive collection). In later correspondence to G. F. Swift of Chicago, Eckel explains that he would have sent certain plans to Swift, but lamented that a few years ago, "I burned out and all my drawings went up in smoke" (bound office correspondence, 1893-1899, 334-335, Brunner archive collection).

and two daughters ranged from age three to nine when they moved into the new, yet rather plain house their father designed for his family.³⁸ E. J.'s two sisters, Albertine and Valerie, resided with the Eckel family for a brief period from 1890 to 1894.³⁹

Eckel selected a narrow city lot for the site of his house. Situated near the central business district and just one block north of the county courthouse, Eckel's new address permitted him to live within five blocks of his office.⁴⁰ The convenient location enabled Eckel to enjoy a daily walk to work; his diminutive stature and umbrella escort became a routine sight, rain or shine.⁴¹ Although

³⁸The birth dates of the Eckel children were recorded in the Eckel family papers among the archives at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri.

³⁹City directories. Beginning in 1881, Eckel's sister Albertine lived with their widowed mother at 702 Felix Street; they were joined by Valerie the following year. Eckel's mother died 6 December 1886 (St. Joseph Gazette, 8 December 1886, 5).

⁴⁰In 1885, Eckel's office (at the southeast corner of Fourth and Felix Streets, or 408 Felix) and his new residence were separated by four blocks. In 1889, Eckel and Mann moved to the new Commercial Bank Building at the southeast corner of Sixth and Edmond they designed, thereby increasing the distance from Eckel's residence and his office to about six blocks. (Addresses obtained from city directories.)

⁴¹Although Eckel's business and residence addresses changed periodically, he continued his regular walks. Ron Fuston, an associate of William A. Brunner, recalls the scarred elevator panel box at the Corby Building and how it became that way. In Eckel's later years, he continued his walks but relied more heavily on his umbrella as a cane and also as an extension of his own person. On several

Eckel advocated exercise, his walk did more than keep him spry. The route to his office passed several businesses along "wholesale row" and afforded him the opportunity to greet acquaintances and exchange the latest news. Conversations and observations during his walk enabled him to monitor the pulse of commerce along his path--healthy practices for any enterprising individual. Furthermore, as in Strasbourg and Paris, pedestrian strolls reduced his reliance on carriages and horses.⁴²

Eckel's town house, while commodious for his youthful family, lacked the fanciful ornamentation he reserved for clients' residences of the same period. Eckel, a socially active and civic-minded architect, took care to design an unpretentious home with few frills that underscored his conservative personality and frugal spending habits.⁴³ The few details of Eckel's two story brick house with truncated hip roof are subtle and frequently overlooked. Masons artfully manipulated ordinary bricks to distinguish certain

occasions, he used the tip of his umbrella to poke the elevator controls.

⁴²Building permits do not record the erection of a stable on Eckel's property, however the 1888 Sanborn map reveals the presence of a one-story frame shed at the northeast corner of the premises.

⁴³Eckel was a Republican who held memberships in all Masonic bodies (serving as treasurer of the Scottish Rite and a life member of the Moila Temple), Odd Fellows, Chamber of Commerce, Benton Club, Elks' Club, and the Country Club. His numerous memberships were repeatedly listed in his biographies, including Tracy's Men Who Make St. Joseph a City Worthwhile, n.d.

elements like the string courses (laid in soldier course form); the "capitals" of brick piers; the corbel table; and the receding corbel courses on the house. Limestone lintels provide color and tactile contrast. Because none of the diamond or scalloped forms that occur on east and west lintels are repeated, each one is notable. A modest one story porch with wooden columns of the simple Tuscan order shelters the main entrance.

Just 25 feet wide at the front (west) and rear (east) by 36 feet deep (north and south), an asymmetrical entrance opens to a hall that allows direct passage to a parlor, living room, dining room and rear kitchen on the first floor; a side stair and hall provides circulation to and from bedrooms on the second level. Building permits document only minor changes occurred in early years, such as a small addition in 1889 and porch alterations or repairs that took place in 1887 and 1898.⁴⁴ The Eckel family occupied the residence until 1909 and despite its badly deteriorated condition, the building is listed in the National Register of Historic Places for its association with Eckel, its architect and original resident.

⁴⁴The house precedes building permits for its original construction, however later building permits are recorded: Building permits X-B47, 26 April 1887, porch, \$40; A429, 25 May 1889, residence addition, \$600; 6165, 10 June 1898, porch, \$25; 5746, 16 September 1901, residence, \$40 were issued under Eckel's name. The last permit, A6516, was filed 13 June 1911 by A. G. Brown Co. for the construction of a shed.

The construction of Eckel's house in 1885 may have prompted Mann, his partner, to seriously consider the feasibility of erecting a residence for himself. Moreover, his marriage to Caroline (Carrie) Louise Rock of St. Joseph on 6 October 1886 probably provided him with even greater motivation to actualize his own house plans. Shortly following his thirtieth birthday and the autumn wedding, Mann built a large home lavishly decorated in the Queen Anne style (fig. 9-3). Unlike Eckel, Mann selected a remote country setting away from the city's business district. Mann and his wife occupied the home at 3401 South Eleventh Street by 1887. Three daughters--Elizabeth, Wilhelmina, and Georgia--soon brought more joy to their home and lives.⁴⁵

Mann's richly embellished frame residence that he tucked into the woods appears the antithesis of Eckel's brick, urban house. Their noticeable dissimilarities point to the many differences between the partners. Mann's sprawling and indulgent house declares the owner-architect's success in the community through its generous scale, massed forms, and luxurious finishes--characteristics Eckel did not choose for his house. By their nature, houses executed in the Queen Anne style exhibit a variety of textures and materials and Mann's house is no exception. The exterior--with its contributing front porch, a recessed porch at the second story, and porte cochere--is covered with clapboards,

⁴⁵Thomas, Arkansas and its People, 215.

shaped shingles, and iron cresting. Colorful stained glass windows with faceted jewels; intricate parquet floors; hand-painted murals and ceilings; and built-in furniture are decorative touches that adorn the interior.

Not only was Mann's house grander and more spacious than Eckel's, but so was its site. Through Mann's selection of a remote location south of the city limits and more than two miles from his office, he divided his public and private realms more visibly than Eckel. Mann may have found comfort in his rural habitat for various reasons. He may have associated certain Jeffersonian values with country living; romanticized his grandfather's life as a prominent planter in Virginia; or recalled a family farm near Middlebury, Indiana where he worked as a child.⁴⁶ At a period of demographic transition and the rise of suburban areas in St. Joseph, Mann successfully combined town and country living. Mann resided at his family home until he moved to St. Louis in 1891.⁴⁷

On the surface, it seems ironic that accomplished Eckel would build a relatively plain house at age forty when his partner, eleven years his junior, elected to build a

⁴⁶Mann's autobiography mentions his planter grandfather and his past farming days, 1-2.

⁴⁷Pages 21-23 of the Board of Trade's annual report for 1888 provides information regarding the number of building permits issued each month for properties within city limits, yet does not include figures for "the extensive suburban building in general."

dwelling nearly twice the size for his smaller family. At the time their residences were constructed, Eckel had been practicing his profession in St. Joseph for sixteen years compared to Mann's seven years of experience in the city. Explanations for the differences derive from comparisons of the residences themselves and the personalities at work. By virtue of following his partner's residence, Mann's house makes a somewhat more powerful statement. After all, without Mann's house for contrast, Eckel's residence would stand in isolation, suggesting little more than a sturdy and accommodating brick house at a convenient location for his family. But when each house is weighed against the design of his partner's house, the buildings express more.

Eckel valued a carefully balanced lifestyle, one of moderation and stability which he adopted at an early age. After an interview with the architect, a local reporter presented Eckel's views: "He is not a prohibitionist, he said, but emphasized that he believes in temperance, not only in drinking but in everything."⁴⁸ In his early-forties, Eckel began incorporating a nap after lunch into his daily routine, a ritual he pursued for forty-five years until his death at age eighty-nine. In efforts to maintain his health, "he smoked sparingly, observed regular sleeping hours and relied on physical exercises to keep in condition. He attributed his long life to regularity of habits and

⁴⁸"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

moderation in eating and drinking."⁴⁹ Thus, his practical and understated house reflected his sensibility and conservative tendencies.

In contrast, Mann's character and house are less restrained. Like his autobiography, his residence portrays self-confidence and pride. His manuscript and house imply that Mann was confident in his choices and his abilities. His residence, constructed at an estimated cost of \$10,000 in 1887, equaled those designed for the partners' wealthy clients.⁵⁰ Mann's rise to grand home ownership in St. Joseph is remarkable considering he arrived in the city in 1879, "young, wild and full of vim" with only a two cent piece in his pocket.⁵¹ In addition to the debt he owed Mr. Tootle for acquiring the partnership, the house represented sizable capital.

Mann may have inherited his grandfather's poor judgment when it came to bonded schemes, or at least he possessed a heightened awareness of this weakness. The architect readily acknowledged his grandfather's fiscal troubles in his autobiography when he comments that his father's father "was a prominent planter, a fox hunting squire who later in life met financial reverse through promiscuous

⁴⁹"E. J. Eckel is Dead."

⁵⁰Dunn, An Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, 18.

⁵¹Mann, autobiography, 5-6.

endorsements."⁵² Grandson Mann had his share of difficulty realizing and solving his own indebtedness, yet he was optimistic he could not only finance these business and building costs, but support a wife and family in the process. As an architect accustomed to dealing with contractors, Mann could be an effective negotiator. He did not finance his new house entirely out of his own pocket. Through creative business arrangements, he secured a majority of amenities as wedding presents from manufacturers.⁵³

Money and its management became a growing source of contention for the architects as their partnership endured, but it was not a serious problem for the two until they separated. One occasion offers a rarely recorded glimpse of Mann through his partner's eyes. In a character reference letter to an inquirer in Kansas City, Eckel wrote:

Your favor of May 4th duly received.

In regard to Mr. Mann's present status will say that as far as I know, through personal observation and through outside reports he seems to be all right. He is a hard worker and capable as you know.

About his integrity, nothing has come to my knowledge which would be detrimental to him. In a financial way you know he always has been in debt (which I think is a good deal the fault of his family) but is paying them off as he can. I know through personal experience he has not paid off altogether what he owes me. I think Mann means to do what is right and

⁵²Mann, autobiography, 1.

⁵³Albrecht Art Museum, The Stained Glass Windows of Saint Joseph (St. Joseph, Missouri: Albrecht Art Museum, 1976), catalog insert, text accompanying photograph number 7 (stained glass windows in Mann's house).

his standing amongst the profession is good.

If you wish any more information please let me know.⁵⁴

Thus, Eckel remained a loyal friend to Mann even in adverse situations involving money. Unfortunately, none of Mann's recovered documents seem to reflect on Eckel.

Regardless of any personal differences, Eckel and Mann managed to secure commissions for significant buildings in St. Joseph and throughout counties in northern Missouri. An inventory of Eckel buildings is provided in the appendix to offer a concise record of the firms' work. A review of the images included in the dissertation confirms that some of the most outstanding buildings Eckel designed throughout his career were erected during St. Joseph's prominent period and his partnership with Mann. Although limits of time and space prevent a comprehensive evaluation of each building, there are some that must be highlighted in the text, if merely mentioned. Other buildings, selected as key examples, are discussed in greater detail.

⁵⁴Correspondence to W. L. Buechle? (or perhaps Buecle? The surname is not completely legible), Kansas City, Missouri from E. J. Eckel, 8 May 1912 in 1909-1911 correspondence files in Brunner's archive collection.

CHAPTER 10

HARVEY ELLIS, MASTERFUL DRAFTSMAN

During their partnerships, Eckel and Mann employed a talented but enigmatic draftsman who has since earned an important reputation among architectural historians for his creativity and contributions to American architecture. Harvey Ellis (1852-1904) did not receive a formal education in architecture nor bear the letters AIA after his name, but he was one of the most intriguing and talented designers who worked in St. Joseph (fig. 10-1). Ellis apparently favored the opportunities the developing Midwest presented and the extravagance lavished by the bourgeoisie of a golden Victorian age. According to Roger Kennedy, Ellis spent most of his time in St. Joseph, Missouri from 1888 to 1893.¹ How he became acquainted with the St. Joseph architects is unsolved; apparently he developed ties with Eckel and Mann yet retained his Minneapolis affiliations.

Ellis was the subject of two master's theses in 1953

¹Roger Kennedy, "Long Dark Corridors: Harvey Ellis," Prairie School Review 5 (1968), 13, hereafter cited Kennedy, "Long Dark Corridors"; Sheridan A. Logan, ed., "Old Saint Jo: Outstanding Buildings and Two Architects" (St. Joseph Historical Society, 1987); McDonald, "Buildings His Monuments." Although Roger Kennedy has published at least five articles about Ellis and his work (see the bibliography), slim evidence supports his findings; therefore, his conclusions must be used with caution. Ellis is first listed in St. Joseph city directories in the year 1890, but based on the firm's records, he was working with Eckel and Mann by 1889. He is listed in the 1891 directory also, but no others.

and 1969.² A joint exhibition titled "A Rediscovery-- Harvey Ellis: Artist, Architect" sponsored by the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, and the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum in 1972-73 further documented Ellis's life, but little attention has been devoted to his Missouri years which require scrutiny.³ The exact date Ellis joined Eckel and Mann is uncertain, however day books kept by the firm indicate Ellis was added to Eckel's payroll beginning 24 June 1889.⁴ City directories record his presence at the firm in the early 1890s, a period that coincided with the development of Richardsonian Romanesque architecture in the city. His life in St. Joseph and elsewhere lacks documentation and as a result his work is frequently unrecognized.

Scholars are challenged by a certain mysticism which surrounds Ellis, largely because he led a private life,

²Eileen Manning, "The Architectural Design of Harvey Ellis," M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1953, hereafter cited Manning; Mary Lipscomb, "The Architecture of Harvey Ellis in Rochester, New York," M.A. thesis, University of Rochester, New York, 1969.

³Charles Savage devotes chapter 13 to Ellis's St. Louis work in his book, Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 207-218.

⁴Eckel's Day Book, 1889-1896. This book is part of the Eckel collection borrowed from Barbara Ide, summer 1993, and later transferred to the Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph, Missouri.

using various aliases in his attempts to "baffle biography."⁵ The difficulty involved in documenting Ellis's work may be summarized in the words of one Ellis investigator:

Ellis is responsible for his own obscurity, for he made conscious and consistent efforts to conceal many facts in his life. He adopted false names, gave incorrect addresses, disappeared for long stretches of time, and repeatedly refused to acknowledge his own drawings, sketches, and buildings. But more important, Ellis never stayed put long enough to establish a lasting reputation: he moved from job to job, from profession to profession.⁶

Guarding the personal details of his life was seldom a burden for the artist. Parts of his past were kept disclosed through pseudo-identities or extended absences, while other chapters remained covered by his alcoholism. "Preserved in alcohol,"⁷ as Ellis described himself, the

⁵Roger Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision: Harvey Ellis and the Flowering of Midwestern Architecture," 5 The American West (March 1968): 21. Hereafter cited, Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision."

⁶Barry Sanders, "Harvey Ellis: Architect, Painter, Furniture Designer," Art and Antiques 4 (January-February 1981): 59. Hereafter cited, Sanders.

⁷Claude Bradgon, Ellis's friend and pupil, admits, "During the major portion of his life Harvey Ellis was the slave of drink." See Claude Bradgon, "Harvey Ellis: A Portrait Sketch," The Architectural Review [Boston], 15 (December 1908), 173 and 175; reprinted in the Prairie School Review 5 (First-Second Quarter, 1968): 19 and 21, hereafter cited, Bradgon, "Harvey Ellis: A Portrait Sketch," (1908). Also see Claude Bradgon, More Lives Than One (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938), 41, hereafter cited, Bradgon, More Lives Than One. Manning concludes, "Except for the last ten years of his life, he was an alcoholic whose sprees during the time he was in the Midwest were quite frequent (4)."

vagrant lifestyle seemed to suit the man who appeared to care little about steady employment, high wages, or honors for his versatility. In order to understand his saga with Eckel and Mann, we must first know the man.

The Life of a Journeyman

Ellis was born in Rochester, New York, in 1852. At that time, his father DeWitt Ellis, was a prominent hardware merchant who was determined to be an attorney and upstate politician.⁸ Ellis's mother frequently worried about Harvey and often relied on Charles, her second son, to keep him on the right track during his childhood.⁹ Through his father's connections, Ellis was appointed to West Point in 1870, but was dismissed the next year. The school records note Ellis's expulsion due to a weakness in French, yet according to gossip the real justification for his dismissal was his flawed moral character and an attraction to women of ill-repute. The young Ellis, it was rumored, was in love with an actress or dancer whom he secretly wed. In disapproval, Ellis's parents sent him to Europe to study and to forget the woman as well. It was during his sojourn abroad that his father had the marriage annulled, thus straining the family ties further.¹⁰

⁸Blake McKelvey, "Harvey Ellis: A Biographical Sketch," in A Rediscovery: Harvey Ellis, Artist, Architect, 1972, 44. Hereafter cited McKelvey.

⁹Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 20.

¹⁰McKelvey, 45.

This traumatic sequence of events had a profound effect on Ellis's personal life that shaped his career as an artist. Ellis may have cursed his parents for the European exile they ordered, but the sojourn (and the discovery of each new monument which accompanied it) resuscitated his creative spirit. One biographer suggests it was "the architecture and atmosphere of Venice among other places [that] captured his imagination and committed him to the pursuit of art and architecture."¹¹ While some Ellis students remain uncertain about this trip abroad, McKelvey supports his European travel:

A manuscript essay on Venetian architecture, apparently written in the 1870's and preserved with a collection of Ellis papers in the Minnesota Historical Society, gives inferential evidence of this aspect of his career.¹²

Despite the separation from his family, the tension remained unresolved and upon his return to Rochester in 1875, Harvey abandoned his parents and avoided future contact with them.¹³

In 1875, Ellis studied architecture as an apprentice at the New York office of Arthur Gilman, and later pursued

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³On one occasion, Ellis's father saw his son at work in an engineering office in lower Broadway, New York and neither paused to speak to each other. See Roger Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 20.

painting under Edward White in Albany.¹⁴ Also at Albany was H. H. Richardson who was at work on the state capitol and city hall. It is uncertain if Ellis actually joined Richardson's huge atelier in Albany. According to Kennedy, Ellis entered the firm in 1877,¹⁵ yet other researchers are less convinced and maintain the impressionable Harvey only was acquainted with the eminent architect of the late nineteenth century. That Ellis knew Richardson is accepted completely; he admiringly referred to him as "a magnificent big brute."¹⁶ Richardson's work had profound effect on Ellis as Swales verifies that Ellis became "filled with enthusiasm for the Richardsonian Romanesque."¹⁷

By 1879, Ellis returned to Rochester and worked with

¹⁴Francis S. Swales, "Master Draftsmen, III, Harvey Ellis," Pencil Points 5 (July 1924): 49. Hereafter cited Swales.

¹⁵Kennedy, "Long Dark Corridors," 8.

¹⁶Ibid. In Charles Savage's discussion of Ellis in his book Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis, he states, "Although there is no evidence that Ellis worked in Richardson's Albany office, he was enormously taken with Richardson's use of the Romanesque style." He documents his statement through authors who claim Ellis worked under Richardson's employ, and others who believe Ellis worked in an office only affiliated with Richardson. See page 210 in Savage's book, especially footnote 11. According to Manning's thesis, Harvey Ellis is listed in the 1877 Albany city directory during the construction of Richardson's Albany state capitol building. Given Ellis's appreciation for Richardson, Manning supports "the suggestion that he could have known and worked for the older architect in Albany is highly probable (13)."

¹⁷Ibid.

his brother Charles, forming Harvey and Charles S. Ellis¹⁸ and producing designs for commercial buildings, schools, hotels, and houses of various styles. Most of his buildings were constructed in the western region of his native state and parts of Pennsylvania. His modest plans of this period differ from his more mature artistic spirit of later years, but it must be remembered that during the late 1870s, he--like many designers--was limited by constricting clients and their less than liberal budgets. Accordingly, when Ellis's work is juxtaposed to Louis Sullivan's work of this decade, "it is fair to say that Ellis's compares with it very favorably."¹⁹

Ellis remained in Rochester for five years, yet desired opportunities to build the type of structures he frequently escaped to in his dreams and readings. His intent was to command rough-hewn materials into "great, picturesque piles"²⁰ of artful compositions. The artist-draftsman looked West for a clientele who not only envisioned similar creations, but could also finance them. In St. Joseph, Ellis celebrated the opportunity to design his buildings of fantastic medievalism.

¹⁸Sanders, 60.

¹⁹Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 20.

²⁰Swales, 49.

Still in Utica in August 1885,²¹ Ellis soon departed for the Midwest and from thereon frequently veiled his true identity. He conjured false names and often disappeared, preferring a life of anonymity. As a journeyman draftsman, Ellis traveled from one city to another securing work from several architects, sometimes fulfilling requests for more than one firm at a time. France and Kennedy maintain that Ellis could spread his talents among architects and states simultaneously, and did so during the late 1880s in particular. Designs dated from 1886 to 1888 for the St. Paul based firms J. Walter Stevens and Mould & McNichol, and Leroy Buffington in Minneapolis, create uncertainty regarding Ellis's employment.²² According to Kennedy, "From 1888 and 1893 Ellis divided his time between Minneapolis and Missouri."²³ Thus, Ellis's mobility complicates the investigator's task and causes more confusion than clarity. Ellis's physical presence in some cities can not be easily documented for certain dates, but

²¹Jean France, "Harvey Ellis: Architect," in A Rediscovery: Harvey Ellis, Artist, Architect, 11. Hereafter cited France, "Harvey Ellis: Architect."

²²France, "Harvey Ellis: Architect," 12.

²³It must be remembered that Kennedy's views on Ellis are often speculative and unsupported by evidence (see footnote one). Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 72. In a previous article, "The Long Shadow of Harvey Ellis" in Minnesota History (Fall 1966, 100), Kennedy states that Ellis designed a number of mansions in Minneapolis "from 1886 to 1893, when he worked intermittently for the popular and prolific architect LeRoy S. Buffington." Hereafter cited Kennedy, "Long Shadow."

it is possible he submitted absentee designs to local firms. Therefore, questions regarding his first works at various places, like St. Joseph, are some of the most difficult to answer.

Diversity within the Architectural Firm

The need for draftsmen like Ellis became more apparent as advancing firms adapted industrial concepts such as the division of labor. Business offices were not insulated from the specialization of this Victorian era. There were advantages of defining and separating tasks even within the architectural practice. Beginning in the early years of Ellis's career, he and his brothers divided their professional responsibilities. At their Rochester firm--Harvey and Charles S. Ellis--Harvey was the designer; his brother Charles, the entrepreneur; and their younger brother Frank, the bookkeeper.²⁴ Claude Bragdon, a draftsman at the Ellis firm, notes that Charles had "talent in getting commissions, and as soon as he landed one, he would turn it over to his draughtsman to execute while he went out to capture another."²⁵ Similar arrangements were observed

²⁴Savage, 208; David Gebhard and Deborah Nevins, 200 Years of American Architectural Drawing (New York: Witney Library of Design, 1977), 50, hereafter cited Gebhard and Nevins; and Eileen Manning Michels, "Harvey Ellis," in the Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982), 21.

²⁵On page 8 of her study, "Harvey Ellis: Architect," Jean France quotes Bragdon from his "autobiography" but does not provide a citation. Presumably, the information derives from Bragdon's More Lives Than One although it does not

across the country and undoubtedly were practiced at St. Joseph by Eckel and Mann.

Once removed from Rochester, Ellis was hired more frequently as a master draftsman--one who supplied high quality perspective drawings--to supplement standard architectural drawings. Increasing specialization within firms prompted a greater demand for draftsmen of Ellis's caliber, Ellis being among those who set the standards. The fluid pen and ink drawings they generated became valuable marketing tools to their employers and helped lure future commissions. Ellis's colleague and friend, William Gray Purcell, characterizes men like him:

The journeyman draftsmen were a jolly crowd, more often than not hard drinkers, drifting from one office to the next in a restless quest for romance and adventure, carrying with them the gossip of the building world and a homely philosophy of life which reached their architectural work only indirectly.²⁶

Purcell addresses Ellis more specifically, "Without question the most distinguished and capable of these journeyman draftsman-architects was Harvey Ellis. . . . No American graphic artist had a more perfect technique in the technical language in architectural rendering."²⁷ Draftsman under his spell mimicked his style and occasionally resorted to

appear during Bragdon's discussion devoted to Ellis on pages 40-42.

²⁶William Gray Purcell, "Forgotten Builders," Northwest Architect, 8 (1944), 4. Hereafter cited, Purcell, "Forgotten Builders."

²⁷Ibid., 5.

altering their equipment to achieve Ellis's peculiar effects. Bradgon reminisces:

I do not know how many of the strong-nerved young draughtsmen of the Middle West nicked the edges of their T-squares in the vain effort to reproduce his 'crinkled' pen-line (the product, had they only known it, of nerves unstrung), but it was more than one or two.²⁸

At Eckel and Mann, drawings by draftsman Ben Trunk suggest he copied Ellis most closely.²⁹

Ellis was a familiar name in architectural journals of the day and fortunately publications from the 1880s to the turn of the century offer images of his unique pen drawings. Ellis also was known among the circles who admired Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and George Elmslie, yet it is unclear whether he was directly associated with any of these Midwest architects. Ellis might have worked in Chicago,³⁰ but it is definite that he found employment in Minnesota.

²⁸Bradgon, "Harvey Ellis: A Portrait Sketch" (1908), 173; and slightly modified in Bradgon More Lives Than One, 41.

²⁹Manning credits Ellis for Eckel and Mann's Union Station drawing in her thesis (fig. 92), however it is Ben Trunk's name that appears on the drawing published in the Journal of Commerce (July 1900, N.P., n.p.), unnumbered pages.

³⁰Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 21. In his article, "Harvey Ellis, A Tribute," in A Discovery: Harvey Ellis, Architect, Artist, (page 52) Kennedy states, "Elmslie and Claude Bragdon said Ellis worked in Chicago--but didn't say when." Emily Clark, Associate Librarian, Chicago Historical Society, consulted Chicago city directories for 1885, 1886, 1887, and 1889, but did not find Harvey Ellis listed (correspondence to Toni M. Prawl, 4 November 1993).

Established firms in St. Paul³¹ and Minneapolis provided Ellis with a wealthy patronage who appreciated his uninhibited touches even though he rarely received recognition for the work. Even when he scrawled his own name and not his alias Albert Levering,³² his signature was occasionally removed by some architects who hired him. For example, under Leroy Buffington's employ in Minneapolis, Ellis's signature was erased from the sketch of a bank for publication purposes.³³ On several other accounts, it was often Ellis's design that appeared, although his name did not.³⁴

During Ellis's years with Eckel and Mann, his signature on drawings was undisturbed and carefully balanced by the title block bearing the names of his employer-architects.

³¹Kennedy believes it was Ellis's labors that achieved national recognition for the St. Paul architect, J. Walter Stevens ("Some Distant Vision," 19).

³²Kennedy, "Long Shadow"; and Gebhard and Nevins, 50.

³³Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 23.

³⁴In his essay, "Some Distant Vision," Kennedy argues that the John L. Merriam residence of St. Paul (now demolished) was the work of Ellis, as well as the Noyes Brothers and Cutler warehouses of 1886, and also the Germania Bank Building. Pillsbury Hall and Nicholson Hall on the University of Minnesota are other examples of Ellis's work. Furthermore, Kennedy concludes that Ellis enabled the architect Buffington to gain a national reputation while Ellis was in his office. On pages 22-23, Kennedy defends his argument, "After a lifetime of litigating for the right to be known as 'the father of the skyscraper,' the old man [Buffington] admitted that the design of what he called 'the world's first tall steel frame office building,' a twenty-nine-story structure to be built in Minneapolis in 1887, was Ellis's work."

While Eckel and Mann's name is neatly contained within title blocks or rigidly positioned near the top of these drawings, Ellis deliberately scrawled his signature in less conspicuous places. The position Ellis selected for his mark was not a mindless decision for the draftsman. Swales recalls Ellis's hesitation when he signed his drawings:

Usually the last touch to his drawing was his signature, of which he seemed to make a special study--the only thing upon which he used an eraser, and there he used it several times, altering the location and then returning again to the first. On one occasion he signed a clean sheet of paper before starting the drawing and commented, 'There! I have the worst of it done.'³⁵

Eckel and Mann honored Ellis's signature; it became--and remains--an integral part of these renderings. More specifically, Ellis's signature not only identifies him, it explains his role at the firm. Ellis generally followed his name with the abbreviation, "Del." and a date to distinguish when he made his contribution as the delineator.

Frequently coined a "paper architect," Ellis was gifted at understanding the customized architectural features a client or supervisor desired. Moreover, he was capable of conceptualizing the design on the drawing board and bringing faintly verbalized requests to life in a superbly rendered drawing. He was popular for his ability to alter a previously conceived design and make it better, or to add just the right touch to another's work in the name of

³⁵Swales, 79.

beautification. According to Kennedy, Ellis was a genius who could alter drawings, either before, during, or after they were conceived "into what was essentially a new and better building."³⁶

Ellis was not an architect in the sense of one who designs buildings and supervises their construction. Eckel and Mann's records do not suggest that Ellis was ever involved in the entire design and construction process. Furthermore, no correspondence indicates he interacted with clients, contractors, or building suppliers through the course of the structure's creation or construction. Although he was responsible for the complete designs he produced at his firm in Rochester, he devoted most his career to drawing buildings, not building them. Jean France argues that Ellis was not a "paper architect"; that the buildings in his renderings "are conceived in three dimensional terms, as controlled volumes varied to suit the needs of the space enclosed."³⁷ However, she admits:

We call Harvey Ellis an architect. A more precise term would be architectural designer. As architectural practice became more complex towards the end of the 19th century, most firms diversified; one man brought in commissions, one designed, one supervised construction. Harvey Ellis began his career as the designing half of an architectural partnership, but his most productive days were spent as a journeyman draftsman, working for several architectural firms which gave little credit to his creative role. He seems also to have sent out designs on a free-lance

³⁶Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 20.

³⁷Jean France, "Harvey Ellis: Architect," 6.

basis, having no connection with them once they left his drawing board, and getting not a shred of a byline.³⁸

In St. Joseph, Ellis was a designer who experienced a good deal of artistic license and independence, but under the authority and jurisdiction of professionally-trained architects. Though numerous buildings in the Midwest, including many in St. Joseph, were based almost entirely on the draftsman's designs, the firms--not the individuals--were recognized. In 1886, Stanford White announced that "no member of our firm is ever individually responsible for any design which goes out from it"--a belief that must have been widespread among contemporary architectural firms.³⁹

Ellis, like other designers of the day, consented to the customary policy that "to the business house belongs the credit."⁴⁰ His views on the firm and its organization were compatible with those of Eckel and Mann, who valued Ellis and left his signature untouched on renderings he prepared for them. Ellis's role at Eckel and Mann was that of artist, not architect. Based on Edmond G. Eckel's observations of Ellis at work in his father's firm, Ellis "was essentially an artist and designer, not an architect; I remember my father stating that Harvey, when designing,

³⁸Ibid., 5-6.

³⁹Roth, McKim, Mead & White, 116.

⁴⁰Swales, 79.

payed [sic] no attention to construction."⁴¹

Ellis's attitude regarding the way members of a firm customarily worked together--each individual contributing his particular forte to the formulation of a successfully designed and constructed building--can be traced to the traditions established in the French ateliers. The ateliers provided an atmosphere of cooperation where students of the École des Beaux-Arts could learn from and offer assistance to one another. If an atelier included a student who was a potential Grand Prize winner, the entire studio aided their candidate, and thus produced "a team of assistants."⁴² Their support strengthened the quality of the design and a successful entry brought fame to the atelier.⁴³ Ernest Flagg, one of the American students at the French ateliers experienced the custom, "Among the members of the atelier there is an intense esprit de corps, and a feeling of camaraderie. All work for a common end, the glory of the atelier."⁴⁴ As a result, ateliers competed against other

⁴¹Correspondence to Eileen Manning from George R. Eckel (as told to him by Edmond G. Eckel, his brother), 17 May 1952 (Brunner archives, business correspondence, 1949-1959).

⁴²Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 87.

⁴³Dennis Domer, Associate Dean, School of Architecture and Urban Design at the University of Kansas emphasized this point in his speech, "The French Connection, E. J. Eckel and Harvey Ellis in Saint Joseph, Missouri," presented to the Saint Joseph Historical Society, 9 August 1987.

⁴⁴Ernest Flagg, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Part I." Architectural Record 4 (July-September 1894); 42.

ateliers, each vying for the top honors. Even the patrons were involved in the rivalry. Although they were customarily absent from the ateliers, the publicity of the Grand Prix and a promising entry from their atelier instantly captured the patron's interest and his assistance.⁴⁵

Such accepted practices were observed by many American architectural firms, especially in the case of Eckel and Mann who were influenced greatly by the standards set at the École. Considering the business load placed on the architects Eckel and Mann, they must have developed a beneficial relationship with Ellis. As Hugh M. G. Garden reminds readers of the 1908 Architectural Review, Ellis's designs were habitually reminiscent:

He usually picked up some suggestion, generally medieval, from some picture or photograph and twisted it to suit his own purpose; and he did not care greatly for its entire suitability or logical fitness, so long as it served him to make a pleasant pictorial composition--and that, as you may know, is not the way of the serious architect.⁴⁶

Chief architects like Eckel were frequently consumed by corporate concerns. Ellis, on the other hand, had no interest in business matters and was a poor manager of money. Under Buffington, in Minneapolis, he was paid daily.

⁴⁵Chafee, "Teaching," 1977, 87.

⁴⁶Hugh M. G. Garden, "Harvey Ellis, Designer and Draughtsman," Architectural Review [Boston] 15 (December 1908), 184; reprinted in Prairie School Review 5 (First-Second Quarter, 1968), 36. Hereafter cited Garden.

Yet whether Ellis received twenty-five cents or several dollars at the day's end, he would be penniless by morning.⁴⁷ Likewise he seldom was aware what salary he was earning with Eckel and Mann for, "When he found his pockets empty he went to them for more money, and got it--he left all keeping accounts to them."⁴⁸

Plagued with alcoholism, Ellis was regularly irresponsible, occasionally drunk, and sometimes exploited. Eckel and Mann found purpose in the journeyman's reckless lifestyle although it contradicted their own. Edmond G. Eckel, a draftsman at his father and Mann's firm, recorded the benefits of his vices:

One thing I've never forgotten when H. Ellis would come to the office with a beautiful hang over. In place of smoking his cigaretts [sic] he would put one in his mouth and chew it as he would tobacco. Then sit down and make a drawing he did some of his best work when drunk and not to [sic] nervous.⁴⁹

⁴⁷Roger Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," p. 23.

⁴⁸Bragdon, "Harvey Ellis: A Portrait Sketch," 174 and Claude Bragdon, Merely Players (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1905; reprint, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1972), 73. Hereafter cited Bragdon, Merely Players.

⁴⁹Among the business correspondence records at Brunner's is the letter written from Edmond G. Eckel to his brother George on 31 January 1952 (box 43, correspondence files 1949-1959). Edmond responded to George's request for information about Ellis, prompted by letters of inquiry from Eileen Mannings, a master's thesis candidate at the time. Edmond complied, yet due to the personal nature of his report on Ellis, George withheld most the contents of his brother's letter in his conservative responses to Manning on 4 February 1952 and 17 May 1952.

Edmond G. Eckel worked at his father's firm when Ellis was there, thus his recollections provide an inside view to

One of Ellis's friends recalls that the designer was in big demand by architects, but especially at competition time and that "Whenever the competition was announced, the first architect to find Harvey in a saloon would pull him out, sober him up, set a draftsman beside him until he finished the drawings, give him some money, and turn him loose again."⁵⁰ A body of presentation drawings from 1891 to 1893 confirms one particular architect's fondness for Ellis's talents. While in St. Louis, Ellis furnished at least nine perspective views for Mann, many of them for competitions.

Ellis gradually disappeared from the St. Joseph and St. Louis scene. He was no longer at work in Minnesota either. E. J. Eckel and George R. Mann continued their practices, while Harvey quietly departed. Sometime before 1894, possibly 1893, Ellis made a trip further West or perhaps

Ellis's family life. A dissertation may not be the appropriate medium for disclosing private affairs, but a footnote seems like a discrete enough place for revealing such secrets. In confidence to his brother, Edmond wrote, "Harvey did not drink for some time but got on a spree once in awhile but they became more frequent as the time went on he and his wife did not get along very well people said she was a dope feind [sic]. I think she was. I'm not sure wether [sic] they separated or not." Sadly, he added, "Seems to me they had a little boy but farmed him out with some one else she could not be bothered." Because census records for 1890 were destroyed by fire, they cannot be consulted to confirm whether Ellis had a wife or son when he lived in St. Joseph. McKelvey dates Ellis's separation from a wife to 1901, although she is not named (49); while Mannings mentions a Spanish wife, ". . . no children . . ." and an eventual separation (4)."

⁵⁰Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 19.

Southwest to Texas and California.⁵¹

With the depression of 1893 that shortly followed his leave of absence from Missouri, building activity decreased and modern architecture bucked the aesthetic trends established during the previous few decades. Classicism was revitalized by D. H. Burnham's Chicago Exposition in 1893 and the architectural style triumphed over the romantic and whimsical motifs which Ellis was a master. This new appreciation for academic buildings "left no opportunity for a man with a gift for fantasy and a disdain for dullness."⁵²

In 1894, Ellis left the West to return to familiar Rochester. It was during this phase that he reformed. He adopted the Roman Catholic faith, put old friends and old ways aside, and retreated to a tranquil sphere where he abstained from alcohol for approximately ten years. He found pleasure in painting, generally allegorical scenes that he readily gave to those who complimented him. He also produced illustrations for the publications, Scribners and The Craftsman. From 1902-1904, the last years of his life,

⁵¹In "Long Dark Corridors," Kennedy believes Ellis's trip to the southwest took place sometime during the Eckel and Mann years, between 1888-1893. Kennedy speculates Ellis's travels took him as far as San Antonio and possibly to Los Angeles (13, 14)." In the "Long Shadow" article, Kennedy writes, "Tradition among St. Louis draftsman confirms stylistic evidence that Ellis made a trip to the Southwest during this period--probably in 1890--for there appeared in his work a simplifying, refining impulse (104)."

⁵²Kennedy, "Some Distant Vision," 73.

Ellis worked with Gustave Stickley not only illustrating, but designing furnishings and textiles as well, yet they lacked the originality and spark his earlier designs conveyed. In 1902, Ellis found comfort in drinking and once again became dependent on the bottle. He died, possibly from nephritis, at age fifty-two on 2 January 1904.

Indeed, Ellis deserves special attention when it comes to the development of architecture in St. Joseph. His appreciation for H. H. Richardson, whom he possibly assisted in Albany, New York, greatly influenced his work while with Eckel and Mann. As the following discussion illuminates, several pen and ink compositions by Ellis document his ability to draw buildings of the Richardsonian Romanesque style and thus reveal his important contributions to the firm, Eckel and Mann.

Development of Eckel and Mann's

Romanesque-Inspired Architecture

In St. Joseph, Ellis found the time, place, and pocketbooks for the castles of his imagination. Occasionally credited for some "Missouri River Chateaux,"⁵³ Ellis influenced the designs of many imposing buildings built throughout the town and along the bluffs of the

⁵³Fred W. Slater, "St. Joseph's Best Architectural Legacy," St. Joseph News-Press, 9 March 1986.

river.⁵⁴ They were not replicas of castles along the Rhine; Ellis offered fresh interpretations of medievalism through his zestful imagination of a bygone chivalric age. According to Bradgon, Ellis's "taste was Gothic rather than Classic--that is, it was the taste which instinctively prefers the gargoyle to the caryatid; vital ugliness to moribund beauty, the organically imagined to the artificial and arranged."⁵⁵

In St. Joseph and other cities where Ellis worked, his architecture shares a similar quality. The scale of his buildings is massive, yet the results are rarely monolithic: steeply pitched roofs, capped turrets, projecting chimneys, and piercing spires yield an irregular and captivating silhouette. While many of Ellis's designs were executed in stone elsewhere, in St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann's apparent preference for brick and terra cotta details dominates. An abundance and variety of surface textures and ornamentation further enriches Ellis's compositions. Distinctive architectural motifs or elements, such as delicately carved foliage patterns, animal grotesques, and shields are frequent Ellis-embellishments. Many specimens of Eckel and Mann's architecture during Ellis's tenure exhibit these

⁵⁴In his article, "Living with Vivid Ghosts," House and Garden 175 (December 1985): 201, Roger Kennedy comments, "St. Joseph, Missouri is a museum of Ellis's prowess, though he is credited with not a single building."

⁵⁵Bradgon, Merely Players, 76-77.

characteristics and present the draftsman's interpretation of Richardson's Romanesque style that he often mixed with Chateausque elements. Ellis did not restrict his motifs to one source.⁵⁶

Before he joined Eckel and Mann, Ellis was well-versed in the Richardsonian Romanesque and Chateausque (or Francis I) styles and selected it frequently. By comparison, few identified Richardsonian Romanesque buildings that pre-date 1889 indicate Eckel and Mann were accomplished veterans of the style. Nevertheless, it quickly became one of the most fashionable styles for St. Joseph business houses:

The favorite building material for business blocks is pressed brick with terra cotta trimmings and red stone ornaments, pillars, cappings, etc. The style of architecture is that chiefly introduced by the great Richardson of Boston; and that St. Joseph possesses a high class of architects is amply evidenced by the fact that the firm Eckel and Mann, St. Joseph's principal designers, recently captured the prize offered for the best set of plans for the new city hall in St. Louis to cost \$1,000,000.⁵⁷

Without certainty of Ellis's whereabouts and activities during 1888 and the first half of 1889, it is difficult to confirm the level of his involvement in the design of Eckel and Mann architecture. In her thesis, Manning claims that

⁵⁶Eileen Manning Michels notes that from 1885 to 1895 or so, Ellis collected and manipulated design sources from the "Victorian Gothic, the Shingle style, the Richardsonian Romanesque, the Scottish Baronial, the Chateausque, and even after 1891, the Beaux Arts styles." See her entry in the Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 21, for a concise summary of Ellis's life and work.

⁵⁷Board of Trade, Eleventh Annual Report, 62.

Ellis moved to St. Joseph and joined the Eckel and Mann firm sometime during 1889. Furthermore, she concludes:

The work of Eckel and Mann before Ellis joined the office indicates an awareness of the Francis I style but includes no designs that could be called Richardsonian. In 1889, the year Ellis joined the office, we find several executed buildings that are unmistakably Richardsonian and probably the work of Ellis.⁵⁸

The premiss that Ellis brought the Richardsonian Romanesque style to St. Joseph demands exploration. Questions regarding the date the style reached St. Joseph and who delivered it may be partially answered by determining when Ellis first assisted Eckel and Mann. Ellis obviously promoted the style in St. Joseph, yet his employers may have actually been the regional instigators.

The combination of smooth and rugged textures, wide arches, and organic carvings characteristic of the Richardsonian Romanesque style were not limited to St. Joseph architecture of this period. The Richardsonian Romanesque style, a movement which gained even greater following upon the eve of the giant Richardson's premature death in 1886, was wildly popular throughout the country during the last decade of the century. It gained even greater attention after the publication of Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer's touching monograph on Richardson in 1888. The Richardsonian Romanesque style swept the nation, but was limited to those who could afford its solid masonry

⁵⁸Manning, 54-55.

construction. Thus, it became the style of choice in St. Joseph by the late 1880s.

Eckel had experimented with elements related to the style prior to Richardson's death and often combined them with more familiar Roman and Renaissance forms. The foliated capitals for the Nodaway County Courthouse (fig. 10-2), 1881, and mascarons and shields within arabesque panels for the Turner, Fraser & Co. Wholesale Grocers (1882, fig. 10-3) and the Ogden residence (1885, fig. 10-4) suggest the approaching "Romanesque" trend. While the Beaux-Arts architect customarily worked along classical lines like his École counterparts, the rare appearance of Romanesque-influenced features in his buildings establishes precedence for their use and suggests that the architect was interested in these forms. Perhaps Eckel was prepared to design a building in the style but could not find a client to lend his endorsement. Eckel and Mann approached the Richardsonian Romanesque style cautiously prior to Ellis's recorded assistance, thus their draftsman proved to be an important catalyst for the style's success in St. Joseph.

In addition to Manning's study, investigations by Thomas Carneal, Nancy Sandehn, and Noelle Soren also contribute to our understanding of Ellis's work in St. Joseph. In the National Register of Historic Places nomination that Sandehn and Soren prepared for the Richardsonian Romanesque German American Bank, they ponder

Ellis's role as the building's designer. They observe:

In the pro-Ellis camp [as the designer], the arguments rest primarily on the Richardsonian Romanesque style of the bank which was an Ellis trademark in the late 1880's. There are no documented examples of an Eckel-designed building prior to 1889 in this style.⁵⁹

The key word in their statement is "documented." Soren and Sandehn overlooked two older Eckel and Mann commercial buildings of Richardsonian influence that affected the results of their findings. The inventory of the firms' work that accompanies this dissertation identifies two Romanesque type warehouses that Eckel and Mann built in 1888. Although one design succeeds more than the other, both buildings signify the firm's attempt to assimilate elements of the Richardsonian Romanesque style in St. Joseph.

Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. Building

The Richardsonian Romanesque Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. Building (fig. 10-5), evidently unknown at the time the nomination for the German American Bank was prepared, also was designed by the Eckel and Mann firm. Built in 1888 at the southeast corner of Fourth and Jule Street (213-223 Fourth Street), the building was demolished in 1976, two years before research on the German American Bank was conducted.⁶⁰ The Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. Building (later known as the Tootle, Wheeler & Motter Co.) and a

⁵⁹Soren and Sandehn, continuation sheet 8, 1.

⁶⁰St. Joseph Missouri building permit records, number 33575, 11 June 1976, for demolition of the structure.

second Richardsonian Romanesque building, the C. D. Smith Drug Co., were constructed by the firm the same year. Therefore, Eckel and Mann employed the Richardsonian style before 1889.

A six story brick and terra cotta building, the Tootle-Hosea Building was a scaled-down local version of Burnham and Root's ten-storied Insurance Exchange Building, built 1884-85 (fig. 10-6). Although the Richardsonian cladding prevailed, the form of the Tootle-Hosea Building resembled Eckel and Mann's 1882 Nave-McCord Building about three blocks south on Third Street (see fig. 11-2 in the following chapter). The rhythm established by fenestration and pilasters of the Nave-McCord Building was preserved on the later building, but the arch and tourelles at the central bay and the foliated terra cotta gave it new flavor. Eckel imported not only the updated look from Chicago, but the building materials as well. He corresponded with the Chicago Lumber Company regarding materials for the new building on 22 August 1888.⁶¹ Likewise, he ordered terra cotta goods from Chicago's Northwest Terra Cotta Company, the same supplier of terra cotta for Burnham and Root's Rookery, 1885-1888 (fig. 10-7), and several St. Joseph

⁶¹Brunner archive collection, bound business correspondence, 1884-1893, 179.

buildings as well.⁶²

The building permit for the Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. Building was granted 13 August 1888.⁶³ The firm's presentation drawing for the building does not reveal Ellis's flair (fig. 10-8). Furthermore, the signature line, "Eckel and Mann, Archt., St. Joseph, Mo." resembles Mann's handwriting. Had Ellis been available to offer his drawing talents, surely the architects would have accepted. Yet, the robust Syrian-arched entrance of the Tootle-Hosea Building with its intricate terra cotta ornament adds a new dimension to Eckel and Mann's work (fig. 10-9) Like Eckel and Mann, Ellis may have been favorably impressed with Burnham and Root's Insurance Exchange Building. The Wilder Building in downtown Rochester, New York, also resembles Burnham and Root's tall building in Chicago (fig. 10-10). While it is attributed to the Rochester firm Warner and Brockett, Jean France speculates that Ellis was involved in

⁶²Numerous letters in Eckel's hand to the Northwestern Terra Cotta Company are found in the firm's bound business correspondence book of this period, 1884-1893, Brunner archive collection. The volume one, number eight publication of Northwestern Terra Cotta ("Published every now and then by the Northwestern Terra Cotta Company, Denver, CHICAGO, St. Louis") found among Eckel's records features a photograph of the Rookery with the caption, "The Rookery--Chicago's first ten story skyscraper--is a noteworthy example of the enduring beauty of Northwestern Terra Cotta."

⁶³Building permit 119-C issued for the "W. E. Hosea" store. The Board of Trade's [Tenth] Annual Report for 1888 (for the year ending 31 December 1888) also notes the new Tootle, Hosea & Co. wholesale house was erected that year (21).

its design.⁶⁴ It was constructed in 1887, one year before the similar form was erected in St. Joseph by Eckel and Mann.

C. D. Smith Drug Co. Building

Like the Tootle-Hosea Building, the arched windows of the C. D. Smith Drug Co. and its bold, snarling cat emblazoned above the southeast corner brings a foreign energy to the building (figs. 10-11, 10-12). Building permit 136-C was issued for its construction at 313-323 South Third Street on 17 August 1888, just four days following the permit for the Tootle-Hosea Building. The firm had incorporated terra cotta details for the 1882 design of the Turner-Frazer building, but the ornament was confined to rectangular panels (refer to fig. 10-3). The vigorous terra cotta designs for these later buildings portray a character unlike previous Eckel and Mann buildings and suggest the introduction of a new personality.

These two buildings, the Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. Building and the C. D. Smith Drug Co. Building, are notable in this study because they document that Eckel and Mann were erecting buildings of the Richardsonian Romanesque persuasion by 1888, with or without Ellis's assistance. If Ellis participated in their design, then he was working for Eckel and Mann sometime before the uncovered written records

⁶⁴France, "Harvey Ellis: Architect," 14-16.

indicate.⁶⁵ Eckel's day book that he used for logging his employees' hours and wages confirms that Ellis was associated with the architects by 24 June 1889. Ellis's name appears in the oldest known day book available for the firm, dated 1889-1896. This volume begins with entries for several draftsman dated 24 June 1889. Thus, Ellis probably assisted Eckel and Mann prior to this date, yet his initial contact with the firm remains undetermined.⁶⁶ Without more information regarding Ellis's first association with Eckel and Mann and knowledge of other Richardsonian Romanesque buildings in St. Joseph, one cannot confidently credit Eckel and Mann or Ellis for introducing the style to the city.⁶⁷

⁶⁵As a journeyman draftsman, it is possible Ellis accepted jobs from Eckel and Mann while he worked elsewhere. France observes that Ellis habitually provided drawings for one architect while under the employ of another; some of his designs dated from 1886 to 1888 were produced for two firms in St. Paul, thus he could have furnished additional drawings for more firms (see France, "Harvey Ellis: Architect," 12, 16, and 17).

⁶⁶It is quite possible that Ellis assisted Eckel and Mann via Minneapolis or wherever he happened to be. Eckel's day book records Ellis's several absences, including his weeks with Mann at St. Louis for the City Hall project during this period. Ellis is known for his mobility, as Manning's thesis mentions, "Since few Harvey Ellis designs appear from the Buffington office in 1889 it may be presumed that he was there for only a brief time during that year. Several designs for Buffington were done by Ellis during the early 1890's, indicating that Ellis moved about considerably, . . . (53)."

⁶⁷As in St. Joseph, Ellis and the Richardsonian Romanesque style reached Minneapolis about the same time. Manning theorizes: "It is also possible that specifically Richardsonian Romanesque design made its entrance into the Buffington office, and indeed perhaps into the city, at the time of the arrival of Harvey Ellis. Whether Ellis arrived

However, one may conclude that either: Ellis worked with Eckel and Mann prior to Manning's date of 1889; or Eckel and Mann designed their first Richardsonian Romanesque buildings independent of Ellis.

The German American Bank

The German American Bank, 624 Felix Street, has a distinguished cultural background (fig. 10-13). Its name, carved in stone at the main facade, is flanked by two mosaic crests at either side. One crest bears the Imperial German eagle while the other portrays an American eagle--symbols which readily identify the ethnic origin of its founders. Its designer is not so readily distinguished.

As previously mentioned, Soren and Sandehn present a debate regarding which artist--Eckel or Ellis--is responsible for the design of the building. Although they neglect Mann's role in the design of the building, we may surmise that he and Eckel worked as one entity, directing Ellis to embellish their scheme as he desired. The Eckel/Ellis dilemma extends beyond the German American Bank and can be applied to other Richardsonian Romanesque buildings designed by Eckel and Mann during this period. The six-story German American Bank of 1889 offers a special case study though because its Beaux-Arts detailing makes it

at the time the Richardsonian Romanesque would have reached Minneapolis via other sources or whether he brought it is impossible to determine definitely although the latter seems more likely (28)."

more unusual than other contemporary Richardsonian Romanesque buildings designed by the firm.⁶⁸

Soren and Sandehn endorse Ellis as the main designer with comments such as, "Supporting E. J. Eckel as the designer of the German-American Bank Building there is primarily negative evidence." Yet the architectural prototypes they name for this commercial building would have been known by both artists. Closer examination of their nomination, the building in question, and records from the architectural firm fail to support the role of one architect more than the other.

Both Eckel and Ellis could have known the features borrowed from the famous buildings mentioned in the nomination. Ellis reputedly sought solace from family strife in Italy and Eckel was a well-traveled French emigrant.⁶⁹ Eckel's sensitivity of European art was renewed in 1889 when he and his wife vacationed in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy from 23 June to 27 September.⁷⁰ The timely reunion with European culture may have stimulated Eckel's creativity at age forty-four, the

⁶⁸According to city records, building permit 478D was issued for construction of the \$57,000 German American Bank on 7 November 1889.

⁶⁹In A Rediscovery: Harvey Ellis Artist, Architect, France (6) and McKelvey (45) refer to Ellis's travels in Europe, although it is uncertain if he ever went.

⁷⁰Travel diary (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

midpoint of his life. According to Roth, Charles Follen McKim's incorporation of Francis I elements like "round corner towers with 'candle snuffer' conical roofs, and particularly the fieldstone construction, came from the architect's sketches of buildings in rural France."⁷¹ It is likely that McKim, as well as Eckel and Ellis, also looked to Richard Morris Hunt and his examples of American architecture based on French chateaux in the Loire valley. Certain buildings by Eckel and Mann bear Richardson's persuasion, but some owe a debt to Hunt. Professor Osmund Overby's conclusions regarding the influx of revived Francois I and Romanesque elements by Theodore Link and his assistants for the St. Louis Union Station may be applied to several buildings by Eckel and Mann during Ellis's association with the firm. Overby writes:

In turning to the Loire valley, Link is more in tune with Richard Morris Hunt who had been using these sources since as early as 1878-82 for the William K. Vanderbilt House in New York. At the time Link was designing Union Station, Hunt was at work on two houses so large they are comparable in size to Link's project, Ochre Court for Ogden Goelet in Newport, and Biltmore for George Vanderbilt in Asheville, North Carolina. The three share so many features that Link is more justly associated with Hunt than with Richardson.⁷²

While none of Eckel's buildings approach the scale of these stately complexes, a few from the 1880s and 1890s are indicative of the combined influences of Hunt and Richardson

⁷¹Roth, McKim, Mead & White, 80.

⁷²Overby, "A Place Called Union Station," 74.

and recall French chateaux that Eckel and Ellis may have both known. The firm's use of Francois I elements is more notable on residences and administrative buildings of the period (see the Palmer College Administration Building, Albany, ca. 1891, and the St. Louis City Hall, 1890) than commercial buildings like the German-American Bank.

France may have been closer to Eckel's heart than to Ellis's, although a photograph of the Chateau de Chenonceaux (1515-1523) at the firm signed "Harvey Ellis" on the back reiterates the draftsman's affair with this architecture too (fig. 10-14).⁷³ Furthermore, each had access to architecture of the world through a profusion of images that were published in journals and kept in the firm's growing library. Because the original plans for the bank building have not been recovered, it is believed they were lost in the office fire of 1893. The building itself indicates that both artists were important in the design process and therefore the role of each must be evaluated.

Soren and Sandehn's thorough discussion and description of the German American Bank in the National Register nomination identifies historic buildings and their architectural details that may have contributed to the design of the St. Joseph building. The bank is influenced by pre-Lombardic and Lombardic northern Italian art,

⁷³Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri.

Romanesque art of southern France, and classical Beaux-Arts elements. The capitals of the colonnade at the sixth floor resemble those at the church of San Vitali in Ravenna (526-547). Ornate surface decoration like the bas-relief seals of Solomon, symbolic of Freemasonry, are incorporated into the capitals. Their inclusion signifies local groups intended to use the building as a meeting hall.⁷⁴ As a member of all masonic bodies and a treasurer of the Scottish Rite, Eckel understood the emblems.⁷⁵ As an architect trained at the École des Beaux-Arts, he incorporated motifs into his designs as references that helped architecture better express its meaning and function. The sixth floor colonnade with its fanciful capitals is appropriately positioned so members who gather inside the building for meetings can easily view them and appreciate their

⁷⁴Members of the Blue Lodge, all of the York Rite Bodies, and the Moila Temple met regularly at the German American Bank.

⁷⁵And did he ever understand the masonic emblem! In correspondence to Northwest Terra Cotta Co., Chicago, 26 October 1891, Eckel notified the company about a problem with the masonic emblem executed for client L. Micheau, Maryville. Evidently, the terra cotta company's justification for the design (an intentional alteration) was not acceptable to the architect. On 29 October 1891, Eckel responded to the business, "In answer to yours of yesterday, I would say that I cannot see why you changed the design for the masonic emblem on Mr. L. Micheau's building at Maryville, no matter about masonic usages; being a Mason myself I knew exactly what I was doing and if others made it different they were wrong. We cannot waste 4 weeks so will have to make one in stone as the masons at Maryville will not have it this way under no considerations" (Brunner archive collection, 1884-1893 bound correspondence, 579, 581).

significance.

Abaci of the capitals at the fifth floor have a series of moldings and are reminiscent of those from the late eleventh century and the Cathedral of Autun in southeastern Burgundy. Moldings above the second floor are similar to the molding on the ciborium archivolt of Santa Maria Antica in Rome (705-707). The rinceaux peuples and entrelacs at the top of pilasters on the north facade of the bank also suggest Lombardic influence and resemble those of the Duomo in Verona from the early twelfth century. Other Lombardic features include the capitals of jamb shafts at the eastern portal that are somewhat like those in the cloister at Moissac in Languedoc built in the early twelfth century. Grotesques like those incorporated into the design of the German American Bank also may be traced to Romanesque art of northern Italy and southern France.

The use of specific Lombardic and Romanesque architectural examples such as these was uncommon for students of the École versed in the classics, however the practice of borrowing design elements from monuments suggests an academic approach, one Eckel and his Beaux-Arts colleagues rehearsed often. None of Ellis's designs from this period are known to include Beaux-Arts decoration. According to Purcell, journeymen draftsmen like Ellis were

"little touched by Beaux-Arts catechisms",⁷⁶ which support the Beaux-Arts elements of the German American Bank are Eckel's marks. Soren and Sandehn agree it is the Beaux-Arts details like laurel wreaths, swags, and classical moldings that announce Eckel's presence, while the Romanesque elements including zoomorphic grotesques and the low Richardsonian arch with sandstone voussoirs depict the work typical of Ellis. Unable to settle the controversy surrounding the designers of the bank, the historians conciliate that the building is "a living laboratory for research concerning the lives of two of America's most famous midwestern architects, Harvey Ellis and Edmond Jacques Eckel."⁷⁷

Further research concludes that it is unreasonable to credit singularly either Eckel or Ellis as the designer of the German American Bank. The building does not portray the pure work of Eckel or Ellis, but rather the contributions of both. Although some scholars may notice the schizophrenic qualities of the building, the strange combinations reveal that Eckel (and Mann) and Ellis worked cooperatively on the

⁷⁶Purcell, "Forgotten Builders," 4. In fact, according to Michels, Ellis's use of Beaux-Arts motifs occurred after 1891, but she does not identify the buildings with Beaux-Arts motifs that Ellis designed nor the source for his inspiration in her brief report in the Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 21. The date (1891) suggests it was a late influence, perhaps one that stems from experience with his classicist employers during this period.

⁷⁷Soren and Sandehn, continuation sheet 8, 3.

design. It is a hybrid, a building that evokes the hands and temperaments of dissimilar artists briefly joined at a moment in history. This building perhaps more than any other in St. Joseph demonstrates the combined talents of the firm's members and reveals the inner-office relationship of a chief architect and his draftsman.

Ellis-Inspired Residences

Ellis's residential designs for Eckel and Mann are more carefully recorded than those he prepared for the firm's commercial buildings. Several residences designed by the Eckel and Mann firm between 1888 and 1892 reveal Ellis's hand. In correspondence to Charles Baltzell, a client in Altoona, Pennsylvania, Eckel sketched a floor plan and recommended his design based on the building site (fig. 10-15).⁷⁸ No drawings survive at the firm to verify the role of each member, but a published image of the residence helps tell the outcome. While Eckel created the layout; considered the limitations of the site; communicated with the client; advised him accordingly; and billed him for services, the built house cannot hide Ellis's command of the facade (fig. 10-16).⁷⁹

⁷⁸Correspondence from E. J. Eckel to Charles Baltzell dated 13 April and 25 August 1891 in correspondence book 1884-1893, pages 507 and 564, Brunner archive collection.

⁷⁹There is a story to share about my research on the Baltzell house. I am grateful for the assistance of Allison Kimball Hoagland, former Senior Historian for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), Washington, D.C. We met at the 1989 Vernacular Architecture Forum conference in St.

In St. Joseph, the J. B. Moss Residence at 906 Sylvania was one of the first residences to convey Ellis's artistry (figs. 10-17, 10-18). Designed at the client's desire to suggest an alluring French chalet of the Loire Valley like those that impressed him during his travels in Europe, the residence remains an outstanding example of Ellis's career in St. Joseph. Paul Larson, curator of the traveling exhibition and author of "The Spirit of H. H. Richardson on the Midland Prairies," believes the Moss residence was "the executed Eckel and Mann project which came closest to pure Ellisian fantasy [but] also had the most complex archaeological sources." Based on information provided by J. B. Moss's nephew, Preston Moss, Larson elaborates:

The owner himself had insisted on a roof garden like one he had seen in a house overlooking the Bay of Naples, a brick pattern recalling the Doge's Palace in Venice, and a doorway penetrating the foundation in the manner of a country house he had seen in England. It fell to Ellis to weave these demands into a unitary design which was ultimately bound together with Richardsonian devices; the less glamorous task of making the building work was quite possibly left to the steadier members of the office staff.⁸⁰

Louis where Hoagland delivered a paper from the HABS study on the architecture of Altoona, Pennsylvania. At the meeting, I inquired about a residence known as the Baltzell house and she willingly agreed to consult a few sources for me. Thanks to her efforts, she uncovered a photograph of the house published in the Art Work of Blair County (Chicago: W. H. Parish Publication Co., 1893), unpaginated. Undoubtedly, there are other unrecorded buildings by the Eckel firm awaiting discovery.

⁸⁰Paul Clifford Larson, "H. H. Richardson Goes West: The Rise and Fall of an Eastern Star," in Paul Clifford Larson, ed., The Spirit of H. H. Richardson on the Midland Prairies: Regional Transformations of an Architectural

Although perhaps "less glamorous" to create, the plan and structure (construction) of the building were vital design factors. Through this "wish list" of various architectural components, the client appears engrossed only in the outward expression of the house. Ellis may have masterfully incorporated Moss's concerns for the facades, but not before the architects conceived the plan. Eckel and Mann focused on the plan in order to design functional buildings, a concept learned as students of the École and MIT. The plan was the great generator, the facade was secondary for successful architecture. Following discussions in this dissertation on the Arkansas State Capitol and St. Joseph City Hall convey the significance of the architects' floor plans. Direct statements from the architects themselves emphasize the primary importance of the plan. As Overby offers in his discussion of the St. Louis Union Station:

Link understood that the key to the design was in the arrangement of the plan, a plan that would effectively and efficiently accommodate the functions called for in the program. As he himself put it, 'of paramount importance in a railway station is its plan. Everything else is subservient to it. The directness, simplicity, and straightforwardness of our station is its chief merit.'⁸¹

With Eckel and Mann absorbed in the plans, Ellis was free to enrich the aesthetic qualities of the buildings. Additional residences by Eckel and Mann, namely the James

Style (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1988), 38.

⁸¹Overby, "A Place Called Union Station," 68.

McAlister (figs. 10-19, 10-20, 10-21), Samuel Nave (figs. 10-22, 10-23, 10-24), A. T. Smith (see figs. 11-14 and 11-15 in the following chapter), J. D. McNeely (figs. 10-25, 10-26), and Calvin C. Burnes (fig. 10-27) houses further represent the work of Ellis.⁸² Some of these designs are illustrated in architectural magazines such as American Architect and Building News, the Architect, Builder and Decorator, and the Inland Architect and News-Record. Comparison between these drawings and photographs of contemporary Minneapolis residences--the Samuel C. Gale House, erected 1888, razed 1933 (fig. 10-28), and the George Van Dusen House, ca. 1893 (fig. 10-29)--show similar design characteristics. As previously suggested, the residences in Minneapolis and St. Joseph may have been created by an individual at work in two cities.

⁸²In a letter to his brother George R. Eckel dated 31 January 1952, Edmond states, ". . . seems to me Ellis designed McCalester [sic] res., the Moss house and others." Whether designing in the romanesque or other style, Eckel paid conscientious attention to his clients' interests, as demonstrated by his correspondence to Peter Meyer, Quincy, 1 September 1893, regarding corbels for the Burnes house. Eckel explains Mrs. Burnes' dissatisfaction with the corbels received for the library mantel: "In unpacking the corbels for the Library Mantel we have been much disappointed. Mrs. Burnes wanted something like the corbels of Mrs. Wyeth's Library mantel and the ones you sent are different altogether, and will not do. Mrs. Burnes very near fainted in looking at them. I enclose herewith a copy of the corbels you made for Mrs. Wyeth, make these about the same but the carving to be kept more on the romanesque style not so classic as Mrs. Wyeth's mantels" (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1893-1899, 45.)

Burnes Mausoleum

A final example of Ellis's work and his independence from Eckel and Mann is demonstrated not by business houses or residences, but a resting place he designed for one of the most prominent entrepreneurs of the city. The Burnes Mausoleum at Mount Mora Cemetery, designed 1889, was published the following year in the American Architect and Building News and reveals Ellis's mastery of the Richardsonian Romanesque style (fig. 10-30). An exuberant example such as this suggests that Eckel permitted Ellis to design as he wished. Claude Bragdon, who personally knew Ellis, maintained that Eckel and Mann "gave him a free hand as a designer, and all work put out under their name while Harvey was in their employ is as definitely his, so far as design is concerned, as was the work of Adler and Sullivan Sullivan's."⁸³

Bragdon's statement that all work put out under the firm's name was Ellis's during the period of his employment with Eckel and Mann is a bold exaggeration. Eckel obviously respected Ellis's forte even if he had to learn to tolerate his undisciplined behavior. Ellis's presence in St. Joseph undoubtedly changed the composition of the firm. His talent, although perhaps unrestricted as Bragdon claims, was dominated by senior members of the firm who concentrated on

⁸³Correspondence to Buford Pickens, 13 January 1942, from Claude Bragdon, New York. (Correspondence courtesy of Jean France, 1 May 1991.)

building principles. In most cases it is clear that Eckel was the architect-engineer, while it appears Ellis was the artist.

Upon his death, the American Architect and Building News surmised that Ellis fit into the category of draftsmen who "prefer to devote themselves to drawing beautiful architectural compositions, leaving to others the task of carrying them into execution."⁸⁴ The success of Eckel and Mann with Ellis purports that this arrangement suited the partners well. Ellis customarily neglected structural concerns and devoted his attention to the facade, a habit that frequently limited the execution of his designs into buildings at his previous employer's firm.⁸⁵ Because Ellis's stylistic contributions to Eckel and Mann followed the plans developed by the partners and were only secondary, there is a concentration of buildings in St. Joseph that correlate with Ellis's drawings. Ellis's renderings for the Burnes Mausoleum, the McAlister residence, the McNeely residence, and the Moss residence matured beyond the paper

⁸⁴American Architect and Building News 83 (23 January 1904), 25.

⁸⁵In her thesis, Manning notes that only a few of the numerous drawings Ellis produced with Buffington were constructed because so many were romantic in nature and not realistic ("Architectural Designs of Harvey Ellis," 35). France adds, "We are amazed at the range and quantity of buildings Ellis designed for Buffington from 1886 to 1889; houses, libraries, memorials, office buildings, apartments, clubs. The renderings may have been made to help Buffington win commissions, but he was not always successful in selling them and many of the projects were never built (16)."

representation and materialized into buildings through Eckel and Mann's command. The highly trained partners recognized Ellis's artistic talents, but the plans remained their chief consideration. In the École tradition, the parti focused on practical concerns, the plan; elevations and sometimes perspectives ensued. These latter components of design afforded Ellis the opportunity to incorporate his romantic concepts and be recorded in the firm's history.

It is fitting that the use of the Richardsonian style in St. Joseph coincides with Ellis's presence in the city. His admiration of Richardson, his previous experience at designing in the Richardsonian manner, the development of the style in St. Joseph during his residency and its decline after his departure support that it was Eckel's employee, Ellis, who promoted the style in the city. The Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. and the C. D. Smith Drug Co. buildings mark the firm's use of the style by 1888, a date that may prove to correspond to Ellis's initial association with the architects. In later examples of the style, it appears Ellis was the creator, yet ultimately it was Eckel in his position of authority who either approved or disapproved of Ellis's designs before they were presented to clients. Once Ellis left St. Joseph to accompany Mann to St. Louis, the style turned to newer fashions more indicative of Eckel and the Beaux-Arts tradition. Later works by Eckel's firm represent the counter trends of the Second Renaissance

Revival and Neo-Classical Revival styles during his years as an independent architect from 1893 to 1902 and 1906 to 1908 or so, when he rarely erected buildings in the Richardsonian Romanesque style.

CHAPTER 11

CLIENTS AND COMMISSIONS

Commissions, the life-blood of the firm, were essential for Eckel and Mann's professional success. In addition to the many buildings indicative of Ellis, Eckel and Mann produced a plethora of other designs during their partnership. Approximately ninety-three of the 438 total documented designs produced throughout Eckel's career (slightly more than 20 percent) were planned or constructed during the Eckel and Mann partnerships.¹ Such a multitude of buildings reflects a prosperous economy and loyal clientele. The firms' services were highly sought by would-be community developers, leading businessmen, and private homeowners during the prosperous years of the late nineteenth century in St. Joseph. Such individuals presented a range of interests and desires, yet every client--whether enterprising entrepreneur, faithful congregation, head of household, or elected official--challenged the architects to create appropriate environments which sensitively addressed the respective needs of each. Every commission created an opportunity for Eckel and Mann to demonstrate their talents and earn greater recognition. Although time-intensive, the firm devoted great attention to

¹The number of buildings identified in Appendix 5 exceeds this figure (438) because the list includes work by firm after E. J. Eckel's death. Appendix 5 names 458 buildings designed by Eckel's firms, twenty commissions that post-date Eckel's death in 1934.

its architect-client relationships. Consequently, clients recommended Eckel and Mann's services and often returned to the firm for their design solutions. As Leland Roth observes in his study of McKim, Mead & White, "The caliber of the firm's work was high, too, because of the nature of the clients for whom they built."² The appendix includes a building inventory that identifies several Eckel and Mann clients. With even the slightest familiarity of St. Joseph history, such a list reads like a Who's Who of the city's notable citizens.

Commercial Architecture

Warehouses

One of the early precursors of the Richardsonian Romanesque style in St. Joseph may have been the Sheridan Clayton Paper Co., 302-308 South Third Street (fig. 11-1). Designed in 1882 as the Turner, Fraser and Co. Wholesale Grocers, the eclectic four-story brick warehouse makes ample use of the round arch and incorporates terra cotta details, but fails to include rock-faced masonry, low arches, broad lintels, and other characteristics of Richardson's romanesque. Rich in surface ornamentation, it is appropriately dressed in terra cotta panels depicting, but not limited to, flora and fauna the grocer offered for

²Roth, McKim, Mead & White, 65.

sale.³

A second eclectic design, a grocery store, the five-story brick Nave-McCord Mercantile Co. at 310-324 South Third Street, was designed by the architects the same year and properly credited in Mann's Selection from an Architect's Portfolio of 1893 (fig. 11-2).⁴ Like other wholesale enterprises in St. Joseph, the Nave-McCord business augmented the city's sales statistics through the efforts of its twenty-five traveling employees who covered more than eleven states conducting business for the store in 1887.⁵

The neighboring C. D. Smith Drug Co., 313 South Third Street, demonstrated the architects' use of the Richardsonian Romanesque style for warehouses in St. Joseph. As the previous chapter discusses, the firm erected additional buildings in this style with Harvey Ellis. These warehouses, along with twenty-two additional contributing and neighboring resources of like use, are recognized for their commercial and architectural significance as the South Fourth Street Commercial Historic District listed in the

³The History of Buchanan County, 826 and Mann's autobiography. The date of the building's construction predates the city's building permit requirements.

⁴Mann's autobiography.

⁵Dunn, Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, 32.

National Register of Historic Places.⁶

Wholesale Row

Commercially, Wholesale Row affords a look at not one building, but a series of Eckel and Mann designs in close proximity. The four storefronts on the west side of the 200 block of North Fourth Street were built one by one beginning in 1880. Originally constructed to support wholesale purposes, the majority of these brick buildings are decorated with terra cotta, stone, wood, and pressed and cast metals. They are listed in the National Register of Historic Places for their architectural significance as "probably the best surviving grouping of late nineteenth century warehouse commercial structures exemplifying in their street facades a full expression of High Victorian Italianate design characteristics" in the state of Missouri.⁷ The highly ornate storefronts of these rectangular warehouses may be better examined as they evolved, individually and chronologically.

R. L. McDonald & Co.

The R. L. McDonald and Co., a dry goods wholesale business named for its owner, Rufus Lee McDonald, was constructed at 202 North Fourth Street the first year of Eckel and Mann's

⁶Karen L. Kummer and Alice Edwards, "South Fourth Street Commercial Historic District, St. Joseph, Missouri," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1990.

⁷Nancy Sandehn, M. Pat Holmes, and Nancy B. Breme, "Wholesale Row Historic District, St. Joseph, Missouri," National Register Nomination," 1976, unnumbered pages.

partnership, 1880 (fig. 11-3). The largest Wholesale Row building, the four-story McDonald building is an appropriate anchor for this streetscape. It is approximately twice as wide as the other buildings and occupies the entire lot's width of 100 feet at the northwest corner of Fourth and Francis Streets, and therefore presents two facades (fig. 11-4). Its facades consist of repeated units. Stone pilasters rhythmically separate the east or principal facade into five bays, each punctuated by a series of windows. Three central bays with round arched windows are flanked by outer bays of windows carrying segmental arches. Large merchandise display areas are created by an arcade of alternating windows and columns at the first story.

The secondary facade employs four pilasters to create three vertical sections, but the horizontal qualities of the building are emphasized by repeated cornices that double as continuous window sills at the second and fourth stories. A bold stringcourse of contrasting material and color distinguishes the stories while uniform arched lintels link the double-hung windows at every story. The cornice, supported by brackets, outlines the advancing and receding planes at the building's crown. Historic photographs document the original appearance with three entrances on Fourth Street (and cast iron steps) since removed (compare figs. 11-3 and 11-4). The stone column support at the southeast corner marks the primary entrance while additional

recent changes involve the removal of ornamental details from the main facade (including the central parapet nameplate, urn finials, and a cast iron balcony).

An isolated trio of arched windows at the fourth floor, framed by a pair of coupled columns, enhances the symmetrical organization of the composition and simultaneously emphasizes the center axis of the elevation. When combined with the building's overall fenestration, the result is rigid regularity that suggests the Beaux-Arts classical influence Eckel knew well. While rather repetitive, Eckel and Mann's design for one of their first wholesale buildings undoubtedly captured the interests of other merchants who contemplated plans for their own businesses. The ornament of the McDonald Building separated it from the unadorned and massive brick structures it succeeded and introduced new building concepts to wholesalers.

Englehart-Winning & Co.

The Englehart-Winning & Co., 212 North Fourth Street, a hat, millinery and notions wholesale store immediately to the north of the McDonald Co., was constructed the same year, 1880 (figs. 11-5, 11-6). Although only three bays or 42 feet wide (less than half the width of the McDonald building), it too is symmetrical with emphasis on the vertical axis. The central bay projects slightly from the facade. It contains a double leaf entrance at the first

floor and terminates with a finial directly above a pediment gable, complete with parapet nameplate. Originally four stories in height, a fifth story was added in 1898, making it the tallest building in the row. In storefront fashion of the period, the cast iron first story is composed of alternating iron columns and large plate glass windows. Second and third stories are divided by a stone stringcourse and are treated alike; pairs of double-hung sash windows in the outer bays offset single windows of the central bay. The windows are connected with continuous bands of stone at the window sills and segmentally arched openings.

In its original conception, the fourth story was separated from the lower stories by a series of consoles supporting a cornice. A heavier cornice with iron cresting previously delineated the top of the building. Contrasting fenestration also demarcated the fourth story from the second and third stories. At the fourth story, a series of three round arched windows still counterbalances a pair of two smaller arched windows framed inside a single arched opening at the central bay. Engaged iron columns between the windows support the stone arches. The Englehart Building was the first Wholesale Row building to incorporate as surface ornamentation terra cotta insets, acanthus leaves and trefoil forms. The variety of materials, color, and pattern add greater interest to the facade and set the pattern for another Englehart-Winning wholesale store built

beside it at 216-218 North Fourth Street four years later.
Brittain-Richardson & Co.

The third Wholesale Row building was the Brittain-Richardson & Co. wholesale dry goods store of 1882 situated at 224 North Fourth Street on the southwest corner of Fourth and Jules Streets (figs. 11-7, 11-8). Like the McDonald and Co. Building on the corner lot at the south end of the block, this four-story brick building with stone trim was designed with a full entablature, central nameplate parapet, and third story balcony. Its corner location affords two highly visible facades. The prominent Fourth Street facade features three vertical divisions through the use of brick pilasters. The symmetry of the building is reinforced by the fenestration, an organization of three windows at the center bay evenly balanced between windows of outer bays. As in the previous buildings, the lintels above the windows are segmental and round arched (except two flat arched windows) with continuous sills on the second through fourth stories which wrap around the corner to the secondary facade on Jules Street. Cast iron mullions support broad expanses of plate glass at the street level for the display of dry goods merchandise.

Unlike the other wholesale houses lining this block of Fourth Street, Eckel and Mann incorporated a focal point occasionally noted on other buildings designed by Eckel: a carefully positioned central arch supported by columns.

Projecting at the third story above the central entrance, this feature adds a classical Beaux-Arts feature to the warehouse. Eckel used this design element previously on the Wyeth Residence he designed in 1879. Eckel utilized the element sparingly throughout his career and reserved it mostly for entrances. Its appearance may suggest one of the few signature components in Eckel's architecture.

Englehart-Winning & Co.

A fourth and final building constructed in 1884 at 216-218 North Fourth Street filled the narrow 37 feet gap along the street front and completed the west side of the block. The Englehart-Winning & Co. leased this second building adjoining the north wall of its older store built in 1880 (figs. 11-6, 11-9). The compactness of the facade, along with its heavy ornamentation, make this building the most highly decorated warehouse in the row. As in previous examples, formal symmetry prevails and once again the architects focus on three bays with a central vertical axis. The center bay defines a recessed entrance at the main level while it projects at the second and third stories to form a semi-hexagonal oriel of two stories. The oriel features sunburst panels between the second and third story windows and a dentiled cornice with applied rosettes at the frieze. A scrolled iron railing at the top of the oriel forms a balcony under a shallow arched window opening at the fourth floor. The low, central arch is trimmed with a stone cap

that bends from one pilaster to the other and delineates three windows with stained glass transoms.

The side bays, separated by brick pilasters, provide window display areas at the street level and stabilize the central oriel with equally interesting windows and surface designs at the second through fourth stories. Paired windows topped by transoms occur at every story of the side bays, with fanlights under arched window caps of stone at the third story. A profusion of terra cotta panels are inset in the brick, along with patterned stone elements including corbels, rosettes, lintels, and window sills with decorative keystones. The facade is trimmed by a pressed metal entablature with a scalloped frieze and paired end brackets.

Inside the building, the spatial arrangement was defined by working zones and types of merchandise. In 1889, the interior of Englehart-Winning stores were carefully described:

These premises are spacious and lofty in their aspect, everything is kept as neat as a new pin, and they are quite a pleasure to visit. The basements are used for billing, packing, and shipping. On the first floor of the millinery and notion house we find an array of notions in which the inventive genius of the milliners and artisans of all nations is displayed; on the second floor, from the varied colors of the numberless feathers and flowers, it is but a short step to the beauties of a tropical forest; the third floor is devoted to ladies' hats, trimmings and patterns, and the fourth and fifth to duplicate stock. On the hat and glove side of the house, on the first floor we find fur goods of every description, the corner being laid off in well appointed offices; above we find silk, felt, and wool hats in the latest fashions; on the

third floor are caps, straw goods and gloves; the fourth being set apart for duplicate stock in unbroken boxes.⁸

The interior of the wholesale buildings on either side of the Englehart-Winning stores probably functioned in similar fashion. Each structure was designed as an individual unit, yet the buildings work well together as a unified row. Despite the change in grade, separate owners, and personal preferences, the facades are gracefully linked and suggest the relation between joined buildings in larger urban areas.

The National Register nomination inappropriately identifies the style of these buildings as "High Victorian Italianate" architecture, a term that suggests an English source. Because Eckel studied at the École in the 1860s and his architecture for Wholesale Row is elaborately dressed for the period, it may be regarded a product of French Néo-Grec thought. First called Romantic or Rationalist in the 1830s, the Néo-Grec movement was initiated by French students of the École (especially Henri Labrouste, Félix Duban, Louis Duc, and Léon Vaudoyer) who challenged the idealism of Neoclassicism. In his book, Designing Paris, David Van Zanten credits these architects as "the most

⁸John Letham, Historical and Descriptive Review of St. Joseph (New York: John Letham, 1889), 82. Twenty-six traveling salesmen represented the business on the road, while, Letham writes, "Inside, sixty-five clerks, ladies, and salesmen are employed, some of them having grown gray in the service. . . (83).

influential practitioners of architecture in France between 1830 and 1860, the period of Romanticism broadly defined."⁹

Their work which was "Greek in name only," was eclectic in its approach. It incorporated new materials in new combinations and was regarded the "distinctive expression of modern French architecture." In his essay, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec," Neil Levine writes: "The Néo-Grec was viewed as a revival of the Greek spirit of rationally developed, emotionally charged expression rather than simply a reapplication of Greek forms."¹⁰ American architect Henry Van Brunt praised the Néo-Grec for its refreshing qualities:

Indeed, when Greek lines were first received in the Paris ateliers, the architects were so much impressed by the freedom which the use of these lines gave to all the processes of design, when compared with the restrictions of practice under the Roman academic system, that the new dispensation was called a style, and christened Romantique, to distinguish it from what was conventionally called classic.¹¹

According to Levine, this new attitude toward architecture made French Néo-Grec architects "the first to make the radical distinction between structural principle and

⁹David Van Zanten, Designing Paris: The Architecture of Duban, Labrouste, Duc, and Vaudoyer (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1987), 68.

¹⁰Neil Levine, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec," in The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts, ed. Arthur Drexler (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 331. Hereafter cited Levine.

¹¹Quoted in Levine, 331.

decorative form." He continues:

In demanding that forms of decoration be rationally induced from the materials and methods of construction as well as from the specifications of the program, the Néo-Grec architects acknowledged the distinction between appearance and reality as simply a matter of act, and therefore saw the process of design as the decoration of construction.¹²

Eckel's wholesale stores and warehouses suggest he approached their design in the Néo-Grec tradition. The purposes of the buildings were foremost in his thoughts, with structure and material also crucial considerations. Most Eckel and Mann's lofty buildings of the period were erected of "slow-burning," or "mill" construction. In this type of construction, load-bearing or solid masonry walls enclose a frame of thick wooden columns that support heavy wood beams and plank floors. The use of solid masonry, bolts for joints, and dense wooden materials helped increase the fire-resistant properties of the buildings. After form and use, exterior decoration was then studied, but Eckel and Mann frequently managed all three concerns at once, as in the case of the Nave-McCord warehouse.

In his study of architecture in gateway cities, Leonard Eaton noticed how Eckel and Mann's Nave-McCord building conveys its construction program from the street:

On the facade the designer attempted a very interesting articulation of the wall. The windows are simply nicely proportioned openings in the brick surface, but the elevations are enlivened by the delicate brick corbeling which was necessitated when the heavy 4 inch

¹²Levine, 332.

x 10 inch floor joists were slotted into the bearing wall. Here is a fine example of a designer accepting a necessary structural feature and making it into something beautiful.¹³

With the employ of cast iron storefronts, portions of some facades along Wholesale Row were determined by the manufacturer's available styles.

As a complex, these wholesale buildings accomplish many objectives: functionally, they accommodate business transactions by providing a place to store and sell goods; structurally, they offer sound and voluminous spaces with fireproof precautions incorporated; and aesthetically, they present the architect's interpretation of fashionable facades for clients of this prosperous era. These harmonious buildings are representative of the architects' pragmatic and creative accomplishments, yet they also signify the financial and business success of the entrepreneurs who commissioned them.

Residences

Residential architecture comprises some of the firm's most important commissions. At the head of a partial list of St. Joseph residences Eckel and Mann designed are four opulent houses that form the basis of the Hall Street Historic District.

Hall Street Historic District

The Adam N. Schuster Residence at 703 Hall Street,

¹³Leonard K. Eaton, Gateway Cities and Other Essays (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1989), 25.

presumably erected about 1881, is the oldest house in the neighborhood attributed to Eckel. One of the earliest known views of the residence is found in An Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri, published 1887 (fig. 11-10).¹⁴ Built before 1886 when building permits were first required in the city, there remains some confusion regarding both its construction date and the principal architect's identification.

Eckel, Mann, and their previous firm, Stigers and Boettner, are all credited as architects of the Schuster Residence, sometimes even within the same reference. For example, The History of Buchanan County reports that the house is "a specimen of his [Mann's] skill,"¹⁵ as well as "a fair specimen of their [Stigers & Boettner's] architectural skill."¹⁶ Yet other primary sources, like Chapman Brothers' Portrait and Biographical Record¹⁷ and the St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition¹⁸ name Eckel the architect. Because the four architects were affiliated with Eckel through the firms Stigers & Boettner, Eckel &

¹⁴Dunn, An Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, 20.

¹⁵The History of Buchanan County, 826.

¹⁶Ibid., 907.

¹⁷Chapman Brothers, 195.

¹⁸The Daily News, St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated (St. Joseph: News Printing Co., 1894), 62. Hereafter cited The Daily News, Souvenir.

Boettner, and Eckel & Mann, one may speculate the men designed the house or supervised its construction in succession and over a period of time. Recorded dates for Stigers' retirement from practice in 1877 and Mann's arrival in St. Joseph in 1879 suggest that both architects did not work on the Schuster project at the same time.

Even the Hall Street Historic District nomination for the National Register of Historic Places presents conflicting information. Under the heading "Description," the house is attributed to L. S. Stigers and built "in the 1878-1881 period," yet the section on "Significance" states, "Colonel A. N. Schuster commissioned E. J. Eckel to build a fine example of a Victorian Italianate mansion in 1881 at 703 Hall Street."¹⁹

Stylistically, the house is representative of Eckel's work and similarities between its design and the Wyeth Mansion may be observed. One of the most commanding elements, the covered entrance, suggests the porch Eckel designed for the Wyeths as well John S. Lemon's residence at 517 North Fourth Street (fig. 11-11).²⁰ Eckel's familiar

¹⁹Barbara Ide and Tom Carneal, Hall Street Historic District Survey Report (St. Joseph, Missouri: St. Joseph Landmarks Commission/Office of Community Development, 1978). For the "Description," see item number 7, continuation sheet 5; for the "Significance" discussion see item number 8, continuation sheet 1.

²⁰The Lemon residence is included in the list of Eckel works provided by Chapman Brothers, Portrait and Biographical Record of Buchanan and Clinton Counties (Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1893), 195. The date of

arched openings, supported by piers and engaged columns, are repeated on three sides and carry a fully developed entablature, following the pattern of an archivolt. All three buildings are influenced by French Néo-Grec architecture, but the Schuster Residence approaches the later realm of the more ornamental Second Empire style. In 1888, Schuster had a large stable erected at the rear of the residence.²¹

Directly east of the Schuster House is an elaborate Eckel and Mann Chateausque residence at 809 Hall built for Nathan P. Ogden in 1885 (fig. 11-12).²² Like the Schuster Residence it pre-dates building permits, but is featured in

construction is uncertain. The building does not appear on Sanborn maps of 1868, but city directories indicate Lemon resided at this address by 1872, years that pre-date building permits for St. Joseph. Business correspondence reveals that Eckel placed orders for building materials for the John S. Lemon residence on 12 October 1889 from Houston and Harris, Minneapolis, and on 16 June 1890 from Henry Dibble Co., Chicago (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1884-1893, 308; 397). Building permit A455 was issued to John S. Lemon on 1 June 1889, but perhaps for improvements or an addition and not original construction.

²¹Building permit C458, 13 December 1888. The stable cost an estimated \$1,500 to construct.

²²Correspondence from Eckel and Mann to McCully & Miles, Chicago, regarding the architects' stained glass order for the residence, 19 November 1885 (from office records at Brunner's, 1884-1893 bound correspondence book, 62); News Printing Company, St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated (St. Joseph: News Printing Co., 1894), 62; and several biographies (including Chapman Brothers, 1893, 195 and Rutt's 1904 publication, 17) also attribute the residence to Eckel.

An Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri.²³ This statuesque rock-faced masonry building is one of the firm's first residences to incorporate grotesque details. The stringcourse at the turret is embellished with stylized human faces or mascarons that depict the "man of the north wind" between alternating arabesque and shield panels. Several letters between Eckel and building trade professionals document the architect's involvement. In November and December 1895, he corresponded with C. L. Shannon, Cincinnati, to request floor and wainscoting tiles; McCully and Miles, Chicago, regarding stained glass for the house; and H. Dibbles, Chicago, to order wooden mantels.²⁴ McCully and Miles was Eckel's favorite art glass supplier during the latter half of the decade and may be responsible for the majority of superb window compositions that flatter the firm's buildings.²⁵

²³Dunn, An Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, 14.

²⁴Bound correspondence, 1884-1893, Brunner archive collection.

²⁵Eckel frequently corresponded to McCully and Miles regarding orders for his clients. In his letter to J. and Philipps [sic?] Manufacturing Co., Chicago, 8 October 1886, he writes: "The stained glass, I want McCully and Miles to do it, as I know I will get a good job done by them, and they usually do all my work." The exquisite designs may have been a collaboration between designer and craftsman. Correspondence to McCully and Miles dated 5 April 1889 reveals that Eckel and Mann created sketches and full-size drawings for the glass company, thus Harvey Ellis may have added his inspired touch to windows as well as the building proper (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1884-1893; 92-93; 272).

The residence west of the Schuster Residence at 631 Hall also suggests Eckel's work (fig. 11-13). Although long accepted as the house that Mr. Schuster built for his daughter, Ada (Schuster) Hingston and her husband, James, in 1888, building permits and city directories present contradictory information. James H. Robison, President of St. Joseph Milling and a former hardware merchant, received the first recorded permit for this address on 4 April 1888. City directories record his residency at 631 Hall Street by 1891.²⁶

A fourth Hall Street residence designed by the Eckel and Mann firm is the Alfred T. Smith Residence at 802 Hall Street, built from 1890 to 1892 (fig. 11-14). This building presents a stark contrast to those Eckel and Mann residences it faces on Hall Street. The architectural dissimilarity may be attributed to their different decades of origin, the increasing popularity of the Richardsonian Romanesque in St. Joseph, and Harvey Ellis's influence at the firm. The Smith Residence was designed during Ellis's alliance with the architects, although another draftsman in Eckel and Mann's employ prepared the rendering (fig. 11-15). Although the Smith Residence was one of the first of its style in the neighborhood, it was preceded by other Ellis-enhanced

²⁶Building permit BB173 to J. H. Robison for a residence valued at \$15,000 and 1891 city directory, 465. Robison resided on the south side of Isidore in 1888 and 1889 and at 2106 South 12th Street in 1890.

residences elsewhere in St. Joseph.

Public Buildings

The number and nature of commissions secured by the firm indicate that Eckel and Mann was the premiere firm during St. Joseph's golden age. While the architects gained steady business from the private sector, contracts for public buildings further distinguished their practice.

Following the first year of their partnership, Eckel and Mann designed Union Depot, built 1881-1882 (fig. 11-16). The eclectic railroad headquarters with both round and pointed arches utilized elements of the Romanesque Revival and High Victorian Gothic styles. The central block and end pavilions of two and one half stories were connected by shorter hyphens. The building's alternating height added rhythm to the composition and accommodated a hotel at the second story. Its mansard roof and central tower reinforced its commanding presence; were it not for the extensions at either side, it would have resembled some of the firm's county buildings of the era. Erected at the junction of Sixth Street and Mitchell Avenue, the building was destroyed by fire after fourteen years' service on 9 February 1895. The same year, E. J. Eckel designed a replacement depot constructed upon its predecessor's surviving foundation. The rendering for New Union Station by draftsman Ben Trunk is mindful of Harvey Ellis's style, a look the local admirer liked to imitate (fig. 11-17). Created in the Richardsonian

Romanesque tradition, the building included a rusticated foundation; a low broad arcade at the ground floor, and eyebrow dormers along the gable roof (fig. 11-18). Eckel's specifications for his second station are dated 18 March 1895; the building opened on 4 January 1896 and was razed in 1959.²⁷

Eckel and Mann designed additional stations, including fire stations such as the 1890 "Hose House #6" at Eighteenth and Felix Streets (fig. 11-19).²⁸ The firm's Central Police Station, rendered by Ellis, was constructed the same year at Seventh and Messanie Streets (fig. 11-20).²⁹ Like St. Joseph's New Union Station and Central Police Station, the (old) Central High School at St. Joseph continued the firm's Richardsonian Romanesque theme into the last decade of the nineteenth century (fig. 11-21). While these designs recall Ellis's years with Eckel and Mann, a drawing of the

²⁷The Daily News, Souvenir, 62; specifications at Brunner's, box 40; "Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel, 17 May 1931." According to building permit 20319, it cost an estimated \$129,700 for Hastings Wrecking Co. to demolish New Union Station in 1959.

²⁸"City May Eliminate Oldest Fire Station," St. Joseph Gazette, 1 December 1952; Board of Trustees, St. Joseph Fire Department, Illustrated (St. Joseph: Board of Trustees, 1900), 47.

²⁹The Daily News, Souvenir, 62; Northwestern Architect 8 (August 1890). According to Susan Sullivan's story, "Rebuilding a Legend: Professor Uncovers Evidence of a 19th Century Genius," St. Joseph Gazette, 15 September 1983, Thomas W. Carneal (Associate Professor at Northwest Missouri State University), believes the Central Police Station resembles Ellis's old Federal Building in Rochester, built 1884-1891.

school once again bears Ben Trunk's name (fig. 11-22). This building was derived from Richardson's Allegheny County Courthouse, Pittsburgh, 1883-1888, (fig. 11-23).

In contrast to these designs that emulate Richardson's work, the Administration Building at Palmer College, Albany, was inspired by another École-trained American architect, Richard Morris Hunt (fig. 11-24). Bryan credits Eckel and Mann and records 1891 for the construction date of the Palmer Administration Building, but a photograph from Eckel's office notes that he was the architect in 1892.³⁰ The character of Central High School and the Administration Building at Palmer College differ little from the plethora of buildings designed by the firm and inspired by two of America's prominent architects during this period--Hunt and Richardson.

Eckel's schools for St. Joseph can be traced from the Steinacker Public School he designed with Mann ca. 1883 (fig. 11-25)³¹ to the new Central High School, erected

³⁰Bryan, 90; Brunner archive collection, photo album #5. Specifications dated 4 August 1923 document the Eckel and Aldrich firm's addition (Brunner's, box 8).

³¹The image of the school in C. H. Dunn and Co.'s Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri (1897), 10, credits "Eckel and Mann, Archt." Missouri River Heritage Association, The Heritage of Buchanan County vol. 2 (Dallas: Curtis Media Corporation, 1986), 14, claims the contract was awarded in 1883.

1930-1931, with Aldrich and Ittner.³² The Steinacker School may not be the first local school that Eckel designed. As the architect for the St. Joseph School Board, he may have received more School Board commissions than any other architect in the city.³³

These few examples are representative of the several city commissions that followed Eckel during his career. The volume of public structures that he and Mann designed throughout their partnership suggests their reign of civic building projects in St. Joseph. In the midst of these local commissions, the partners extended their services to neighboring governments--a pursuit marked by the firm's government architecture.

Government Buildings

Eckel and Mann's legislative buildings became an office specialty. Formal symmetry in the firm's government buildings, as with Eckel and Mann residential and commercial buildings, is achieved with emphasis on the central axis. Examples include some of their first county commissions in

³²Eckel and Aldrich were the school's architects in association with the St. Louis architect, William B. Ittner (1865-1936), a noted school designer. Plans and photographs of the school are featured in "Portfolio of Schools: Central High School, St. Joseph, Missouri, Eckel and Aldrich, Architects, William B. Ittner, Associated," Architectural Record 72 (August 1932), 130-132.

³³According to Rutt's 1904 biography of Eckel, he had been the architect for the school board "since 1896" (717). Van Nada provides the same date (52). The duration of Eckel's appointment is unknown.

Missouri, awarded in 1881, like the Atchison County Courthouse at Rockport and the Nodaway County Courthouse, Maryville.

Nodaway County Courthouse

Like its sister courthouse at Rockport, the primary facade of the Nodaway County courthouse has a tall central clock tower rising above the two and one-half story brick mass (fig. 11-26). The Atchison County courthouse features five bays while the one at Maryville uses a three bay organization for its facades. Nodaway County commissioned Eckel and Mann to design a jail and school in addition to the courthouse the same year. The architect's novel rotary jail was built by Haugh, Ketcham & Co. of Indianapolis, but is no longer extant.³⁴

The Nodaway County Courthouse, the county's third, is executed in a version of the French Second Empire style. Eckel's common element, the one story arcaded porch, announces the entrance. Other features incorporated are limestone components including foliated capitals on columns, molded window heads, and beltcourses; a frieze of alternating rosette panels and brackets; a molded cornice; patterned brickwork; and dormers which project from the truncated hip roof. The courthouse derives significance

³⁴"Stray Chips," a regular column in Carpentry and Building, 4 (September 1882, 218) notes the combined cost of the jail and courthouse at \$80,000; the cost of the school, \$30,000.

from its continuous service as the county's seat of government since 1882 and Eckel and Mann's architectural design as "one of Missouri's finest High Victorian Italianate-Eclectic Style courthouses."³⁵ The building achieved National Register status in 1979.

Pottawattamie County Courthouse

The firm's most elaborate courthouse, the Pottawattamie County Courthouse at Council Bluffs, Iowa, was designed in the Second Empire or "General Grant" style in 1885 (fig. 11-27).³⁶ The highly dimensional building with steep mansard

³⁵Thomas Carneal and James Denny, Nodaway County Courthouse National Register Nomination, Missouri Office of Historic Preservation, Department of Natural Resources, 1979.

³⁶Lisa Linhart, National Register Coordinator, State Historical Society of Iowa, kindly answered my inquiries about the Pottawattamie County Courthouse and I appreciate her assistance. The Iowa Site Inventory forms for this building, completed in 1978, erroneously attribute this courthouse to architects Hollis & Miller of Overland Park, Kansas; Hollis & Miller were the architects for the Pottawattamie County Courthouse erected 1975. Other sources correctly acknowledge Eckel and Mann as the designers. For example, LeRoy G. Pratt, author of The Counties and Courthouses of Iowa (Mason City, Iowa: Klipto Printing & Office Supply Co.), 1977, explains that voters approved a bond issue for the construction of a new \$150,000 courthouse and \$30,000 jail at an election on 10 March 1885. He states, "Plans and specifications by Eckel and Mann were approved and a bid for \$136,800 was let to Wickham Brothers . . . (272)." Likewise, Wesley I. Shank, provided me with greatly appreciated information. Shank, on the authority of History of Pottawattamie County, Iowa by Homer H. Field and Joseph R. Reed (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1907, 81), notes that bids for Eckel and Mann's plans and specifications were opened 12 August 1885 and the contract was awarded to Wickham Bros. for their low bid. Moreover, a photograph of a bronze tablet from the courthouse confirms the parties and other contractors involved in the project, including Pfeiffer Stone Co. of St. Joseph. Mann's

roofs, projecting terminal pavilions, classical orders, and sculptural figures was nearly a textbook example of the architectural style until its demolition in the late 1970s. Since its construction, the building suffered from inadequate structural support. The sheer bulk and weight of the celebrated attributes that contributed to the limestone building's character, also may have led to its demise.

Pratt summarized the conditions:

While excavating for the foundation, the architect decided that the concrete foundation provided for in the courthouse contract was not sufficient, because of soil conditions. Piling under the entire structure cost an additional \$5,046.08

At time the courthouse was completed, it was expected, with proper care, to serve the people for a century. But by December 1972, the 87-year-old, three-story courthouse was sinking at a rate of from one-quarter inch to two inches per month and the top floor of the building had been condemned and was no longer in use. All efforts to stop the settling failed. Walls were pulled away from the woodwork, and floors were no longer level. As a precautionary measure, *Justitia*, the symbol of Justice above the east entrance to the courthouse, was removed with a large hydraulic crane in February 1974 and placed in storage pending a decision on its future. It was feared the hollow metal statue

obituary, "Pioneer Dies," St. Joseph Gazette, 21 March 1939, 2, further documents the courthouse as the work of the firm. Additional sources identify the Pottawattamie County Courthouse as Eckel and Mann's work such as W. P. Tracy, Men Who Make St. Joseph a City Worthwhile; Wesley I. Shank, Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, 5; and Withey and Withey's Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased), 188. Leonard K. Eaton comments on this courthouse in his book, Gateway Cities and Other Essays (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989), although he identifies it incorrectly: "The Cedar Rapids, Iowa Court House of 1885 is a good example [of the *École des Beaux-Arts* manner]; with its mansard roofs and imposing entrances it is very much Parisian Second Empire (23)."

might fall from its lofty perch.³⁷

The courthouse did not fulfill its purpose for one hundred years as anticipated. It was abandoned; its architectural fragments were sold at public auction before the remains of the building were razed in 1977. Dudley Gray, a California attorney and Iowa native, purchased several components of the courthouse for his architect, George Yassinski, to incorporate in the design and construction of his new law office along the San Diego Freeway at Los Angeles.³⁸

These two commissions illustrate Eckel and Mann's response to create architecture fit for county government, yet there are other examples. In 1883, the firm was named architects for the 1883 Ringgold County Courthouse, Mt. Ayr, Iowa.³⁹ Additional county courthouses by the firm include

³⁷LeRoy G. Pratt, The Counties and Courthouses of Iowa, 273.

³⁸Thanks to Lisa Linhart and Wesley I. Shank for each sending me newspaper articles by James Ney. In, "Pieces of History Go on Block at Bluffs," Des Moines Register, 15 September 1977, 1 and 6A, the reporter catalogues Gray's auction buys: two granite columns from the entrance to the courthouse, a third column and pedestal, the cast iron balustrade and banister of cherry, and the judge's wooden bench and accompanying paneling from the south courtroom. In another article by Ney, "A Bit of Iowa in . . . California," Des Moines Register, 22 June 1980, 7B, he estimates there is "about one acre--43,560 square feet-- under the roof in the [Gray's] unique structure." This reconstructed office building, dubbed "The Courthouse," is presented in David Gephard and Robert Winter's, Architecture in Los Angeles: A Compleat Guide (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1985), 94.

³⁹Cox, 437-438. I extend my appreciation to Wesley I. Shank for sending me photocopied information about the Mt. Ayr courthouse from Lewis Publishing Co., Biographical and

two for DeKalb County at Maysville, Missouri--one erected in 1885, and the second one designed by Eckel's successor firm, Eckel and Aldrich, in 1938.⁴⁰ Eckel and Mann were the architects of the 1884 Gentry County Courthouse, Albany, Missouri⁴¹ and the 1897 Nemaha County Courthouse, Seneca, Kansas.⁴²

St. Louis City Hall

Eckel and Mann's courthouses made the architects well known within the region, but their design for the publicized St. Louis City Hall competition earned the firm national attention (fig. 11-28). The City of St. Louis organized the City Hall Commission in May 1888 in response to citizens' demands for a new government building. The following year an ordinance was passed to enable the commission to solicit plans and bids with the restriction that construction costs be limited to one million dollars.⁴³ The commission's

Historical Record of Ringgold and Decatur Counties, Iowa
(Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1887), 446-7.

⁴⁰"Eckel Name to Appear on DeKalb Cornerstone Again," 11 August 1938, St. Joseph Gazette; Ohman, Missouri Courthouses, unpaginated.

⁴¹Ohman, Missouri Courthouses, unpaginated.

⁴²"Office of Eckel and Aldrich, Architects," firm history in Brunner archive collection; Tracy, Men Who Make St. Joseph a City Worthwhile.

⁴³Ordinance 15,028 was approved 4 April 1889. According to the ordinance, advertisements for the competition would be placed in "such St. Louis, Boston, and New York papers as the mayor may select." Upon its appearance, the Inland Architect and News Record voiced its disapproval and requested the code be revised. Whereas the

building program stipulated four floors and a basement containing "45,000 square feet of floor surface on each floor." Consequently, the Inland Architect correctly predicted:

Allowing \$125,000 for the stone exterior, the interior called for will have to cost within 25 cents per cubic foot, which is a very low estimate, and the fifteen per cent latitude will be a temptation to design a building that will cost more than the specified sum.⁴⁴

With the Inland Architect and News Record's encouragement, the commission called upon William R. Ware, professor of architecture at Columbia College, to judge the competition.⁴⁵ Ware's charge was to select seven

commission originally planned to select the designs, the Inland Architect's recommendation that an expert be appointed to "adjudicate the competition" was approved. The code stipulated that the costs could not exceed "the limits herein named by more than fifteen per cent, . . ." See "The Revised Code of the St. Louis Competition," Inland Architect and News Record 13 (June 1889), 81-82, hereafter cited "Revised Code"; and "The St. Louis City Hall Competition," 15 Inland Architect and News Record (March 1890), 35-37, hereafter cited "Competition."

⁴⁴"Revised Code," 82.

⁴⁵William Robert Ware (1832-1915), also known as "the founder of modern architectural education in America," is not to be confused with his nephew William Rotch Ware (1848-1917), the editor of American Architect and Building News. William R. Ware, the uncle, joined Henry Van Brunt in 1863 to form Ware and Van Brunt, a practice which lasted until 1881. Because both architects had been trained by Richard Morris Hunt in the atelier tradition, they naturally adopted it for their own teaching purposes. In 1865, officials of Massachusetts Institute of Technology invited Ware to become professor of architecture and head of the new program, a post he accepted. The opening of the school was delayed until 1868 however, to allow him time to travel, prepare,

finalists, including one honorable mention, from the thirty-seven entries submitted by firms across the country. Ware based his selections on the best architectural designs, yet failed to discuss any cost considerations in his report. To the municipal board, Ware's omission defeated one of the code's critical requirements--the cost restriction. Thus, the commission hired another expert to identify the "best of the six designs selected that came within the appropriation."⁴⁶ After two hours of deliberation and consultation with St. Louis architect James McGrath regarding the estimated costs, the commission unanimously named Eckel and Mann the successful firm.⁴⁷

The partners' design was not Ware's first choice; in fact, he ranked it fifth and preferred Sidel, Ginessart & Ginder's submission. While Ware considered Eckel and Mann's

and collect the necessary teaching materials for his new duties. From MIT, Ware went to Columbia College in 1881 to establish an architectural program in the School of Mines where he worked until his retirement in 1903. Besides his many contributions as an educator, Ware guided numerous architectural competitions in an advisory role. He drafted competition rules that were officially adopted by the AIA, thus the City Hall Commission had good reason to solicit his recommendations for its new government building. For more information on Ware, see William A. Coles' entry "William R. Ware" in the Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, volume 4, 373-374.

⁴⁶"Competition," 35.

⁴⁷Separate page from publication of Supplement to Contractor and Builder, "Perspective View New City Hall, Eckel & Mann, Architects, St. Joseph, MO, St. Louis, 1892," found among papers at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, no date.

design to be "the most compact of them all," he commented that the building's exterior lacked repose and was "less expressive" than some of the other designs.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, McGrath determined that Eckel and Mann's concept was "the only design that could be executed for the money."⁴⁹ At an estimated cost of \$1,099,000, Eckel and Mann's entry faithfully complied with the budgetary stipulations (including the fifteen percent excess clause) "and yet makes the proper pretensions to architectural beauty and the requirements of design and finish."⁵⁰ Following the re-evaluation of Ware's top design choices, Eckel and Mann's former fifth place entry secured the first prize of \$5,000. The firms of Sidel, Ginssart & Ginder, Birmingham, Alabama; Carrere & Hastings, New York; E. F. Fassett and A. J. Russell, Kansas City; W. H. Dennis, Minneapolis; and James & James of New York received the five consolation prizes of \$1,000 each.⁵¹

⁴⁸"Competition," 36.

⁴⁹"Competition," 35.

⁵⁰An undated Republic newspaper clipping titled "'St. Louis' Selected: St. Joe Architects Win the City Hall Prize" illustrates Eckel and Mann's design. The article is featured in Harry M. Hagan's, This is Our St. Louis (St. Louis: Knight Publishing Co., 1970), 393. Hereafter cited, Hagan.

⁵¹"Competition," 37. A list of competitors suggests that Eckel and Mann may have submitted more than one entry. While their design, "St. Louis, 1892" was eventually selected, the roster identifies the firm's entry, "Horseshoe on Shield" also.

Again, Eckel and Mann's educational training prevailed in their grand scheme, this time for Missouri's largest city hall. Their French Renaissance Revival design submitted by 1 November 1889,⁵² but titled "St. Louis, 1892" suggests they anticipated a two-year construction period (fig. 11-29). Nevertheless, the scheme was fitting for a city with a decidedly French heritage and name. Through Eckel and Mann's historic imagery, the architecture of the St. Louis City Hall conjures thoughts of a distinguished culture and an association with cosmopolitan Paris.

Described by the architects as "Norman-French,"⁵³ the French Renaissance Revival building resembles its hôtel des ville counterparts in many ways (fig. 11-30). Although smaller and less ornate than the city hall at Paris, the four story Missouri building derives its style, details, and massing from Louis XIV prototypes. Both St. Louis City Hall and the Hôtel de Ville, Paris, possess an energetic roof line formed by a series of steeply-pitched hipped roofs, projecting corner pavilions, towers, spires, and multiple dormer windows. Arched entrances and numerous bays create a regular and formal rhythm. A trio of arches and a prominent clock at the central pavilion (formerly graced by a three-part tower with lantern and spire rising 80 feet) also signal the main entrance to the building. The hallmark

⁵²"Revised Code," 82.

⁵³"Competition," 35.

lantern and spire, and the flanking secondary lanterns of 19 feet, were removed in 1936 due to corrosion and weakening of their structural steel frames.

Like the majority of the firm's legislative buildings, Eckel and Mann emphasized centrality in the tradition of Academic Classicism through the spatial organization of St. Louis City Hall. Both the plan and the elevation reflect the symmetrical principles each architect learned at his respective institution, the École and MIT. The Tucker Boulevard or east facade--the principle facade--contains a grand central pavilion positioned between secondary pavilions on each corner at Clark and Market Streets. The architect's focused on the building's orientation to the site and its numerous functions, as revealed in their description of the first floor:

On the first floor, facing the Twelfth street front and ranged respectively to the right and left of the main corridor, which extends from the eastern to the western main entrance on Thirteenth street, are a board room 28 by 40, the special tax department of the same size, a room for a copy-clerk, 25 by 32, another room 25 by 25, a room for the storage of records 25 by 45, and the registration room 29 by 48. About midway between the main corridor running east and west, and the Market street and Clark avenue fronts, respectively, are two other parallel corridors.⁵⁴

The masonry materials, a combination of pink granite, peach Roman brick, buff sandstone, and red clay tile, acquired a patina promoted by several years of direct exposure to an urban environment once heavy with coal smoke.

⁵⁴Ibid.

The contrast of the original polychrome scheme was revived in 1960 when the blackened building was cleaned. Inside, Academic Classicism is evoked by the internal order of spaces and a variety of refined decorating materials. Central axes, fundamental to the success of the plan's symmetry, intersect at the internal court. The interior is organized around the dominant rectangular court and the accompanying four-story atrium of colored glass. Secondary courts are situated at each corner of the central court and a series of offices frame the building's periphery in formal symmetrical fashion. Triumphal arches, niches, sculpted figures, and cartouches embellish the interiors, especially the Council Chamber, and quality materials are used unsparingly in the public spaces. Marble staircases, wainscotting, primary floors--and in some cases, marble walls--plaster moldings, cast-iron stairs, oak trim, murals, and fresco-decorated ceilings contribute to the elegant interior atmosphere of Eckel and Mann's grandest civic building.

Construction of City Hall promptly began 19 July 1890 with local officials participating in ground breaking ceremonies at the building site known as Washington Square. Formerly the corner of a public park and part of a six acre parcel the city owned since 1840, the area from Market Street to Clark Avenue and Twelfth to Thirteenth Streets was designated for the new government building. With a frontage

of 380 feet and a depth of 205 feet, Eckel and Mann's building of 150 rooms gradually consumed the space allotted. The cornerstone was laid within the year on 6 June 1891, but construction was painfully slow. Numerous obstacles delayed its realization, mainly insufficient funding from the Board of Aldermen's General Revenue that forced city officials to postpone occupancy until the late 1890s.

Although the new municipal building was approved by legislation, no bond issue accompanied it. Without a reserve of adequate resources, construction was limited to monies generated through the sale of city property and insufficient funds from general revenue. Progress was laboriously slow but was boosted every other year or so when the Board of Alderman granted another \$50,000 to \$100,000 to keep the building activity going. Retarded construction increased the expenses and an updated ordinance of 10 September 1893 adjusted the building allowance to two million dollars. Growing more aggravated and impatient with the completion of the building, Mayor Henry Ziegenhein led a parade of city employees from their old building to their new offices to inaugurate City Hall on 11 April 1898. Even though the interior was not ready, city employees and the mayor proclaimed the building open for municipal business. After nearly fourteen years of interrupted construction and piecemeal financing, the city raised \$185,000 to finish the structure in time for the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair.

Architect Albert Groves, St. Louis, directed the later projects including his firm Weber and Groves' designs for the rotunda, the grand staircase, and the Tucker Boulevard vestibule. Finally, after a total of \$1,787,159.16 was invested in the building, Mayor Rolla Wells hosted an open house to celebrate the official completion of St. Louis City Hall on 5 November 1904.⁵⁵

From their initial participation, both Eckel and Mann recognized the importance of the competition and the recognition it could bring their firm. Despite the schedule setbacks, both partners were pleased with the building and considered it among their best work. According to Eckel's granddaughter, Margaret Agnew Brown, the architect guarded the project and considered it one of his personal labors. When she was sixteen years old and visiting her relatives in Missouri, Eckel urged her to see the building before she

⁵⁵The Mayor's Office, City of St. Louis, distributes the 1990 complementary brochure "City Hall, St. Louis, Missouri," to visitors through funding from Hi-Land Miniature Golf, 7011 Chippewa, St. Louis. For more history of St. Louis City Hall, see: Harry M. Hogan, This is Our St. Louis, 392-393; William L. Lebovich, ed./Historic American Buildings Survey, America's City Halls (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1984), 92, hereafter cited Lebovich; and Idress Head's Historical and Interesting Places of St. Louis (St. Louis?: St. Louis Historical Society, 1909), 53. There is a collection of St. Louis Globe-Democrat newspaper articles on the topic at the St. Louis Mercantile Library, e.g., "Clean Up City Hall? It'll Cost Plenty and Won't Be A Blast," by Tom Wheatley, 12 December 1992; "A City Hall That Looks Like One," Robert W. Duffy, 30 May 1979; "Our Aging City Hall," James Floyd, 28 July 1973; and "Research Shows City Hall Completed 1898," 28 April 1943.

returned home to Berkeley, California. In her own words, Mrs. Brown remembers the voice of her grandfather, "I worked on that design in competition with thirty-seven nationally known architects, . . . It was so important to me that I would allow no one to touch pen or pencil to the paper. I did the whole thing by myself."⁵⁶

True to fashion, Mann recorded the matter slightly differently. In his autobiography he states:

I went into competition for St. Louis City Hall, the plans being sent in under a nom de plume, the expert being William R. Ware, Professor of Architecture of Columbia College, New York. My plans were selected, and I erected what has been known for years as the New City Hall of St. Louis, Missouri.⁵⁷

Each architect claimed he pored over its design, but neither partner worked completely independently on the project. Office correspondence reveals that several hands were involved in the building's advanced stages of design while drawings for St. Louis City Hall were not executed entirely by the principal partners. As the manager and senior partner, Eckel's varied duties extended beyond the firm's drafting demands. Like the French ateliers, the success of the firm's organization depended on the timely contributions of skilled colleagues in the office.

In reality, draftsmen made notable contributions to Eckel and Mann, especially when impressive presentation

⁵⁶"Buildings His Monuments."

⁵⁷Mann, autobiography, 6.

drawings were desired or the volume of work seemed excessive. Although draftsmen played an important role in the firm's productivity, the architects retained design control and close supervision of their assistants. The artistic qualities of Harvey Ellis's pen and ink perspective drawing for St. Louis City Hall may have seduced judges, but it is not representative of Ellis's most creative work (fig. 11-31). Manning remarks:

Were it not for the signature on the drawing and the rendering, it would be difficult to believe that this is a design by Ellis. The executed building is impressive in size, but its elaborate historic eclecticism contributes no new idea nor is it more palatable than the work of dozens of other academic architects who could have done as well.⁵⁸

Although Ellis signed the rendering, nothing confirms he personally designed the building. Rather, as the delineator for Eckel and Mann, Ellis prepared a drawing reflective of the architects' design concepts, not his. He was, as Manning speculates, "fulfilling a request for a specific kind of building, historical in style or consciously emulating a sophisticated academicism."⁵⁹ When Ellis's drawing is compared to the firm's perspective printed in the Inland Architect and News Record (May 1890, fig. 11-29), the design appears transformed (fig. 11-31) The Inland Architect drawing does not identify the firm's renderer, but its flat, rigid lines expose a draftsman other than Ellis.

⁵⁸Manning, 58.

⁵⁹Ibid., 63.

The contrast between the two drawings and the completed building show the sort of modifications the architects contemplated and suggest the progression of the design process.

As principals, Eckel and Mann both maintained regimented schedules and were required to monitor several projects at various stages of development. Yet, given the significance and scale of the city hall commission, it was necessary for at least one of the partners to adopt the project and concentrate on its requirements. Moreover, the competition regulations afforded the architects the opportunity to "be employed to furnish the detailed and working drawings and superintend and supervise the erection of the building at the rate of compensation established by the schedule of the American Institute of Architects."⁶⁰ The St. Louis City Hall project demanded the St. Joseph firm's direct attention, yet Eckel was committed to the local firm he founded and probably regarded himself indispensable for its daily operations. His absence over an extended period may never have been a consideration. The proposed solution called for a new office in St. Louis with Mann at its helm.

Eckel and Mann captured the commission for the civic building when they were partners in 1889; however, 1895 architectural drawings of St. Louis City Hall from the

⁶⁰"Revised Code," 82.

city's microfilm department as well as those published in the Souvenir, American Institute of Architects carry the names of just Mann and the draftsman (fig. 11-32).⁶¹ Furthermore, Mann is the only architect recognized on the commemorative bronze plaque exhibited inside City Hall at the Twelfth Street entrance. The following chapter outlines the transformation of the firm during the city hall years and the partners' subsequent separation.

⁶¹"Plans/City Hall, Microfilm Department, City of St. Louis, St. Louis City Hall, film number 1650-142; Souvenir of the 29th Annual Convention of the American Institute of Architects, October 15-17, 1895 (St. Louis: AIA?, 1895), unpaginated.

CHAPTER 12

ECKEL & MANN, ST. JOSEPH AND ST. LOUIS

By January 1891, Mann was at the architects' St. Louis office to superintend the construction of city hall. On 26 December 1890, Eckel affirms the purpose of Mann's business in St. Louis in his letter to building superintendent, Mr. John Meehan:

After a few days our Mr. Mann will be able to take personal charge of the work on the new City Hall, and as the City has furnished a check of the works and all inspections necessary, especially now that the work has practically stopped for the season, we therefore will be able to dispense with your services after this week.¹

While Eckel's letter establishes the year 1891, there is evidence that Eckel and Mann opened their branch office in St. Louis before this date. One of the firm's architectural drawings for the Beloit State Bank identifies two locations for the practice with the title block: "Eckel and Mann Architects, St. Joseph & St. Louis 1889."² Correspondence between the architects also reveals that Mann was coordinating the project from St. Louis before Eckel composed his letter to Meehan.³ Furthermore, George Eckel

¹Letter dated 26 December 1890 on page 469 in bound business correspondence, 1884-1893, Brunner archive collection.

²Mann, Portfolio, no page number.

³In his letter of 1 May 1890, Mann writes to Eckel on stationery from the office of James McGrath, Architect and Superintendent, Ninth and Olive Streets, St. Louis: "The city will build us an office in the park." Mann sent additional letters from St. Louis to Eckel in St. Joseph

recalls that his father and Mann had joint offices in St. Joseph and St. Louis,⁴ yet directories for the larger city represent only Mann's independent practice based near the new city hall.

The relocation of the firm's best draftsmen to St. Louis implies that Mann needed staff to support the huge city hall undertaking. Harvey Ellis may have left for St. Louis with Mann; he is one of the first delineators from the St. Joseph office listed in the eastern city's directory.⁵ John Richmond and Ben Trunk trailed Ellis and had joined Mann by 1893.⁶ With Eckel and Mann's most capable team

during 1890, some dated 20 May 1890; 11 July 1890; and 13 August 1890 (Eckel Papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁴In his letter about Harvey Ellis to Eileen Manning, 4 February 1952, (Brunner archives, box 43, business correspondence, 1949-1959), George R. Eckel states, "He [Ellis] worked in this office for several years, first in St. Joseph, and then in the St. Louis office at the time Eckel and Mann were architects for the new City Hall in St. Louis."

⁵Mann may have had greater difficulty managing Ellis at St. Louis without Eckel. On 20 May 1890, Mann expresses his frustration in his letter to Eckel: "Ellis went to work yesterday morning and I will keep him until he quits again and then he goes for good." Besides Ellis, Mann occasionally contended with Mrs. Ellis: "Mrs. Ellis came to me for money and I told her that I would not pay her a cent that she must look to Harvey for her money"; and "I will be home then and will tell you all about the Ellis matter. I have had a Hell of a time with her" (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection, 20 May 1890; 13 August 1890).

⁶Among business correspondences at Brunner and Brunner's is a letter Edmond Eckel wrote to his brother George dated 1 January 1952. Edmond states, "I think he [Ellis] was in St. Joe about two years seems to me Mr. Mann took him to St. Louis also took John Richmond and later on Ben Trunk to work on the City Hall."

members concentrated in St. Louis, Eckel keenly felt this void in St. Joseph. He began soliciting help from qualified draftsmen from Chicago on a trial basis.⁷ In his efforts to keep the firm's veteran draftsmen by his side, Mann also attempted to find additional draftsmen for the St. Joseph office. In his correspondence from St. Louis, Mann reports to Eckel on 1 May 1890:

I can not [sic] find any draughtsman here that will go up. have you tried Minneapolis and you might write to some Architect at Omaha and also go through your letters from draughtsman and write to them all.⁸

The new office meant additional jobs, but also represented more business challenges. Although both offices were saturated with work, the partners continued to share the few experienced hands available. In his letter, Mann advises Eckel, "Dont [sic] send us any work for ten days as I have promised to be ready to let work by ____ [?] 15th and it will keep us jumping."⁹ One questions what the new operation at St. Louis really signified: expansion of the firm or its expiration? Either way, Mann's physical separation from the St. Joseph headquarters and the company of his draftsmen accomplices resulted in a greater division between the

⁷Letter to B. (or R.?) W. Hart, Chicago, 11 March 1893 from E. J. Eckel. Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1884-1893, 692.

⁸Eckel Papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection.

⁹Ibid.

offices.¹⁰

One reference, Old and New St. Louis (1894), offers more information regarding Mann's move to St. Louis. According to the author James Cox, Eckel and Mann did tremendous business in St. Joseph, but Mann abandoned the successful practice in 1891:

The firm had a most prosperous career until 1891, during which time it was frequently necessary to refuse commissions owing to the immense amount on hand.

In 1891 Mr. Mann sold out his interest in the St. Joe business and moved to St. Louis, where at the present time he is devoting attention to the erection of the magnificent new City Hall on Washington Square.¹¹

When the combination of data is analyzed, it supports that the Eckel and Mann firm was preserved to 1891 even though Mann probably was at work in St. Louis at an earlier date. The first documented business correspondence with letterhead revised from "Eckel and Mann" to "E. J. Eckel" is dated 7 July 1891 and clearly signals the firm's dissolution.¹²

From Dissolution to Renegotiation

Upon Mann's removal to St. Louis, Eckel reputedly

¹⁰City directories for St. Louis record Ellis's residency of 1892 and 1893. Richmond was there in 1893 and 1895. Other than the year 1893 when Trunk resided with Richmond at 114 North Ninth Street, there is no record of him in St. Louis directories. Based on St. Joseph directories, Trunk had returned to Eckel's employ by 1895.

¹¹Cox, 438.

¹²Eckel merely marked out Mann's name and the ampersand with ink and added his own handwritten initials in front of Eckel to the old letterhead (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence from 1884-1893, page 544).

managed the St. Joseph business alone.¹³ While Eckel is the key figure of this study, a temporary shift from his career in St. Joseph to that of Mann's in St. Louis sheds light on their complex partnership and the individual accomplishments of each architect during this separation. Consideration of Mann's autonomous work at St. Louis promotes an understanding of him and the architecture he created without partner Eckel's influence. Because buildings Mann designed before he joined Eckel have not been carefully documented, a survey of his later designs from the St. Louis office may further distinguish his work from Eckel's. An investigation of Mann's life after he parted from the firm Eckel and Mann also links the years between the partners' dissolution in 1891 and their reunion around 1903, while revealing more about Mann's character.

In Pursuit of Commissions

In St. Louis, Mann and his crew of transferred draftsmen embarked on several competitions. A number of published drawings reveal Mann's dependency on Harvey Ellis and document their relationship in St. Louis by 1891 to 1893. Ellis's signature appears in the lower right corner of all four drawings Mann entered in the "Competitive Design for the Mercantile Club Building, St. Louis, Missouri," published in the December 1891 issue of Northwestern Architect. Ellis also produced drawings for the Insane

¹³Rutt, 1904, 717.

Asylum for the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul (1891), and the Martin Building while with Mann in St. Louis, but his local work goes beyond these projects.¹⁴ Additional drawings (such as those of the architect's private residence, 1892; an entrance to Washington Terrace, 1893; a water tower at Compton Heights, 1893; St. Edward's Church, 1893; and competition entries for the St. Louis Union Station, 1891, and the Columbia Club, 1892) show that Ellis was Mann's principal delineator during these years. Mann's "T.P.A." Building in St. Louis and a city store building on Tenth Street and Washington Avenue look like Ellis's work, but are unsigned.¹⁵

¹⁴Mann was not the only architect in St. Louis whom Ellis assisted. Charles Savage devotes a chapter to Ellis in his book, Architecture of the Private Streets of St. Louis, 207-218. Savage theorizes how Ellis may have assisted Theodore C. Link with competition designs for St. Louis Union Station (built 1892-1894) and the 1890 entrance gates for Kingshighway (160; 217-218), but Osmund Overby's opinion differs. According to Overby's article, "A Place Called Union Station," because "Eckel and Mann entered the Union Station competition with drawings signed by Ellis, it hardly seems possible that he would have contributed to Link and Cameron's entry also, especially considering the short time allowed (82)." Although Ellis generally served as an assistant, in St. Louis he joined J. Harry Randall and Arthur P. Baker to create the temporary firm Randall, Ellis & Baker (Savage, 208, 211).

¹⁵Ellis's illustration of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul is published in the Inland Architect and News Record, January 1892; the Martin Building is printed in the American Architect and Building News, volume 53. The latter two drawings were displayed at the Third Annual Exhibition of the St. Louis Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and are illustrated in the 1895 exhibition catalog. Of the variety of projects that Ellis illustrated solely for Mann, only two were ever realized: the Washington Terrace gate and the Compton Heights water tower,

John Richmond, another draftsman from the St. Joseph office, also provided illustrations on Mann's behalf during their first years in St. Louis. Some of Richmond's drawings appear as advertisements in Mann's Selections from an Architect's Portfolio (1893), like those for the Standard Elevator Company, Hill-O'Meara Construction Co., and the Hydraulic Press Brick Co.

During this St. Louis period, Mann submitted several classically inspired designs to state capitol competitions. One of his first capitol designs was for the Washington State Capitol at Olympia in 1893 which won third place¹⁶ and was featured in the 1895 St. Louis AIA exhibition and catalog (fig. 12-1).¹⁷

He participated in two competitions of the scandalous Minnesota State Capitol. First, in 1893, when his entry (of fifty-six submitted) placed among the top five selected as finalists. And again, during the second competition of 1895, when he was awarded second place but only after much

both designed in 1893 (Savage, 211. Savage includes St. Louis City Hall in his list, however it is omitted here because Ellis rendered it for both Eckel and Mann before the partners separated).

¹⁶"Geo. R. Mann, Architect, Dies at His Home," Arkansas Democrat, 20 March 1939, 2. On page 8 of his autobiography, Mann states he earned third prize in a competition involving 184 participants.

¹⁷Ernest Flagg submitted the winning design for the competition.

deliberation (fig. 12-2).¹⁸ St. Paul-based architect Cass Gilbert, a native son of Minnesota since age eight, had been involved in establishing the competition criteria from its inception. Ultimately, he was awarded the capitol prize. William Towner Morgan analyzes the unscrupulous incidents of the Minnesota competition in his dissertation, "The Politics of Business in the Career of an American Architect: Cass Gilbert, 1878-1905." He summarizes the decision of Judge Edmund M. Wheelwright, an architect of Boston, and the Capitol Commission:

On October 17 [1895], Wheelwright made his selections, giving Cass Gilbert first place; George Mann, second prize; Bassford, Traphagen, and Fitzpatrick, thirds; Clarence Johnston, fourth; and Wendell and Humphreys, last place. The Commissioners substituted Harry Jones' name for Wendell and Humphreys, as noted above.

During the following week, the Board met to make its own decision. The record of those meetings, one finds, is most curious. On October 22, 23, and 24, Board meetings were held to discuss the designs with each competitor. On the 25th, the Board began balloting to select its choices. The Commissioners voted first by design numbers and selected five winning designs. At the afternoon's session, it was decided, having five winning numbers to change the form of procedure so as to 'select an architect' by ballot. In other words, instead of voting on the numbers, which would have kept the balloting 'blind,' the Board took the winning numbers and voted on them after identifying the authors of the designs, obviously giving the advantage to an architect favorable to the

¹⁸"Second Prize Design for the Minnesota State-House, Submitted in the Second Competition," American Architect and Building News 50 (7 December 1895): plate 1041 and Mann's autobiography, 8.

Commissioners!¹⁹

Mann--who would confront Gilbert again--concluded he was denied the honor of state capitol architect because of the faulty competition. More than thirty years after the incident, Mann discussed the affair in his autobiography and repeated his conviction that, "The architects of the country and the people of Minnesota at that time felt that I was the real architect of the state capitol."²⁰

Although the outcome of the Minnesota Capitol competition was a disappointment for Mann, the experience did yield rewards. It was one of several important, but clumsily administered competitions that attracted the attention of the American Institute of Architects and helped define guidelines for the regulation of AIA endorsed competitions. Secondly, Mann's defeat challenged him to pursue other capitol commissions and his persistence resulted in a winning capitol design within the decade.

Mann's infatuation with competitions may have been stimulated by the sluggish economy. The Panic of 1893-1897 slowed building activity in St. Louis so there were fewer local commissions to consume Mann's time. Mann participated in competitions promising substantial money prizes like the

¹⁹William Towner Morgan, "The Politics of Business in the Career of an American Architect: Cass Gilbert, 1878-1905," (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, St. Paul, 1972), 98-99. Hereafter cited, Morgan.

²⁰Mann, autobiography, 9.

one Carnegie sponsored for his first library and museum in Pittsburgh. A purse of \$2,000 was highly attractive to skilled but temporarily idle architects.²¹ Competitions for grand legislative buildings were especially enticing since incredible funds for their construction accompanied the projects. Architects' fees were generally based on a proportionate amount of the final figures, thus the more costly the project, the higher the architect's earnings.

Despite his earning potential through competitions, Mann's St. Louis prospects were uncertain. At times, Mann seemed to regret his independence and confided in Eckel, "I expect you have all you can do and I wish a thousand times I was with you in Old St. Joe."²² At the onset of the Panic of 1893, the economy fared little better in St. Joseph. On 29 August 1893, Eckel notified Mann: "I discharged the last draftsman I had in the office as there is nothing to do at all and no prospect."²³ By 1897, there was less financial

²¹In his autobiography, Mann claims he received the first money prize of \$2,000 for his entry, but regulations restricted awarding the contract to local architects. In 1894 James Cox, author of Old and New St. Louis, wrote, "In the recent competition for the Carnegie Library one hundred and thirty-two plans were submitted, and Mr. Mann received the second prize, a Pittsburgh firm being elected to carry out the work" (438).

²²George R. Mann, St. Louis, to E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, 23 May 1891. Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection.

²³E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to George R. Mann, no inside address, 29 August 1893 (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1893-1899, 495).

burden in St. Joseph, thus more building opportunities presented themselves. Mann withdrew from St. Louis to return to greater security in St. Joseph, but the date of this move is undetermined. According to his autobiography, "The depression of 93-97 had practically stopped all building in St. Louis and I returned to St. Joseph where I joined my former partner Mr. Eckel."²⁴ Presumably, Mann endured the limited business from 1892 to 1898; his name is included in St. Louis city directories for these years. Moreover, the 1898 volume notes Mann's abrupt change in occupation from architect to Vice-President of College View Park Realty Co. Mann's switch in professions must have been his last attempt to remain in St. Louis.²⁵ According to historian Chris Rutt, the firm Eckel and Mann was reinstated by 1899 when the partners "again became associated."²⁶ Yet, the business section of city directories from 1892 to

²⁴Mann, autobiography, 10.

²⁵Mann's name does not appear in the St. Louis directory for 1899 nor following volumes.

²⁶Rutt, 1904, 717. According to city directories for Little Rock and St. Joseph, Mann's residency from 1899 to 1903 is recorded as follows: 1899--St. Joseph; 1900--Little Rock; 1901--?; 1902--Little Rock; 1903--St. Joseph (St. Joseph city directories for 1898, 1900, 1901, and 1902 do not list Mann; however the 1899 directory records the architect's address at 1101 Church Street [page 484], while the 1903 directory provides Krug Park Place for his residency [page 582]. In correspondence from John L. Ferguson, State Historian for the Arkansas History Commission, to Toni M. Prawl [27 January 1993], he reports that Mann is listed in Little Rock city directories for 1900 [page 430] and 1902 [page 328]. No Little Rock directory was printed for 1901 or 1905).

1902 record Eckel without Mann. The firm Eckel and Mann is not listed in the city directory again until 1903.

The Arkansas State Capitol

Mann's interest in state capitol buildings prompted him to visit Little Rock, Arkansas, at the turn of the century. While the dates surrounding his initial association with the Capitol Commission are sketchy, we know Mann was in his mid-forties and practicing independently in Missouri at the time. In his book, Building A State Capitol, George Donaghey, Chairman of the Capitol Commission, records specific dates documenting the activities of the commission and its decision to appoint Mann as the architect on 13 May 1899 (figs. 12-3, 12-4).²⁷

Although Donaghey's story of the state capitol offers an extensive published account of the project, his words cannot be trusted as the official history. John A. Treon traces the politics and tension surrounding the capitol project in his 1964 thesis, "The Building of the Arkansas

²⁷George W. Donaghey, Building A State Capitol (Little Rock, Arkansas: Parke-Harper Company, 1937) documents Mann's progression as architect as follows: Mann was appointed architect of the capitol on 13 May 1899 (elected by Board of State Capitol Commissioners); Mann presented his preliminary drawings on 16 May 1899 and they were approved by the Commissioners on the same day (68); the general drawings and specifications were approved 13 November 1899; and accounts payable to Mann were approved on 3 January 1901 (69). Mann's autobiography is in error since he states it was not until "late in the year of 1900" that he learned Arkansas contemplated building a new capitol (10).

State Capitol, 1899-1915"²⁸ and his succeeding article, "Politics and Concrete."²⁹ Treon's monographs address Donaghey's limited perspective and discuss Mann's rebuttal to Donaghey's views.³⁰ Treon advises the reader that neither Donaghey's book nor Mann's reply are completely reliable:

²⁸John Alfred Treon, "The Building of the Arkansas State Capitol, 1899-1915" (M.A. thesis, University of Arkansas, 1964); hereafter cited, Treon, thesis.

²⁹"Politics and Concrete: The Building of the Arkansas State Capitol, 1899-1917," Arkansas Quarterly 31 (Summer 1972), 99-149, documents May 1899 as the correct date. Treon remarks, "A set of Mann's drawings had been on hand while the capitol bill was before the legislature. Their attractiveness not only eased its passage, but also, drew attention to Mann. Thus, it came as no surprise--except to the visiting architects--when the commission signed Mann to a hastily drawn contract at its very first meeting" (103); hereafter cited Treon, "Politics." See also, Treon's thesis, 20.

³⁰Treon's Appendix to "Politics," pages 134-149, duplicates the letter Mann wrote for posterity on 30 September 1937. Written in response to Donaghey's book, Building a State Capitol, Mann justifies the purpose of his letter and queries: "Why did Mr. Donaghey wait 30 years to write his book? Wait until practically every person familiar with the project had passed away and the workmen and mechanics on the building are either dead or scattered to the winds that blow. I am not writing this letter for publication. I am writing it for the benefit of my children, grandchildren, and their descendants, and I trust they will hand it down and keep it safe until such time when some historian, who is bound to come, writes a history of Arkansas. He will go to the library for information, and will read Mr. Donaghey's book, and I want you then to give him this letter so that he can consider it in connection with Mr. Donaghey's statements." Treon obtained the twenty-one page manuscript in 1963 from Mann's son-in-law, J. N. Heiskell, editor of the Arkansas Gazette. This letter is hereafter cited as Treon refers to it, "George R. Mann's Comments on George W. Donaghey's Building A State Capitol," or more briefly, Mann, "Comments."

Naturally, both Donaghey's book and Mann's comments fall in the realm of special pleading and must be balanced by a look at the entire public and private record of the time, if we are to see objectively the history of that project and of that era.³¹

This dissertation is not the appropriate vehicle for that detailed mission, but a summary of Mann's experiences with the Arkansas Capitol provides the opportunity to scrutinize his professional ability to furnish monumental architecture--sans Eckel.

Donaghey advocated a design competition for the capitol, but his recommendation was not supported: "The Commission gave my suggestions the most kindly consideration, and we discussed the matter for three or four days, but at the end of this period, Mr. Mann was elected by a vote of five out of seven members."³²

Doubly bothered by the commission's rush to appoint Mann and the architect's assertiveness, Donaghey expresses his sentiments, "officially, I thought he [Mann] might be pushing his personal interest too hastily on those who scarcely as yet understood the important work at hand."³³ The chairman's concerns were justified; Mann had encountered obstacles with previous mammoth projects and the Arkansas capitol posed another victim. Donaghey was prudent, yet even he must not have anticipated the severity of

³¹Ibid., 134.

³²Donaghey, 15.

³³Ibid., 15.

complications the state--and Mann--would face while erecting their capitol. Treon's investigation bears the saga of the Arkansas State Capitol. One paragraph in particular depicts the flavor of the numerous hardships surrounding its construction:

Begun in 1899 but not completed until sixteen years later at a cost of two-and-one-half times the original estimate, the erection of Arkansas's Capitol Building caused the downfall of a score of politicians, resulted in the imprisonment of a state senator, damaged the reputation of a nationally prominent architect, and brought economic ruin to a building contractor. From beginning to end the capitol project was marred by obstructionist politics, by corruption, and by mismanagement. That the building today sits crooked astride the capital city's intersecting streets is a permanent monument of sorts to all the blundering men who had a hand in "the Project."³⁴

Political issues, structural failures, and slow progress hindered the construction of the building, but these problems were compounded by the controversy regarding the architect's fees.³⁵ Donaghey recalls the dilemma:

³⁴Treon, "Politics," 99.

³⁵Treon points out that among the numerous complications was the delay caused by the use of native granite from quarries near Batesville, Arkansas. The hardness of the granite gave it favorable building characteristics but prevented it from being cut quickly from its flintlike beds, thus more cutting equipment was required and new methods had to be implemented to keep pace with the job (thesis, 65-73). Treon does not comment on Mann's communication regarding the outstanding stone to St. Joseph colleague, Charles Pfeifer. In his letter of 1937, Mann explains Pfeifer's involvement and how he "immediately went to Batesville and was so pleased with the stone that he bought the deposit at once and started to open a commercial quarry" ("Comments," 134). This relationship demonstrates how professionals in the building trades often worked harmoniously to serve their mutual business interests. Many Eckel (& Mann) buildings were constructed, in part, via

it should be remembered that up to this time, 1901, no fixed scale of fees for architect's services had been discussed by the State, or even thought of by local members of the profession. Fees charged for architect's services, like those of other professions here, were entirely optional. The competitive method of selecting architects had been practiced by the United States Government from the time the National Capitol was built.³⁶

The profession and policies regarding its regulation were still evolving. Compensation for architects' services was a sensitive topic throughout the country. Although the AIA recommended five per cent of the total building cost as standard payment to the architect, the organization could not control competitions. According to Donaghey's knowledge, it was "a fixed law or rule with that organization that architects should not be selected by the process of competition."³⁷ Therefore, Donaghey proceeded to report to the Board of State Capitol Commissioners on 12

contracts with the Pfeiffer Stone Company of St. Joseph. Apparently, Mann and Pfeiffer had agreements of their own, but they are vague at best. In Mann's correspondence to Eckel dated 19 August 1905, he discusses the finances of their firm and money he owes Eckel: "Now as to the St. Joseph work you advanced me \$1,000 and also such work as you had in the office when I came. If you will figure what those amounts come to I will send you my note for the same and while I do not know when I can pay the principal I am sure I can pay you the interest promptly. The \$5,000 from Pfeiffer I am owed by him will be paid but you must keep this matter to your self. He is making arrangement for an _____ [?] stock Co. and when that is done he will be all right" (Eckel Papers, Abrecht-Kemper collection). Due to the confidential tone of Mann's letter, one may question his business ethics and any kickbacks he may have received from Pfeiffer in this particular case.

³⁶Donaghey, 79.

³⁷Ibid., 74.

February 1901 that:

the building of State houses is not confined to members of the American Institute of Architects. This organization in 1898 had only four hundred and thirty members, while there were over six thousand architects in the United States. All will agree that there are many distinguished architects that are not members of this organization. Mr. E. E. Myers of Detroit, Michigan, is not a member of the Institute, but he is the architect of many of the finest buildings in America--among them the Capitols of Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Michigan, and Texas.³⁸

Donaghey continued his crusade to save state money on architect's fees, while Mann worked as diligently to justify them:

He [Mann] presented his own claims for the work in an entirely legitimate manner. He convinced the majority of the Commissioners that he could perform the services they wanted better than any of his competitors and that he should, for this reason, have the maximum fee.³⁹

The state resolved to pay Mann the customary fee of five per cent of cost. Thus, Donaghey concludes:

In the case mentioned, the architect was about to become the beneficiary of what promised to be an excellent transaction from both a professional and a business standpoint. Professionally, he was securing, without competition, a piece of work which should give him great prestige in his profession. As for the financial advantage, he asked a fee of \$50,000 for his services, which, at that time, was equal to five per cent on the total fixed cost of the building.⁴⁰

When the state realized that construction of the capitol could not be executed for the allotted one million dollars, Mann was required to alter his plans in order to

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., 83.

⁴⁰Ibid., 20.

reduce the costs. In addition to two thrifty options Mann proposed on 9 October 1901--one which revised the materials, and the other which called for a smaller building--the commission also decided to lower his fees to four per cent.⁴¹ Donaghey remained astonished at the sum and queried: "Is \$36,267.21 excessive compensation for the services of the architect from the middle of May 1899, to the 4th of January, 1901, one year and seven and one-half months?"⁴² Mann had devoted a great deal of energy to the project, but he was asked to work harder:

Mr. Mann, the architect, of course, fully realized the gravity of this situation. Governor Davis' order to modify his design and cheapen his work was a great blow to him. He was not the only member of his profession, however, who had to face the same discouraging experience of sacrificing his dreams to the demand of economy.

But under the conditions then prevailing in most western states art was unwanted wherever it involved the expenditure of a goodly little sum of money, and there were few friends of the classics who possessed sufficient influence to cause any considerable modification of the time. Beauty too often had to be sacrificed where dollars could be saved, and there was then little exception to this sentiment.

Mr. Mann had no choice but to comply with orders, and he retired to his home in St. Joseph, Missouri,

⁴¹Ibid., 90-91.

⁴²Ibid., 75. Donaghey attempts to put Mann's earnings in perspective. He calculates that Mann's compensation was greater than \$1,800 a month or \$22,000 a year. He enlightens fellow commissioners that Mann's pay is "\$7,000 more than the combined salaries of all five of the Supreme Court Judges . . . more than is paid to the eight principal officers in the Executive Department of the State Government: the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney General, State Land Commissioner, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Commissioner of Mines, Manufactures of Agriculture (75)."

where he might rest and work. Perhaps by 1901 the artists had had little left out of all his financial upheavals but his ideals of form and beauty. And the market value of these, under the conditions existing then as above noted, amounted to very little. But Mr. Mann sought diligently to find something to take out of the plans which would reduce the cost of the Capitol. The records show that he was most conscientious in his efforts to arrange these matters so that the Commission could go ahead with the work. The proposed changes, however, finally stopped the work since Commission Number 2 of 1901 not only rejected them but saw to it that their rejections were recorded For the next two years things were at a standstill.⁴³

Mann's correspondence of 22 October 1902 to Donaghey in Conway, Arkansas indicates he was living in St. Joseph at the time, but seeking opportunities elsewhere. Mann was still connected with the Arkansas capitol despite suspended building activities and rumors regarding its jeopardy. The Arkansas Democrat speculated the current project might be sacrificed for a brand new building unless the contractor could correct the existing problems and complete the partially built capitol for \$1,000,000. The paper reported that Donaghey, a contractor by trade, had offered to direct the construction of the capitol with the use of convict labor in order to promote the feasibility of the project. Therefore, Mann anxiously contacted him from his home in St. Joseph:

I notice in the 'Arkansas Democrat' that you have offered to build the Capitol building for one million dollars. Should you care to take up the building of the Capitol, as the article in the 'Democrat' indicated, I will give you every help I can.

I can furnish you bids from the best firms in the

⁴³Ibid., 137-138.

country, the aggregate of which is less than one million dollars, and as we learned in the building of the foundations, if you can get the use of the convicts, the cost would be much less.

As far as Mr. Day's estimate is concerned, I can furnish you a stone proposition from the best and most reliable firm in the United States that is more than \$250,000 less than Day's estimate, and this is only one item.

I expect to be in Little Rock next week, and if you care to go more into this matter, I will be glad to meet you.

Please let me hear from you.

Very respectfully,
George R. Mann⁴⁴

Governor Davis pursued other options, thus Donaghey's propositions were superseded by those of higher rank. Yet the commissioner and Mann worked together advancing their Capitol at every opportunity.

Mann was not responsible for the myriad adversities associated with the Capitol project, but he could not escape them either. The architect submitted his resignation on 17 December 1901, but the Commission rejected it.⁴⁵ He remained affiliated with the project for more than a decade, beyond the date of a report prepared by the U.S. Corps of Army Engineers on 20 March 1909. Under recommendation two (2) of the study, Edward M. Markham, Corps Captain and Korte Berle, Consulting Engineer, advises:

That the present architect be retained, either as principal or consulting architect, to carry into effect his apparently well conceived and artistic treatment of your Capitol. Although your Board is of the opinion that the inferiority of material and workmanship

⁴⁴Ibid., 99-100.

⁴⁵Ibid., 94.

allowed in the Capitol building to date is due largely to the lack of inspection on the part of the architect, or to his failure to insist that a proper amount of supervision and inspection be furnished, yet practical considerations dictate the advisability of securing the benefit of the architect's recognized artistic merit, and it is believed that the results at completion will warrant his retention.⁴⁶

Mann could not be faulted. His only mistake was his attempt to conceive and build a state capitol for the specified one million dollars, "an impossible task" given the limited resources and the nature of design.⁴⁷

Mann was eventually excused from his duties as the capitol architect when the senate passed a bill calling for his dismissal as well as that of the building contractor and the capitol commission. His service ended 9 April 1909. Although Treon realizes there had been "smoldering antagonism toward the St. Louis architect ever since the fee dispute in 1901," he remarks, "It is difficult to say why Mann and Caldwell & Drake were fired." He proceeds to offer his explanation:

Somehow, during ten years of controversy, the architect and the contractor had become identified with the delays, the expense, the mismanagement, and the bitter politics born out of the enterprise. Their dismissal cast them as the scapegoats, erased the past, and gave the project a new future.⁴⁸

The new commission devoted itself to the completion of the Capitol and appropriated new money to accomplish its goal.

⁴⁶Ibid., 221.

⁴⁷Treon, "Politics," 120.

⁴⁸Treon, "Politics," 124.

Cass Gilbert, Mann's former rival, was summoned to replan and rebuild the upper part of the Capitol including the dome and "such other parts of the interior as might be found necessary" on 27 June 1909.⁴⁹ The Capitol was finally finished after seventeen years in 1916.

Situated on a hill top, the Arkansas Capitol is constructed of Indiana limestone and indigenous white stone known as "Batesville Marble." It has a commanding presence and its gilded dome makes it highly visible. Mann's design in the Ionic Order was retained according to his plans. His application of academic classicism for the Arkansas Capitol in 1899 followed those designs he submitted for previous capitol competitions in 1893, 1895, and 1896. Mann gained familiarity with the Academic Classical style through these experiments, but also observed Eckel's use of it for the Missouri-Kansas Telephone Co. (1895), the Tootle-Lemon Bank (1899), and later St. Joseph examples designed after the Arkansas State Capitol. The two architects were working independently during the late 1890s, however they were part of a larger movement of American designers who recognized the inherent qualities of the architectural style and associated it with many democratic ideas. Promoted by the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, the style was consciously selected by architects who desired an organized, harmonious setting for the fair. The Renaissance flavor was

⁴⁹Donaghey, 236.

a practical solution due to its universal familiarity--it (and its classical precedents) was the basis of several architects' training. From its white, unified appearance at the fair in Chicago, the style was dispersed throughout the country and fostered the City Beautiful Movement. Leland Roth summarizes, "It was a 'city' so clean, beautiful, and efficient that visitors from the corners of the nation carried away with them an image of what their own towns and cities might become."⁵⁰

The drawings Mann presented to the Arkansas Commission were practically identical to those he used for the Washington Capitol competition of 1895 and quite similar to the Montana Capitol (fig. 12-5).⁵¹ Out of the sixty-four entries proposed for the judged Montana Capitol competition in 1896, Mann achieved first place; Cass Gilbert received second place.⁵² Mann's participation in this series of

⁵⁰Roth, McKim, Mead & White, 179.

⁵¹"Mrs. G. R. Mann Dies at Home; Funeral Today," Arkansas Gazette, 22 April 1960, 12B; Mann, autobiography, 9.

⁵²Mann, autobiography, 9. The Federal Writers' Project, Montana: A State Guide Book (State of Montana: Department of Agriculture, Labor and Industry, 1939; New York: Hastings House, 1949), reinforces Mann's claim, although the number of contenders varies: "In 1896 one million dollars was appropriated for the State Capitol, and an open competition was held to select a design. Forty-nine firms and individual architects submitted plans, and George R. Mann of St. Louis won. Second prize was awarded to Cass Gilbert (170)." In his book, State Names, Flags, Seals, Songs, Birds, Flowers and Other Symbols (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1934), George Shankle informs: "The construction of this edifice extended over a period of

contests and the similarity of his entries proves that he did not design a capitol especially for Arkansas. The appeal of his designs was universal and, generally speaking, appropriate for any state in the Union at this time. Mann contacted Governor Jones immediately upon reading that Arkansas considered erecting a new capitol. He did not prepare fresh plans, but rather offered some in his possession:

I told him [Governor Jones] that I had quite an elaborate set of drawings for a state capitol and if he desired I would send them down to him. He was pleased with the idea and told me that if I would do that, that in his message to the legislature of 1901 he would call attention to the necessity for a new capitol building, and would reccommend [sic] that some action be taken for its erection.⁵³

Edmond G. Eckel, a draftsman at his father and Mann's firm,

sixteen years from 1896 to 1912. George R. Mann of St. Louis, Missouri, designed the original building. Mann, whose plan had been adopted, was discharged in 1897 by an act of the legislature which provided that 'all architects, superintendents and contractors shall be citizens of the State of Montana.' Bell and Kent of Helena, Montana, were selected in 1898 to draw the plans for the building (310)." Curiously, Benjamin F. and Barbara S. Shearer, authors of State Names, Seals, Flags and Symbols: A Historical Guide (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987) provide another version: "Owing to depression and scandal, the original [Mann's capitol] plan was abandoned, and, in 1897, the legislature authorized a less grandiose capitol that would cost, when completed in 1902, only \$485,000. Charles Emlen Bell and John Hackett Kent of Council Bluffs, Iowa were selected as architects (103)." These accounts as well as studies by Morgan and Treon entice one to consider further research on architects and their state capitol designs. Henry Russell Hitchcock and William Seale's, Temples of Democracy: The State Capitols of the U.S.A. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976) is one source that provides historical and architectural context for that pursuit.

⁵³Mann, autobiography, 10.

remembers that Mann (with assistance) re-used his Montana capitol plans for Arkansas. In correspondence to his brother George, Edmond Eckel writes about Mann's capitol competition entries:

Just thot [sic] of the time Geo. Mann came back from Billings [Helena?] Montana he had the most beautiful watercolor perspective I've ever seen it was the proposed capitol for Montana well Geo. Mann had me working on it for a week taking out a long row of columns to be replaced. I forget what, any how he had an artist coming to alter and touch up this perspective which he used for the Little Rock competition. I don't know if this was H. Ellis or not; any how he did a wonderful job it could not be detected(?) no one would have known it had been altered.⁵⁴

While Mann's attention to the building's expression was crucial, good floor plans were rightfully important. Mann admits, "They [the floor plans] were the refinement of floor plans that I put in for four State Capitol competitions."⁵⁵ His devotion to the plan emphasizes lessons from his school days at MIT and his years with Eckel. Mann vows:

⁵⁴Edmond G. Eckel correspondence to George R. Eckel, 31 January 1952 (Brunner archive collection, correspondence files 1949-1959, box 43). In this letter, Edmond also states: "Mr. Mann came back from the competition of the Montana State Capitol and was in the office again when he sent for Harvey Ellis which I think he got acquainted with while trying to get the Montana job." While Edmond's notion suggests an origin for Mann's acquaintance with Ellis, the date of the Montana State Capitol competition follows work that Ellis provided for the firm in the late 1880s. While Mann and Ellis both worked at Minneapolis, their tenure there did not overlap. Mann was in Minneapolis from 1877 to 1879 and in St. Joseph by 1880. Ellis spent most his time in New York during these years; he did not reach Minneapolis until about 1885. The initial connection between Eckel, Mann, and Ellis remains undocumented.

⁵⁵Mann, "Comments," 136.

Floor plans and their arrangements are the most essential part of any building. In planning a residence, hotel, office building or a state capitol, if the floor plans are properly arranged and good, the building will be a good building even if the exterior is mediocre. While if the floor arrangement is bad, no matter how pleasing may be the exterior, the building will not be a success.⁵⁶

Mann's Washington, Minnesota, Montana, and Arkansas capitol plans are based on the United States Capitol, with a dome crowning the rotunda and centered between the House and Senate chambers. McKim, Mead and White adopted the spatial arrangement of nation's capitol for their Rhode Island Capitol, 1891-1904, and it in turn became the conceptual model for numerous state capitols. Leland Roth has identified at least fourteen states that share the Providence scheme, including Mann's Arkansas Capitol. The McKim, Mead and White scholar verifies that the architects' Rhode Island Capitol:

gave form to a vision of public architecture that was shared by a great number of their countrymen, noble in expression, capable of supporting allegorical embellishment to enhance its meaning, and rooted in what was seen as American classicism.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Roth, McKim, Mead & White, 155. Roth names "a generation of new state capitol buildings" influenced by McKim, Mead & White's Rhode Island design: Minnesota (1885-1905), Arkansas (1899-1917), Mississippi (1901-1903), Kentucky (1904-1910), Wisconsin (1906-1917), and Washington (1911-1928). Existing buildings in Florida, Alabama, and Virginia were enlarged according to the Rhode Island building, while others such as those for Montana, South Dakota, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Utah, also portray the spirit of the Rhode Island Capitol building (150, 154-155). Missouri's capitol (1912-1917) by New York architects Tracy and Swartwout should be added to the list.

Gilbert altered Mann's Arkansas scheme very little, with the exception of the central staircase that additional funding allowed him to embellish. Gilbert's work was limited to minor interior adjustments; in Treon's opinion, "Gilbert contributed nothing to the exterior architecture of the Arkansas State Capitol Building, except the dome, which, ironically, turned out to be Mann's work."⁵⁸ To Mann's amusement, Gilbert's design for the Arkansas dome was modeled after the one used for the Mississippi Capitol--an element Mann himself actually developed. Mann recounts the paradox in his letter of 1937:

Mr. Gilbert was not the designer of the present dome. It is a direct copy of the dome on the new Mississippi Capitol. Shortly after the Mississippi Capitol was built, Mr. Donaghey visited the building and came back delighted with the dome and had Architect Gilbert copy it in building our Capitol dome. This Mississippi Capitol Dome has a curious history. I was one of the competitors for the Mississippi Capitol but the board selected the plans of Theodore Link of St. Louis. Externally, he had a campanile or bell tower about three hundred feet high at one end of the building, but had no dome. Shortly after the competition was decided I received a letter from Mr. Link, who was a warm, personal friend, stating the Capitol Commission of Mississippi, in selecting his plan, had made a condition that he eliminate the campanile and place a dome like the one I had on my design on the building. Courteously, he asked me if I had any objections to his using this design. Of course I told him I would be glad to have him use it and sent him the design of the dome I had on my drawings, and that was the way it was built.⁵⁹

Both of Mann's domes were modeled after great domes of

⁵⁸Treon, "Politics," 127.

⁵⁹Mann, "Comments," 138.

architectural history. Mann based his Arkansas capitol dome on Michelangelo's dome design for St. Peter's Basilica, Rome. Mann favored its heavy appearance of sixteen divisions with double pairs of columns that form groups of four to demarcate each point or section. "Gilbert's dome" or Mann's Mississippi dome replaced this scheme. Modeled after Sir Christopher Wren's design for St. Paul's Cathedral, London, the columns of this dome form a colonnade of singular and uniformly spaced columns resulting in a lighter and taller appearance. The substitute dome changed the look Mann intended for the Arkansas Capitol. Nevertheless, the building remains credited to the architect; even Gilbert's replacement dome descends from an earlier dome Mann designed for another capitol. The Arkansas Capitol was Mann's vision even if he did not direct its erection to completion. Treon concludes:

Despite official statements to the contrary, including some which persist to this day, George R. Mann was the architect of the Arkansas State Capitol. All of the exterior is his, including the dome, though it was not the more suitable, more pleasing dome he had designed for the building. Nearly all the interior is his also, the floor plans and the position of room and the three great staircases--the main staircase and the staircases leading to the house and senate chambers are exactly where he placed them.⁶⁰

This digression on the Arkansas Capitol reaffirms that Mann was indeed the architect of the building, despite the intervention of politics. It demonstrates his capability as

⁶⁰Treon, "Politics," 129.

a designer, yet what can be learned about Mann's managerial and business competence through this example? Why did Mann believe he could execute his design within the budget constraints? Had he relied on his former partner Eckel to make those calculations in the past? Eckel routinely performed these duties, thus one architect's expertise may explain his partner's deficiency. One reason for Eckel's success may have been his knowledge of construction costs and his ability to design buildings that could be completed within budget. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday in 1915, the Western Contrator acknowledged Eckel's skills:

Contractors, engineers, manufacturers and dealers in materials know that when they make estimates from plans and specifications from the office of Eckel & Aldrich, St. Joseph, Mo., they need not doubt the accuracy and practicability for plans and specifications bearing that marking command a high degree of respect in any hands.⁶¹

Eckel's business records provide an impression of order and authority. None of his projects appear as problematic as Mann's Arkansas capitol, but then again, few were as complex either. Numerous factors were outside Mann's control, but it seems he lacked the necessary administrative skills and command to keep the project on course.

The Partnership Perishes

Mann continued to labor on the Arkansas Capitol project via St. Joseph and St. Louis and with assistance from Eckel and Mann draftsmen. The time he joined Eckel again is

⁶¹Western Contractor, 9.

uncertain, but most sources affirm their reaffiliation by 1899. On 24 September 1899 Mann explained his need for Ben Trunk's help with the capitol to Eckel:

I tried to draw yesterday but am to [sic] nervous and week [sic] to do so I must have some one at once and thought maybe you could spare Ben for 30 days it wont take more than that time to finish the general drawings. . . . I dont [sic] know where to find any one else and then Ben understands the old plan and these are just a copy [sic] a little larger in size.⁶²

Eckel complied with Mann's request. Trunk arrived at Little Rock to prepare general drawings for the capitol by 12 October 1899 and remained for the month, but by 26 December 1899, Mann again appealed to Eckel for Trunk's return. Aware that Eckel too valued his draftsmen, Mann proposed an exchange of talents. Because Mann had located other capable draftsmen, but none who had Trunk's familiarity with his capitols, he offered to send the "new man" to St. Joseph if Eckel would agree to send Trunk, temporarily, to Little Rock.⁶³ Evidently Eckel responded favorably. On 5 January 1900, Mann exclaimed: "Your letter stating that Ben could come down is received. I am very thankful to know that he is coming."⁶⁴

⁶²George R. Mann, Little Rock, to E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, 24 September 1899 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁶³George R. Mann, Little Rock, to E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, 26 December 1899 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁶⁴George R. Mann, Little Rock, to E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, 5 January 1899 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

Cooperation between the architects and their customary distribution of resources suggests that the firm was reconstituted by autumn 1899. A pledge in Mann's hand from the same year also infers that the partners were conducting business together again. On 17 February 1899, Mann penned his promise:

I hereby agree to pay E. J. Eckel Architect out of any money I may collect from the state of Montana due me on account of plans furnished said State for a Capitol building the sum of (\$5,000.00) five thousand dollars.⁶⁵

Mann was absorbed in his capitol designs, yet was eager to return to St. Joseph permanently. Despite missing letters, references in surviving correspondence divulge that Mann approached Eckel about rejuvenating the firm, perhaps near the end of 1901. On 13 January 1902, less than one month following his (unaccepted) resignation letter to the Capitol Commission, Mann writes:

My dear Eckel,

Your very welcome letter was received several days ago and I felt very glad to find you felt favorable to my proposition. You and I have had some differences and in many things I know I have not done as I should and I have felt that in some instances you have been to blame but circumstances controlled me and I suppose they did you but if you are willing to let by gones be by gones I will join you and we will spend the rest of our years together and try to make them as happy as the first years of our connection were.

⁶⁵George R. Mann's promise is recorded on printed stationery for "E. J. Eckel, F.A.I.A., Architect, Commercial Bank Building" and dated 17 February 1899 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection). It is curious that the Montana Capitol would be an issue for the architects at this late date considering Mann was dismissed from the project by 1897.

. . . I seem to have assimilated [sic] a lot of stuff that makes designing easy which it never was in the past and when I get back with you I propose to do the work Ben is now doing and I believe you will agree with me that it will be better done.

. . . You dont [sic] know how delighted I will be to get settled again and when I do all Hell cant move me.

Let me hear from you promptly,
Sincerely your friend,
Geo. R. Mann⁶⁶

Regardless of the precise date Eckel and Mann was again reconstituted, it marked a third term for the partnership. The history of Eckel and Mann is somewhat ambiguous, yet the partners' correspondence and directories shape the firm's active years as 1880-1885, 1887-1891, and finally 1902-1905. Mann's presence in St. Joseph after the turn of the century is verified by city directories for 1903, 1904, and 1905. On a local level, their business establishment became practically a household word as Illustrated St. Joseph of Today, 1903-1904 reports:

This firm of architects was organized in the year 1880, and has contributed most extensively to the adornment of St. Joseph architecturally during the past 23 years. Indeed, the city has made greater progress since their advent than in all its former history; and for example of their skill the inquirer has but to look around him, for they are on all sides, and constitute a monument to their genius and industry of which they need not be ashamed. Eight assistants are employed by this representative firm, and an enormous amount of work has been done by them.⁶⁷

Perhaps Mann attempted to rekindle the old

⁶⁶George R. Eckel, Little Rock, to E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, 13 January 1902 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁶⁷Illustrated St. Joseph of Today, 1903-1904, 16.

establishment a final time before he ultimately decided that a clean break with Eckel in St. Joseph, and his relocation to a distant city, could offer independence and exclusive clients. However, Mann's autobiography disproves that theory:

I had little idea at that time of locating in Little Rock as an architect and was devoting all my time to the new capitol building. Mr. Herman Kahn requested me to prepare the drawings for a hotel he proposed to build. I agreed and designed the Marion Hotel for him. I then designed the Southern Trust Building at Second and Center, and soon found myself in active practice in Little Rock.⁶⁸

Mann left St. Joseph and his Krug Park Place home for Little Rock in 1905,⁶⁹ but not as an independent agent. A series of Eckel's letters from 1905 contain direct questions and reveal the senior architect's uncertainty and disappointment surrounding Mann's intentions. On 24 January, Eckel inquired about Mann's latest work:

At your request I sent you on Jan. 10 my plans of Market house, which I hope will be useful to you. I am glad to hear that the Hotel & Office building projects are going ahead and if they are going ahead sure other large work will come too. You will, I expect be pretty busy this coming season. There is one question I like for you to answer me and that is why is all that work done under your own name and not under the firms name; have you withdrawn? or how is it? When you came to me again 3 years ago you give me the assurance under your oath that you always be faithfull [sic] to our partnership and that nothing will induce you to do otherwise. I simply ask you that question as I like to

⁶⁸Mann, autobiography, 10.

⁶⁹St. Joseph City Directory, 1905, 635.

know where I am.⁷⁰

Eckel, anxious to organize his business affairs and lacking confidence in Mann's loyalty, had concluded by 11 August 1905 that Mann was no longer party to the firm:

In regard to our partnership it is dissolved long ago, taking it from all publications especially the book that Caldwell & Drake published. I expected it, notwithstanding the promises you made me and all that I done for you. so I will work alone although we may remain friends.⁷¹

Finally, on 19 August 1905, Mann replied to Eckel's innuendos with empathy and excuses, but with discussion regarding the settlement of the firm's assets, the partnership was clearly defunct:

I received your letter saying you had dissolved our partnership and that you did not believe I was coming to St. Joseph. Now Eckel I have been trying for some time to get away and come up, but there has been so many complications here that I have not been able to come. I want to do ever thing possible to satisfy you. You have been very kind to me and I appreciate [____?]. You have grounds for complaint but circumstances under which I have had no control have not allowed me to do what I should.

. . . The reason I used my name in addition to Eckel & Mann on the [hotel] plans was because Mr. Khan the owner wanted it that way as he said he knew nothing about Eckel & Mann and was dealing with me.

I want to be your friend and maybe sometime I can show you that is so.⁷²

⁷⁰E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to George R. Mann (no inside address), 24 January 1905 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁷¹E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph to George R. Mann, no inside address, 11 August 1905 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁷²George R. Mann, Little Rock, to E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, 19 August 1902 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

At age sixty, Eckel had reason to question Mann's distant role and the financial status of an enterprise they created. One of his last notes to Mann illuminates that Eckel contemplated the future: "What guided me was that I must have my affairs settled as I dont [sic] know how long I will live."⁷³ As the remaining chapters show, Eckel had several more years to finalize his career as an architect, yet none of his later partnerships compare to that of Eckel and Mann.

In Little Rock, Mann practiced privately until 1913 when he associated with Eugene A. Stern to form the firm Mann and Stern, a partnership that lasted eight years to 1921.⁷⁴ He was a member of Mann, Wagner and King, which was succeeded by Mann and Wagner.⁷⁵ Mann and his partners designed several bathhouses at Hot Springs, many which have achieved significance as National Landmarks. Mann was a member of the old Western Association of Architects in 1887, and promoted to the ranks of Fellow in the American Institute of Architects when the two societies merged in 1889.⁷⁶ Near the close of his career, Mann was "looked

⁷³E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to George R. Mann (no inside address), 25 August 1905 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

⁷⁴"Geo. R. Mann, Architect, Dies at His Home," Arkansas Democrat, 20 March 1939, 1 and Who's Who in Little Rock, 1921, 97.

⁷⁵"Geo. R. Mann, Architect, Dies at His Home," Arkansas Democrat, 20 March 1939, 2.

⁷⁶Withey and Withey, 1956, 389.

upon as the dean of Arkansas architects" for the numerous buildings he designed while working in Arkansas for more than thirty years.⁷⁷ Like his previous partner Eckel, Mann probably secured several commissions in Arkansas through his friends and business associates who were actively involved in community and social affairs.⁷⁸ He served as vice-president of the Kingsway Hotel Company and therefore was responsible for the designs of numerous hotels. Mann's death followed five years after Eckel's. Once Eckel's junior partner, the acclaimed Arkansas architect died at age eighty-four on 20 March 1939.⁷⁹

The firm Eckel and Mann was one of the architects' more successful partnerships. While Mann's complete portfolio has not been investigated, it appears that he and Eckel's better years were spent together in St. Joseph during a golden era of prosperity. The two achieved notoriety for their voluminous and quality work--the result of their design talents, Eckel's efficient management, and the contributions of draftsmen in their employ.

The first years of the partnership--the most prominent

⁷⁷Thomas, Arkansas and its People, 214.

⁷⁸Mann's memberships included the Arkansas State Chamber of Commerce, Little Rock Country Club, Spring Lake Country Club and Quapaw Club, Trinity Blue Lodge, Albert Pike Consistory, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite Masons, and Al Amin Temple, Ancient Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine.

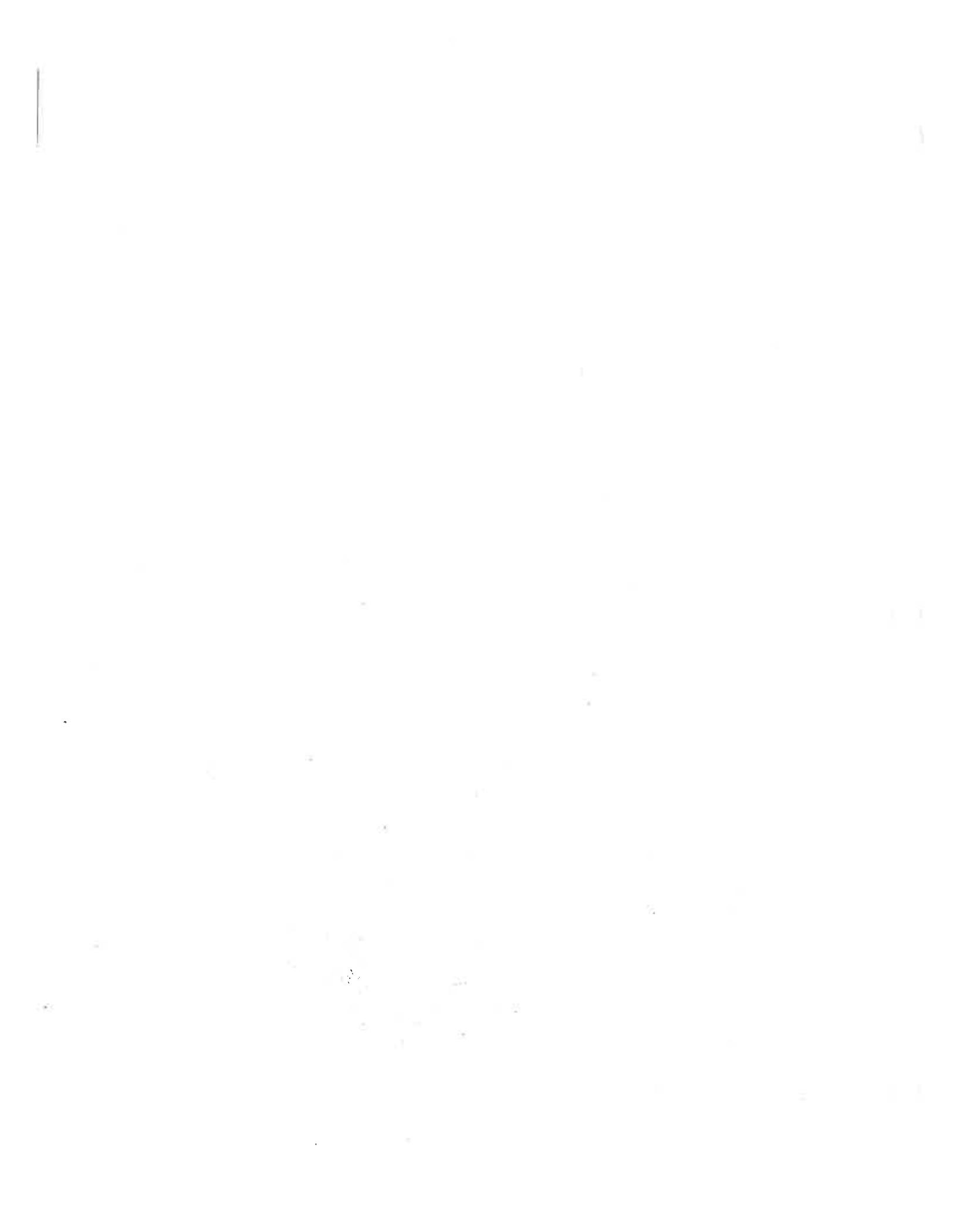
⁷⁹"Pioneer Dies," St. Joseph Gazette, March 21, 1939, 2.

period--denote the architects' versatile design vocabulary and their ability to keep St. Joseph dressed in the latest architectural styles. Despite differences throughout the course of their practice together, each architect shared a similar design doctrine based on their educational backgrounds. Both Eckel and Mann's design skills were rooted in Academic Classicism, best demonstrated by their later buildings that reflect the Second Renaissance Revival style. The form, massing, balance, and details were based on principles each learned through their respective institutions of learning--ideas that were reinforced by his partner. As was customary for architects of the École tradition, Eckel and Mann focused on the functional requirements of the building first and concentrated on style secondly. Facades were sometimes classical, but more often eclectic and picturesque, considering the firm's appeal during the High Victorian period of the late nineteenth century.

Through their mutual respect and expectations of one another--initially, Eckel the senior architect, and Mann, his junior partner--the partnership flourished. Although Mann does not recognize Eckel's contributions to his professional development in his autobiography, his association with the elder architect certainly advanced his career. Mann's autobiography does not indicate the nature (let alone the depth) of his relationship with Eckel, but

correspondence between the two architects reveals friendship and admiration, even between the Eckel and Mann families.⁸⁰ This study documents that the partnership was not without its hardships; it was interrupted by dissolution and reorganization for nearly three decades until the architects parted company once and for all in 1905. The interim years and those beyond the Eckel and Mann partnership continue Eckel's saga in St. Joseph.

⁸⁰In addition to letters previously cited is one from Eckel, St. Joseph, to "Friend Mann," presumably St. Louis, dated 29 August 1893. Eckel expresses his gratitude to the Manns on behalf of his daughter: "My daughter Minnie returned safe to St. Joe. It has been a great joy for her, her visit to St. Louis and I thank Mrs. Mann and yourself very much for having entertained her so well" (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1893-1899, 495). A singular letter to E. J. Eckel from Carrie (Rock) Mann, George Mann's wife, St. Louis also survives. In her letter postmarked 25 April 1897, Mrs. Mann writes "My dear Mr. Eckel," and proceeds to plea with him to withdraw a pending lawsuit against her husband, ". . . I am not ashamed to ask this of you Mr. Eckel. I would come to you as I would to my own father. George will and must do what is right by you or I should never know a happy moment." The lawsuit concerned money that Mann owed Eckel as a result of the firm's dissolution. In correspondence from Eckel to Mann, 25 August 1905, Eckel apologizes and consoles, "I am sorry that the step I took [dissolution] should have been a disappointment to you, but I assure you that from my part there will be nothing changed from our former relations. I want to remain your friend and want to help you whenever I can. . . . Give my kindest regards to Mrs. Mann and the children. . . . Tell Mrs. Mann not to worry and you believe me as ever" (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection). Such heart-felt letters convey there was much more to Eckel and Mann's relationship than the corporate exterior.



PART FOUR
INDEPENDENT PRACTICE AND BRIEF PARTNERSHIPS

CHAPTER 13

ECKEL & VAN BRUNT, 1892

Eckel and the Kansas City architect, John Van Brunt, were partners for approximately six months--from February to August 1892 (fig. 13-1).¹ Their relationship was so short-lived that little documentation survives to explain the connection.² The architectural journal, The Inland Architect and News Record, published the firm's design for the Richardson, Roberts, Byrne and Co. Wholesale Dry Goods House in May 1892 (fig. 13-2), but other works created jointly by the two architects remain unknown. It is possible Van Brunt assisted with the Richardson-Roberts-Byrne building only, especially since the partnership endured only a few months.

John Van Brunt

At least three architects with the Van Brunt name

¹The dates of John Van Brunt's life are from Withey and Withey, 614-615.

²The Eckel and Van Brunt partnership was discovered in Eckel's business correspondence book, 1884-1893, among the archive collection at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri. A letter dated 9 February 1892, page 590, with the signature "Eckel and Van Brunt" identifies the two were working together by this time. Correspondence in Eckel's hand, dated 20 August 1892, page 674, indicates Van Brunt reneged on his partnership with Eckel. In this letter to Dr. Kaltenbach, at Craig, Missouri, Eckel discusses a proposed building. Few details are included in the letter, as Eckel explains, "I do not know if it answers all your requirements, as on my return from Denver (?) here I could get but very little information from Mr. Van Brunt who stepped out of the office." Van Brunt's signature does not appear on any later communication, nor do signature blocks include his name.

worked in Kansas City near the turn of the century: John Van Brunt, Adriance Van Brunt, and Henry Van Brunt.³ Adriance was the first Van Brunt to establish an architectural practice in Kansas City. He was at work in the city by 1879 and remained with his firm until his death in 1913.⁴

Adriance frequently employed his brother, John, at various periods. John Van Brunt (1855-1925) was first listed as an architect with Adriance's firm in 1882, therefore he had at least ten years experience before joining Eckel in 1892. John obviously had time to develop ties with Kansas City merchants before leaving for St. Joseph. He acknowledged one business association while working with Eckel in his letter to John Merrill(?) Lumber Company of Kansas City. In the letter dated 3 March 1892, he salutes an old acquaintance, "You may recognize in ___(?) _____(?) your old friend, John Van Brunt."⁵

The third and more prolific architect, Henry Van Brunt

³While Withey and Withey's Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased) is a helpful reference, it must be used with caution, especially in the case of the Van Brunts. These three Kansas City Van Brunts are represented in Witheys' book, however there are several errors.

⁴George Ehrlich, "Partnership Practice and the Professionalization of Architecture in Kansas City, Missouri," Missouri Historical Review 74 (July 1980), 472-473. Hereafter cited Ehrlich, "Partnership Practice."

⁵Page 600 in the 1884-1893 record book of business correspondences at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri.

of the firm Ware and Van Brunt, did not arrive in Kansas City until after Adriance and John. The Boston architect transplanted his office to Kansas City in 1885 through his junior partner, Frank Howe, although Van Brunt himself did not move to Missouri until two years later.⁶ John Van Brunt was a draftsman with Van Brunt and Howe at times,⁷ although the two were not direct relatives.⁸

Several questions surround the association between the architects E. J. Eckel and John Van Brunt. It is believed this association was E. J. Eckel's shortest partnership. Why would Van Brunt leave his brother's successful practice in Kansas City to commit only six months to the St. Joseph

⁶William A. Coles, s.v. "Henry Van Brunt" in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982), 268. Sherry Piland proposes Van Brunt arrived in Kansas City even a year later (1888) in "Henry Van Brunt of the Architectural Firm of Van Brunt and Howe: The Kansas City Years" (Master's thesis, University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1976), 7-8.

⁷Ehrlich, "Partnership Practice," 472.

⁸According to Sherry Piland, Adriance and John were not related to Henry. See "Early Kansas City Architects: Adriance and John Van Brunt," Historic Kansas City News, 3 (April-May 1979), 10. Piland also identifies a fourth Van Brunt architect in Kansas City--Courtlandt Van Brunt, Henry Van Brunt's son. Ehrlich includes a noteworthy footnote in his article, "Partnership Practice" op. cit., 472, that suggests Adriance and John may have been distant relatives based on information he received from William Hennessey, author of "The Architectural Works of Henry Van Brunt," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York, New York, 1979). Quoting Ehrlich's note, "Surviving relatives of Henry Van Brunt, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Washburn of Kansas City, recall old family conversations that both Adriance and Henry were related to one Roetger Van Brunt who came to America from the Netherlands in the seventeenth century."

firm? Eckel and Van Brunt may have collaborated as partners for a combination of reasons, but economic factors may have motivated each architect the most. Eckel's former partner Mann was away in St. Louis working on the city hall. Ellis--the firm's exceptional delineator--had gone to St. Louis with Mann where they were later joined by Ben Trunk and John Richmond, draftsmen from the St. Joseph office. Their absence created a void for Eckel, especially when profitable commissions beckoned. Maybe Eckel thought an affiliation with a Kansas City colleague would expand his clientele to the south. Although Eckel's firm designed buildings throughout Missouri and across the country, none are known to exist or to have been constructed in Kansas City.

Perhaps Van Brunt had special expertise he could offer Eckel, even if only for a limited period. Van Brunt was experienced with residential work carried out in his brother's Kansas City office from 1882-1890, the years he was there.⁹ Furthermore, as George Ehrlich suggests, John Van Brunt may have assisted Van Brunt and Howe with commercial structures like the Emery, Bird, and Thayer Company Store (1889-1890), Kansas City, a project that may have captured Eckel's attention.¹⁰

⁹Piland, "Early Kansas City Architects," 10.

¹⁰Correspondence from George Ehrlich, Professor, College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Art and Art History, University of Missouri-Kansas City, to Toni M. Prawl, 11 August 1989.

As an architect approaching age forty, Van Brunt may have envisioned the merger with Eckel as an opportunity to break from his brother's supervision or conduct his own business. Moreover, the economy in Kansas City may have prompted Van Brunt to consider career options too. Erhlich offers:

Kansas City had fallen into a local depression by 1890 largely due to the collapse (in the summer of 1888) of a highly speculative real estate boom. Architects are gypsies in that they will go wherever the work can be found, especially when things slow down at home.¹¹

If prospects seemed brighter to Van Brunt in St. Joseph with Eckel, it was only temporarily. Both architects may have acted prematurely; the firm's correspondence suggests the partnership was formed and aborted rather abruptly with few preparations. Whether Eckel solicited potential partners through advertisements placed in newspapers, journals, or trade magazines has not been explored. Ultimately, it probably was Mann's recommendation that convinced Eckel to choose Van Brunt. With Eckel and Mann's force of draftsmen consumed by the city hall project at St. Louis, Mann strived to adjust the uneven balance at St. Joseph. In his letter of 31 December 1891 he advises Eckel:

I have looked every place for a good man for you and I expect you have received several letters before this. I think of all men the one you want is John Van Brunt. I believe he has written you. I will be up and will see you about him Sunday he will take an interest in

¹¹Ibid.

the office.¹²

Eckel and Van Brunt was established shortly following Mann's letter. By 9 February 1892, the firm's correspondence carried the architects names, yet the affiliation dissolved almost as suddenly. By 8 August 1892, the duo was defunct when flustered Eckel admitted to a client that Van Brunt had "stepped out of the firm."¹³

Van Brunt returned to Kansas City, where he pursued brief stints of employment with various architectural firms until 1902. He returned to his brother's firm at times during this period and by 1896 became Adriance's partner at their firm Adriance Van Brunt and Brother. John continued his architectural work with Adriance until his brother's death in 1913. During 1899 and 1900 he served as an architect of the City Park Board, a commission he gained probably via Adriance who was repeatedly appointed to the Park Board through four city administrations. John became identified with the design of several late nineteenth century homes and was proclaimed, "a designer of unusual artistic ability . . . influential in introducing English

¹²George R. Mann, St. Louis, to E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, 31 December 1891 (Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

¹³Eckel's letter to Dr. Kaltenbach, Craig, 20 August 1892, presents his frustration regarding his lack of communication with Van Brunt whom he "could get very little information from," on account of his removal from the firm (page 674, 1884-1893 record book of business correspondences at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri).

residential designs to Kansas City."¹⁴ In 1915, Van Brunt joined a fellow architect in Kansas City, Alfred W. Hertz. Van Brunt later established his own firm and conducted his business in the Republic Building. He died 25 March 1925, a member of the American Institute of Architects.¹⁵

Richardson, Roberts, Byrne, and Co. Building

The brevity of Eckel and Van Brunt's partnership may be explained by the Richardson, Roberts, Byrne, and Co. Building, a warehouse that involved both architects. If the warehouse was the first fruit of the partnership, it must have been the firm's finale as well; no other Eckel and Van Brunt commissions have been identified. The architects' intentions toward the partnership are unknown, but the product of their affiliation indicates it was project-specific.

Sometime between 31 December 1891 and 9 February 1892, Van Brunt joined Eckel in St. Joseph. By 23 April 1892, a building permit was issued for the warehouse.¹⁶ Due to scale of the building, Eckel probably was engaged with the preliminary plans for the Richardson, Roberts, Byrne, and Co. wholesale dry goods house before Van Brunt arrived in St. Joseph. The perspective drawing of the building

¹⁴Piland, "Early Kansas City Architects," 10.

¹⁵Withey and Withey, 1956, 615; Piland, 10.

¹⁶Building permit 2047, City of St. Joseph, Community Development, Zoning and Planning Department.

published in volume 19 of the Inland Architect and News Record, May 1892, reveals Van Brunt's signature. Eckel may have requested Van Brunt's help with this one project, including his services for the presentation drawing.

The building combines elements of the Romanesque Revival, Second Renaissance Revival, and Commercial styles (fig. 13-3). The arched "romanesque" fenestration dominates, yet classical features like the rusticated first story, egg and dart molding, anthemion ornamentation, and subdued wreaths and garlands are present. A giant granite column supports the southeast corner of the building and signals the recessed entrance at Third and Jule Streets (fig. 13-4). This mixture of Romanesque Revival and Second Renaissance Revival components is mindful of the hybridization of the German American Bank that Eckel's firm designed three years earlier. Both buildings include terra cotta ornamentation, but it is subordinate in the warehouse design and void of Ellis's characteristic fine-tuning. Eaton comments on the building's similarity to Adler and Sullivan's Auditorium Building (1886-1889) at Chicago (fig. 13-5), but the St. Joseph warehouse may have more in common with buildings in Kansas City and St. Louis. Van Brunt and Howe's Emery, Bird and Thayer Company Store, constructed 1889-1890 and demolished 1972-1973, at Kansas City (fig. 13-6) and Isaac Taylor's L & N Railroad Building, built 1888, and his "New Public Library Building" of 1891, both in St.

Louis, share similarities (figs. 13-7 and 13-8).¹⁷ These buildings probably were inspired by H. H. Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store (1885-1887), a Chicago icon demolished in 1930 (fig. 13-9). Eckel and Van Brunt's brick rendition approaches the height of Richardson's powerful stone building, but is smaller and subsequently less massive. Once the northern addition extended the form and facade of the St. Joseph warehouse, the building's proportion more closely resembled the block-size Marshall Field store (fig. 13-10). Like the Marshall Field warehouse and many Commercial style buildings, the St. Joseph warehouse is composed of three distinct parts--a base, midsection, and terminating story. In contrast to Richardson's warehouse, Eckel and Van Brunt's building incorporates projecting corner pavilions with elongated arches. Window lights within segmental arches are divided

¹⁷Leonard Eaton remarks on the similarities between the Auditorium Building and the Richardson, Roberts, Bryne and Co. Dry Goods Building, 30; George Ehrlich mentions the likeness of Eckel and Van Brunt's building to the Emery, Bird and Thayer Company Store (correspondence 11 August 1989); and Osmund Overby suggested a relation between the St. Joseph building and Taylor's work in St. Louis during his review of this dissertation. Also see Overby's booklet with Carolyn Toft, The Saint Louis Old Post Office: A History and Architectural Guide to the Building and its Neighborhood (St. Louis: Landmarks Association of St. Louis, 1979). It is possible, as Overby suggests, that Eckel's draftsman Ben Trunk, created or strengthened a connection between Taylor's and Eckel's firms. Trunk worked with Eckel and Mann in St. Louis and was friends with Oscar Enders, Taylor's chief draftsman. Furthermore, George Eckel, E. J. Eckel's son, worked with Taylor in St. Louis during the first decade of the twentieth century (see the following sections on Ben Trunk and George Eckel).

in a tripartite arrangement adapted from Roman thermae windows but influenced by fashionable Chicago windows. Eckel's firms frequently incorporated this window type in its Romanesque-styled buildings such as the C. D. Smith Drug Co. (1888); Irish-American Building (1892); St. Joseph New Union Station (1895), and St. Joseph Central High School (1895).

The building permit of 1892 records the estimated construction cost of \$60,000. Built with fireproofing considerations, most the expense involved in erecting the seven story warehouse can be attributed to costly materials like steel columns and concrete load-bearing beams.¹⁸ The architects' building achieves an impression of solidity and permanence, qualities their partnership lacked.

Partnership Trends

Several hypotheses can be offered to explain why Eckel and Van Brunt were associated, yet they remain conjecture until further research can yield more information about John Van Brunt, his role with Eckel, and his contributions to the firm Van Brunt and Howe. Whatever reasons induced Eckel and Van Brunt to become partners, their practice was a transitory one and not atypical for the era. Although Eckel was a member of successful partnerships, most local

¹⁸Nancy Sandehn, Thomas Carneal, and James Denny, National Register Nomination for the John D. Richardson Dry Goods Co., St. Joseph, Missouri State Historic Preservation Program, 1980.

architects did not have partners, let alone enduring partnerships.

In his study, "Partnership Practice and the Professionalization of Architecture in Kansas City, Missouri," George Ehrlich concludes that the majority of architectural partnerships in the city endured only a short period. Ehrlich estimates that from 1859 to 1918 there were "at least 400 individuals who identified themselves as architects for a year or more." Yet, of those individuals' practices, only twenty-two partnerships lasted five or more years." Through figures like these and further illustrations, Ehrlich demonstrates "how casually people entered the profession and how briefly many remained." Architects who practiced for an extensive period prior to World War I were an exception in Kansas City as Ehrlich summarizes that the practice was "dominated by a relatively small number of professionals" who generally "entered into long-term partnerships."¹⁹

St. Joseph presented a similar setting. A list of architects compiled from the business index of city directories dated 1859 to 1939, reveals sixty-four self-proclaimed architects at work in the city (see Appendix 2).²⁰ From this list, eight architects entered

¹⁹Ehrlich, "Partnership Practice," 468-469.

²⁰Toni M. Prawl, "Historic Architects of Saint Joseph, Missouri," report submitted to the City of St. Joseph, Missouri Community Development, Zoning and Planning

partnerships that endured five or more years. Remarkably, all of these eight architects were associated with Eckel either as a partner or employee: five of them were Eckel's partners--William Aldrich, Francis Boettner, George Eckel, George Mann, and Lewis Stigers; and two were Eckel's draftsmen--William Gordon and Ben Trunk. As in Kansas City, the majority of St. Joseph architects practiced independently or were partners of short-lived firms. Thus, owing to Eckel's early arrival in 1869 and his perseverance with partnerships, he was the area's notable senior practitioner of architecture.

While Eckel was quite serious about his practice, John Van Brunt may not have entered their arrangement (or any partnership) so solemnly. Were it not for the Richardson, Roberts, and Byrne Dry Goods Co. Warehouse, there would be little evidence of the partnership indeed. When compared to Eckel's long and productive practices with Mann, and later Aldrich, the Eckel and Van Brunt partnership lacks substance. Van Brunt may have been accustomed to short-term partnerships, but Eckel probably expected more. In light of Eckel and Mann's separation in 1891, ensued by Eckel's brief encounter with Van Brunt in 1892, the architect must have contemplated the nature of partnerships. Such unforeseen

Department and the Missouri State Historic Preservation Program, Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1989. Building contractors are not included in this tally.

experiences may have caused Eckel to pursue a solo career, a period comprised of nearly one dozen years and reviewed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 14

INDIVIDUALITY: 1886, 1893-1902, 1906-1908

Most of Eckel's career can be outlined through partnerships, yet the architect worked independently in 1886, and also from 1893-1902, and again 1906-1908. With the exception of Eckel's brief partnership with Van Brunt in 1892, he generally practiced alone during the years between his partnerships with Mann. Although Eckel lacked a partner and supervised his projects single-handedly during these years, he undoubtedly had dependable assistants. Eckel's letter to a client from Kansas, written in 1900, illuminates his role as the project coordinator:

In regard to getting the plans ready by the middle of next week, it is impossible as it will take at least two weeks more to finish all drawings and specifications and I want everything complete before sending them to you. A little delay also will be occurred [sic] by my going to Washington DC to attend the meeting of the American Institute of Architects which will keep me away about 10 to 12 days, although the work will go on same as if I was here only I want to look [them] all over on my return to see if everything is correct.¹

As the firm's principal, Eckel was more than a business manager and supervisor. Eckel's office was not just a work place; it was a studio where designers learned, shared their creativity, and developed an assortment of projects-- frequently in unison.

¹Correspondence from E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to B. P. Waggoner, Atchison, Kansas, 8 August 1900 (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, volume 1900-1906).

Eckel's Atelier

Eckel's firm, not unlike the French ateliers, fostered a setting where assistance from fellow colleagues was expected and often crucial to the success of the project. Skilled individuals offered their expertise to those less experienced and all worked under the supervision and approval of the chief architect--a familiar routine for nouveaux, anciens, and patrons of the French ateliers. Eckel had internalized the atelier structure while a student at the École and created his personal version of it--a common practice among architects of the École.²

Because only a limited number of American schools offered architecture programs during the late nineteenth century, architects like Eckel played a pivotal role in the architectural training of young men. McKim, Mead and White had a profound influence on the education of young architects and regarded training as one of the firm's foremost responsibilities. Leland Roth estimates that by 1919, the partners contributed to the architectural education of more than 500 men who had worked at McKim, Mead and White.³ Across the country, draftsmen were trained in offices that adopted the atelier system and emphasized

²In reading this draft manuscript, Professor Howard Marshall observed how the atelier system of the École resembles the centuries-old apprenticeship system utilized by many cultures for teaching and learning an assortment of skills.

³Roth, 1983, 6.

collaboration. George Cooper Rudolph, an architect who trained with Paul Cret, recalls the concept of "niggering" whereby younger men helped experienced men at the firm. In his words, "'Niggering,' whether it involved drawing work or other types of work, trained one to work in a team situation."⁴ Although Eckel probably never had more than a dozen employees at a time, his office was the largest and most active architectural firm in St. Joseph.⁵ With a number of assistants, there were several hands involved in the evolution of a design at Eckel's firm. Cooperation and specialization--teamwork--were essential for projects to advance from the initial idea to completion of the working drawings and specifications. Nevins and Stern, co-authors of The Architect's Eye, write, "while the act of conception may be a solitary one, the task of elaboration, development, and execution of major work is often the product of

⁴Richard Walter Lukens, "The Changing Role of Drawing and Rendering in Architectural Education," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1979), 179.

⁵On 9 August 1910, H. D. Bates of Bates & Guild Company Publishers, publishers of the [Architectural] Review, requested information from E. J. Eckel regarding a list of all architects in St. Joseph and their rank according to size and importance of practice, as well as ability as designers. On 24 August 1910, Eckel's partner William S. Aldrich replied, "Mr. Eckel has erected about all the large buildings in St. Joseph and has always had the largest practice, . . ." Five firms are named in Aldrich's letter: Eckel & Aldrich; Rudolph Meier; Trunk and Heim; Walter Boschen; and Lynch & Cornelius. Only one firm is headed by architects not known to have been affiliated with Eckel (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1909-1911).

collaboration."⁶

Several aspiring architects in St. Joseph gained their understanding of architecture from Eckel before they set out to work independently. One report contends that "some of the most prominent architects in the West mastered the profession under his tutelage."⁷ A few draftsmen may have left the nest prematurely, since they returned to Eckel's atelier before striking out on their own a final time. Eckel's day books and pocket diaries and calendars identify twenty-one employees who received wages from 1889 to 1907 (see Appendix 4).⁸ According to Eckel's records, the number of men he employed during these years varies from two in 1894 to seven in 1890, 1903, and 1904. In 1903, when Eckel and Mann were practicing together again, Illustrated St. Joseph of Today announced the firm employed eight assistants.⁹

Business correspondence as well as photographs of

⁶Deborah Nevins and Robert A. M. Stern, The Architect's Eye: American Architectural Drawings from 1799 to 1978 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), 9.

⁷"E. J. Eckel is Dead."

⁸Eckel's day book and diary/calendars for these years are part of the Eckel archive collection at the Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph, Missouri. The table for Appendix 4 is a compiled list of names and relevant employment dates that Eckel recorded in the day book, 1889-1896, and diaries/calendars for 1898, 1899, 1901, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906 and 1907. While the day book spans the year 1892, Van Brunt is not mentioned.

⁹Illustrated St. Joseph of Today, 1903-1904, (St. Joseph?: n.p., 1903), .

draftsmen support that the work load was irregular during Eckel's independent period, thus he adjusted the scale of his staff accordingly. Eckel frequently solicited draftsmen (and occasionally partners) when commissions dictated, but he also employed designers and building superintendents.¹⁰ Within one week, from 19 March to 23 March 1901, Eckel informed three applicants of his need for a draftsman. Eckel sought a man "specially for details and general work in the office."¹¹ In the architect's estimation, "A man has to be a neat draughtsman and capable to finish work after the general outlines have been given to him."¹² His letters have an urgent tone and request an immediate reply: "I will give you the position providing you can come soon as I have a good deal of work on hand and not enough help. Please let me know by return mail when I can expect you."¹³ Four days later he wrote to a second applicant, C. R. Linde, "If you desire to come I would give you an engagement for

¹⁰Correspondence from E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to W. C. Pocklington, Evanston, Illinois, 23 March 1901; hereafter cited Pocklington letter, 23 March 1901 (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1900-1906 volume).

¹¹Correspondence from E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph to G. M. Gunthers, Chicago, 19 March 1901; hereafter cited, Gunthers letter, 19 March 1901; correspondence from E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph to C. R. Linde, Chicago, 23 March 1901; hereafter cited Linde letter, 23 March 1901; Pocklington letter, 23 March 1901 (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1900-1906 volume).

¹²Pocklington letter, 23 March 1901.

¹³Gunthers letter, 19 March 1901.

six months and \$3.00 per day and pay your fare to St. Joseph on condition that you could come at once."¹⁴ Linde joined Eckel's office within the year and may even be among the photographed staff, although none of the men is identified.

In one photograph, ca. 1904, Eckel is accompanied by three assistants (fig. 14-1), while a second undated photograph, ca. 1910, shows three draftsmen working at their tables (fig. 14-2). Yet, in July 1908, as many as eleven employees could be counted (fig. 14-3). In another undated photograph taken at the office, a group of nine men strike a fraternal pose with rolled drawings stowed over their heads (fig. 14-4). The backgrounds of these men are as varied their appearances. Profiles of three draftsmen--Ben Trunk, Rudolph Heim, and E. Gray Powell--suggest the range of talent and experience among the young men who trained and labored at Eckel's atelier.

Ben Trunk

Ben W. Trunk (1873-1918) got his start in architecture when he went to work, presumably as an apprentice, for Eckel and Mann at age sixteen (fig. 14-5). Still a youth who lived with his family, Trunk is first listed in the 1889 city directory as a clerk with the firm. Evidently Trunk learned how to complete perspective drawings fairly quickly since he became a draughtsman under Eckel's employ by the

¹⁴Linde letter, 23 March 1901.

following year.¹⁵ Perhaps Trunk gained an appreciation for the arts as a child since he lived with a relative who earned his living as a fresco artist. Trunk's skills at architectural rendering could have been partially developed when he entered Eckel and Mann's employ due to an early awareness of line and composition he gained at home, however it seems more probable that Trunk learned his technique through observing and imitating draftsmen at the firm.

Trunk's drawings bear particular resemblance to those produced by Harvey Ellis who was at work with Eckel and Mann about the time Trunk joined the firm. Ellis's perspectives were occasionally published in architectural periodicals; their circulation made his appealing work highly visible and widely admired. As previously noted, many young draftsmen affirmed their appreciation for Ellis through their attempts to mimic his style. In her article, "Late Nineteenth-Century Published American Perspective Drawing," Eileen Manning Michels reiterates, "Throughout the country Ellis watchers were legion, and his graphic and architectural mannerisms were adopted by numerous draftsmen, many of whom knew him only through his published drawings."¹⁶ Trunk's attraction to Ellis's artistry only was escalated by the delineator's physical presence at the firm. He kept several

¹⁵City directory for St. Joseph, Missouri, 1890.

¹⁶Eileen Manning Michels, "Late Nineteenth-Century Published American Perspective Drawing," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 31 (December 1972): 306.

Ellis drawings in his possession¹⁷ and his own renderings imitate those by the master draftsman--complete with foreground figures. Eckel probably encouraged Trunk to learn the delineator's art since he sought draftsmen who could provide him with that service. In 1893, Eckel replied to a prospective employee:

I am in need of a draughtsman and I suppose Mr. Falls informed you what I require from a man I would employ; do general office work, somewhat of a designer, and can make pen and ink perspectives.¹⁸

Trunk continued as a draftsman with Eckel for fourteen years, from 1890-1904. By 1900, Eckel referred to Trunk as his "head draughtsman."¹⁹ His primary duty at the firm must have been perspective drawing, since his signature appears on at least six renderings produced during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Trunk's 1891 drawing of

¹⁷Edmund Eckel's letter to his brother George, 31 January 1952, informs that Trunk had "a lot of his [Ellis's] paintings and drawings."

¹⁸Letter to Mr. B. [or R. W.?] Hart of Chicago from E. J. Eckel, dated 11 March 1893, page 692 in the 1884-1893 record book of business correspondences, Brunner archive collection.

¹⁹Correspondence from E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to Charles F. Rush [or Bush?], Marysville, Kansas, 7 December 1900. Due to Eckel's plans to attend the meeting of the American Institute of Architects in Washington, he proposed to send Trunk to Marysville to discuss a new building for the First National Bank. Eckel suggested that Mr. Trunk "could get all [the] information needed and talk the matter over with you and on my return I could make another trip (without charges) submitting you sketches for the proposed building" (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, volume 1900-1906).

the residence for S. M. Nave might have been his first published perspective for Eckel and Mann; it is the oldest known drawing to survive with his name (fig. 10-24). Later drawings by Trunk are an unidentified Hotel Building dated 1894, but presumably never constructed (fig. 14-6); St. Joseph Central High School, 1895 (fig. 11-23); and the Tootle-Lemon Bank, 1900 (fig. 14-8). Trunk's drawings for the city's Union Station, 1895 (fig. 11-17) and the St. Joseph Public Library, 1900 (fig. 14-10) are recorded in the St. Joseph Journal of Commerce, July 1900.

Eckel's sons Edmund and George Eckel both trained at their father's office. In response to correspondence from John Albury Bryan, George Eckel provides an account of a few fellow draftsmen whom Eckel introduced to architecture, including Ben Trunk:

Ben Trunk and John Richmond, two St. Joseph boys both sixteen years old, started in fathers [sic] office on the same day. They both were interested in and liked to draw although neither had had any particular training nor education along that line. With the experience and training they received in the office, they became quite proficient and very good draftsmen. During the time Harvey Ellis was in the office, they became especially interested in pen and ink and water color renderings, and received much inspiration from Harvey. Later, they were both sent to St. Louis to work on the St. Louis city hall. I never heard of Ben Trunk working for Isaac Taylor; however, he was quite a good friend of Oscar Enders who was Taylor's head draftsman, and who also was quite a pen and ink artist. While in St. Louis, Ben Trunk won a bronze medal. I think from the Chicago Architectural Club, for a pen and ink rendering. Later Ben Trunk returned to St. Joseph, and was in fathers [sic] office for many years

until he opened his own office.²⁰

Eckel rarely made his own perspective drawings; whether he disliked the task--or possibly the results--may never be determined. Donald Drew Egbert, author of The Beaux-Arts Tradition in French Architecture, explains that perspective drawings rarely accompanied projects at the École, even for the highest level of competition--the Grand Prix. According to Egbert, perspective drawings were banned from the Grand Prix competitions of 1786 and 1787 and were submitted "in only three competitions in the entire history of the Grand Prix, and even then as supplements to the usual plan, elevation, and section."²¹ Gebhard and Nevins also comment on the limited use of perspectives at the École:

The students of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris were taught through the plan, supplemented in a minor way by elevational studies. Perspective drawings were seldom used. Only when the student had graduated and gone out into the real world of building did he or she begin to

²⁰Correspondence from George R. Eckel, St. Joseph, to John Albury Bryan, St. Louis, 28 July 1952, 2 (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1949-1959). George Eckel mentions John Richmond again at the end of this passage, "John Richmond was a very affable individual and had a bright future, but he died at an early age while working on the St. Louis city hall." John Richmond's renderings of the C. C. Burnes Residence; William Wyeth Residence; Alfred T. Smith Residence; McAlister Residence; and the Beloit State Bank--all prepared for Eckel's firm--are in the possession of Charles and Jan Bumgardner, St. Joseph. Some of these drawings accompanied the 1989 exhibition, "The Spirit of H. H. Richardson on the Midland Prairies," co-sponsored by the History Museum, St. Louis, Missouri. Additional Richmond drawings are found in George Mann's Selection's from an Architect's Portfolio (St. Louis: I. Haas and Co., 1893).

²¹Egbert, 12.

rely on perspective drawings. And then the perspective drawing was almost exclusively a sales device aimed at the client.²²

To Egbert, adherence to plans, elevations, and sections at the École illustrates the institution's "philosophical basis in classical 'idealism,' especially Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic idealism, rather than in 'realism,' 'naturalism,' or 'materialism.'"²³ These mediums are "idealized abstractions" compared to the perspective drawing that depicts architecture more realistically.

While not rooted in École principles, Eckel discovered that perspectives were seductive marketing tools. Regardless of who prepared perspective images at the firm, Eckel's name religiously accompanies the drawings. In isolated instances such as the drawing for the 1895 Union Station, the delineator's name is removed entirely.²⁴ When additional names do surface, Eckel's signature is often followed by "Archt." to distinguish his role. Eckel might have considered perspectives too time consuming for his

²²Gebhard and Nevins, 46.

²³Egbert, 12.

²⁴A drawing of the firm's New Union Station, published in the Journal of Commerce (July 1900, unpaginated), bears Ben Trunk's signature in the lower right corner, with Eckel's signature superimposed in the foreground. The same drawing appears in the article, "Contemporary Architects and Their Works: E. J. Eckel, F.A.I.A.," for the Western Architect 17 (September 1911), and although an entire page is devoted to the illustration, Trunk's name is cropped from the drawing and only Eckel's remains. Note the inverted position of Trunk and Eckel's signature on the rendering for the firm's St. Joseph Public Library, 1900.

schedule and thus delegated the duty to others so he could direct his attention to the firm's business matters.

In 1905, Trunk left Eckel's office to start an independent practice. He worked by himself for one year and then became associated with Rudolph Heim two years later in 1907 to form Trunk and Heim. Their partnership lasted until 1911, when Heim opted to work independently. Trunk took William Gordon, a draftsman who worked with Eckel for four years,²⁵ as a partner in 1912. They remained affiliated for six years until Trunk's architectural career of twenty-nine years was prematurely terminated when he died in 1918 at the age of forty-five.²⁶

Rudolph Heim

Partners Trunk and Heim became acquainted while young

²⁵Eckel's day book, 1889-1907. Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection. According to Eckel's entries, William Gordon worked at his firm in 1901, 1903-1904, and 1907.

²⁶City directory, 1918. Only three works by Trunk's firms have been identified. Patee Hall, a market place built at Tenth and Lafayette Streets in 1906, was one of Trunk's early buildings he designed as an independent architect. Dale Nimz, Associate Planner, Historic Preservation, City of St. Joseph, investigated the history of the building and discovered an article in the St. Joseph News-Press, 14 March 1906, 5, which describes the style of Trunk's building as "a modified type of Mission architecture, so popular in warmer climates" (correspondence to Toni M. Prawl, 29 March 1991). Architectural drawings by Trunk and Heim's firm for the A. R. Furness Residence survive in metal tube file A-9 at Brunner's; and Pictorial St. Joseph, n.d. [ca. 1912], credits Trunk and Gordon for the Donnell Court complex of 1912 (17).

men working with Eckel,²⁷ but there is considerable contrast between their educational backgrounds. Unlike Trunk who spent most his life in St. Joseph, Heim traveled a great deal before settling in the city and working as an architect from 1902 to 1934. Heim and Trunk were contemporaries separated by only one year in age, yet the younger Heim appears to have benefitted from a more diversified architectural training than Trunk.

Heim was born in Hamburg, Germany on 30 January 1874 and was introduced to an architect's career early in his life.²⁸ Heim's father, Adolph, trained as an architect in Bavaria as a youth and later entered the army where he gained experience in a division comparable to the engineering corps in the United States Army. After his military career, Adolph continued his study of architecture at Munich and then settled permanently in Hamburg to follow his profession.

Rudolph Heim was aware of the importance of education and devoted many years to acquiring a broad knowledge. He attended private schools until age nine, when he transferred

²⁷Eckel's day book, 1889-1907, records Heim's involvement with the firm by 1898. He and Trunk would have been about age twenty-four and twenty-five (Albrecht-Kemper collection).

²⁸Much of the following information regarding Heim's biography is from Chris L. Rutt, History of Buchanan County and the City of St. Joseph and Representative Citizens, 1826-1904 (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1904), 477-478.

to the school in Osterburg. His childhood lessons presented the classics and German, French, and English languages. When he was twelve years old, he studied at a school in Arendsee where his curriculum resembled those offered in American high schools.

In 1888, Rudolph contemplated immigrating to America like his relatives. Following the pattern of chain migration, fourteen-year-old Heim bid his parents farewell to join his uncle, F. W. Gensen, secretary of the Pfeiffer Stone Company, in St. Joseph. After his arrival in the city, Heim enrolled in a business course at the Rittner Commercial College. While he was in St. Joseph, he spent four years learning his uncle's trade of stonecutting and frequently supplied the necessary measured drawings. Upon completing his apprenticeship, Heim worked in California for one year as a journeyman.

In 1895, Heim returned to Germany at age twenty-one. The same year, Heim began a new program at the technical school in Holzminden, where he graduated in 1897 with the degree Master of Building. Shortly after his graduation, Heim left his native country for America and returned to St. Joseph where E. J. Eckel employed him in 1897. Heim worked at Eckel's firm until 1901, when he went to Atchison, Kansas to open his own office.²⁹ In June 1901, Heim married Helen

²⁹These dates, supplied by Rutt, 478, are not supported by Eckel's day book. According to Eckel's payroll records, Heim joined the firm in 1898 and left the following year

L. Haefeli of St. Joseph.

Heim soon left Atchison to return to St. Joseph where he entered into partnership with J. H. Felt, establishing Felt and Heim in 1902. In January 1903, Heim opened his own firm and maintained an independent practice for three years. Heim's plans for residences, flats, and business houses were in demand, but only one of his works--a duplex built in 1904 at 622 Bonton Street and included in St. Joseph's architectural Clay Street Survey--has been identified.

Although he is featured in Illustrated St. Joseph of Today, 1903-1904, none of his buildings are named:

"Mr. Heim is one of the prominent architects of this city respected for his skill and exceptional ability and esteemed for his social qualities and rare public spirit. He opened this office in January 1903, and has a large and rapidly increasing list of patrons, who have been familiar with his qualifications for years, and have always found his taste and technical skill to be unsurpassed. Drawings, plans and specifications furnished on application."³⁰

In 1907, Heim and his former co-worker from Eckel's office created Trunk and Heim which they operated until 1911. From 1912 until his retirement in 1934, Heim directed his own firm.³¹

E. Gray Powell

There were other young employees besides Trunk and Heim at Eckel's firm during the architect's independent years. A

(Eckel papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

³⁰Illustrated St. Joseph of Today, 1903-1904, 21.

³¹Rutt, 1904, 477-478.

third draftsmen, E. Gray Powell, worked with Eckel on two counts, from 1906 to 1909, and again 1911 to 1912. Powell's affiliation with Eckel was different than Trunk and Heim's association with the architect. Unlike their jobs with Eckel, Powell's employment at the firm did not mark his first architectural position in the city.

Edmund Gray Powell evidently began his career with his architect father, W. Angelo Powell, near the turn of the century at the firm of Powell and Son. City directories record that the fourth generation of Powell designers joined his father by 1903; the two worked together until 1904. By the following year, young Powell worked independently for a brief period, possibly due to his father's withdrawal from full-time work as an architect. In 1906, he entered E. J. Eckel's employ as a draftsman, perhaps to replace Trunk who left the firm in 1904. Within three years Powell was promoted to chief draftsman.

Powell strayed from Eckel's firm by 1910 and worked with another St. Joseph architect, Rudolph Meier. City directories identify Powell's temporary post with Meier as "architect." Powell renewed his association with Eckel by 1911, but the year 1912 marked his second and permanent break from the firm.

City directories reveal that Powell habitually left one local architect's office for another at the beginning of his career. His shifting employment suggests a pattern of

restless draftsmen, especially the itinerant draftsmen--and their role in interoffice relationships involving members of one firm and those of another. There may never be enough information to identify the quality or kind of relationships between employees at Eckel's firm, but Powell and Eckel must have had motives for working together a second time. By the time Powell returned to Eckel's office, the firm had just reorganized as Eckel and Aldrich. With two new partners, Eckel might not have actually needed Powell's assistance, but perhaps his employment helped the firm maintain a functional hierarchy or balanced ratio of partners to draftsmen.

Powell's involvement with Eckel's firm presents an opportunity to question the fraternity between architects of local firms. Did professionals of the same community share a common bond or were they antagonistic and highly competitive? Through Powell's employment with his father Angelo, and architects Eckel and Meier, he was involved in the evolving network between architects. His mobility enabled him to exchange ideas among the firms for a decade until he became a superintendent of buildings for the City of St. Joseph in 1913. He continued his employment with the city and also served as building inspector until 1915 when he went back to work with Rudolph Meier for a short while. Powell eventually confined his talents to one firm--his own--

and managed his business independently from 1917 to 1928.³²

Eckel's Neo-Classical Revival Architecture

Many buildings designed by Eckel during his solo career are Neo-Classical Revival in character and are reminiscent of his student work at the École. Unlike some picturesque styles popular in America during the late Victorian period, the Neo-Classical style shared many qualities with the architecture Eckel studied in France. Symmetry prevails, generally through centrally-placed porticos and entrances. In the absence of porticos, pediments supported by pilasters or engaged columns dominate the facade. The Roman orders are used more sparingly than Greek orders and arched openings (a noted feature of Beaux-Arts Classical architecture) are replaced by linteled doorways and windows.³³ Cornices and wide frieze bands draw attention to upper stories that often terminate with roof-line balustrades. A selection of facades that Eckel created as an independent architect emphasizes his aptitude for Neo-Classical Revival compositions. The buildings Eckel designed in 1886, 1893-1902, and 1906-1908 provide a glimpse

³²Powell is not listed in city directories after 1929; apparently he disappeared from St. Joseph. If the date of Powell's death were known, as with other architects in the city, more information about his life could be gained from an obituary. For now, the brief biography presented here outlines twenty-five years of his life in St. Joseph.

³³Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969), 108.

of his architectural proficiency as an individual, without a partner's influence or contribution.

While partner issues were removed from Eckel's practice during these years, the client remained a critical component for the architect's success. Eckel's awareness of current fashion and his delivery of the style were important factors to clients launching significant building projects. Fortunately for Eckel, the latest classical style required little transition from the projects of his school days. The Columbian Exhibition of 1893 and other exhibits helped revive classical tastes as Whiffen notes:

it was Charles B. Atwood's Fine Arts Building (reconstructed as the Museum of Science and Industry) that, despite the fact that its design was based on a Prix-de-Rome project of thirty-six years before, foreshadowed the quieter shape of things to come.³⁴

Eckel's active practice into the twentieth century and the popularity of his Neo-Classical Revival buildings demonstrate his enduring talent to fulfill client expectations.

Some of Eckel's first buildings designed in the Neo-Classical Revival style were commercial examples. It is not surprising to note the modesty of an early Neo-Classical Revival building Eckel designed in 1895--the Missouri and Kansas Telephone Co. Building (fig. 14-7).³⁵ Built the

³⁴Ibid., 108-109.

³⁵Building permit 4396 issued for the Missouri-Kansas Telephone Co., 29 November 1895. The architect's specifications are dated 11 September 1895 (Brunner archive

same year as one of the firm's last Richardsonian/Romanesque Revival buildings--the St. Joseph Central High School (figs. 11-22, 11-23)--each documents the rise and fall of architectural tastes in St. Joseph. Eckel's Tootle-Lemon Bank (figs. 14-8, 14-9), built 1899, was an outstanding temple of the Neo-Classical Revival style for nearly ninety years until its premature demolition in 1988.³⁶

The architect's command of classical features also worked well for turn-of-the-century public buildings like the St. Joseph Public Library (figs. 14-10, 14-11) and a second city library, the Carnegie Branch, built the following year in 1901 (fig. 14-12).³⁷ Seven sets of plans were submitted for the St. Joseph Public Library in 1900; Eckel won first place for his design and a prize of \$400. Local architects Felt and Carr placed second, followed by W. Angelo Powell, while Alfred Meier received fourth place.³⁸ In 1906, Eckel was awarded the commission for the library at

collection).

³⁶Building permit 6621 was awarded to Milton Tootle on 14 March 1899. The estimated cost of construction recorded: \$20,000.

³⁷Building permit A-159 was issued for the Carnegie Branch library on 21 April 1902, however the date recorded on the tympanum of the triangular pediment above the door is 1901.

³⁸Purd B. Wright, Municipal Reports and Other Matters for the City of St. Joseph (St. Joseph: n.p., 1900), 110.

William Jewell College, Liberty (fig. 14-13)³⁹

Compared to most of Eckel's architecture during this period, the 1900 Public Library combines a greater number of Beaux-Arts Classical characteristics with Neo-Classical Revival elements. Contrasting colors and materials (beige limestone and red tile), the rusticated first story, arched fenestration, and a loggia at the central entrance are indicative of the Beaux-Arts style. Yet, the elevated pediment with engaged Ionic columns at the second story, a series of linteled windows, and a roof line balustrade reflect the Neo-Classical style. Eckel's design for the St. Joseph library must have been influenced by high classical French prototypes. Noelle Soren offers three well-known examples in the National Register nomination she prepared for the building in 1981: the Château de Blois, Orléans (north) wing by Mansart, 1635-1638 (fig. 14-14); the Palace at Versailles, garden facade, 1678-1688 (fig. 14-15); and the Louvre, eastern facade, 1667-1674 (fig. 14-16). Eckel's library, like many Louis Quatorze facades, features superimposed classical orders and arched openings at the central projecting pavilion. His composition also owes a debt to High Renaissance buildings of Northern Italy; the principal facade of Palladio's rusticated Palazzo Theine at Vicenza (1542- , fig. 14-17) can be detected in Eckel's

³⁹Specifications at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri; "Contemporary Architects."

local version.

The D. L. Bartlett House (fig. 14-18) and the John J. Tootle (fig. 14-19) House, both erected 1900, exemplify Eckel's use of the style for residences. In 1904, the architect adapted the Neo-Classical Revival style through a less formal composition for the Elks clubhouse (figs. 14-20, 14-21). Two years later he selected the style for monumental architecture, as demonstrated by the J. Burnett Collins Mausoleum at Mount Mora Cemetery (fig. 14-22). These nine examples demonstrate the wide acceptance of Eckel's Neo-Classical Revival architecture during this period. The architect's interpretation allowed versatile applications of the style--from work place and home place to final resting place. Like the firm's romanesque-style architecture, Eckel's Neo-Classical Revival buildings found intense popularity in St. Joseph. However with the introduction of new personalities at the architect's atelier, the Neo-Classical Revival style gradually was replaced with more updated movements like period revival designs which endured the remainder of Eckel's career.

CHAPTER 15

ECKEL AND BOSCHEN, 1908-1910

After practicing independently for more than a decade, Eckel welcomed a new partner to St. Joseph. In 1908, twenty-seven-year-old Walter Boschen joined Eckel, age sixty-three, to form Eckel and Boschen, but the partners abandoned the firm after only two years.¹

Walter Boschen

A grandson of a German count and son of a German immigrant, Walter Boschen (1881-1959) was born 30 January 1881 at New Haven, Connecticut (fig. 15-1). He graduated from Bett's Academy at Stamford, Connecticut in 1898 and received his architectural education at the University of Pennsylvania, 1898-1902.² The University of Pennsylvania had offered general courses in architecture since 1874, but the department was not organized until 1890. Nonetheless, the institution was among the first schools of architecture in the United States and, like its predecessors, looked to the École des Beaux-Arts for inspiration.

In his study of architecture programs in the United

¹"Death Takes Architect Walter Boschen at Age 78," St. Joseph News-Press, 16 June 1959, reports ". . . Mr. Boschen moved to St. Joseph to enter into partnership with the late E. J. Eckel," hereafter cited "Death Takes Architect Walter Boschen"; and Wesley I. Shank, "Edmond J. Eckel," in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982), 5.

²Sara M. Baldwin, ed., Who's Who in St. Joseph, 1929, St. Joseph, Missouri: Baldwin Publishers, 1929), 20.

States, Arthur Weatherhead remarks that architects who taught at Penn "had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts, and they patterned the methods of their school, as far as was possible, after those of the École."³ Edgar Seeler, a former student of the École, was the Assistant Professor of design at the university, but resigned about the time Boschen enrolled. In 1898, Seeler was succeeded by another École architect, Frank Edson Perkins;⁴ the French École architect, Paul Cret, did not join the faculty until 1903, one year after Boschen's departure.⁵

Architecture programs at the University of Pennsylvania followed a course similar to Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with École-trained faculty in command. The Beaux-Arts methods were readily adopted and persisted as Weatherhead observes, "The forms of classic architecture were the medium of expression, exclusively in the elementary classes, and generally in the advanced work."⁶ Boschen was further influenced by Beaux-Arts methods through the atelier settings that evolved at the school. Weatherhead continues:

³Weatherhead, 50. Weatherhead supplies most the information in this paragraph pertaining to Penn University; see pages 50-54.

⁴Ibid., 52; and Bannister, 99.

⁵Elizabeth Greenwell Grossman, "Paul Philippe Cret," in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982), 476.

⁶Weatherhead, 53.

An interesting characteristic of the design courses was the spirit of the student body in the Pennsylvania drafting room. Here the students worked together with the utmost freedom. They criticized each other's work and there was an atmosphere of congenial competition which was, probably, excelled only by the Paris ateliers. The presence of able instructors and brilliant advanced students, combined with the importance placed upon design, established and fostered this tradition. It was impossible to enter the drafting room without sensing this spirit, which is so important to a school of architecture.⁷

Boschen's diligent studies at Penn provided an ideal background for an American's admission to the École, perhaps his ultimate objective. One of Paul Cret's biographers, Theo B. White, perceived, "It was the compelling dream of every serious student in architecture at the turn of this century, to work in one of the ateliers of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris."⁸ Boschen attended the École from 1902-1904⁹ where he studied under Émile Bénard, but little is known of his student projects or achievements.¹⁰ Bénard, the winner of the Grand Prix in 1867, may have been the link between Boschen and Eckel. Comrades since their student days at the atelier Paccard, Eckel and Bénard

⁷Ibid., 54.

⁸Theo B. White, ed., Paul Philippe Cret: Architect and Teacher (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1973), 21.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Scrap album of newspaper clippings housed at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri.

preserved their friendship through correspondence.¹¹

After returning to the United States, Boschen was hired by Indianapolis architects Foltz and Parker, to inspect Y.M.C.A. buildings in New York.¹² As an architect, his designs influenced buildings "in and about New York" although they remain unidentified.¹³ He participated in the design of the Y.M.C.A. Building at Indianapolis and the Atlanta Terminal Station before he considered Eckel's invitation to pursue a career at St. Joseph.¹⁴ While Boschen resided in Indianapolis and contemplated the possible partnership, Eckel replied to the young architect's questions through a series of letters. On 30 October 1907, Eckel apprised Boschen of his recent projects and encouraged him to inspect his designs and the city for himself:

In regard to the conditions and standard of my architectural practice can be better shown by what I am doing.

I have now in course of construction at St. Joseph

¹¹Correspondence to Eckel from Bénard in the Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art collection is dated 19 August 1899, 22 November 1899, and 25 December 1899. Two of Bénard's letters begin, "Mon cher Eckel," while one greets Eckel, "Mon bon ami." Bénard's August letter to Eckel is written on "République Française, Beaux-Arts" stationery.

¹²Ibid.

¹³There is a typewritten notice on Boschen's personalized stationery in the scrap album at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri. The stationery documents St. Joseph buildings that are based on Boschen's designs and generalizes that the architect designed certain buildings in New York, but none are named.

¹⁴Scrap album at Brunner and Brunner's.

one auditorium building cost \$225,000[;] one warehouse cost \$50,000[;] a new Hotel building cost \$385,000[;] for this Hotel I am associated with Eames & Young of St. Louis. School houses and school work cost about \$125,000[;] an office building cost about \$75,000[;] besides number of smaller jobs outside of St. Joseph. I have a library building for the William Jewell College at Liberty, Missouri cost \$45,000.

The prospect for next year is encouraging if politics or other nefarious factors do not play havoc with this country.

I do not [have?] much residence work at present, but would if I had assistance. The work outside St. Joseph could be greatly extended if worked up properly.

There are at present five architect firms at St. Joseph.

If you feel further interested and wish to satisfy yourself personally in the prevailing conditions I would be pleased to meet you at any time at St. Joseph, which I think would be better than to meet at St. Louis.

Yours very truly,
E. J. Eckel

P.S. I mail you under separate cover a pamphlet of St. Joseph giving some information.¹⁵

The following month, Eckel again replied to Boschen's letters and requested Boschen to visit St. Joseph soon, so the architects might make their decisions regarding the partnership "before the first of the year." In his brief response, Eckel reassured Boschen, "There will be nothing unusual in the basis upon which I will take a partner and we can settle that part [short?]ly after you make up your mind

¹⁵Correspondence from E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to Walter Boschen, Indianapolis, Indiana, 30 October 1907 (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, volume 1906-1908, 72).

to come here."¹⁶

Although the new year had arrived, the architects did not begin to finalize their arrangements until spring 1908. With Boschen still in Indianapolis, there were details to resolve. Eckel, mindful of his age and his son's career, included retirement provisions in his agreement with Boschen. On 16 March, Eckel presented his views for the evolving firm's future:

Enclosed please find changed agreement which I think embodies all your ideas.

In regard to amounts to be inserted we can insert them after agreeing together before contract agreement is signed, which I would like to have done when you come here.

One thing we talked about and which I would like to be understood distinctly is that if in a couple of years or so I should wish to retire from the concern that my son George could step in and take my place. I have no doubt that you two could get along as well as we two, although I would _____ [?] have nothing to say about the business. I would always be willing to do all I could to help you, advise you and further your interests of both [?] as much as possible without interfering with your decisions whatsoever.

Now the question is when do you intend to come here. I am getting some work in all along, but no big jobs have been decided.

Awaiting your kind answer,
I remain,

very truly yours,
E. J. Eckel¹⁷

In April, an anxious Eckel grew more impatient and

¹⁶Correspondence from E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to Walter Boschen, Indianapolis, 14 November 1907 (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1906-1908 volume, 86).

¹⁷E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to Walter Boschen, Indianapolis, Indiana (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1906-1908 volume, 135).

appealed to Boschen to join him without further delay. The architects had consented to their contract, yet Eckel motivated Boschen to relocate with information regarding potential commissions:

Yours with the approval of agreement duly received. You say you can come any time on 30[?] days notice. Now I expected you to come almost April 5th after your time was out, and I think you should come as soon as possible.

It is not only for you to come when there is plenty of work on hand but I expected you here to help get the work and now is the time as if you wait much longer all work will be given out and we will have nothing to do.

Competition is very keen just now with outsiders and also home architects, everyone is working for their life to get jobs and I am all alone (other firms have 2 and 3 partners) and cannot skirmish around as if I had some help.

A large store building 180 x 140--10 stories and fireproof went to an outsider, there is talk about some others and I am afraid they will go the same way if we dont [sic] put up a strong fight for them. Please let me hear from you.¹⁸

Boschen realized his thirty day notice was contained within Eckel's letter. Finally, in May 1908, Boschen moved to St. Joseph to become the partner of E. J. Eckel.¹⁹ Besides these letters, there are few office records that reveal the architects' relationship or the success of their firm. When Boschen and Eckel are compared, we discover two

¹⁸E. J. Eckel, St. Joseph, to Walter Boschen, Indianapolis, Indiana, 2 April 1908 (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1906-1908 volume, 150).

¹⁹"E. J. Eckel Takes a Partner," St. Joseph News-Press, 5 May 1908. A letter dated 14 November 1908 is the first office correspondence observed to bear Boschen's name (Brunner archive collection, bound correspondence, 1906-1908 volume, 229).

men separated by cultural backgrounds, regional affiliation, and nearly two generations, yet their exposure to similar architectural traditions promoted mutual respect and probably united them as partners.

Ironically, Eckel's retirement was never a partnership issue. Boschen and Eckel's experiences at the École and their acceptance of the atelier structure was not enough to sustain the practice. Within two years after Boschen's arrival to St. Joseph, he accepted an offer with a firm in New York and he and Eckel terminated their partnership on 1 January 1910.²⁰

Unsettled by Boschen's sudden plans, Milton Tootle, the chairman of the First Presbyterian Church Building Committee, met with him to discuss the church commission. Through Tootle's persuasion and his promise of forthcoming projects (the family estate being Boschen's first designated independent commission in St. Joseph), he convinced Boschen to stay in town until the church could be completed. Boschen agreed to establish a temporary office before departing, but the make-shift quarters soon evolved into a permanent base for his practice.²¹

²⁰A newspaper clipping dated 7 January 1910 in the scrap album at Brunner and Brunner's reads, "Notice--The business partnership heretofore existing between E. J. Eckel and Walter Boschen, architects, has been dissolved the first day of January, 1910, by mutual consent. E. J. Eckel, Walter Boschen."

²¹"Death Takes Walter Boschen."

With his decision to remain in the city, Boschen became active in various community organizations²² and on 16 July 1921, married Oma Cynthia Kinder of St. Joseph.²³ The architect's local career spanned forty-five years until he closed his office at 517 1/2 Francis in 1955 or so. It is estimated that Boschen designed approximately thirty residences in St. Joseph as well as numerous commercial and other types of buildings (see Appendix 2: St. Joseph Architects and Associated Works).²⁴ The Colonial Revival architectural style appears to have been a favorite residential pattern for the architect. Several of his buildings provide good examples of the revival styles, including his own residence at 1114 North 25th Street, the first Spanish Revival style house built in the city in 1923.²⁵ Because Boschen came to St. Joseph at Eckel's

²²Boschen's obituary, "Death Takes Walter Boschen at Age 78," St. Joseph News-Press, 16 June 1959, identifies two of Boschen's memberships: the American Institute of Architects and Westminster Presbyterian Church. According to Sara M. Baldwin's book, Who's Who in Saint Joseph, 1929, page 20, Boschen also belonged to the Chamber of Commerce, Elks Club, and the Country Club.

²³Ibid., and Baldwin, 20. Baldwin explains that Kinder was Boschen's second wife. The architect's first marriage was to Mary Elizabeth Wilson, a native of Pennsylvania, on 6 October 1906 in New York.

²⁴The archives at the architectural firm Ellison and Auxier, St. Joseph, Missouri, should be consulted for a more in-depth study of Boschen's work.

²⁵Boschen's obituary, "Death Takes Walter Boschen," states Boschen's residence was the first Spanish Revival house in St. Joseph; the building permit provides the 1923 date. Thanks to Shelley White and her fellow classmates

inducement, Eckel may be credited for attracting a capable and highly-sought architect to the city. Boschen died at a St. Joseph nursing home at the age of seventy-eight on 16 June 1959.

Eckel and Boschen Projects

The firm Eckel and Boschen designed a number of buildings in a brief period, including Eckel's residence at 1320 North 25th Street (fig. 15-2). Eckel's building permit for the house is dated 5 August 1909, however construction probably was not completed until 1910. The Eckel family occupied the house for less than three years.²⁶ Two projects, the Robidoux School and the First Presbyterian Church, may be regarded as examples of the firm's outstanding work.

(Marilyn Maxwell et. al) for information provided through their survey of Westminster Place for the course, "Understanding Historic Preservation," Humanities 299, Missouri Western State College; David Bergstone, Historic Preservation Planner, City of St. Joseph, instructor, 1994.

²⁶According to city directories, Eckel and his family resided at 515 North Fourth Street until 1909. In 1910, Eckel roomed at 223 North Seventh Street, probably while his house at 1320 North 25th Street was under construction. By the printing of the 1913 directory, Eckel resided in his new house at 1324 North 25th Street. See building permits 6004, 5 August 1909, for 1320 North 25th Street and 7333, 7 August 1912, for 1324 North 25th Street. Besides these two neighboring houses, Eckel also designed 1316 North 25th Street for L. D. and Mary Van Vleit in 1909 (building permit 6247, 18 October 1909). According to Shelley White (op. cit.), Eckel's 1909 blue prints for the Van Vleit residence, 1316 North 25th Street, survive and are in the possession of the current property owner.

Robidoux School

Like many buildings Eckel designed during his independent practice, Robidoux School is a product of the Neo-Classical Revival style (fig. 15-3). Built in 1909,²⁷ the architects positioned a pediment supported by columns at the central axis, a characteristic of many facades Eckel designed during this period, such as the St. Joseph Library of 1900. Beaux-Arts features like ribbon rosettes and wreaths can be found at the building but are sparingly incorporated. The utilitarian interior emphasizes a functional plan and ease of circulation with stairs conveniently located near the rooms--important fire exit considerations.

Designed as a public elementary school, used as a vocational school and junior college, and subsequently adapted as apartments, the building is listed on the National Register of Historic Places not only because it is architecturally significant, but also for its association with the development of public education in St. Joseph. The reinforced concrete building was the city's first fireproof school. Its construction was an expensive endeavor, but greatly needed as summarized by the School Board's annual report for 1909:

The old building recently razed was the original High School erected in 1866, to which as emergency

²⁷Building permit 5529, 25 February 1909, City of St. Joseph.

demanded, had been added room after room until it became a rambling, dark, dangerous, unsanitary, poorly ventilated structure. In 1908 an additional quarter block of ground was added to the site upon which the present school building is just being completed. The new building has not a superior in this country so far as architectural beauty, fireproofing, sanitation and modern equipment are concerned, and except in size, will compare favorably with any school. It contains twelve class rooms, a teachers' room, library and office, also an auditorium with seating capacity for 1,100 persons, serving long needed facilities for school entertainments, lectures, and central meeting place for teachers and educational gatherings. This school, since the abandonment of the German English School, will serve as a center for instruction in German. The basement affords ample space for complete equipment for manual training and domestic sciences, there being two large rooms for boys and girls for these purposes. There is also a large playroom for boys and a like room for girls. The pressure steam heating plant with automatic regulation, is the first in this city to be equipped for burning fuel oil. The playgrounds, though necessarily restricted in area, will have all the playground appliances. Cost of building including furniture and equipment \$130,000. Cost of grounds added to site \$12,500.²⁸

The National Register nomination provides a chronology of the school's history and more information about its multiple educational uses.

First Presbyterian Church

The building permit for the First Presbyterian Church at 301 North Seventh Street was issued on 19 July 1909 during the architects' affiliation as Eckel and Boschen (figs. 15-4, 15-5).²⁹ Boschen is credited as the designer

²⁸Annual Report of the Board of Education, Year Ending June 30, 1909 (St. Joseph, Missouri: Nelson Hanna Printing Co., 1909), 121-122.

²⁹Building permit 5967, City of St. Joseph, Community Development, Zoning and Planning Department. The firm's specifications are dated 28 April 1909 (Brunner archive

of the church in his obituary as well as newspaper articles; Eckel's role is less documented. According to undated newspaper clippings contained in scrapbooks at Brunner and Brunner's offices, "The church was designed by Walter Boschen. The decorations, hangings, furniture and lighting fixtures are by Tiffany Studios of New York. . . . Walter Boschen and E. J. Eckel superintended its erection." Almost six months after the building permit was awarded, Boschen and Eckel dissolved their partnership. Although Boschen promised Tootle he would stay in St. Joseph until the church was completed,³⁰ Eckel and his new partner may have been more directly involved in the construction of the building-- a process that required eighteen months. On 24 February 1911, Boschen's successor or Eckel's latest partner, William S. Aldrich explained the situation in his letter to staff of the Brick Builder:

We have just completed the First Presbyterian church in this city, and it being a pretty good brick church, we think it very possible that you would like to publish it in the Brick Builder. I use the term "we" advisedly for it was designed by the firm of Eckel & Boschen and after Mr. Eckel purchased the interest of Mr. Boschen, I became a member of the firm and it was completed by us. Therefore, while I have no interest in the matter I am writing to protect my partner's interests.

We understand that Mr. Boschen is sending around photographs for publication, claiming the church as his, and we would request that if you have already received any photographs from him for publication, that the name of the architects be given as Eckel & Boschen,

collection).

³⁰"Death Takes Walter Boschen."

and not in any other form. Mr. Eckel completed the church and now Mr. Boschen is claiming the entire credit. I do not wish to "do" him out of his just dues, but as the church was designed and the work carried on under the name of "Eckel & Boschen" we only insist that that name shall be used in publishing it.³¹

Whether the building appeared in the Brick Builder is uncertain, however it is illustrated in the Western Architect and Bryan's book, Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture; in both publications the firm Eckel and Boschen is properly cited.

While a credit to the firm, the Georgian Revival church lacks originality. It and thousands more in the United States (beginning with colonial churches) mimic English architect James Gibbs's (1682-1754) St. Martin-in-the-Fields (1721-1726), London (fig. 15-6).³² Gibbs's church, influenced by Christopher Wren and Andrea Palladio, is dominated by a square tower that rises from behind the

³¹William S. Aldrich, St. Joseph, to Arthur D. Rogers, Boston, Massachusetts, 24 February 1911 (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1909-1911).

³²Fletcher, 1044. American builders favored Gibbs's church since colonial times. Eckel and Boschen were joined by contemporary architects who adapted the church for their own designs. St. James's Protestant Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia, was designed by the firm Noland and Baskervill and bears the date 1912 (Kathy Edwards, Esme Howard, and Toni Prawl/Historic American Buildings Survey, Monument Avenue: History and Architecture (Washington, D.C.: HABS/HAER, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), 137. More than a decade later, architects Coolidge and Shattuck copied St. Martins-in-the-Fields for their All Souls Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C. (Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780, 161, 163, 165).

projecting pedimented portico in several stages. Eckel and Boschen's design follows Gibbs's prescribed order of the stepped tower, however instead of terminating with a steep spire, the upper octagon component is capped with a domed roof and finial. Besides its resemblance to the London model, the interior of St. Joseph church suggests High Georgian churches like St. Paul's Chapel (1764-1766), New York, where George Washington worshipped (figs. 15-7, 15-8).³³

³³Alan Burnham, New York Landmarks: A Study and Index of Architectural Notable Structures in Greater New York (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press), 58.

PART FIVE
MATURE YEARS

CHAPTER 16

THE FINAL PARTNERSHIP: FATHER, SON, AND PARTNER, 1910

Boschen's new arrangements left Eckel without a partner, but only momentarily. While most of Eckel's contemporaries retired or contemplated it, Eckel reorganized his practice as his sixty-fifth birthday approached. In 1910, architect William S. Aldrich joined E. J. Eckel and Eckel's son George R. Eckel to establish Eckel's longest and final partnership--Eckel and Aldrich (fig. 16-1). With the continuation of the senior partner's business, the firm prided itself as one of the oldest architectural offices in existence "in which the original founder was actively engaged."¹

Like Eckel's former partner George Mann, Eckel's son George Eckel (1882-1959) and partner Will Aldrich (1865-1947), also studied at MIT. As previously discussed, MIT was the first American school that adopted a French curriculum for the instruction of architecture and placed French professors on its faculty. With their similar educational backgrounds, father, son, and partner probably shared compatible philosophies regarding architectural design.

George R. Eckel

George Robert Eckel (1882-1959), born 30 December

¹"E. J. Eckel, Noted Architect," Gazette, 13 December 1934.

1882,² was educated at St. Joseph public schools³ until he left the city to attend Princeton Preparatory School.⁴ In 1901, he enrolled in Course III: Mining and Metallurgy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. George pursued the course for two and a half years until he changed his studies to Course IV: Architecture, his last semester.⁵ Following the inclination of his father and most his father's partners, George withdrew from the program before he graduated.⁶ The demand for MIT students with engineering or architectural training generally exceeded the supply, and as Weatherhead notes, "there was a constant tendency for the students to leave the school before

²McDonald and King, 563. The origin of his name is uncertain, but George Richard Mann was Eckel's partner in 1882 and may prove to be George R. Eckel's namesake. A German baptism certificate spells his name Georg Robert, son of Edmund Eckel and his spouse Wilhelmine Schroer (Eckel Papers, Albrecht-Kemper collection).

³Ibid.

⁴Correspondence from Elizabeth Andrews, Reference Archivist, Institute Archives and Special Collections, M.I.T., 10 February 1993; and "Heart Attack Fatal to George R. Eckel," St. Joseph News-Press 27 July 1959. Hereafter cited, "Heart Attack."

⁵Letter from MIT reference archivist Elizabeth Andrews, 10 February 1993. "Turning Back the Pages: 40 Years Ago," St. Joseph Gazette, 10 September 1902, reports the year George Eckel left for MIT was 1902, although his student records at the institution reveal it was the previous year.

⁶Elizabeth Andrews, 10 February 1993. Most references of local origin, such as George Eckel's obituary, claim he was a graduate of MIT. One unpaginated source, Tracy's Men Who Make St. Joseph, even supplies the graduation year, "George R. Eckel, '05, is an alumnus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology."

completing the course."⁷ In 1903, George left MIT after his only semester of architecture instruction to return to his father's firm in St. Joseph where he worked until 1907. The younger Eckel resided briefly in St. Louis, from 1907 to 1909, where he assisted the architect Isaac Taylor, and the firm Eames and Young.⁸ Sometime in 1909, George resumed his responsibilities at Eckel & Co. and the following year he became a partner with his father and William S. Aldrich.⁹ At age twenty-eight, George Eckel was less qualified and less experienced than his partners, but he was

⁷Weatherhead, 64-65. There was a shortage of competent American architects through the first decade of the twentieth century. In correspondence from John M. Carrère of Carrère & Hastings, New York, to E. J. Eckel, 22 August 1906, the architect writes, "I have your favor of the 18th inst. in regard to a head draftsman who could take charge of your office during your absence. I regret to say, however, that I do not know at the present time of any such man as you require; in fact they are very hard to find, as men of their experience and capacity are few and far between or in practice for themselves. Many thanks for your congratulations on the new theatre competition. [signed] John M. Carrère" (Portfolio of miscellaneous letters, Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri).

⁸Firm records for the "Condensed Statement" 14 February 1914, group these St. Louis associations together (1907-1909), however in his letter to John Bryan on 28 July 1952, George Eckel is more specific and states, "When I was in St. Louis in Eames and Young['s] office in 1907-8," (Brunner archive collection, 1949-1959 business correspondence). Perhaps George Eckel worked with Eames and Young first and then assisted Taylor from 1908-1909.

⁹At the time Aldrich joined George Eckel and his father, the firm was known as Eckel & Co. ("Aldrich Architect Here," St. Joseph Gazette, 14 April 1910, 4).

family.¹⁰

William S. Aldrich

William Stein Aldrich (1865-1947) came to St. Joseph in 1910 when he became affiliated with architects E. J. Eckel and George Eckel.¹¹ Aldrich, twenty years Eckel's junior, was born in Chicago on 2 November 1865, however the architecture of the Midwest probably influenced him little during his formative years. He was reared in Freeport, Maine by his grandfather, a shipbuilder,¹² and educated at Boston schools.¹³ He attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1884 to 1887, but left MIT at the end of his junior year.¹⁴

¹⁰These dates are provided by business correspondence identified as "Condensed Statement giving the Education and Experience of Members of the Firm Eckel and Aldrich, Architects, St. Joseph, Missouri" and submitted to the State Capitol Commission, State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 14 February 1914 (Brunner archive collection).

¹¹Architect W. S. Aldrich Dies at 82," St. Joseph News-Press, 30 December 1947, 4. Hereafter cited, Architect W. S. Aldrich."

¹²Withey and Withey, 14; and "Architect W. S. Aldrich."

¹³Withey and Withey, 14.

¹⁴Some sources cite 1888 as the year Aldrich graduated from MIT (see "Architect W. S. Aldrich,"; Tracy, Men Who Make St. Joseph, unpaginated; and "Wm. S. Aldrich, Architect Dies," St. Joseph Gazette, 30 December 1947, 1, hereafter cited, "Wm. S. Aldrich"), but college records attest that he attended the Institute from 1884 to 1887 (Bertrand R. T. Collins, Secretary, and Sanford E. Thompson, Assistant Secretary, "Class Notes, 1888" in [MIT] Technology Review, VII, March 1948, hereafter cited "Class Notes,"; and correspondence to the author from Elizabeth Andrews, Reference Archivist, Institute Archives and Special Collections, MIT, Cambridge, 10 February 1993).

Between 1887 and 1895--the six year period following his student experiences at MIT--Aldrich was employed by three eastern firms: Clarence H. Blackall, Boston; Peabody and Stearns, Boston; and McKim, Mead & White, New York.¹⁵ Three of these executive architects--Blackall, Peabody, and McKim--shared an indirect relation with E. J. Eckel: they were students of the École des Beaux-Arts.¹⁶ The design principles that these architects learned through the École and ateliers promoted similar standards and practices among the separate offices. Blackall's move to Peabody's firm

¹⁵Business correspondence identified as "Condensed Statement giving the Education and Experience of Members of the Firm Eckel and Aldrich, Architects, St. Joseph, Missouri" and submitted to the State Capitol Commission, State of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 14 February 1914, outlines that Aldrich worked in these three "Boston Offices" from 1887-1895, but it does not specify when Aldrich left one firm or joined another. Furthermore, one may question McKim, Mead and White's "Boston" designation when the firm was based in New York (Brunner archives, business records, 1913-1917; hereafter cited, "Condensed Statement," 14 February 1914). To confuse matters more, information from "Class Notes" contradicts the "Condensed Statement" cited above. According to details supplied by Collins and Thompson for "Class Notes," Aldrich worked with a firm in Portland, Maine, for two years following his MIT enrollment and "after a summer abroad, he entered the employ of McKim, Mead and White." Based on the "Class Notes" dates and Aldrich's years at MIT, he would not have worked with McKim, Mead and White until 1889.

¹⁶Clarence H. Blackall (1857-1942) attended the University of Illinois and the École; in 1884 he joined Peabody and Stearns (Frederic C. Detwiller, Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 1, 213); lifelong friends McKim and Peabody belonged to the same studio--the atelier of Pierre-Gérôme-Honoré Daumet--while at the École from 1867 to 1870 (Leland Roth, 140; Floyd and Holden, 380, all in Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 3; hereafter cited Floyd and Holden).

strengthened the atelier qualities of their operation, while McKim, Mead and White chaired an organization much like a professional design fraternity. The two eastern offices that employed Aldrich essentially were counterparts. Margaret Henderson Floyd and Wheaton Holden note that Peabody and Stearns "occupied in Boston a position similar to that of McKim, Mead, and White in New York." Each firm attracted Massachusetts Institute of Technology's best students who gradually dispersed from the offices to pursue independent practices "and soon formed a network from coast to coast."¹⁷ In atelier fashion, Peabody "habitually produced the original sketch for each commission, yet allowed his staff full run in developing detail."¹⁸ Roth provides a more detailed account of the design process at work in McKim, Mead and White's office:

When a project came into the office the partner in charge would make initial sketches himself or with one of his principal assistants. Once the preliminary designs were developed, other draftsmen would be drawn in by the assistant, or perhaps by the partner himself, and all of these would constitute the "project team" that would remain with the project while the working drawings were completed and as construction progressed. The hierarchy was not purely pyramidal, and certainly was not strictly stratified, but resembled more the camaraderie of the École ateliers.¹⁹

Thumbnail sketches in Eckel's hand, correspondence to

¹⁷Floyd and Holden, 381.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Roth, The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White, 1870-1920: A Building List, xxxiv.

clients, and office photographs support that Eckel operated his practice similarly, although recorded accounts like the one Roth presents are not known to exist. Aldrich probably realized that employment with Eckel guaranteed an office structure familiar to other École architects in America.

While Aldrich resided in Massachusetts during the early 1890s, the architect's drawings for the Taylor House at Roxbury, Massachusetts; and the proposed Lithgow Library for Augusta, Maine, appeared in the American Architect and Building News.²⁰ When he was engaged with Peabody and Stearns, he participated in the design of the firm's buildings for the 1893 World's Fair, Chicago.²¹ Like George Mann, he contemplated participating in the contest

²⁰"The Taylor House, Roxbury, Mass. Measured and Drawn by Mr. W. S. Aldrich, Boston, Mass.," American Architect and Building News [Imperial Edition] 32 (June 20, 1891), plate 808 (following page 187); "Proposed Building for the Lithgow Library, Augusta, ME, Mr. W. S. Aldrich, Architect, Somerville, Mass.," American Architect and Building News [Imperial Edition] 42 (December 2, 1893), plate 936 (following page 116).

²¹Robert Swain Peabody (1845-1917) and John Goddard Stearns, Jr. (1843-1917) were partners from 1870 to 1917. Peabody, a former student of the École des Beaux-Arts, is credited with the design of the Machinery Building and the Massachusetts State Building for the Columbian Exposition, 1893 (Margaret Henderson Floyd and Wheaton Holden, Macmillian Encyclopedia of Architects, vol. 3 [of 4 vols.], 380-382, ed. by Adolf K. Placzek, [New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982]). The extent of Alrich's assistance with these buildings (or other World's Fair structures) has not been investigated, although Eckel and Aldrich's correspondence to G. W. Duerfeldt, Falls City, Nebraska, dated 16 December 1921, also records Aldrich worked on "Machinery Hall" at the Chicago World's Fair (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1918-1924).

for the Minnesota State Capitol, but quickly dismissed the idea once he examined the competition conditions and low compensation of two and one half percent commission. On 2 July 1894, he addressed the Board of Capitol Commissioners via correspondence from Somerville, Massachusetts:

The terms are such that I do not care to compete nor do I think any architect of reputation or training will do so. The requirements are bad and then to properly prepare the drawings would, if they received the study and care such a building ought to have, cost more than the commission promised.²²

The following year, with competitions still on the architect's mind, Aldrich applied for admission to the new American School of Architecture in Rome. To contend for a position at the academy, students were required to be unmarried male American citizens who were affiliated with approved schools of architecture (graduates or certificate holders who completed at least two years of study), and possess at least one year of experience in an architect's office. Juries selected the fellowship recipients.²³ Charles Follen McKim established the school as a response to young, inexperienced architects he encountered who exhibited a "lack of training in fundamentals."²⁴ The school opened

²²William Towner Morgan, "The Politics of Business in the Career of an American Architect: Cass Gilbert, 1878-1905", (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1972), 81; hereafter cited, Morgan.

²³Fikret K. Yegül, Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding: Architecture at the Academy of Rome, 1894-1940 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 32; hereafter cited, Yegül.

²⁴Moore, 128.

January 1895, but dissolved in 1898 when it was reorganized as the American Academy in Rome,²⁵ thus Aldrich became one of the first students to attend the school when he was awarded MIT's Rotch Traveling Scholarship in Architecture in 1895.²⁶ The fellowship enabled him to study antiquities and visit art galleries in England, France, Italy, and Greece for three and a half years.

From its conception, McKim's school was designed to foster architecture as well as the related arts, namely sculpture and painting.²⁷ The founders' American atelier in Rome emphasized Neo-Classical principles and formal abstract form as demonstrated through "the Classic and Renaissance periods," and stimulated collaboration between artists and architects.²⁸ Other scholarship recipients who attended the academy with Aldrich include sculptor Hermon A.

²⁵Ibid., 321.

²⁶Ibid. Moore indicates that Aldrich arrived at the school by September 1895 (321). Aldrich's obituary in "Class Notes," also provides 1895 as the year he received the scholarship. Yet Moore cites a contradictory memorandum that McKim prepared for Burnham. It records Harold Van Buren Magonigle as the 1895 Rotch Scholarship recipient (164).

²⁷Roth, McKim, Mead & White, 177. Roth explains that McKim's plans for his academy were fueled by "evening discussions concerning the interrelationship between the arts" during planning sessions for the 1893 World's Fair.

²⁸Weatherhead, 86. Weatherhead's dates for the Academy differ from Moore's. According to Weatherhead, the American School of Architecture was organized 12 June 1894 with its organization completed fall 1894 (Weatherhead, 83), whereas Moore documents the school opened January 1895 (Moore, 128).

MacNeil, the first recipient of the Rinehart Scholarship awarded in 1895; and John Russell Pope who won Columbia University's McKim Scholarship the same year.²⁹

In his book, Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding, Fikret K. Yegül, ascertains the purpose of the school was "to train an elite corps of young architects to take on the task of propagating the Renaissance that Charles McKim and his circle wished to bequeath to American architecture."³⁰

More precisely, he explains:

The three years [fellowship] in Rome were intended to develop the students' taste through contact with the study of selected examples of classical art and its close derivatives. In establishing its goals and program, the American Academy deliberately sought to imitate and emulate the centuries-old traditions of the prestigious French Academy in Rome, partly to express true admiration and partly to furnish historical justification for its own existence and activities.³¹

Aldrich's portfolio containing approximately fifty-five pen and ink drawings of Italian Renaissance architecture suggests that at least a portion of his student work from

²⁹Moore, 150-151; 164-5. Moore includes Pope's recollections of the academy: "I graduated from Columbia under Professor Ware in 1894, won the Roman Prize the following winter, and went to Rome as Architectural Fellow in September, 1895.

Austin Lord and Professor Hale were in the Villa dell'Aurora, which was then the Academy. That winter Percy Ash, Will S. Aldrich and myself were the architects, with Hermon A. MacNeil as the Sculptor Fellow. . . . We were a particularly congenial and happy family, tireless, and united in our appreciation of McKim's object in building up the Academy and his reasons for sending us, as he put it, 'beyond the Alps (150).'"

³⁰Yegül, 109.

³¹Ibid., 11.

the American School of Architecture survives.³² By his third year in Rome, the school's first director, Austin W. Lord, "desired to return to the practice of his profession" in the United States, thus an immediate successor was necessary.³³ Few prominent architects were willing to abandon their practices for an extended term on short notice. Professor Ware recommended Robert Peabody or C. Howard Walker for a three year term as director, "but neither could leave his own work for more than a single year."³⁴ With Lord's departure and Aldrich in situ, Aldrich was appointed interim director of the American

³²A portfolio with the label, "Drawings the Property of Will A. Aldrich," is preserved at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri. Aldrich's drawings cover subjects in Siena, Rome, Genoa, Bologna, Verona, Brescia, Padua (Padova), Ravenna, Milan, and Crema, Italy. About 1900, Aldrich presented "a series of some hundred drawings and a multitude of photographs" to the Brickbuilder when he had prospects of publishing a book of Italian brickwork (Brunner archive collection, letter from Aldrich, St. Joseph, to Brickbuilder, Boston, 8 October 1920, business correspondence, 1918-1924).

³³Moore, 155. Lord was understandably anxious to return to his firm. Dennis McFadden, biographer of Austin W. Lord (1860-1922) in Adolf K. Placzek's Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1982), vol. 3, 32, highlights Lord's career: Although he worked for McKim, Mead and White from 1890-94, Lord formed his own firm Lord, Hewlett and Hull in 1894. By accepting the post as director of the American Academy in Rome, Lord was abroad the first two years his firm was in business. Steeped in the atelier tradition, Lord attended MIT in the mid-1880s, traveled to Paris and entered the atelier of Daumet Girault in 1888 and later was the director of the School of Architecture at Columbia University from 1912-15.

³⁴Moore, 155.

Academy of Fine Arts in Rome from 1897-1898.³⁵ According to Moore:

Mr. Lord returned in August, 1896, with best accounts of the performances of the past year. He favored an architect as director, a plan agreeable to both sculptors and painters. Before leaving Rome he arranged to have Will S. Aldrich (the Rotch Scholar of two years previous, "one of our very best and strongest men") take his place temporarily, to have charge of the work of the one new student in Architecture, W. S. Covell, who was going to Rome for eighteen months on the McKim Scholarship at Columbia. The sculptors, MacNeil and Proctor, would assist if necessary; and Pope, who was on his travels, would be helpful.³⁶

After his final year with the Academy, Aldrich renewed his association with Lord in the United States through employment at his firm, Lord, Hewlett and Hull of New York in 1898.³⁷ He moved to Boston in 1899 to head his own firm, Aldrich and Briscoe, where he remained until 1902.³⁸ Aldrich's residency along the eastern seaboard provided numerous opportunities for him to practice the field skills he gained at the Academy. He applied the survey and recordation techniques of European monuments to domestic architecture, thus American colonial architecture became the

³⁵Tracy, unpaginated; "Contemporary Architects," 1911, 82; and Sara M. Baldwin, ed. Who's Who in Saint Joseph, 1929 (St. Joseph, Missouri: Baldwin Corporation Publishers, 1929), 10.

³⁶Moore, 156.

³⁷"St. Joseph Architect Was Student in Rome," St. Joseph News-Press, 30 April 1939, 9A, records Aldrich's return to the United States in 1898; "Class Notes" identifies his employer.

³⁸Ibid; "Condensed Statement," 14 February 1914.

new subject of his work. Inspired by McKim, Mead and White's celebrated 1877 tour of colonial architecture, Aldrich conducted his own study of historical buildings in the eastern region of the country.³⁹

Mutual interests in colonial buildings and Italian Renaissance architecture made Aldrich a favored candidate for employment with McKim, Mead and White; consequently, he secured a post with the firm once again, from 1903 until his departure for St. Joseph in 1910.⁴⁰ Aldrich's first term with the architects is uncertain, but it coincided with the conception of the Boston Public Library, 1887 to 1895. During his second alliance, Aldrich "was occupied in the development of the scheme for the completion of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts in New York; designed three additions to that building, and made a complete set of drawings for the development of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences."⁴¹ Additional sources report that he "had charge of the development of the plans" for the

³⁹"Architect W. S. Aldrich."

⁴⁰"Class Notes." Moore's helpful "Office Roll of McKim, Mead & White," found in the Appendix, does not list Aldrich's previous employment with the firm, only the later term from June 1903 to 2 April 1910 (335).

⁴¹Correspondence from Aldrich to Mr. Warren P. Laird, Advisor, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia on 6 May 1911 (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1911-1912). According to "Class Notes," Aldrich "handled some of their [McKim, Mead and White's] large commissions," including additions to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Bellevue Hospital and the winning entry for the Municipal Office Building, New York City.⁴² Aldrich also "was prominently connected with designing the Pennsylvania Railroad Station."⁴³ No effort has been made to verify these claims with primary records from McKim, Mead and White's office. In fact, there may be little merit in attempting to identify Aldrich's accomplishments or distinguish them from those of other entrusted architects at the firm. William Towner Morgan admits that few conclusions can be formed regarding Cass Gilbert's (1859-1934) role at McKim, Mead and White from 1880 to 1882. Morgan's passage regarding Gilbert may be applied to Aldrich:

Gilbert handled his work well for McKim, Mead, and White, but it must be stressed that it is difficult to assign specific architectural designs to the young draftsman or to credit Gilbert with any single project which could be called his own. Hence, one cannot say much about Gilbert's "style" during this period, nor what influence he may have had on the firm's work, if any.⁴⁴

Although the importance of McKim, Mead and White projects to Aldrich's portfolio should not be underestimated, the architect's mere association with that renowned firm may have advanced his career more than any actual designs he created. Leland Roth theorizes, "Beyond the physical presence of the buildings, the firm exerted a

⁴² "Condensed Statement," 14 February 1914.

⁴³"Aldrich Architect Here," St. Joseph Gazette, 14 April 1910, 4.

⁴⁴Morgan, 30.

strong influence through the great number of architects it trained who then established their own offices across the United States."⁴⁵ Roth elaborates with lists of architect-employees that McKim, Mead and White influenced and even names Aldrich:

The four volumes of the Monograph, by themselves, would have exerted a noticeable influence on a profession already greatly interested in the firm's work, but even greater than this perhaps, was the effect which the founding partners had on the many young architects who passed through the office. . . .

Frank J. Helme worked in the office before forming a partnership with Harvey Wiley Corbett, as did Thomas M. Kellog before joining with John H. Rankin, and Will S. Aldrich before joining with Edmund [sic] J. Eckel.⁴⁶

Aldrich's connections with McKim, Mead and White and other important firms steeped in the atelier tradition; his formal education and extensive travels; and his willingness to leave his eastern environs probably surpassed Eckel's expectations for a new partner. Eckel may have intended to secure another eastern associate to replace Walter Boschen, but may not have anticipated finding one of Aldrich's caliber eager to relocate to the Midwest. Correspondence on 16 February 1910 to George Eckel from J. W. Good reveals one particular quality the St. Joseph architects sought:

On my return to New York this week, remembering our conversation regarding your desire to get in touch with a live young eastern architect with the possible view of forming a partnership, I communicated with a number

⁴⁵Roth, The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White, 1870-1920: A Building List, xvi.

⁴⁶Ibid., xl, xli.

of my personal friends but at the present time have not found a man who would want to go so far West, except that Mr. Fenner, who is now head of McKim, Mead & White, says he knows a very good man who he thinks may be interested. If he is I will have him write you. At any rate I will still remember you if nothing comes of this.⁴⁷

While Fenner's nominee is not identified, Aldrich became Eckel's partner within two months on 9 April 1910.⁴⁸ As co-principal of the St. Joseph firm, Aldrich was involved with a number of projects to about 1940. He was a dedicated architect and member of the American Institute of Architects, but his interests extended beyond his profession to include numerous social memberships and philately.⁴⁹

Aldrich married twice: his first marriage was to Bertha May Dennison in 1891, and in 1919 he married Lucile

⁴⁷Correspondence from J. W. Good, New York, to George Eckel, St. Joseph, 16 February 1910 (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1909-1911 [box 44]).

⁴⁸The firm's business correspondence to Dr. J. E. Cook, Treasurer of William Jewell College, Liberty, dated 9 April 1910, states, "Mr. Aldrich, the gentleman we mentioned in our letter, arrived today. . . (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1909-1911 [box 43]). The newspaper account "Aldrich Architect Here," St. Joseph Gazette, 14 April 1910, 4, confirms Aldrich's arrival by April 14.

⁴⁹According to Elks News, April 1946, 2, Aldrich was honored for his lifetime service to the Elks Club by the initiation class of 1946, known as the "Will Aldrich Class." His obituary, "Architect W. S. Aldrich," listed his memberships with Christ Episcopal Church, Benton Club, St. Joseph Country Club, and Rotary Club, and also mentioned his stamp collecting avocation. A knowledgeable collector, he purchased one of the largest stocks of British Empire postage stamps in the 1920s and was frequently asked to appraise stamp estates.

Servier Gerner.⁵⁰ E. J. Eckel's wife died in 1920, leaving him a widower until his death in 1934.⁵¹ His bachelor son married four years after Aldrich. Two months before his forty-first birthday, George Eckel married his hometown sweetheart, Bibi Elizabeth Lacy, on 6 October 1923.⁵² The couple's fathers, E. J. Eckel and Graham G. Lacy, had worked together as architect and client at the turn of the century during the design and construction of the Tootle-Lemon and Co. National Bank.⁵³ Evidently satisfied with Eckel's services, Graham Lacy and his wife Ellen Tootle Lacy, hired

⁵⁰"Class Notes."

⁵¹"Mrs. M. L. Eckel, 63, Ill Two Days, Dead." St. Joseph Gazette, 22 March 1920, 3. When Eckel's church, the First Reformed Church, was enlarged two years after his wife's death, the architect waived the \$560 fee for his professional service with his words, "On behalf of the Eckel family and in memory of our dear mother and beloved wife the above amount is donated to the welfare of the church" (Eckel's letter to Reverend J. B. Bloom, Pastor of First Reformed Church, St. Joseph, 17 February 1922; 1918-1924 Business correspondence, Brunner archive collection). I am grateful to William Bloom, son of Reverend J. B. Bloom, who shared his recollections of the architect during interviews with me on 26 September 1994 and 5 October 1994.

⁵²"Heart Attack."

⁵³Thomas E. Tootle, a co-founder of Tootle, Lemon & Co., invited his son-in-law, Graham G. Lacy, an attorney, to join the banking business he and co-founders John S. Lemon, James McCord, and Samuel Nave established in 1889. Graham Lacy accepted and after serving as assistant cashier and cashier, became a partner in 1898. St. Joseph building permit 6621 indicates the Tootle, Lemon & Co. bank was built in 1899. Eventually, the name of the bank was changed to Tootle-Lacy National Bank with Graham Lacy as chairman of the board (Sheridan Logan, Old Saint Jo, 284). Besides engaging Eckel for the bank building, the original founders had commissioned the architect to build their independent business houses and families' residences (see appendix).

the architect to remodel their residence and design an addition at 2912 Frederick Boulevard in 1903.⁵⁴

The alliance between the principals Eckel, Eckel, and Aldrich in 1910 fostered future commissions as well as client confidence. Although his firm's business had been sound, E. J. Eckel's advancing age may have caused some clients to retain younger architects. In the tradition of McKim, Mead and White and other great atelier mentors, Eckel trained generations of architects at his firm. Furthermore, at least five architects he employed eventually pursued practices of their own directly in St. Joseph.⁵⁵ The professional development Eckel afforded architects often resulted in greater local competition, but the robust economy and demand for buildings exceeded the limits of his firm. In 1909, Horace Krake proclaimed St. Joseph's commercial significance:

By reason of its geographical location and strategical position in the movement of the large and ever increasing volume of travel and commerce flowing across the Missouri River, St. Joseph is the Central and an important Gateway to and from the Great West. . . . With the growth and prosperity of the West, St. Joseph has likewise grown and prospered, and has attained a commanding position among wholesale, retail,

⁵⁴Building specifications, 16 February 1903 (Brunner archive collection). The house has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places since 1982.

⁵⁵A directory search for the years 1859 to 1939 indicates that Walter Boschen, Rudolph Heim, Rudolph Meier, Edmond Gray Powell, and Ben Trunk, were employed by Eckel before they pursued independent architectural careers in St. Joseph. With further study of St. Joseph's historic architects, more names may be added to the list.

manufacturing, banking, railroad and market centers. St. Joseph has seventy-five wholesale and jobbing houses and eight hundred retail stores. Its manufactured products exceed in value sixty-five million dollars yearly; postoffice receipts are nearly three hundred thousand dollars and custom house receipts one hundred and twenty thousand dollars annually; bank clearings are approximately three hundred million dollars annually. Six trunk lines of railroads enter St. Joseph, with one hundred and twenty scheduled passenger trains daily. Commercial freight received and forwarded from the city in twelve months aggregates two and one-half million tons.⁵⁶

Eckel's proven reputation, combined with his young son's potential and Aldrich's impressive eastern background, created a union of talents like no other architectural establishment in the prominent city.⁵⁷

Eckel and Aldrich Projects

From the firm's origin, Eckel, Aldrich, and the younger Eckel worked jointly on most projects. Even when one principal may have been more involved in a particular design than another, credit for the project went to the firm, as at

⁵⁶Horace G. Krake, St. Joseph Missouri, Central Western Gateway (St. Joseph, Missouri: Business Men's League, 1906), 1.

⁵⁷On 9 August 1910, the publishers of the Architectural Review, Bates and Guild Co., Boston, sent a request to Eckel for "a correct list of all architects in your city" and provided instructions to rate the architects, "first, 1, 2, or 3 according to the size and importance of practice, and second A, B, or C according to the ability as designers. Thus an architect who is a very good designer but who had a small practice would be rated 3A, while one who had a large practice but whose work was not especially strong in point of design would be rated 1C." Aldrich complied with the request on 24 August 1910 with the following response: A-1: Eckel & Aldrich; E-2: Rudolph Meier; C-3: Trunk & Heim; B-4: Walter Boschen; and D-5: Lynch & Cornelius (Brunner archive collection, business correspondence, 1909-1911 [box 43]).

other periods in the history of Eckel's practice. Because all the projects carry the firm's name, it is difficult to determine the individual elements each partner contributed.

During their partnership, the architects executed numerous designs for all types of buildings. The popularity of revival designs in St. Joseph is documented through multiple period houses the firm designed and built, especially during its first two decades of operation. Examples are the James M. Frazer Residence (1911, fig. 16-2) and the Dr. Jacob Geiger Residence (1911), both designed in the Jacobethan Revival style the same year.⁵⁸ The Frazer L. Ford Residence (1915, fig. 16-3) and the Rufus L. McDonald, Jr. Residence (1921) represent the firm's use of the Georgian Revival style.⁵⁹ The firm used revival styles for apartments and churches of the period, like the Georgian

⁵⁸Plans, and the specifications for Frazer's residence dated 11 August 1911 survive at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri. Building permit 6697, dated 25 September 1911, records \$7,000 as the value of the building. Geiger was issued two building permits for his house, one on 5 October 1911 for a \$10,000 residence, and a second one on 8 July 1912 for a house twice the value. The firm's specifications are not dated. The Tobey Furniture Co., Chicago, furnished the doctor's house (correspondence from Lionel Robertson, Tobey Furniture Co., Chicago, to Eckel and Aldrich, 27 March 1918, Brunner archive collection).

⁵⁹Specifications for Ford's house are dated 2 January 1915; building permit 9240 was issued 1 April 1915. The firm's plans for the McDonald residence are dated 20 May 1921; building permit 12827 was issued 15 June 1921 (Brunner archive collection).

Revival Alexandria and Eugene Field Apartments of 1916-1917,⁶⁰ and the Zion Evangelical Church and parsonage of 1924, executed in the Late Gothic Revival style.⁶¹

National Biscuit Company Factory

Because plans for the numerous buildings the firm designed seldom identify the chief architect or draftsman, other primary sources help link the partners with specific projects. Newspaper accounts testify that George Eckel went to Los Angeles, California, in 1924 to coordinate plans for the construction of a new factory for the National Biscuit Company (NABISCO). Three years after his marriage, George and his wife departed for the West Coast where he operated a second Eckel and Aldrich office, but only for a few months.⁶² E. J. Eckel and Aldrich continued to direct the

⁶⁰The Alexandria Building Co. received building permit 11082 for its \$20,000 apartment building on 31 October 1916; Building permit 10512 was issued for the Eugene Field Apartments on 16 April 1917 (City of St. Joseph). Specifications for the latter apartment are dated 10 February 1917 (Brunner archive collection).

⁶¹Building permit 2964 was issued 24 September 1924 for construction of the \$146,000 church; permit 4459 was filed on 29 June 1926 for the \$15,400 parsonage (City of St. Joseph). Specifications for both buildings survive at Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri.

⁶²A newspaper clipping from the firm's scrap album identifies William A. Lacy as President of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and the principal speaker for the ground breaking ceremony for the National Biscuit Co. ("Ground Broken for New Plant, Los Angeles Times, 11 January 1925, Brunner archive collection). It is likely the architect was related to William Lacy through his marriage to Bibi Lacy in 1923.

St. Joseph office, but the elder Eckel eventually traveled to Los Angeles to inspect the firm's new factory.⁶³

The NABISCO commission was one of Eckel's largest and most expensive projects, thus it was a substantial business concern to the firm's members (fig. 16-4). Constructed in 1925 at an estimated cost of nearly \$2,000,000 the bakery was considered "the finest structure of this [its] type on the Pacific Coast."⁶⁴ According to an apparent press release Eckel and Aldrich prepared:

All the complete drawings and specifications for this plant including the general architectural, structural steel, reinforced concrete, plumbing, drainage and water systems, heating and steam system, brine piping, electric wiring, elevator equipment, and automatic sprinkler equipment were made in the St. Joseph office of this firm, the only firm in this city having both structural and mechanical engineers in its architectural organization.⁶⁵

⁶³On the occasion of Eckel's eighty-sixth birthday, H. L. Christie of U. S. Steel Products Co., Los Angeles, sent his best wishes on 18 June 1931 and recalled the architect's impressive abilities: "May the years to come keep you in good health and as steady an eye as you had, when you told Mr. Christianson, foreman for steel erection on the National Biscuit Co.'s bldg. here, that his columns were out of plumb, and he found it to be 3/16" in three tiers of the building" (Portfolio of miscellaneous correspondence, Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph, Missouri).

⁶⁴"St. Joseph's Contribution to the Population of Los Angeles and Suburbs," St. Joseph News Press, 27 February 1926, 3. According to primary materials at Brunner's, the plans (55 sheets of drawings) are dated 15 September 1924; the construction contract was signed 29 December 1924; construction commenced January 1925; and the building was completed within the year.

⁶⁵Undated typewritten manuscript titled, "\$2,000,000 Pacific Coast Plant in Los Angeles for the National Biscuit Company," filed in box 10, Brunner archive collection.

The account continues to state that more than 2,500 tons of structural steel used for the building's frame was shipped from the American Bridge Company at Pencoyd, Pennsylvania, to Los Angeles via the Panama Canal. The steel skeleton is faced with brick, enhanced by granite and terra cotta trim. After George completed his work in California, he closed the temporary branch office and rejoined his colleagues in Missouri.

Missouri State Capitol Competition

The influx of period residential designs along with functional schemes for tall factory buildings did not diminish the firm's use of classicism, as demonstrated by the architects' entry for the Missouri State Capitol in 1912 and later Beaux-Arts buildings in St. Joseph. The nature and scale of the \$3,500,000 capitol project may have afforded the architects their best opportunity to apply École design principles. The requirements for the monumental building exceeded those dictated for the St. Louis City Hall or Pottawattamie County Courthouse, two of Eckel's largest civic structures. The capitol contest approximated an École program and called for coordination of the firm's talents--an event that must have simulated a fully staffed atelier focused on the Grand Prix de Rome competition. For the capitol project, collaboration was essential if the architects hoped to create the firm's best design or one that would surpass entries submitted by the

sixty-eight outside competitors. According to the Report of the State Capitol Commission Board, 1912, the contest involved two steps:

The program provided for an architectural contest in two stages, the first to be open to architects indiscriminately, and to be determined upon the merits of plans submitted by said architects and credentials furnished as to their education, qualifications, plans designed and work executed. From this preliminary contest ten of the best plans and leading architects were to be selected to compete in the final stage, in which perfect anonymity was to be observed.⁶⁶

Despite their labor, Eckel and Aldrich's plans did not secure first prize, but ranked among the top ten the commission selected (fig. 16-5). The other nine architects recommended by the Advisory Jury were: Arnold W. Brunner, New York; Freedlander and Seymour, Jr., New York; Cass Gilbert, New York; Theodore C. Link and Son, St. Louis; Peck, Cook and Welch, New York; Rankin, Kellogg and Crane, Philadelphia; James Gamble Rogers, New York; Tracy and Swartwout, New York; and Trowbridge & Livingston, New York. It is worth noting that at least two of the three jurors were acquainted with Eckel and Aldrich. Juror W. B. Mundie of Chicago, was assisted by H. Van Buren Magonigle, New York, one of Aldrich's fellow Rotch scholarship recipients, while the third juror, John Van Brunt, was one of Eckel's

⁶⁶Quotations from the "Report of the Capitol Commission Board to the Governor and the 47th General Assembly of the State of Missouri for the Year Ending December 31st, 1912," as recorded by the firm and filed in box 10, Brunner archive collection.

previous partners.⁶⁷ In 1915, the Western Contractor emphasized the regional significance of the firm's achievement when it reported that the architects' design was "one of the two western [emphasis added] plans included among the first ten by the commission, and when the elimination of the ten took place were among the three given highest place."⁶⁸ The New York based firm Tracy and Swartwout was awarded the project.⁶⁹

St. Joseph News-Press Building

While the capitol competition demanded the architects' attention, concurrent projects indicate they did not neglect local clients. When compared to the capitol, the carefully articulated St. Joseph News-Press Building of 1912 reveals the firm's command of the Beaux-Arts style for less ambitious architecture. The artful brick composition and formal terraced garden conceal the inner workings of a modern printing office (fig. 16-6). Plans of the building

⁶⁷Correspondence from J. Kelly Pool, Secretary, State of Missouri, State Capitol Commission Board, Jefferson City, to Eckel and Aldrich, St. Joseph, 13 July 1912 informed the architects they were chosen as one of the ten final firms (box 10, Brunner archive collection).

⁶⁸Western Contractor, 30 June 30 1915, 9. Some references, like "Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel" (St. Joseph Gazette, 17 May 1931, 1), claim Eckel and Aldrich's capitol designs were "one of the last two considered" for the proposed \$3,500,000 state building.

⁶⁹The architects Tracy and Swartwout, New York, wrote to Eckel and Aldrich on 30 December 1913 to inquire "as to the use of Carthage stone for exterior work" for the Missouri State Capitol (box 10, Brunner archive collection).

featured in the Architectural Record, June 1915, focus on the spatial arrangement (fig. 16-7), while a pair of photographs provide only a glimpse of the aesthetic textures and finishes the architects selected. The central pavilion, with its low pitched roof, is covered in green pantiles; the News-Press monogram is stenciled on the wide soffit of the cornice, supported by scrolled brackets.⁷⁰

Following the St. Joseph News-Press headquarters, most Academic classicism architecture by Eckel and Aldrich suggests the restrained character of the style's mature phase. These buildings are less exuberant than the designs Eckel produced before and near the turn of the century. There is less emphasis on heavy, rusticated basements and they lack sculptural qualities formerly achieved by statuary, decorative swags, shields, and garlands; however, these buildings still adhere to axial formality. As the styles progressed, the range of Italian models increased and the firm soon experimented with/Second Renaissance Revival facades. One of the firm's most notable local projects inspired by Academic classicism and representative of the partner's formal training is St. Joseph City Hall, erected

⁷⁰"The News-Press Building, St. Joseph, Missouri, Eckel and Aldrich, Architects," Architectural Record (June 1915), 560-562; "New Home of the News-Press, Upon Which Work Was Commenced Today," St. Joseph News-Press, 20 May 1912, 1, 2; "New Home of the St. Joseph News-Press" St. Joseph News-Press, 15 May 1913. Building permit 7070 was issued 21 May 1912. Additions were constructed in 1930, 1961, and 1962 (building permits 6767, 22015, and 22288, City of St. Joseph).

1924-1927.

St. Joseph City Hall

Perhaps the most significant local commission the firm Eckel and Aldrich secured during E. J. Eckel's lifetime was St. Joseph City Hall (fig. 16-8). Although it was completed in 1927, just seven years before the architect's death in 1934, it closely resembles one of Eckel's studies prepared during the 1860s (fig. 16-9). Closer examination suggests there were greater influences.

In addition to Eckel's student drawing, the likeness of the St. Joseph structure may be compared to the Boston Public Library, designed by McKim, Mead, and White in 1887 and completed by 1895 (fig. 16-10). McKim, one of the principal designers of the library, and Eckel attended the École simultaneously for about six months. Their enrollment at the institution overlapped from the spring of 1868 when McKim was admitted, to October 1868, the date of Eckel's departure.⁷¹ It is unlikely that Eckel and McKim submitted competitions based on the same program within those months and even less probable that one particular concours would inspire two independent projects in later years. Yet, concours represented only one component of a design student's life in Paris.

Eckel, McKim, and other École students repeatedly

⁷¹Chafee, correspondence, 1987, 3. According to Chafee, McKim left the École after two years and never received credit for any of his concours.

encountered noteworthy buildings in their immediate built environment. Eckel may have admired McKim, Mead, and White's civic building before actually designing his own, but two familiar Parisian prototypes probably affected both principals' plans. The first icon, the headquarters of the École des Beaux-Arts, was designed by Félix Duban (1797-1870) and constructed 1834 to 1840 (fig. 16-11). The second model, Henri Labrouste's Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève of 1838-50, appears to have been more influential than the previous building, particularly for Eckel (fig. 16-12). Moore's biography of McKim undermines Labrouste's building and its effect on the Boston building:

While working over one scheme after another for the facade, one evening McKim started out for dinner with his assistant in the work, William T. Partridge. As they were leaving the house, McKim turned on the lights which illuminated a large colored picture of the Colosseum in Rome, hanging in the hall, a favorite picture of his wife's. As the two walked down the street, McKim stopped suddenly, saying, "I have it. The Bates Hall windows shall have the same simple, direct character as the arches in the Colosseum. Let us see how it will work out." And so, quite oblivious of hunger, the two returned and worked over the new scheme till two o'clock in the morning, when the main outlines had been established and nature asserted itself. They went to bed hungry but satisfied. Superficial critics have dismissed the Boston Library as a copy of the Library of Saint Genevieve in Paris. There are resemblances; and also radical differences. The main difference is the marked superiority of the Boston Library. McKim himself never hesitated to call attention to the sources of the inspiration for this or that detail of his work; but from the four winds came the breath he breathed upon the dry bones of archaeology that they might live and stand up upon their feet.⁷²

⁷²Moore, 66.

Eckel and Aldrich do not mention the Colosseum or buildings designed by Duban, Labrouste, or McKim, Mead, and White, when defining St. Joseph City Hall. Rather than consider buildings of the nineteenth century as patterns, the architects went directly to the source and found inspiration namely in three buildings of the Italian Renaissance. Yet, due to their formal training at the École and MIT, the architects naturally developed the floor plan before proceeding with the facades (fig. 16-13). City Hall is best approached through the architects' own words:

In creating a design for a building such as the St. Joseph City Hall the first thing to be considered is the plan--the arrangement of interior spaces. To do this it is necessary to learn the needs of every city department, their methods of working and those having the closest business connection for the grouping and inter-relations of the departments must be considered as well as their individual requirements to the end that every department may function most efficiently and with a proper regard for future growth.

The plan having been worked out in it's essentials the design of the exterior--the elevation is then undertaken.

In selecting the style in which to design the City Hall the Architects have endeavored to avoid passing "modes" and to present a building that will be considered worthy now and in time to come; the style selected being that of the Italian Renaissance with special reference to it's earlier and simpler phases; the time when such great architects as Bramanti, Sangallo and Baldassarre Peruzzi lived and produced the masterpieces of Rome, Florence, and Sienna, buildings which have been studied by architects for over four hundred years and are today still the standards by which critics measure.

After the plan had been perfected locating the main features of the building and the style selected designing the elevation commenced. The proportions of masses, of voids and solids carefully studied and the ornamentation designed to enhance the scale and accentuate the principal features. In the present case the detail of the exterior was studied from the Palazzo

Giraud (Rome-1506) and Palazzo Cancellaria (Rome 1508) both designed by Bramante Lazzari and the entrance lobby from the entrance of the Palazzo Farnese built in 1547 by Michel' Angelo Buonarroto for Pope Paul III a member of the Farnese family of Florence.⁷³

Thus, the Boston Public Library and the St. Joseph City Hall are linked by Italian Renaissance prototypes, but another connection is created through the architects. Aldrich was with McKim, Mead and White when the firm planned the Boston Public Library, and likewise, he worked with Eckel during the design of the St. Joseph landmark. Records from the office of Brunner and Brunner support that Aldrich developed the plans for City Hall and may have dominated its design. Aldrich's direction of correspondence regarding City Hall and his close supervision of the project indicate the building is largely representative of his talent and not a point of departure from Eckel's student work.⁷⁴

One of the first sources that refers to Aldrich's leadership is a letter to the firm from the Board of Public

⁷³Undated typewritten manuscript, titled, "New City Hall, St. Joseph," (City Hall building correspondence, box 27, Brunner archive collection).

⁷⁴Noelle Soren and Nancy Sandehn question the contributions of architects who worked with Eckel, including Aldrich. Their comment regarding the similarity between the foyers of St. Joseph City Hall and McKim, Mead, and White's American Academy of Rome is included in the National Register nomination for the German-American Bank (see item 8, continuation page 2). According to Yegül, the Academy did not move to its new building until October 1914 (13), more than a decade following Aldrich's departure. Yet, as Soren and Sandehn mention, the architect could have adopted these details for city hall since he probably visited the academy as a returning visitor on different occasions.

Works, St. Joseph, that communicates, "On November 7, Mr. Aldrich representing your firm, met with the Board and other City officials and explained the floor plan that he had worked out for the new City Hall."⁷⁵ Subsequent letters from Aldrich to the terra cotta building supplier make frequent use of the first person with statements such as, "In my conversation with your modeler I showed him a bit of Renaissance modeling and told him that was the general feeling I wanted"⁷⁶ and, "he [the modeler] does not seem to grasp my idea."⁷⁷ Besides these contributions, Aldrich must be credited for gaining the eastern firm's consent to serve as advisory architects for the project. Primary materials at the succeeding firm indicate that McKim, Mead & White was directly involved in the planning of St. Joseph City Hall.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Correspondence from the City of St. Joseph to the architects, dated 13 November 1924 (City Hall Building correspondence, box 27, Brunner archive collection).

⁷⁶William S. Aldrich to Winkle Terra Cotta Company, St. Louis, 17 April 1926 (Business correspondence, box 27, Brunner archive collection).

⁷⁷William S. Aldrich to Winkle Terra Cotta Company, St. Louis, 12 April 1926 (Business correspondence, box 27, Brunner archive collection).

⁷⁸A copy of the contract between the City of St. Joseph and Eckel & Aldrich, dated 6 September 1924, survives at Brunner's. In it both parties acknowledge, "all plans and specifications shall be submitted to McKim, Mead & White, Architects of New York City, as advisory Architects for their full approval and concurrence in said plan as may be submitted, amended, and changed by them, it being understood and agreed that the Architect shall secure the opinion of McKim, Mead & White, as to the proper and suitable building

The firm members exchanged letters from St. Joseph and Los Angeles during the construction of the NABISCO factory and the preparation of the preliminary drawings for City Hall. E. J. Eckel's absence from St. Joseph is confirmed by correspondence sent to him in Los Angeles from January 1925 to April 1925. While Eckel supervised contractors at work in L.A., Aldrich consulted architects at his old firm, McKim, Mead, and White. George Eckel informed his father of the project's progress:

Aldrich returned from New York Saturday morning and everything was satisfactory as far as the City Hall is concerned. Mr. Kendall only suggested a few changes in the detail, particularly in the scale of the main cornice and the string course at the first floor level, etc. As soon as Aldrich restudies the elevations with these changes we can go ahead and start on our finished drawings. Mr. Kendall made no suggestions as far as arrangement of the plan, etc. is concerned. I am trying to get hold of some draftsmen so we can get these drawings finished as soon as possible.⁷⁹

On 10 February 1925, the Board of Public Works approved the architects completed preliminary studies and estimates.⁸⁰ In March, George made some borings for

to conform (considering its use) to the anticipated landscape and surroundings of such new City Hall" (Brunner archive collection).

⁷⁹Correspondence from George Eckel, 26 January 1925, to E. J. Eckel, Los Angeles (Business correspondence, 1924-1918, Brunner archive collection). The "Mr. Kendall" mentioned in George Eckel's letter is William Mitchell Kendall of McKim, Mead and White. Kendall's name and signature appears in several letters between the two firms during the design of St. Joseph City Hall.

⁸⁰The architects' estimates for the \$575,000 civic building included the figure for their 6% commission, \$32,520 (City Hall Building Correspondence, box 27, Brunner

testing the City Hall site and sent a blue print of the foundations to E. J. Eckel for his comments.⁸¹ By 2 April 1925, Aldrich and draftsman Otto Brunner had completed all the three-fourths inch scale drawings for the civic building's exterior and interior.⁸² Once initiated, the project's construction progressed smoothly and led to the development of a civic improvement plan orchestrated by the French city planner and landscape architect Jacques Greber.⁸³ With the exception of the Pony Express equestrian monument, the park, and war memorials, most of the city beautiful scheme remains undeveloped.⁸⁴

The Last Years

E. J. Eckel remained active in his profession another twenty-four years after founding Eckel and Aldrich in 1910.

archive collection).

⁸¹Correspondence from George Eckel, 18 March 1925, to E. J. Eckel, Los Angeles (Business correspondence, 1924-1918, Brunner archive collection).

⁸²Correspondence from George Eckel, 2 April 1925, to E. J. Eckel, Los Angeles (Business correspondence, 1924-1918, Brunner archive collection).

⁸³Lebovich, America's City Halls, 142 and "Pony Express Memorial Revives Interest in Greber Civic Center Plan," St. Joseph News-Press, 30 October 1938. According to the newspaper article, Greber's drawing for the Civic Center is dated Paris, October 10, 1927.

⁸⁴In conjunction with the firm's work for City Hall and the City Hall plaza, Eckel and Aldrich were selected architects for the Pony Express Memorial monument on Frederick Avenue. The project presented a rare occasion for Aldrich to invite his friend from the American Academy in Rome, Hermon A. MacNeil, to sculpt the equestrian statue for the city in 1939 ("Wm. S. Aldrich").

In 1915, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, the Western Contractor complimented his dedication, "he is at work as usual in his office in the Corby-Forsee building, where he spends most of his time during the day, designing and planning buildings."⁸⁵ Three years later, the architect had no immediate plans to retire and made that clear in his correspondence to the Executive Secretary of the American Institute of Architects:

In kindly acknowledging the receipt of my letter of December 29th, 1917, you state "making application for retirement." Such is not my intention, as I intend to remain in active practice and wish only to be exempted from the payment of dues according to the second paragraph of Article 4, Section 1 of the By-Laws of the A.I.A.⁸⁶

By his eighty-fifth birthday in 1931, Eckel still could be "found at his desk daily," in his role as the "executive head of Eckel and Aldrich."⁸⁷

His death in 1934 marked the end of an illustrious career spanning sixty-five years in St. Joseph. E. J. Eckel maintained his professional affiliations throughout his life. He was a member of the Western Association of Architects from 1885 until 1889, when the society combined with the American Institute of Architects and Eckel was made

⁸⁵"Architect Edmond Jacques Eckel 70 Years Old," Western Contractor, May 30, 1915, 9.

⁸⁶Correspondence from E. J. Eckel to Mr. E. C. Kemper, Executive Secretary, A.I.A., The Octagon, Washington, D.C., 9 January 1918 (1917-1918 business correspondence, Brunner archive collection).

⁸⁷"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel," 1.

a Fellow.⁸⁸ He also was involved in various social and community organizations. He was a member of all masonic bodies and treasurer of the Scottish Rite; member of the Benton Club, Chamber of Commerce, Odd Fellows, Elks, and St. Joseph Country Club. He was reared in the Lutheran faith, and worshipped at the First Reformed Church in St. Joseph.⁸⁹

Eckel passed away, but the firm Eckel and Aldrich lived on until the careers of each respective partner ceased. After thirty years with his firm, Aldrich's poor health confined the architect to his home in 1940.⁹⁰ Seven years later, Aldrich died at age eighty-two. He resided in St. Joseph thirty-seven years. After Aldrich's death in 1947, the firm continued as Eckel and Aldrich, even though Aldrich and the senior Eckel no longer presided. George R. Eckel operated the firm with assistance from long-time employee, Otto Brunner (1896-1974), who had joined the firm in 1914.⁹¹

⁸⁸"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

⁸⁹"E. J. Eckel, Noted Architect," and Tracy, unpaginated.

⁹⁰Elk News.

⁹¹Not only did William A. Brunner allow me to explore the numerous primary materials stored at his office, but he also took time to answer my tiring questions, including those regarding his father's life. Conversations with Mr. Brunner on 2 June and 12 June 1989 provided information about his dad's career with Eckel and Aldrich, while two obituaries, "Rites Tomorrow for Otto Brunner, Well Known Architect," (St. Joseph News-Press, 8 July 1974, 5A) and

George Eckel died at age seventy-six in 1959 arresting the Eckel and Aldrich firm, but not its legacy. Otto Brunner--who had been an integral member of Eckel and Aldrich for forty-five years--secured the firm and proceeded to preserve its heritage. By the following year, William A. Brunner, a graduate of the University of Kansas joined his father. On 10 December 1960, father and son teamed to form Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc.--Eckel's succeeding firm. The senior Brunner retired in 1971, yet under Bill Brunner's direction, the office is recognized as

"Otto Brunner Dies," (St. Joseph Gazette, 8 July 1974, 2A) help supplement the following brief biographical sketch:

Otto Brunner was raised in Portsmouth, Ohio where he graduated from the local high school. When he was a boy, Brunner knew he wanted to become an architect, yet he was uncertain how he would fulfill his goal. As timing would have it, one of Brunner's aunts had recently moved to St. Joseph, Missouri. She told her family in Ohio about the healthy economic climate of her new home and her young nephew concluded he would test the city for himself.

At eighteen, Brunner arrived in St. Joseph in 1914 and immediately began an architectural apprenticeship with the firm of Eckel and Aldrich. He made the city his permanent home and married Wilma Hawley in 1929. Through his experiences with Eckel and Aldrich, he gained adequate preparation to become a registered architect with the state of Missouri in 1942. (The Missouri state records at the Office of Professional Registration, Jefferson City, Missouri reveal that Otto Brunner filed for registration as a professional architect in 1942; his registration number is 31.)

Brunner was a lifetime member of the firm. He made it his sole career, with the exception of a brief absence during World War II when there was little demand for the services of American architects, especially in their local communities. Due to a decline in building activities throughout the country and the nation's focus on construction materials for defense efforts, Brunner worked at an industrial heating and plumbing supplies business during this two-year period or so, but soon returned to Eckel and Aldrich.

"the seventh longest continuously operating firm in the United States"⁹² and advances into the twenty-first century.

⁹²Dennis Domer, "St. Joseph: A Tale of Three Cities," a speech presented to the St. Joseph Historical Society, 10 August 1986.

CHAPTER 17

CONCLUSION

As one of the most significant architects in Missouri, E. J. Eckel had a profound influence on the built environment of St. Joseph and other architects who practiced there. Twenty years short of the close of his career, Eckel was described as "one of the oldest and most successful and respected practitioners of architecture in the central western states."¹ In Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture, the Bryan proclaims that Eckel was "the outstanding man in the history of the profession in the western section of the State."² Eckel resided in St. Joseph, actively involved in architectural projects of various firms, for sixty-five years. While the impact of his career is one of great local significance, Eckel's ideals are manifest in his buildings which extend "from Illinois to Texas, down both the Mississippi and Missouri river valleys."³

More than any architect, E. J. Eckel was responsible for creating the image of St. Joseph's built environment. The built environment Eckel envisioned was one which reflected the economic and cultural atmosphere of a city alive with prosperity. Eckel arrived in St. Joseph when

¹"Contemporary Architects," 79.

²Bryan, 50.

³"Contemporary Architects," 80.

capitalists were establishing burgeoning enterprises that required business houses and other buildings to serve them. St. Joseph was a rapidly growing community with great civic needs. Schools, libraries, churches, government buildings, and residences had to be conceived. Eckel's success, much like his professional colleagues' rise in St. Joseph, was partly due to his presence in the city at the right time. But, there were many reasons for his accomplishments. The 1911 issue of The Western Architect containing approximately twenty-eight full pages that represent Eckel and his work, commends the architect for his contributions throughout the Midwest:

Versatile, as well as thorough, idealistic, as well as practical, his work covers the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, and is a monument to the untiring fidelity of a man who sought to interpret and to formulate for a great section of a great country, a desire that it could not itself express, and which could not have been worked out and achieved by men of less untiring zeal, less true artistic and architectural sense, and less practicability.⁴

While the conditions in St. Joseph were advantageous for an aspiring youth, Eckel's formal training at the most influential architectural school of the day, the École des Beaux-Arts, had the greatest impact on his career. Even as a student his work was worthy of praise, for it ranked higher than many of his contemporaries when it was judged according to the same standards by jurors with similar views. His thoroughness as a student architect at the École

⁴"Contemporary Architects," 80.

taught him that planning made a crucial difference in the outcome of any project. He developed a reputation for erecting solid edifices as well as aesthetic ones and believed foundations were "of prime importance, not only in buildings, but in health, and, in fact, everything."⁵ He adopted his father's words as his personal motto, "Le secret du success est dans l'energie et la persévérance de la volante," or, "The secret of success is in the energy and perseverance of the will," which he proved throughout his distinguished career.

The city's prosperous economic climate and its need for architecture were factors Eckel observed and seized. With such factors combined with Eckel's professional competency and his long residency in St. Joseph, the city could not escape this architect's impact. As a reporter succinctly remarked, Eckel "had more to do with the changing of St. Joseph's skyline than any other living person."⁶ From his arrival in the city to the end of his career, Eckel influenced the way citizens of St. Joseph viewed their architecture. In Men Who Make St. Joseph "The City Worthwhile," Tracy offers a profile describing Eckel's intentions for clients in St. Joseph:

Mr. Eckel is the oldest, most successful and respected practioner of architecture in the Central Western States. To create artistic ideals for a people of a

⁵"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

⁶"Buildings Designed by E. J. Eckel."

wide territory where the crudest ideals formerly existed, has been his good fortune and pleasure. Mr. Eckel's early clients were those sturdy pioneer merchants who were laying the foundations for immense wholesale business in the West, while at the same time they were preparing the foundations for the magnificent buildings that now house their stocks. While meeting the limitations placed on him by his early clients Mr. Eckel never lost sight of the fact that it was only a question of time until the west would and could afford the best in architecture.

Eckel was an anomaly. In contrast to French students of the École who came to the United States, Eckel did not immigrate to teach at an American architectural school nor did he join other French architects who were part of established professional communities on the East Coast.⁷ By going West, and by staying in St. Joseph, Eckel was able to find success on his own terms. No other contemporary École-trained Frenchmen who parallels Eckel's career in an enterprising frontier town like St. Joseph, Missouri, surfaced during the course of this study.

Through his career, this dean of American architects attracted colleagues to the city, including those who had been associated with the famous architects H. H. Richardson, Charles McKim, William Mead, and Stanford White. Eckel offered his version of the French atelier system while, "some of the most prominent architects in the West mastered the profession under his tutelage."⁸ Eckel commands a

⁷Chafee suggested these curious points in his correspondence to Toni M. Prawl, 2 March 1988, 5.

⁸"E. J. Eckel is Dead."

place in the history of American architecture; this study of the École trained architect should help bring him the distinction he deserves.

ILLUSTRATIONS



MR. EDMOND JACQUES ECKEL, F. A. I. A.

Fig. 1-1. E. J. Eckel, 1845-1934. ("Contemporary Architects and Their Works," Western Architect 17 [September 1911], 79.)

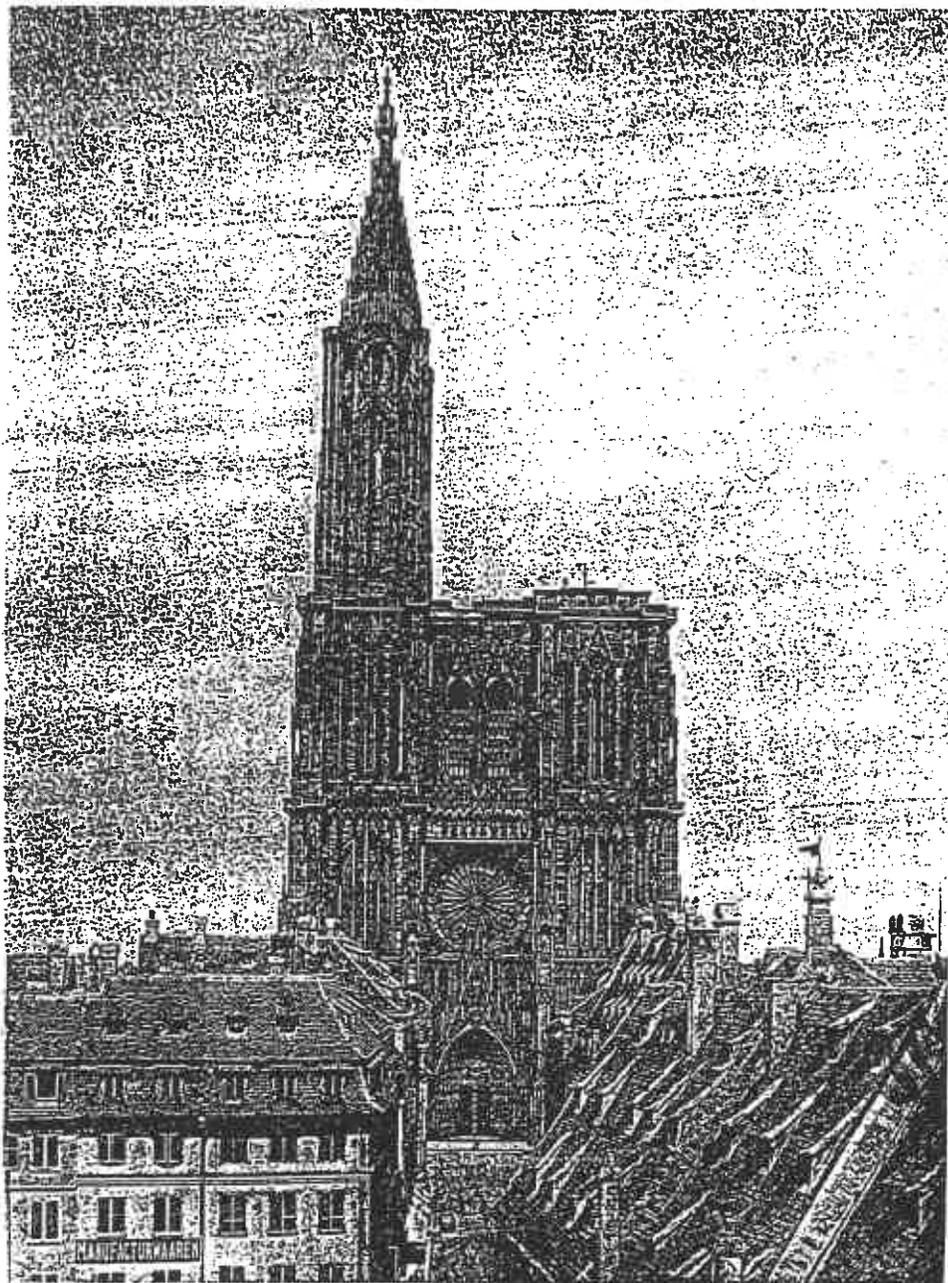


Fig. 2-1. Strasbourg Cathedral. (Anselme Laugel, Trois Étapes de la Vie de Strasbourg, III: Aujourd'hui [Paris: Octave Beauchamp, 1913], 83.)

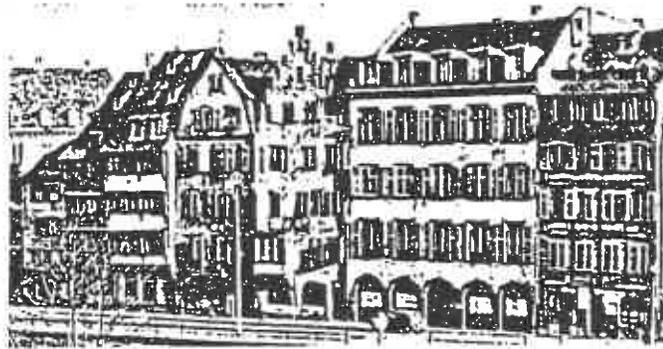


Fig. 2-2. Examples of "Rhineland Renaissance" buildings in Strasbourg. (Franklin Ford, Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958], 28.)

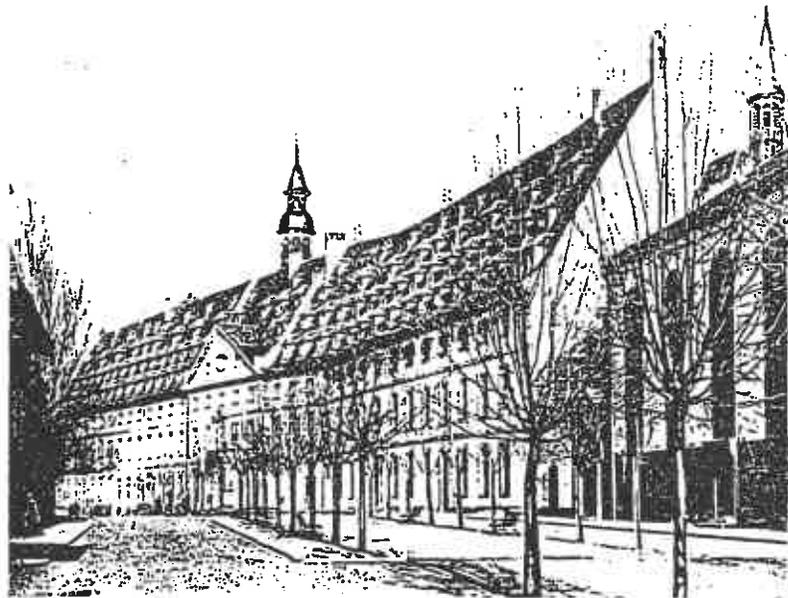


Fig. 2-3. Hôpital Civil, Strasbourg, designed by François Rudolphe Mollinger, 1718-1724. (Jean-Deaneil Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture in the Eighteenth Century," Apollo [August 1971], 132.)

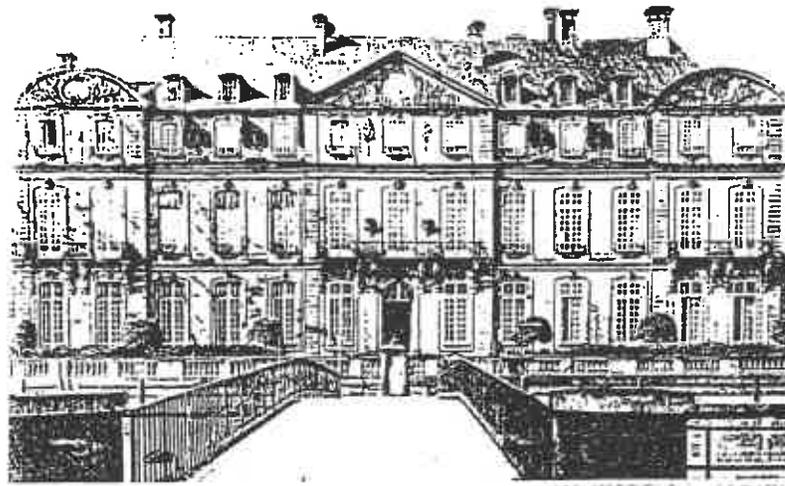


Fig. 2-4. Hôtel de Klinglin, Strasbourg, (Prefecture) Jean-Pierre Pflug, 1731-1736. (Jean-Deaneil Ludmann, "Strasbourg Architecture in the Eighteenth Century," Adollo [August 1971], 137.)

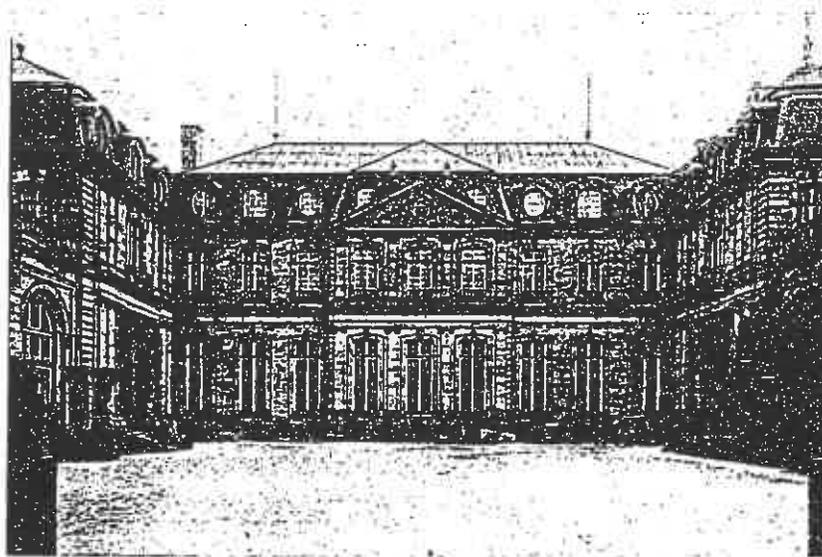


Fig. 2-5. Palais des Rohan, Strasbourg, planned 1727-28, erected 1731-35, and completed 1742. (Georges Delahache, Les Villes d'Art Celebres Strasbourg [Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1923], 86.)

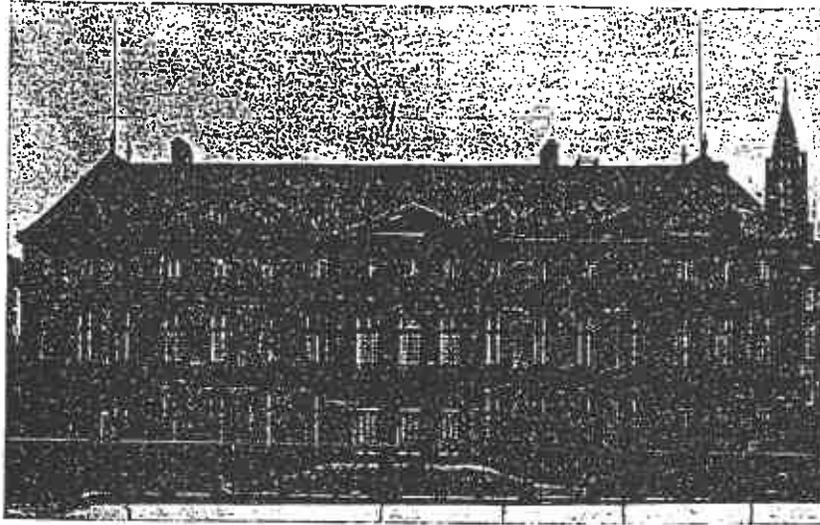


Fig. 2-6. Joseph Massol's Hôtel de Hanau-Lichtenberg, or Hôtel de Ville, Strasbourg, 1731-1738. (Georges Delahache, Les Villes d'Art Celebres Strasbourg [Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1923], 99.)

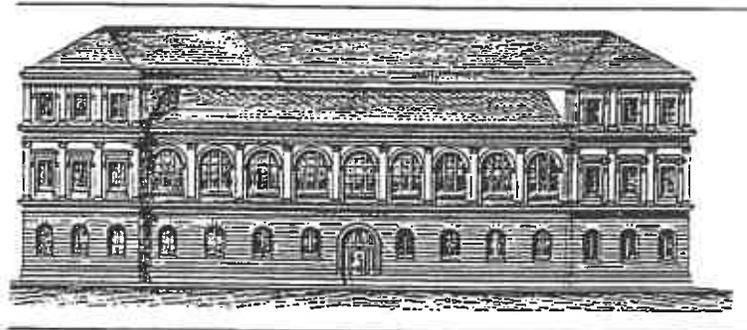


Fig. 2-7. L'École de Medecine, Strasbourg, 1866. (Jean-Pierre Klein, et. al., Strasbourg: Panorama Monumental et Architectural des Origines à 1914 [Strasbourg?: Contades, 1984], 315.)

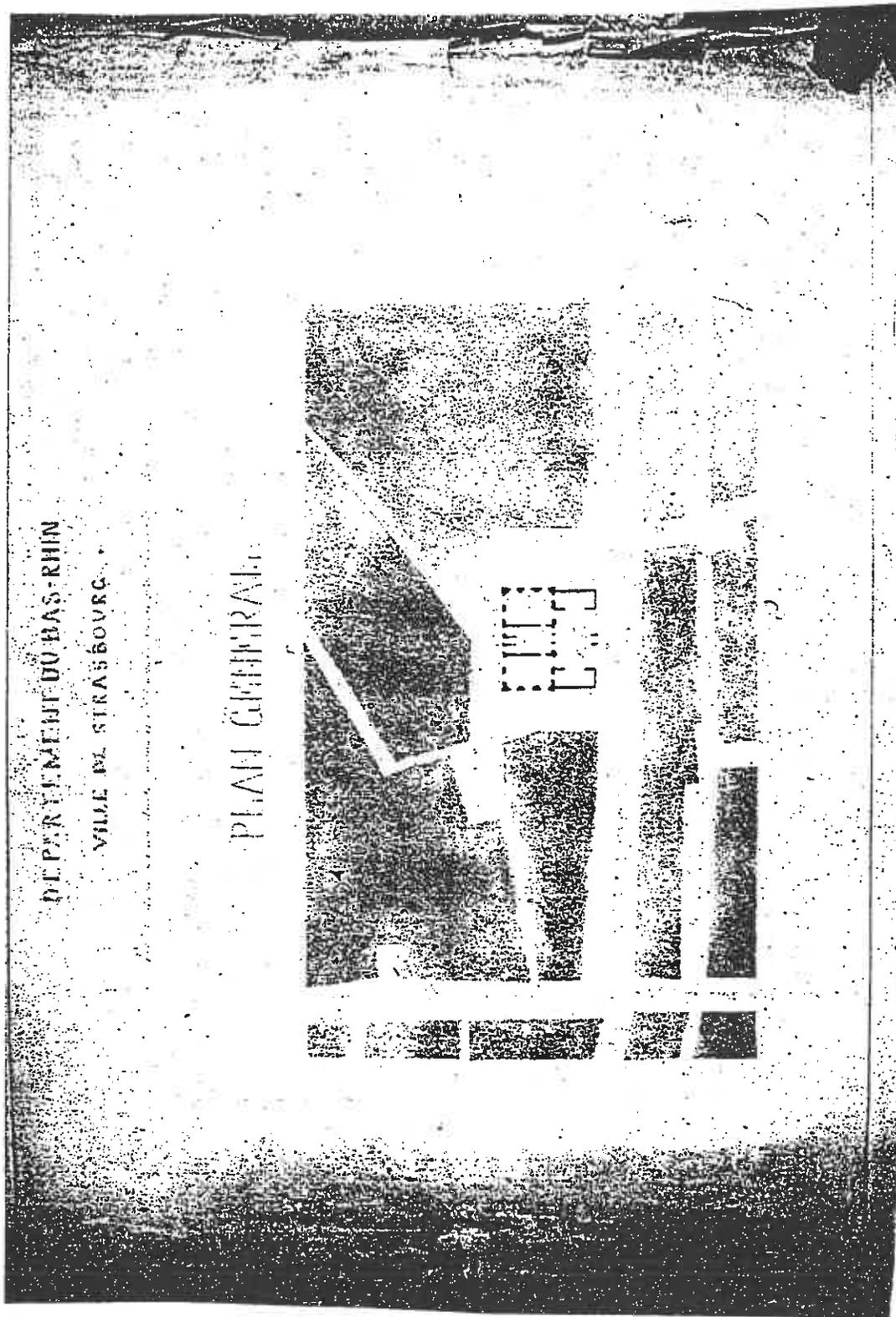


Fig. 2-9. Eckel's plan for a primary school, Strasbourg, undated. (Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph.)

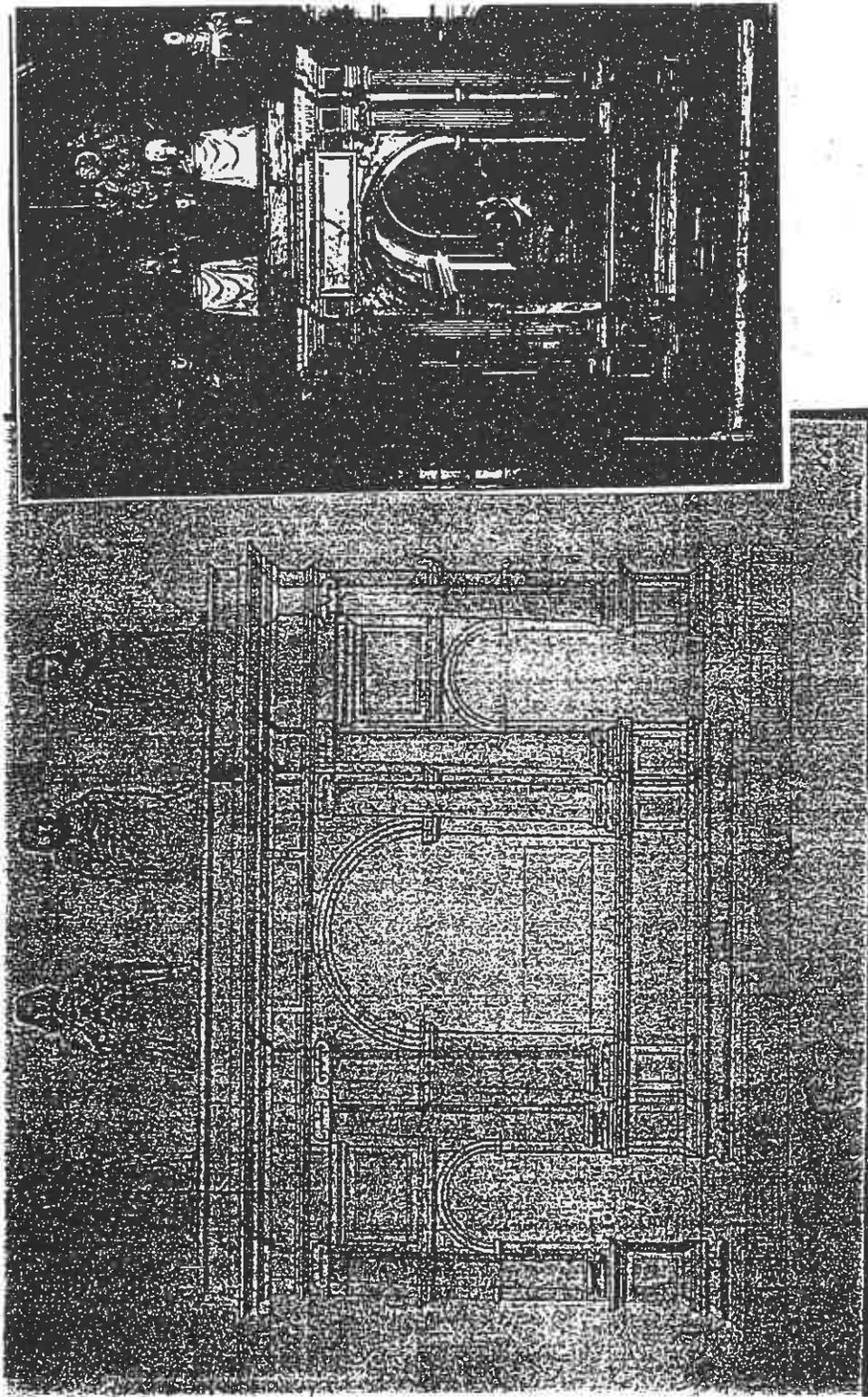


Fig. 2-10. Tomb of Francois I rendering, Eckel, 1859.
(Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph; photograph: R.
J. Knecht, Francis I [Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 1982], opposite 209.)

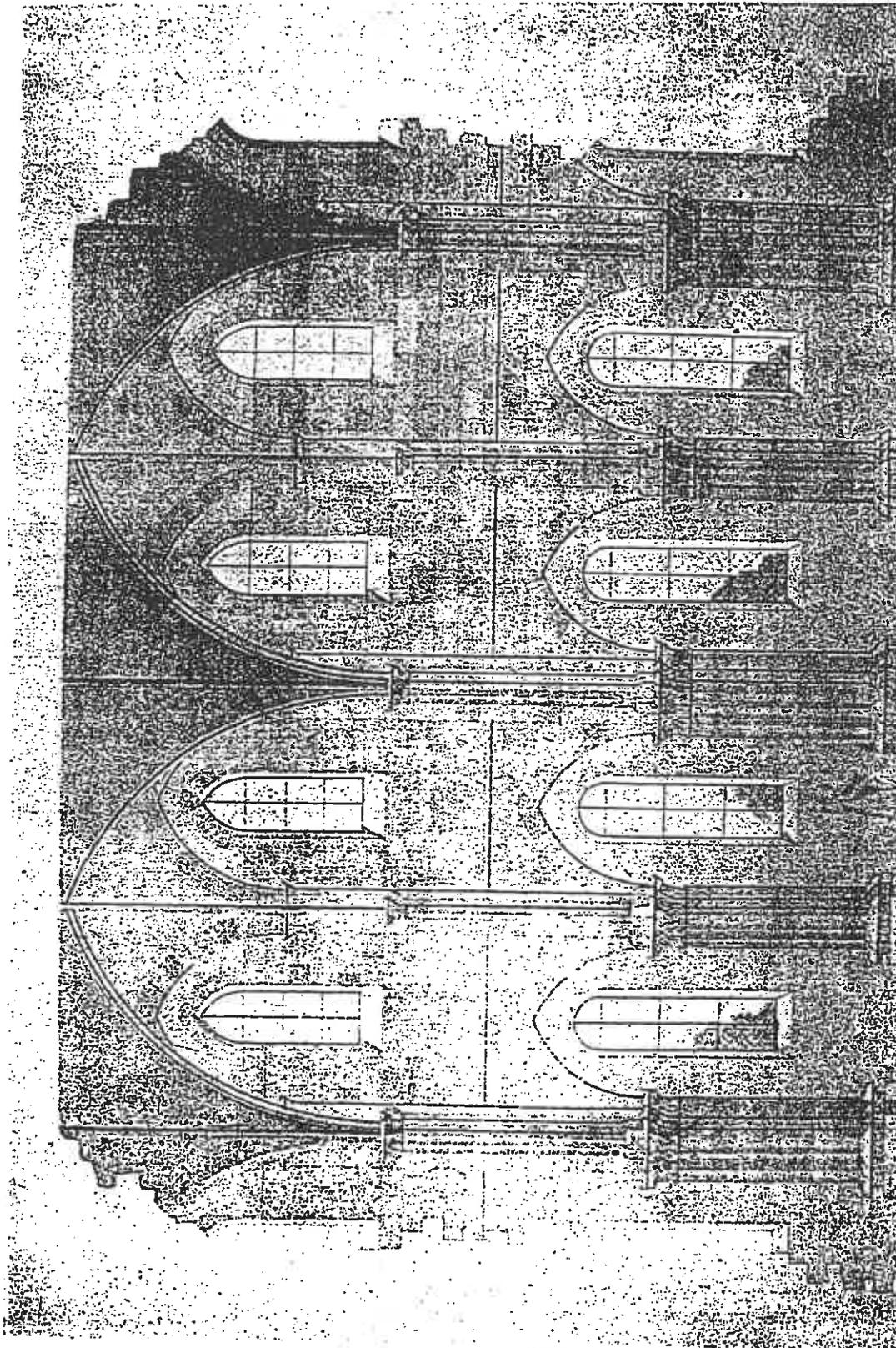


Fig. 2-11. Cathedral cross-section by Eckel, 1 December 1859. (Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph.)



Fig. 3-1. E. J. Eckel with former classmate, Leon Fleury, Versailles, France, 1927. (Bartlett Boder, "Edmond Jacques Eckel," Museum Graphics 14 [Winter 1962], 17.)

144

1964

ÉCOLE IMPÉRIALE & SPÉCIALE DES BEAUX-ARTS.
Section d'Architecture.

M^r Richardson. Né le 29 Septembre 1858 à la Nouvelle-Orléans (Louisiane) en seconde classe le 22 Novembre 1860. a obtenu dans les concours de l'École les récompenses suivantes.

DATES ou JUGEMENTS.	Médailles	Dessin.	CONSTRUCTION				Architecture.	Perspective	Total ou valeurs
			Bois.	Fers.	Verre.	Général.			
6 ^e déc. 1862							1 ^{er} Mont E		1
6 ^e fév. 1863							2 ^e Mont E		1
1 ^{er} fév. 1863		Mention							2
1 ^{er} mai 1863			Mention						2
31 ^{er} juil. 1863					Mention				1
31 ^{er} oct. 1863				Mention					1
27 ^e janv. 1864						Mention			2
11 ^{er} mai 1864							Mention		2
5 ^e X ^e 1864							2 ^e M R		1

Fig. 3-2. H. H. Richardson's student dossier from the École, 1860-1865. (Correspondence from Richard Chafee to George Ehrlich, 24 September 1987.)

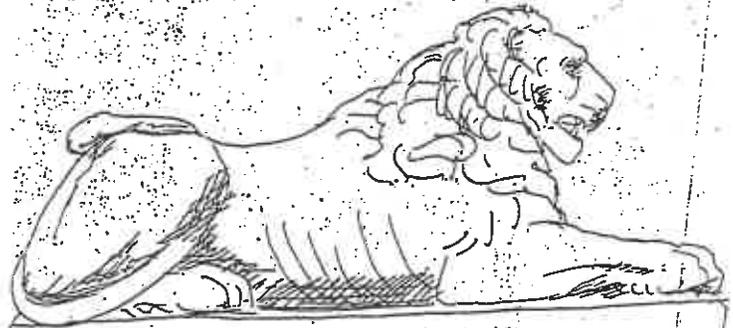
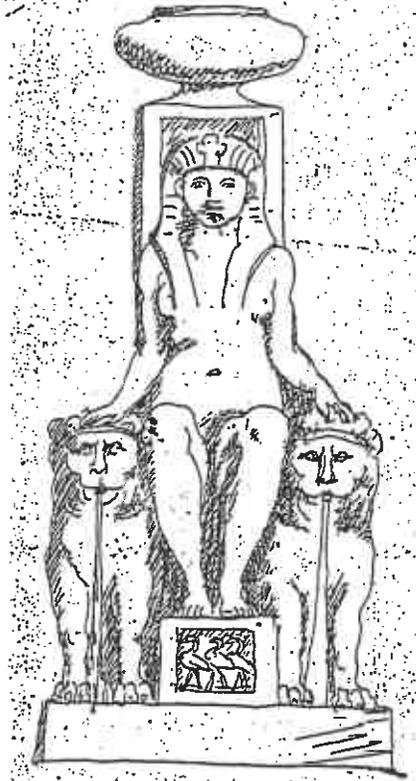
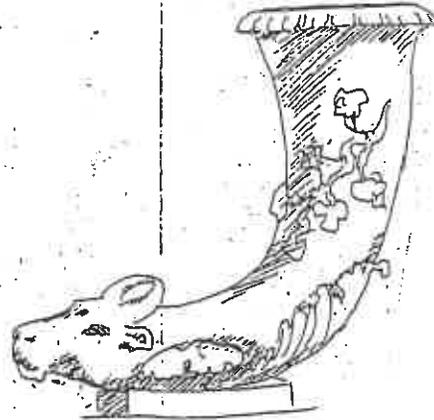
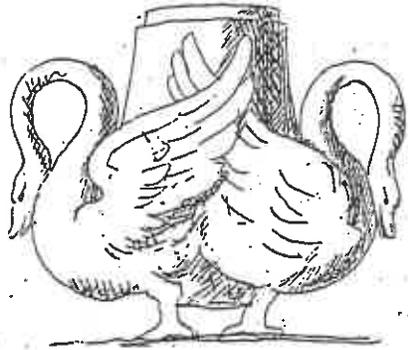


Fig. 3-3. Eckel's student sketches of sculpture. (Eckel Papers, Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)

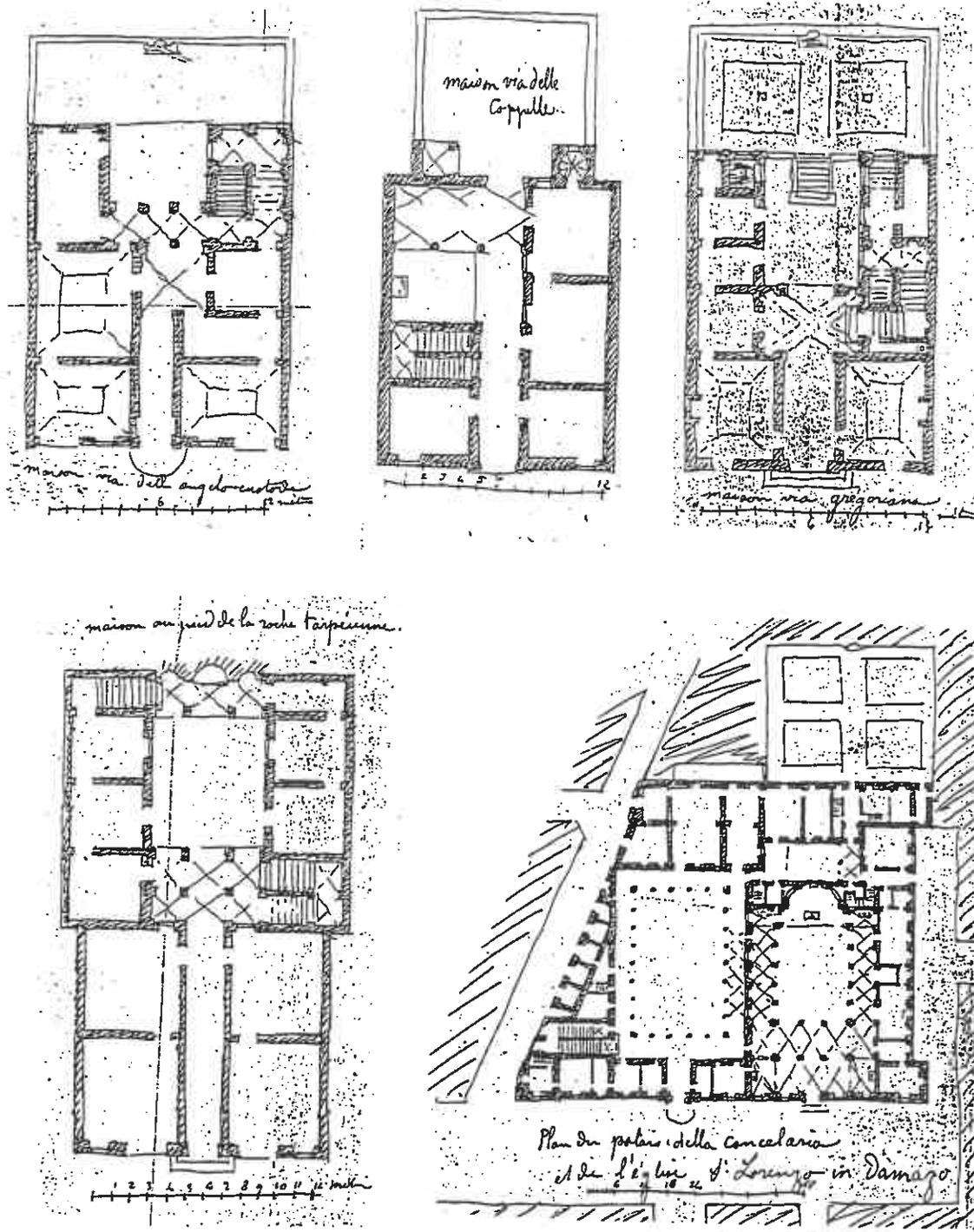


Fig. 3-4. Eckel's student drawings of floor plans. (Eckel Papers, Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)

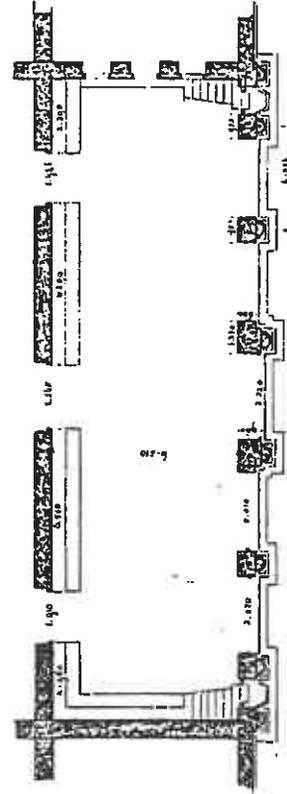
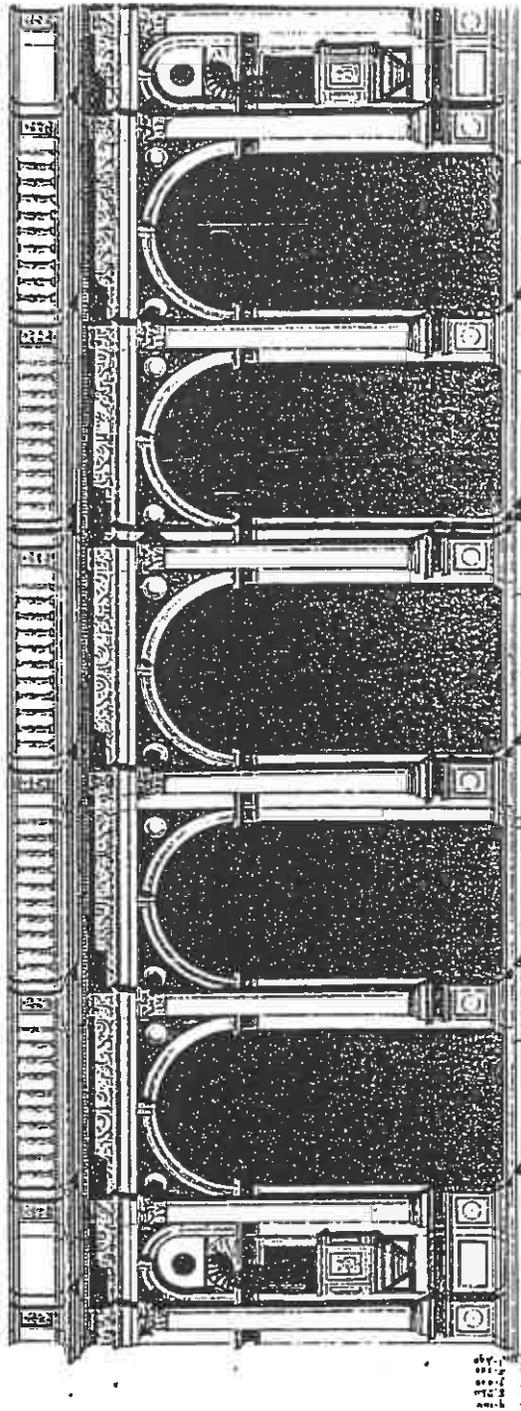
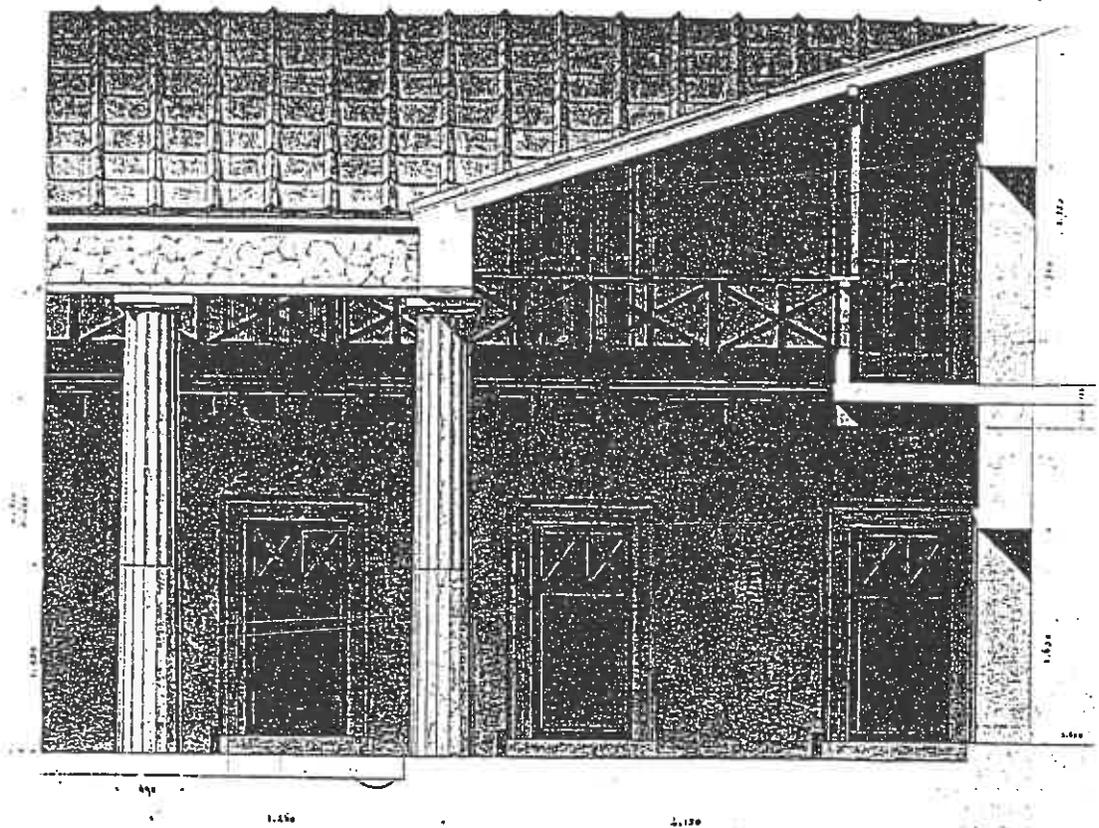


Fig. 3-5. Measured drawing by Eckel, École des Beaux-Arts: Portique de la Cathédrale de Spolete. (Eckel Papers, Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)



Sur une échelle de 1:112 p.M.

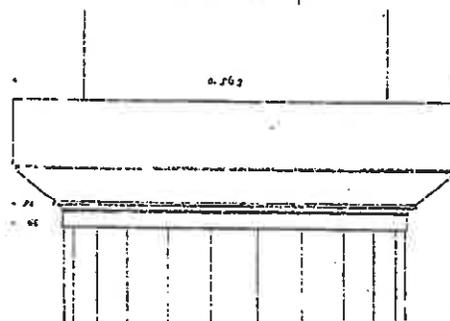


Fig. 3-6. Measured drawing by Eckel, École des Beaux-Arts: Camp des Soldats à Pompeï. (Eckel Papers, Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)

sur une croûte de 0.50 p.m.

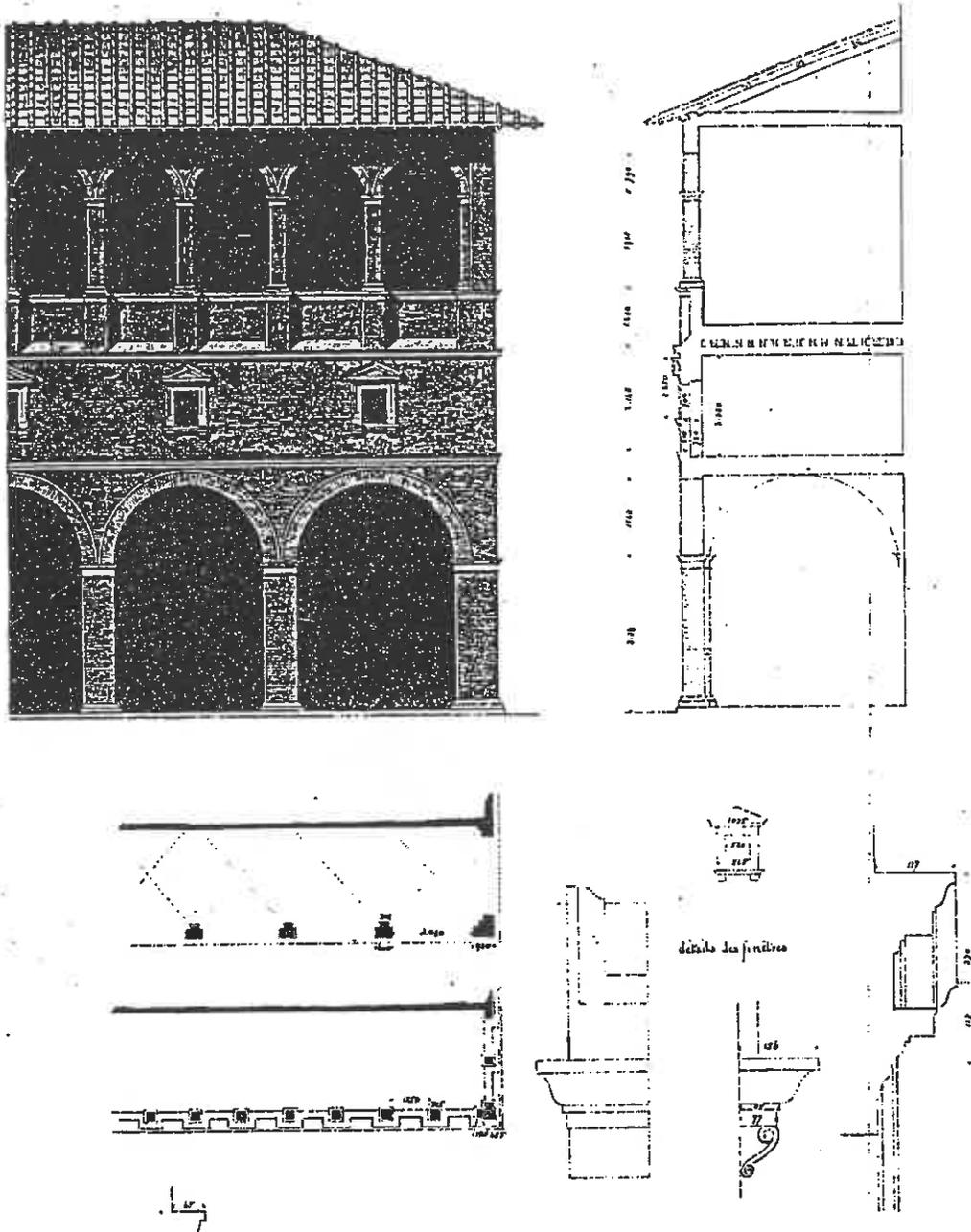


Fig. 3-7. Measured drawing by Eckel, École des Beaux-Arts: Élévation de l'Hopital de Fuligno. (Eckel Papers, Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)



Fig. 3-8. Eckel's drawing of sculpture, École des Beaux-Arts. (Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph.)

École Impériale des Beaux-Arts

Section d'Architecture.

Le Professeur chargé des concours d'architecture propose pour sujet

Un Odéon ou Salle de concert.

Dans l'antiquité, les odéons étoient des édifices couverts destinés à la lecture et à la répétition des ouvrages qui devoient être représentés sur le théâtre. Les poètes et les musiciens y disoient aussi les jeux de musique, de chant et d'exécution instrumentale. Un établissement de ce genre est applicable aux temps modernes, et mérité pour la musique, dans tout pays où le culte des arts est en honneur.

L'édifice proposé se voit érigé au milieu d'une promenade publique.

Son objet principal est une salle de concert divisée en deux parties distinctes, la scène, comprenant l'orchestre, et la partie destinée à l'auditoire.

Les dépendances de la scène seront une salle d'accueil ou foyer des musiciens instrumentales, un salon pour les chanteurs et comédiens, une salle pour les choristes.

Une portique extérieur, d'ordre ionique grec, entourant tout l'édifice, servira d'abri pour prendre les billets, et aussi de refuge aux promeneurs surpris par un orage. Ce portique donnera accès à un vestibule, aux bureaux de recette, et aux escaliers, culbres et dégrèvements nécessaires.

La salle ainsi que toutes les distributions doivent être éclairées par la lumière du jour.

La plus grande dimension des constructions n'excédera pas 60 mètres.

On fera, pour les esquisses, le plan du rez-de-chaussée et la coupe sur une échelle de 0^m 002^m pour mètre et l'élevation au double;

Pour le rendu, le plan du rez-de-chaussée, le plan du 1^{er} étage et la coupe sur une échelle de 0^m 005^m pour mètre; et l'élevation au triple, c'est-à-dire à 0^m 015^m pour mètre.

On fera en outre les détails au grand de l'ordre ionique grec, c'est-à-dire la base, le chapiteau, face principale et moitié d'une face latérale indiquant le creusement, et l'entablement. Pour ces détails, quelle que soit la grandeur réelle de l'ordre, le module ou grand diamètre sera, dans ces dessins, de 20 centimètres.

Paris, le 7 Novembre 1866.

Signé Le Duc.

Fig. 3-9. École program for a theatre or "un odéon ou salle de concert," issued to students of the Second Class 7 November 1866. (Eckel Papers, Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)

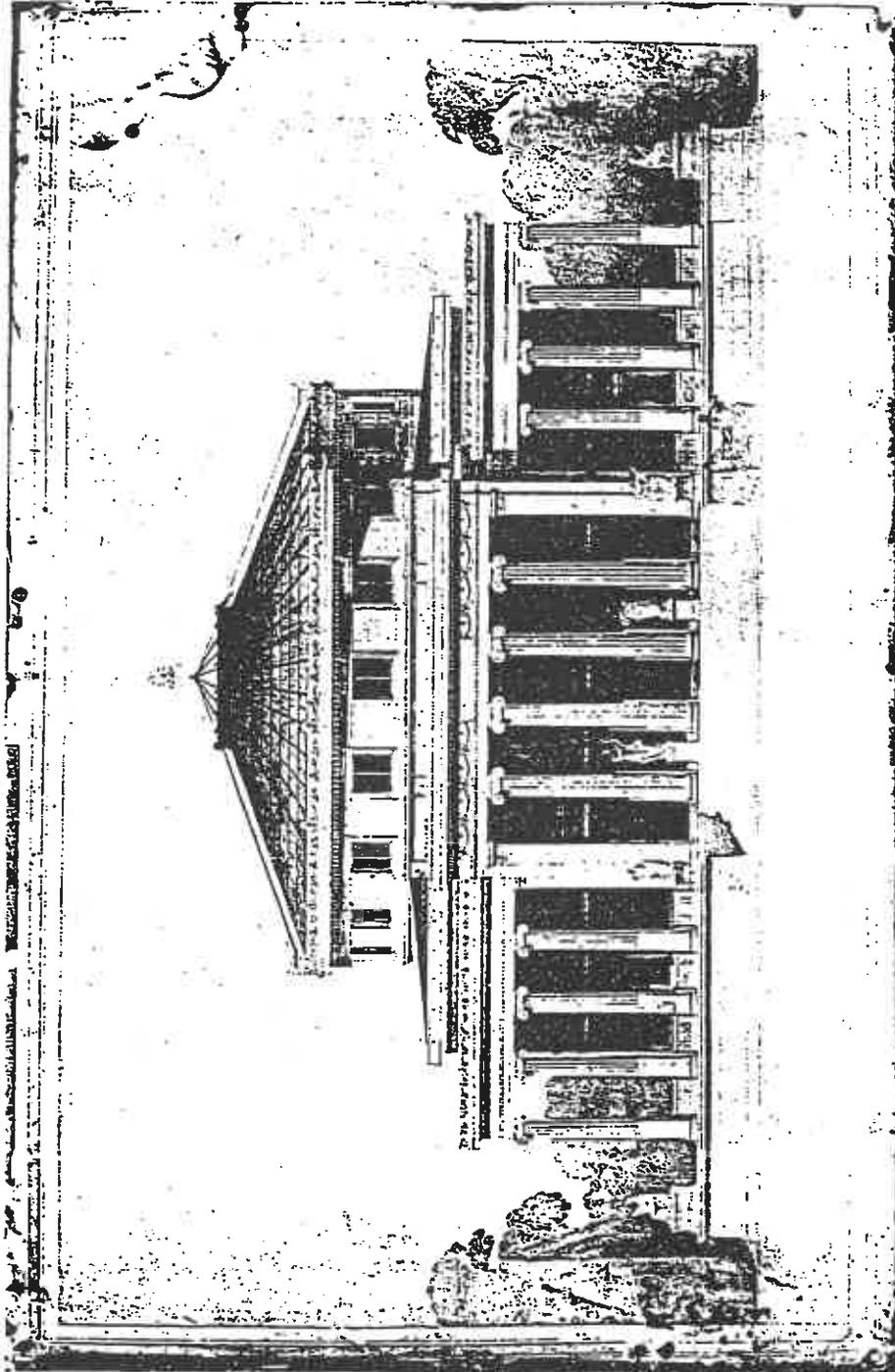


Fig. 3-10. Eckel's student architectural drawing of a theatre or "odéon." (Albrecht-Kemper Museum of Art, St. Joseph.) Western Architect, 1911.)



Fig. 5-1. St. Joseph, Missouri, 1850. (Postcard.)

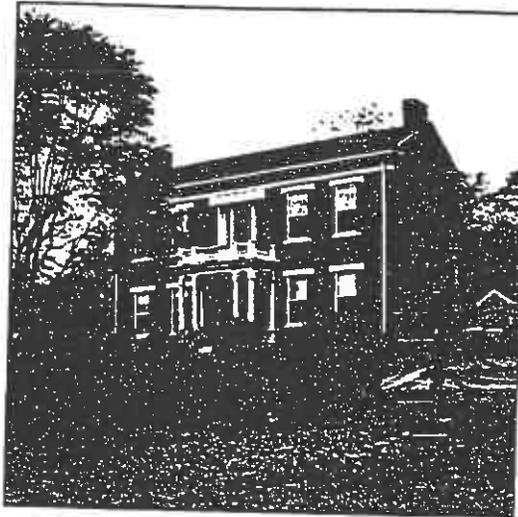


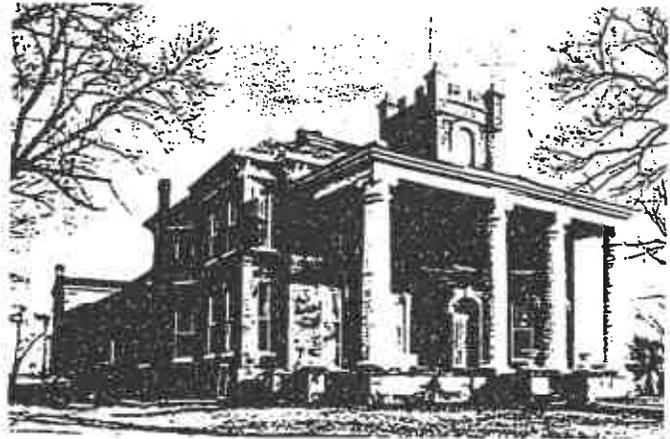
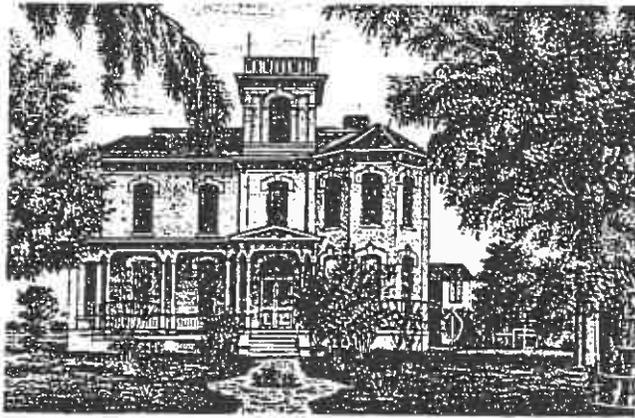
Fig. 6-1. Joseph Davis House, 2100 North 11th Street, St. Joseph, William Blair, 1847. (St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, St. Joseph Landmarks: A Record of our Significant Historical and Cultural Resources [St. Joseph: St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, 1984], 2.)



Fig. 6-2. Isaac Miller House, 3003 Ashland Avenue, St. Joseph, William Blair, 1859. (St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, St. Joseph Landmarks: A Record of our Significant Historical and Cultural Resources [St. Joseph: St. Joseph Landmarks Commission, 1984], 8.)

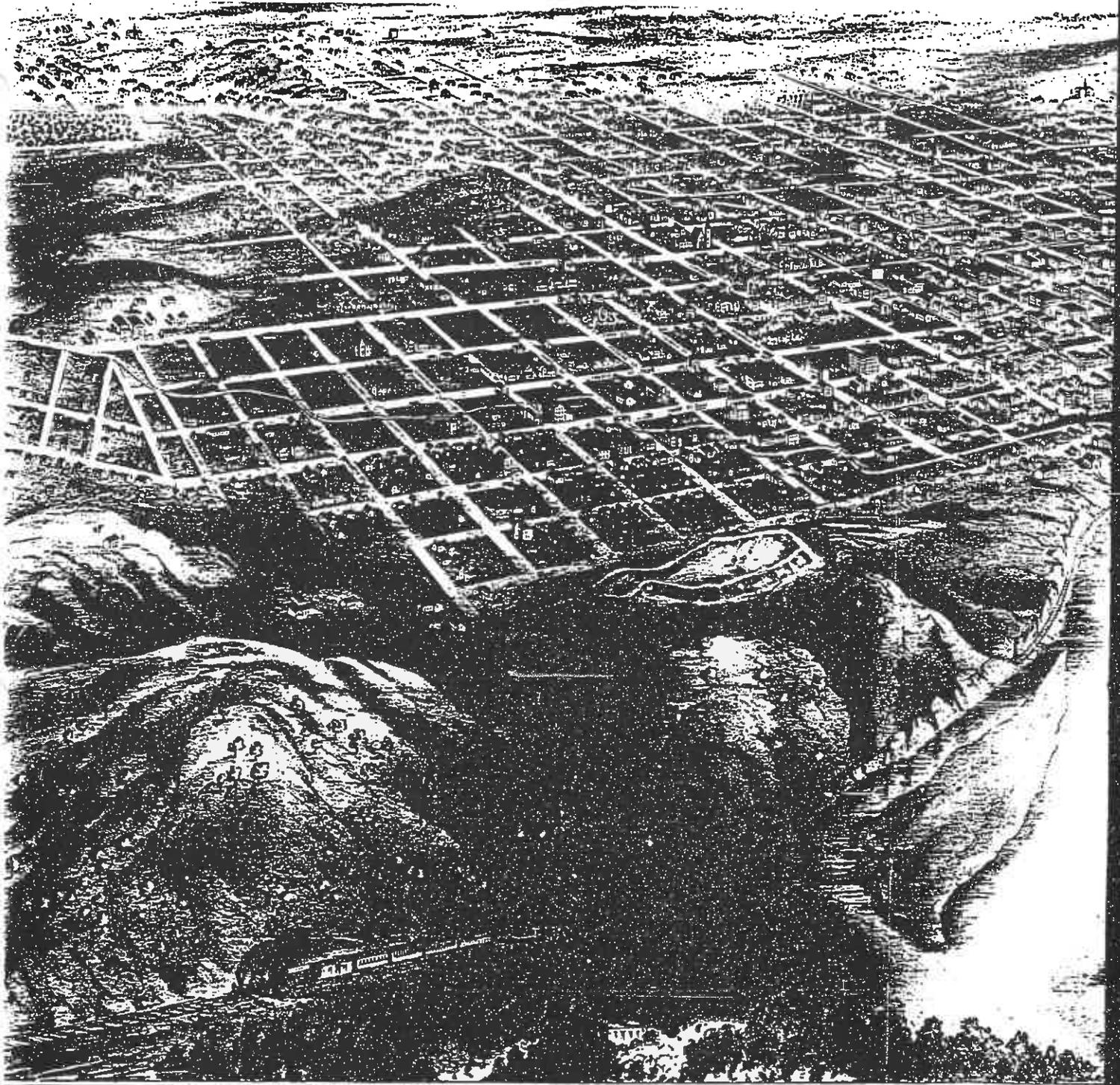


Fig. 6-3. Patee House, 12th and Penn Streets, St. Joseph, Missouri, J. H. McMachen, original architect, Lewis Stigers, architect, constructed 1856-1858; later known as the R. L. McDonald & Co. Factory. (News Printing Co., St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated [St. Joseph, News Printing Co., 1894], 41.)



The top photo shows the Ravenswood mansion in 1883. Note the frame ell to right behind home. The center illustration is from a portion of a painting of Ravenswood, ca. 1900, showing frame ell in upper right section and the 1870 brick kitchen joined to rear of mansion. The bottom photo of present-day Ravenswood shows the detached brick kitchen built by Marcus Williams.

Fig. 6-4. "Ravenswood," Residence of Charles E. Leonard, Tipton, Missouri, W. Angelo Powell, 1880. (James Denny, "Vernacular Building Process in Missouri: Nathaniel Leonard's Activities, 1825-1870," Missouri Historical Review 78 (October 1983), 48.



*Street View of Union Hall
 7 East ... S. St. Joseph College
 11-15 West ... Howard's Seminary
 1 ... Bank Building ...
 2 ...
 3 ...
 4 ...
 5 ...*



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF
SAINT JOSEPH
 MISSOURI

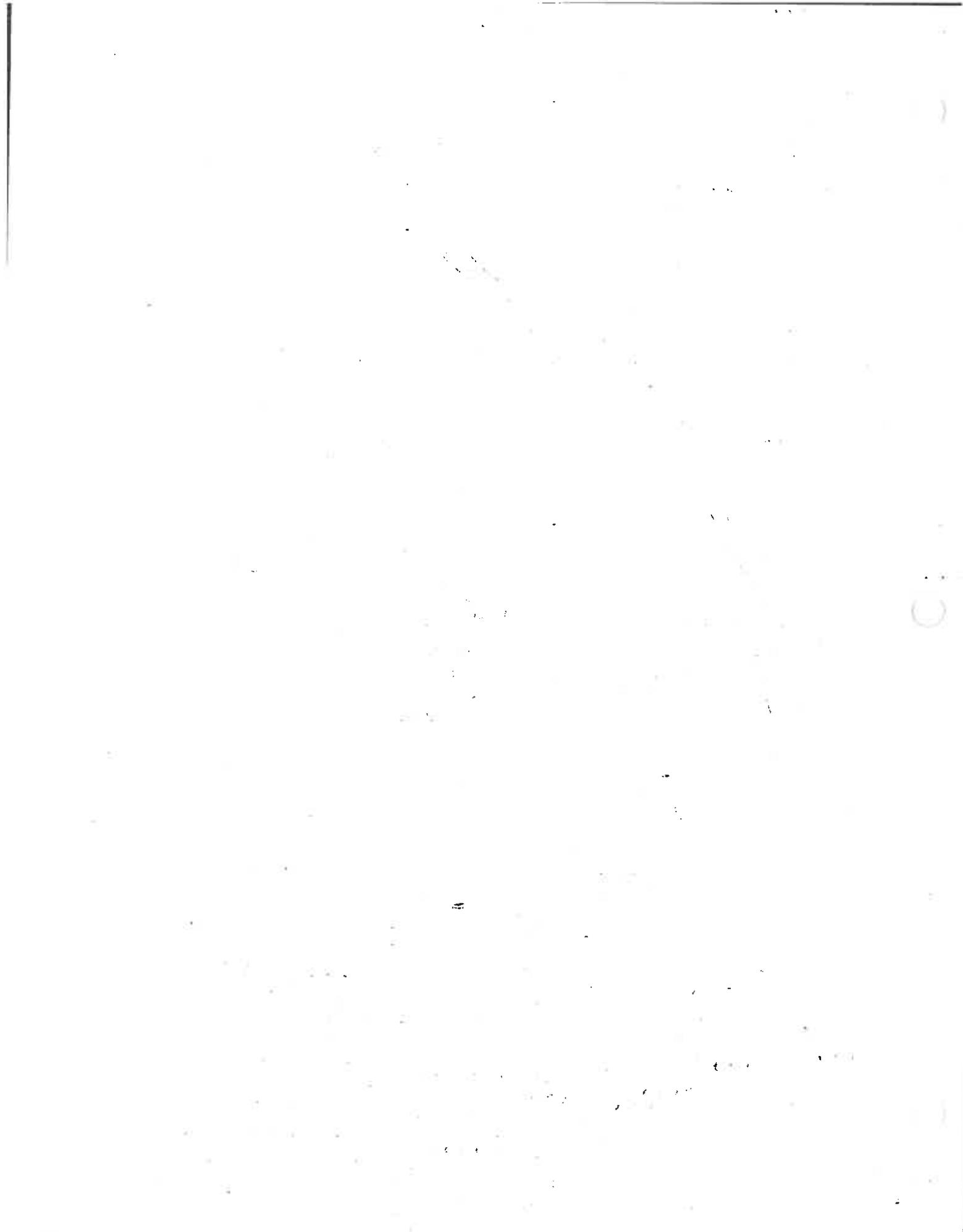




Fig. 6-5. Bird's Eye View of the City of St. Joseph, Missouri, Albert Ruger, artist, Chicago: Merchants Lithographing Co., 1868. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Photoduplication Service, Washington, D.C.)

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF
ST. JOSEPH
 1868
 MISSOURI





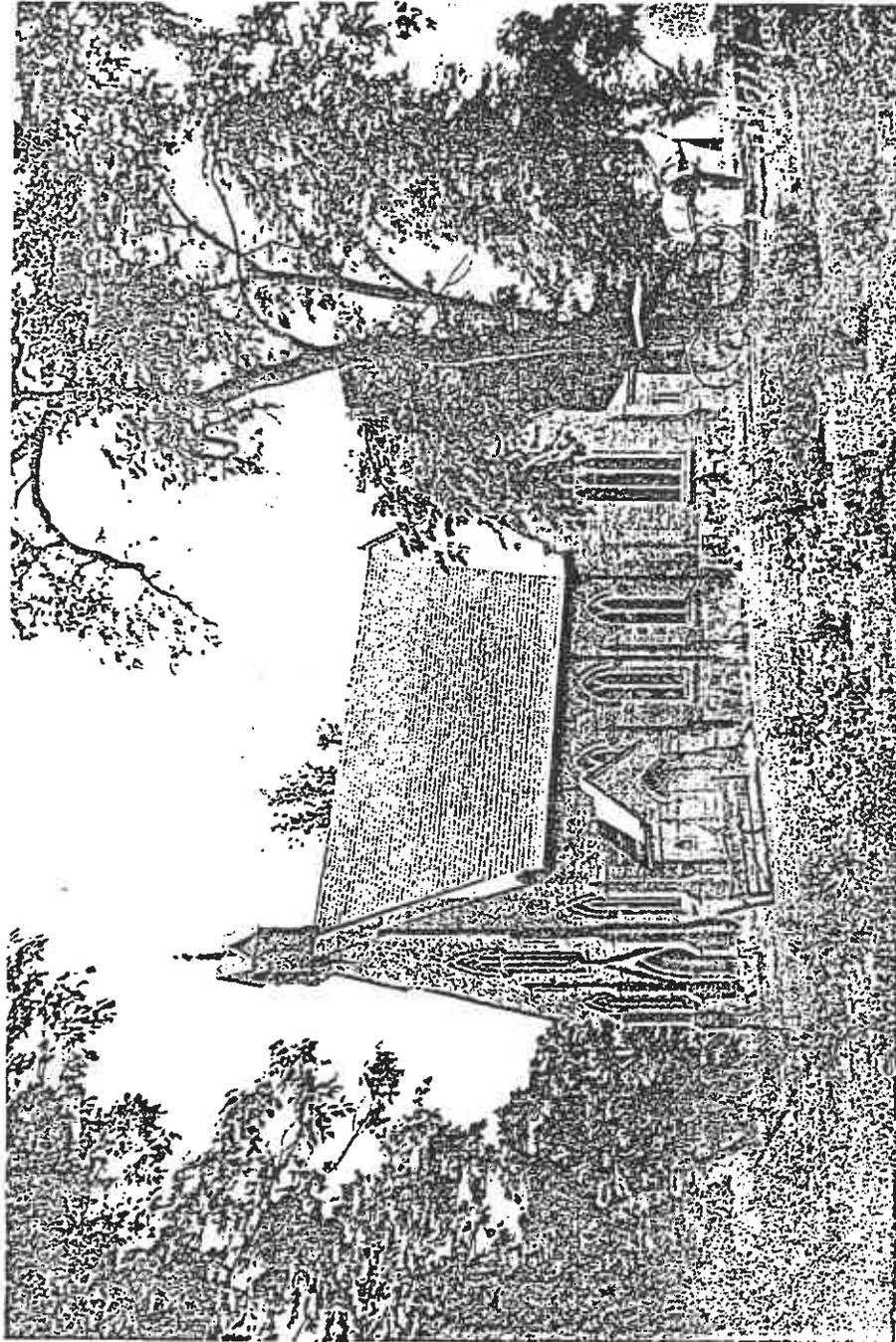


Fig. 7-1. Corby Memorial Chapel, Old Amazonia Road, St. Joseph, Meagher with Eckel, 1871-1872. (John Albury Bryan, Missouri's Contribution to American Architecture [St. Louis: St. Louis Architectural Club, 1928], 60.)

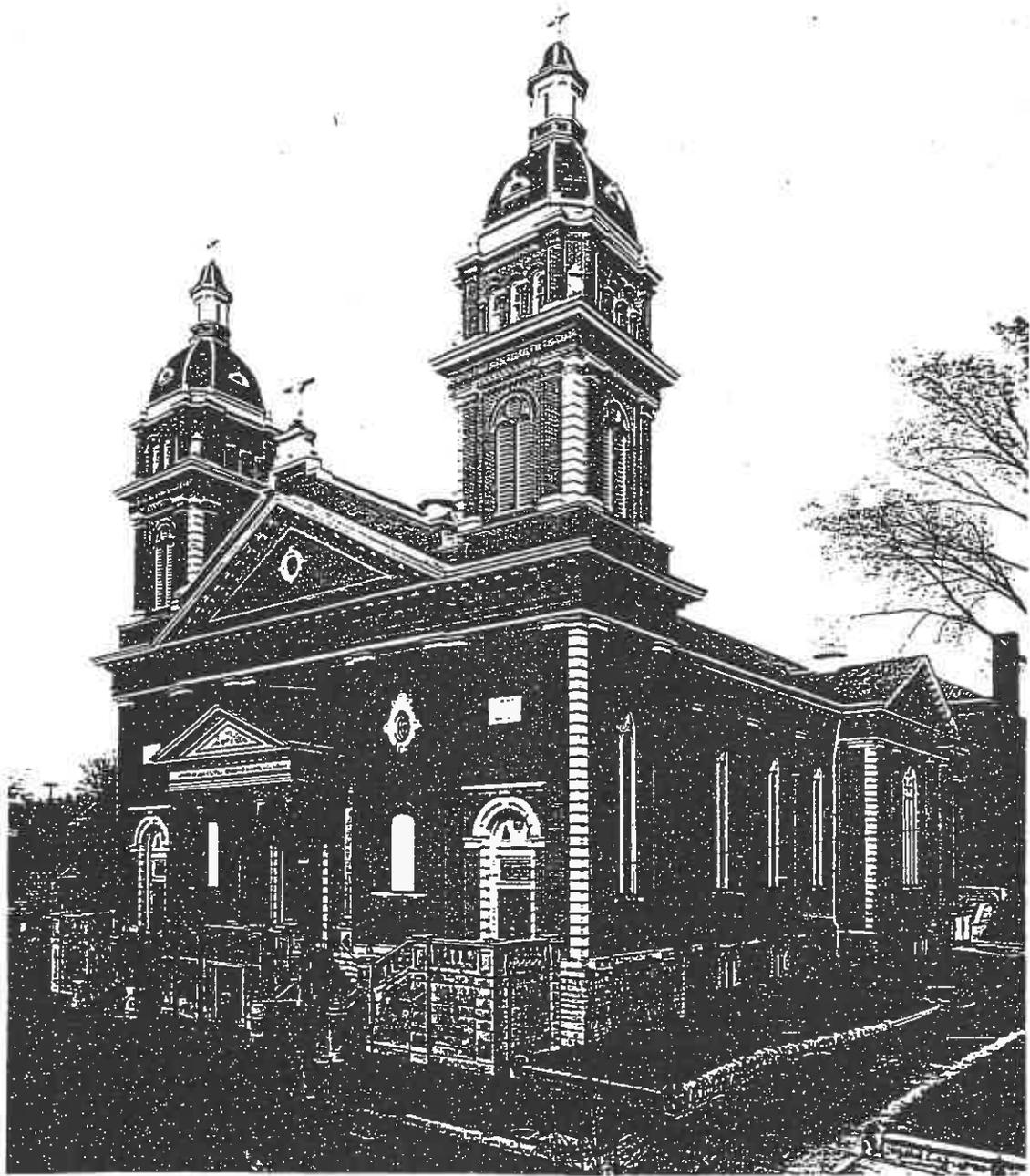


Fig. 7-2. St. Joseph Cathedral, Tenth and Isadore Streets, St. Joseph, Meagher with Eckel, 1871-1872. (Courtesy of Madeline Sanders, St. Joseph, Missouri.)

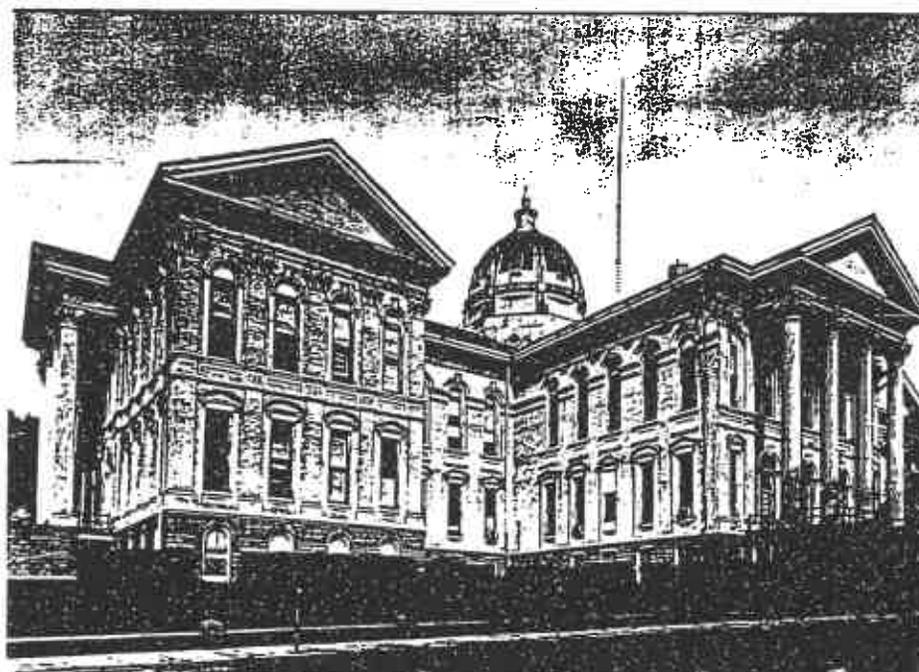
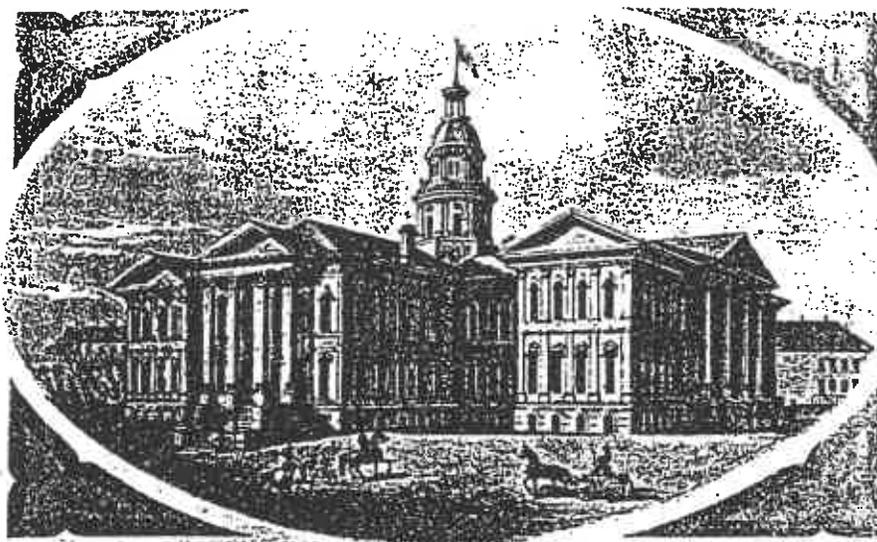


Fig. 7-3. Buchanan County Courthouse, Fourth and Jules Streets, St. Joseph, P. F. Meagher, 1873. (Sheridan Logan, Old Saint Jo: Gateway to the West [St. Joseph: John Sublett Logan Foundation, 1979], opposite 141; Albrecht Museum, The Architecture of Saint Joseph [St. Joseph: Albrecht Art Museum, 1974], 2.)

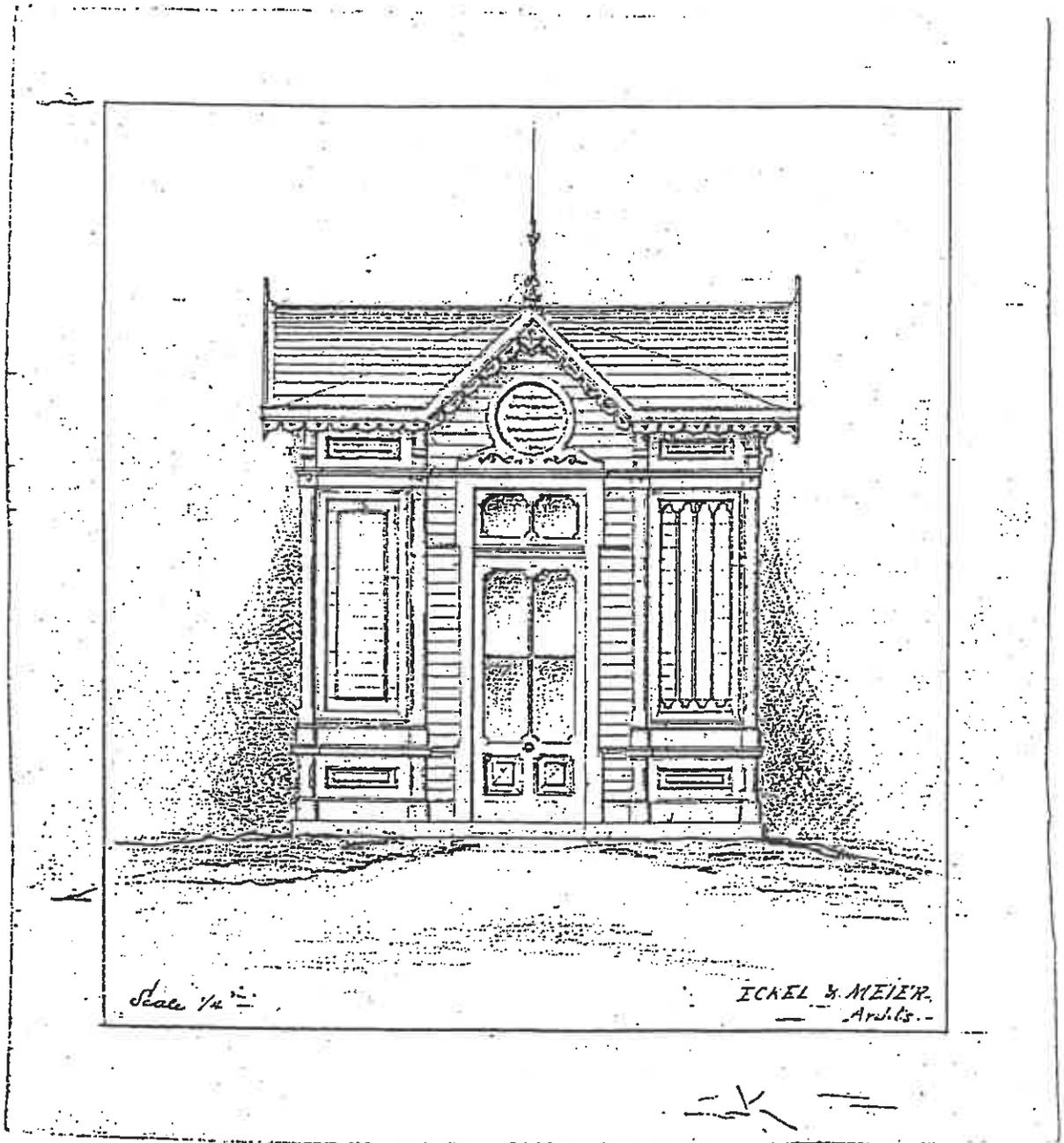


Fig. 7-4. "Eckel & Meier Archts." architectural drawing, ca. 1873. ("Eckel Papers," Joint Collection University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection and the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia.)

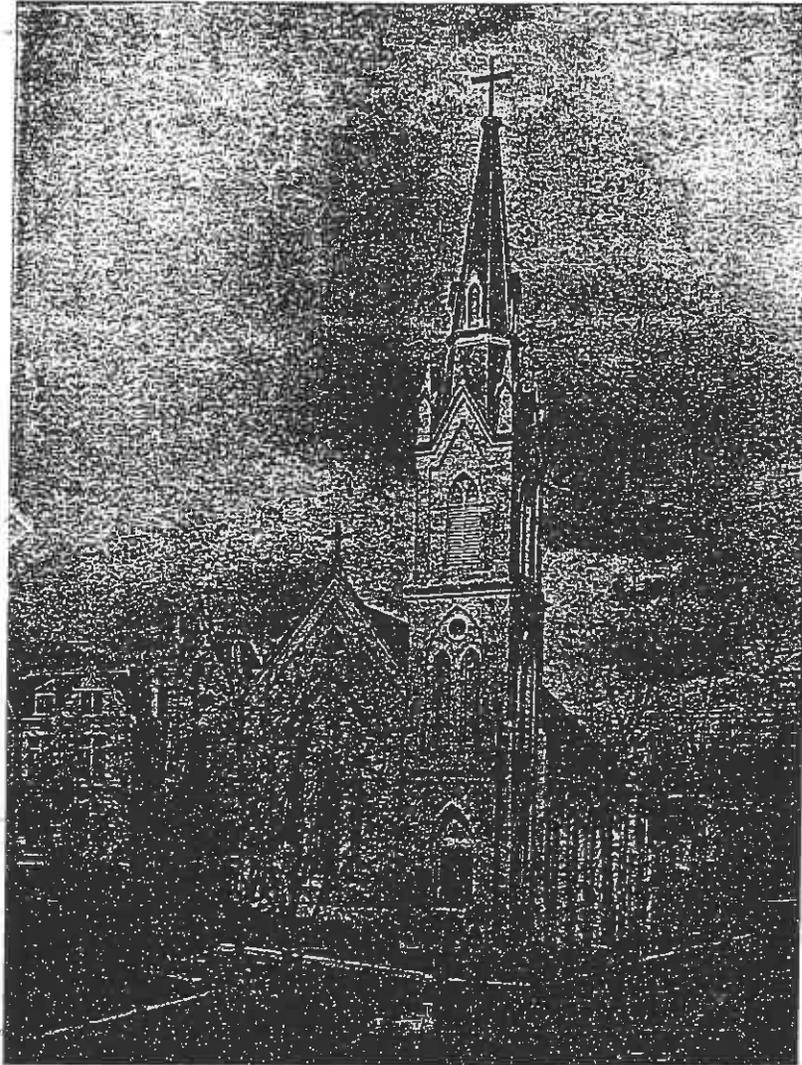


Fig. 7-5. Christ Episcopal Church, Seventh and Francis Streets, St. Joseph, Stiger, Boettner & Co., 1877. (Courtesy of Nancy Sandehn: Year Book and Directory, Christ Church Parish, St. Joseph, Mo. [St. Joseph: Combe Printing Co., 1903], cover.)

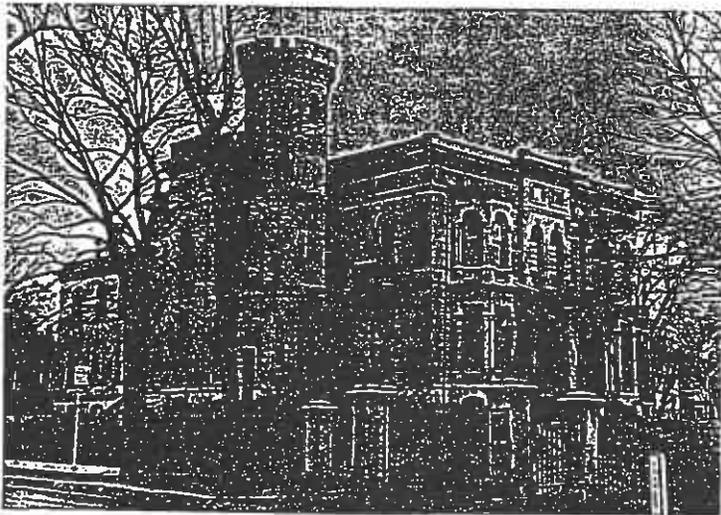


Fig. 7-6. Wyeth Residence, Eleventh and Charles Streets, St. Joseph, Missouri, 1879. (Drawing: Board of Trade, Eleventh Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1889 [St. Joseph: St. Joseph Steam Printing, 1890], 40; photograph: Sheridan Logan, Old Saint Jo: Gateway to the West [St. Joseph: John Sublett Logan Foundation, 1979], opposite 141.)



G. R. Mann

Fig. 9-1. George R. Mann, 1856-1939. (James Cox, "George R. Mann," in Old and New St. Louis: A Concise History of the Metropolis of the West and Southwest, with a Review of its Present Greatness and Immediate Prospects [St. Louis: Central Biographical Publishing Co., 1894].)



Fig. 9-2. E. J. Eckel Residence, 515 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1885. (Author.)



Fig. 9-3. George R. Mann Residence, 3401 South Eleventh Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1886-1887. (Author.)



Fig. 10-1. Harvey Ellis, 1852-1904. (Roger Kennedy, "Long Dark Corridors: Harvey Ellis," 5 The Prairie School Review [First-second quarter 1968], 6.)

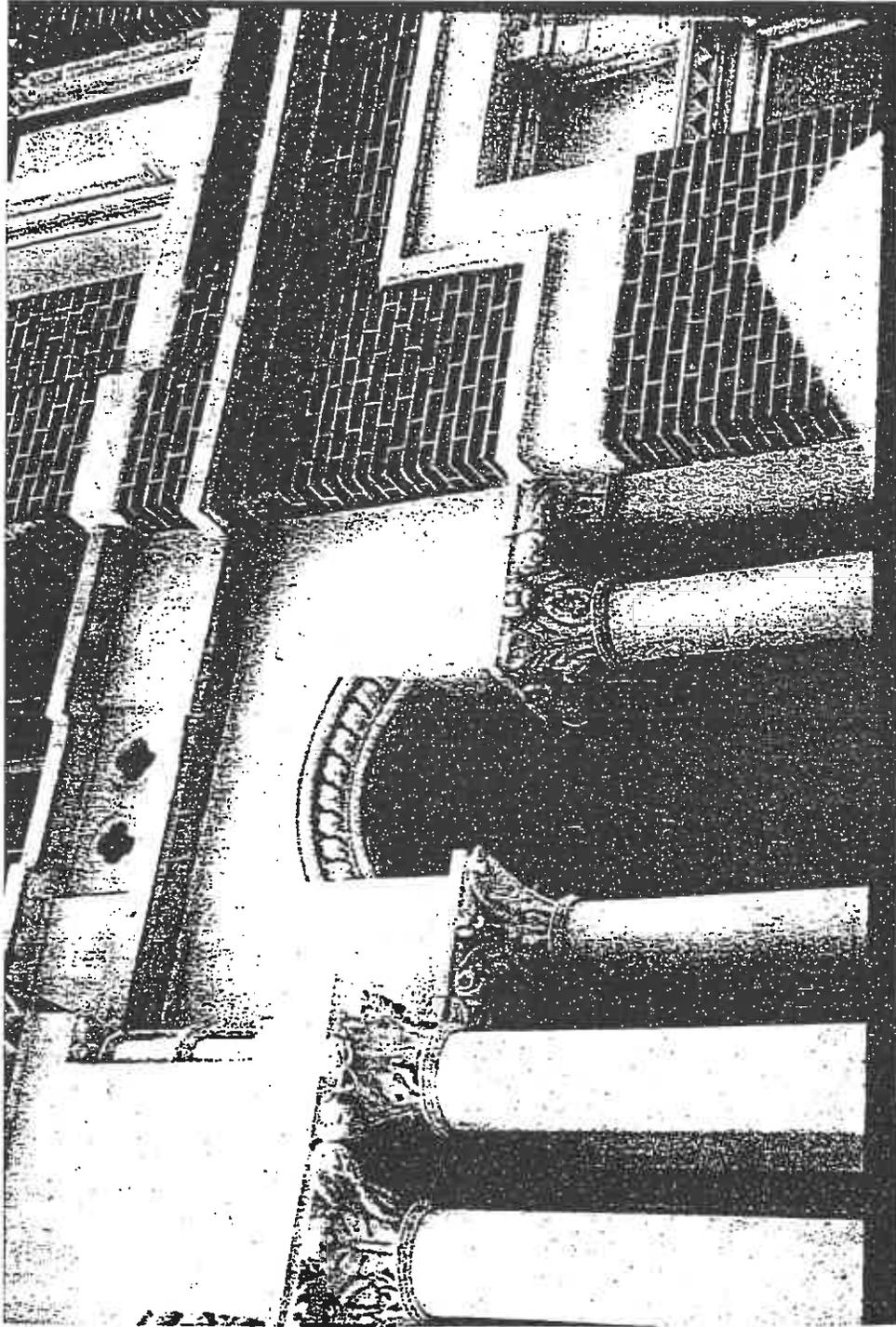


Fig. 10-2. Capital detail, Nodaway County Courthouse, Eckel and Mann, 1881. (Author.)

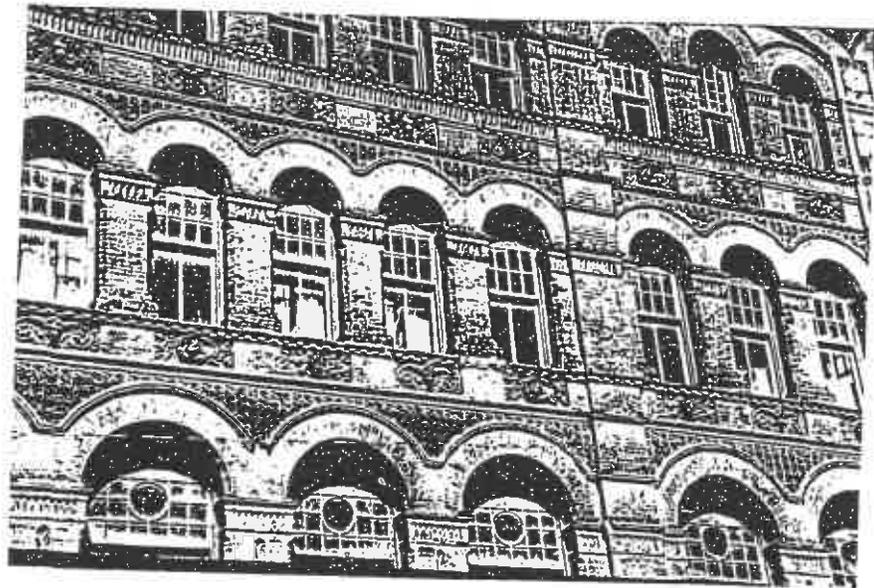
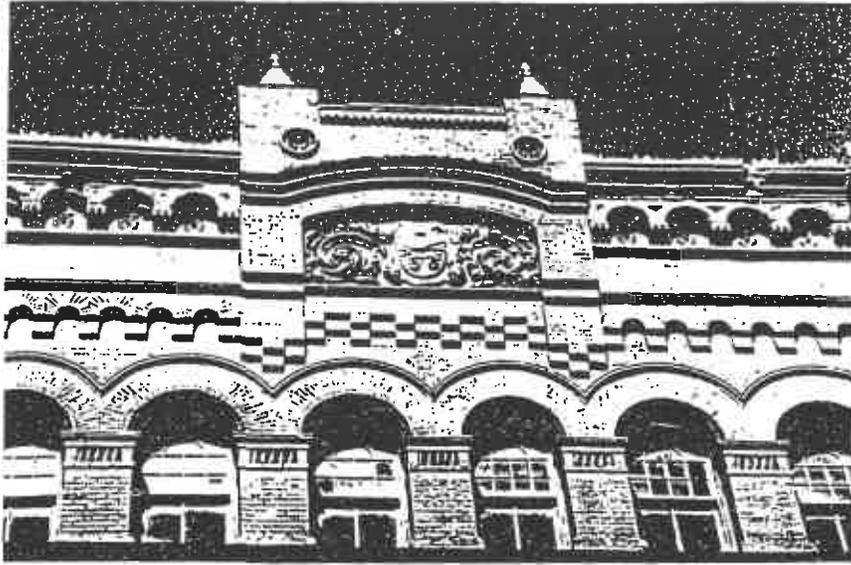


Fig. 10-3. Panel details, Turner, Fraser & Co. Wholesale Grocers, 302-308 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882. (Author.)

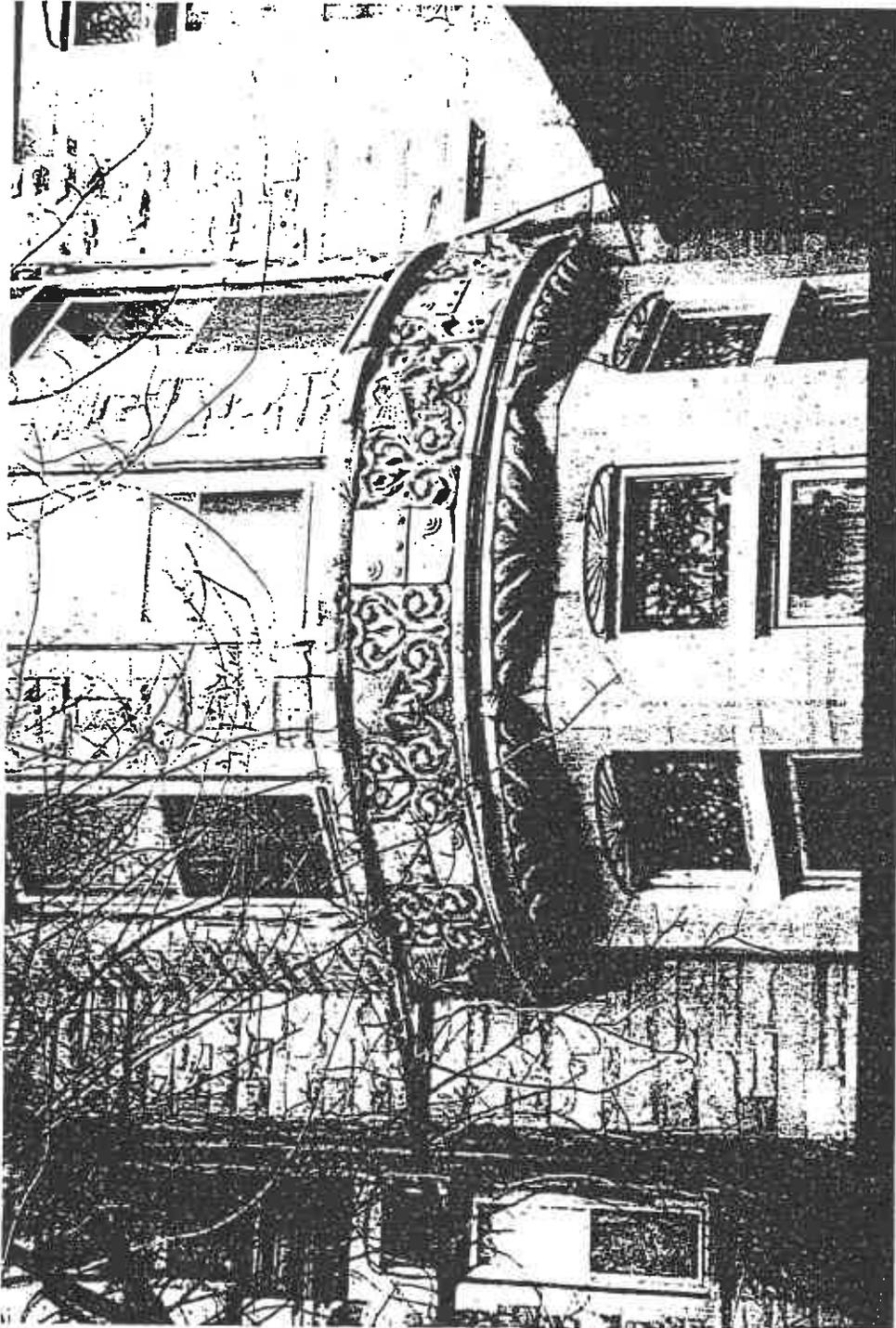


Fig. 10-4. Ornament detail, Nathan P. Ogden Residence, 809 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1885. (Author)

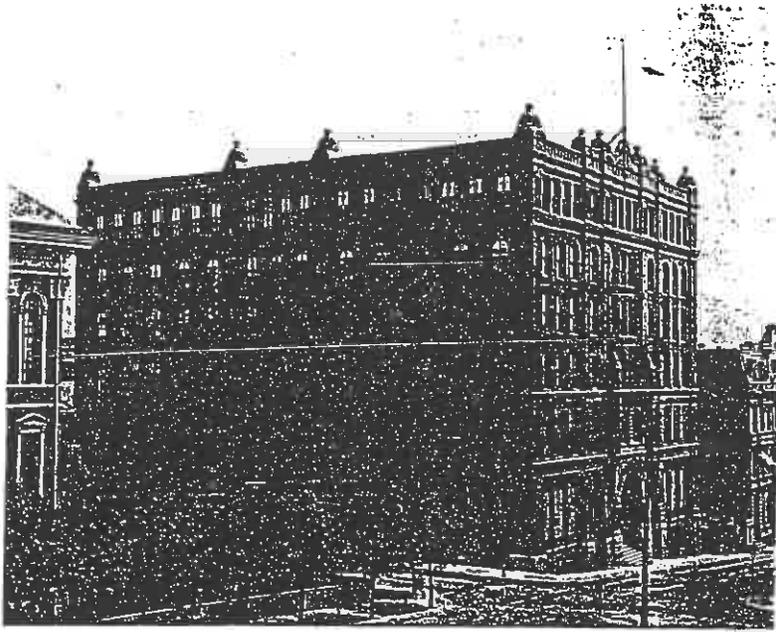


Fig. 10-5. Tootle-Hosea Dry Goods Co. Building, 213-223 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph; News Printing Co., St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated [St. Joseph, News Printing Co., 1894], 19.)

Fig. 10-6. Insurance Exchange Building, Chicago, Burnham & Root, 1884-1885. (Donald Hoffman, The Architecture of John Wellborn Root [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973], 44.)

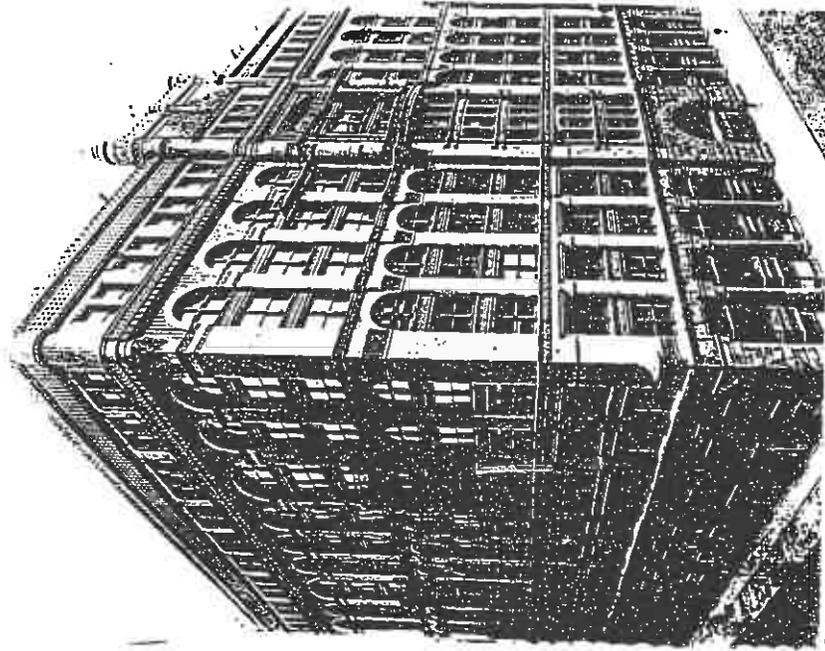
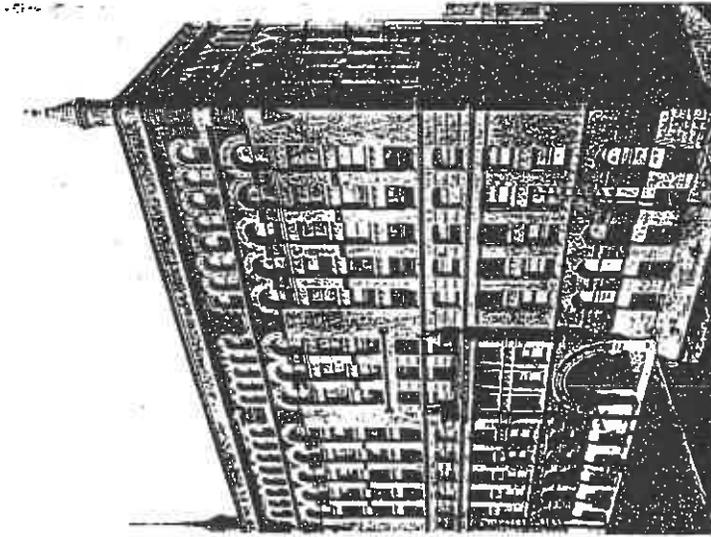


Fig. 10-7. The Rookery, Chicago, Burnham & Root, 1885-1888. (John Zukowsky, ed. Chicago Architecture, 1872-1922: Birth of a Metropolis [Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987], 161.)

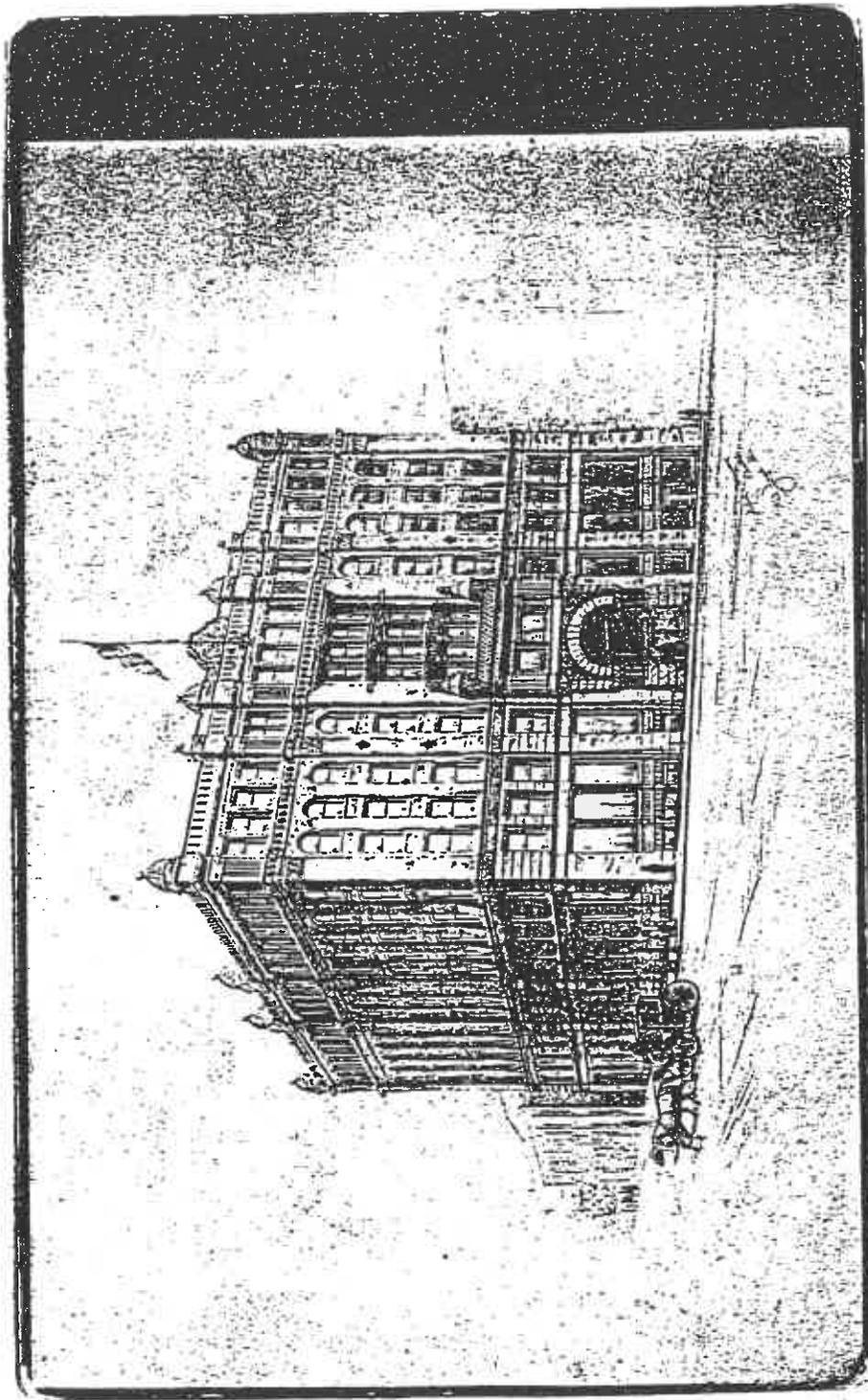


Fig. 10-8. Architects' rendering of the Tootle-Hosea Dry Good Co. Building, 213-223 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

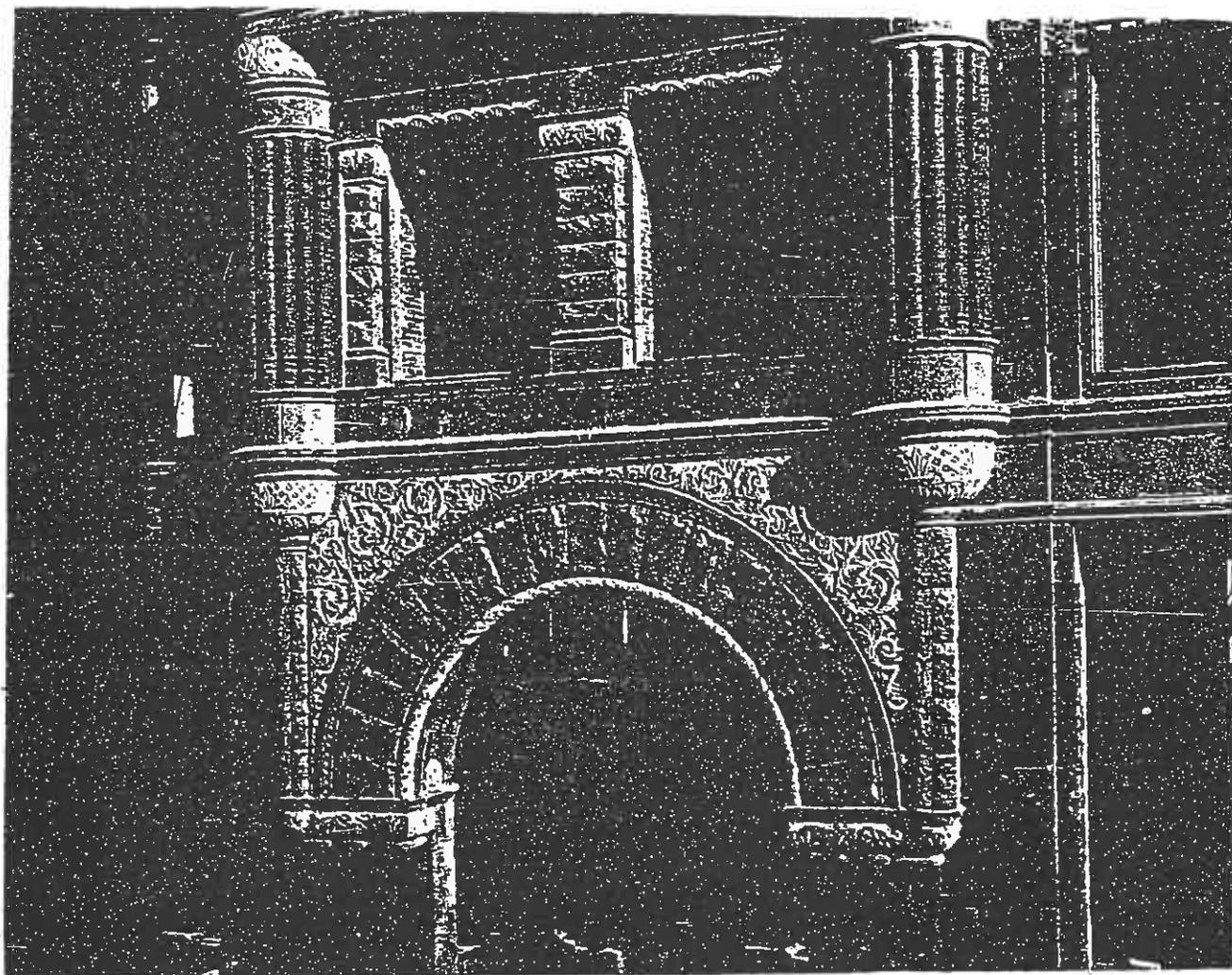


Fig. 10-9. Arch detail, Tootle-Hosea Dry Good Co. Building, 213-223 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc, St. Joseph.)



Fig. 10-10. Wilder Building, Rochester, New York, Warner & Brockett, 1887. (Jean France, "Harvey Ellis: Architect," in the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester and Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum's A Rediscovery--Harvey Ellis: Artist, Architect [Rochester, New York: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1972], 28.)



Fig. 10-11. C. D. Smith Drug Co., 313-323 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888. (News Printing Co., St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated [St. Joseph, News Printing Co., 1894], 71.)

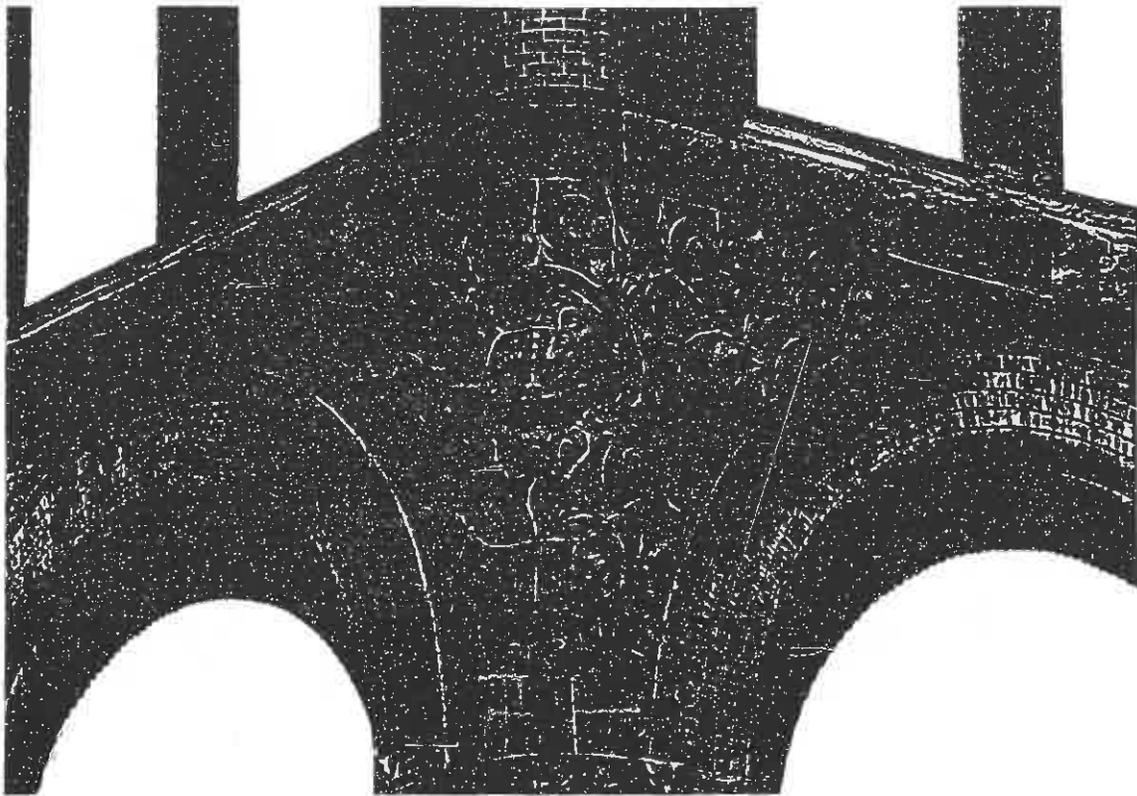


Fig. 10-12. Detail, C. D. Smith Drug Co., 313-323 South
Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1888. (Author.)

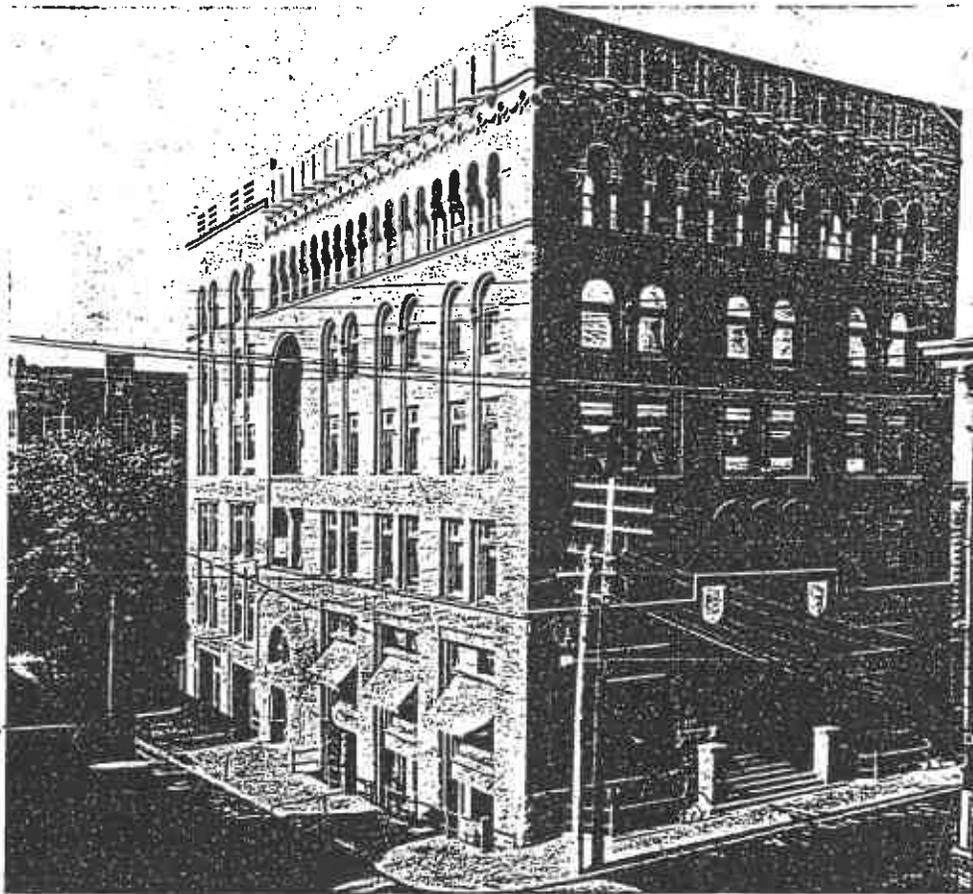


Fig. 10-13. German American Bank, 624 Felix, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889. (News Printing Co., St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated [St. Joseph, News Printing Co., 1894], 58.)

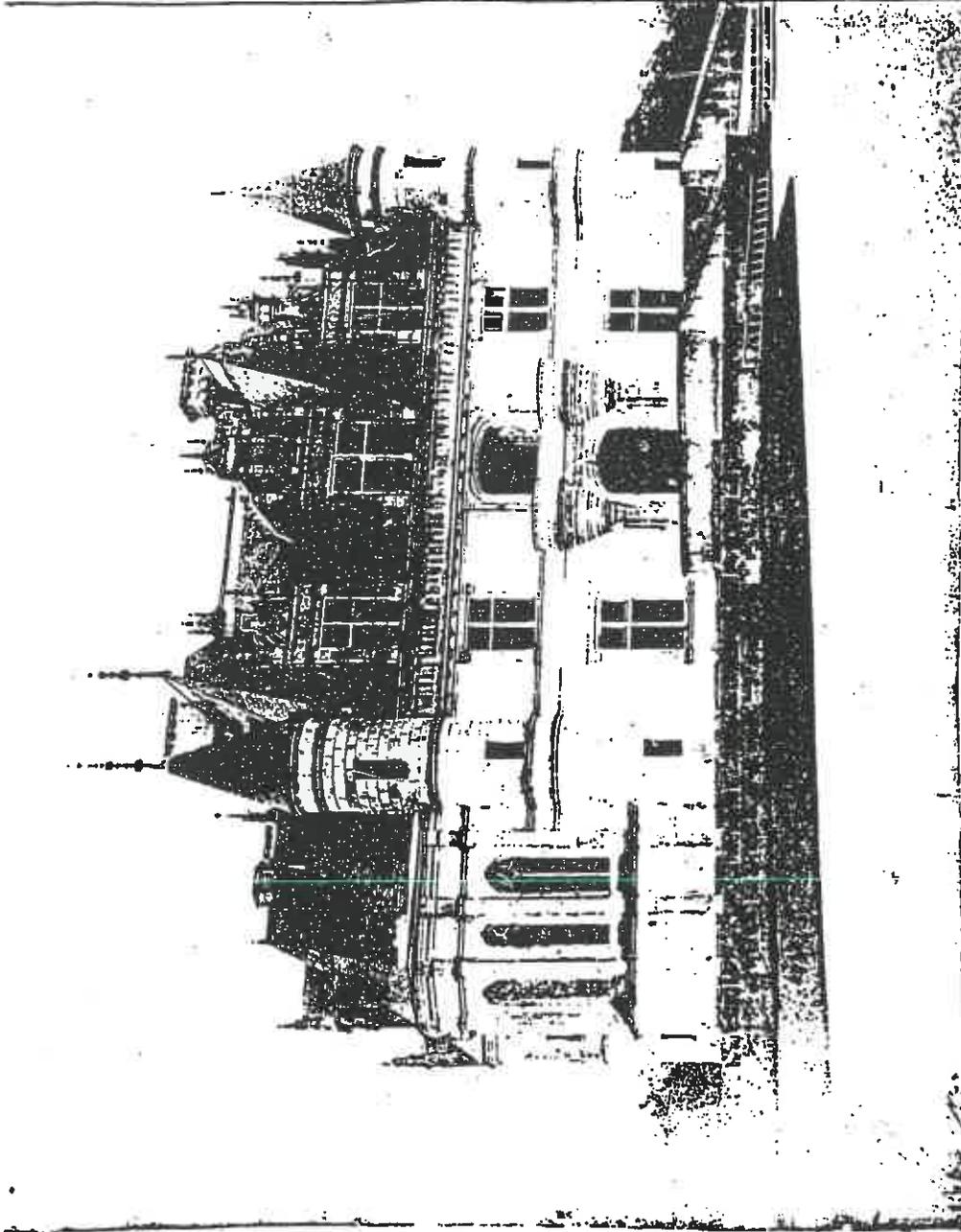


Fig. 10-14. Chateau de Chenonceaux, France, 1515-1523.
(Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St.
Joseph, Missouri.)

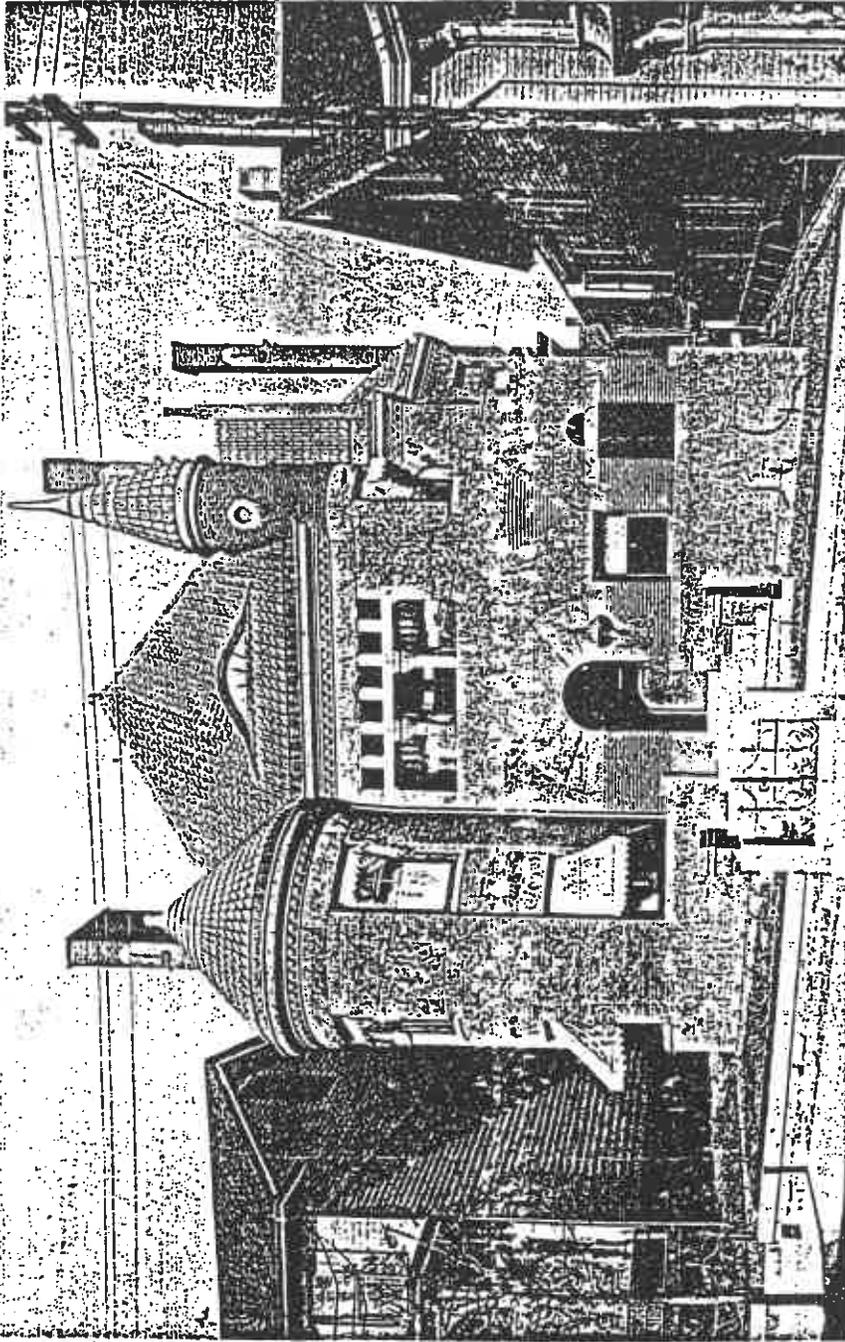


Fig. 10-16. Charles Baltzell Residence, 1222 Twelfth Avenue, Altoona, Pennsylvania, Eckel and Mann, 1891. (Art Work of Blair County [Chicago: W. H. Parish Publishing Co., 1893],

ECKEL & MANN
ARCHITECTS
ST. JOSEPH '89

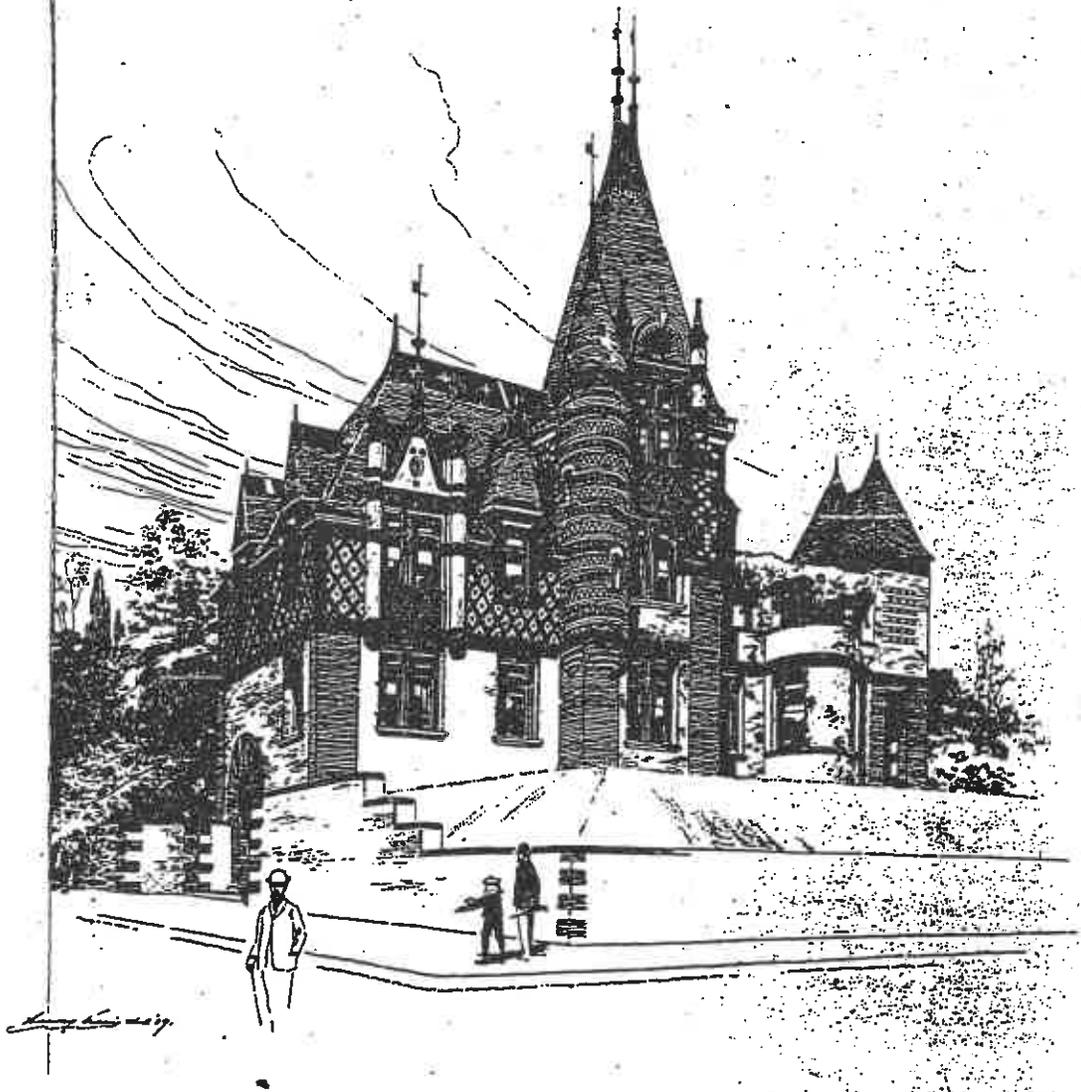


Fig. 10-17. Moss Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889. (American Architect and Building News [September 20, 1890], reprinted in Prairie School Review 5 [1-2 1968], 33.)



Fig. 10-18. J. B. Moss Residence, 906 Sylvania, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889. (News Printing Co., St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated [St. Joseph, News Printing Co., 1894], 93.)

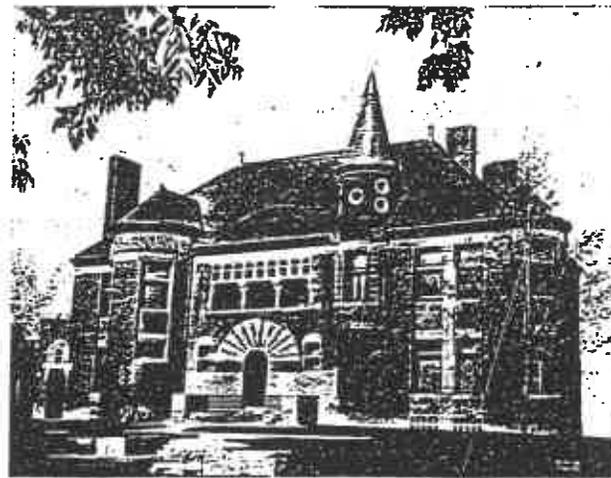
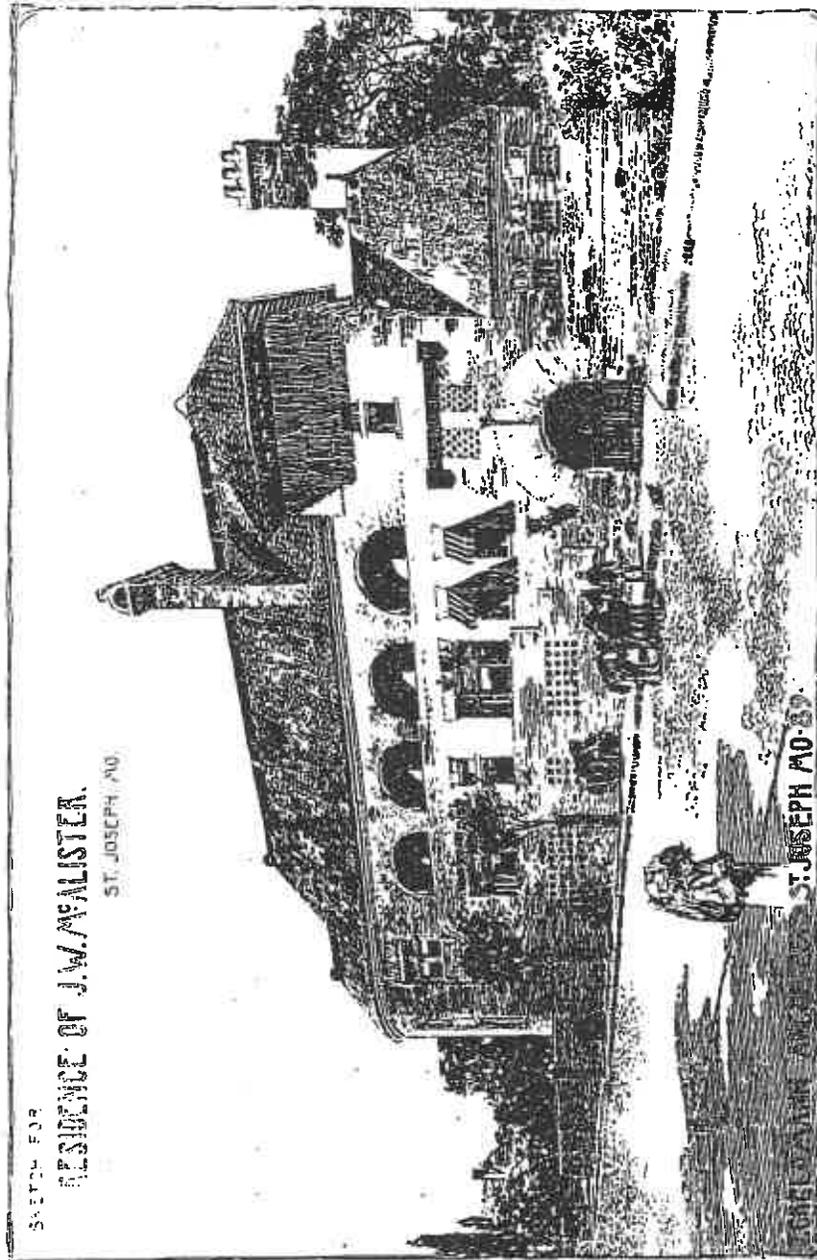


Fig. 10-19. J. W. McAlister Residence, 105 North 19th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1890. (News Printing Co., St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated [St. Joseph, News Printing Co., 1894], 25.)

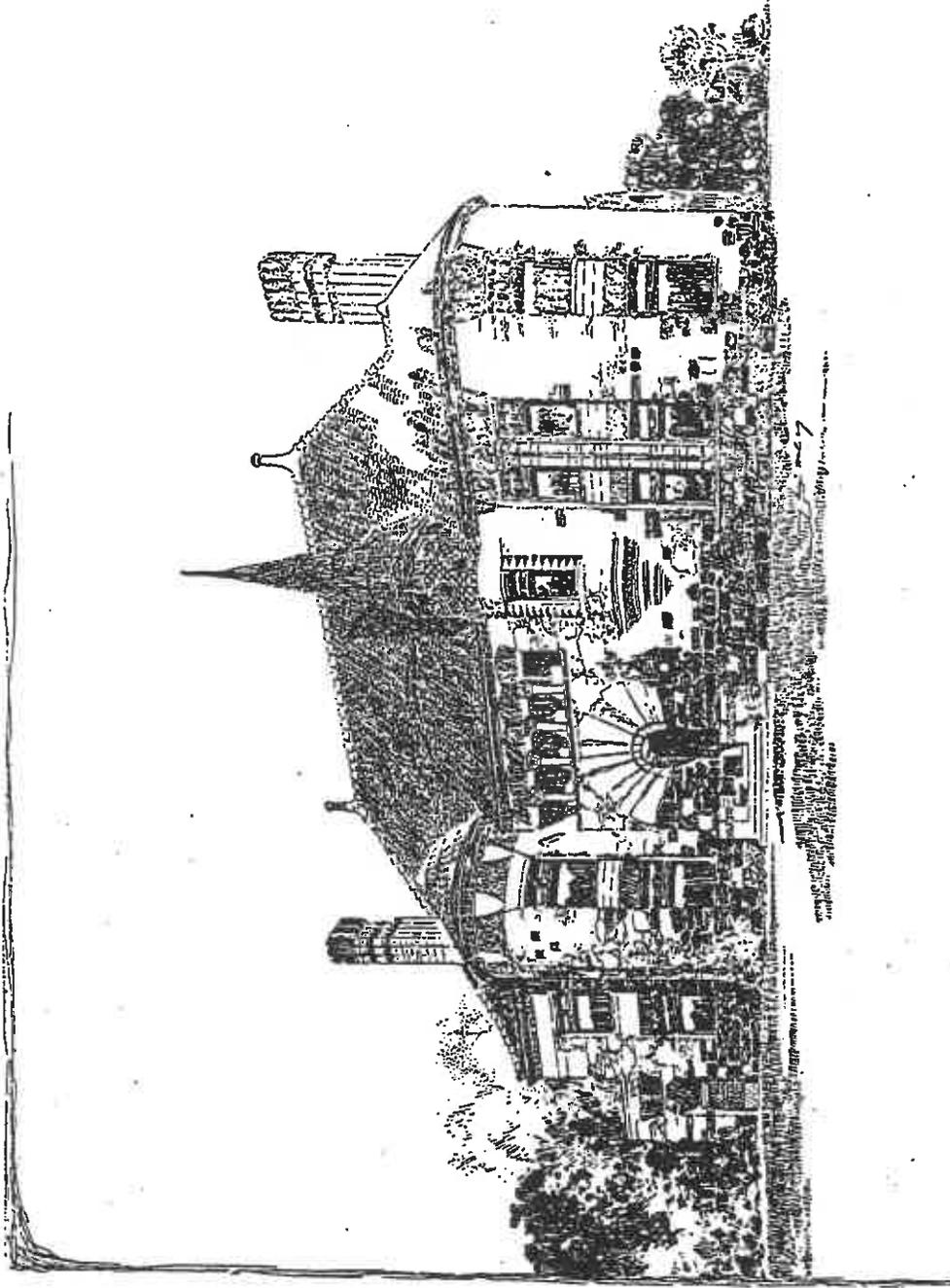


SKETCH FOR
 RESIDENCE OF J.W. McALISTER.
 ST. JOSEPH, MO.

ST. JOSEPH, MO.

Fig. 759. Engineer Architect and Building News, July 12, 1890.

Fig. 10-20. J. W McAlister Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889. (American Architect and Building News [July 12, 1890].)



RESIDENCE OF J. W. McALISTER, ST. JOSEPH, MO.

ECKEL & MANN, ARCHITECTS.

Fig. 10-21. J. W. McAlister Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889. (Inland Architect and News Record 15 [May 1890].)

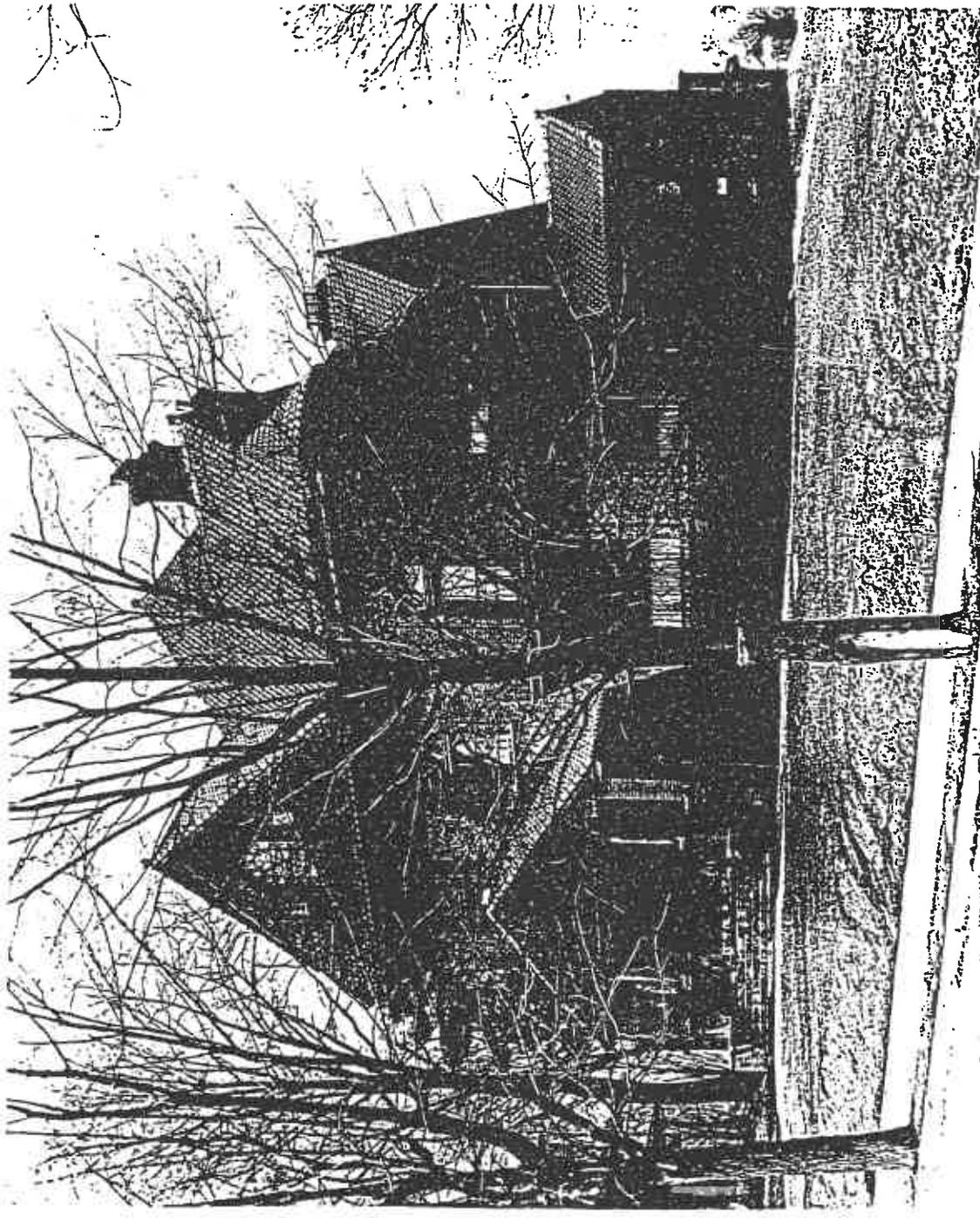
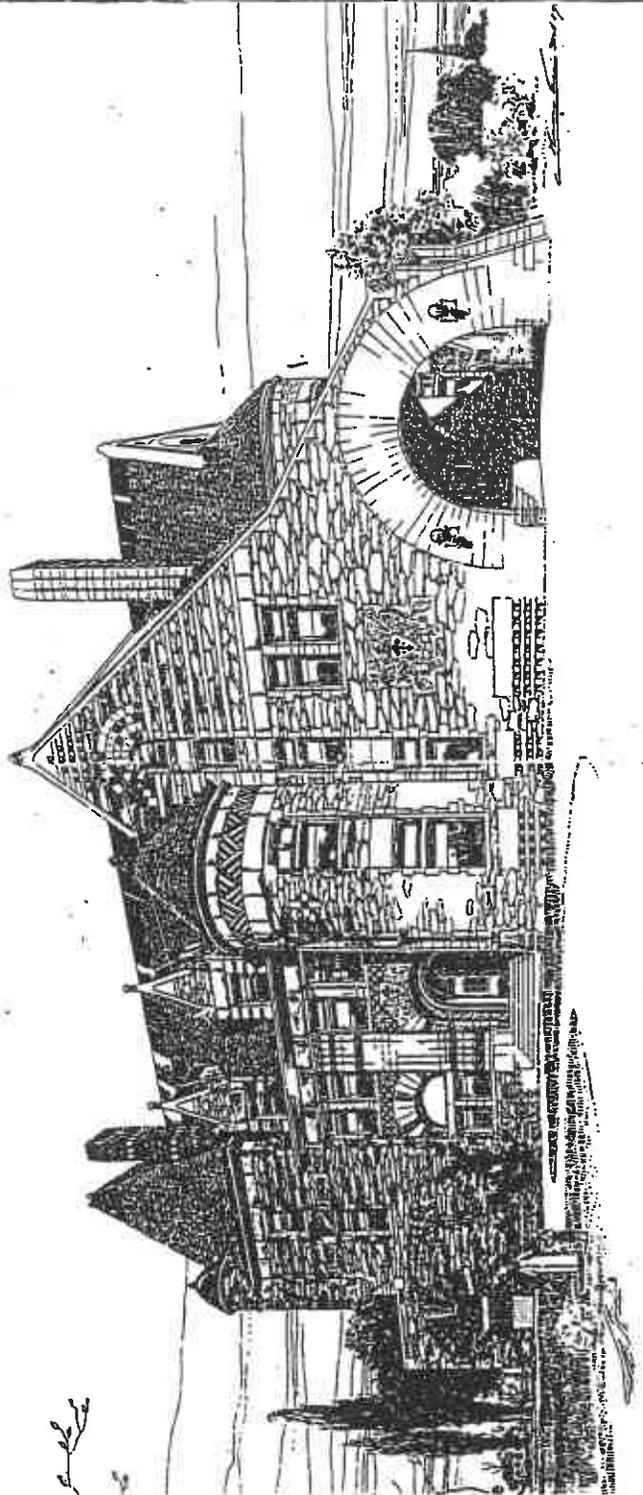


Fig. 10-22. S. M. Nave Residence, 2121 Clay Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

PROPOSED RESIDENCE FOR S. M. NAVE.
ST. JOSEPH, MO.

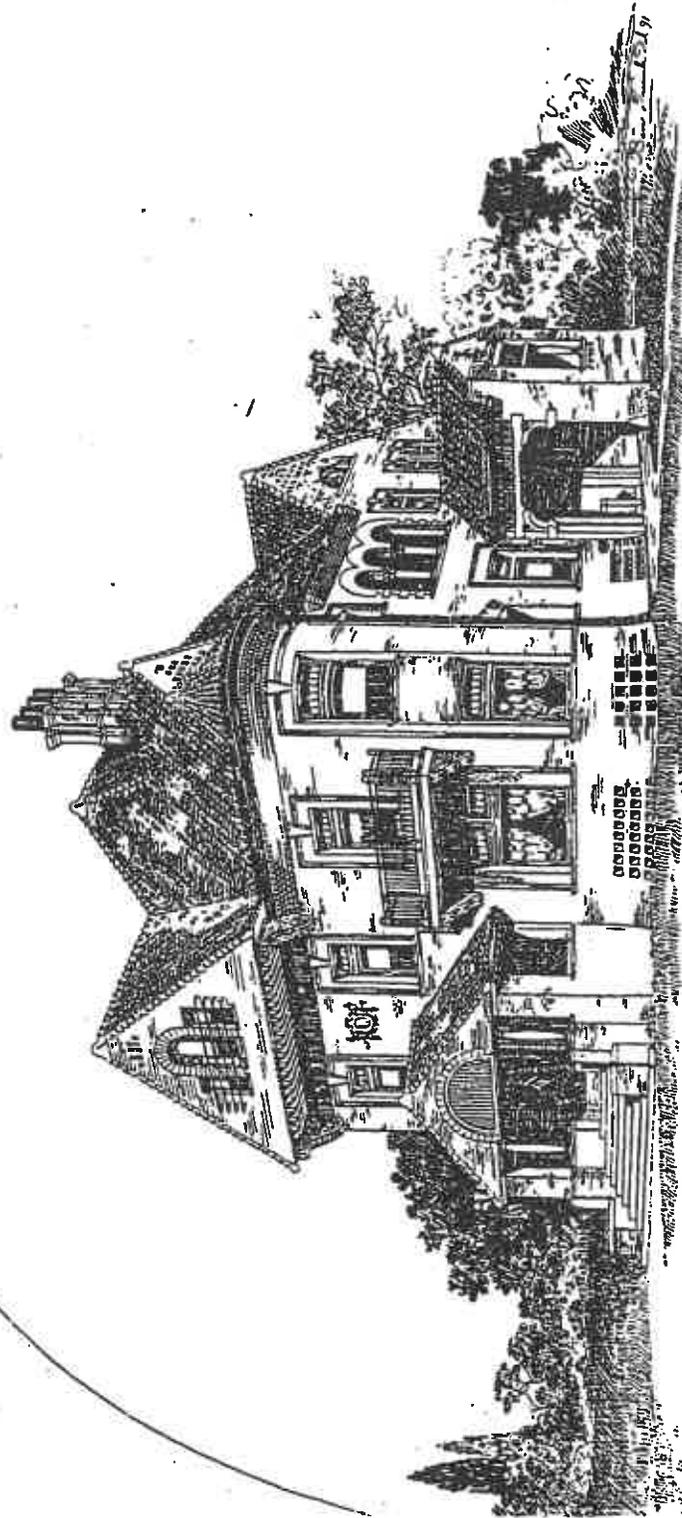
ECKEL & MANN ARCHTS.
ST. JOSEPH, MO. D. 1889.



Not a photograph

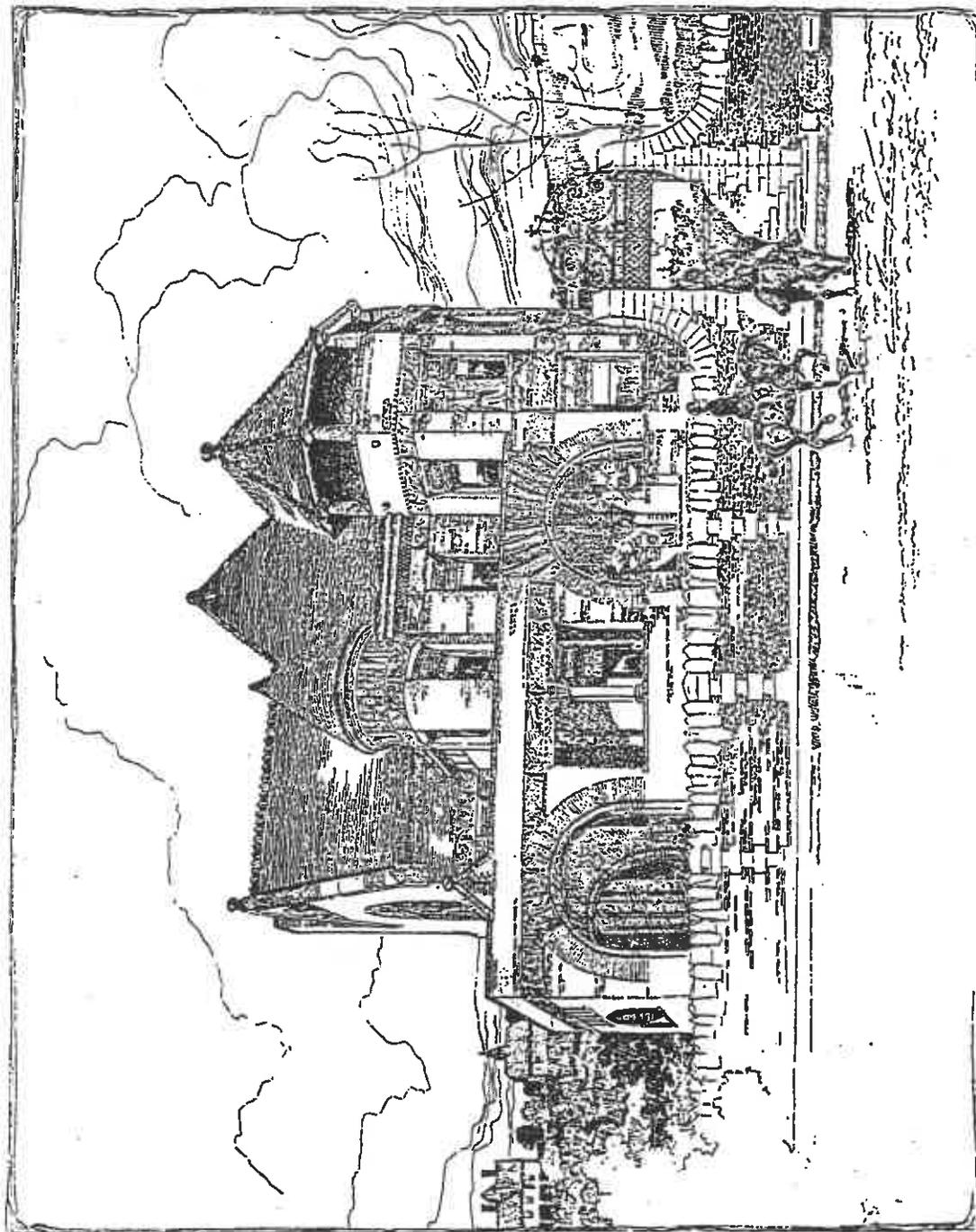
Fig. 10-23. "Proposed Residence for S. M. Nave," St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889. (American Architect and Building News [November 22, 1890]; Architectural Review [Boston] 15 [December 1908], 181.)

ECKEL & MANN ARCHITECTS
ST. JOSEPH & ST. LOUIS. 1891.



RESIDENCE FOR S. M. NAVE, ST. JOSEPH, MISSOURI.
ECKEL & MANN, ARCHITECTS.

Fig. 10-24. "Residence for S. M. Nave," St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1889. (Inland Architect and News Record 19 [1892].)



RESIDENCE OF T. D. McNEELEY, ST. JOSEPH, MO.

ECKEL & MANN, ARCHITECTS.

Fig. 10-25. J. D. McNeeley Residence, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889. (Inland Architect and News Record [15 May 1890].)

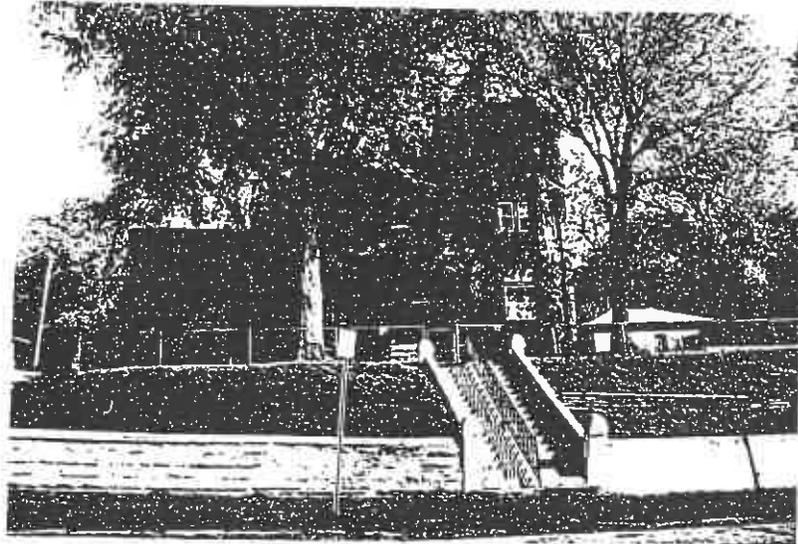


Fig. 10-26. J. D. McNeeley Residence, 701 South 11th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1889. (Author.)

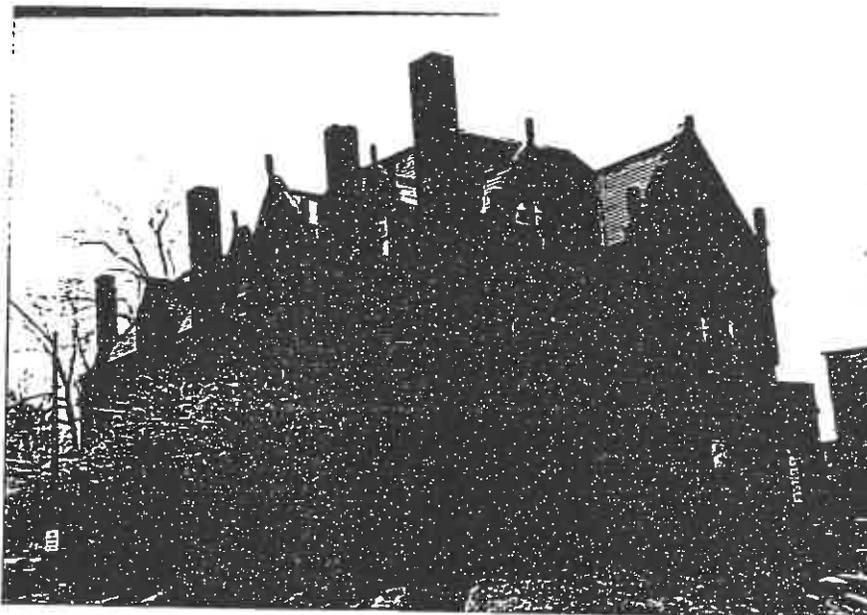


Fig. 10-27. Calvin C. Burnes Residence, 301 South Tenth Street, Eckel and Mann, ca. 1888. (Author.)

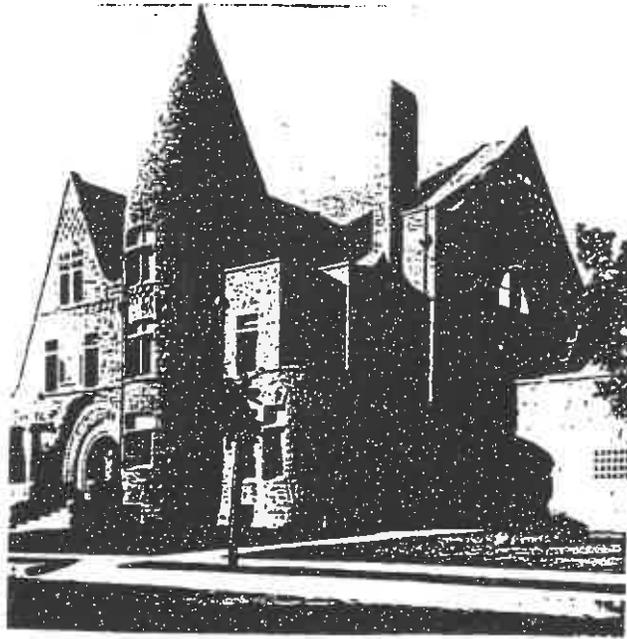
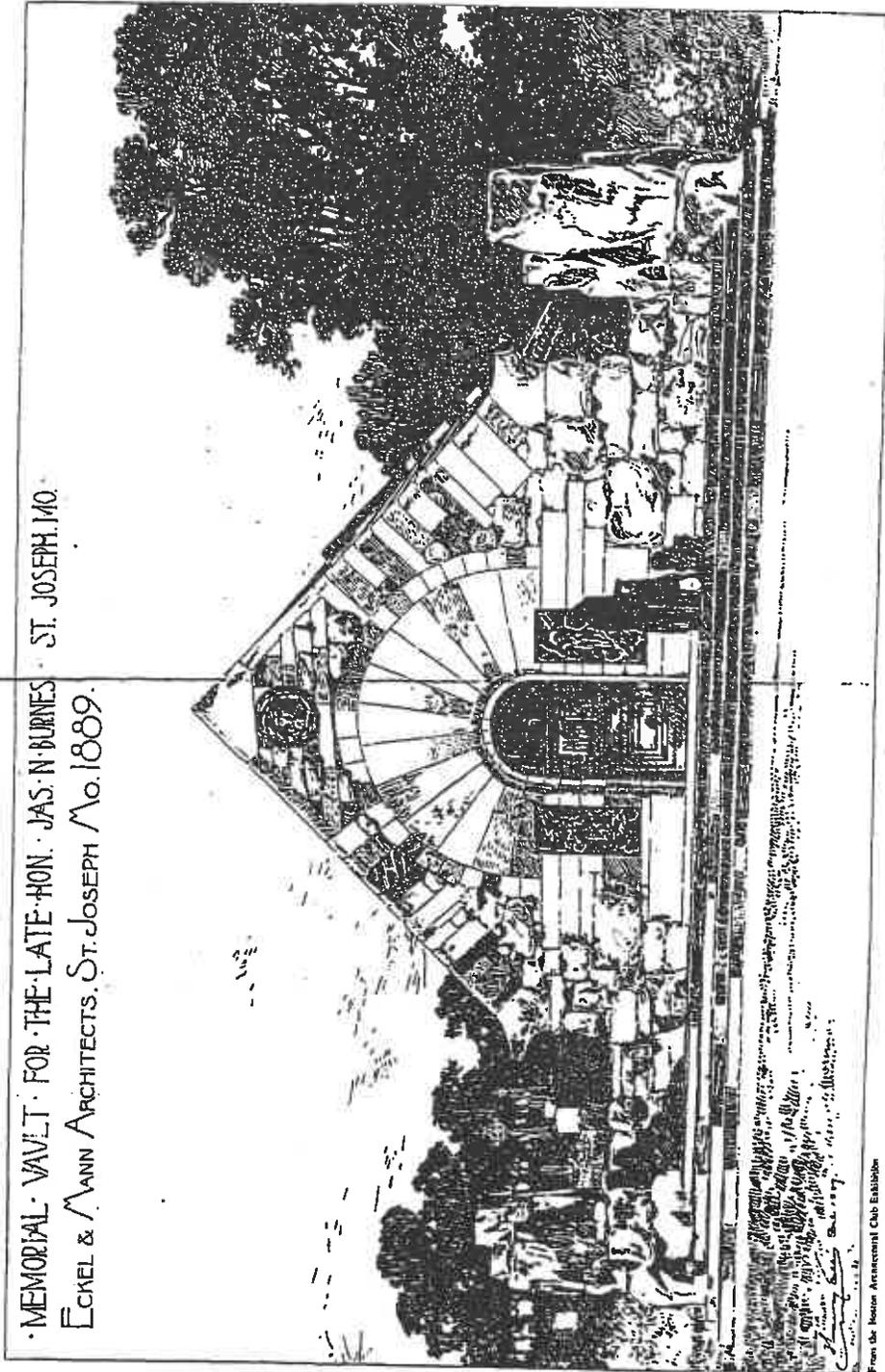


Fig. 10-28. Samuel Gale House, Minneapolis, LeRoy S. Buffington with Ellis, 1888. (Roger G. Kennedy, "The Long Shadow of Harvey Ellis," Minnesota History [Fall 1966], 99.)



Fig. 10-29. George W. Van Dusen Residence, Minneapolis, Fremont D. Orff and Edgar E. Joralemon with Albert H. Levering (Ellis), ca. 1893. (Roger G. Kennedy, "The Long Shadow of Harvey Ellis," Minnesota History [Fall 1966], 105.)

MEMORIAL VULT FOR THE LATE HON. JAS. N. BURNES · ST. JOSEPH MO.
ECKEL & MANN ARCHITECTS, ST. JOSEPH Mo. 1889.



From the Boston Architectural Club Exhibition

Fig. 10-30. Burnes Tomb, Mount Mora Cemetery, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1889. (American Architect and Building News [June 14, 1890]; Architectural Review [Boston] 15 [December 1908].)

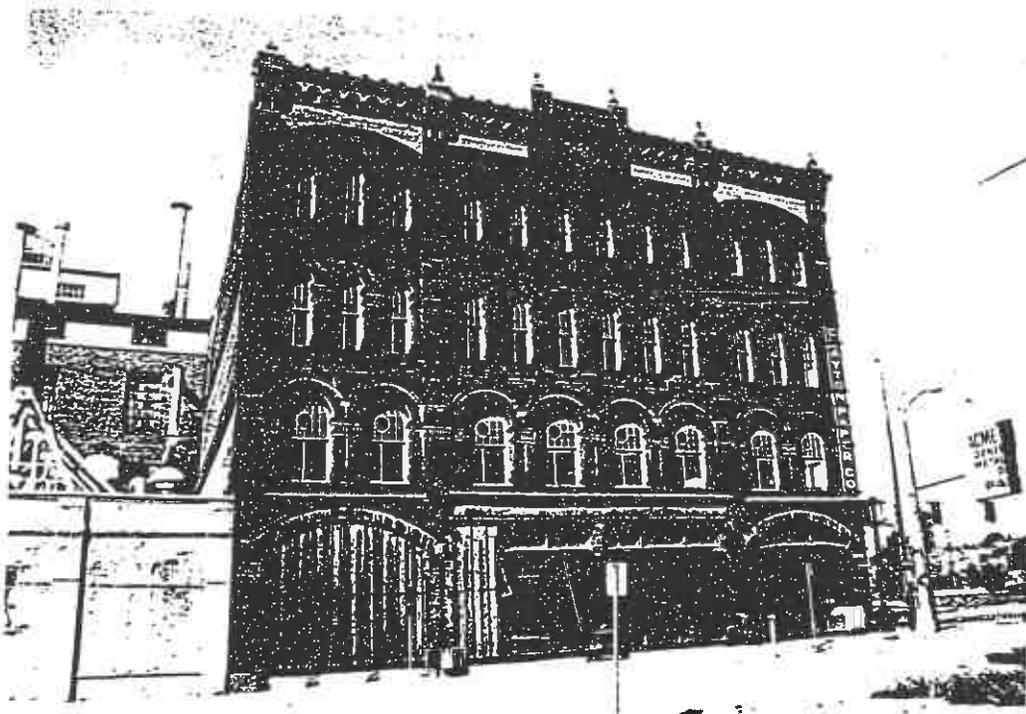


Fig. 11-1. Turner, Fraser and Co. Wholesale Grocers (later known as Sheridan Clayton Paper Co.), 302-308 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882. (Author.)

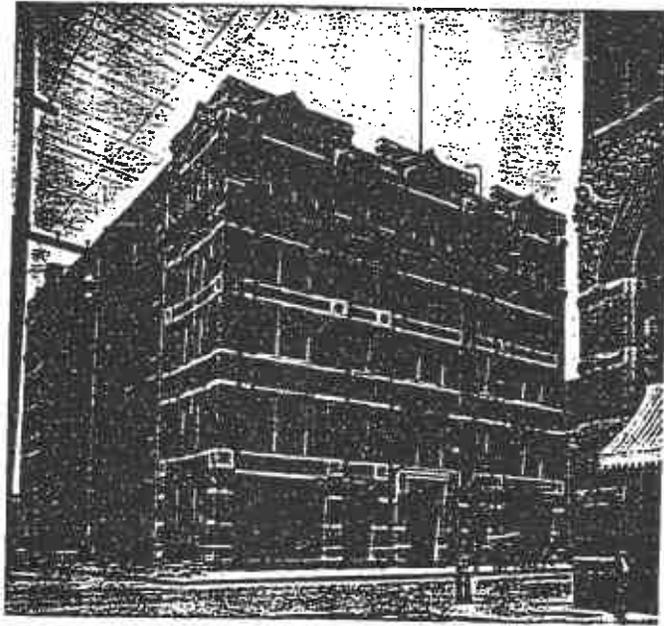
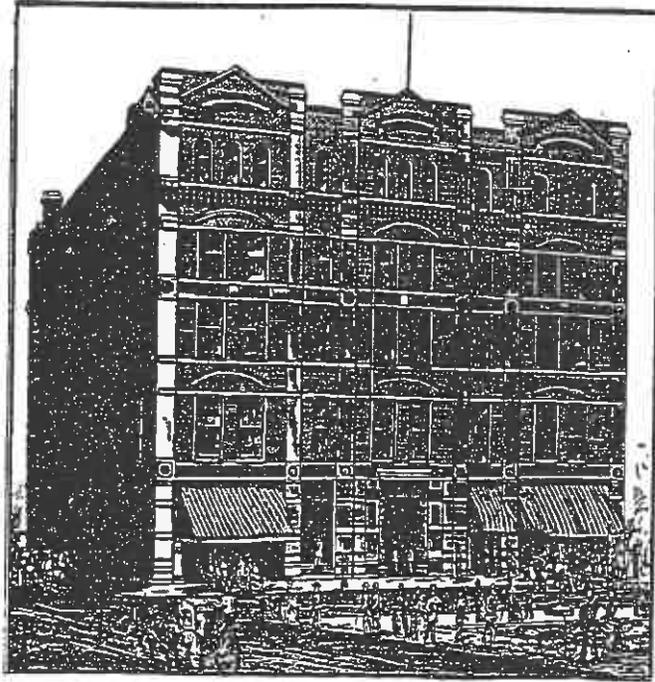


Fig. 11-2. Nave-McCord Mercantile Co., 310-324 South Third Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882. (Drawing: C. H. Dunn and Co., Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri, Comprising a Brief History of the Metropolis of the West [St. Joseph: L. Hardman, 1887], 32; photo: News Printing Co., St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition: St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri, Illustrated [St. Joseph, News Printing Co., 1894], 26.)

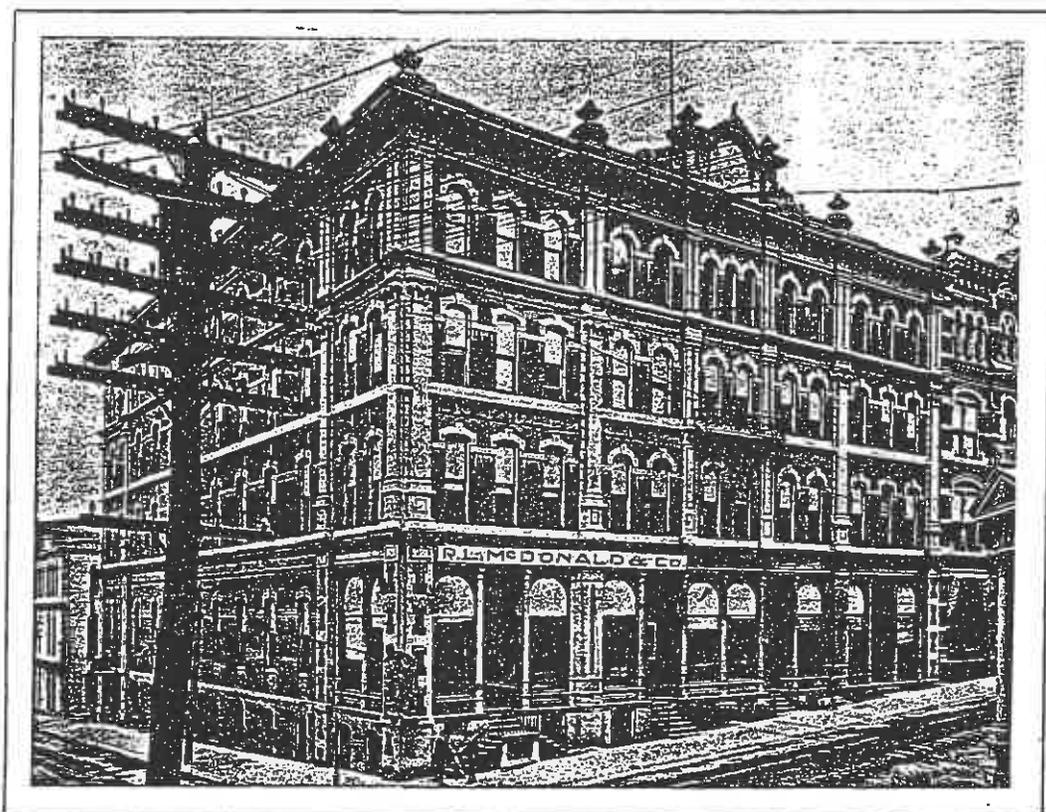


Fig. 11-3. R. L. McDonald and Co., 202 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880. (St. Joseph Daily News Souvenir Edition, St. Joseph and Northwest Missouri [St. Joseph: News Printing Co., 1894], vi.)

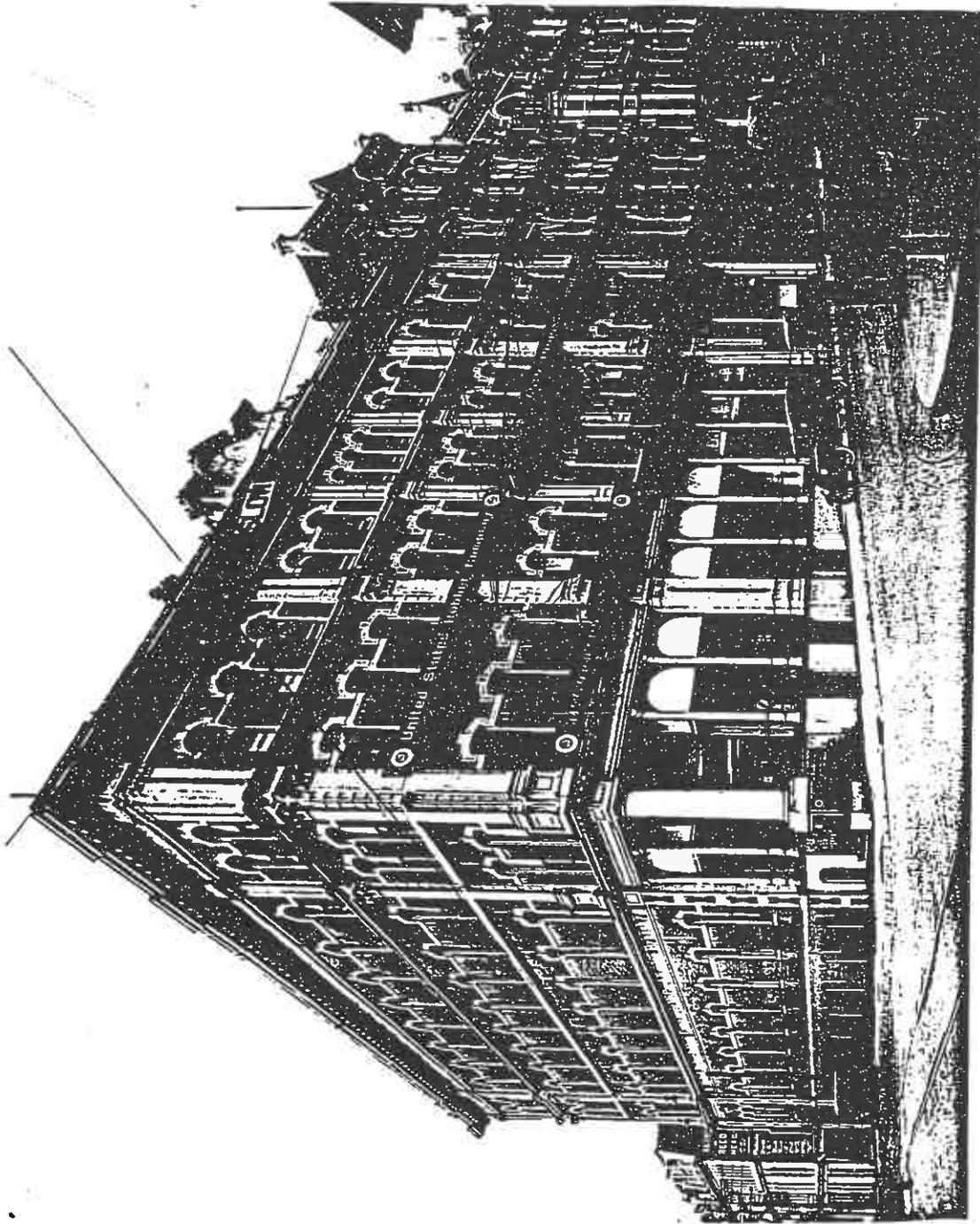


Fig. 11-4. R. L. McDonald and Co., 202 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880, after alterations. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

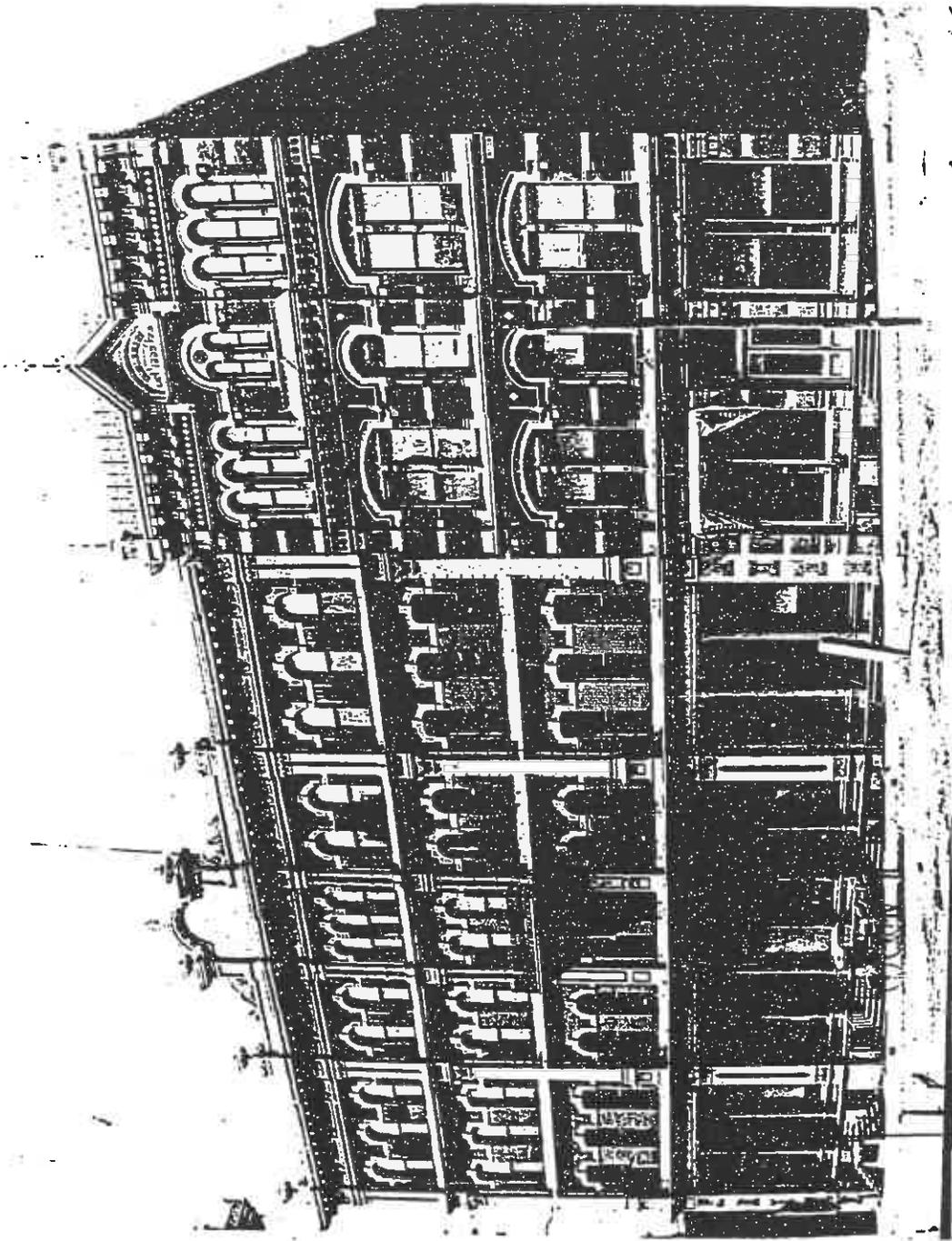


Fig. 11-5. Englehart-Winning & Co., 212 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880 (Joining R. L. McDonald and Co.). (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

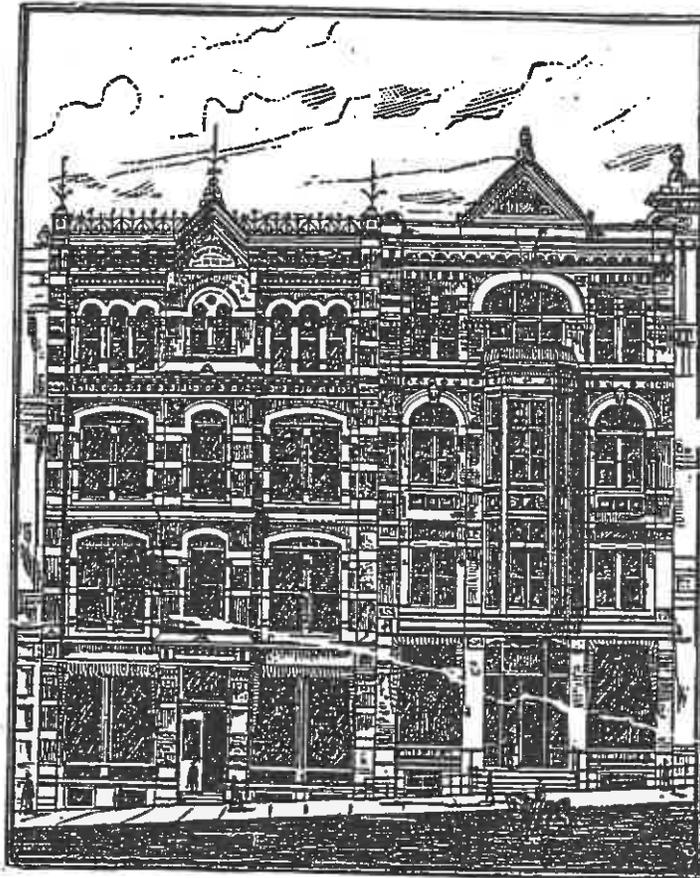


Fig. 11-6. Englehart-Winning & Co., 212 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1880 (joining Englehart-Winning & Co., at 214 North Fourth Street). (C. H. Dunn and Co., Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri, Comprising a Brief History of the Metropolis of the West [St. Joseph: L. Hardman, 1887], 39.)

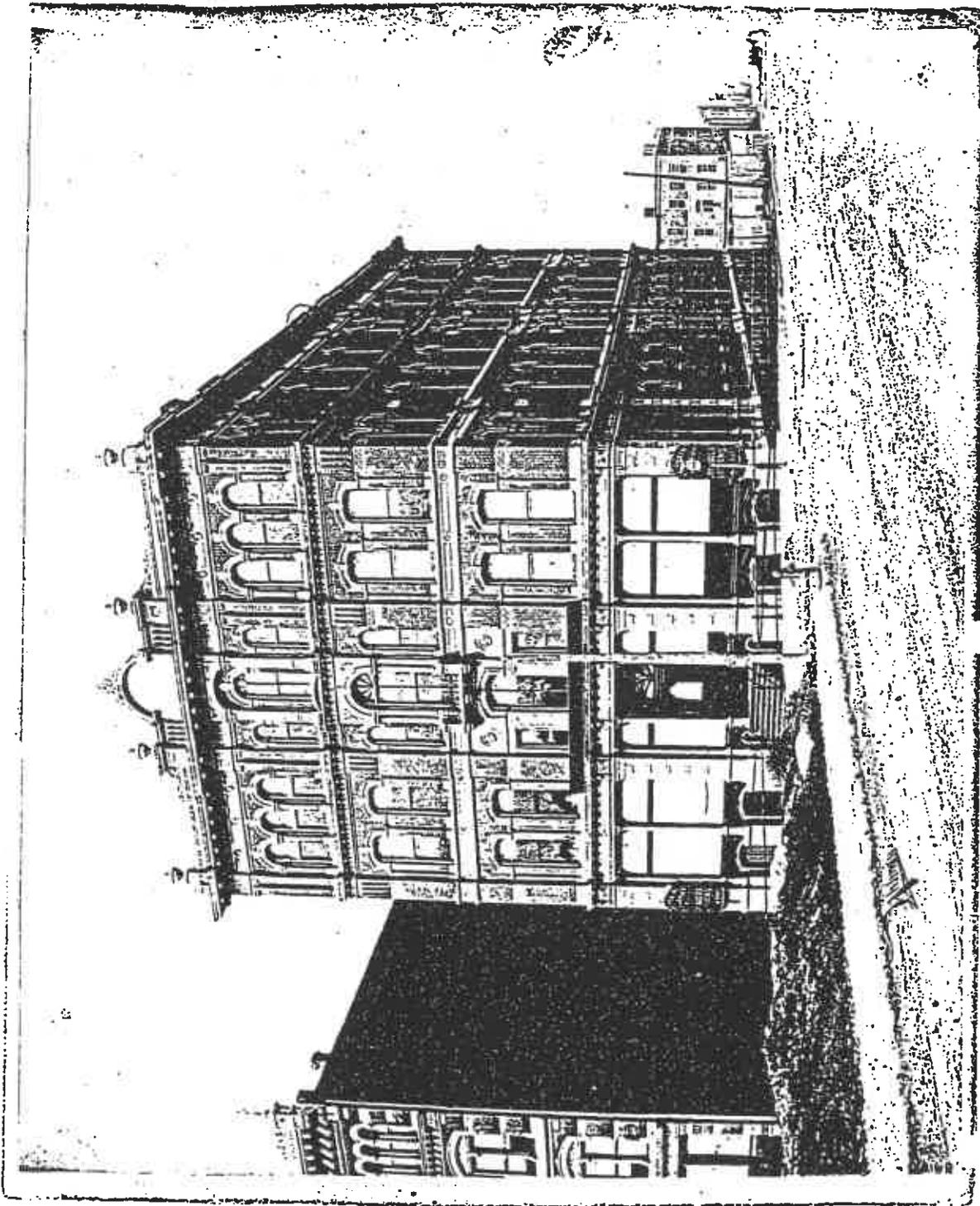


Fig. 11-7. Brittain-Richardson & Co., 224 North Fourth, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

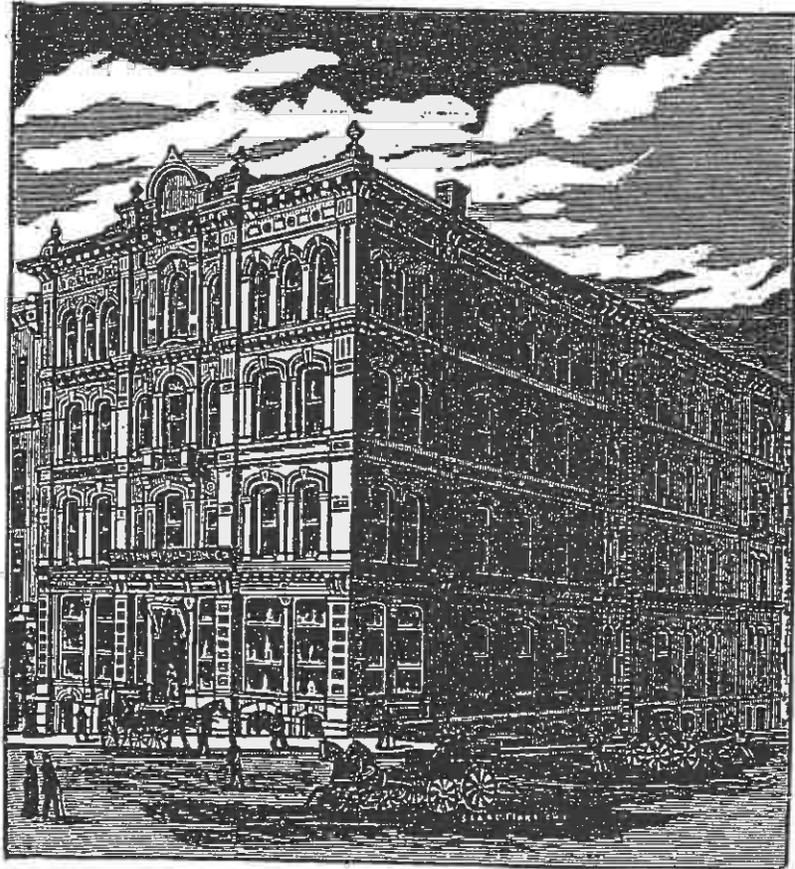


Fig. 11-8. Brittain-Richardson & Co., 224 North Fourth, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1882. (Drawing: C. H. Dunn and Co., Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri, Comprising a Brief History of the Metropolis of the West [St. Joseph: L. Hardman, 1887], 59.)



Fig. 11-9. Englehart-Winning & Co., 214 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1884. (Author.)

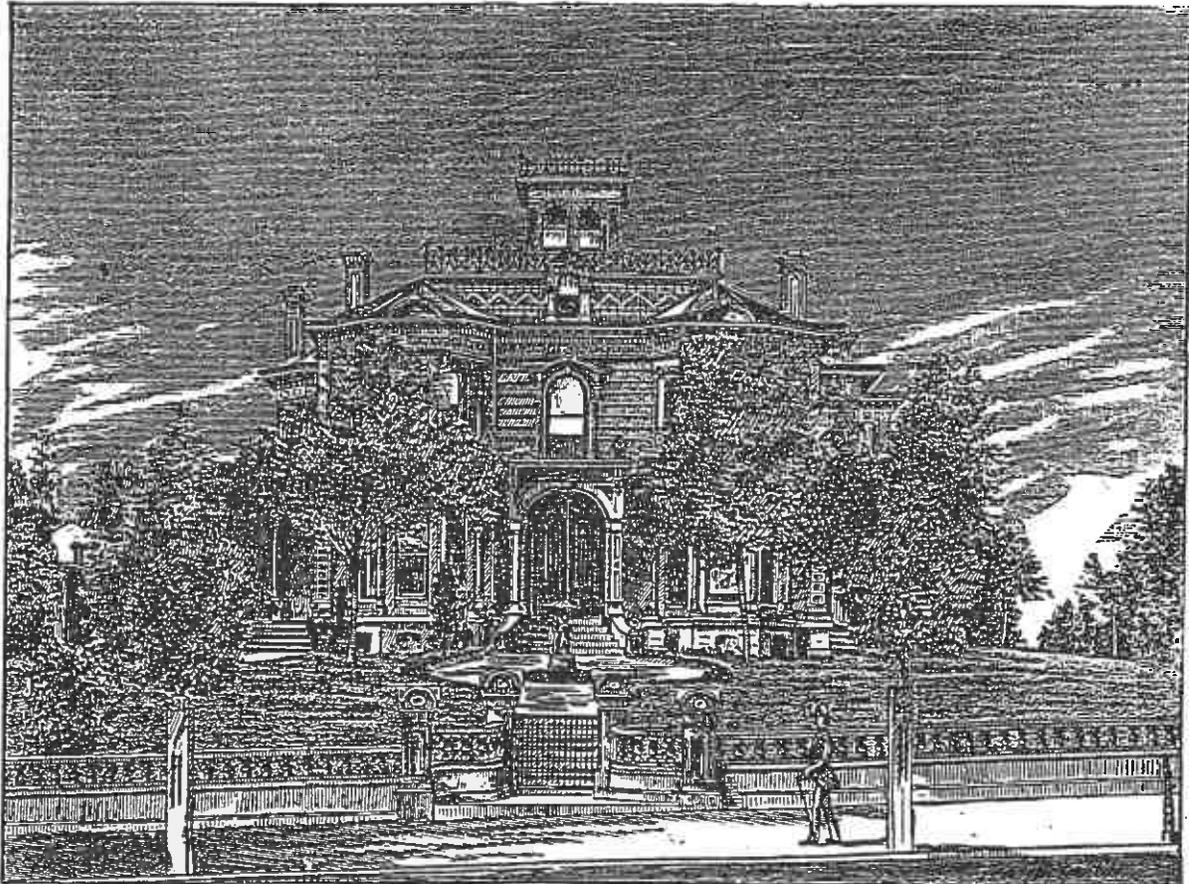


Fig. 11-10. Schuster Residence, 703 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel, associate architect, ca. 1881. (C. H. Dunn and Co., Illustrated Review of St. Joseph, Missouri, Comprising a Brief History of the Metropolis of the West [St. Joseph: L. Hardman, 1887], 20).

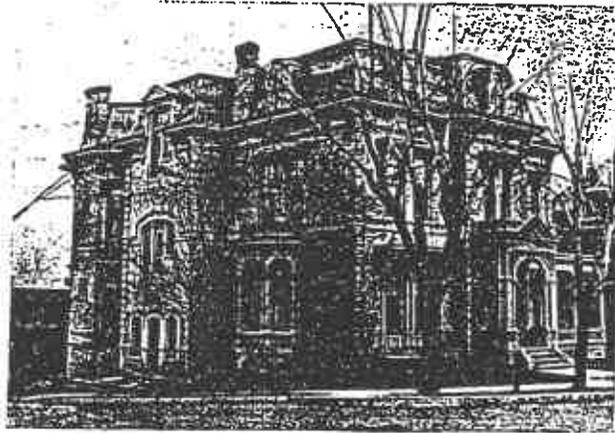


Fig. 11-11. John S. Lemon Residence, 517 North Fourth Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, improvements ca. 1889. (United Commercial Traveler's Souvenir, Illustrated [St. Joseph: Combe Printing, 1897], 79.)

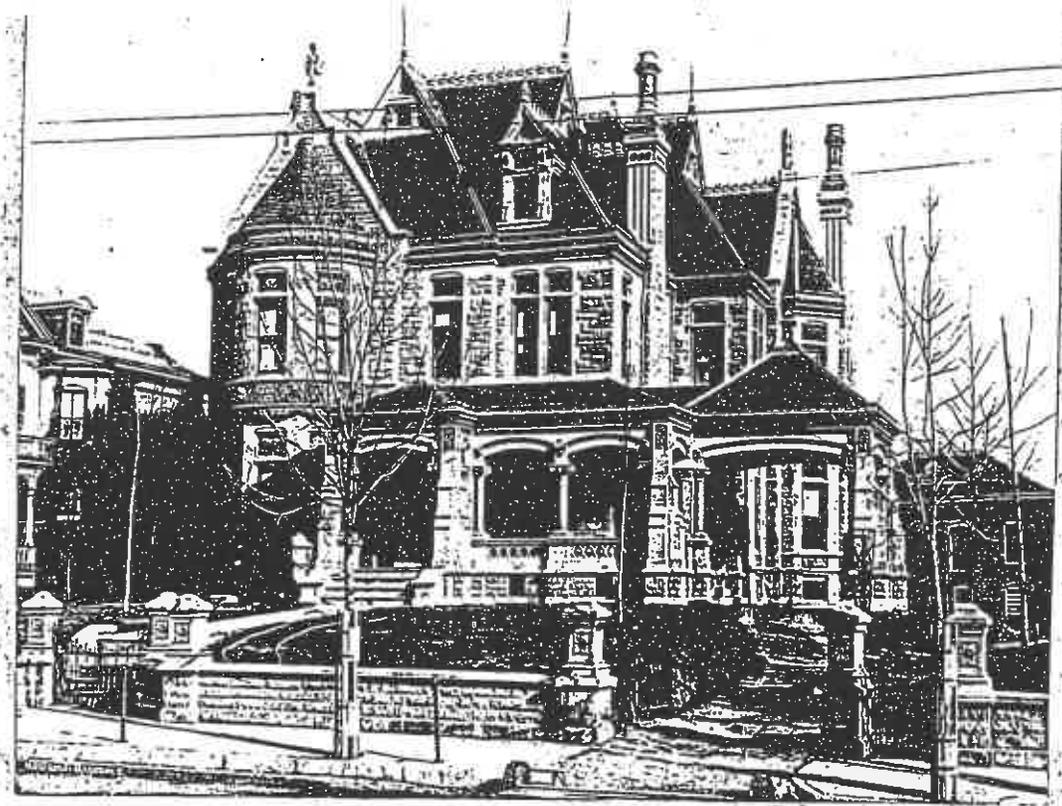


Fig. 11-12. Ogden Residence, 809 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1885. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)



Fig. 11-13. Robison Residence, 631 Hall Street, St. Joseph,
Eckel and Mann, 1888. (Author.)



Fig. 11-14. Alfred T. Smith Residence, 802 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1891. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

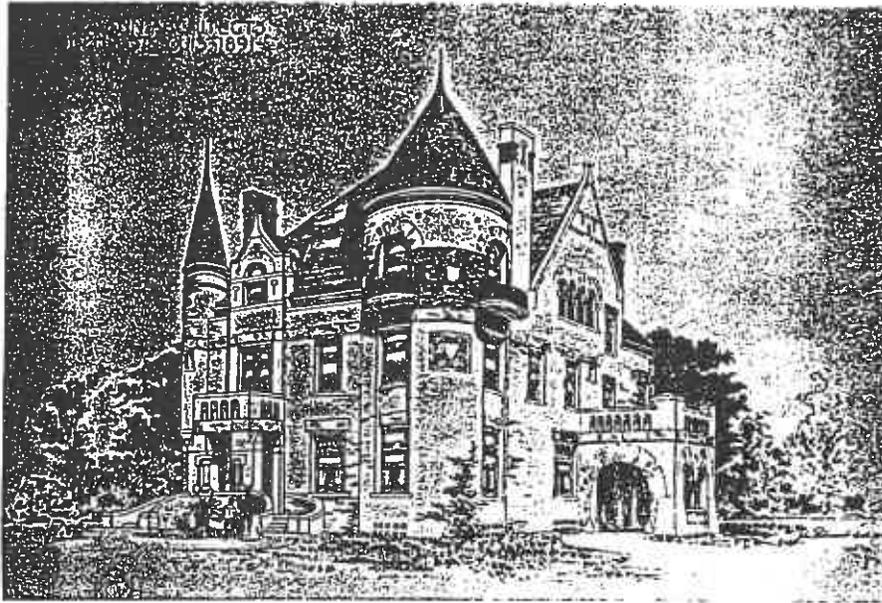


Fig. 11-15. Alfred T. Smith Residence, 802 Hall Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, John Richmond, delineator, 1891. (Sheridan Logan, Old Saint Jo: Gateway to the West [St. Joseph: John Sublett Logan Foundation, 1979], opposite 172.)

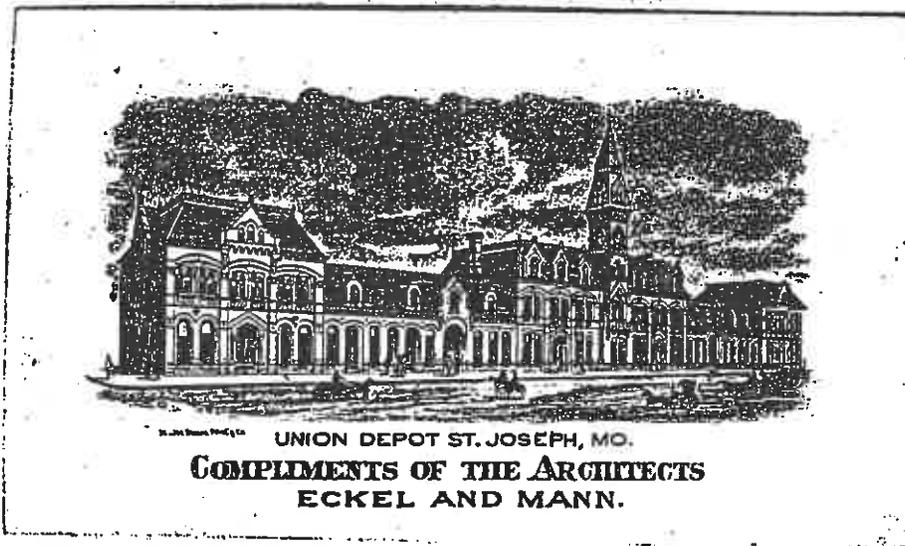


Fig. 11-16. Union Depot, St. Joseph, 6th Street and Mitchell Avenue, Eckel and Mann, 1881-1882. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

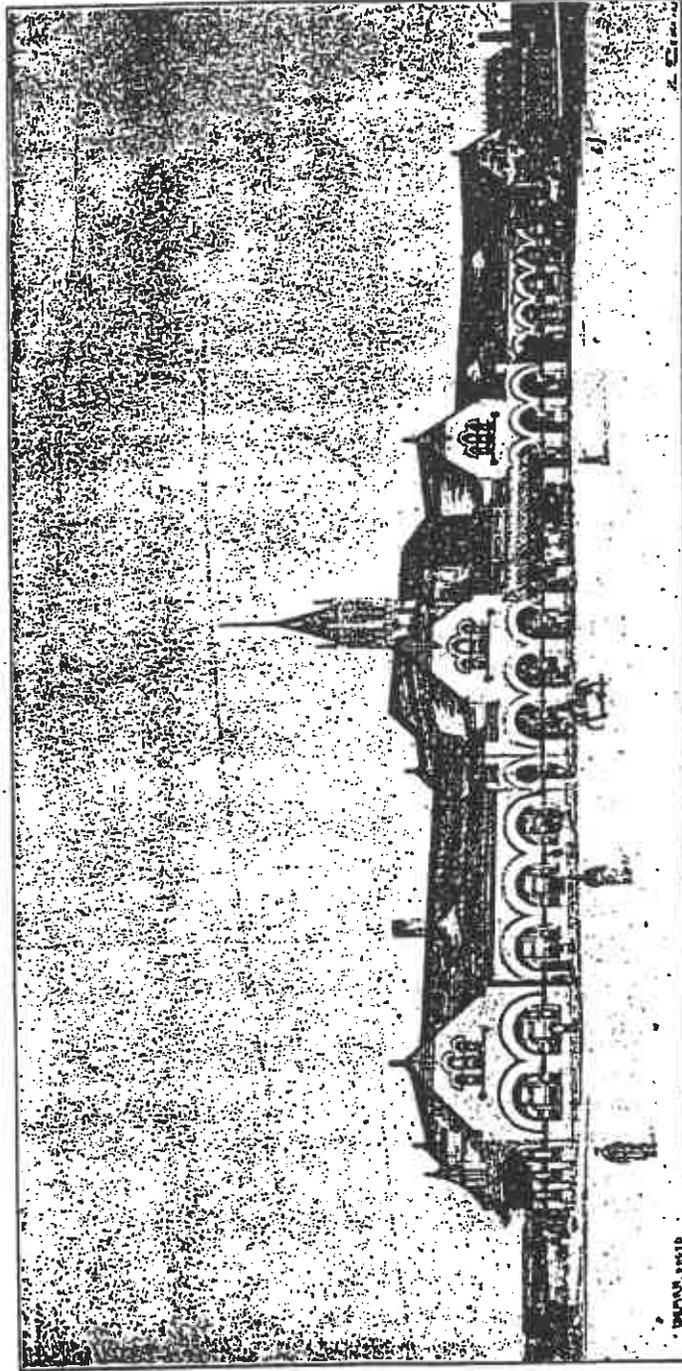


Fig. 11-17. New Union Station, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, architects, Ben Trunk, delineator, 1895. (United Commercial Traveler's Souvenir, Illustrated [St. Joseph: Combe Printing, 1897], 13.)

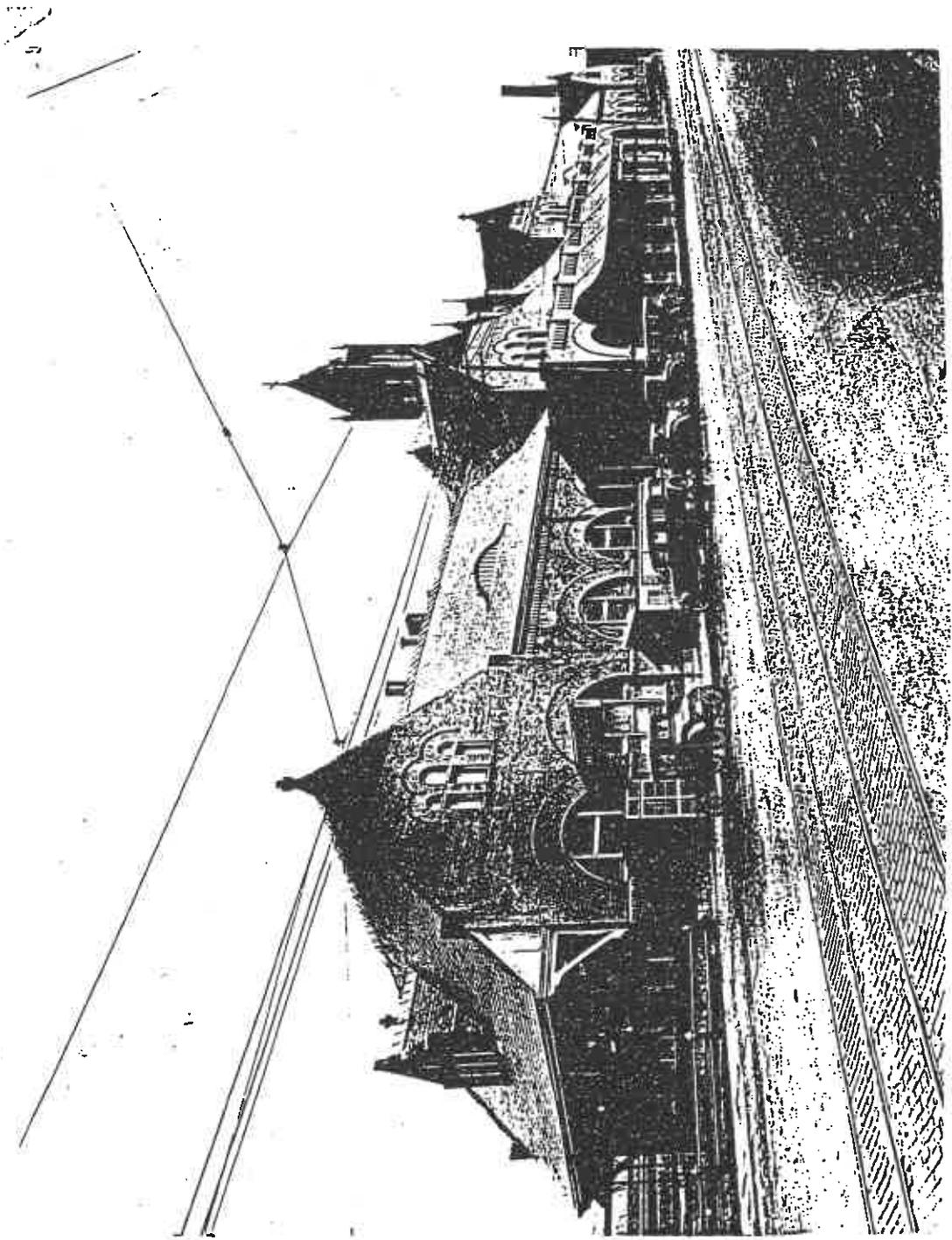


Fig. 11-18. New Union Station, 1221 South 6th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1895. (Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., St. Joseph.)

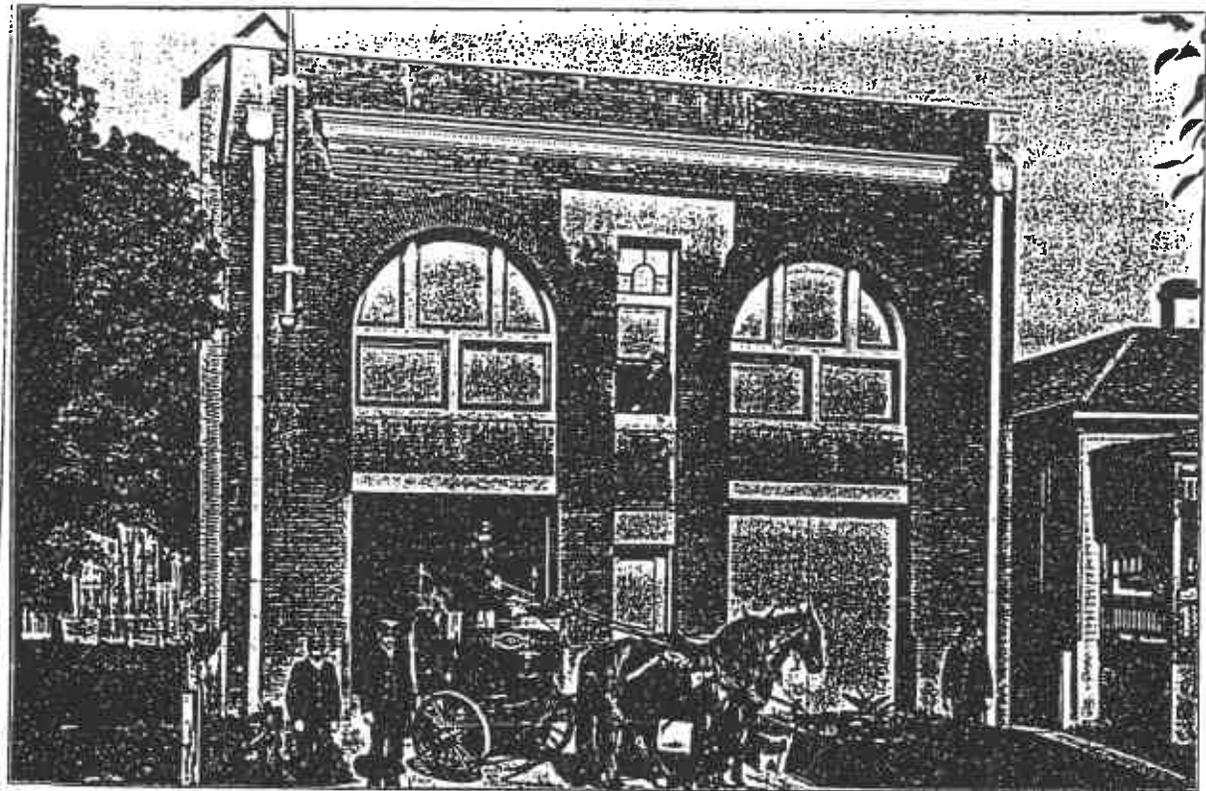
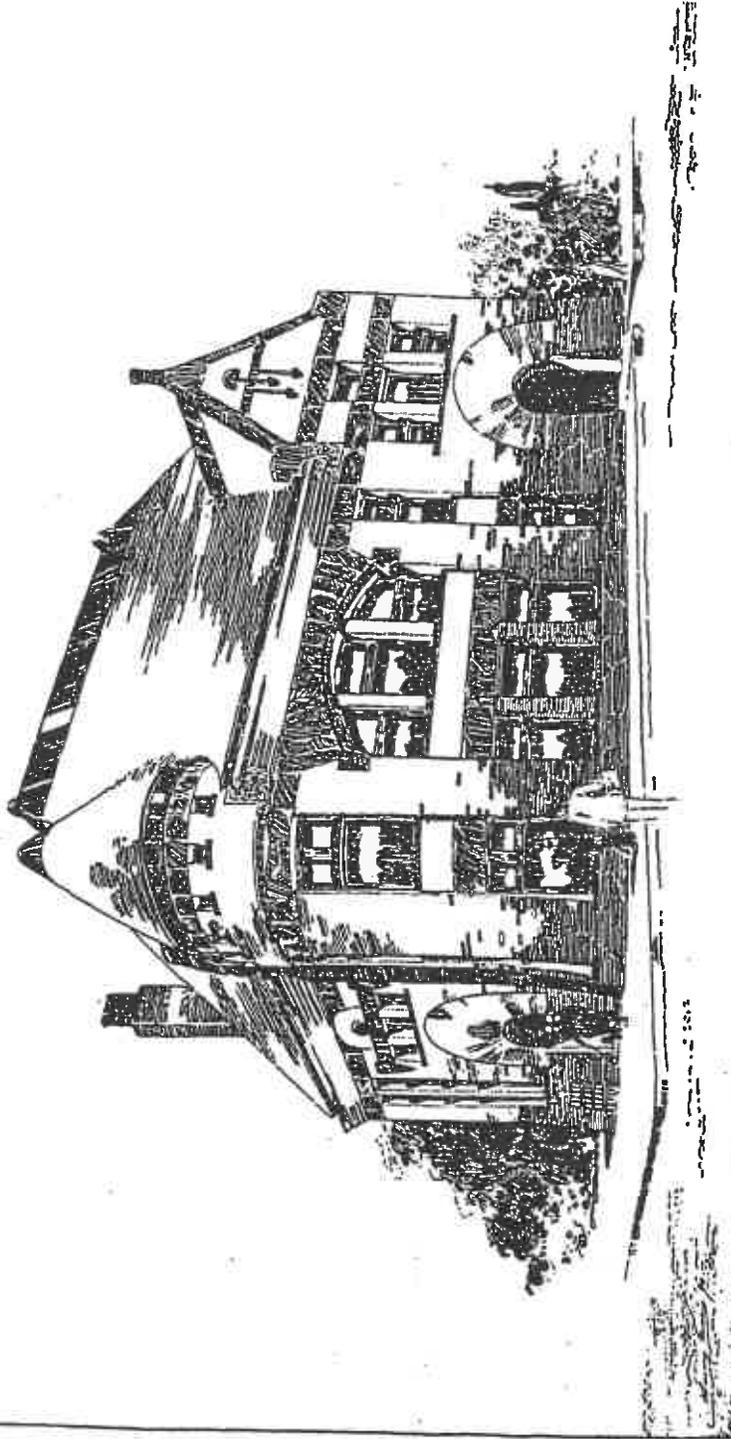


Fig. 11-19. Hose House #6, 103 North 18th Street, St. Joseph, Eckel and Mann, 1890-1891. (Board of Trustees, St. Joseph Fire Department, Illustrated [St. Joseph: Board of Trustees, 1900], 47.)

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ST. JOSEPH - ST. LOUIS A^o 90



CENTRAL POLICE STATION, ST. JOSEPH, MO.

ECKEL & MANN, ARCHITECTS.

NORTHWESTERN ARCHITECT.

VOL. VII, NO. 8, AUGUST, 1890

Fig. 11-20. Central Police Station, 17th and Messanie Streets, Eckel and Mann, architects, Harvey Ellis, delineator, 1890. (Northwestern Architect 8 [August 1890].)

Index

Structures are located in St. Joseph, MO unless otherwise indicated

Page numbers in italics indicate illustration

A

- Adler and Sullivan, 520
- Administration Building, Palmer College (Albany, MO), 273, 503, 602
- Albany, NY, 212, 227, 273
- Alden, Mr. tenement houses, 9th St., 580
- Aldrich and Briscoe, 393
- Aldrich, Bertha May Dennison, 397
- Aldrich, Lucile Servier Gerner, 397-398
- Aldrich, William Stein, 1, 274, 342, 346n, 378, 382, 384, 385-400, 400n, 408, 411, 412, 414, 548, 583
- Alexandria Apartments, 716-720 Faraon St., 402, 402n, 604
- Allegheny County Courthouse (Pittsburgh, PA), 502
- Allen, Ben D. Residence (Highland, KS), 590
- Allen, R.K., 586
- Allen, S.S. Grocery Co. shop, 701-103 Edmond, 600
- Amberg, Jacob apartments, 604
- American Academy of Fine Arts (Rome), 390, 391, 393, 411n
- American Angus Association Building, 3131 Frederick Ave., 577
- American Biscuit & Manufacturing Co. building, 597
- American Hominy Co. Mills building, 5th & Monterey, 597
- American Institute of Architects (AIA), 82, 83, 136-137, 300, 307, 308, 351n, 374n, 397, 414
- American School of Architecture (Rome), 389-393, 390n
- Andrew County Infirmary (Savannah, MO), 615
- Andrew County Mutual Telephone Co. (Savannah, MO), 600
- Andrew County Poor House Building (Savannah, MO), 615
- A.O.U.W. Building, 579
- Architectural Education (United States), 345, 367-368
- Architectural Fees, 308, 309, 309n, 310
- Architectural Elements, Materials & Motifs, 181, 199-200, 201-202, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 241n, 242, 247n, 253, 255, 256-257, 258, 259, 260-261, 264, 268n, 269, 269n, 275, 306n, 313, 318-319, 338, 361, 364, 376, 379, 406-407, 412
- Architectural Styles
 - Academic Classical, 313-314, 328
 - Beaux-Arts Classical, 364, 404, 406
 - Chateausque, 229, 230, 231, 239, 240, 245, 268
 - Classical, 43-44

Classicism, Neo-Classical, 226, 251, 284, 361-365, 376, 390, 404, 407
 Colonial/Colonial Revival, 374, 393, 394
 Commercial Style, 338
 Federal, 141
 Francis I – see Chateausque
 French Renaissance Revival, 283
 Georgian Revival, 379, 401
 Gothic Revival, 402
 Jacobethan Revival, 401
 Mission Style, 355n
 Missouri River Chateaux, 227
 Néo-Grec, 262, 268
 Queen Anne, 201
 Regency, 29-30
 Rhineland Renaissance, 27, 427
 Richardsonian Romanesque, 208, 212n, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 248,
 250, 251, 253, 270, 271, 272, 363
 Romanesque Revival, 338
 Second Empire, 268, 275, 276-277
 Second Renaissance Revival, 338, 407
 Spanish Revival, 374
 Vernacular, 116-117, 156
 Architecture (general), 129-141, 340-342
 Arlington Hotel (Hot Springs, AR), 578
 Armstrong and Brother, 102
 Arnold, Ray, 583
 Atchison County Courthouse (Rockport, MO), 275, 606
 Atchison County Hospital, 615
 Atchison, KS, 167, 357, 358
 Atelier, 1, 2, 46-54, 58-62, 74-75, 84, 85, 222-223, 345-347, 349, 365, 367-368, 373, 386, 387,
 390, 392n, 396, 399, 404, 422, 526
 Auditorium Building (Chicago), 520
 Austin, S.B. Residence (Mound City, MO), 590

B

Baker, C., 583
 Baltimore, MD, 143, 145, 147, 150, 151
 Baltzell, Charles, 244, 244-245n, 470
 Baltzell, Charles Residence (Altoona, PA), 471, 590
 Banes, A.V., Dr. Residence, 590
 Bank building (Cainsville, MO), 612
 Bank building (Rock Port, MO), 612
 Bank building (Williford, AR), 614

Bank of Commerce, 579
Bansbach, Mrs. L. apartments, 604
Barnard, J.F. Residence, 590
Bartlett Brothers Auto Sales, 6th & Locust, 616
Bartlett Brothers Building, 826 Frederick Ave., 600
Bartlett Brothers Hotel, 604
Bartlett, David L. Residence, 10th & Charles, 590
Bartlett, David L. Jr. Residence, 1923 Clay St., 365, 537, 590
Bartlett, Herschel Residence, 537 N. 8th St., 577, 590
Bartlett, Phil C.K. Residence, 630 N. 8th St., 590
Bassett, J.M. Residence, 503 N. 5th St., 154, 580
Bassett, J.M. Store and office building, Francis St., 580
Bates Hall, 409
Battreall-Whitting Shoe Co. building, 302-306 N. 4th St., 597
Bean, H.R., 583
Beaux-Arts Movement, 99, 250, 353, 367
Bedford National Bank (Bedford, IA), 614
BeGole, George J., 2808 Sherman Ave., 590
Bellevue Hospital (New York), 395
Beloit State Bank, 292, 353n, 614
Bénard, Émile, 368
Bender, J.C. Residence, 580
Bennett, Joseph Hart, 583
Bentley Hotel (Alexandria, LA), 578
Benton Club 7th & Faraon, 397n, 416, 608
Berlinger, George A., 587
Biblioteque St. Geneviève, 409, 556
Binswanger, Samuel and Simon Residence, 916-918 Sylvania St., 590
Blackall, Clarence M., 386
Blair School gymnasium, 1321 N. 34th St., 608
Blair, William, 141-142, 445, 583
Blondel, Jacques-Francois, 24-27
Board of Trade, 228 Edmond St., 614
Boettner, Francis R., 145, 164-166, 174, 174n, 183, 191, 192, 342, 583, 587
Boettner and Smales, 583, 585
Booth, E.W., 583
Boschen, Oma Cynthia Kinder, 374
Boschen, Walter, 346n, 366-380, 382, 396, 399n, 400n, 540, 576, 583
Boschen, Walter Residence, 1114 N. 25th St., 374
Boston, MA, 98-99, 130, 184, 386, 387, 393
Boston Public Library, 394, 408, 409, 411, 556
Bourse Building (Philadelphia, PA), 579
Bradley, E. Mrs., stores, 3rd & Charles, 580

Brady Furniture and Carpet Co. store, 503-507 Felix St., 600
 Brady, James O., 590
 Brady, James O. apartments, 604
 Bridge of the Republic (Chicago, IL), 612
 Bright, James, G., 586
 Brittain Dry Goods Co. building
 See also Brittain, Richardson & Co. Building
 Brittain Dry Goods Co. factory, 221 N. 3rd St., 595
 Brittain, John S., 192, 590
 Brittain, Richardson & Co. Building, 220-224 N. 4th St., 259-260, 489, 490, 578, 596
 Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 394, 394n
 Brown, Joseph Residence (Fort Worth, TX), 590
 Brown Transfer and Storage Co. building, 920-928 S. 6th St., 597
 Brunner and Brunner Architects and Engineers, Inc., 417-418, 583
 Brunner, Otto, 414, 416, 417, 417n, 583
 Brunner, William A., 198n, 416n, 417
 Bryan, John Albury, 352, 353n
 Buchanan County Children's Home, 3524 St. Joseph Ave., 615
 Buchanan County Courthouse 302 N. 5th St., 161-162, 164, 451, 606
 Buchanan County Jail 322 N. 5th St., 576, 612
 Buchanan County Poor Farm, 615
 Buckingham, S.J. Residence (Wichita, KS) 590
 Buell, George store, 3rd & Francis, 580
 Buffington, Leroy, 214, 218, 249n, 481
 Burgess, T.H., 583
 Burnes & Co. building, 618
 Burnes, Calvin C., 247
 Burnes, Calvin C. Residence, 301 S. 10th St., 353n, 480, 577, 590
 See also Burnes-Motter Residence
 Burnes, Frances Byram, 247
 Burnes, Lewis C. Residence, 1923 Francis St., 590
 Burnes Mausoleum (Mt. Mora Cemetery) 196n, 248, 249, 482, 577, 617
 Burnes-Motter Residence, 301 S. 10th St., 577
 See also Burnes, Calvin C. Residence
 Burnes-Wheeler Residence, 2807 Frederick Ave., 576
 Burnham & Root, 462

C

Calkins, Benton M. Residence, 1150 Krug Park Place, 590
 Campbell, Dr. O.B., sanitarium, 33rd & Lafayette, 615
 Canterbury Apartments, 22nd St., 604
 Carbry, Amelia N., 1106 Carbry Place, 590
 Carder Wholesale Grocery building, 597

Carnegie Library (Albany, MO), 602
 Carnegie Library (Pittsburgh, PA), 579
 Carnegie Library (St. Joseph), 316 Massachusetts St., 363, 532, 603
 Carpenter, G. Tyson Dr., 2612 Indian Trail, 590
 Carter, C.M. Residence, Sherman & Ashland, 591
 Carter, John M., 587
 Cathedral Hill Historic District, 165n
 Catholic Orphanage, 4005 Pickett Rd., 615
 C.D. Smith Drug Co. Wholesale House, 313-323 S. 3rd St., 180, 233, 235, 250, 254, 466, 467, 598
 Central Fire Station, 7th & Sylvania, 612
 (Old) Central High School (St. Joseph), 801 S. 13th St., 272, 273, 352, 363, 501, 502, 602, 608
 Central High School, 2602 Edmond St., 577, 602
 Central Hotel, 601 Francis St., 604
 Central Oil and Gasoline Co., 22nd & Frederick, 616
 Central Police Station, 701 Messanie St., 272, 272n, 500, 577, 612
 Chafee, Richard, 5, 75, 78, 435
 Chateau de Blois (Orleans), 534
 Chateau de Chenonceaux, 469
 Chesnut, David A. Residence (Platte City, MO), 591
 Chicago, IL, 99
 Christ Episcopal Church, 207 N. 7th St., 169, 397n, 453, 610
 Christian Brothers High School, 720 Noyes Blvd., 602
 Cincinnati, OH, 151, 152
 Citizens State Bank (Horton, KS), 614
 City Beautiful Movement, 314, 414
 City Hall (Alexandria, LA), 578
 City Hall (St. Joseph), 246, 407-414, 555, 557, 577, 607
 City Hall (St. Louis), 1, 196n, 279-291, 292, 293n, 334, 352, 353n, 404, 507, 508, 510, 511, 578, 607
 Civil War, 122-125, 175, 183
 Clark, R.R. Residence (Claremont, CA), 591
 Clarkson, Cowel Residence (Maryville, MO), 591
 Clay County Courthouse (Liberty, MO), 606
 Cleveland, OH, 99-100
 Collins, J. Burnett Mausoleum (Mount Mora Cemetery), 365, 539, 617
 Colosseum (Rome), 409, 410
 Columbia Theatre (Chicago), 578
 Combe Printing Co. building, 217-223 S. 4th St., 597
 Commercial Bank Building, 207 S. 6th St., 196-197, 198n, 614
 Commercial National Bank (Shreveport, LA), 579
 Competitions, Architectural, 53, 60, 61, 62, 67-70, 71-72, 75, 85, 154, 222-223, 225, 279, 296, 297n, 298-299, 300-301, 305, 314, 353, 363, 368, 388-389, 404-406, 579

Comstock, R.D., 583
Corbet, C.B., filling station, 615
Corby-Forsee Building, 422 Felix St., 198n, 415, 600
Corby Grove, 127
Corby, John, 108
Corby, Kate Residence, 22nd & Holman, 591
Corby Memorial Chapel, Old Amazonia Rd., 161, 449, 617
Cornelius, A.B., 583
Cornell University, 98
Council Bluffs & Quincy RR Co. building, 3rd & Messsanie, 597
County Hospital (Atchison, KS), 615
Courthouse (Council Bluffs, IA), 578
Courthouse (Hagerstown, MD), 581
Courthouse (Mt. Ayr, IA), 578
Crance, S.E. Residence (Sedalia, MO), 591
Cret, Paul Phillippe, 98, 346, 367, 368
Crocker, Frank, 583
Cummings, Carl theater (Gower, MO), 608
Cummings, L.E., 583
Cummins, F.M. Residence (San Bernadino, CA), 591

D

Daub, George Residence (Severence, KS), 591
Davis, Joseph Residence, 2100 N. 11th St., 141-142, 445
DeClue and Shivel, 586
DeKalb County Courthouse (Maysville, MO), 279, 606
DeKalb County Jail (Maysville, MO), 612
Delavan, E.C., 583
Delineators, 351, 354
Demond, John, Residence, 223 N. 7th St., 580, 591
Demond, Mrs. J., flats, 223 N. 7th St., 604
Detroit, MI, 185
Deville, Henri, 98
Dolman, John E. Residence, 3018 Ashland Ave., 591
Dolman, John E. Residence, Rochester Rd., 591
Donaghey, George, 303, 303n, 304, 304n, 305-310, 311
Donnell Court, 505 Francis St., 355n
Donvan, John Col. Residence, north of St. Joseph, 576, 591
Donovan Office Building, 513 Felix St., 600
Draftsmen, 215, 216, 220, 288-289, 293-294, 301, 320-321, 345, 347, 348, 349, 350, 352, 360, 384n, 387, 525

See also, individual names

Drovers and Merchants Bank, 301 W. Cherokee, 614

Duban, Félix, 409, 410, 556
Dubay, Paul-Émile-Marie, 96-97, 98

E

Eames and Young, 370, 384n
Eckel, Edmond George, 197, 221, 224, 247, 315-316, 316n, 339n, 352
Eckel, Edmond Jacques
 Architecture as a Field, 131n, 138
 Archival Materials, 7-12, 190-191, 346n
 Beaux-Arts Movement, 88-89
 Childhood, 1, 16, 31, 430
 Civic Engagement, 199, 199n, 416
 Clients, 4, 157, 171-172, 244, 252-253, 362, 398, 399, 421-422
 Commissions, 370, 372
 See name of structure
 Competition with other St. Joseph Architects, 155
 Creative Influences On, 239-240
 Design Principals, 157, 171, 361, 410-411
 Designs (general), 2, 3, 4, 241, 260, 264, 431, 437, 438, 439, 440, 470, 528, 555
 Education and Early Influences, 1, 5, 33-49, 50-52, 57, 61, 64-67, 68, 70, 72-79, 88, 189, 361, 408-409, 420, 431, 559-575
 Family, 31-38, 101, 197, 329, 398
 Home, 515 N. 4th St., 197, 198, 199, 200, 200n, 375n, 456, 591
 Home, 1320 N. 25th St., 375, 373n, 541, 591
 Home, 1324 N. 25th St., 541, 591
 Immigration, 1, 91-103
 Influence on Others, 88-89, 347, 399, 419, 422-423
 Method of Work/Operation of Office, 2, 244, 294, 295-96, 301, 320, 321, 325, 344-349, 352, 354, 357, 360, 369, 384n, 387, 400-401, 415, 421, 524, 525, 526, 527, 587
 Office at 408 Felix St., 198
 Old Age and Death, 415
 Partnerships/Firms, 1, 2, 3, 4, 155, 166-189, 193-194, 236, 244, 369-371, 382, 396, 583
 Boettner and Eckel, 169-172, 174, 188, 583, 584, 585, 596
 Eckel, and Aldrich, 279, 356n, 360, 378, 382, 384, 385, 386n, 396, 397, 399, 400-418, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 557, 583, 584, 585, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618
 Eckel and Boschen, 366-380, 541, 542, 543, 544, 546, 576, 581, 583, 584, 585, 591, 594, 595, 596, 597, 600, 602, 603, 604, 608, 612, 617
 Eckel and Co., 384, 384n
 Eckel and Mann, 174, 180, 181, 183-197, 205-206, 207, 208, 216, 217, 218-219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 244, 246, 248-49, 250, 252, 255, 264, 265, 271, 274, 276, 278, 279, 281, 283, 287,

289, 290, 291, 292-295, 302-303, 322-326, 327-329, 344, 347, 349, 350, 352,
 471, 472, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489,
 490, 491, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508,
 510, 578, 584, 585, 586, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 600, 601,
 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618
 Dissolution, 295, 324-325
 Fire at Office, 196-197
 Eckel and Meier, 166-168, 452, 583
 Eckel and Van Brunt, 331, 333-340, 342, 344, 517, 518, 519, 584, 586
 Independent, 344, 348, 361, 578-579, 583, 584, 585, 586, 590, 591, 592, 593,
 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 608, 609, 610,
 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617
 Personality & Description, 198, 198n, 203, 421, 425, 425, 434
 Relationships, 2
 With George Mann, 323-26, 328-329
 Religion, 92, 398, 416
 And St. Joseph, 2, 96, 98-99, 328, 365, 419
 Scholarship On, 4-6,
 School Board Architect, 274, 274n, 370, 376-377, 576, 602-603
 Settling in St. Joseph, 1, 100, 101, 126, 155, 160
 Sketches and Drawings, 38-39, 76, 353, 354, 387, 431, 432, 433, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440,
 441, 452
 Work for/with Other Firms, 616, 166, 168, 370
 Eckel, Albertine, 101-102, 198
 Eckel, Bibi Elizabeth Lacy, 398, 402, 402n
 Eckel, Edward Jules, 102
 Eckel, Elvie E., 197
 Eckel, Eunice, 102
 Eckel, George Robert, 197, 292-293, 293n, 316, 316n, 349, 352, 353n, 371, 382-385, 396, 397,
 402, 404, 416, 417, 527, 548, 577, 584, 587
 Eckel, Jules, 99, 101, 102-103, 168-169
 Eckel Louis Elizabeth Caroline, 31, 34, 35-38, 101, 198n
 Eckel, Minnie Albertine, 197,
 Eckel, Minnie (Wilhelmine) L. Schroers, 168, 197, 398, 398n
 Eckel, Nanette Strasser, 102
 Eckel, Philippe Jacques, 31, 33-35
 Eckel, Valerie, 101-102, 198
 École des Beaux-Arts, 1, 2, 5, 40-42, 43-89, 93, 95, 95n, 132, 189, 190, 262, 345, 353-354, 368,
 373, 386, 387, 408, 409, 410, 420, 422, 423, 435, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 556, 559-576
 Impact on Architecture in the United States, 94-99, 189, 366, 367, 388
 Edmond Realty Co, 9th & Edmond, 600
 Ehrlich, George, 334, 335, 339n, 341, 435
 Elks Lodge Clubhouse, 209 N. 5th St., 365, 538, 608

Ellis, Charles, 213, 215
Ellis Harvey, 1, 207-251, 254, 269n, 270, 271, 272, 289, 293, 293n, 296-297, 350-351, 352, 457, 465, 474, 475, 477, 479, 480, 481, 482, 500, 510, 577, 584, 587
 Ability, 219, 220-222, 223, 228, 248-249
 Alias, Albert Lavening, 218
 Private Life, Morality, Personality, 208-209, 210, 214, 224, 224-225n, 226, 227, 293n
 And St. Joseph, 207, 213, 221, 227, 230, 231
 Scholarship On, 207-208, 293n, 297n
Elwood City Hall (Elwood, KS), 606
Emery, Bird, and Thayer Department Store (Kansas City, MO), 521
Endebrock Trunk Factory, 597
Enders, Oscar, 352
Engelhart-Davis Mercantile Co. building, 212-214 N. 4th St., 597
Englehart, G.J., 192
Englehart, George J. Residence, 578, 591
Englehart-Winning & Co, 214 N. 4th St., 491
Englehart-Winning & Co. Building, 216-18 N. 4th St., 257-259 260-262, 487, 488
Ensworth Medical College, 7th & Jules, 602
Erwin Gymnasium, Arkansas College (Batesville, AR), 608
Eugene Field Apartments, 22nd and Marion Sts., 402, 402n, 604
Eugene Field National Memorial, Lovers Lane, 617
Eugene Field School, 16th & Sacramento, 602
Evans, J.C., 584
Express Office Building, 6th St., 600

F

Fairleigh, William G. Residence, 27th & Asylum Blvd., 591
Faraon Court Apartments, 604
Faraon Hall Apartment House, 604
Farell and Lawless, 584
Farmers Mutual Auto Insurance Co. Building, 577
Farmers Trust Co. (King City, MO), 614
Feeble Minded and Epileptic Colony (Marshall, MO), 604
Fels, Charles, 584
Felt and Carr, 363, 584
Felt and Heim, 358, 584
Felt, John H., 358, 584
Filling Station, 4th & Sylvania, 615
Fillmore, Millard, 149
Fire Stations, 272, 499, 612
First Baptist Church, 1225 Francis St., 577, 610
First Christian Church (Hiawatha, KS), 610
First Congregational Church, 13th & Jules, 610

First National Bank (Marysville, MO), 614
First National Bank (Maryville, MO), 614
First National Bank of Buchanan County, 3rd & Felix, 614
First Presbyterian Church, 301 N. 7th St., 373, 375, 377-380, 543, 544, 546, 577, 581, 610
First Presbyterian Church (old), 7th & Jules, 581
First Reformed Church, 1006 Lincoln St., 610
Fitzgerald, M., 584
Fleur, Leon, 434
Ford, Frazer L. Residence, 2820 Lovers Lane, 401, 550, 591
Ford, J.M. Residence, 591
Fordyce Building (Hot Springs, AR), 579
Forgrave, Drs. Offices, 420 N. 8th St., 615
Forgrave, Dr. Harrison S. Residence, 1908 Clay St., 592
Forgrave, Dr. Harrison S. Residence (Stone Lake, WI), 592
Forgrave, Mrs. L.W., Residence, 12th & Sylvania, 580
Forgrave, Dr. Paul Residence, 1616 Ashland Ave., 577, 592
Forrey Residence, S. 9th St., 580
Fowler Store building, Edmond St., 600
France, Albert Residence, 592
France, Albert store, 501-511 Francis St., 600
France, C.B. building, 519 Edmond St., 600
Francois I, Tomb, 432
Frazer, James M. Residence, 1002 N. 25th St., 401, 401n, 549, 592
Fulkerson, Perry Residence, 840 N. 25th St., 576
Fulton, J.D., 584
Furness, A.R. Residence, 355n
Fuston, Ron, 198n

G

Gale, Samuel House (Minneapolis, MN), 481
Garlichs, Lorren W. Residence, 2109 Lovers Lane, 592
Gasoline Sales and Service Station, 616
Gateways at Washington Terrace (St. Louis), 579
Gazette Building (Little Rock, AR), 579
Geiger, Dr. Jacob Residence, 2501 Frederick Ave., 401, 401n, 592
Geiger, Dr. Jacob store building, 617-625 Francis St., 600
Gentry County Courthouse (Albany, MO), 279, 606
Gensen, F.W., 357
Gentry County Infirmary (Albany, MO), 615
German-American Bank Building, 624 Felix St., 231-232, 237, 238, 240-244, 338, 411n, 468, 577, 614
German Reformed Church (Cumberland, MD), 581
German School House, 10th & Felix, 581

Germany, 356-357
Gibbs, James, 379
Gilbert, Cass, 299, 300, 313, 318, 319, 395
Gold Rush, 117
See also Westward Expansion
Goodrich Tire Station, 1700 Frederick Ave., 616
Gordon, T.P. Residence (Andrew County, MO), 592
Gordon, William, 342, 355, 584, 587
Greber, Jacques, 414
Guitar, A. Leonard Residence, 2100 Lovers Lane, 592
Guss Blass Co. Department Store Building (Little Rock, AR), 579
Gustaveson, 587

H

H/Karwise, G.A., 584
Hale Bathhouses (Hot Springs, AR), 578
Hall Street Historic District, 265, 267
Hallo's Opera House (Lincoln, NE), 608
Hamilton, James P. Residence (Hamilton, MO), 592
Harrison County Courthouse (Bethany, MO), 581
Hart, R.W., 587
Hartman, 587
Hartwig, Ernest C. Residence, 2028 Faraon St., 592
Hassenbusch, Samuel Residence, 2019 Jules St., 592
Hastings, R.E. Residence, Lovers Lane, 592
Hax, L. factory, 597
Heim, Adolph, 356
Heim, Helen L. Haefeli, 358
Heim, Rudolph, 349, 355-358, 399n, 584, 587
Henrick, Robert U. Residence, 515 N. 6th St., 592
Hickman, G.M., 584
High School (Pine Bluff, AR), 579
Hilgert, Michael Residence, 592
Hirsch Brothers Dry Goods Co. building, 802 Felix St., 600
Hoagland, George flats, 604
Hoagland, George T. Residence, 10th & Robidoux, 592
Hoffman, J.L., 586
Hofheimer, Rudolph Residence, 1202 N. 26th St., 592
Holt County Courthouse (Oregon, MO), 606
Home of Little Wanderers, 801 N. Noyes Blvd., 615
Hopkins, F.J. and R.J. Wise, 584
Horigan Realty Co., garage, 7th & Locust, 615
Horigan, Richard Residence, 207 S. 12th St., 592

Hose House #6, 103 N. 18th St., 499
Hosea School, 306 W. Hyde Park Ave., 576, 602
Hot Springs, AR beautification plan, 578
Hôpital Civil (Strasbourg), 427
Hotel (Horton, KS), 604
Hotel Building, 604
Hôtel de Hanau-Lichtenberg (Strasbourg), 429
Hôtel de Linglin (Strasbourg), 428
Hôtel de Ville (Strasbourg), 429, 509
Hotel Grimm (Texarkana, AR), 578
Hotel Marion (Little Rock, AR) 578
Hotel Robidoux, 415-419 Francis St., 604
Howe, C.A. Residence (SD), 592
Huber, John B. building, 801-803 Francis St., 600
Hundley Dry Goods Co. building, 202 N. 4th St., 597
Hundley Dry Goods Co. factory, 417-423 S. 4th St., 597
Hundley, Woodson S. Residence, 2649 Frederick Ave., 592
Hunt Brothers, Big Red Apple (Wathena, KS), 608
Hunt, Richard Morris, 239, 273
Hyatt, C.C. apartments, 604
Hyde Park Presbyterian Church, 423 E. Hyde Park Ave., 610

I

Immaculate Conception Roman Catholic Church, 501 S. 10th St., 610
Indianapolis, IN, 369, 371
Insurance Exchange Building (Chicago), 462
International Harvester Co. Union building, 4th & Mitchell, 597
Irish-American Building, 1002 Jules, 608
Isele, Joseph A. Residence (Memphis, TN), 593
Ittner, William B., 274, 274n

J

Jails, 612
Jefferson County Courthouse (Fairbury, NE), 606
Jenkins Building, 618
Jenney and Mundie, 584
Jermain, John J., 131n
Johns, Everett J., 584
Johnson, George M. Residence, 219 N. 20th St., 593
Johnson, John T. Residence, 1802 Lovers Lane, 593
Johnston-Woodbury Hat Co. building, 112 N. 4th St., 597
Jordon, R.F., 587

Josendale, John E. Residence, 577
Journal of Commerce (St. Joseph), 352

K

Kansas City, MO, 100, 122, 187, 188, 195, 332, 334, 335, 341
Kaucher, Frank, 584
Kemper, Charles Residence, 1328 Francis St., 593
Kemper, Simeon, 107-108
Kennedy, Roger, 207, 214, 214n
Kennedy, Ronald A. Residence, 815 N. Noyes Blvd., 593
King Foundry Co. building, 8th & Jackson, 597
King Hill Building, 9th & Francis Sts., 578
Kirkpatrick, Frank W., 584, 587
Kresge, S.S. Co. building, 714 Felix St., 600
Krug, H&W store building, 716-718 Felix St., 600
Krug, Henry Packing Co. building, 597
Krug, Henry Jr. Residence, 1105 Krug Park Place, 593
Krug, Mrs. apartments, 604
Krug Park School, 3541-3543 St. Joseph Ave., 602
Kuchs & Lippman building (Maryville, MO), 600
Kurz, Rudolf Frederick, 111-112, 114

L

L&N Railroad Building (St. Louis, MO), 522
Labrouse, Henri, 409, 410, 556
Lackey, W.G. Residence (Kirkwood, MO), 593
Lacroixx, Armand-Pierre, 98
Lacy, Ellen Tootle, 398-399
Lacy, Graham G., 398-399, 398n
Lacy, Graham G. Residence, 2912 Frederick Ave., 399, 593
Lacy, William A., 402n
Lafayette High School, gymnasium, 412 Highland Ave., 608
Lancaster County Courthouse (Lincoln, NE), 606
L'École de Medecine (Strasbourg), 429
Lemon, John S., 398n
Lemon, John S. Residence, 517 N. 4th St., 267, 267-268n, 493, 593
Leonard, Charles E., 155, 447
See also Ravenswood
Létang, Eugène, 93-94, 94n
Levis, Charles, 584
Levy & Oppenheimer Stores, 600
Lewis, G.W., 584

Leyburn, F.I., 584
Library (Albany, MO), 602
Linde, C.R., 348-349, 587
Lindsay, Ernest Residence, 633 N. 8th St., 593
Lithgow Library (Augusta, ME), 388
Live Stock Exchange Building, 601 Illinois Ave., 614
Logan, John S. building, 722 Edmond, 600
Logan, Sheridan, 121n, 124, 398n
Long, Lewis, 584
Lord, Austin W., 392, 392n, 393
Lord, Hewlett, and Hull, 393n, 393
Lott, Annaa Residence, (Tarkio, MO), 593
Lotus Club, Lake Contrary, 618
Louvre (Paris), 535
Lowenberg, Leo N. Residence, 518 N. 25th St., 593
Lutheran Church (Frostburg, MD), 581
Lutheran Church (Middletown, MD), 581
Lynch, A.J., 584, 585
Lynch and Cornelius, 346n, 400n, 583, 585

M

McAlister, James W. House, 105 N. 19th St., 247, 353n, 473, 474, 475, 577, 593
McCord-Harlow Shoe Co. building, 706 N. 2nd St., 597
McCord, James, 398n
McCord, James Mausoleum, Mt. Mora Cemetery, 617
McCord, James Residence, 1901 Clay St., 576, 593
McCully & Miles (Chicago, art glass), 269, 269n
McDonald, A.S. Mrs. Residence, 593
McDonald, Rufus L. Residence, 2723 Francis St., 401, 593
McDonald, Rufus Lee, 192, 255
McGee Residence, 580
McGeorge, William F., 585
McIntyre Residence, 580
McKim, Charles Follen, 239, 389, 390, 408, 409
McKim, Mead, & White, 1, 185, 186-187, 253, 317, 345, 386, 386n, 387, 392n, 394, 395-396, 397, 399, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 412n, 422, 556
McKinney, Albert E. Residence, 624 N. 6th St., 593
McMachen and Cole, 585
McMachen, John H., 142-144, 446, 585
McNamara, P and J., 585
McNeal, E.W., 585
McNeely, J.D. House, 701 S. 11th St., 247, 249, 479, 480, 577, 593
McWilliams, John, 115

Mann, George, 1, 174, 183-197, 201-203, 204-206, 225, 236-237, 250, 254, 266, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295-329, 334, 335, 342, 353n, 382, 383n, 388, 455, 512, 513, 514, 578-579, 585, 587
 Autobiography, 314, 324, 579
 Correspondence, 293, 294, 304, 310-311, 318, 322, 335
 Eckel & Mann – See under Eckel, Edmond Jacques
 Post Eckel Career, 326, 327
 Residence, 201-202, 456, 578
 Mann, Frederick, 139
 Mark Twain School, 705 S. 31st St., 577
 Marshall County Courthouse (Marysville, KS), 606
 Marshall Field Wholesale Store (Chicago), 523
 Marshall, William E. Residence (Richmond, MO), 593
 Martin Dry Goods Building (St. Louis), 579
 Mason, E.D., 144-145, 585
 Masonic Consistory (Little Rock, AR), 578
 Masonic Lodge (Maryville, MO), 608
 Masonic Temple (Fort Smith, AR), 578
 Masonic Temple Building, St. Joseph Ave. & Krug Park Place, 608
 Masqueray, Emmanuel-Louis, 96-97, 98
 Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 80-81, 94-95, 98, 132, 133, 184, 186, 187, 189, 190, 196, 367, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386n, 387, 390, 392n, 410
 Massol, Joseph, 429
 Mayer, Charles H. Judge Residence, 2605 Indian Trail Dr., 593
 Maysville Public School (Maysville, MO), 602
 Meagher and Eckel, 610
 Meagher, P.E., 161-162, 585
 Meier, Alfred, 166-168, 363, 586
 Meier and Son, 586
 Meier, Eugene, 585
 Meier, Hartman, and Meier, 586
 Meier, Rudolph A., 167-168, 346n, 359, 360, 399n, 400n, 585, 587
 Merchant's Bank, 228 Edmond, 614
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 12th & Francis, 610
 Methodist Episcopal Church (Gentry, MO), 610
 Methodist Episcopal Church (Richmond, MO), 610
 Methodist Episcopal Church (Tarkio, MO), 610
 Methodist Episcopal Church (Wathena, KS), 610
 Methodist Episcopal Hospital, 8th & Faraon, 615
 Metropolitan Hotel (Washington, D.C.), 581
 Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts (New York), 394, 394n
 Michau, A. Masonic Lodge, 608
 Michelangelo, 319
 Michels, Eileen Manning, 293n, 350

Miller, Isaac Residence, 3003 Ashland Ave., 141, 445
Millet, Louis, 95n
Mills, Robert, 147-148, 149, 150
Milwaukee County Courthouse (Milwaukee, WI), 606
Minneapolis, MN, 185, 186, 187, 195, 207, 214, 217, 218, 236n, 247
Misses Eckel (fabric store), 102
Missouri, 106-107
Missouri-Kansas Telephone Company Building, 116 S. 7th St., 313, 362, 529, 601
Missouri River, 109-111, 112, 116, 117, 118, 126, 157, 158, 175, 399
Missouri School for the Deaf, dormitory (Marshall, MO), 604
Missouri State School (Marshall, MO), 602, 604
Missouri State Sanitarium (Mt. Vernon, MO), 615
Missouri State Penitentiary (Jefferson City, MO), 612
Missouri Valley Trust Co., 4th & Felix, 614
Mitchell, R.H. Residence (DeKalb, MO), 594
Moila Club House, 701 N. Noyes Blvd. , 608
Monfort, W.C., 586
Monroe County Courthouse (Paris, MO), 606
Moss, Josiah B. Residence, 906 Sylvania St., 245, 249, 472, 473, 577, 594
Moss, Josiah Beattie, 245
Motter Residence (Wathena, KS), 581
Motter, William D.B. Residence, 1125 Sylvania St., 594
Mt. Mora Cemetery, 248, 617
Munchenberger Brothers building, 5th & Sycamore, 598
Munchenberger garage and stables, 630 N. 23rd St., 616
Munchenberger, Leo stores, 10th and Jules, 601
Municipal Bath House, 26th & Angelique, 608
Municipal Building (Columbia, MO), 606
Municipal Golf Course Clubhouse, 33rd & Pacific, 608
Municipal Office Building (New York), 395
Myrtle E. Miller School, 576

N

Natatorium Building, 5th & Jules, 608
National Biscuit Company building, 201-224 S. Main, 598
National Biscuit Company (NABISCO) Factory (Los Angeles, CA), 402-404, 551, 577, 598
National Register of Historic Places, 143, 162, 200, 231, 254, 262, 267, 276, 376, 377, 399n, 411n
National Theatre (Washington, D.C.), 581
Nave-McCord Mercantile Co. building, 310-324 S. 3rd St., 192, 196n, 233, 254, 264-265, 484, 578, 598
Nave-McCord Mercantile Co. building (Fort Worth, TX), 598
Nave-McCord Mercantile Co. building (Pueblo, CO), 598

Nave, Samuel, 398n
Nave, Samuel Residence, 2121 Clay St., 247, 352, 476, 477, 478, 577, 594
Neely School, 1915 S. 12th St., 602
Neil House (Columbus, OH), 581
Nemaha County Courthouse (Seneca, KS), 606
New Howard Street Bank (Baltimore, MD), 581
New Ulm Park (St. Joseph), 127
New York City, 98, 99, 185, 187, 369, 373, 386
New York Waist House, 710-712 Felix St., 601
Newton County Courthouse (Neosha, MO), 606
Nicholas, R.V. Residence, 2510 Ashland Ave., 594
Nimz, Dale, 355n
Nodaway County Courthouse (Maryville, MO), 231, 275-276, 458, 505, 578, 606
Nodaway County Jail (Maryville, MO), 612
Norman Realty and Investment Co., 601
North Little Rock High School (Little Rock, AR), 579
Noyes-Norman Shoe Co. building, 401 N. 3rd St., 598
Nunning, August Residence, 1401 Jules St., 594

O

Odd Fellows Home (Liberty, MO), 615
Odd Fellows Lodge (Bethany, MO), 608
Odd Fellows Lodge (Craig, MO), 608
Odd Fellows Lodge (Gallatin, MO), 608
Ogden, Nathan Phipps Residence, 809 Hall St., 196n, 231, 268-269, 460, 493, 594
Omaha, NE, 122
Oregon Trail, 112
See also Westward Expansion
O.S.B. Monastery (Conception, MO), 610

P

Pacific House, 3rd and Francis, 143, 180, 581
Painter, Kenyon V. Residence (Cleveland, OH), 594
Palais des Rohan (Strasbourg), 428
Palazzo Theine (Vincenza), 536
Palladio, Andrea, 379, 536
Paris, 91-93
Parker, James H. Jr. Residence, 2820 Frederick Ave., 594
Parry, Guerdan George Residence, 2101 Faraon St., 594
Partnerships (Architectural), 340-342
Patee Hall, 904 S. 10th St., 355n
Patee House, 1202 Penn, 143, 164, 446

Paxton Hotel (Omaha, NE), 578, 605
Peabody and Stearns, 386, 387, 388, 388n
Peabody Institute (Baltimore, MD), 581
Peabody, Robert, 388n, 392
Peery, Sam, 618
Pennsylvania Railroad Station (New York), 395
Pennsylvania, University of, 98, 366, 367, 368
Perkins, Frank Edson, 367
Pfeifer, Charles, 306-307
Pfeifer Stone Company, 307n, 357
Pflug, Jean-Pierre, 428
Philadelphia, PA, 99
Phoenix Hotel (Phoenix, AZ), 605
Pines Hotel (Pine Bluff, AR), 579
Pinger and Calhoun buildings, 3rd St., 580
Pinger, David Captain, dwelling, 5th St., 580
Pitts, Barton Dr. 514 N. 7th St., Residence, 576, 594
Platt, Edward L. Residence, 2506 Ashland Ave., 594
Platte Purchase, 106-107
Poe, Curtis (Gower, MO), 594
Poirer and Eckel, 102
Politzer, James Residence, 577
Potlitzer Store building, 6th & Felix, 601
Pony Express, 120-121, 121n
Pony Express Memorial Monument, Frederick Ave., 414, 414n, 617
Post Office, 5401 Lake Ave., 607
Post Office (Troy, KS), 607
Potlitzer, James Residence, 1621 Crescent Dr., 594
Pottawattamie County Courthouse (Council Bluffs, IA), 276n, 276-278, 404, 506, 606
Pottawattamie County Courthouse (Shawnee, OK), 606
Pottawattamie County Jail (Council Bluffs, IA), 612
Powell and Son, 359, 585
Powell, Edmond Gray, 155, 149, 358-362, 361n, 399n, 585, 587
Powell, W. Angelo, 145, 156, 359, 360, 363, 447, 580-581, 585
Presbyterian Church (Trenton, MO), 610
Prévot, Jacques-Maurice, 98
Public Library (St. Joseph), 352, 363, 364, 531, 532, 603
Public Library (St. Louis), 522
Public School House, N. 5th St., 581
Pulaski County Courthouse (Little Rock AR), 578

R

Raffington, Charles Scarlett, 115

Railroads, 147, 152, 175-176

See also St. Joseph-railroads

Ramey, Henry M. Judge Residence, 648 N. 9th St., 594

Ranklin, F.W. Residence (Tarkio, MO), 594

Ravenswood (near Tipton), 154, 447, 581

Ray County Livestock Co. (Richmond, MO), 616

Reed, Morris A. Residence, 605 N. 5th St., 594

Regnier & Shoup Crockery Co. building, 110-112 N. 5th St., 601

Reno County Courthouse & Jail (Hutchison, KS), 607

Rescue Hook and Ladder building, 6th & Francis, 580

Richardson, H.H., 73-75, 79, 212, 227, 230, 239, 245, 273, 353n, 422, 435, 502, 523

Richardson, Roberts, Byrne, & Co. Wholesale Dry Goods House, 302 N. 3rd St., 331, 337-340, 342, 517, 518, 519, 523, 598

Richardson-Roberts & Co. building, 324 N. 3rd St., 598

Richmond, John, 293, 293n, 298, 334, 352, 353n, 587

Ridenbaugh, William, 108

Riley, Nelson J. Residence, 605 N. 5th St., 594

Ringgold County Courthouse (Mt. Ayr, IA), 607

R.L. McDonald & Co. building, 202 N. 4th St., 255-257, 485, 486, 578

R.L. McDonald Manufacturing Co. building, 1122 Penn St., 598

R.L. McDonald Manufacturing Co. building, King Hill/ E. Hyde Park Ave., 598

Roberts Building, 618

Robidoux, Joseph, 104-108

Robidoux School, 201 S. 10th St., 375, 376-377, 542, 576, 602

Robison, James H., 270

Robison, James H. Residence, 631 Hall St., 270, 494

See also Wheeler, Webb W. Mrs. Residence

Rochester, NY, 210, 212, 213, 216, 220

Rookery (Chicago), 462

Rosenplaenter, 585

Rosenplaenter, C.G. and Co., 585

Ross, W.F. Dr. Residence, 1017-1019 N. 19th St., 594

Rudolph, George Cooper, 346

Russell, R.S. Mrs. Residence (Savannah, MO), 594

S

St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church (Effingham, KS), 595

St. Charles College (Howard County, MD), 581

St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church and Rectory, 2626 Seneca, 610

St. James Roman Catholic Church, Michigan & King Hill, 595, 610
 St. Joseph, 444, 448-449
 Architects in, 346, 346n, 360, 399, 399n, 583-586
 Building, Building Permits, 180, 365
 And Civil War, 122-125, 175
 Commercial Enterprises, Economy, 114-115, 116, 117, 120n, 125, 158-159, 177-182, 199, 254, 301, 399-400, 421
 Conditions, Characteristics, 1, 3, 104-112, 119, 120, 122, 125, 126, 127-128, 1556, 157-160, 399-400, 419, 421
 Eckel's Impact On, 2, 399, 419-410, 419-422
 Growth, 116, 122, 128, 152, 155, 172, 174-182
 Immigrant Community, 109, 127, 166-167
 Livestock Industry, 117-118, 119
 Memorials and Monuments, 414
 Railroads, 118, 125, 158, 400
 Threatened, Neglected Structures, 4
 Wealth, 116, 172, 174-182
 Westward Expansion 112-117, 175
 St. Joseph Auditorium, 402 N. 4th St., 609
 St. Joseph Daily Gazette (newspaper), 126
 St. Joseph Cathedral, 519 N. 10th St., 161, 450, 610
 St. Joseph Country Club, Savannah Rd., 609
 St. Joseph Female College, 101
 St. Joseph Gas Manufacturing Co. building, 802 Francis St., 601
 St. Joseph Gazette (newspaper), 115
 St. Joseph High School, gym, 609
 St. Joseph's Hospital, 923 Powell, 605, 615
 St. Joseph Livestock Serum Co., building, St. Joseph stockyards, 598
 St. Joseph Moving Picture Show, 614 Edmond St., 609
 St. Joseph Museums, 170
 St. Joseph News Press Building, 825 Edmond St., 406-408, 553, 554, 577, 601
 St. Joseph Weekly Gazette (newspaper), 108
 St. Louis, MO, 225, 250, 290, 292-295, 296, 300, 302, 352, 370, 384
 St. Martin-in-the-Fields (London), 379, 545
 St. Michael's Church (Baltimore, MD), 581
 St. Peter and Paul's Roman Catholic Church, 617 Warsaw, 610
 St. Peter's Lutheran Church, 401 E. Dolman, 611
 St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church (Leavenworth, KS), 603
 St. Paul's Cathedral (London), 319
 St. Paul's Chapel (New York), 380, 547
 St. Peter's Basilica (Rome), 319
 St. Vincent Asylum (St. Louis), 579
 Sacred Heart Convent, 509 S. 12th St., 610

Sale Barn, St. Joseph stock yards, 616
 Sandehn, Nancy, 231, 237, 238, 240, 243, 411n, 453
 San Francisco, CA, 99
 Sanitarium (Bethany, MO), 615
 Saunders, C.B. Residence, 2117 Faraon St., 595
 Savannah School District, gymnasium (Savannah, MO), 609
 Saxton Heights School, 1405-1415 N. 26th St., 602
 Saxton National Bank, 401 Francis St., 614
 Schaefer, William Residence, 2204 Ashland Ave., 595
 Schneider, John George Residence, 1125 Krug Park Place, 595
 School Board (St. Joseph), 274, 274n
 School Building (Barnard, MO), 603
 School Building (Faucett, MO), 602
 School Building (Fortescue, MO), 602
 School Building (Guilford, MO)
 School Building (Hardy, AR), 602
 School Building (Highland, KS), 603
 School Building (Maryville, MO), 603
 School Building (Palermo, KS), 603
 School Building (Pickering, MO), 603
 School Building (Quitman, MO), 603
 School Building (Savannah, MO), 603
 School Building (Tarkio, MO), 602
 School Building (Union Star, MO), 603
 School Building (Williford, AR), 603
 School House (Maysville, MO), 581
 School House (Wathena, KS), 581
 Scott, A., 585
 Scottish Rite, 6th & Robidioux, 609
 Schreiber, Judge, stores, 2nd & Edmond, 580
 Schultz, C.H. Residence, Frederick Ave., 580
 Schuster, Adam N. Residence, 703 Hall St., 265-268, 492, 578, 595
 Schwien, V. Residence, 595
 Seargeant, Mrs. dwellings, 19th & Felix, 580
 Seeler, Edgar, 367
 Seigel, L. building, 601
 Senter, Lulu Residence, 3113 Edmond St., 595
 Senter, Miss Residence, 595
 Servier, Robert store building (Richmond, MO), 601
 Seward, William H., 144
 Shakespeare Chateau – see Ogden Residence
 Sheridan Clayton Paper Co. Building, 302-308 S. 3rd St., 253, 483
See also Turner, Fraser, & Co. Building

Sheridan, Patrick Residence, 416 S. 12th St., 595
 Siemens and Arnhold, 585
 Siemens, George M., 585, 587
 Siemens, Webb, 585
 Siler, L.W. Residence (Weston, MO), 595
 Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, Insane Asylum, 297, 297n
 Sixth Street Presbyterian Church, 6th & Faraon, 581
 Skepman, S.K., 585
 Smales, T.C., 585
 Smith, Alexander, 585
 Smith, Alfred T. Residence, 802 Hall St., 247, 270-271, 353n, 495, 496, 577, 595
 See also Smith-Tootle Residence
 Smith, E.L. Residence, 428 N. 25th St., 595
 Smith, Frederick, 107-108
 Smith, H.H. Residence, 595
 Smith, John Townsend Residence, Country Club Rd., 577, 595
 Smith, Louis M. Residence, 503 N. 5th St., 595
 Smith-Tootle Residence, 802 Hall St., 577
 Snyder, Frederick B., flats, 520 N. 10th St., 605
 Sommer, F.L. apartments, 605
 Soren, Noelle, 411n
 South Fourth Commercial District Historic District, 254
 Southern Trust Building (Little Rock, AR), 578
 Specialty Shoe Machinery (Industrial City), 598
 Sprague, Cyrus E. Residence, 1912 Clay St., 595
 State Bank Building, 579
 State Capitol Building (Arkansas), 246, 302n, 303-320, 320-321, 514, 515, 578
 State Capitol Building (Minnesota), 298-300, 388-389, 513, 579
 State Capitol Building (Missouri), 404-406, 552, 606
 State Capitol Building (Montana), 314, 314n, 316, 317, 322, 515, 579
 State Capitol Building (Washington), 512, 579
 State Hospital #2, Frederick Ave., 576, 579, 609, 615
 Stearns, John Goddard Jr., 388n
 Stebbins & Mann, 187
 Stebbins, Edward, 187
 Steele, D.M. (warehouse), 192, 578
 Steinacker Public School, 273, 274, 504, 603
 Stigers and Knell, 586
 Stigers, Boettner & Co., 103, 168-169, 266-267, 453, 578, 583, 584, 585, 586, 610
 Stigers, Lewis Snell, 144, 145, 162-165, 165n, 169, 267, 446, 583, 585
 Stigers, Lewis Snell Residence, 1023 Church St., 165n
 Stivers, Lillian B. Residence, 1109 Magnolia St., 595
 Stock Yards Hotel, 412-418 Illinois Ave., 605

Stock Yards Journal Building, 426 Illinois Ave., 601
Stock Yards Store building, stock yards, 601
Strasbourg, 16-31, 32, 91, 427- 429
Strasbourg Cathedral, 426
Strong, Anna, building (Wathena, KS), 618
Storm and Evans, 586
Storm and Powell, 586
Stull, W. Raleigh H. Residence, Frederick Blvd., 595
Swedenborgian Church (Cincinnati, OH), 581
Swike, Herman Mercantile Co. building (Maysville, MO), 601
Syracuse, IN, 183

T

Tarkio High School, gym (Tarkio, MO), 609
Tate and Leyburn, 586
Taylor, Charles H. Residence, 2322 N. 22nd St., 595
Taylor House (Roxbury, MA), 388
Taylor, Isaac, 352, 384, 522
Thompson Building (Hot Springs, AR), 579
Thompson, Dr. F.G., 618
Tibbets, Rosewell, 586
Tootle and McLaughlin's building, 580
Tootle-Campbell Dry Goods Co. building, 598
Tootle Estate, 373
Tootle, Hosea, and Co. building, 111-115 N. 4th St., 598
Tootle, Hosea, and Co. Wholesale House, 219-223 N. 4th St., 180, 196n, 232-235, 250, 461, 463, 464, 578, 598
Tootle, John J. Residence, Frederick Ave., 365, 537, 596
Tootle-Lacy National Bank, 398n
Tootle-Lemon Bank, 521-23 Francis St., 313, 352, 363, 398, 398n, 530, 614
Tootle, Milton, 191, 363n, 373, 378
Tootle, Thomas E., 398n
Tootle, Wheeler, & Motter Co. – see Tootle, Hosea, and Co. Wholesale House
Tootle's Opera House, 5th & Francis, 580
Townsend, Fred Residence (Maryville, MO), 596
Towsend, Robert E. Mausoleum, Mt. Mora Cemetery, 617
Townsend-Ueberrhein Co. building, 101 S. 6th St., 601
Trachoma Hospital (Rolla, MO), 615
Transit House
See also Stock Yards Hotel
Travis County Courthouse & Jail (Austin, TX), 607
Treon, John A., 303, 304, 306, 312, 318
Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, 421 N. 3rd, 611

Troy State Bank (Troy, KS), 614
Trunk and Gordon, 355, 355n, 584, 586
Trunk and Heim, 346n, 355, 358, 400n, 584, 586
Trunk, Ben, 217, 271, 273, 293, 293n, 321, 334, 339n, 342, 349-352, 351n, 355, 399n, 478, 497, 502, 511, 527, 528, 530, 531, 586, 587
Turner, Frazer & Co. Building, 302-308 S. 3rd, 192, 196n, 231, 253, 459, 483, 578, 598
See also Sheridan Clayton Paper Co.
Turner Hall, 612-614 Charles St., 578, 609
Turner, Richard E. Residence, 515 N. 5th St., 596
Twain, Mark, 109
Tyler and Allen, 596

U

Ukena, John G. Residence (Severence, KS), 596
Union Depot (Hannibal, MO), 578, 613
Union Station 1221 S. 6th St., 196n, 217n, 271-272, 352, 496, 497, 498, 578, 613
Union Station (St. Louis), 239, 246, 297n
Uslongeursee Co. Bank (Alma, KS), 614

V

Van Brunt, Adriance, 332, 333, 333n, 336
Van Brunt and Howe, 521
Van Brunt, Henry, 129-130, 332-333, 333n
Van Brunt, John, 331-340, 342, 405, 517, 586
Van Dusen, George W. House (Minneapolis, MN), 481
Van Natta, Alan Z. Residence, 1307 Ashland Ave., 596
Van Natta Drug Co. building, 221-223 S. 3rd St., 598
Van Vleit, L.D. and Mary Residence, 1316 N. 25th St., 375, 596
Vauban, Sébastien le Prestrede, 22-24
Versailles, Palace of, 534
Vineyard, George H. Residence, 2903 Ashland Ave., 596
Vitruvius, 23-24

W

Wagenknecht, Harry E., 586
Walker, A.D. Residence (Holton, KS), 596
Walker, C. Howard, 392
Wallace Building (Little Rock, AR), 579
Wallace, C. Hodge Jr. Mrs. Residence, Country Club Village, 596
Waller, O.W. building, 601
Waller, O.W. Residence, 502 N. 25th St., 576, 596
Ware, William R., 94-95, 280, 280n, 392

Warren, Lloyd, 98
 Washington County Courthouse (Washington, KS), 607
 Washington D.C., 147-148, 149-150, 151, 154, 185
 Washington Hotel (Shreveport, LA), 579
 Washington School, 1015 N. 5th St., 576, 603
 Washington University (St. Louis), 139
 Water and Lights Department building, 601
 Weatherhead, Arthur, 94-95, 94n, 95n, 132, 367, 383, 390n
 Webster Public School, 1815 Highly St., 154, 581
 Weigel Furniture and Carpet Co. building, 107-111 S. 6th St., 601
 Well Home, 581
 Welsh, Thomas, 586
 West, Capt. Charles Residence, Frederick Ave., 581
 Western Association of Architects, 137-138, 140, 415
 Western Union Telegraph Office building, 414 Felix St., 601
 Westminster Presbyterian Church, 2101 Jules St., 374n, 611
 Westward Expansion, 177, 399
 See also Gold Rush
 See also Oregon Trail
 Wheeler, Mrs. Webb W. Residence, 631 Hall St., 596
 See also Robison, James H. Residence
 Wheeler-Motter Building, 4th & Jules St., 576, 577
 White, Shelley, 374n, 375n
 White, Stanford, 221
 Whittier School, 3033 N. 26th St., 603
 Whittinghill-Kivett Shoe Co. building, 120 N. 4th St., 599
 Wholesale Row, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 262, 265
 Wilder Building (Rochester, NY), 465
 Widman, Carl Residence, 596
 Wilkinson, F.B. Residence (Westboro, MO), 596
 William Jewell College Dormitory (Liberty, MO) 605
 William Jewell College Library (Liberty, MO), 264, 370, 533, 603
 Williamson, Sid, 587
 Willis Edwards and Co. Stores, 3rd and Felix, 580
 Wilson, J.W., 586
 Winkle Terra Cotta Co., 412, 412n
 Woodson, Dr. C.R. garage, 616
 Woodson, Dr. C.R. Sanitarium, 615
 World's Fair (1893), 388, 388n
 Worthen Bank and Trust Co. (Fort Smith, AR), 579
 Wren, Christopher, 319, 379
 Wyatt Park Baptist Church, 28th & Mitchell, 611
 Wyeth, Eliza, 247

Wyeth Hardware and Manufacturing Co. building, 609 N. 2nd St., 599

Wyeth, Huston, 3001 Frederick Ave., 618

Wyeth, Huston Residence, 3101 Frederick Ave., 596

Wyeth, John Residence, Frederick Ave., 577

See also Wyethwood

Wyeth, William M., 170-172

Wyeth, William Residence, 1100 Charles St., 170-171, 260, 267, 353n, 454, 596

Wyeth, William M. Residence, 417 S. 12th St., 596

Wyeth, William M. Residence, (San Bernadino, CA), 596

Wyeth-Tootle Mansion – see Wyeth, William Residence

Wyethwood, 577

See also Wyeth, John Residence

Y

YMCA building, 109 N. 7th St./ 701 Felix, 605

YMCA Building (Fort Smith, AR), 579

York County and City Hospital (York, PA), 581

Youree Hotel (Shreveport, LA), 578

Z

Zion Evangelical Church and Parsonage, 402, 577, 596, 611