

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).

1. Name of Property

Historic name Bellefontaine Cemetery

Other names/site number Rural Cemetery Association of St. Louis

Name of related Multiple Property Listing n/a

2. Location

Street & number 4947 W. Florissant Avenue

n/a

not for publication

City or town St. Louis

n/a

vicinity

State Missouri Code MO County St. Louis Independent City Code 510 Zip code 63115

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this x nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property x meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

x national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria: A B x C D

Mark A. Miles
Signature of certifying official/Title Mark A. Miles, Deputy SHPO

May 14, 2014
Date

Missouri Department of Natural Resources
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official

Date

Title

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

 entered in the National Register

 determined eligible for the National Register

 determined not eligible for the National Register

 removed from the National Register

 other (explain:)

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

x

private

public - Local

public - State

public - Federal

Category of Property

(Check only one box.)

building(s)

x

district

site

structure

object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
7	3	buildings
1	1	sites
5	1	structures
0	0	objects
13	5	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

1

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Funerary: Cemetery

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Funerary: Cemetery

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Mid-19th Century / Greek, Gothic & Exotic Revival

Late Victorian / Romanesque Revival

19th & 20th Century Revivals / Late Gothic Revival,

Classical Revival

Late 19th & Early 20th Century Movements /

Sullivaneseque

Modern Movement / Art Deco

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions.)

foundation: STONE: limestone

walls: STONE: limestone, granite

BRICK

roof: STONE: slate, ASPHALT, METAL

other: METAL: cast iron, copper, bronze

STONE: marble

GLASS

Bellefontaine Cemetery

Name of Property

St. Louis (Independent City), MO

County and State

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☐ A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☒ C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☐ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- ☐ A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ B removed from its original location.
- ☐ C a birthplace or grave.
- ☒ D a cemetery.
- ☐ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ F a commemorative property.
- ☐ G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

☒ **STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE ON CONTINUATION PAGES**

Areas of Significance

Landscape Architecture

Period of Significance

1849 - 1940

Significant Dates

1849 (cemetery incorporated)

1850 (name changed to Bellefontaine, first burial)

1878 (Aramanth gate, lodge, & gatehouse)

1909 (chapel & receiving tomb)

1916 (Hawthorn gate & gatehouse)

1926 (Willow gate, office, gatehouse, wall)

1931 (Humboldt gate & gatehouse)

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

n/a

Cultural Affiliation

n/a

Architect/Builder

Hotchkiss, Almerin / Landscape Architect

Abercrombie, Roderick M. / Builder

Bacon, Henry / Architect

(See continuation pages for additional names)

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)
- ☒ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☒ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # MO-1637
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

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

Name of repository: Bellefontaine Cemetery
Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc.

Bellefontaine Cemetery
Name of Property

St. Louis (Independent City), MO
County and State

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 314 acres

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1	<u>38.687305°</u> Latitude:	<u>-90.221911°</u> Longitude:	3	<u>38.694242°</u> Latitude:	<u>-90.238279°</u> Longitude:
2	<u>38.683789°</u> Latitude:	<u>-90.228738°</u> Longitude:	4	<u>38.699485°</u> Latitude:	<u>-90.229427°</u> Longitude:

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

_____ NAD 1927 or _____ NAD 1983

1	_____ Zone	_____ Easting	_____ Northing	3	_____ Zone	_____ Easting	_____ Northing
2	_____ Zone	_____ Easting	_____ Northing	4	_____ Zone	_____ Easting	_____ Northing

Verbal Boundary Description (On continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification (On continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Ruth Keenoy, Preservation Specialist/Eären Hummel, Director of Landscape Design, Bellefontaine Cem.
organization Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. date May 12, 2014
street & number 911 Washington Avenue, Suite 170 telephone 314-421-6474
city or town St. Louis state MO zip code 63101
e-mail rkeenoy@landmarks-stl.org

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:**
 - A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
 - A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Photographs**
- **Owner Name and Contact Information**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Bellefontaine Cemetery

Name of Property

St. Louis (Independent City), MO

County and State

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log:

Name of Property: **Bellefontaine Cemetery**

City or Vicinity: **St. Louis**

County: **St. Louis (Independent City)** State: **MO**

Photographer: **Ruth Keenoy**

Date

Photographed: **21 November 2013; 12 January 2014**

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

- 1 of 45. Mausolea, Woodbine, NE
- 2 of 45. Mount Repose, NW
- 3 of 45. Busch Tomb, N
- 4 of 45. William Clark monument, NW
- 5 of 45. Semple-Ames lot, W
- 6 of 45. Christy lot, SE
- 7 of 45. Meadow, N
- 8 of 45. O'Fallon lot, SW
- 9 of 45. Humboldt Gate, NW
- 10 of 45. Founders' Wall, SE
- 11 of 45. West of Cypress Lake, Evergreen, S
- 12 of 45. Fountain and Sunset, NW
- 13 of 45. Sacred Valley, E
- 14 of 45. Cascade Lake, S
- 15 of 45. Ambrosia Hill, E
- 16 of 45. Memorial Valley, E
- 17 of 45. Cascade Lake and Lakeside Columbarium, NW
- 18 of 45. Hawthorn Gatehouse, S
- 19 of 45. Hawthorn Gate, NE
- 20 of 45. Service Building, SE
- 21 of 45. Old Service Yard, SW
- 22 of 45. West of Mausoleum Row, E
- 23 of 45. Mausoleum Row, Woodbine, NE
- 24 of 45. Pitzman and mausoleums, N
- 25 of 45. Mausoleum Row, Woodbine, NE
- 26 of 45. Amaranth Gate, gatehouse and lodge, SE
- 27 of 45. Obelisks, Amaranth, NW
- 28 of 45. David R. Francis memorial, SE
- 29 of 45. Sidney R. Francis memorial, NW
- 30 of 45. Wainwright Tomb, NW
- 31 of 45. Mausoleum Row, Wintergreen, W
- 32 of 45. Tate and Spink mausoleums, NE

Bellefontaine Cemetery

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33 of 45. Mallinckrodt Tomb, NW
34 of 45. Von der Ahe memorial, E
35 of 45. Elliott mausoleum, W
36 of 45. Myrtle, W
37 of 45. Hotchkiss Chapel, E
38 of 45. Receiving Tomb/columbarium, S
39 of 45. Bennett memorial, NE
40 of 45. Sellers/Woodbine, E
41 of 45. Luyties memorial, E
42 of 45. Westlake Tomb, N
43 of 45. Willow Gate / Entrance, NW
44 of 45. Willow Gatehouse and Office, W
45 of 45. Pumphouse, SE

Figure Log:

Include figures on continuation pages at the end of the nomination.

1. Property acquisitions for Bellefontaine Cemetery (1849-1865).
2. Locations for Contributing/Non-Contributing Properties.
3. Locations for Selected Monuments/Tombs.
4. Current cemetery parcel layout.
5. St. Louis City Limits, 1764 – 1876.
6. Pitzman's Map, 1868, illustrating city limits and location of cemetery.
7. Bellefontaine Cemetery Map, 1850.
8. Former Keeper's Cottage/Lodge (not extant).
9. Hempstead Lot, late 1930s.
10. Aramant Gate, Gatehouse and Lodge, c. 1900.
11. Kingshighway Plan, 1907.
12. Early view of the cemetery from Broadway (nineteenth century).
13. Early gate, c. 1906.
14. Willow gate and entrance, 1899.
15. Wainwright Tomb, 1899.
16. Hotchkiss Chapel, late 1930s.
17. Founders Wall and Gate, late 1930s.
18. Willow Gate, Gatehouse and Office, late 1930s.
19. View, early 1900s.
20. Gaty memorial, c. 1930.
21. Bennett memorial, c. 1930.
22. Tate and Spink mausoleums, late 1930s.
23. Brock and Taylor mausoleums, 1933.
24. O'Fallon monument, c. 1933.
25. Mary Augusta Bissell Morrison memorial, c. 1930.
26. Richard Buell Mason memorial, c. 1930.
27. Francis memorial, c. 1965.
28. Map of Lake Forest, IL, 1857.
29. Map of Riverside, IL, 1869.

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Bellefontaine Cemetery
Name of Property
St. Louis (Independent City), MO
County and State
n/a
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Narrative Description

Summary

Bellefontaine Cemetery encompasses a **314-acre parcel** north of downtown St. Louis, addressed as **4947 W. Florissant Avenue**. The cemetery is **nationally significant** as a unique example of both rural and landscape-lawn cemetery design movements. The **period of significance, 1849 – 1940** reflects the developments that shaped the property's current appearance, particularly in relation to the site's landscape including roads, mausolea, stones, statuary, monuments, fences, gates and buildings. The cemetery holds **13 contributing** properties (including the landscape/interments/memorials as a single contributing site, seven buildings and five structures) and **5 non-contributing** properties (including three buildings, a former workshop/site and columbarium*). Bellefontaine's contributing and non-contributing properties include **two sites** (the cemetery/supporting features and a former service yard), **six structures** (four contributing gates, a contributing wall/fence and a non-contributing columbarium) and **10 buildings** (seven contributing and three non-contributing). The cemetery has **one previously listed property**, the Wainwright Tomb (NRHP 1970). The cemetery's landscape is undulating with 14 miles of curving roadways, two man-made lakes, and an assortment of plantings consisting of an estimated 4,000 trees, 1,100 shrubs and over 180 plant species. Bellefontaine Cemetery has four entrances identified as Willow (west), Hawthorn (southwest), Amaranth (southeast) and Humboldt (east). Originally Hawthorn (facing Broadway / Bellefontaine Road) served as the cemetery's main gate. Currently the Willow Entrance on W. Florissant Avenue serves as the cemetery's main gate. The site encompasses the cemetery's **original 138-acre parcel obtained in 1849**, as well as **subsequent purchases** made in **1849** (28 acres), **1853** (approximately 59 acres) and **1865** (111 acres) (see **Figure 1**). The cemetery parcel, which reached its largest size in 1865 (336 acres) was reduced by approximately 22 acres during the early-to-mid twentieth century to accommodate public road improvements (i.e., W. Florissant, Broadway, Calvary and Mark Twain Expressway), resulting in the **present size of 314 acres**.¹

The cemetery is bounded by N. Broadway (aka Bellefontaine Road) at the east, Calvary Avenue at the north (which serves as the southern boundary for a Catholic Cemetery – Calvary), W. Florissant Avenue at the west, and railroad tracks/Morin Avenue at the south. Bellefontaine Cemetery is sited on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi River, which extends north/south approximately one mile east of the parcel. In addition to Bellefontaine's northern neighbor, Calvary Cemetery (established in 1854), the surrounding area consists of a mixture of residential,

¹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes (multiple dates: 1928, 1929, 1959). Board minutes in 1928-1929 indicate widening of Broadway and Calvary Avenue cut-off road improvements, which account for a large portion of the property's public use acreage. In 1959, an easement – 0.41 acre of the southeast corner of the parcel – was used to construct the Mark Twain Expressway/Interstate-70 (per minutes dated 27 April 1959).

*A **columbarium** is "a structure of vaults lined with recesses for cinerary urns" (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/columbarium>, Access date: 12 March 2014).

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Bellefontaine Cemetery
Name of Property
St. Louis (Independent City), MO
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n/a
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commercial and industrial properties. Residential and commercial establishments are located primarily to the west and south, whereas industrial properties are situated east along the Mississippi River/Broadway. Interstate 70 (originally Mark Twain Expressway, constructed in the late 1950s) skirts the cemetery's southern and eastern boundaries.

Introduction: Landscape Development and Design, 1849 - Present

Bellefontaine is an active cemetery with **86,687 interments** (as of December 31, 2013), including 82,154 full burials and 4,533 cremations. Additionally, the cemetery holds approximately 100 mausolea, 4,000 large monuments, and 6,900 family lots. The total number of headstones/footstones is unknown, as the nearly 87,000 interments include a large number of unmarked burials. The earliest improvements at Bellefontaine were within the central areas, primarily Magnolia Hill and Mount Repose. Prospect Heights, south of Mount Repose was also designed in the nineteenth century and features the cemetery's ostentatious "mausoleum row." Bellefontaine's oldest recorded interment dates to 1817, associated with the Hempstead Family, whose burial ground was part of the original parcel purchased by Bellefontaine Cemetery in 1849. Today, the Hempstead Lot is within the cemetery's northeastern quadrant known as Rosemary Hill. At the northeastern tip of the parcel is Bellefontaine's most visited interment, William Clark (whose body was moved to the site in the 1860s). The Clark monument features a 1904 granite obelisk, circular plaza and bust of General Clark designed by a noted American sculptor, William Ordway Partridge. A number of noteworthy artists and architects contributed to Bellefontaine's massive collection of tombs, memorials and statuary, including Henry Bacon, Louis Sullivan, Robert Launitz and John Struthers, to name a few. Bellefontaine was established and designed as a "rural cemetery" – the romantic garden cemetery movement that swept the nation after Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery opened in 1831 as a "model for a new sacred space for the dead and a tranquil spot, even a pleasure ground, for the living."²

Though America did not fully embrace the **rural cemetery movement** until the 1830s, it was a concept popular in Europe by the 18th century, particularly in England and France. The most famous example pre-dating Mount Auburn is Paris' Père Lachaise, which opened in 1804.³ Père Lachaise was the model for Mount Auburn – a garden cemetery established outside of the city with a variety of terrain and dense woods. The cemetery's layout was designed to create views and provide new discoveries around each turn of the meandering avenues and cresting of ridges from which visitors could view sweeping panoramas of Paris. Mount Auburn – the nation's first true rural cemetery – was designed in similar fashion as a romantic perception of nature, art and national identity shaped by European trends in gardening design. Rural cemeteries embraced

² David Charles Sloane, *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 63.

³ Elisabeth Walton Potter and Beth M. Boland, *National Register Bulletin 41: Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, [1992]), 4.

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Bellefontaine Cemetery
Name of Property
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aesthetic theories illustrated by the cemetery landscape itself through curvilinear paths, watercourses and masses of vegetation adapted to rolling landforms. When practiced in landscape design, a picturesque landscape was composed similar to landscape paintings with a foreground, middle ground and background. The picturesque landscape (i.e., rural cemetery) placed the most artful in the foreground (such as an ornamental planting), a parkland character in the middle ground (such as a monument), and the background was composed of wild or “natural” characteristics often borrowed from distant views. Rural enthusiasts viewed cemeteries as canvases where moral and ethical values could be illustrated through nature. Placing graves in a garden was a major shift from the graveyards of the past. By the early nineteenth-century perceptions began to change about death and dying. No longer perceived as grotesque, but as something beautiful yet solemn, the location of a grave was both symbolic and personal. The United States was slower to adopt such ideas because Americans spent decades taming the wilderness into a productive and pastoral environment; subduing wild nature into domestication as people moved westward into undeveloped territories. Once the United States became more urban in character, the rural cemeteries were embraced as integral components of a successful nation.

Bellefontaine’s landscape also supports evidence of the **landscape-lawn movement** introduced by Adolph Strauch in the 1850s at Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, Ohio. In contrast to the rural cemetery model, the landscape-lawn movement rejected the garden park concept by incorporating a “simpler, more spacious, and more pastoral [landscape], in which management’s control was increasingly extended over monuments and plantings.”⁴ This more streamlined and professional approach to cemetery landscape planning opened the grounds to light and space by removing fences, hedges, oversized plantings and “other enclosures that obstructed” sweeping views framing monuments and tombs by strategic placement of flowers, trees and shrubs. “The result was a much cleaner, less wild scene, one . . . thought more fitting for a civilized suburb” than had formerly been the preference in cemetery design.⁵

By the 1850s, many of the nation’s rural cemeteries were becoming crowded – not only with large numbers of graves – but through excessive ornamentation: elaborate and exotic plantings surrounded by ornate wrought iron fences, ostentatious monuments, and grand mausolea. Strauch is credited as introducing a more open, pastoral cemetery landscape plan that became known as the “landscape-lawn” movement. The landscape-lawn plan opted for open stretches of lawn with canopies of shade trees and utilized less ornamental plantings (flowering shrubs and perennials) than did rural cemeteries. Plantings, monuments, and mausolea were all carefully controlled by the cemetery management, also in contrast to rural cemeteries which allowed individual lot owners complete control over plantings and monument designs. The landscape-lawn plan adapted ideas from the “rural” parks developed in the mid-1850s such as Central Park in New York City. Large family lots were set back with a single, large monument easily viewed from the

⁴ Sloane, 99.

⁵ Ibid, 100.

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Bellefontaine Cemetery
Name of Property
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road. Individual grave markers were set low to the ground and were (preferably) identical for all family members buried on the lot. Long stretches of lawn were interspersed with trees and occasional planting beds. As opposed to the use of plants in a rural cemetery to hide views, only to surprise visitors as they turned a bend in a road, the landscape lawn design encouraged long views across lawns or bodies of water. Strauch's aesthetic promoted landscape design that was simple in its beauty, with smooth curves, harmonious plantings, and limited number of monuments – a stark contrast to the limitless individualism of the rural cemetery.

In the fall of 1849, The Trustees of Rural Cemetery Association of St. Louis (i.e., Bellefontaine Cemetery) engaged Almerin Hotchkiss of New York to lay out the cemetery grounds. The selection of Hotchkiss, with his experience at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York, showed the Association's determination that this cemetery would follow the established organizational design of other rural cemeteries in the United States. Bellefontaine's Secretary William McPherson stated that Hotchkiss had "experience and cultivated tast (sic) in such improvements [that] will ensure a full development of all the Beauties of improvement of which the ground is susceptible." Though some things have changed at Bellefontaine Cemetery since Hotchkiss was hired in 1849, the original plan reflecting Hotchkiss' ideas concerning rural cemetery design remains visible today.

By the time Bellefontaine was dedicated in May, 1850, the cemetery (guided by Hotchkiss) had approximately half of its grounds laid out in meandering roads, footpaths and tree planting; with the primary road – what came to be called the "Tour" – four miles in length. The "Tour" had a generous width of twenty feet with eight foot borders on each side. All lots were to front either a road or a path, allowing carriage access to individual lots, and every lot and road was to be laid out with borders that (if owners preferred) could be "ornamented with flowers and shrubbery [to] add to beauty to the place." Hotchkiss employed the standard features of rural cemetery design with curvilinear roads, planned vistas, lakes and a prominent entrance. Natural landscape features were retained (i.e., hills, valley and glens) with roads and family lots following the topography. Trees and underbrush were cleared to provide views from the roads to family lots where grand family monuments would be erected, with the lot surrounded by ornamental fencing often with gardens inside. After trees were removed, additional trees were planted to line the property perimeter, frame views and align the roads. Mature trees, many over a century old, remain one of the landscape's main features today. Many existing trees predate the cemetery, while others are from the efforts of planting that spanned many decades. The cemetery's estimated 5,000 trees provide a forested canopy shading the grave sections. Many trees are Missouri natives, but there are also exotic species from around the globe, selected for their aesthetic interest such as flowers, fall color, or form.

After nearly fifty years, the cemetery desired to "modernize" following the lead of Spring Grove cemetery and the lawn-park (or landscape-lawn) cemetery design movement which eliminated ornate and elaborate Victorian fences and hedges surrounding family lots. Open views across

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Bellefontaine Cemetery
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n/a
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

lawn unimpeded by plantings became the more common aesthetic of the cemetery, and removal of hedges, fences, elaborate plantings and stone copings brought the cemetery more in line with modern ideas about cemetery design. The changes also made Bellefontaine appear more open and park-like, creating a more integrated composition of the landscape than the earlier delineation of individual lots with distinctly defined spaces. Improvements in the early twentieth-century included the addition of a pedestrian gate on Florissant near Calvary Avenue, a new office building and gatehouse (Willow Entrance), and a limestone wall along Florissant Avenue from Calvary Avenue past the Willow Gate/Entrance (fronting Florissant Avenue). These contributing features characterize the property's current appearance as do the historic land-use patterns noted above. A description of cemetery's landscape as it appears today is provided following Table 1 (see **Contributing Resources: Site**).

Table 1 provides a list of contributing and non-contributing properties. Architectural descriptions follow the table. Due to the cemetery's large number of burials (over 80,000), the associated tombs, monuments and markers, the cemetery and its collection of memorials and funerary artwork are counted as a single contributing resource as part of the overall site. This single resource also includes the cemetery's landscape features such as roads, arboretum and historic vegetation, and designed features such the lakes, which were on the site prior to 1900. **Table 2** provides 44 examples of Bellefontaine's unique collection of funerary art/mausolea. **Figures 2 and 3** illustrate the locations of the properties identified in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

Table 1. List of Contributing/Non-contributing Properties

ID Fig 3	Property Name	Date completed	Builder(B)/Architect (A)	C/NC
A	Site (tombs, art, memorials, roads, landscaping, etc.)	1849 – present	Multiple	C
B	Aramanth Gate	1878	Unknown	C
C	Aramanth Gatehouse	1878	Unknown	C
D	Aramanth Lodge	1878	Unknown	C
E	Hawthorn Gate	1916	Mariner, LaBeaume & Klein (A); A.H. Haessler (B)	C
F	Hawthorn Gatehouse	1916	Mariner, LaBeaume & Klein (A); Robert Wright & Son (B)	C
G	Humboldt Gate	1931	R.J. Lockwood (A); Robert Wright & Son	C
H	Humboldt Gatehouse	1931	R.J. Lockwood (A); Robert Wright & Son	C
I	Willow Gate	1926	Jamieson & Spearl (A)	C
J	Willow Gatehouse	1929	Jamieson & Spearl (A)	C
K	Willow Office	1926	Jamieson & Spearl (A); Robert Wright & Son (B)	C
L	Hotchkiss Chapel	1909	Eames & Young (A)	C
M	Lakeside Columbarium	2010	Depree Bickford Associates (A)	NC
N	Service Yard Site	1937	Robert Wright & Son (B)	NC
O	Public Works/Service Building	2000	Hensley Construction	NC

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Bellefontaine Cemetery
Name of Property
St. Louis (Independent City), MO
County and State
n/a
Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

ID Fig 3	Property Name	Date completed	Builder(B)/Architect (A)	C/NC
P	Pump house (north)	2007	J.E. Novak Construction Co. (B)	NC
Q	Pump house (south)	2007	J.E. Novak Construction Co. (B)	NC
R	Stone Fence surrounding parcel (multiple permits; stages). Includes founders' wall monument (1925) designed by Jamieson & Spearl	1925 1926 1929	Jamieson & Spearl (A); Robert Wright & Son (B) Jamieson & Spearl (A); St. Louis Const. Co. (B) Edward Flad (A); Robert Wright & Son (B)	C

Dates of construction, building materials and builders/architects information provided by building permits, St. Louis Daily Record, and records at Bellefontaine Cemetery.

Bellefontaine's landscape plan is a unique hybrid of the American rural and landscape-lawn cemetery movements that became popular during the mid-nineteenth and late nineteenth century. These movements are demonstrated not only through the cemetery's large collection of art and monumental works, but also the carefully planned landscape (complemented by the cemetery's above-ground resources) that includes two man-made lakes (Cascade and Cypress), many plantings and the open areas that surround dense clusters of ornamental granite, stone and marble works representing tombs, headstones and memorials. **Figure 4** illustrates the parcel's roads, lakes, gates, primary buildings (in use today) and section names. Today, both influences (rural and landscape-lawn) are obvious, contributing to the site's national significance as a hybrid of the landscape movements that shaped America's cemeteries during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.

Contributing Resources

Site (1):

Bellefontaine's landscape incorporates approximately 314 acres of rolling terrain surrounded by stone and iron fencing at the north (Calvary Avenue), east (Bellefontaine Road), south (railroad tracks/Morin Avenue) and west (Florissant Avenue). Curving roads lead from the parcel's gates (described below individually), including Willow (west), Aramant (southeast), Humboldt (east) and Hawthorn (southwest) (**Figure 4**). The site is largely grass-covered with exception of roads and parking lots near the associated buildings (office, gatehouses, public works area and chapel). Parking lots and roads are paved with asphalt. Mature trees line roads and frame the views which feature the cemetery's funerary art, headstones and mausolea. The oldest burials are associated with the Hempstead Lot located within the northern quadrant (**Figure 9**). This area was developed prior to other areas in terms of burials and landscaping. It is here that the site is most hilly and views center on the Mississippi River, which parallels the property's eastern boundary. It is also this area that features the cemetery's planned "Tour" (noted previously), which winds through the site's older memorials and tombs. Granite curbs line roads and border some of the older lots. The cemetery's chapel (erected in 1909) and receiving tomb (described below) are situated along the Tour at the height of a knoll near the east/central border (**Photos 37-38**).

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Mausoleum Row is located south of the chapel, surrounded by curvilinear roads (in the areas defined as Aramanth Hill and Walnut Hill) lined with obelisks and elegant mausoleums reflecting Classical and Egyptian Revival styles (**Photos 22, 25, 27-33**). South of Mausoleum Row, the site slopes south. This area is relatively unadorned except for trees and other plantings (shrubs and flowers) that border the road leading to the southeast corner, Aramanth Gate, which provides access from Bellefontaine Road/Morin Avenue (**Photo 26**). The southern end of the cemetery is likewise open in plan, supporting fewer plantings, monuments and mausolea than areas to the north. Situated near the south/central parcel is the public works area (adjacent to the railroad and Morin Avenue) (**Photos 20-21**). Two man-made lakes (Cascade and Cypress) are within the southwestern quadrant, northwest of the public works area (**Photos 14 and 17**). North of the lakes, adjacent to Florissant Avenue (central/west), is Willow Gate that serves as the primary entry (**Photos 43-44**). North of Willow Gate, bordered by Florissant Avenue, are the site's original public burial lots (i.e., paupers' burials).

Due to the cemetery's extensive collection of noteworthy monuments, memorials and mausolea, the following 44 examples (**Table 2**) have been selected as representations of what are literally thousands of funerary objects in the cemetery. Of note, the **Wainwright Tomb (#14) (Photo 30)** was individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970.

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Table 2. Examples of Noteworthy Mausolea, Memorials and Funerary Art

ID Fig. 3	Associated Burial / Related Significance	Designer and/or Artist	Date Erected	Description
1	Dr. D.S. Brock, physician (Photo 2, Figure 23)	George I. Barnett, architect	1874	Yellow limestone. Octagonal mausoleum with engaged paired corner pilasters. Wreath pattern in cornice above pilasters. Arched entry frames single-light original door with arched transom. Stacked flat copper roof with flared edges.
2	Alanson Brown, shoe manufacturer (Photo 25)	Isaac Taylor, architect	1910	Granite. Romanesque Revival mausoleum. Circular shape and conical roof. Tuscan columns surround structure. Paired columns and classical surround frame bronze doors with Christian cross panels.
3	George Warren Brown, shoe manufacturer (Photo 25)	Mauran, Russell & Crowell, architectural firm	1928	Granite. Hexagonal tomb with stacked flat hexagonal roof. Paired bronze doors set within nearly flush entry bay. Small copper bulls eye modillions in cornice.
4	Adolphus Busch, brewery owner (Photo 3)	Thomas P. Barnett, architect	1921	Missouri pink granite. Gothic Revival mausoleum with paired bronze/glass doors. Ornate finials, drop pendants and hop flower embellishments surround the arched entry. Flying buttresses with elaborate spires (pink granite) frame the main elevation. Slate gabled roof with central copper spire.
5	Samuel Cupples, freight and distribution entrepreneur, owner of Cupples warehouse complex	Unknown	c. 1912	Granite. Greek and Egyptian Revival influenced mausoleum with paired Ionic columns. Pediment capped with anthemion leaf antefix. Fluted/flared surround and entrance. Scored exterior side elevations. Copper modillions set in cornice.
6	Lemp Family, brewery owners	Frank Henry Kronauge, architect	1902	Granite. Bellefontaine's largest family mausoleum. Greek Revival pediment supported by paired Tuscan columns. Paired bronze doors with multi-paned lights set within Greek Revival scored surround. Scored walls and copper modillions in cornice.
7	John E. Liggett, president of Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.	John H. McCarthy, granite contractor	c. 1897	Granite. Greek/Egyptian Revival influence mausoleum. Entry has Greek revival surround flanked by smooth columns with Lotus-

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ID Fig. 3	Associated Burial / Related Significance	Designer and/or Artist	Date Erected	Description
				influenced capitals. Paired bronze doors with tracery lights and cercelée cross in lower panels. Urns flank steps.
8	Edward Mallinckrodt, president Mallinckrodt Chemical Company (Photo 33)	Henry Bacon, architect	1921	Granite. Art Deco mausoleum. Low pyramidal roof with pineapple at crest and anthemion leaves at corners. Streamlined palm fronds flank entry. Art Deco urns flank steps. Paired bronze doors.
9	John Milliken, president Milliken Pharmaceutical and Absorbent Cotton plant (Photo 1)	Unknown	1915	Granite. Greek Revival mausoleum. Fluted Doric columns support classical pediment, frieze and architrave. Columns also flank side walls (temple design). Paired bronze doors with classical surround.
10	John J. Mitchell, involved in steamboats, railroads, President of Wabash Railroad Co. & also instrumental in Alton/Chicago line.	Unknown	c. 1903	Granite. Gothic Revival mausoleum with polished columns and Crocket capitals. Original steps, curbing and low Gothic piers remain on the lot. Robed standing human figure caps roof. Pommel above entry portal.
11	Henry Clay Pierce, entrepreneur	Eames & Young, architects	1899	Granite. Classical inspired mausoleum with Greek Revival pediment above scrolled decorative entablature. Bronze modillions adorn cornice. Paired bronze doors and urns with lion's feet pedestal.
12	Frank R. Tate, theater owner (Photo 32)	Eames & Young	1907	Granite. Egyptian Revival mausoleum. Columns flanking entrance have palm capitals. Winged disc flanked by serpents above entrance and below primary roof overhang. Sphinxes flank steps leading to paired bronze doors on façade.
13	George R. Taylor, businessman (Figure 23)	George I. Barnett	c. 1880	Missouri pink granite. Classical Revival influenced mausoleum. Greek Revival pediment holds angels, cross and urn. Classical entablature at entry with polished Tuscan columns.

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ID Fig. 3	Associated Burial / Related Significance	Designer and/or Artist	Date Erected	Description
14	Ellis Wainwright, brewer. Designed for Wainwright's wife, Charlotte Dickson Wainwright (Photo 30, Figure 15)	Louis H. Sullivan, architect	1892	Indiana limestone. Sullivanesque mausoleum. Cube shape with domed roof and geometrical detailing. Low surrounding wall with built-in benches flank entrance area.
15	James Louis Westlake, owner of Westlake Construction Company (Photo 42)	Unknown	1937	Granite. Art Deco/Egyptian Revival. Sole example at Bellefontaine of an open tomb sarcophagus. The temple design structure has a stepped foundation and heavy embellished frieze supported by fluted squared columns. Corner columns are massive and flared with palm leaf detailing.
16	William Bixby, railroad baron (Photo 31)	Unknown	c. 1931	Granite. Neoclassical and Egyptian Revival influenced mausoleum. Exterior walls are rusticated. Curved corners. Flat roof/rounded portico supported by polished Tuscan columns. Hipped setback roof with end scrolls.
17	Spink Family, <i>Sporting News</i> publishers (Photo 32, Figure 22)	McDonnell & Sons, monument/mausoleum builders	1914	Granite. Classical revival influenced mausoleum. Ornate glass and bronze doors. Oversized embellished columns with scrolled capitals and bas relief of inverted torches flank entry.
18	James Henry McLean, U.S. Representative (MO)	Unknown	c. 1886	Granite. Egyptian Revival tomb with Lotus capital columns, paired bronze doors, scored exterior walls. Phoenix wings above entry. Scored obelisk with wreath caps tomb.
19	Brig. Gen. Richard B. Mason, first military and civil governor of California (Figure 26)	John Struthers, architect and sculptor	1850	Brownstone. Sculpture of shrouded cannon and anchor symbolize life's end to military figure.
20	Manuel Lisa, fur trader (Figure 9)	Unknown	c. 1820	Marble. Squared column topped with urn draped with cloth. Area above Lisa's name plaque features a wreath. Cut stone base.
21	Wayman Crow, Missouri state senator, founding member of Washington University and Bellefontaine Cemetery Association	Unknown	c. 1885	Granite. Large simple obelisk without embellishment. Stepped base.

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ID Fig. 3	Associated Burial / Related Significance	Designer and/or Artist	Date Erected	Description
22	Gen. William Clark, joint member of Lewis & Clark exploration (Photo 4)	William Ordway Partridge, sculptor	1904	Granite. Small circular plaza with large obelisk (central). Masonic symbol on shaft (east). Near the stepped base of the obelisk is a bronze bust of Clark resting on a low squared granite column. At either end of the memorial plaza are granite commemorative markers with the heads of a mountain lion and a bison.
23	Sol Smith, actor	Unknown	c. 1869	Marble. Shrouded broken column on pedestal. Epitaph on base bears Shakespeare's well known Macbeth (Act V, Scene V) quote ("Life's but a walking shadow ...")
24	Henry T. Blow, Minister to Brazil under U.S. Grant	Unknown	c. 1875	Granite marker with hipped cap. Hooded arches on each side frame symbols for Christianity.
25	Anne C. T. Farrar, wife of physician Bernard Farrar, sister of John O'Fallon, niece of William Clark	Unknown	1868	Limestone. Greek open temple monument with copper cornice. Four Tuscan columns support flat roof on either side.
26	Kate Brewington Bennett, wife of local businessman (Photo 39, Figure 21)	Unknown	c. 1855	Limestone. Gothic Revival canopy with reclining female figure. Highly ornamental with Gothic finials, bell flowers and pommels. Urn and kneeling robed figure offset reclining figure at east.
27	Capt. Isaiah Sellers, steamboat captain who used the pseudonym "Mark Twain" (Photo 40)	Unknown	c. 1864	Marble. Ached headstone/marker. Recess in arch features bas relief of Sellers behind wheel of a boat.
28	Gov. John Miller, Missouri Governor 1826-1832	Unknown	c. 1832	Marble. Squared column surrounded by four urns – one at each corner of the monument base. Column is scored (to appear banded). Capital designed as draped shroud with corner tassels.
29	Rev. Alexander Van Court, first pastor of Central Presbyterian Church St. Louis	Unknown	c. 1856	Marble. Squared column with bas relief of Gothic church above the words, "Our Pastor."
30	Samuel Gaty, steamboat manufacturer (Figure 20)	Samuel Gaty, designer	c. 1855	Marble. Column with shrouded urn at pinnacle. Garland on shaft. Base illustrates a different season on each elevation utilizing images of trees.

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ID Fig. 3	Associated Burial / Related Significance	Designer and/or Artist	Date Erected	Description
31	Col. John O'Fallon, philanthropist; founded city's Polytechnic Institute & Pope Medical College (Photo 8, Figure 24)	George I. Barnett, architect	1865	Granite. 50-foot tall fluted classical column with 13-foot standing female holding an anchor and a cross symbolizing hope. In 1865, was noted as the largest private funerary memorial in the United States.
32	Henry M. Shreve, steamboat designer for whom Shreveport LA was named	Unknown	c. 1851	Marble. Obelisk with flared base. Plaque engraved into base and inscription also on obelisk. Top of obelisk has shroud/arch with central star below. Shrouded ornamental urn at pinnacle.
33	Maude Sheble Judge, young wife (23 y.o.) of Arthur J. Judge, Jr.	Unknown	c. 1892	Granite. Domed granite pedestal flanked by scrolls. Atop dome is standing female figure in robe with left arm raised.
34	James B. Eads, Eads Bridge designer	Unknown	c. 1887	Marble. Sarcophagus tomb with wreath. Festoon with banded tassels surrounds tomb. Gadrooning pattern surrounds base.
35	Hudson E. Bridge	Unknown	c. 1875	Marble. Sarcophagus on pedestal. Acanthus leaf "feet" support sarcophagus, embellished with human faces above leaves (angels and pharaohs).
36	Anton Griesedieck, brewer	Unknown	c. 1895	Granite. Elaborate monument adorned with wreaths, acanthus leaves and bust of Griesedieck flanked by Corinthian columns. Top of monument has robed seated female figure with crossed hands.
37	Herman C. Luyties, owner of Luyties Homeopathic Pharmacy Co., Walker Pharmaceutical, Sanitol Chemical Co. (Photo 41)	Giulio Monteverde, sculptor (attributed)	1922	Granite and marble. Granite arch on classical columns frame "box" with standing robed female, arms and legs crossed. Glass covers Carrera white marble statue.
38	Charles Henry Peck, architect/builder, railroad and banking baron	Unknown, possibly designed by Peck himself.	c. 1890	Granite. Large classical base with fern, ivy and winged detailing. Life sized robed figure stands on top with open book (left hand) and writing instrument (left hand)

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ID Fig. 3	Associated Burial / Related Significance	Designer and/or Artist	Date Erected	Description
39	Chris von der Ahe, owner St. Louis Browns (Photo 34)	Unknown name – relative of von der Ahe's	c. 1900	Granite. Memorial topped with lifelike figure of Von der Ahe, designed by a family member in Germany. Figure wears waistcoat and has right hand on waist, slightly overstepping the base.
40	Bagnell Brothers, railroad magnates	Unknown.	c. 1900	Granite. Three-sided obelisk. Each side of the obelisk, near the base, features inset bas relief (resembling a coin) of individual three brothers.
41	Semple-Ames Family (Photo 5)	William Rumbold, architect	c. 1866	Marble. Gothic Revival spire monument, 15 feet in height. Heavily embellished with finials, wreaths, and trefoil with figure, right arm raised. Associated lot retains original limestone steps, curbing and decorative piers flanking steps.
42	David Rowland Francis, St. Louis mayor (1885), Missouri governor (1889), Secretary of the Interior (1896), Russian ambassador (1916-18) (Photo 28, Figure 27)	George Julian Zolnay, sculptor	1925	Granite and bronze. Monument for Francis' wife (Jane Perry) by Zolnay is of a bronze shrouded, seated woman with clasped hands. Figure centered in white granite niche. Behind and above the figure, a Celtic cross is etched in granite. Curved granite benches flank monument.
43	Sidney Roland Francis, business partner of brother, D.R. Francis (Photo 29)	Ephraim Keyser, sculptor	1894	Granite and Bronze. Standing angel (bronze) with left hand resting on granite sarcophagus on pedestal.
44	Hamilton Rowland Gamble, chief justice of Missouri Supreme Court (1850s) and provisional Missouri governor during Civil War. Cast sole vote supporting Dred Scott's freedom.	Unknown	c. 1864	Marble. Twin obelisks entwined by a rose garland symbolizing Gamble and his wife joined in death. The husband's obelisk is taller than the wife's.

Circa dates are most often based on year of death; some are assumptions based on available reference materials.

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Buildings (7)

Aramanth Gatehouse (Photo 26) is a one-story limestone building with a steeply pitched hipped, asphalt shingled roof. At the southeast corner of the gatehouse is a 2.5-story tower bay with a pyramidal roof. The tower has an arched street-level opening facing Aramanth Drive (southwest of the gatehouse). The arched tower bay opening leads to a four-paneled wood door. The lower and second-story elevations of the tower have one-over-one windows. The upper half-story tower walls support louvered vents on all elevations. The west elevation has a hipped porte-cochere supported by chamfered wood columns. The west elevation (within the porte-cochere bay) holds a four-paneled wood door. Side (north/south) elevations have two-over-one windows. All of the gatehouse windows have limestone sills. A corbelled brick chimney rises above the roofline where the portico meets the primary building roof (west elevation).

Aramanth Lodge (Photo 26) is situated on the south side of Aramanth Drive. The limestone lodge/dwelling is one and a half-story in height with a cross-gabled clipped roof. The roof is clad with asphalt shingles. The primary entry is off-center on the west elevation, framed by projecting limestone "walls" and adjoins a concrete stoop. Above the door is a transom. A hipped portico supported by braces extends over the door and transom. A secondary entrance is located on the south elevation. This entrance has a raised stoop and a shed portico above the door. Near the west end of the upper dwelling is a hipped dormer with a double hung window. The north elevation of the lodge has two hipped dormers (within the upper half-story) and two windows (lower story). Between the lower level windows is an original carved embellishment that has deteriorated. All windows have stone sills and flat arches. A corbelled brick chimney rises above the roofline near the north end of the dwelling.

Hawthorn Gatehouse (Photo 18) is situated near the cemetery's southwestern corner. Constructed in 1916, the gatehouse was designed by Mariner, LaBeaume & Klein. The combination gatehouse/office is one-story in height with exterior limestone walls, a slate gabled roof and gabled parapet walls. The primary entrance is off-center on the north elevation. The entry bay holds a three-light paneled door set within a heavy Gothic arch with an ashlar surround. Above the door is a shield insert in the ashlar with superimposed letters "BC." West of the entrance a curved window bay holds four single-sash lights with diamond tracery. The windows have a shared crenellated metal cap that also forms the parapet and gutter. The east elevation has an exterior engaged limestone chimney.

Hotchkiss Chapel (including receiving tomb/columbarium) (Photos 37-38) is situated near the central east end of the cemetery on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi River. Designed in 1902 by Eames & Young, the chapel and rear wing (originally used as the receiving tomb) were constructed in 1909. The Greek Revival style building has exterior scored ashlar walls, a metal clad front-gable roof and a stepped foundation. Four Tuscan columns on low pedestals support

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the overhanging frieze and pediment. The recessed entrance holds paired original wood doors with oversized decorative metal strap hinges. The entrance is framed by an architrave surround. On either side of the entrance are stained glass single-sash lights. Side elevations feature engaged pilasters that separate individual windows of double-hung design. The building has a rear enclosed columbarium within the area constructed as a receiving tomb. The rear wing is lower in elevation than the primary chapel wing and has a low hipped roof. A single wood door with a strap hinge is situated on both the projecting west and east elevations. Multi-light windows (2009) wrap the upper portion of the exterior walls, which extend to create a "T" plan.

Humboldt Gatehouse (Photo 9) was constructed in 1931 and designed by R.J. Lockwood. The single-story brick building has exterior limestone walls and a slate gabled roof. At the north and south elevations, the gabled parapet rises above the roofline. The primary entry is off-center on the west elevation (south end). The entrance has a gabled porch supported by columns. Windows offset the entry toward the north end of the elevation. Paired and single windows face Broadway, one of which (single bay) has been filled with louvered vents, demonstrating the building's current use as a pump house. A projecting bay is situated on the south elevation and holds single-sash windows with diamond tracery and ashlar quoins. A stone chimney rises above the roofline at the north end of the dwelling.

Willow Office (Photo 44) is situated south of the main entry drive to the cemetery (via W. Florissant Avenue). The Late Gothic Revival style building was constructed in 1925-26 and designed by Jamieson & Spearl. The brick building has exterior limestone walls, a slate hipped roof, copper gutters/downspouts, and a limestone foundation. The primary (north) elevation features a central projecting bay with a recessed, Gothic arched entry featuring an original multi-light wood paneled door. Above the entrance, the roof is flat with a central crenellation bearing an embellished shield with the engraved letters "BC" similar to the design on the piers flanking the entrance. Side walls (east/west) have single Gothic arched windows with quoins and single-sash windows with diamond tracery. Cross gable wings are set back from the entry on the north elevation and hold ribbons of four Gothic arched windows. Upper sashes are narrow and arched (Gothic). Lower lights are rectangular. Windows are capped with limestone parapets and finials. The remaining façade holds three windows on either end (west/east), similar to those described earlier but without arches. Near the roofline is a large limestone scored chimney.

Willow Gatehouse (Photo 44) is north of the main entrance drive (via W. Florissant Avenue) and similar in design to Willow Office. The Late Gothic Revival style building was also designed by Jamieson & Spearl during the mid-1920s. The brick gatehouse has exterior limestone walls, a slate clad gabled roof and a limestone foundation. The primary entry is off-center on the façade (south elevation) and slightly recessed within a Gothic arched bay. The door is arched with a diamond tracery upper light and four lower wood panels. An embellished surround bears the letters "BC" within a shield above the door. Above the entrance, the roof supports a heavy

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parapet and finial. Offsetting the entry to the west is a band of five windows with single sashes and diamond tracery. Near the north end of the building is a scored limestone chimney.

Structures (5)

Aramanth Gate (Photo 26) is located at the southeast corner of the parcel facing Broadway. Aramanth's decorative iron gate bears Victorian era detailing with scrolls and spears. The gate is supported by four limestone piers with bullnosed capitals and quoins. The two central piers flanking the gate are taller than those supporting the outer edges of the gate/fence. Situated along the north and south sides of the drive leading into the cemetery from Broadway are a limestone lodge and gatehouse, constructed in 1878.

Hawthorn Gate (Photo 19) is situated near the cemetery's southwestern corner facing W. Florissant Avenue. The gate, designed by Mariner, LaBeaume & Klein, was constructed in 1916, featuring a cast iron fence and gate with tulip patterning. Limestone piers flank and support the gate. Inner piers are taller than those supporting the outer portions of the gate and fence. The piers are all embellished with Gothic arches and bullnosed caps. The south pier flanking the drive bears the name "Hawthorn Gate" on the elevation facing W. Florissant Avenue.

Humboldt Gate (Photo 9) was constructed in 1931 and designed by R.J. Lockwood. The structure is located at the central/east end of the cemetery facing Broadway. The iron fence and gate are embellished with geometric detailing consisting of circles and Christian (flared) crosses formed by stylized flowers. Six limestone piers support the gate with smaller piers (two on either side) supporting the fence. Two larger piers (supporting the gate) flank the drive leading into the cemetery. All of the piers have pointed caps and buttresses.

Willow Gate (Photo 43) was designed by Jamieson & Spearl in the mid-1920s. Today, the gate serves as the primary entrance to the cemetery. Situated along W. Florissant Avenue near the central/west end of the parcel, Willow gate/entrance features a limestone wall capped with limestone that extends along the property's western boundary. The wall supports a decorative iron fence and also flanks the two-way entrance marked by embellished limestone obelisk shaped piers. The primary piers flanking the central portion of the gate bear superimposed (copper or bronze) letters "BC." These piers are more decorative than the smaller piers supporting the outer edges of the gate/fence. The iron gates have scrollwork and rosettes. Low curved areas project west of the wall, creating planting beds on either side of the entrance (added c. 2005). South of the entry, the low wall bears a contemporary plaque commemorating a former supervisor, Michael N. Tiemann (1994-2005). Both the north and south fences flanking the gate bear a sign stating "Bellefontaine Cemetery."

Founder's Memorial Tablet / Wall (Photo 10) consists of a limestone wall and built-in monument (i.e., tablet) designed by Jamieson & Spearl during the 1920s. The founder's tablet is

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situated at the northwest corner of the property and faces the intersection of Calvary and W. Florissant Avenues. The embellished wall monument consists of a large Gothic arch rising above a Celtic cross resting on a stepped "tablet" bearing the names of the cemetery's founders (Darby, Kaiser, Crow, Yeatman, Harrison, Rannells, Allen, Salisbury, Bennett, Brewster, McPherson) and superintendent, Hotchkiss. The founder's wall is a contributing feature of the cemetery's limestone walls / iron fences not directly associated with the individual gates noted above.

Non-Contributing Resources

Site (1)

Service Yard/Public Works Site (Photo 21). At the south end of the property (near Morin Avenue/railroad tracks) is the cemetery's service yard, which holds the remains of a former service area constructed in 1935-1937. The 1930s service area no longer retains the buildings associated with the site, but does include limestone remains of the former buildings including some of the windows set within the standing walls. Due to its loss of architectural integrity, the site is not a contributing feature of the property.

Buildings (3)

Public Works/Service Building (Photo 20). Constructed in 2000, Bellefontaine's warehouse style service building has exterior synthetic siding and a metal clad roof. The roofline pitch falls vertically near the north end of the building, providing space for the building's clerestory window ribbon (north elevation). The south elevation has several overhead track doors, as does the south end of the primary (west) elevation. At the southeast corner of the building is the office area, which is clad with brick veneer. A glass door leads to the office wing (west elevation). Office windows (north and west elevations) are double-hung paired design.

Pump Houses (2) (Photo 45). Bellefontaine's non-contributing properties include two pump-houses constructed in 2007 near Humboldt Gate (south) and Founders Wall (north). These small concrete buildings are one-story in height with metal clad hipped roofs and concrete slab foundations. Paired solid metal doors provide entrance to the buildings.

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Structure (1)

Lakeside Columbarium (Photo 17), located near Hawthorn Entrance (southwest quadrant), is an outdoor columbarium constructed in 2010. Situated between the cemetery's two lakes (Cypress and Cascade), the structure is low and circular. The walls are composed of limestone and granite, creating a circle that surrounds a series of pools. Walkways extend around the perimeter and inner wall, which holds recessed built-in benches. The structural wall is capped with an open metal circular grid on piers.

Discussion of Historic Integrity

Bellefontaine Cemetery is an active cemetery that reached its largest size in 1865 (336 acres), and was reduced to its current 314 acres during the early-to-mid twentieth-century. Most of the acreage removed from the 1865 parcel was sold to the City of St. Louis prior to 1930 and used to widen W. Florissant Avenue and Broadway, and improve Calvary Avenue. In 1959, the cemetery's southeastern corner (0.41 acre) was taken through eminent domain by the Missouri Highway Department as a permanent easement when the Mark Twain Expressway (i.e., Interstate-70) was constructed. This latter alteration is the sole loss of acreage that occurred after the period of significance (1849 – 1940). The easement did not alter the physical character or historic appearance of the cemetery.

Because the cemetery is active, the landscape is in constant flux, supporting new burials and requiring maintenance to comply with standards of professional cemetery management. Despite this, great care is taken to preserve historic features of the cemetery, both natural and man-made. Historic grave markers are well maintained and remain in their original locations, as does the historic road pattern designed by Bellefontaine's original superintendent / landscape designer, Almerin Hotchkiss. The cemetery's landscape patterns shaped by Hotchkiss during the mid-to-late nineteenth century include its current road network, hills, lakes and the cemetery's "Tour" – a planned early route that displayed Bellefontaine's most ostentatious collection of monuments and distinguished burials. Also within this section of the cemetery are a number of mature trees planted during the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, including a row of Osage orange trees planted by Hotchkiss during the 1850s. The cemetery's receiving tomb and chapel were also part of Hotchkiss's plan for Bellefontaine though the latter (chapel) was not constructed until 1909. Nevertheless the chapel's site overlooking the Mississippi River on a rise above the surrounding landscape remained as Hotchkiss intended and is considered an integral component of the cemetery's landscape architecture, as are the site's burials, mausolea, stones and funerary art.

Bellefontaine Cemetery did not engage in the removal of mass burials or historic stones to create space for new burials – a practice that many cemeteries practiced, including Bellefontaine's neighboring property, Calvary. Although a few stones were removed and replaced, such activities

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were at the lot owner's insistence, and a practice that rarely occurred. One of the best examples relates to the replacement of a memorial in the O'Fallon lot. The large granite monument erected 1865 (designed by George I. Barnett) replaced an earlier marble memorial. When Barnett's monument was completed, it was reportedly the largest private funerary memorial in any American cemetery. This in itself is significant and contributes, rather than detracts from the significance of the cemetery. Today, the O'Fallon monument remains one of Bellefontaine's most imposing and striking memorials.

Alterations to Bellefontaine after 1940 (which ends the property's period of significance) include the addition of two columbaria. The earliest, completed in 2009, utilizes the chapel's rear wing/receiving tomb that had not been used since the 1950s. The columbarium's addition did not alter the appearance of the chapel designed by Eames & Young, nor did the renovation incorporate a use inconsistent with the building's design. Windows were added to the upper walls of the rear wing to accommodate its use as a columbarium (not necessary when it was used as a receiving tomb). Likewise, this change is modest and does not interfere with the historic appearance of the chapel or diminish its architectural integrity. The cemetery's second columbarium, Lakeside, was constructed in 2010 south of Willow Gate/Entrance. Lakeside Columbarium is non-contributing due to its date of construction, which postdates the period of significance. The structure's open air design hugs the landscape and does not obscure any of the cemetery's historic features.

The service area (near Morin Avenue) was also altered after 1940. Buildings constructed during the mid-to-late 1930s included a workshop and greenhouses that were surrounded by a limestone wall. Today, all that remains are ruins of the wall and buildings. The area is still used however, to store materials such as gravel. East of the 1930s service yard is a contemporary public works building (constructed in 2000). Although the service area does not retain any contributing aboveground features, it continues to support the role for which it was designed. The changes that have occurred in the service area since 1940 fail to diminish the property's architectural or historical significance. Alterations to historic properties, such as the addition of low limestone walls to support plants at Willow Gate (c. 2005), the addition of windows to the rear wing of the chapel to accommodate its use as a columbarium, and the conversion of the Humboldt Gate House to house a pumping system have all been done in a manner that does not detract from the original design or use of the properties.

Bellefontaine Cemetery's landscape and its unique collection of stones, statuary and mausolea provide a sense of time and place compatible with the property's period of significance. Though some changes have occurred recently, including the addition of interments and markers that post-date the period of significance, and the construction of contemporary support buildings, such changes have not diminished or compromised the cemetery's integrity. The artistic contributions that present Bellefontaine as a distinctive and noteworthy example of the rural and landscape-lawn movements are intact and clearly evident. The cemetery was and remains significant as a

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national representation of how emerging ideas concerning cemetery and landscape management shaped the landscapes of prominent cemeteries (such as Bellefontaine) throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The landscape and its collection of funerary mausolea and art richly illustrate the property's national significance as discussed in Section 8 of this document.

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Continuation of Architects/Builders

Barnett, Thomas P. / Architect
Eames, William S. / Architect
Flad, Edward / Architect
Young, Thomas C. / Architect
Gorham Manufacturing / Builder
Hinsdale-Doyle Granite Company / Builder
Jamieson & Spearl / Architect
Kronauge, Frank Henry / Architect
Lockwood, R.J. / Architect
Launitz, Robert E. / Sculptor
Mariner, Guy C. / Architect
LaBeaume, Louis / Architect
Klein, Eugene S. / Architect
Mauran, John L. / Architect
McDonnell & Sons / Builder
Monteverde, Giulio / Sculptor
Crowell, William D. / Architect
Russell, Ernest J. / Architect
Hodges, William R. / Builder
McCarthy, John H. / Builder
Partridge, William O. / Sculptor
Rumbold, William Rumbold
Struthers, John / Stone Cutter / Architect
Taylor, Isaac S. / Architect
Sullivan, Louis H. / Architect
Zolnay, George J. / Sculptor

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Summary

Bellefontaine Cemetery, established in 1849 as the Rural Cemetery Association of St. Louis, is **nationally significant** for its **landscape architecture (Criterion C)** as a unique hybrid of the rural and landscape-lawn cemetery movements. Bellefontaine did not adapt either influence (rural or landscape-lawn) exclusively but instead, merged both into its overall landscape design. Decisions to pursue cutting edge landscape ideas and to limit the cemetery's recreational use, sets Bellefontaine apart from its east coast (rural cemetery) predecessors and mid-western (landscape-lawn) examples. The cemetery was initially designed as a rural cemetery by its first superintendent, Almerin Hotchkiss, who came to St. Louis after working with David Bates Douglass and Zebediah Cook, Jr. at Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery (established 1838; NHL, 2006). In addition to his work at Green-Wood, Hotchkiss (while working at Bellefontaine) designed what is believed to be the nation's earliest planned suburban neighborhood, Lake Forest, Illinois. Once the landscape-lawn movement began to take shape (introduced by Adolph Strauch in 1855 at Cincinnati's Spring Grove Cemetery in Ohio, established 1844; NHL, 1979), Bellefontaine served as an early proponent of the movement. Complementing and contributing to the cemetery's landscape architecture is Bellefontaine's exceptional collection of memorials and mausolea designed by renowned sculptors, architects and craftsmen. Elements of both the rural and landscape-lawn cemetery movements are clearly defined through the site's undulating topography, planned horticultural features, serpentine road network, man-made lakes and spatial relationships between stones, monuments and tombs. The associated **period of significance, 1849 – 1940**, extends from the cemetery's year of incorporation, 1849 through 1940, by which time Bellefontaine had reached its final stage of physical development.

Criterion Consideration D: Distinctive Landscape Design Features

Bellefontaine Cemetery meets **Criterion Consideration D** for significance met through the property's distinctive landscape design. Cemeteries are not normally eligible for the National Register of Historic Places unless such resources have the capacity to exemplify outstanding importance for their historical (Criterion A/B) and/or aesthetic/design (Criterion C) contributions. Bellefontaine Cemetery meets Criterion C (landscape architecture) as such an example. The property is an exemplary model of the rural movement that spurred the development of large picturesque landscapes during the early-to-mid nineteenth century. It also incorporates elements of the emerging landscape-lawn plan that gained favor in cemetery landscape design by the late nineteenth century. The cemetery's large collection of mausolea, memorials, statuary and examples of funerary art illustrates eastern ideals imposed on young western cities (like St. Louis) that rapidly became national centers of finance, commerce and culture. Bellefontaine Cemetery features an extraordinary landscape design that demonstrates its national importance throughout the period of significance, 1849 – 1940.

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Introduction

Bellefontaine Cemetery was incorporated in 1849 at the height of the American Rural Cemetery movement initiated by the opening of Mount Auburn Cemetery near Boston in 1831 (NHL, 2003). The rural movement in America was spurred by grand European park-like cemeteries, such as Paris' Père-Lachaise, established in 1804. Rural cemeteries were romantic garden-like settings with curved paths and roads, rolling landscapes, ornamental plantings, lakes and vast assortments of funerary artwork and memorials.⁶ Many served as early public parks, captivating visitors with "spectacular vistas . . . serpentine roadways" and ornately embellished memorials.⁷ Mount Auburn's success prompted a series of imitators in the United States, including St. Louis' Bellefontaine Cemetery. St. Louis was prompted to establish its own rural cemetery in 1849 for a number of reasons. Like other cities that embraced the rural model, St. Louis was growing by leaps and bounds. Older burial grounds near the riverfront closed and bodies were reinterred time and again as commercial, industrial and residential growth pushed the city's limits westward. St. Louis was hit by the cholera epidemic in 1849, creating an even greater crisis as the death toll rose and land for burials diminished. The city's rural cemetery, established just prior to the epidemic, could not have been timed more appropriately.

The individuals who organized and directed the new rural cemetery in St. Louis were involved in railroads, banking and land speculation – businessmen, lawyers, politicians and opportunists. They engaged personnel for the new site who shared their foresight in establishing a distinctive cemetery that readily engaged in the emerging field of professional cemetery management. Two points of interest merge in relation to the cemetery and the intent of its organizers. One is that during the 1840s, there was an obvious push by business leaders to bring St. Louis into the national limelight as a city that provided opportunities equivalent (or superior) to those in large northeastern cities such as Boston, New York and Philadelphia. This attitude was also behind the motives of Bellefontaine Cemetery's organizers, who wished to create a premiere cemetery in St. Louis that was comparable to those in Boston (Mount Auburn), New York (Green-Wood) and Philadelphia (Laurel Hill, NHL, 1998). These attitudes and intentional motives brought immediate and lasting interest to Bellefontaine and guided the cemetery's model of professional standards over the years. Much of that professionalism is illustrated through the cemetery's historic landscape, which has been well attended since the original plan was shaped by the site's first superintendent and landscape visionary, Almerin Hotchkiss.

Bellefontaine Cemetery retains historic roads, fences, gates, landscaping, buildings, monuments and memorials – all of which characterize the historic vista. As a whole, these components comprise the cemetery's design components. They also reflect the role that the cemetery played during the nineteenth-century in providing refined burial options for those involved in national (western) expansion and settlement, as well as Bellefontaine's leadership role in perpetuating

⁶ Potter and Boland, 6.

⁷ Sloane, 49.

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professional cemetery management and American landscape movements during the period of significance. The cemetery's incorporation of a landscape-lawn approach, while preserving the physical features illustrating Hotchkiss's original rural landscape plan, created a unique cemetery setting. Bellefontaine's landscape (past and present) and its contributing features that include (but are not limited to) burial markers, tombs, statuary, roads, plantings, lakes, fences, gates, gatehouses, offices, chapel/receiving tomb and columbaria provide evidence of the cemetery's importance as a nationally significant landscape. As described in greater detail below, these features depict the seamless incorporation of two significant American cemetery movements – rural and landscape-lawn approaches.

St. Louis and the American Rural Cemetery Movement

When Bellefontaine Cemetery was established in 1849, St. Louis was well on its way to becoming one of the nation's largest cities. St. Louis was founded as a trading venture in 1749 for Maxent, Laclède and Company of New Orleans – “a working party of thirty employees . . . headed by (Renè) Auguste Chouteau (1750-1829) an extraordinary young man of fourteen years.”⁸ Chouteau's St. Louis was strategically situated on the Mississippi, just south of the Missouri River. Involved in the speculative matter was Chouteau's stepfather, Pierre Ligest Laclède (1724-1778), who laid out the French village that would become St. Louis. The settlement was not the first of its type along the western Mississippi riverbank but it was certainly different. Missouri's early French/Creole villages (such as Ste. Genevieve and St. Ferdinand/Florissant) consisted of “crooked streets” and an assortment of haphazardly placed buildings. In contrast, Laclède's plan was uniform and precise. Individual blocks provided space for a church, central market square and business center while open shared fields farmed by residents surrounded the tiny town. As a result, those who handled most of the village's trade activities became wealthy, including Chouteau himself who “held many public positions, such as trustee of the town, member of the school board, judge of a court, president of a bank and colonel of militia.”⁹

Following the 1803 purchase of its western territory (aka the Louisiana Purchase), the United States government established a military post, Fort Bellefontaine, a few miles north of St. Louis. Fort Bellefontaine served as an economic boon to St. Louis, contributing an estimated “sixty thousand dollars a year to the business of the town.”¹⁰ The fort also served as the final outpost for Lewis and Clark's “Corps of Discovery” expedition, which left in 1804 and returned in 1806.¹¹ Fort Bellefontaine bears mentioning – it provided a large amount of business and political activity for St. Louis, increasing the town's population and attracting interests in the

⁸ James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri* (Boulder, CO: Pruett Publishing Company, 1981), 9.

⁹ Ibid; McCune Gill, *The St. Louis Story* (St. Louis: Historical Record Association, 1952), 1, 20-21.

¹⁰ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Saint Louis City and County*, Volume I (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co., 313.

¹¹ Gill, 51-52.

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community's role as a commercial hub. As a result, the route leading from St. Louis to the post became commonly known as "Bellefontaine Road." The city's future rural cemetery would reflect this significance through its nomenclature as well.

Prior to the incorporation of the Rural Cemetery Association of St. Louis (i.e., Bellefontaine Cemetery) in 1849, St. Louis' residents utilized a number of informal burial grounds in and surrounding the city. One of the earliest remained in use until 1815, situated on Auguste Chouteau's property bounded by present day Fourth (east), Chestnut (north), Fifth (west, currently Broadway) and Market Streets (south).¹² In 1823, the burial ground was part of the property donated to the city by Chouteau and J.B.C. Lucas "for a court house site."¹³ Another early burial ground opened in 1770 near St. Louis' early Catholic Church (i.e., Old Cathedral) on Walnut Street. The site was adjacent to the church and allowed interments of "white persons . . . negroes . . . and . . . Indians."¹⁴ The old Catholic burying ground remained active until 1823 when St. Louis passed an ordinance prohibiting burials within its limits, roughly the area bounded by Ashley Street (north), Seventh and Carr Streets (west), Rutger Street (south) and the Mississippi River (east).¹⁵

The 1823 ordinance prompted opening of a Protestant cemetery that same year, followed by a new Catholic cemetery in 1824.¹⁶ The Protestant cemetery, bounded by Spruce, Almond (Valentine), Levee and Main (Broadway) Streets was "marked off with stones" designating a separate "family burying-ground, citizens' burying-ground, paupers' burying-ground, and the people of color's burying ground."¹⁷ In 1831, the new Catholic Cemetery on Franklin Avenue began receiving burials from the Walnut Street burial ground.¹⁸ As a result, the site soon filled to capacity and required opening a third Catholic cemetery in 1845. Located on Park Avenue near St. Vincent de Paul Church, this latter location was preferred because of its "central location and the rural beauty of its surroundings."¹⁹

St. Louis' early cemeteries were short-lived as the population leapt forward and the city's limits expanded to meet the growing needs of business and residential sectors. By the 1820s, St Louis had several religious and fraternal burial grounds "owned by the Catholics, Methodists and Baptists," near Franklin Avenue and "one . . . used by the Presbyterians, on the corner of Fourth and Walnut. The Masons laid out a large burial place in the area . . . bounded by Tenth and

¹² Scharf, Volume II, 1750.

¹³ Gill, 204.

¹⁴ William Hyde and Howard L. Conard, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis, Volume I* (St. Louis: The Southern History Company, 1899), 334.

¹⁵ St. Louis City Plan Commission, 1969, "Physical Growth of the City of St. Louis," Online at: <http://stlouis-mo.gov/archive/history-physical-growth-stlouis/> (Access date, 8 October 2013).

¹⁶ Ibid, 334-337.

¹⁷ Scharf, Volume II, 1751, Volume I, 665.

¹⁸ Hyde and Conard, 334-335.

¹⁹ Ibid, 335.

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Eleventh Streets . . . and in 1833 the city authorities set apart a ten-acre tract of the city commons in the southwest and some distance from the city limits.”²⁰ St. Louis’ limits were expanded multiple times (1820, 1840, 1860 and 1870) before reaching the final perimeter in 1876 (see **Figure 5**).

Between 1847 and 1850 the city gained 30,000 people, despite the heavy losses from cholera and the departure of several hundred young men for the gold fields of California. In ten years, St. Louis had grown by 373 percent to 77,860. In 1850 it was nearly twice as large as Pittsburgh, which had doubled in size to 46,601. New Orleans and Cincinnati, both still larger than St. Louis, had grown by 14 and 149 percent respectively between 1840 and 1850. Chicago, a new settlement of 4,470 in 1840, reached 29,963 in 1853.²¹

Like the eastern cities that preceded St. Louis in establishing rural cemeteries, the growing needs of the living required new ways to deal with the dead. Obviously, St. Louis’ cholera epidemic played no small role in prompting the movement to establish a large public cemetery well situated from downtown. In 1849, when St. Louis lost seven percent of its total population (4,317 persons) to cholera, the Rural Cemetery Association of St. Louis (i.e., Bellefontaine Cemetery) was incorporated.²² This by no means, however, was the primary reason for establishing a rural cemetery in St. Louis. More pressing was the increasing value of land downtown, prime real estate for commerce and industry, which steered the movement to establish Bellefontaine Cemetery.²³ By the time Bellefontaine incorporated in 1849, St. Louis held no less than 22 burial grounds/cemeteries (see **Table 3**), though some were inactive by that time.²⁴

Table 3. St. Louis Cemeteries, 1770 – 1849*

Name of Burial Ground	Location / Vicinity	Years In Use
Catholic Graveyard	2 nd and Market	1770-1831
Protestant Burial Ground	4 th and Market	1823-1849
Masonic Graveyard	18 th and St. Charles	1824-1831
Mount Olive Catholic Cemetery	Minnesota and Holly Hills	1824-1839
Rutgers City Cemetery	7 th and Rutger	1827-1852
St. Patrick’s Catholic Cemetery	Franklin Avenue at Broadway	1831-1849
Grace Episcopal Church Graveyard	11 th and Warren	1832-1851
City Cemetery (Benton Park)	Jefferson bet. Wyoming & Arsenal	1833-1856
Potter’s Field (1)	Sublette and Arsenal	1833-1859

²⁰ Hyde and Conard, Volume I, 336-337.

²¹ Primm, 172.

²² George Homan, ed, *Sanitary Survey of St. Louis* (Concord, NH: Republican Press Association, 1885), 45-47

²³ Ann Morris, “Sacred Green Space: A Survey of Cemeteries in St. Louis County,” June 2000, Unpublished (pages not numbered, citation from section entitled “Early Cemeteries in St. Louis”).

²⁴ Ibid, Appendix, “A List of Past Cemeteries in the City of St. Louis,” pages not numbered. Information in survey was compiled from several resources including Scharf, Hyde and Conard, and Mabel Faatz, “Final Resting Place? Not Quite!” St. Louis Genealogical Society, 1976.

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Name of Burial Ground	Location / Vicinity	Years In Use
Christ Church Cemetery	Ohio and Chouteau	1839-1859
Wesleyan Cemetery	Laclede & Market west of Grand	1840-1874
United Hebrew Burial Ground	23 rd and Scott	1840-1880
Methodist Graveyard	Easton Avenue	c.1840-1850
St. Vincent's Catholic Cemetery	8 th and Park	1845-1865
Old Picker's (Holy Ghost) Cemetery	Arsenal bet. Gravois & Compton	1845-1916
Trinity Lutheran Cemetery	Ohio and Miami	1845-1856
Potter's Field (2)	Scanlan and Fyler	1846-1950
Westerman Graveyard	Lemp and Utah	1847-1857
Camp Spring Jewish Cemetery	Pratt and Cooper	1848-1872
Rock Spring Cemetery	Sarah and Clayton	1849-1855
St. Paul's (German Evangelical)	Gravois and Kansas	1849-1925
Bethlehem Cemetery (Bremen-Saxon)	Bittner and Switzer	1849-1969

*Table 3 was compiled using Scharf, Hyde & Conard, McDonnell's survey (2000), the St. Louis Public Library's Area Cemeteries Database (www.slpl.lib.mo.us/libsrc/stlcem.htm, Access date: 21 October 2013) and the *Missouri State Gazetteer and Business Directory* (1860, p. 289).

Changing ideas about death and burials in America during the nineteenth-century hinged on earlier standards adapted in Europe. Paris' Père-Lachaise Cemetery, which opened in 1804, is credited as the first formal rural cemetery. Unlike those following its example in America, the site "was an old garden dedicated to a new purpose when it was opened as a cemetery."²⁵ In contrast, America's rural cemeteries were landscapes designed foremost for burials in a "civilized landscape, enhanced by subtle manipulation by the hand of man."²⁶ Such was the nation's first recognized example, Mount Auburn, which opened near Boston in 1831. Designed in 1831, Mount Auburn received its first interment in 1832 and rapidly became the premiere cemetery model imitated by Laurel Hill in Philadelphia (1836), Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn (1838) and subsequently Bellefontaine Cemetery in St. Louis (1849).²⁷ Though Americans took longer to embrace romanticized ideas about death, they nonetheless accepted the movement wholeheartedly once it gained a following along the eastern seaboard during the 1830s.²⁸ American rural cemeteries were intentional "civic improvements, signs of urban prosperity and progress . . . didactic landscapes, repositories for history and knowledge, showcases for fine art and horticulture, schools for the living."²⁹

²⁵ Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature," *The New England Quarterly* (June 1974, Volume 47, No. 2), 201.

²⁶ Patty Henry and Carolyn Pitts, "Mount Auburn Cemetery," *National Register of Historic Places/National Historic Landmark Registration Form* (2001-2003), Available at: <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/designations/samples/ma/MtAuburnWeb.pdf> (Access date: 8 August 2013), 4.

²⁷ Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 201, 213.

²⁸ Sloane, 49.

²⁹ Keith Eggener, *Cemeteries* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 24-25.

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St. Louis' city leaders began to realize the need for a rural cemetery by the 1840s, when it became clear that the city was becoming a national center of trade, industry and commerce. When St. Louis passed its 1823 ordinance restricting burials from within its limits, the community remained relatively small. In 1830 St. Louis was 57th among American cities with 4,977 residents. By 1840, St. Louis had jumped to the nation's 24th largest city (16,469 residents) but more staggering was its 8th largest status in 1850 with 77,860 residents. St. Louis' explosive growth was fueled by river trade and the city's location near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Its importance grew rapidly from a small frontier village to "gateway of the west" within a matter of several years. This was furthered by the news of Lewis and Clark's famous expedition and return to St. Louis.³⁰ Another factor in catapulting the city's population was its attraction to immigrants, particularly Germans, who were persuaded by propaganda to settle in the "Missouri Rhineland."³¹

"Founded by the French, governed by the Spanish, and sold to the Americans, St. Louis was always a borderland city on the edge of empires. A hub of western movement, a destination point for immigrants, and the beacon of moderation in border-state politics, the gateway city of St. Louis was an ideal place to view America changing."³² This fact is clearly demonstrated by the city's explosive growth during the 1840s-50s. St. Louis remained the only city west of the Mississippi River in the nation's top ten ranking until 1870, when San Francisco reached 10th place (149,473 residents). By that time, St. Louis was the nation's fourth largest city with 310,864 residents.³³

Table 4. Top Ten Largest Cities in the United States, 1800 – 1900*

Year	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10
1800	New York (NY)	Philadelphia (Phil.)	Baltimore (Balt.)	Boston	Charleston	N. Liberties PA (NL)	Southwar k PA	Salem MA	Providence	Norfolk
1810	NY	Phil.	Balt.	Boston	Charleston	NL	New Orleans (NO)	Southwar k	Salem	Albany
1820	NY	Phil.	Balt.	Boston	NO	Charleston	NL	Southwar k	Washington , D.C. (DC)	Salem
1830	NY	Balt.	Phil.	Boston	NO	Charleston	NL	Cincinnati	Albany	Southwar k
1840	NY	Balt.	NO	Phil.	Boston	Cincinnati	Brooklyn	NL	Albany	Charleston
1850	NY	Balt.	Boston	Phil.	NO	Cincinnati	Brooklyn	St. Louis (St. L.)	Spring Garden PA	Albany
1860	NY	Phil.	Brooklyn	Balt.	Boston	NO	Cincinnati	St. L.	Chicago	Buffalo

³⁰ National Park Service – Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, Missouri. "The Lewis and Clark Journey of Discovery," Online at: <http://www.nps.gov/jeff/historyculture/the-lewis-and-clark-journey-of-discovery.htm> (Access date: 11 November 2013).

³¹ Heritage and Urban Design Division, City of St. Louis, "A Preservation Plan for St. Louis" (Unpublished, 2005), 97; Jan Harold Brunvand, ed, *American Folklore An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), 686.

³² Adam Arenson, *The Great heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 6.

³³ United States Census, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> (Access date: 23 October 2013).

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Year	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10
1870	NY	Phil.	Brooklyn	St. L.	Chicago	Balt.	Boston	Cincinnati	NO	San Francisco (SF)
1880	NY	Phil.	Brooklyn	Chicago	Boston	St. L.	Balt.	Cincinnati	SF	NO
1890	NY	Chicago	Phil.	Brooklyn	St. L.	Boston	Balt.	SF	Cincinnati	Cleveland
1900	NY	Chicago	Phil.	St. L.	Boston	Balt.	Cleveland	Buffalo	SF	Cincinnati

*Source: Campbell Gibson, United States Census Bureau, "Population of the 100 Largest Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States: 1790 to 1990," Available at: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/twps0027.html> (Access date: 8 November 2013).

As demonstrated in **Table 5** below, all of the nation's ten largest cities – with exception of New Orleans – had rural cemeteries by 1850. New Orleans is an exceptional case because the city's terrain at (or below) sea-level restricted how and where the dead could be buried.³⁴

Table 5. Rural Cemeteries Associated with Largest U.S. Cities in 1840 and 1850

City / Name of Cemetery	Year Established and/or Incorporated
Boston (Cambridge), MA / Mount Auburn	1831
Spring Garden* & Philadelphia, PA / Laurel Hill	1836
Baltimore, MD / Green Mount	1838
Brooklyn, NY / Green-Wood	1838
Manhattan, NY / Trinity Church Cemetery*	1842
N. Liberties* & Philadelphia, PA / Allegheny	1844
Albany, NY / Albany Rural Cemetery	1844
Cincinnati, OH / Spring Grove	1845
Brooklyn & Queens, NY / Cypress Hills	1848
St. Louis, MO / Bellefontaine Rural Cemetery	1849
Charleston, SC / Magnolia Cemetery	1850

*These townships (N. Liberties and Spring Garden) were later incorporated into the city limits of Philadelphia. Also note that Trinity Church Cemetery that opened in Manhattan in 1842 was a rural cemetery. This was the first rural church-owned cemetery that set the precedent for later examples, including St. Louis' Calvary Cemetery, established by the Catholic Archdiocese in 1854 immediately north of Bellefontaine. (Sources vary, including Sloane [pp. 60-61 in particular] and individual cemetery websites).

By "1849 St. Louis was fully prepared to embrace the rural cemetery, one no less grand than Boston's trend-setting Mount Auburn, established in 1831. In death as in life, St. Louisans planned to demonstrate that their booming western metropolis had commercial and cultural aspirations rivaling any in the East."³⁵

³⁴ Judson Abbott, "Bonaventure Cemetery of Savannah, Georgia and St. Roch Cemetery of New Orleans, Louisiana: An Historical Overview and Comparison Study," (3 April 2010), Saint Louis University, Available at: http://stud.epsilon.slu.se/1099/1/abbott_j_100425.pdf, 26-27 (Access date: 11 November 2013).

³⁵ Katharine T. Corbett, "Bellefontaine Cemetery St. Louis City of the Dead," *Gateway Heritage* (Volume 12, Fall, 1991), 58.

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Historical Overview of Bellefontaine Cemetery, 1849 - 1940

Like other rural American cemeteries that preceded it, Bellefontaine was planned well beyond the borders of the city's residential population. Under Bellefontaine's 1849 rules of incorporation, the cemetery was to be situated "not less than two miles, nor more than five miles distant from the present corporate limits of the city of St. Louis."³⁶ There were two reasons for the distanced location – the first (as discussed previously) had to do with rising real estate values and diminishing vacant land in downtown St. Louis suitable for a large public burial site. The second reason relates to health concerns as during the mid-to-late nineteenth-century, it was a commonly held belief that diseases were spread not only through the living but also the dead.³⁷ Like many American cities, St. Louis held such concerns, particularly considering the fact that the city was hit by cholera the same year that Bellefontaine incorporated.

On May 15, 1850, St. Louis dedicated its new rural cemetery – appropriately renamed as the Bellefontaine Cemetery Association two months earlier.³⁸ The change in name related both to the former military post (Fort Bellefontaine) and the route (Bellefontaine Road) bordering the cemetery's eastern perimeter. Junior Editor of the *St. Louis Intelligencer*, A.S. Mitchell, Esq. attended the dedication and made the following observation.

The location of the Cemetery grounds is beautiful, in the extreme. They afford scope for every variety and extent of improvement and decoration. They lie about five miles north of the Court House, and embrace about one hundred and thirty-eight acres. The drive to the Cemetery will ultimately be one of the most interesting leading from the City. The projected improvements of the grounds are extensive, and in admirable taste. The miles of avenues, walks and ways, through the grounds, leading across plateaus, and over hills, and through embowered dales, and presenting every conceivable view and aspect of beauty of which the grounds are susceptible, will yet preserve a simplicity of arrangement and symmetry of design, that will ever charm the appreciating visitor.³⁹

The original cemetery parcel (as noted) was approximately 138 acres, purchased in May 1849 from Luther M. and Agnes Kennett. Under its rules of incorporation, Bellefontaine could obtain up to 200 acres, of which "no less than one-fiftieth" was to be set aside as a pauper's lots at the expense of the cemetery association.⁴⁰ In December, 1850, the state legislature raised the cemetery's acquisition rights to 500 acres.⁴¹ Although Bellefontaine would never attain such a

³⁶ State of Missouri, 1849, 277.

³⁷ Sloane, 37.

³⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 28 March 1850, p. 23.

³⁹ Ibid, 7.

⁴⁰ State of Missouri (1849), 193, 277.

⁴¹ State of Missouri, *Laws of the State of Missouri, Passed at the Session of the Sixteenth General Assembly* (City of Jefferson [MO: State of Missouri], 1851), 447.

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size, the cemetery association did double the site's acreage over the following decade. In 1849, Colonel John O'Fallon sold the association 28 acres for \$4,550.⁴² (Of note, John O'Fallon's parcel is noted in **Figure 6**. **Figure 7** illustrates the original 138-acre parcel). Bellefontaine's boundaries were again expanded in 1853 when the association purchased 33.93 acres from Sylvester H. and Anna B. Laflin and 25.33 acres from William M. and Mary A. McPherson. In 1865, 111 additional acres were acquired from O'Fallon's heirs, which afforded Bellefontaine its final proportions of 336 acres. A small portion of the cemetery parcel was later used for public road improvements, resulting in Bellefontaine's current size of 314 acres.⁴³

Bellefontaine's original board of trustees included "John F. Darby, Henry Kayser, Wayman Crow, James E. Yeatman, James Harrison, Charles S. Rannells, Gerard B. Allen, Philander Salisbury, William Bennett, Augustus Brewer, William M. McPherson, and their associates and successors."⁴⁴ Most of the trustees were involved in banking and railroads, and a number served in political positions. The first meeting of incorporators was held on March 21, 1849 at the office of William M. McPherson (located at the southeast corner of Third and Chestnut), who was Bellefontaine's first Secretary. James Harrison was elected President and Wayman Crow as Treasurer.⁴⁵ On July 23, 1849, the *Missouri Republican* reported the cemetery had acquired "a gentleman from the East, who has had several years experience in laying out and improving cemetery grounds."⁴⁶ Bellefontaine's new grounds superintendent, Almerin Hotchkiss, arrived in early October (1849) and began directing a group of men (between 15-28 individuals, depending on the task) who assisted with clearing undergrowth, plowing and grading the property and constructing roads and sewers.⁴⁷ Within his first year at Bellefontaine, Hotchkiss and his assistants improved more than 100 acres, constructed "a substantial picket fence, eight feet high," and started constructing a receiving tomb. Additionally, the workmen erected a temporary gate, constructed an office for Hotchkiss, and built two stone cottages for the Keeper and Porter (**Figure 8**).⁴⁸ Some of the cemetery's workers were housed in a re-furbished frame dwelling that had been on the parcel when the association purchased the property.⁴⁹ Also on the cemetery grounds in 1849 was a private burial ground associated with the Hempstead Family. The lot was incorporated into Hotchkiss' plan and of interest to visitors as among its interred were Stephen Hempstead (1754-1831), a Revolutionary War veteran; his daughter Mary Hempstead (1782 – 1869) and her second husband Manual Lisa (1782-1820), a well-known fur trader from New Orleans; as well as Stephen Hempstead's son, Edward (1780 – 1817), Attorney General of the Upper Louisiana Territory (**Figure 9**).

⁴² [Bellefontaine Cemetery Association], *Dedication . . .* (1851), 58.

⁴³ Hummel, 5. Bellefontaine's current acreage is 314 acres, reduced (as noted in Section 7, Introduction) for improvements and road construction.

⁴⁴ State of Missouri (1849), 276-277.

⁴⁵ Hummel, 7.

⁴⁶ *Missouri Republican*, 23 July 1849, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Minutes/Board Records, 12 November 1849, 20.

⁴⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Dedication of the Bellefontaine . . .* (1851), 57.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 57.

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Bellefontaine's second annual stockholder's report issued in 1851 provided a cautiously optimistic outlook for the cemetery. Secretary McPherson pointed out that sufficient cash was available to pay all of the cemetery's bills, yet there had been setbacks including slower than expected lot sales and buyers who backed out of their agreements.⁵⁰ Regardless, Bellefontaine did well financially in its early years because it was set up from the beginning as a professionally organized business. The incorporators secured the parcel for development, hired a superintendent, and created a board of trustees. Records were kept by the secretary (who worked in an office downtown) as well as by the grounds superintendent who resided near (or on) the cemetery grounds. Superintendent Hotchkiss oversaw activities such as landscaping, lot care, new construction, building roads, digging graves, scheduling funerals and deliveries, etc. The business manager, Secretary McPherson (and in the latter nineteenth/ early twentieth-century, J.B. Gazzam) took care of bookkeeping, payroll, financial records and insured that the cemetery was managed effectively.⁵¹ Not all early rural cemeteries operated in such a manner. One example, Mount Hope Cemetery in Bangor, Maine, did not begin keeping professional records until the 1860s, though the cemetery was established in the 1830s.⁵² The business practices incorporated at Bellefontaine had yet to become standard in cemetery management. Most rural cemeteries originally used management methods that had been adapted by churches, utilizing a "small work force led by an individual who functioned much like a sexton."⁵³ Bellefontaine was an early and exceptional model of business professionalism. Although a few of the larger, more prominent cemeteries such as Green-Wood kept records and had separate business offices, most did not embrace standard business practices such as record-keeping and division of duties until the late nineteenth/early twentieth-century.

Following Bellefontaine's incorporation, the cemetery provided its first set of rules and regulations, published in 1850. These guidelines were based on those that had previously been established at Green-Wood (Brooklyn), Mount Auburn (Cambridge) and Laurel Hill (Philadelphia).⁵⁴ A number of the rules had to do with the landscape itself and many gave instructions for lot owners as to what was, or was not, allowed in terms of enclosures (fences, hedges, etc.), plantings and stones/tombs. Rules were very specific, leaving virtually no room for misinterpretation. No detail, in fact, was considered minor as demonstrated by the example of Bellefontaine's regulations for "iron railings" surrounding lots.

⁵⁰ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Dedication* . . . (1851), 58-61.

⁵¹ Ibid; Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, "Day Books" (1849 – 1865) and "Letter Books" (1897 – 1912), Unpublished.

⁵² Trudy Irene Scee, *Mount Hope Cemetery of Bangor, Maine: The Complete History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2012), 48.

⁵³ Sloane, 133.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 38-42.

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In regard to these [iron railings] it may be remarked, that those which unite simplicity and good proportion are deemed to be in best taste . . . while firmness and stability should characterize each railing, unnecessary size and weight of iron should be avoided. . . . In selecting patterns, those which expose the fewest joints and crevices to the action of the weather should be preferred. Careful attention should be paid to the foundations on which they are erected. If coping be used, it should be placed on a stone wall, laid in cement, at least two and a half feet deep, so as to be secure from the action of the frost; or if stone blocks or posts are used, (which are preferable) they should be of granite, at least eight inches square at both ends, and placed securely in the ground, not less than two and a half feet. . . . Railing should be painted as soon as erected. . . . The paint should consist of three coats [of paint], made quite thin . . . the first coat of red lead and litharge; the second and third, of pure white lead and oil . . . [taking care] to cover every part, and to fill every crevice.”⁵⁵

Bellefontaine’s superintendent administrated all on-site activities such as landscaping, enclosures, plantings, laying foundations for stones and tombs – the cemetery even administrated the placement, height and thickness of the stonework for markers and tombs. If lot owners wanted changes or improvements not outlined in the cemetery’s rules/regulations, they were required to submit requests to the cemetery’s business office for pre-approval.⁵⁶ Some activities were subject to board approval, such as proposed monuments that exceeded the cemetery’s standard height/weight rules and requests related to the removal of trees/plantings from privately-owned lots.⁵⁷

Bellefontaine (like other rural cemeteries) had a large number of re-interments, particularly during the 1850s. As discussed previously, cities grew rapidly and most re-buried their dead to make way for the growing population. American rural cemeteries were intended to become the final resting place for such souls. It was a large reason for their establishment and why designers intentionally located them well outside of cities’ limits. It was not unusual for bodies to be re-interred more than once. Auguste Chouteau (1750-1829), for example, was buried in both of St. Louis’ early Catholic burial grounds on Walnut (1829) and Franklin Streets (c. 1831) before being permanently buried at Calvary Cemetery.⁵⁸ In some cases, re-interments occurred when churches relocated and closed their burial grounds. Such was the case in 1850 for St. Louis’ Methodist Church on Franklin Avenue, which paid Bellefontaine \$500 to accept bodies from its closed burial ground.⁵⁹ Rural cemeteries marketed large lot sales to churches and fraternal

⁵⁵ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Dedication . . . Rules and Regulations* (St. Louis: Self-published, 1851), 40-41.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 45.

⁵⁷ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes (20 June 1921 and 22 April 1954).

⁵⁸ Ibid, Marilyn Yalom, *The American Resting Place: Four Hundred Years of History Through Our Cemeteries and Burial Grounds* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008), p. 155.

⁵⁹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Minutes, Book for 1850-1859, p. 61.

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organizations because it was a way to make money quickly.⁶⁰ In contrast, organizations purchased lots for a variety of reasons. In 1856, the Oddfellows purchased a lot at Bellefontaine “for the burial of members of the order who might die in the city while visiting it.”⁶¹ As noted in **Table 6**, below, the lot was used until the mid-1950s and currently holds more interments than any of Bellefontaine’s other group lots.

Table 6. Organization/Group Lots at Bellefontaine Cemetery (as of December 31, 2013)

Organization Name	Lot #	Last Burial	Number of Interments	Lot Size (in feet)
Baptist Church	410	1897	13	40x40
Railroad Engineers of Iron Mountain or Pacific	411	1869	3	20x26
Oddfellows	508	1955	179	100 dia.
St. George's Church	645	1903	29	20x30
Methodist Church	719	1951	123	117 dia.
Pacific Hotel Fire Disaster	749	1858	12	20x20
Episcopal Orphans Home	821	1952	31	20x20
Masonic Home	858	1925	49	45.3 dia.
St. Louis National Guard	945	1909	7	49x65
Orphan's Home	1013	1870	60	20x20
Elks	1043	1989	33	45.3 dia.
Grand Lodge of the State of Missouri	1282	1916	48	42x60
Protestant Orphans Home	1299	1869	25	20x20
First Presbyterian Church	1506	1935	4	28x30
Steamboat Clerks Benevolent Society	1602	1867	1	20x20
Methodist Orphans Home	1803	1954	36	30x40
German School Association & Free Community of St. Louis Bremen	1888	1867	53	25x40
Fireman's Lot	1922	2012	33	95x100
George Washington Lodge of Masons	2381	1911	65	39.5x49.5
Walnut Street Presbyterian Church & Memorial Presbyterian Church	2390	1989	40	40x51
Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons	2556	2000	81	65x60
Caledonian Society	2592	1919	42	32x48
Grand Lodge of Missouri AOUW	3104	1896	2	32 dia.
Knights of Pythius	3156	1990	12	20x30
Union Methodist Church	3993	1988	10	20x30
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees	4958	1908	1	n/a

⁶⁰ Jeffrey I. Richman, *Brooklyn's Green-Wood Cemetery: Brooklyn's Buried Treasure* (New York: Green-Wood Cemetery, 1998), 12-13.

⁶¹ Scharf, 1797.

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Organization Name	Lot #	Last Burial	Number of Interments	Lot Size (in feet)
Ranken School	5523	1910	1	30x40
Scottish Clans	6390	1922	1	16x25
Sisters of the Good Shepherd	1432-2198	1954	19	20x20

In 1865, a *New York Times* journalist described Bellefontaine Cemetery as a “really beautiful . . . piece of land . . . overlook[ing] the Mississippi, and with its face variegated by numerous and many-shaped undulations, between which picturesque walks and carriage-roads wind in all directions, clumps of fine native oaks contrasting with patches of closely-shaved lawn – the whole presenting a final resting-place where the living, ‘after life’s fitful fever,’ might well wish to be laid to rest.”⁶² The years leading up to 1865 were productive but as noted in earlier years by Superintendent Hotchkiss, “the greater portion of the work makes the least show, and is not the first to be observed by the passing observer.”⁶³ Throughout the 1850s, Bellefontaine’s laborers (guided by Hotchkiss) constructed sewers and roads, removed older buildings not in use by the cemetery and other “encumbrances” to prepare the cemetery for burials, while ensuring the site retained a naturalistic appearance.⁶⁴ Some employees (such as the gatekeeper, permanent laborers and superintendent) lived on the cemetery’s parcel, and as a result some housing was constructed and older buildings were renovated to support these individuals and their families. The cemetery’s acreage during the 1850s-60s supported a number of agricultural activities as well. Livestock (horses, cattle and oxen) was raised to help with labor and surplus crops (hay, cherries, apples, peaches and pears) were sold for revenue. Increasingly the cemetery association began to require more land for burials, while modern machinery replaced labor-intensive livestock.⁶⁵ By the 1870s, Bellefontaine’s agricultural activities were virtually non-existent though some employees continued to live on the grounds through the 1980s.⁶⁶

The Civil War did little to impede daily routines at Bellefontaine. During the early 1860s, Hotchkiss began to introduce non-traditional plantings to the site, including white pine, Norway spruce, balsam, ash-leaf maple and “myrtle for graves” – a practice common in by late 1800s, but relatively novel in the 1860s.⁶⁷ Another worker’s cottage was added in the mid-1860s and in 1864, improvements were made to the “Negro Cottage” (neither residence is extant).⁶⁸ Based on this latter piece of information, it is clear that some opportunities were afforded African-

⁶² C.V.S. “From St. Louis.; Bellefontaine Cemetery Benton Barracks Camp,” *New York Times* (3 December 1865), np. Available online at: <http://www.nytimes.com/1865/12/03/news/st-louis-bellefontaine-cemetery-benton-barracks-camp-jackson-gen-sherman-s.html?scp=14&sq=st+louis+church&st=Search&pagewanted=all> (Access date: 19 June 2013).

⁶³ Bellefontaine Cemetery, 1851, 64.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Hummel, 15.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 34.

⁶⁷ Hummel, 16.

⁶⁸ Hummel, 15-16.

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Americans at Bellefontaine. Housing, for example, was provided for black workers, as noted. Burial options, however, were another matter altogether. On April 24, 1854, Bellefontaine's board approved restrictions preventing the "body of any colored person [to be held] . . . in the Receiving Tomb." Additionally, the board agreed that "no lot or grave shall be sold to any colored person, nor shall any such lot or grave be sold for the purpose of interment of any colored person or personz [sic]. . . . except slavez [sic] in the lots of their masterz [sic] unless the Board shall by special resolution authorize the same."⁶⁹ The action may have been prompted by the interment of a free black minister, John Barry Meachum, in the Baptist Lot two months earlier (on February 21, 1854).⁷⁰ The restriction remained until May 1, 1878.⁷¹

After the Civil War, a number of physical changes occurred at Bellefontaine. One of the most significant was completion of a new gate, lodge and gatehouse in 1878, Aramanth (extant), near the southeastern corner of the property (**Figure 10**). This came on the heels of the city's completion of Kingshighway's northern sector in 1877, a major thoroughfare terminating near Bellefontaine's Willow Gate on Florissant Avenue (**Figure 11**).⁷² Ground developments in the 1870s included the addition of drinking fountains, new fences, new plantings and road improvements. By the 1870s, Bellefontaine began using its former agricultural grounds for burials (**Figure 12**).⁷³ This area (west and south of earlier burials) supported a number of significant monuments and tombs by the early 1890s.⁷⁴ In 1897 the cemetery's new Secretary, J.B. Gazzam, received board approval to raise lot prices and abolish "class distinctions," an action triggered by the cemetery's popularity and diminishing acreage for new burials.⁷⁵ By standardizing lot sizes and eliminating "second class grave sites," Bellefontaine insured that it could support burials for many years to come. The price change also indicates the cemetery's confidence that customers would pay more for burial in a prestigious cemetery. By 1897, Bellefontaine had certainly achieved such recognition, as indicated by Gazzam, who when questioned by a local news reporter responded that "yes" the prices would restrict some from buying lots a Bellefontaine but the city had many other cemeteries, "all nice ones, with graves at lower rates than ours."⁷⁶ Such changes were the phenomenon of the rural cemetery movement which became more exclusive as commercialism replaced sentimentality and as professionalism became increasingly important to cemetery management.⁷⁷ One of Bellefontaine's greatest promoters of professionalism was Secretary J.B. Gazzam.

⁶⁹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Minutes (1854), 53.

⁷⁰ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Burial Records.

⁷¹ Ibid (1 May 1878), 193.

⁷² Hummel, 18; The Civic League of St. Louis, *A City Plan for St. Louis* (St. Louis: Self-published, 1907), 56.

⁷³ Hummel, 17.

⁷⁴ "Cleves S. Fischer's Remains," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (24 April 1892), 3.

⁷⁵ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes (27 April 1897); "Public Graves in Bellefontaine, Secretary Gazzam Tells why the Price was Raised," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (4 May 1897), 10.

⁷⁶ "Public Graves in Bellefontaine."

⁷⁷ Sloane, 97-98.

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James Breeding (J.B.) Gazzam was hired by Bellefontaine in 1895. As one of his first tasks, Gazzam wrote secretaries at prestigious cemeteries requesting information about their chapels, including photographs and copies of available “illustrative” histories.”⁷⁸ Gazzam sought information about what other cemeteries were doing not only because Bellefontaine wanted to construct a chapel (approved by the board in 1895), but because he wished to know how Bellefontaine’s operations were regarded by – and compared to – other major cemeteries.⁷⁹ Correspondence between larger cemeteries was common in the nineteenth century, and Gazzam used it to Bellefontaine’s advantage. Throughout his tenure as Secretary at Bellefontaine, Gazzam regularly corresponded with superintendents and secretaries at Spring Grove (Cincinnati), Cave Hill (Louisville), Green-Wood (Brooklyn) and Allegheny (Pittsburgh) to inquire about issues such as landscaping, buildings and monuments, drinking fountains, public restrooms, and uniforms. One of the liveliest topics of discussion between cemetery managers was whether to allow bicycles and – eventually – automobiles in cemeteries.⁸⁰

Bellefontaine’s roads were “Mcadamized” (i.e., an early form of road paving using broken stone, named for John Loudon McAdam who invented the method), which attracted “wheelmen” (i.e., bicyclists).⁸¹ The cemetery paid to have Bellefontaine Road Macadamized in 1850 and over the years, worked with the city in designing and improving public roads surrounding the cemetery, including Florissant Avenue and Broadway (aka Bellefontaine Road).⁸² Bellefontaine Cemetery did not allow “wheelmen” to use the cemetery’s roads but in 1908, after repeated inquiries from the St. Louis Automobile Club, the association reluctantly agreed to permit lot owners restricted access “in their machines, if they desire.”⁸³ The cemetery’s rules were adjusted accordingly over the ensuing years. Initially, Bellefontaine only allowed automobiles access one day per week and only for lot owners. A five-mile-per-hour speed limit was imposed and vehicles “driven by women or children” were forbidden.⁸⁴ Three years later, the cemetery loosened its regulations, allowing “automobile” funerals . . . “including automobile hearses” (**Figure 13**).⁸⁵

Times were rapidly changing. The field of cemetery care and management had become increasingly more professionalized and a plethora of journals, guidebooks and exchanges between cemetery staff reflected shifting ideas about what was appropriate – or not – in cemetery

⁷⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Letter Book No. 1, 24 April 1895.

⁷⁹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 22 April 1895.

⁸⁰ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association. Letter Books, 1893-1899.

⁸¹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Original charter, amendments to charter, together with the by-laws . . . historical sketch* (St. Louis: Freegard Press, 1909), 31; Rickie Longfellow, “Back in Time: Building Roads,” Federal Highway Administration, Available at: <http://www.fhwa.dot.gov/infrastructure/back0506.cfm> (Access date: 20 December 2013).

⁸² Hummel, 10.

⁸³ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Letter Books, 20 November 1895, 29 June 1896, 13 February 1908 and 15 May 1908.

⁸⁴ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association Board Minutes, 27 April 1908.

⁸⁵ “Autos Now Permitted in Bellefontaine,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (15 October 1911), A10.

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management and landscape design. In 1896, St. Louis' premiere rural cemeteries, Bellefontaine and Calvary (the latter established north of Bellefontaine in 1854 as the city's Catholic rural cemetery) co-sponsored the Tenth Annual Convention of the American Association of Cemetery Superintendents.⁸⁶ The meeting was touted as one of the organization's "most successful" with an estimated 70 cemetery superintendents in attendance.⁸⁷ One of the main issues addressed at the conference was how cemeteries could reduce "monumental features" while "perpetuating advanced landscape work."⁸⁸ Following the convention Secretary Gazzam, who expressed concerns prior to the event that the cemetery was "behind the others . . . in cutting edge cemetery management," began an active campaign to bring Bellefontaine up to the mark.⁸⁹ He wrote lot owners indicating the cemetery would be removing "fences, enclosures, entrance posts, coping, curbs or hedges around family lots that had become dilapidated."⁹⁰ By 1909, many of Gazzam's improvements had been added to the cemetery's new set of rules and regulations, including elimination of "inclosures, of all kinds, around lots . . . fences, coping, hedges or anything else."⁹¹ Gazzam's foresight to remove only what was not in good form while retaining antiquated features well cared for over the years – intentional or not – allowed Bellefontaine to modernize without destroying important physical characteristics that demonstrate the cemetery's historical associations.

At the dawn of the twentieth-century and in celebration of its 50th anniversary, in 1899 the cemetery engaged the services of photographer, Emil Boehl (1839-1919). Twenty-four of Boehl's images were submitted for an exhibit at Paris' 1900 World Exposition – a collection of "horticultural" views (i.e., gardens, farmsteads, vineyards, etc.) from the United States (**Figures 14-15**). In September 1900, Bellefontaine received word from the United States' Department of Agriculture that the cemetery had been awarded a "Diploma of Silver Medal" from Paris for its landscape design. Shortly afterward, the Department of Agriculture again contacted the cemetery requesting permission to display one of Boehl's photographs at the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, New York.⁹² Following successful showings at World's Fair exhibits in 1900 and 1901, Bellefontaine had certainly come into its own as a premiere example of modern American cemetery landscape design.

In 1904 – the year that St. Louis hosted its own World's Fair – Bellefontaine erected what would be its most visited memorial to date, an obelisk and bust commemorating William Clark (1770 – 1838).⁹³ The event went relatively unnoticed by the local press and though there is no clear

⁸⁶ Hummel, 20.

⁸⁷ *The Monumental News*, Volume 8, No. 10 (October 1896), 617.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 617-18.

⁸⁹ Hummel, 20.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 22.

⁹¹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Charter, Rules and Regulations* (1909), 21.

⁹² *Ibid*, 24-25.

⁹³ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey Through History* (St. Louis: Self-Published, [2005]), 16. Of note, William Clark was the Uncle of John O'Fallon.

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reason for this, it does parallel Bellefontaine's own attempts to flatten public expectations that the cemetery be used recreationally. Unlike Mount Auburn, which hosted thousands of visitors per year and encouraged "genteel recreation," Bellefontaine did not encourage visitors to use the site for public outings. Although carriage excursions along the cemetery's "Tour" – an excursion meandering through the site's most ostentatious expressions of grandeur – was acceptable during the mid-to-late nineteenth century, this was no longer the case when automobiles began to enter the grounds. Bellefontaine's revised regulations in 1909 allowed "no dogs; no bicycling, fishing in lakes or skating [and] no automobiles "except" for "lot owners" and "no pleasure driving [was] permitted."⁹⁴ Despite the strict regulations, many took advantage of the cemetery's recreational potential as noted in a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* article from 1895, which reported "fearless skaters" using the ponds at both Bellefontaine and Calvary cemeteries when "superintendents" were "not so careful after night-fall, especially on cold evenings."⁹⁵ Things loosened up slightly after 1910 "largely because of the hospitality of Mrs. Francis G. Burgess, wife of the assistant superintendent of interments" and Bellefontaine began hosting neighborhood picnics and church socials.⁹⁶

The cemetery's landscape underwent transformation after 1900. A new receiving tomb and chapel, designed in 1902 by Eames & Young, were constructed in 1908-1909 "overlooking the Mississippi River and Chain of Rocks" (**Figure 16**).⁹⁷ In 1912, a new two-story brick dwelling for the cemetery's superintendent (Frank Hotchkiss, Almerin Hotchkiss' son) was designed by Mariner & LaBeaume (not extant).⁹⁸ The same architectural firm (known by that time as LaBeaume & Klein) was contracted in 1916 to design a stone comfort station (aka gatehouse) near Hawthorn gate.⁹⁹ Building projects continued through the 1920s with the addition of stone and brick walls (constructed in 1925-1929), a one-story brick office building (1925) and a brick comfort station (1929) near Willow entrance. Most of the 1920s work was designed by Jamieson & Spearl and constructed by Robert Wright & Son.¹⁰⁰ The commissions included a "monumental tablet" for the cemetery's founders near Florissant and Calvary Avenues, commissioned in 1925 (**Figure 17**).¹⁰¹ Today, Bellefontaine's appearance is largely reflective of the improvements made during the 1920s and 1930s, including stone walls surrounding the parcel, stone and iron gates and stone administrative / support buildings (**Figure 18**).¹⁰² Also in the 1910s-20s, roads were

⁹⁴ Linden-Ward, 318-319; Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Charter, Rules and Regulations* (1909), 32.

⁹⁵ "Cemetery Ponds. Nightly Invaded by Crowds of Fearless Skaters." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (15 January 1895), p. 1.

⁹⁶ "Lawn Parties in Cemetery Newest North End Thrill," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (30 July 1913), 2.

⁹⁷ "New Bellefontaine Chapel Will be Dedicated Today," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (21 November 1909), A7.

⁹⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 31 January 1912; City of St. Louis, Building Permit (15 May 1912), "Building News," *St. Louis Daily Record* (16 May 1912).

⁹⁹ St. Louis City, Building Permit (26 June 1916); "Building News," *St. Louis Daily Record* (27 June 1916; Bellefontaine Cemetery Association board minutes, 5 May 1916.

¹⁰⁰ St. Louis City, Building Permits (1926-1929); "Building News," *St. Louis Daily Record* (2 May 1925; 12 May 1925; 2 February 1926; 23 April 1929).

¹⁰¹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 26 January 1925.

¹⁰² Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 26 April 1925.

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designed for the cemetery's southwest quadrant lakes area by John Noyes, a landscape architect and associate of Jens Jensen and Warren Henry Manning.¹⁰³

The Great Depression slowed building and improvement activities but Bellefontaine was prepared for the financial emergency and continued to operate in a fiscally responsible manner. The most difficult year was 1933, when the cemetery reported a financial loss for the first time in its history.¹⁰⁴ Despite this, the cemetery's board approved to raise workers' wages per recommendations of the National Industrial Recovery Act's "Cemetery Code of Fair Competition." The worst was soon over and in 1935, the board approved construction of a new greenhouse, signifying the cemetery's return to business as usual.¹⁰⁵ In 1936, storage sheds, garages, a workshop, and a gatehouse/cottage near the Humboldt entrance were constructed by Robert Wright & Son.¹⁰⁶ At the end of 1938, Bellefontaine approved expenditures up to \$10,000 for "new road work" in 1939.¹⁰⁷ By 1940, Bellefontaine Cemetery had completed the projects that shaped its current appearance, reflecting the property's historical significance and era of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century development.

Statement of Significance: Criterion C – Landscape Architecture

American Cemetery Design and Bellefontaine's Historic Landscape

Bellefontaine Cemetery was planned in 1849 as a rural cemetery in imitation of earlier examples in the eastern United States, most notably Mount Auburn (Cambridge) and Green-Wood (Brooklyn), established in 1831 and 1838, respectively. Rural American cemeteries were intentionally designed as park-like gardens. The movement was popular in Europe long before America – particularly in England and France, where wealthy upper class citizenry hired gardeners to create naturalistic landscapes imitating those created by landscape painters.¹⁰⁸ The idea caught on in America during the early-to-mid nineteenth century, spurred by writers such as Andrew Jackson Downing, who published a series of articles and books, including an essay in 1849 entitled "Public Cemeteries and Public Gardens."¹⁰⁹ As ideas began to change about death, burial and the afterlife, rural cemeteries became increasingly popular, reflecting "the hope of immortality" through their artistically designed landscapes.¹¹⁰ Advocates of the broader rural movement viewed cemeteries as an "extension of their efforts in horticulture and gardening" and

¹⁰³ Hummel, 32.

¹⁰⁴ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 28 October 1929 – 25 October 1935.

¹⁰⁵ St. Louis City Building Permit (13 July 1935); "Building News," *St. Louis Daily Record* (14 July 1935).

¹⁰⁶ St. Louis City Building Permits (2) (6 July, 1936); "Building News," *St. Louis Daily Record* (7 July 1936);

Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 8 February 1938.

¹⁰⁷ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 30 January 1939.

¹⁰⁸ Potter and Boland, 6.

¹⁰⁹ A.J. Downing, *Rural Essays* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1858), 154.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 75.

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as a result, many examples were designed to also serve as public parks.¹¹¹ A more “professional” approach to cemetery design began to emerge during the 1850s, however, and this is seen most obviously in the examples of Bellefontaine and Spring Grove. These cemeteries were planned by individuals regarded today as the forefathers of modern cemetery professionalism – both in regard to landscape design and cemetery management.¹¹²

In the example of Bellefontaine, the cemetery’s organizers understood that to become and remain successful, the cemetery must be top-notch not only in terms of its landscape design (which was why the cemetery association selected Hotchkiss as grounds superintendent) but also in its management. Bellefontaine was established just as the field of professional cemetery administration was beginning to take shape. As mentioned earlier, cemetery superintendents frequently exchanged ideas – through correspondence and meetings – about how to administrate and landscape their sites. Out of this movement came professional journals such as *The Modern Cemetery* (1891 – 1893), *Park and Cemetery* (1895 – 1900, 1932), *Park and Cemetery and Landscape Gardening* (1900 – 1931), and *The Monumental News* (1892 – published today as *Stone in America*). Publications, informational exchanges and conferences furthered the course of professional landscape design and cemetery management.¹¹³ Because Bellefontaine’s organizers and managers were businessmen who sought to make the cemetery a successful enterprise, they were well attuned to modern business practices and readily adapted new ideas. Some of these new ideas extended to the cemetery’s landscape and design; others related to financial matters. Although Bellefontaine was initially modeled as a rural cemetery, its organizers had their own opinions, as did the cemetery’s grounds superintendent (who oversaw the landscape design) and secretary (who managed daily business operations).

There are numerous similarities between Bellefontaine and earlier rural cemeteries, but there are also notable differences. In its own right, Bellefontaine served as a national example of the professional cemetery model that developed during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Bellefontaine was established when the rural movement was in full swing and many sizeable Midwestern cities organized rural cemeteries at about the same time including Dayton (1841 – Woodland), Cincinnati (1844 – Spring Grove), Detroit (1846 – Elmwood) and Chicago (1859 – Rosehill). Initially rural cemeteries were established not only to provide ample space for growing cities, but to promote nature and provide visitors respite from the uniformity of city life – in short, rural cemeteries were (as noted earlier) forerunners to public parks. This began to change, however as popular rural cemeteries began to rapidly accumulate “large, artistically styled monuments” and fill the space between with “smaller, more standardized monuments.”¹¹⁴ The intention of such actions was to attract more visitors and with that, recreational activities were increasingly accepted as well.

¹¹¹ Sloane, 74.

¹¹² Sloane, 75.

¹¹³ Potter and Boland, 6.

¹¹⁴ Sloane, 95.

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The popularity of these rural cemeteries for uses other than as burial places must have astounded and perhaps horrified their sponsors. On fine spring or summer days visitors by the hundreds flocked to their park-like enclosures. True, some may have gone “to twine the votive garland,” but the plain fact was that most of the visitors were simply out for a good time. [A.J.] Downing reported that between April and December, 1848, nearly 30,000 persons visited Laurel Hill Cemetery at Philadelphia. He commented that from his own observations twice as many persons visited Green-Wood [sic] and at least as many came to Mount Auburn . . . So attractive did the cemeteries become as sight-seeing spots that guide books appeared containing suggested routes to follow and descriptions of outstanding monuments.¹¹⁵

By the late nineteenth century, cemetery designers began to favor the approach of less is more – adapting the theory that cemeteries should not be overwhelmed by man-made objects and non-native plantings as had been the example set by rural cemeteries.¹¹⁶ The genre of creating a “simpler, more spacious, and more pastoral landscape” by combining “nature and art” became known as the landscape-lawn plan, primarily attributed to the work of Adolph Strauch at Spring Grove, Cincinnati’s rural cemetery established in 1844.¹¹⁷ Bellefontaine incorporated the idea into its own landscape design and this became increasingly evident after J.B. Gazzam began working as Secretary for the cemetery association in 1895 (**Figure 19**). Though the landscape-lawn movement is strongly supported by the work of Strauch at Spring Grove and Woodland, it is also demonstrated at Bellefontaine during the cemetery’s early years. Simple instructions provided in the cemetery’s 1851 rules and regulations, such as restricting “all artificial embankments and sodding” around tombs set on hillsides to retain “the natural form of the hill” and insuring that lot owners not plant “*too many* flowers” (or too many colors) to retain a “simple and unobtrusive” setting suggests that even in 1851, Bellefontaine wished to relay the message to lot owners that less ornamental embellishments were not only more appropriate, but recommended.¹¹⁸ Additionally, the cemetery’s early landscape illustrates that such ideas were already taking shape, demonstrated by the 1853 map illustrated by Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Egglofstein (**Figure 7**), which depicts “a hilly landscape” surrounded by open areas (Wild Rose Hill, Laburnum Hill and Vista Hill, etc.) void of trees, enclosed lots and large-scale plantings.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), 326.

¹¹⁶ Sloane, 103-104.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 99. Note: Some sources prefer “lawn-park” to “landscape-lawn” to describe the movement attributed to Adolph Strauch at Spring Grove Cemetery. Either use is appropriate.

¹¹⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Dedication . . .* (1851), “Rules and Regulations,” 42-45.

¹¹⁹ Hummel, 14-15.

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Few cemeteries adapted the landscape-lawn approach as readily as they had the rural movement. This was in large part due to the movement's close ties to cemetery professionalism, which handed virtually every decision over to cemetery staff (i.e., Hotchkiss and Gazzam), even those regarding privately owned lots.¹²⁰ Traditional rural cemeteries encouraged individual lot owners to make decisions regarding their personal plots, including what to plant, whether to include fences, paths and/or hedges, and designs for headstones, benches, and funerary artwork. Bellefontaine did not follow suit in such matters, even in the 1850s when the site was identified as a rural cemetery. Initially Bellefontaine's lot owners were offered some flexibility such as whether to enclose lots with low walls or hedges, and whether to plant flowers or paths but even these decisions were mandated by the cemetery's own set of rules/regulations. From the cemetery's inception, however, the "corporation" (i.e., Bellefontaine Cemetery) mandated the site's design and use including privately owned lots by restricting materials for foundations, tombs and stones; allowing only certain varieties of plants; and restricting owners from removing any trees on their lots.¹²¹ Hotchkiss (with the assistance of Secretary McPherson) oversaw most of these activities until retiring in 1895, after which time Gazzam (hired in 1895) began to more aggressively pursue the landscape-lawn approach.

Another obvious difference that Bellefontaine had from its eastern contemporaries was an absence of promotional enthusiasm. Bellefontaine offered a tour of its grounds, as did Mount Auburn and Green-Wood, and initially participated in the American rural cemetery experience of incorporating grand examples of tombs and monuments that attracted visitors. By the time that Bellefontaine was being developed, however, "the rural ambiance so important in the designs of the cemeteries was slowly (becoming) lost" by massive numbers of visitors and recreational associations.¹²² As a result, the cemetery placed limits on public accessibility, even in its early years. In 1898, the board decided that the number of societies "asking to be admitted to the grounds on Sunday, with their invited guests" had become so overwhelming that it voted to limit Sunday visits to lot owners and eliminated publicly sponsored events altogether.¹²³ Restrictions on public events and hours, as well as managed care of the site that limited the addition of plantings and embellishments in private lots all contributed to the site's attractiveness and the physical features that today reflect both rural and landscape-lawn impacts. While the cemetery's overall rural plan and design by Hotchkiss dominates older burial sections, more modern influences are visible as well, reflecting the cemetery's infusion of both rural and landscape-lawn impacts. One example is the cemetery's chapel, situated near the cemetery's eastern boundary between Balm (east) and Mausoleum (west) Avenues, on a hill overlooking the Mississippi River. Illustrated in **Figures 1** (site map, 1916) and **7** (site map, 1851), the chapel's site was

¹²⁰ Sloane, 99.

¹²¹ State of Missouri, *Laws of the State of Missouri* (1849), 278; Hummel, 9; Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Dedication . . .* (1851), "Rules and Regulations," 5-6.

¹²² Sloane, 82-83.

¹²³ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes (25 April 1898).

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situated along the planned “Tour” and (as verified by a newspaper article dated May 5, 1850), the chapel was always part of Hotchkiss’ original landscape plan.

Mr. Hotchkiss arrived here on the first day of October, and immediately commenced the work. The improvements have progressed as rapidly as the season would permit. About seventy acres have been cleared of a thick growth of underbrush; the forest covering nearly all the grounds has been partially thinned, and all the stumps removed . . . the principal “Tour,” twenty feet wide, and about *four miles* in length, winding through the grounds so as to give a view of every spot in the inclosure [sic] has been made . . . Yet all this is the beginning; the improvements contemplated will require the expenditure of several thousand dollars, annually, for years to come. They embrace a permanent enclosure, with an imposing gateway, Porter’s Lodge, an appropriate Chapel, the decorative of the fore-ground [sic] with flowers and shrubbery, the further improvement of the forest, transplanting of evergreens, etc. etc.¹²⁴

Although Bellefontaine did not heavily promote its landscape as a tourist or recreational attraction, it was nonetheless well-visited and widely known outside of St. Louis as one of the nation’s most beautiful cemetery landscapes. In addition to tourists, Bellefontaine also attracted attention from individuals who selected the site as their final resting place. **Table 7** demonstrates the cemetery’s distinction in relation to important burials during the period of significance. The list is not complete of the cemetery’s notable burials but supports the property’s significance as an important landscape. Because St. Louis was the final large settlement fronting the western territories, it attracted many persons who administrated, supported and fevered the spirit of the national movement to establish the contiguous United States. Bellefontaine’s reputation, achieved through its remarkable landscape that attracted national attention even in the mid-nineteenth century, led many to select the site for interment even when individuals were not living in or near St. Louis at the time of their deaths. Bellefontaine was (and remains) one of the nation’s largest and most distinguished landscapes. Like other cemeteries that gained national attention during their early years of development, it attracted a variety of accomplished, well-known individuals.

¹²⁴ “Bellefontaine Cemetery,” *The Republican* (5 May 1850), 2.

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Table 7. Selected Significant Burials at Bellefontaine Cemetery.

Burial	Biographical Information
Thomas Hart Benton (1782 – 1858)	Benton was Missouri's first United States senator and served in this capacity for 30 years (1821-1851). He was a railroad advocate and instrumental in developing the eastern portion of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company that originated in St. Louis. ¹²⁵ Benton was born in North Carolina, moved to Tennessee in 1800 and came to St. Louis in 1815 following his service in the War of 1812. Benton broke with his party over the slavery issue which cost him his senate seat. ¹²⁶ He left his mark in Congress for avidly supporting "manifest destiny" and gold (vs. paper) money, which earned him the nickname "Old Bullion." ¹²⁷
Francis (Frank) Preston Blair (1821 - 1875)	Blair was born in Lexington, Kentucky and educated in Washington, D.C., Chapel Hill (North Carolina) and Princeton. He returned to Kentucky to study law at Transylvania University but due to health issues, moved west. In the 1840s, he settled to practice law and in 1852 was elected to the Missouri State Legislature. ¹²⁸ Blair switched political parties multiple times but eventually settled with the Republicans because of his opposition to slavery. He served as a Union General during the Civil War and led major victories at Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain (Chattanooga, Tennessee) and in Vicksburg, Mississippi. ¹²⁹
Henry Taylor Blow (1817-1875)	Blow was born in Virginia and moved with his family to St. Louis. At age 14 or 15 (sources vary), he was orphaned. A few years later, he went into business with his brother-in-law, Joseph Charless, Jr. (see bio below), who owned a paint and wholesale drug company. ¹³⁰ This connection proved significant in that both Blow and Charless signed the freedom suit filed in St. Louis' Circuit Court (1846) on behalf of Dred and Harriet Scott. ¹³¹ The case made its way to the United States Supreme Court, which ruled in 1857 that no African-American (slave or free) had citizens' rights and could neither become a United States citizen nor file any lawsuit. ¹³² Blow became involved in mining and railroads. He was elected to the Missouri State Senate (1857) and United States Congress (1862) where he served on the Committee of Ways and Means and (after 1865) the Committee on Appropriations and on Reconstruction. In 1869, Blow was appointed by President Grant as ambassador to Brazil. ¹³³
Susan Blow (1843-1916)	Susan Blow was the daughter of Henry Taylor and Minerva Grimsley Blow. She is well known for establishing the first public kindergarten in the United States in 1873, Des Peres School in Carondelet (today part of the City of St. Louis). Miss Blow worked as a

¹²⁵ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey through History* (2005), 4.

¹²⁶ William N. Chambers, "Young Man from Tennessee: First Years of Thomas H. Benton in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (July, 1948, Volume IV, No. 4), 199-200.

¹²⁷ "Senator Thomas Hart Benton," *The State Historical Society of Missouri* (Database, Historic Missourians, Available at: <http://shs.umsystem.edu/historicmissourians/name/b/bentonsenator/index.html>) Access date: 18 December 2013).

¹²⁸ L.U. Reavis, *Saint Louis: The Future Great City of the World* (St. Louis: Self-published, 1876), 395-396.

¹²⁹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Civil War Tour Booklet* (St. Louis: Self-published, [2011]), 4.

¹³⁰ Reavis, 410-412. Missouri Secretary of State, "Missouri's Dred Scott Case, 1846 – 1857," Online at: <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/africanamerican/scott/scott.asp> (Access date: 20 November 2013).

¹³¹ John A. Bryan, "The Blow Family and Their Slave Dred Scott," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* (St. Louis, Self-published, 1948), Volume IV, No. 4, p. 231.

¹³² Missouri Secretary of State, "Missouri's Dred Scott Case, 1846 – 1857." Online at: <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/resources/africanamerican/scott/scott.asp> (Access date: 20 November 2013).

¹³³ Reavis, 412-413.

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Burial	Biographical Information
	secretary for her father and traveled to Brazil where she worked as his translator. After her work in Brazil, Blow traveled through Europe and became acquainted with the German schools (kindergartens) that she emulated. Blow moved to Cleveland and eventually New York, where she taught at Columbia College. She published five books on educational theory and served on the board of the International Kindergarten Union. ¹³⁴
Benjamin Lewis Bonneville (1796 – 1878)	Bonneville is one of Bellefontaine's early re-interments. He was born in Paris and came to New York with his mother and brother when his father, a close friend of Thomas Paine's, was arrested for publishing a newspaper criticizing Napoleon. Bonneville graduated from West Point and moved to St. Louis in 1831 or 1832 (sources vary) where he led a western expedition – "the first wagon-train that ever crossed the prairie" (i.e., the Continental Divide). ¹³⁵ Bonneville was presumed dead when communication stopped but in 1835, "he and remnants of his band strolled into Fort Gibson." ¹³⁶ His personal travels were published by Washington Irving, and his maps became integral to United States military divisions. Bonneville served in the Mexican and Civil Wars, retiring in 1865 to settle at Ft. Smith, Arkansas. His body was transported to Bellefontaine to be re-interred beside his first wife and daughter, who died in St. Louis where Bonneville had been stationed during the Civil War. ¹³⁷
Adolphus Busch (1838-1913)	Busch was a "multi-millionaire and philanthropist" best known for his successful brewery, Anheuser-Busch. ¹³⁸ The enterprise grew from a partnership between Busch and his father-in-law, Eberhard Anheuser, a German soap maker who bought an existing brewery (Bavarian Brewery) c. 1860 and hired his son-in-law, Adolphus, in 1861. Busch purchased half-ownership and in 1879, the business was renamed as Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association. Busch was an innovative businessman. He was the first person to use pasteurization, which allowed the company to safely ship beer. This earned the company its national reputation for producing a German-American brew known as "Budweiser." ¹³⁹ Busch died in Germany. When his body was returned to St. Louis, Bellefontaine Cemetery received hundreds of floral arrangements, ranging in estimated costs of "\$35,000 to \$55,000," including an 11-foot, 5-inch "broken column . . . [consisting of] 2000 roses, 2000 lilies of the valley, 5000 bunches of violets, 100 chrysanthemums and 550 orchids." ¹⁴⁰
Joseph Charless (1772 – 1859)	Charless was born in Ireland, fought in the Irish Rebellion in 1798, moved to France and finally to the United States where he worked as a printer in Philadelphia. Charless became well acquainted with Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and Henry Clay, the latter of whom encouraged him to move to Kentucky in 1800. Eight years later, Charless moved to St. Louis and founded the <i>Missouri Gazette</i> , the first newspaper

¹³⁴ Katharine T. Corbett, *In Her Place: A Guide to St. Louis Women's History* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1999), 108-109.

¹³⁵ Hyde and Conard, Volume 1, 194; Lawrence O. Christensen, William E. Foley, Gary R. Kremer and Kenneth H. Winn (eds), *Dictionary of Missouri Biography* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1999), 97-98.

¹³⁶ Hyde and Conard, 195.

¹³⁷ Hyde and Conard, 195, Christensen, et al, 98.

¹³⁸ Associated Press, "Adolphus Busch to be Buried Here; Left \$40,000,000," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (11 October 1913), 3.

¹³⁹ Anheuser-Busch, Company website: "Our Heritage," Online at: <http://anheuser-busch.com/index.php/our-heritage/history/> (Access date: 20 November 2013).

¹⁴⁰ "455 Designs in Flowers Sent to Busch Residence," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (26 October 1913), A2.

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Burial	Biographical Information
	published in St. Louis (renamed as the <i>Missouri Republican</i>). He married Charlotte Blow, sister of Henry T. Blow and with his brother-in-law, funded Dred Scott's lawsuits (see also, Henry Taylor Blow). Charless served as president of the State Bank of Missouri and Mechanics' Bank. He was director of the Pacific Railroad Company and helped to organize Washington University. ¹⁴¹ His body was originally buried at the Presbyterian Cemetery on Jefferson Avenue. ¹⁴²
William Clark (1770 – 1838)	Clark is probably the most celebrated re-interment at Bellefontaine due to his joint-expedition of the upper Louisiana Territory with Meriwether Lewis in 1804-1806. Appointed by President Thomas Jefferson, the team was engaged to gather as much information as possible about the western continent that lay between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis with a wealth of information about the region. Their journals, drawings and maps were published internationally and translated into French, Dutch and German. Clark was appointed as Governor of the Missouri Territory in 1813 and retained this position until Missouri became a state in 1821. ¹⁴³ Clark's remains were moved to Bellefontaine from the O'Fallon parcel (the Clark and O'Fallon families were related) during the late 1860s. Clark's well-visited monument and bust were added in 1904 to honor the 100-year anniversary of the famous expedition. ¹⁴⁴
Adaline Westin Couzins (1815 – 1892) Phoebe Couzins (1842 – 1913)	Adaline and her daughter Phoebe (Couzins) are two of Bellefontaine's eminent female burials. Adaline was wounded at Vicksburg while caring for soldiers as a volunteer for the Ladies Aid Union. Because of her volunteer status, she did not qualify for a service pension. She later petitioned the United States government and through an Act of Congress, was awarded a pension in 1888. ¹⁴⁵ Adaline's daughter, Phoebe, earned national recognition not only as the third woman in the United States to earn a law degree, but also as "the first U.S. marshal, the first female to address a presidential nominating convention, and the first woman to pass the bar in Utah, Arkansas, and the Dakota territories, and the federal courts." ¹⁴⁶
Elizabeth Crittenden (1805 – 1873)	Crittenden was a well-known Washington, D.C. figure – so much so that her biography was included in the 1867 publication, <i>The Queens of American Society</i> . She was sought out by individuals such as Mary Todd Lincoln, who wished to join her in the "best circle" of Washington society. ¹⁴⁷ Mrs. Crittenden's celebrated position came following her third marriage to Kentucky Senator John Crittenden. By that time she was quite

¹⁴¹ Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc., "Tombstone Talks" (Unpublished), 1970, 12; Conard and Hyde, Volume 1, p. 350.

¹⁴² Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, "A Walk Through Bellefontaine Cemetery" (Unpublished), 1957, (np [9]).

¹⁴³ Conard and Hyde, 400-401.

¹⁴⁴ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, 1957, (np [7]).

¹⁴⁵ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Online Archive: "Missouri Women, Adeline [sic] Couzins" Available at: <http://missouriwomen.org/category/places/st-louis/bellefontaine-cemetery/> (Access date: 18 December 2013).

¹⁴⁶ Carol Ferring Shepley, *Movers and Shakers Scalawags and Suffragettes* (St. Louis: Missouri History Museum, 2008), 180.

¹⁴⁷ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Civil War Tour Booklet*, 9; Elizabeth Fries Ellet, *The Queens of American Society* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1867), 335.

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Burial	Biographical Information
	wealthy from two previous marriages to a Missouri state senator/physician D.P. Wilcox and Congressman/fur-trader William Ashley. ¹⁴⁸
Frederick Fayette Dent (1786-1873)	Frederick F. Dent was the father of Julia Dent Grant, First Lady of the United States, 1869-1877. Dent was born in Maryland and practiced law in that state. He moved to St. Louis where he became involved in the fur trade. Dent's daughter, Julia met her future husband, Ulysses S. Grant at the family's plantation, White Haven, in St. Louis County. ¹⁴⁹ The Dents also owned a house in St. Louis City at 704 S. Fourth Street and it was here that Julia and Ulysses married in 1844. ¹⁵⁰ Dent was a widower by the time Grant became President and moved with his daughter and son-in-law to Washington, D.C. Frederick Dent died at the White House near the end of Grant's first term. ¹⁵¹
James Buchanan Eads (1820 – 1887)	James B. Eads designed the world's first cast-steel bridge, Eads Bridge, which spans the Mississippi River. Constructed in 1867-1874, it was also the first bridge ever constructed without the use of spandrel supports. ¹⁵² Eads was a ship maker who produced ironclad gunboats for the Union Navy during the Civil War. Eads despised the conflict and when he was finally paid for his service (post 1865), he made a large contribution "to aid the Confederate victims." ¹⁵³
Samuel Gaty (1811 – 1887)	Gaty's significance is two-fold. Not only was he well-known as a steamboat manufacturer, his family founded the Town of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Gaty was an orphan and did not realize the misspelling of his last name, or the association of his family's significance in Pennsylvania until he became an adult. Gaty established a foundry in 1831 (believed to be the earliest in the west), which repaired and built steamboats. He also became involved in the railroad and mining industries. ¹⁵⁴ Gaty's memorial is one of the cemetery's most artistic, designed by Gaty himself (Figure 20).
Edward Hempstead (1780 – 1817)	Hempstead served as attorney general of the Upper Louisiana Territory (St. Louis and St. Charles Districts, 1809-1811) and was the first Congressional delegate of the Missouri Territory (1812-1814). ¹⁵⁵ Born in New London, Connecticut, he practiced law in Rhode Island before moving to St. Louis in the early 1800s. In 1812, he was elected to Congress and served for two years before returning to St. Louis where he died after being thrown from a horse. ¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Civil War Tour Booklet* (St. Louis: Self-published, 2011), 9; William McClung Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri* (Kansas City, MO: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company, 1897), 555.

¹⁴⁹ Ulysses S. Grant Historic Site (National Park Service), Available at: <http://www.nps.gov/ulsg/index.htm> (Access date: 21 November 2013).

¹⁵⁰ "Dent Home where Grant Wed to be Sold at Auction," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 17 September 1916, A-6.

¹⁵¹ Connie Nisinger, "Find a Grave" website. Information available at: <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=20576> (Access date: 6 December 2013).

¹⁵² Rex T. Jackson, *James B. Eads: The Civil War Ironclads and His Mississippi* (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 2004), 39.

¹⁵³ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Civil War Tour Booklet* (2011), 11.

¹⁵⁴ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey Through History* (2005), 23; Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Touring Bellefontaine Cemetery* (St. Louis: Self-published, [1983]), 11; Shepley, 272-273.

¹⁵⁵ Dana O. Jensen, ed, "The Diary of a Yankee Farmer in Missouri, 1811-1814," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* (October, 1956, Volume XIII, No. 1), 31.

¹⁵⁶ "Hempstead, Edward," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, Available at: <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=H000472> (Access date: 6 December 2013).

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Burial	Biographical Information
Manuel Lisa (1772-1820)	Lisa was an important figure in western settlement and the fur trade. He was born in New Orleans and moved to St. Louis in 1899 where he worked as an outfitter for western expeditions. One of Manuel's most successful endeavors was setting up a trading post, Fort Raymond near the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers – the first in the region that became Montana. After Lisa's first wife died in 1818, he married Mary Hempstead Keeney, sister of Edward Hempstead and daughter of Stephen Hempstead (whose family farm became Bellefontaine Cemetery). ¹⁵⁷ Lisa was originally buried at the Walnut Street Catholic cemetery and reinterred on the Hempstead Lot in 1820. ¹⁵⁸
Richard Barnes Mason (1797 – 1850)	Mason was a Brigadier General and the first governor (civil and military) of California. He died of cholera in St. Louis County while serving as a commanding officer at Jefferson Barracks. Mason was born in Virginia to a prominent family. His grandfather, George Mason, was a member of the Continental Congress. Richard began his military career at age 20 and he spent his lifetime in military service. His widow, Margaret Turner Mason (also at Bellefontaine) married Major General Don Carlos Buell, a Union Army commander, following Mason's death. ¹⁵⁹
John Miller (1781 – 1846)	Miller was born in Berkeley County, Virginia (today part of West Virginia). He moved to Ohio in 1803 and began publishing the <i>Steubenville Gazette</i> and editing the <i>Western Herald</i> . Miller joined the military during the War of 1812 and was promoted to colonel. He resigned his post in 1818 and moved to Missouri as a registrar of the U.S. General Land Office. In 1825, he was elected governor of Missouri during a special election to fill the position of deceased Governor Frederick Bates and re-elected in 1828. In 1836 he became a Missouri Congressional Representative and remained in office until 1843. ¹⁶⁰
John Berry Meachum (1789 – 1854)	Meachum was an African-American Baptist minister. He was born as a slave in Virginia and purchased his freedom using money he earned as a carpenter. Meachum moved to Kentucky, married a slave and in 1815 moved to St. Louis with his wife and children (who remained slaves at that time). Meachum met John Mason Peck (see Peck biography), a Baptist missionary who in 1825 (or 1826, sources vary) established the First African Baptist Church at Third and Almond (St. Louis) and ordained Meachum as minister. The church operated a school forced to close during the 1830s when blacks (slave and free) were prohibited from engaging in educational activities in St. Louis. Meachum escaped the legal jurisdiction by establishing a "floating school" on a steamboat harbored in the Mississippi River. ¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Kimberly Harper, "Manuel Lisa," State Historical Society of Missouri, "Historic Missourians," Available online at: <http://shs.umsystem.edu/historicmissourians/name/l/lisa/index.html> (Access date: 6 December 2013).

¹⁵⁸ Charles E. Peterson, "Manuel Lisa's Warehouse," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* (January, 1948, Volume IV, No. 2), 59.

¹⁵⁹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey Through History* (2005), 10; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General Richard Barnes Mason," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Volume 9, No. 1, March 1941), 14, 36.

¹⁶⁰ National Governors Association, "Missouri Governor John Miller," Available at: http://www.nga.org/cms/home/governors/past-governors-bios/page_missouri/col2-content/main-content-list/title_miller_john.html (Access date: 12 July 2013); "Miller, John," Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, Available at: <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000735> (Access date: 6 December 2013).

¹⁶¹ N. Webster Moore, "John Berry Meachum (1789-1854): St. Louis Pioneer, Black Abolitionist, Educator, and Preacher," *Bulletin* (January 1973, Volume 29, No. 2), 97-101. Of note, sources vary as to when Meachum married his wife and where (KY vs. MO) but most agree that when he came to St. Louis, his family was still enslaved.

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Burial	Biographical Information
John T. Milliken (1852 – 1919)	Milliken was born in Paducah, Kentucky and moved to St. Louis in 1880. He worked his way up at a local flour mill and dabbled in real estate speculation. Milliken was a brilliant businessman. In 1900, he purchased an interest in a Colorado gold mine that he sold for a hefty profit. In St. Louis, Milliken constructed a state of the art factory for the Milliken Pharmaceutical and Absorbent Cotton Plant (not extant) subsequently purchased by Fulton Bag of Atlanta. Milliken's success stories are manifold. In addition to his chemical company, he owned stock in railroads and banks, and operated a successful wholesale floral business from his farm near Eureka (Missouri). At the time of his death, Milliken's estate was estimated as worth \$25 million. ¹⁶²
Virginia Louisa Minor (1824 – 1894)	Virginia Minor was instrumental in the suffragette movement – both in Missouri and nationally. In 1869, she spoke at the women's suffrage convention in St. Louis and "electrified" her audience "with an impassioned argument" about ratification of the 14 th Amendment and how it applied to women's (as well as African-Americans') civil rights. ¹⁶³ Minor was Missouri President of the Women's Suffrage Association. When denied her right to vote in 1872, she filed suit against the voting registrar. The case went to the Supreme Court, which sided with the local registrar but in the process, Minor received great attention from the national press. She became a delegate and vice-president of the National Women's Suffrage Association. Minor is considered as important to the suffragette movement as her counterparts Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. ¹⁶⁴
John Mason Peck (1789-1858)	Peck was a well known Baptist minister, theologian, abolitionist and missionary from Litchfield Connecticut who settled in St. Clair County, Illinois. He wrote and published a number of articles and maps, including <i>A Gazetteer of Illinois and Emigrant's Guide</i> in 1834. Peck's body was buried near his home at Rock Springs, Illinois in March 1858. The following month he was moved to the Baptist Minister's Lot at Bellefontaine. ¹⁶⁵ In addition to his mission work in Missouri and Illinois, Peck established Shurtleff College near Alton (Illinois), published a number of articles and memoirs, and was instrumental in establishing the American Baptist Publication Society. ¹⁶⁶
Henry Miller Shreve (1785 – 1851)	Shreve is known as the "Master of the Mississippi," and the City of Shreveport, LA was named for him. ¹⁶⁷ He was born in Burlington County, New Jersey and moved to Pennsylvania when he was very young. Shreve became interested in the fur trade and began transporting lead via keelboat from New Orleans to St. Louis. He was an important steamboat designer, particularly in relation to developing models that operated

¹⁶² "Milliken is Dead," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (1 February 1919), 1-2; "Fulton Bag Company to Buy Plant of J.T. Milliken & Co.," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (4 April 1926), Globe Collection, University of St. Louis-Missouri.

¹⁶³ Corbett (1999), 132.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, 132-134; "Virginia Louisa Minor," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Available at: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/384449/Virginia-Louisa-Minor>), Access date: 9 December 2013.

¹⁶⁵ James Affleck, "Rev. John Mason Peck," and Judge J.O. Humphrey, "Dr. John Mason Peck and Shurtleff College," *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society for the Year 1907* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1908), 161-162.

¹⁶⁶ "John M. Peck," Southern Baptist Historical Library and Archives database. Available at: http://www.sbhla.org/bio_peck.htm (Access date: 6 November 2013); Jamie Douglas, "Shurtleff College," *Illinois Periodicals Online*, <http://www.lib.niu.edu/1998/ihy981205.html> (Access date: 6 November 2013); Kurt E. Leichtle and Bruce G. Carveth, *Crusade Against Slavery: Edward Coles, Pioneer of Freedom* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), 116.

¹⁶⁷ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association (1957), (np [15]).

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Burial	Biographical Information
	well in shallow waterways. Shreve was appointed "Superintendent of Western River Improvements" in the 1820s. Part of Shreve's job was to dredge the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers which led to his invention of "snag boats." ¹⁶⁸ The snag boats could grab and break up log jams and other river impediments, as well as cut the retrieved wood, which was burned to fuel the boats. ¹⁶⁹
Sara Teasdale (1884 – 1933)	A Pulitzer prize-winning poet, Sarah Teasdale was born in St. Louis. Her talents were recognized when in high school she was published in <i>Reedy's Mirror</i> and <i>The Potter's Wheel</i> . In 1905, Teasdale left for a European tour. She returned to St. Louis but traveled frequently to New York where she became acquainted with other young artists and writers. By age 25, Teasdale's work had been published many times over. She married a St. Louis manufacturer, Ernst Filsinger, president of Royal Baking Powder Company. The couple moved to New York and divorced in 1929. Teasdale continued to write but became increasingly depressed and committed suicide. Her family, ignoring Teasdale's request to be cremated and "scattered in the sea," returned her body to be buried at Bellefontaine. ¹⁷⁰

Cemetery professionalism and the individuals involved in shaping Bellefontaine were all important to developing and maintaining its unique landscape throughout the period of significance. In turn, these individuals were shaped by influences and others, who assisted in creating the patterns – past and present – illustrated through Bellefontaine's landscape. Buildings, structures, mausolea, funerary art and site features – in their entirety – these components are important aspects of the landscape and contribute to Bellefontaine's Criterion C significance.

Artistic Elements of Bellefontaine's Landscape Architecture

Bellefontaine Cemetery's exquisite collection of mausolea and memorial art serve to complement the property's Criterion C significance, as do its contributing buildings and structures. Monuments and memorials associated with Bellefontaine's earliest burials are situated in the eastern/central sections of the parcel. It is here that the cemetery's designer, Almerin Hotchkiss, incorporated Bellefontaine's carefully designed "Tour" overlooking the Mississippi River, showcasing many of the site's natural features for visitors in the 1850s-60s. It is also this section that most clearly illustrates the cemetery's rural origins. Hotchkiss had worked prior to Bellefontaine in designing cemetery landscapes in the state of New York (Brooklyn and Utica). His expertise was in rural cemetery design and his plans for Bellefontaine were in line with the naturalistic views that early rural landscapers emphasized. For this reason, he did much to retain

¹⁶⁸ Janet G. Brantley, "Henry Miller Shreve," *The Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture* (<http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=1764>), Access date: 9 December 2013.

¹⁶⁹ Illinois State Museum, "Shreve's Snag Boat," Available at: <http://www.museum.state.il.us/RiverWeb/landings/Ambot/TECH/TECH12.htm> (Access date: 18 December 2013).

¹⁷⁰ Corbett, 1999, 278-279.

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original trees and designed a plan to highlight the cemetery's natural vista as much as the monumental art that it framed.

Like the eighteenth-century European designers, Hotchkiss was attentive to scenic details. He carefully supervised the placement of the principal carriage route so that it highlighted views of the Mississippi River. He also paid attention to the creation of the reflecting ponds, to the contrast of light and shade in composition, to preserving the existing trees, and to building a collection of specimen trees throughout the cemetery.¹⁷¹

As noted earlier, Bellefontaine's landscape also emphasizes the landscape-lawn movement, which contrasted rural cemeteries by eliminating lot fences, curbs, steps, hedges and proliferative plantings that overwhelmed the vista. Instead, plantings were grouped to frame the picturesque views of the cemetery's artwork and rolling landscape, which incorporated curving paved or graveled drives.¹⁷² The landscape-lawn influence is seen primarily in Bellefontaine's perimeter sections surrounding the older burial lots. Though enclosed lots (with iron fences and curbs/steps) exist at Bellefontaine, the majority of the landscape is open, brilliantly colored with deciduous trees in fall and blooming shrubs in spring and summer, highlighting the cemetery's magnificent collection of funerary art. In short, the cemetery's landscape is reminiscent of Strauch's suggested improvements to Spring Grove in the cemetery's 1857 report.

Good taste would seem to suggest that a rural Cemetery should partake more of the character of a cheerful park or garden . . . [care should be taken that] too many varieties [of plants] are not mixed together, always bearing in mind, that simplicity is the foundation of true beauty . . . As the monument is the principal object, it is quite natural that it should be shown to the best advantage [and lots should not be] crowded with trees, shrubs and flowers, that they actually destroy each other, hide the monument, and leave hardly a place for interment, especially when such a lot is cut up with little walks and filled with the sweepings of the marble yard . . . In such lots economy and simple beauty is sacrificed, and the result is only an immense mosaic, unfortunately too much the case in many Cemeteries.¹⁷³

Bellefontaine's rural and landscape-lawn impacts are seen not only in its landscape vistas but by the many beautiful monuments and tombs that continue to draw thousands of visitors each year.

¹⁷¹ Margaretta J. Darnall, "The American Cemetery as Picturesque Landscape: Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis," *Winterthur Portfolio* (Winter 1983, Vol. 18, No. 4), 252.

¹⁷² O.C. Simonds, "Progress and Prospect in Cemetery Design," *Park and Cemetery* (March 1920, Volume 30, No. 1), 18.

¹⁷³ (Cincinnati Horticultural Society), *The Cincinnati Cemetery of Spring Grove* (Cincinnati: Self-Published, 1857), 31-33.

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These above-ground features are integral to the cemetery and comprise a large component of the overall landscape that defines Bellefontaine. The cemetery's noteworthy design elements are attributed to many individuals, including architects, artists and sculptors. Though few details of Bellefontaine's artistic creators were recorded in the cemetery's early records, sufficient information remains to support the cemetery's contributing site features represented through its inimitable collection of art and architecture. The broad spectrum of monumental art in Bellefontaine primarily reflects Classical Revival styles such as Greek, Egyptian and Roman, and the cemetery's "mausoleum row" is considered one of the nation's "most impressive" collections of mausolea.¹⁷⁴ Bellefontaine's management style may have been reserved but this was not the case for those who provided the site with its stupendous collection of artistic memorials and magnificent panoramic views.

[At Bellefontaine Cemetery] St. Louis' elite built showcase homes for eternity. No money was spared, no style deemed too ostentatious – as long as it was inspired by ancient civilization. Greek temples abound with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns holding up classical pediments. Egyptian influence is also present, most notably on the Tate mausoleum, with its strange sphinxes sporting big ears and stylized beards. The most original is the Wainwright mausoleum, commissioned in 1892 from architect Louis Sullivan. Crowned by a large dome that is decorated on the inside with gilded putti and stars, it resembles the style of Byzantine churches found more commonly in Athens or Istanbul . . . Today's visitor to Bellefontaine enters a realm of gently curving roads, rolling hills, mature trees, man-made lakes, and artistic monuments that realize the fondest wishes of its founders.¹⁷⁵

Among the cemetery's prominent memorials is a monument designed (artist unknown) for Kate Brewington Bennett (1818-1855). The memorial consists of a white marble female in repose below an elaborately detailed Gothic canopy (**Figure 21**). Far less elaborate but no less imposing is the Lemp Family's tomb, the cemetery's largest mausoleum, a classic Greek temple with a simple entablature and Tuscan columns. Chris Von der Ahe (1851-1913), owner of the St. Louis Browns baseball team, is honored by his lifelike image atop a decorative granite base. The work was commissioned prior to Von der Ahe's demise and included a year of death, which proved prophetic.¹⁷⁶ Human and angelic forms are abundant at Bellefontaine. Animal images are less common but no less elegant as demonstrated by the "Elks Rest" monument in the cemetery's fraternal lot. The marker features a nine-foot "Landseer's" elk on a 12-foot pedestal.¹⁷⁷ One of

¹⁷⁴ Yalom, 160.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 161.

¹⁷⁶ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey Through History* (2005), 22-38.

¹⁷⁷ "Elks Monument: It will be Unveiled at Bellefontaine Cemetery To-Morrow [sic]," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (10 October 1891), 8. Note: the term "Landseer's" refers to an artist (painter/sculptor), Sir Edwin Landseer (1802-1873) whose work, particularly in relation to wildlife images, was often copied.

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the more elaborate tombs at Bellefontaine is the aforementioned Egyptian style mausoleum designed for theater owner Frank N. Tate (1860-1934), who commissioned the work (designed by **Eames & Young**) in 1907. Flared buttresses and Lotus capital columns flank the classical surround capped with Phoenix wings. Sphinxes guard the steps leading to the tomb's entrance (**Figure 22**).¹⁷⁸ **Louis Sullivan's** work for Ellis Wainwright's wife, individually listed to the National Register of Historic Places in 1970 is of great importance to the cemetery's grand collection of mausolea. Sullivan designed only three tombs during his lifetime and the example at Bellefontaine is his only example outside of Chicago, where Sullivan lived and worked. The other two tombs are in Graceland Cemetery. Sullivan's earliest example is an Egyptian Revival tomb, designed for lumber and real estate businessman Martin Ryerson in 1889. The second example was designed in 1890 for Carrie Getty, wife of lumber baron Henry Harrison Getty.¹⁷⁹ Of the three, Wainwright's (erected in 1892) has been appropriately identified as "the most sensitive and most graceful of Sullivan's tombs, distinguished alike in its architectural form and its decorative enrichment."¹⁸⁰

Integral to the architectural and artistic contributions of Bellefontaine's landscape are the individuals who designed the memorials, tombs, buildings and art on display throughout the cemetery. **Table 8** includes the individuals (other than Hotchkiss) known to have contributed to the site's development during its period of significance (1859 – 1940).

Table 8. Contributors (other than Almerin Hotchkiss) to Site Development, 1849-1940

Individual/Company	Information / Attributions
Roderick M. Abercrombie (1856 – 1936)	R.M. Abercrombie was born in New York and worked as a contractor/stone mason in St. Joseph, Missouri, where his family moved in 1865. The Abercrombie Stone Company was established by Roderick's father, James Roderick (b. 1830), a trained marble cutter from Scotland. ¹⁸¹ In 1902, R.M. Abercrombie was awarded the contract to create a monument for Thomas Hart Benton at Bellefontaine. The red granite obelisk commemorating Benton (1782-1858) was erected in December 1902 for an estimated cost of \$1,500. ¹⁸² Abercrombie was also a politician – he served as an alderman in St. Joseph during the 1890s and after 1900 served on the State Board of Charities and Corrections. ¹⁸³
Henry Bacon (1866 – 1924)	Bacon was a civil engineer and architect , born in Illinois. He is best known for designing the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., constructed 1914-1922. Bacon

¹⁷⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey Through History* (2005), 32.

¹⁷⁹ Graceland Cemetery (Chicago). "Monuments and their Makers." Available at:

<http://www.gracelandcemetery.org/pages/monuments.html> (Access date: 6 January 2014).

¹⁸⁰ Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan: Prophet of Modern Architecture* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1935), 101.

¹⁸¹ Union Historical Company, *The History of Buchanan County, Missouri . . .* (St. Joseph, MO: Self-published, 1881), 659.

¹⁸² "Benton Monument in Place," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (9 January 1903), 4.

¹⁸³ Sam B. Cook, Missouri Secretary of State, *Official Manual of the State of Missouri for the Years 1901 – 1902* (Jefferson City, MO: Self-published, [1902]), 482; Missouri State Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Certificate of Death, "R.M. Abercrombie," 27 January 1936.

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	was educated in Wilmington, North Carolina and at the University of Illinois. He moved to Boston and later to New York, where he gained a position at McKim, Meade and White. While working in New York, Bacon assisted in planning the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. ¹⁸⁴ At Bellefontaine, Bacon designed the Mallinckrodt Family Tomb, erected in 1921.
George Ingram Barnett (1815 – 1898)	Barnett was a well-known architect . In relation to his work on memorials and tombs, he is credited with no less than seven examples at Bellefontaine, Calvary Cemetery and the Missouri Botanical Garden. At Bellefontaine, Barnett designed tombs for local physician, D.S. Brock; businessman, George R. Taylor and a monument for the O'Fallon Family (Figures 23 – 24). ¹⁸⁵ The latter was a project Barnett worked on with Isaac Taylor. ¹⁸⁶ Barnett was born in Nottingham, England and trained as an architect in London prior to moving to New York (1839) and (six months later) to St. Louis. He became one of the country's best known architects, designing schools, churches, public facilities, hotels, dwellings, waterworks, monuments and towers. Among Barnett's best known regional examples are the Missouri Governor's Mansion in Jefferson City and Henry Shaw's tomb at the Missouri Botanical Garden (St. Louis). ¹⁸⁷ His firm was eventually joined by sons George D. and Thomas P. and son-in-law John Haynes. ¹⁸⁸
Thomas P. Barnett (1870 – 1929)	Like his father, George I. Barnett, Tom Barnett was a well-known architect who designed a number of notable buildings in St. Louis. The younger Barnett was also a trained artist and many of his buildings display evidence of his talents. ¹⁸⁹ One example is the Adolphus Busch Tomb at Bellefontaine. The Gothic style mausoleum is one of the cemetery's most striking, constructed of Missouri pink granite. ¹⁹⁰ The tomb's estimated costs of \$500,000 were reportedly the greatest expenditure to date for a "private" mausoleum "west of the Mississippi River." ¹⁹¹
Eames & Young William S. Eames (1857 – 1915) Thomas Crane Young (1858 – 1934)	Eames & Young , an architectural firm based in St. Louis, did a number of projects at Bellefontaine including the William McMillan Tomb, H. Clay Pierce Tomb (which includes windows by Louis Comfort Tiffany) and Hotchkiss Chapel (completed in 1909). ¹⁹² William S. Eames , in addition to being an architect was an art critic "known throughout the United States." ¹⁹³ He was born in Michigan and graduated from Washington University. He also attended Paris' L'Ecole des Beaux Arts. Eames opened a private architectural firm in St. Louis in 1882. His

¹⁸⁴ Leslie N. Boney, Jr. and Catherine W. Bishir, "Bacon Henry," *North Carolina Architects & Builders* (Raleigh, NC: North Carolina State University). Available at: <http://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000028> (Access date: 11 December 2013).

¹⁸⁵ David Simmons, "Three Tombs Designed by George I. Barnett," *The Society of Architectural Historians Missouri Valley Chapter* (Volume III, No. 3, Fall 1997), 3-6.

¹⁸⁶ "The O'Fallon Monument," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (18 June 1880), 5.

¹⁸⁷ Carolyn Toft, "St. Louis Architects: Famous and Not So Famous (Part 13): George I. Barnett," *Landmarks Letter* (May/June 1988), 1-2.

¹⁸⁸ John W. Leonard, *The Book of St. Louisans* (St. Louis: The St. Louis Republic, 1906), 38.

¹⁸⁹ "Tom P. Barnett," *Reedy's Mirror* (Volume 23, No. 46, 18 December 1914), 99.

¹⁹⁰ Mary Powell, "Public Art in St. Louis," *St. Louis Public Library Monthly Bulletin* (July – August 1925), 189.

¹⁹¹ "Mausoleum for Adolphus Busch to Cost \$500,000," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (21 May 1915), 1.

¹⁹² Powell, 189; Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey Through History* (2005), 35; Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 1909.

¹⁹³ "William S. Eames," *The New York Times* (6 March 1916).

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Individual/Company	Information / Attributions
	achievements include service as a United States delegate in Madrid and President of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1904-1905. ¹⁹⁴ Thomas Crane Young was born in Wisconsin and educated in Michigan and St. Louis (Washington University). He pursued a career in art but changed the course of his professional pursuits when he started work at an architectural office as a draftsman. ¹⁹⁵
Edward Flad (1860 – 1952)	Flad was a civil engineer instrumental in designing stone fences (during the 1920s) that surround Bellefontaine Cemetery. Edward Flad was born in Arcadia, Missouri, to Henry and Caroline Richart. His father was also an engineer who is best known for working with James B. Eads on the design/construction of Eads Bridge. Prior to his work at Bellefontaine, Flad served as the city's water commissioner for a number of years.
Gorham Manufacturing Company	Gorham Manufacturing Company produced items made of "silver, gold, brass, bronze, stone, and wood." ¹⁹⁶ Based in Providence, Rhode Island, the company began in 1818 as a small jewelry shop owned by Jabez Gorham, Jr. The company was re-established in 1863 as a silver- and gold-smith manufactory that grew to include several branches, including one in New York. ¹⁹⁷ In 1897, the firm created a bronze angel for the Sidney Rowland Francis (1857-1893) tomb at Bellefontaine. The company also worked with Barnett, Haynes and Barnett in St. Louis on the new Catholic Cathedral (Lindell Boulevard) in constructing the high altar and its canopy. ¹⁹⁸
Hinsdale-Doyle Granite Company	Hinsdale-Doyle produced the O'Fallon monument (Figure 24) designed by George I. Barnett. ¹⁹⁹ The company was headquartered in New York. Though little is known about the individuals who established and worked for the company, N.C. Hinsdale is identified in Syracuse and New York City directories as a marble dealer specializing in monumental design . Trade journals published in the late nineteenth century verify that the company produced monuments for many parks and cemeteries. ²⁰⁰
Jamieson & Spearl James P. Jamieson (1867 – 1941) George Spearl (1883 – 1948)	Jamieson & Spearl did a considerable number of projects at Bellefontaine during the 1920s-30s, including the site's surrounding stone walls, founder's memorial, and Willow Gatehouse and Office. James P. Jamieson was born in Scotland, educated in Great Britain and came to the United States in 1884 where he secured a job as a draftsman for Cope & Stewardson (Philadelphia). Jamieson came to St. Louis in 1900 to assist in designing Washington University. He left the Philadelphia firm in 1912 and remained in St. Louis where he started his private practice. In 1919,

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Walter Barlow Stevens, *St. Louis: The Fourth City, Volume II* (St. Louis: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1911), 1002-1003.

¹⁹⁶ Ria Fulton, "Gorham Manufacturing Plant History," Online (Brown University Archive) at: <https://repository.library.brown.edu/fedora/objects/bdr:240430/datastreams/PDF/content> (Access date: 11 December 2013), (1).

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Gorham Manufacturing Company, "A Brochure of the High Altar and Baldachino in the Saint Louis R.C. Cathedral," (St. Louis, MO: Self-published, 1916). Of note, Gorham's name and date of production is provided at the base of the statue.

¹⁹⁹ "Beautiful St. Louis Cemeteries," *American Stone Trade* (August 1920, Volume 20, No. 1), 31.

²⁰⁰ Sources are various per ancestry.com (City Directories, Syracuse New York-1862 and 1866; New York City Directory, 1883).

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	Jamieson hired a partner, George Spearl. Spearl was from Brooklyn. He attended the University of Pennsylvania which provided him with a scholarship to study abroad. Jamieson & Spearl are best known for their working designing university campus buildings, including those associated with the University of Missouri (Columbia and Cape Girardeau), University of Arkansas (Fayetteville), Pomona College (Clairmont, CA) and Berea (Kentucky). The project at Bellefontaine was completed prior to Jamieson's retirement in 1939. ²⁰¹
Robert E. Launitz (1806 – 1870)	Baron Robert Ebrehardt Schmidt von der Launitz was a sculptor who achieved celebrated status as an American monument artist. He was born in Russia and moved to New York in 1828 where he worked for John Frazee (1790-1852), also a sculptor but better known today as an architect. Frazee's most famous commission was the New York Custom House (aka Federal Hall). Among Launitz's best known commissions are the Fireman's monument in Green-Wood Cemetery, the Henry Clay monument in Lexington and the James Feinmore Cooper monument in Cooperstown. ²⁰² At Bellefontaine, Launitz designed memorials for Mary Augusta Bissell (d. 1849, wife of William Morrison) and Angelica Yeatman (James Yeatman's first wife). Today, only the Bissell-Morrison monument remains standing (Figure 25). The O'Fallon memorial was replaced by Barnett's monumental work. ²⁰³ (See also, George Barnett and Hinsdale-Doyle Granite Company).
Richard J. Lockwood (b. 1883)	Lockwood was an engineer who is credited in city building records as architect for the Humboldt Gate and Gatehouse at Bellefontaine. Mr. Lockwood was a native of St. Louis who graduated with an engineering degree from Washington University in 1904. Afterward he worked in construction and engineering. Lockwood also worked as an executive for several railroad companies, including St. Louis-San Francisco (Louisiana), Appalachian Railroad (Florida) and United Railways (St. Louis). ²⁰⁴
Mariner, LaBeaume & Klein Guy Crandell Mariner (1875 – 1967) Louis LaBeaume (1873 – 1961) Eugene S. Klein (1876 – 1945)	Mariner, LaBeaume & Klein was the architectural firm that designed Bellefontaine's Hawthorn Gate and Gatehouse. Guy C. Mariner was born in Kansas, attended Columbia University's School of Architecture and worked for New York architect John Galen Howard. In St. Louis, he worked with Louis LaBeaume beginning in 1904 through 1911 or 1912 (sources vary). Afterward, Mariner briefly moved to New York (1917) but returned when he landed a commission to design the Missouri Supreme Court. ²⁰⁵ Louis LaBeaume was born in St. Louis. He was educated at the city's Manual Training School (administered by Washington University) and Columbia University where he received his architectural degree. LaBeaume worked in Boston and traveled through Europe before returning to St. Louis to work on the City's Centennial Exposition of 1904. LaBeaume was director of the AIA (1928-31) and the organization's first vice-president (1935-36).

²⁰¹ Jan Greenburg, "Jamieson and Spearl Architects," Unpublished biography (1971), 2-4. Available at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. Architects Collection.

²⁰² Early Settler Memorials: Robert E. Launitz," *The American Architect and Building News* (Volume 22, 6 August 1887), 59; Louis Torres, "John Frazee and the New York Custom House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (Volume 23, No. 3, 1964), 143.

²⁰³ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Walk Through Bellefontaine Cemetery* (1957), (np [18]).

²⁰⁴ "Changes in St. Louis," *Electrical Railway Journal* (8 January 1921, Vol. 57), New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 109.

²⁰⁵ Thomas Gronski, "Mariner, Guy Crandall," Unpublished biography on file at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. (Architects collection, Mariner, Guy).

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	Additionally he served on the board of the St. Louis Art Museum and oversaw a number of important acquisitions. His artistic capabilities landed him a seat on the advisory board for Princeton University's Art Department. ²⁰⁶ Eugene S. Klein became a partner of the firm in 1912. He was educated at Harvard and Boston's Lawrence Scientific School. During World War I, he worked as an architect for the Army's Quartermaster Division. Klein's commissions were varied (including hospitals, schools and residences) and not limited to the St. Louis region. Prior to partnering with LaBeaume, he worked at Mauran, Russell & Garden. ²⁰⁷
Mauran, Russell & Crowell John Lawrence Mauran (1866 – 1933) Ernest John Russell (1870 – 1956) William DeForrest Crowell (1879 – 1966)	Mauran, Russell & Crowell was an architectural firm , established in 1900 that designed the tomb for shoe manufacturer, George W. Brown in 1928. (See also, Isaac Taylor). ²⁰⁸ John Mauran was born in Providence, Rhode Island, trained at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and studied abroad before working for Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge in Boston. He moved to St. Louis to partner the firm and in 1902-04 served as president of the AIA. He was also a member of the Fine Arts Commission (by presidential appointment) during Theodore Roosevelt's tenure. ²⁰⁹ Ernest Russell was born in England and moved to Colorado Springs where he was educated and began his architectural career. He moved to St. Louis in 1896, served as vice-president of the American Institute of Architects in 1923, 1930-32 and was first vice-president of the Construction League of the United States. Russell received professional recognition from the Royal Institute of British Architects and the Swedish Order of Vasa. ²¹⁰ William Crowell was born in Mississippi and like Mauran, trained at MIT and at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts (Paris). He joined the firm in 1907 and in 1941 became a partner. Crowell was personally acquainted with the Brown Family and may have been the primary designer of the tomb at Bellefontaine. ²¹¹
Hodges & McCarthy William Romaine Hodges (1840 - 1921) John H. McCarthy (1853 – 1916)	Hodges & McCarthy was a granite company partnered by William Hodges and John McCarthy. Hodges was born and educated in Vermont. He was a Civil War soldier who moved to St. Louis in 1865 when he began working for Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company. In 1886 Hodges began building "monuments and memorials." When his partnership with McCarthy dissolved in 1901, he continued working independently. Hodges produced the "equestrian statue of 'St. Louis' at Forest Park for the Centennial Exposition, as well as the Wisconsin State monument at Shiloh Battlefield (Tennessee). ²¹² McCarthy was born in St. Louis to Irish

²⁰⁶ "Louis La Beaume – In Memoriam," *Bulletin* (Volume 18, No. 2, January 1962), 198-199.

²⁰⁷ "Eugene S. Klein," Obituary. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (20 November 1945); Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects: Deceased* (Santa Monica, CA: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1970), 351.

²⁰⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, "Brown Brothers Mausoleums," Online at: <http://bellefontainecemetery.org/timeline/brown-brothers-mausoleums/> (Access date: 11 December 2013).

²⁰⁹ Harris E. Starr, ed, *Dictionary of American Biography*, Volume 21, Supplement 1, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 546-547.

²¹⁰ Missouri Historical Society, "Ernest, John Russell," *The Bulletin* (January 1957), 198-199.

²¹¹ "Historical Background, Hemni & Associates, Inc.," Unpublished document in architects collection (Mauran, Russell & Garden and successors), Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc.; "W.D. Crowell Dies; Noted Architect," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* (17 January 1967), np (clipping, Landmarks file noted above).

²¹² Leonard, 284.

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	immigrants. McCarthy was a monument builder and trained his son (also named John McCarthy) to run the company. ²¹³ At Bellefontaine, Hodges & McCarthy created a tomb for Mrs. J.E. Liggett and an obelisk for Charles S. Hills which in 1893 was the cemetery's largest, "nearly forty feet in length by five feet in diameter." ²¹⁴
Frank Henry Kronauge	Little is known about Frank Henry Kronauge, credited as the architect for the Lemp Family Tomb, erected in 1902. Mr. Kronauge is listed in St. Louis' 1901 city directory as a "draftsman" residing at 2717 Missouri Avenue. ²¹⁵
McDonnell & Sons	McDonnell & Sons was established by Patrick McDonnell, a stonecutter from Ireland, in 1857. When he retired his business in 1881, his son, John Quincy McDonnell took over the business that was located in Quincy, Massachusetts. The company expanded and had locations in Buffalo, New York; Barre, Vermont; Pennsylvania, central New York and Connecticut. By the mid-1880s, the company was one of the largest monument firms in the United States, employing architects, builders and designers. The company evolved and today is known as Stone Art Memorial Company (Lackawanna, New York). ²¹⁶ At Bellefontaine, the company designed and built the Spink Family monument (1914).
Giulio Monteverde (1837- 1917)	Monteverde was a well-known Italian sculptor . His better known works include a bronze angel in Viterbo, Italy's Parri Chapel, a young Christopher Columbus at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, and the marble altar crucifix at Buenos Aires' Benediction Chapel. ²¹⁷ Monteverde sculpted the marble female statue encased Herman C. Luyties' monument at Bellefontaine. Apparently Luyties paid \$20,000 for the commission and became involved in a court case over the exorbitant costs to ship the statue from Italy. Luyties died in 1921 without sufficient funds to pay for the statue's delivery to the cemetery. In 1922, some of the proceeds from sale of Luyties' pharmaceutical company were used to move the statue to Bellefontaine. ²¹⁸
John Noyes (b. 1886)	Noyes was a landscape architect who designed the cemetery's lakeside roads within the site's southwest quadrant. Noyes was a trained landscape architect. He worked with Jens Jensen and Warren Henry Manning, and was educated at the Massachusetts Agricultural College (better known today as Amherst). In St. Louis, he worked as a private practitioner and botanical instructor at Washington University's Shaw School of Botany (founded in 1885 and later incorporated into the university's biology studies). Noyes also worked at the Missouri Botanical Garden (eventually serving as Director) where he designed the Palm, Desert, Mediterranean and Floral Display

²¹³ Missouri State Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Certificate of Death, "John H. McCarthy," (29 December 1916).

²¹⁴ "Rare Monuments: An Obelisk for Bellefontaine Suggests Other Grand Mementoes," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (25 January 1893), 11.

²¹⁵ *St. Louis Directory for 1901* (St. Louis: Gould Directory Co. [1901]), 1101.

²¹⁶ Explore Buffalo/ Buffalo Architecture and History, McDonnell & Sons History available at: <http://buffaloah.com/h/mcd/tc.html> (Access date: 23 January 2014).

²¹⁷ Albert Shaw (ed), *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* (Volume 32, July-December 1905), 122; Herbert B. Adams (ed), *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* (Volume 10, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1892), 536-537; Declan McGarvey, *Top 10 Buenos Aires* (London: DK Eyewitness Travel Guides, 2009), 10.

²¹⁸ "Sanitol Co. Sale Will Bring Money to Bury Luyties," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (21 January 1922), 1.

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	Houses; the Italian and Perennial Gardens; the Knolls; and the city's first rose garden. ²¹⁹
William Ordway Partridge (1861 – 1930)	Partridge was a well known American sculptor best remembered today for his <i>Pocahontas</i> (1922) monument in Jamestown, Virginia. Ordway was born in Paris to American parents (from Massachusetts). He studied at Adelphi Academy (Brooklyn), Columbia University and abroad. After his studies in Europe, Ordway returned to the United States and resided in New York and Massachusetts. Well celebrated during his lifetime, a collection of Ordway's work was displayed at the Chicago Columbian Exposition in 1893. ²²⁰ He was commissioned to design the bust for the General William Clark monument erected in 1904 at Bellefontaine. ²²¹
William Rumbold (1824 - 1867)	Rumbold was an architect/engineer born in Scotland and best known in St. Louis for designing the dome of the Old Courthouse at Market and Fourth Streets (that today is part of the National Park Service's Jefferson National Expansion Memorial). Rumbold's design for the dome was revolutionary in the field of engineering. Constructed of cast-iron the dome is 198-feet in height and weighs 128 tons. ²²² At Bellefontaine, Rumbold designed the Gothic spire monument for the Semple Family (which includes the burial of Lucy Semple-Ames, a well-known suffragette, who died in 1925). The monument is believed to have been designed for Henry Ames (d. 1866) and was likely Rumbold's final commission. ²²³
John Struthers (1756 – 1851)	Struthers was a " stone cutter, builder and sometime architect " who worked with architect William Strickland in Philadelphia. ²²⁴ Struthers was born in Scotland. His family moved to Philadelphia in 1816. He did the marble work for Strickland's Second Bank of the United States and designed the marble sarcophagi at Mount Vernon (in 1836) for George and Martha Washington. ²²⁵ Considered a "master of cemetery art," Struthers designed the monument at Bellefontaine for Brig. Gen. Richard B. Mason. ²²⁶ One of the cemetery's most unique contributions, the memorial illustrates Mason's career through Struthers' sculpted work of a "cannon [and] twined rope, topped by a romantically draped cloak." ²²⁷ (Figure 26)
Isaac Stockton Taylor (1851 – 1917).	Taylor was an architect who designed the mausoleum for Alanson D. Brown (d. 1913), shoe manufacturer. ²²⁸ Taylor was born in Nashville, Tennessee and trained as

²¹⁹ Hummel, 31-32; Carolyn Hamm and Peter Dessauer, "Historic American Building Survey: Missouri Botanical Garden, HABS MO-1135" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, [1975]), 3-4.

²²⁰ Cynthia B. Brown, "William Ordway Partridge Papers, 1894-1905," *William & Mary, Earl Gregg Swem Library Special Collections Database* (Available at: <http://scdb.swem.wm.edu/?p=collections/findingaid&id=7200&q=&rootcontentid=4399>), Access date: 13 December 2013.

²²¹ Marion, 117.

²²² Withey and Withey, 531-532.

²²³ Shepley, 178-179.

²²⁴ Roger W. Moss, "Struthers, John," *Philadelphia Architects and Buildings* (Available at:

http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org/pab/app/ar_display.cfm/127005), Access date: 13 December 2013.

²²⁵ Ibid, Peggy McDowell and Richard E. Meyer, *The Revival Styles in American Memorial Art* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1994), 6.

²²⁶ Marion, 118.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Shepley, 185; "A.D. Brown Dies, Was Father of the Shoe Trade Here," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (11 May 1913), A4.

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	an architect at Saint Louis University. At 17 years of age, he began working as a draftsman for George I. Barnett. ²²⁹ Taylor was lead architect for the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair and designed a plethora of commercial buildings, hotels and public buildings. Taylor also designed industrial buildings, including a number of properties for the Hamilton & Brown Shoe Company (associated with Alanson D. Brown, see also Mauran, Russell & Crowell and George I. Barnett). ²³⁰
Louis Henri Sullivan (1856 – 1924)	Sullivan, an architect , designed the Wainwright Tomb at Bellefontaine (NRHP 1970). Sullivan was born in Boston and in 1869, moved with his parents to Chicago. He studied at MIT and in 1879 began working for Dankmar Adler, who made Sullivan a partner the following year. ²³¹ Sullivan's contributions in St. Louis include the tomb at Bellefontaine and the Wainwright Building (completed in 1893), touted as the first modern skyscraper in the nation. Both commissions were completed for Ellis Wainwright, a wealthy St. Louis brewer. Wainwright engaged Sullivan to design the tomb for his wife, who died while the Wainwright Building was under construction. ²³²
George Julian Zolnay (1863 – 1949)	Zolnay was a sculptor who taught at St. Louis' School of Fine Arts (associated with Washington University). He was born in Hungary and immigrated to the United States in 1892. Zolnay studied sculpting in Vienna. In addition to his years in St. Louis, he also resided in Washington, D.C., Chicago and New York. ²³³ Zolnay was especially gifted at sculpting human forms, as evident in the masterpiece he created for politician/businessman David Rowland Francis (1850 – 1927). The figure memorializes Francis' wife, Jane Perry (d. 1925) – a bronze "shrouded woman, head bowed, hands clasped . . . tucked into a stone surround topped by a Celtic cross." ²³⁴ (Figure 27)

Bellefontaine's early success and guided management was met through a combination of efforts from many individuals. However, it was Bellefontaine's first superintendent, Almerin Hotchkiss, who envisioned and created the cemetery's historic landscape. Today, Hotchkiss' contributions are physically demonstrated through the cemetery's roads, plantings, spectacular vistas and placement of nineteenth-century monuments, tombs and funerary icons. Much of Hotchkiss' importance as an early landscape designer has been ignored until recently. Today, his influence is highly regarded not only as a cemetery designer but an American landscape visionary. Though

²²⁹ Starr, 591.

²³⁰ David J. Simmons, "The Architectural Career of Isaac S. Taylor," *The Society of Architectural Historians, Missouri Valley chapter* (Volume 17, No. 4, Winter 2011), 1-9.

²³¹ Carl W. Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875 - 1925* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), 33-37; Louis Sullivan Society, "Sullivan, Louis Henri," *Landmarks Illinois* (Available at: http://www.landmarks.org/sullivan_biography.htm). Access date: 13 December 2013).

²³² M. Patricia Holmes, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory Form: Wainwright Tomb," (1969), Section 8.

²³³ George Julian Zolnay Papers, Archives of American Art, Available at: <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/george-julian-zolnay-papers-13483> (Access date: 13 December 2013).

²³⁴ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *A Journey Through History* (2005), 27.

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Hotchkiss was never as celebrated during his lifetime as his peers, his work is important to the genre of American landscape design.

Bellefontaine's Landscape Design and the Influence of Almerin Hotchkiss

Bellefontaine Cemetery is a premiere example of the influences that early civil engineers and designers played in creating what became the professional field of landscape architecture. Many of America's early planned landscapes were created by individuals trained as engineers and/or gardeners, and rural cemeteries were the forerunners of American public parks.²³⁵ Like most rural cemeteries, Bellefontaine was a park-like attraction for St. Louisans, particularly once streetcars made their way along Florissant Avenue and Bellefontaine Road. Bellefontaine Cemetery preceded St. Louis' earliest parks such as Shaw's Garden (1859), Tower Grove (1867), O'Fallon (1875) and Forest Park (1876).²³⁶

Like Mount Auburn, Green-Wood and Laurel Hill, Bellefontaine's landscape characterized a natural setting with curved drives named for plants and trees (i.e., Magnolia, Linden, Aspen, Rose, etc.). The cemetery in true rural fashion incorporated an early "Tour" of its grounds – a carefully designed visitor's path/drive featuring the cemetery's notable collection of grandiose sculptures, mausoleums and memorials, and was considered no less beautiful or prestigious than its eastern seaboard predecessors.²³⁷ In some ways, Bellefontaine managed to surpass the grandeur of earlier rural cemeteries. The differences were sufficient to tout Bellefontaine as a "more enlarged and liberal plan than any heretofore adopted for a similar purpose in this country."²³⁸

Initially, Bellefontaine adapted Laurel Hill's guidelines regarding monumental art and grave markers in the cemetery, as noted in the cemetery's rules/regulations published in 1855.

It has been the frequent remark of visitors – our own citizens, as well as strangers – that a monotony already begins to be apparent in the style and form of the improvements; obelisk succeeds obelisk, etc., with only slight variations, and if this is continued, we shall see, in time, too dull a uniformity . . . A correct idea, expressed in marble, may be very beautiful so long as it is unique; but by too frequent imitation, and in too close proximity with its original, it may destroy the charm of the first, and ultimately raise feelings in the beholder the reverse of those desired.²³⁹

²³⁵ Potter and Boland, 6.

²³⁶ Joseph M. Shuster, "A Brief History of the Missouri Botanical Garden," *Garden* (Jan-Feb 1983), Online version available at: <http://www.missouribotanicalgarden.org/media/fact-pages/brief-history.aspx> (Access date: 19 December 2013).

²³⁷ Hummel, 10.

²³⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, 1909, p. 31.

²³⁹ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, *Dedication . . . Rules and Regulations* (1851), 43-44.

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Not long after Bellefontaine opened, the landscape-lawn movement, which would soon become the preferred model of cemetery design in America, was beginning to take shape. Attributed to Adolph Strauch, “a landscape gardener” at Cincinnati’s Spring Grove Cemetery (est. 1845), the influence was “revolutionary in that it established a unified picturesque landscape in which a few fine stone monuments and sculptures, framed by trees [provided] memorials to the dead.”²⁴⁰ In 1871, Mrs. Fannie Warner Bicknell, an “editress” from Philadelphia noted Bellefontaine’s lack “of inscriptions on the tombs and gravestones,” a “quaint and curious” difference from the eastern seaboard cemeteries.²⁴¹ The comparison is another indication that Bellefontaine did not exactly replicate its predecessors and had no intention of doing so, even during its early development. No greater influence was made on the site’s landscape design than its first superintendent, a young civil engineer from New York, Almerin Hotchkiss. Hotchkiss arrived in October 1849 and remained at Bellefontaine for 46 years. The cemetery was not Hotchkiss’ sole contribution to American landscape design but it certainly is the preeminent example of his work.²⁴²

Almerin Hotchkiss (1816-1903) worked at Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn and Forest Hills Cemetery in Utica, New York prior to his arrival in St. Louis.²⁴³ Though past suggestions have been that Bellefontaine’s board member James E. Yeatman traveled to New York to engage Hotchkiss’s services, minutes from the cemetery’s board meeting held on 21 August 1849 indicate that Yeatman presented “a communication *from* A. Hotchkiss, Esq.” The board carried a motion “that said Hotchkiss be engaged as engineer to lay out the cemetery grounds . . . and that he receive a salary of one hundred and fifty dollars per month, payable quarterly.” The minutes further state that Yeatman was “instructed to notify Mr. Hotchkiss of his appointment, and to request him to commence the work as soon as practicable.”²⁴⁴ The following day, Yeatman sent a telegram to Hotchkiss in Utica, informing him of his new position and salary.²⁴⁵ These sources infer that it may have been Hotchkiss who contacted Yeatman about the position at Bellefontaine, rather than the other way around. Regardless, Hotchkiss arrived about two months following the board’s approval.

Little is known about Hotchkiss’ early life. To date, no records have been recovered that document his educational background, and only in recent years has Hotchkiss received attributions for his work outside of Green-Wood and Bellefontaine. Past assumptions have been that Hotchkiss worked with Frederick Law Olmstead, Calvin Vaux, Richard P. Upjohn, and

²⁴⁰ Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karson (eds), *Pioneers of American Landscape Design* (New York: McGraw-Hill), 385.

²⁴¹ Fannie Warner Bicknell, “The Rural Cemeteries of St. Louis,” *St. Louis Ladies’ Magazine* (October, 1871), 336.

²⁴² Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, Board Minutes, 12 November 1849, p. 20.

²⁴³ Shepley, 349.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 21 August 1849, p. 17.

²⁴⁵ J.E. Yeatman to Almerin Hotchkiss, Telegram (22 August 1849), *The New York, Albany and Buffalo Telegraph Office*.

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Henry Shaw – though there is nothing to support strong connections with any of these men. What has been verified is that Hotchkiss designed an early planned residential community, Lake Forest, Illinois. Some historians suggest that Olmstead/Vaux turned down the assignment and recommended Hotchkiss to Lake Forest’s organizers, but this assumption has yet to be verified through existing documentation.²⁴⁶ Hotchkiss’ plan for Lake Forest was drafted in 1856-57 (while employed at Bellefontaine), over a decade earlier than Olmstead’s plan for Riverside, Illinois, dated 1869. Based on the maps for Lake Forest and Riverside (**Figures 28 and 29**), it may well be that Hotchkiss’ Lake Forest Plan is the earliest planned suburb in America.²⁴⁷

A year before he designed Lake Forest, Hotchkiss planned another rural cemetery in Rock Island, Illinois – Chippianook (NRHP, 1994). Other than these two ventures (Lake Forest and Chippianook), Hotchkiss appears to have worked only at Bellefontaine after 1849. His salary was certainly generous at \$150 per month (increased to \$200 per month after the Civil War) and there would have been no need for him to supplement his earnings by taking on other jobs. There are also indications that Hotchkiss was never fully paid for his work at Lake Forest, which may have discouraged him from accepting future offers to work outside of St. Louis.²⁴⁸ Claims that Hotchkiss worked with Richard P. Upjohn at Green-Wood Cemetery are unfounded. Upjohn began working at Green-Wood in 1859 or 1860, by which time Hotchkiss had been at Bellefontaine for at least ten years.²⁴⁹ Hotchkiss left Green-Wood in time to lay out Utica’s Forest Hill Cemetery in 1848, confirmed by Yeatman’s telegram informing Hotchkiss of his appointment in St. Louis.²⁵⁰

Hotchkiss’ work at Green-Wood is important and laid the foundation for what followed in his years at Bellefontaine. At Green-Wood, Hotchkiss was employed as a surveyor on two occasions. The first was August 22, 1840 through March 22, 1841; the second was May 9, 1842 through March 9, 1846.²⁵¹ Hotchkiss has been credited as working with David Bates Douglass and

²⁴⁶ A.H.G. (name not spelled out in article), “Lake Forest, The Beautiful Suburb of Chicago,” *House and Garden* (Vol. V, June 1904), 266. Of note, most early histories of Lake Forest attribute Lake Forest’s design to Jeb Hotchkiss – a well known civil engineer/mapmaker also from New York. Michael H. Ebner’s *Creating Chicago’s North Shore* (1988) refutes much of the conjecture surrounding Hotchkiss as noted in Appendix 2: “Who Did, and Didn’t, Design Lake Forest?” Ebner’s information concerning Hotchkiss comes largely from unpublished works of architectural historian Margot Gayle (1908-2008), whose collection is housed at the University of Maryland.

²⁴⁷ Riverside Community website, <http://riverside-illinois.com/History.htm> and National Park Service, NHL survey – Illinois, <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/designations/Lists/IL01.pdf> (Access date: 18 November 2013).

²⁴⁸ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, “Day Books;” Arthur H. Miller, “Biography of Almerin Hotchkiss 1816 – 1903,” *Shaping the American Landscape: New Profiles from the Pioneers of American Landscape Design Project* (Charles A. Birnbaum & Stephanie S. Foell, eds), Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press (2009), 144.

²⁴⁹ Edward W. Wolner, *Henry Ives Cobb’s Chicago: Architecture, Institutions, and the Making of a Modern Metropolis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 122.

²⁵⁰ Forest Hill Cemetery, Utica, New York, “History” Available at: http://www.foresthillcemetery.org/index_files/history.htm (Access date: 12 December 2013).

²⁵¹ Nehemiah Cleaveland, *Green-Wood Cemetery: A History of the Institution from 1838 to 1864* (New York: Anderson & Archer, 1866), 194.

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Zebediah Cook, Jr. at Green-Wood. Both men served on the cemetery's board and both played major roles in shaping Green-Wood's landscape plan. Douglass was at Green-Wood from November 1838 through January 1841 when he resigned to accept a position as President of Kenyon College (Ohio).²⁵² In his own words, Douglass felt his work at Green-Wood was "finished" but required "much greater labor than I supposed when I commenced it."²⁵³ Cook arrived at Greenwood about a year later than Douglass (in 1839) to fill a board position when an original board member (D. Embury) resigned.²⁵⁴ Cook was a "prosperous businessman" but more importantly, he was one of Mount Auburn's founders and Secretary of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.²⁵⁵ These formative relationships in Hotchkiss' early career well supplied him with the credentials Bellefontaine's developers sought for St. Louis. Not only had Hotchkiss worked on the plans for the nation's largest rural cemetery (Green-Wood), he had also worked with one of the founders of the nation's first rural cemetery, Mount Auburn.

Soon after Hotchkiss settled in St. Louis, he married Martha A. Moore (1826 – 1902). Hotchkiss is identified in census records as an engineer, born in New York. Both of his parents were born in Connecticut. Martha and her parents were from Kentucky. The couple married in 1851 and had one son, Frank, who succeeded his father at Bellefontaine as the cemetery's second superintendent. Almerin and Martha also had a daughter, Mary, who married Robert G. Jordan (born in Pennsylvania). The Jordans had two sons, Robert and Frank.²⁵⁶ Notice of Hotchkiss's demise in the board association's minutes dated February 15, 1903 provides a brief glimpse of how well he was regarded not only by his peers, but his employers.

During his exceptional service he [Hotchkiss] gave his skill as a civil engineer in laying out the grounds and his taste in beautifying them. He was a survival of the old time gentleman with old time grace, public and courteous manners and at eighty-six was as punctilious and precise as he was, no doubt, in his earlier years before he was so well known to the older members of this Board.²⁵⁷

Almerin Hotchkiss' merits as a landscape professional were never fully recognized during or even after his lifetime. Today, Bellefontaine Cemetery provides the most complete record of his

²⁵² Cleaveland, 192; Charles B. Stuart, *Lives and Works of Civil and Military Engineers of America* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1871), 215.

²⁵³ Stuart, 215.

²⁵⁴ Cleaveland, 192; [Green-Wood Cemetery], *Exposition of the Plan and Objects of the Green-Wood Cemetery* (New York: [Self-published], 1839), 5.

²⁵⁵ Massachusetts Horticultural Society, *Transactions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society for the Year 1899* (Boston: Self-published, 1899), 175.

²⁵⁶ United State Census, 1880; Missouri Marriages for St. Louis County, 1851, p. 216. Records available online through Ancestry.com; St. Louis Public Library, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch Obituary Search* (Available at: <http://www.slpl.org/slpl/gateways/article240117800.asp> (Access date: 12 December 2013).

²⁵⁷ Bellefontaine Cemetery Association Board Minutes, 15 February 1903, p. 101.

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contributions to the field of landscape architecture and as such, he is an important component of the property's significance in relation to Criterion C (landscape design/architecture).

Conclusion

Bellefontaine Cemetery is **nationally significant** for its **landscape architecture (Criterion C)** as a unique hybrid of the rural and landscape-lawn cemetery movements. Designed by Almerin Hotchkiss, whose background and training were in the early rural cemetery movement, much of the area containing Bellefontaine's older burials reflects this influence. However, there is also much at Bellefontaine that demonstrates the landscape-lawn cemetery movement (which became popular in the United States during the mid-to-late nineteenth-century). Hotchkiss' planned road network, many original plantings (some on the site when purchased and retained by Hotchkiss), graded and built-up land features, man-made lakes and the site's numerous burials, tombs, buildings, fences, gates, and funerary artwork comprise the historic landscape. Most of these features are contributing features of the property (described in Section 7). The cemetery's **period of significance, 1849 – 1940**, extends from Bellefontaine's year of incorporation through the time that the cemetery entered its final stage of physical development.

Bellefontaine was established at the cusp of St. Louis' rapid progression to becoming the nation's fourth largest city. The cemetery provided individuals who lived and settled in the west opportunities and access to burial options equivalent to, or better than, those offered in the northeastern United States. Bellefontaine was, in fact, the only rural cemetery in the western territorial vicinity when it incorporated in 1849. Missouri had been formed as a state less than three decades earlier and the number of people heading through St. Louis was remarkable – many stayed and many did not. Many persons buried at Bellefontaine did not live in the region when they died, yet it had been their (or their family's wish) to have their bodies interred at this western cemetery that flaunted national attention – even from individuals who had access to the nation's oldest and most prestigious rural cemeteries in the northeast.

By 1849, there were a number of rural cemeteries in the United States. Most were in the northeastern states (Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania); a few were in southern and Midwestern states (Ohio, Kentucky, Wisconsin and Virginia). On the heels of Bellefontaine came more northeastern rural cemeteries (Buffalo – Forest Lawn, Boston – Woodland, Brooklyn – Evergreen) and Memphis' Elmwood Cemetery. Chicago established its first large rural cemetery, Rosehill in 1859 and Detroit's Woodmere was formed in 1869. Many more cemeteries claimed rural origins but Bellefontaine was the furthest west and for that reason, it captured the interest and use of many men and women who were involved in settlement and exploration. Another rural cemetery opened in St. Louis in 1854, literally next door to Bellefontaine, Calvary Cemetery. All that separates these two parcels today is Calvary Avenue, which serves as Bellefontaine's northern boundary.

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There are differences between Bellefontaine and Calvary. The latter is a Catholic cemetery, which opened when the city's older Catholic cemeteries became crowded and a new site was necessary. Calvary features prominent burials (like Bellefontaine) and a grand collection of funerary art but in 1951, Calvary undertook a massive clean-up campaign that eradicated more than 1,000 early burials and stones. The "beautification" campaign that the archdiocese undertook in 1951 damaged the integrity of the cemetery.²⁵⁸ In contrast, Bellefontaine has always conducted a careful management style and in this regard, the cemetery was also cutting edge. The property was established as a not-for-profit corporate entity and operated as a professional business. In 1849, such activities were not common in cemeteries. Mount Auburn and Spring Grove were both started by Horticultural Societies and cared for in much the same way as a recreational park or garden. Green-Wood was set up as a for-profit joint-stock corporation in 1838 and in 1839 was modified as a public trust.²⁵⁹ Bellefontaine's model was different in that it was never set up as a for-profit entity (like Green-Wood) nor was it modeled to serve as a public recreational or tourist attraction (as Mount Auburn).

Adolph Strauch's model for Spring Grove's restructuring in 1855 is credited as the progenitor of the landscape-lawn movement that by 1900 usurped the rural cemetery model's popularity. Even so, he did not view his techniques as anything but reinforcement of what true rural cemeteries should accomplish. Strauch "argued that cemeteries should not resemble 'pleasure grounds' or double as recreational pursuits."²⁶⁰ Bellefontaine's landscape and management staff agreed with this view, as demonstrated in the cemetery's rules and board minutes. J.B. Gazzam (1833-1909), who arrived to Bellefontaine in 1895, was one of the cemetery's biggest promoters of the landscape-lawn movement. He organized removal of most of the cemetery's lot enclosures, corresponded regularly with other cemeteries including Spring Grove concerning such matters, and worked closely with the board to revise the cemetery's rules and regulations. More than any other individual employed at Bellefontaine during the period of significance, Gazzam moved the cemetery forward in its pursuits to achieve national standards of cemetery professionalism initiated (though never aggressively pursued) by Hotchkiss and the cemetery's first Secretary, William McPherson.

Rural cemeteries were "superficially . . . one of the most open and democratic institutions in antebellum America."²⁶¹ Most were established with the ideal that all persons, regardless of socio-economic status, religion and ethnicity could be buried in the cemetery. In relation to the latter item, ethnicity, Bellefontaine also parted ways with eastern rural cemeteries. As noted

²⁵⁸ "1,000 Gravestones with Old Names Removed from Calvary Cemetery," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (5 August 1951).

²⁵⁹ Green-Wood Cemetery, 1839, 4-5.

²⁶⁰ Blanche Linden-Ward, "Cemeteries," *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places* (William H. Tischler, ed, Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1989), 122.

²⁶¹ Sloane, 83.

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previously, Bellefontaine's board passed a measure in 1854 preventing the burial of blacks except for slaves who were buried in their owners' lots. In relation to the cemetery's location and regional attitudes, Bellefontaine's decision was not unusual. Many Midwestern and most southern cemeteries practiced burial segregation – African-American cemeteries themselves often segregated between free and slave interments. Bellefontaine's decision in the matter was a product of its time and its location. The Missouri Compromise allowed Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state in 1820 and Bellefontaine's board decision – whether prompted by Meachum's burial or not – was unanimous. In contrast, many of New York's rural cemeteries were established by "individuals who . . . supported the end of slavery" and northeastern cemeteries were for the most part open to "every class, and every complexion in society."²⁶²

Bellefontaine is more than an excellent example of an early rural cemetery in Missouri. Its differences set it apart from the cemeteries that have been designated as National Historic Landmarks – namely, its association with national western expansion, unique landscape design incorporating both rural and landscape-lawn elements, superlative collection of monuments and tombs, and early adaptation of cutting edge professional practices. All of these elements produced what was and remains a truly remarkable American cemetery landscape.

²⁶² Sloane, 83.

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Name of Property
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Verbal Boundary Description

Bellefontaine Cemetery is bounded by its original parcel definitions, with exception of modern road improvements made after 1865. The boundaries are Broadway (east), Calvary Avenue (north), Florissant Avenue (west) and Morin Avenue/railroad tracks/Interstate-70 (south).

Verbal Boundary Justification

Bellefontaine Cemetery's boundary encompasses all property obtained by 1865 that was not lost to eminent domain for public improvements.

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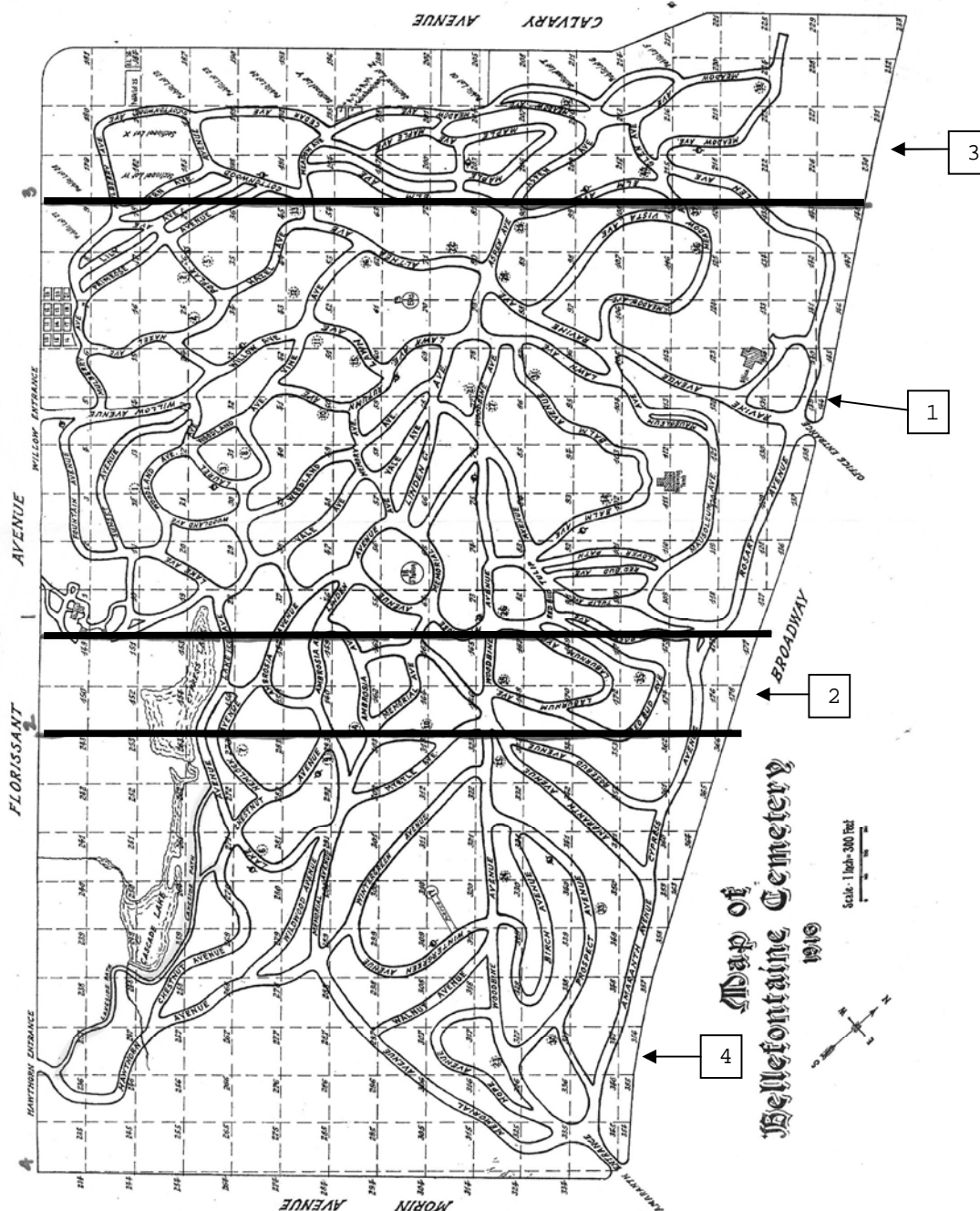


Figure 1. Approximation of property acquisitions for Bellefontaine Cemetery are as follows: Section #1 = 138 acres, 1849; Section #2 = 28 acres, 1849; Section #3 = 59 acres, 1853; and Section #4 = 111 acres, 1865.

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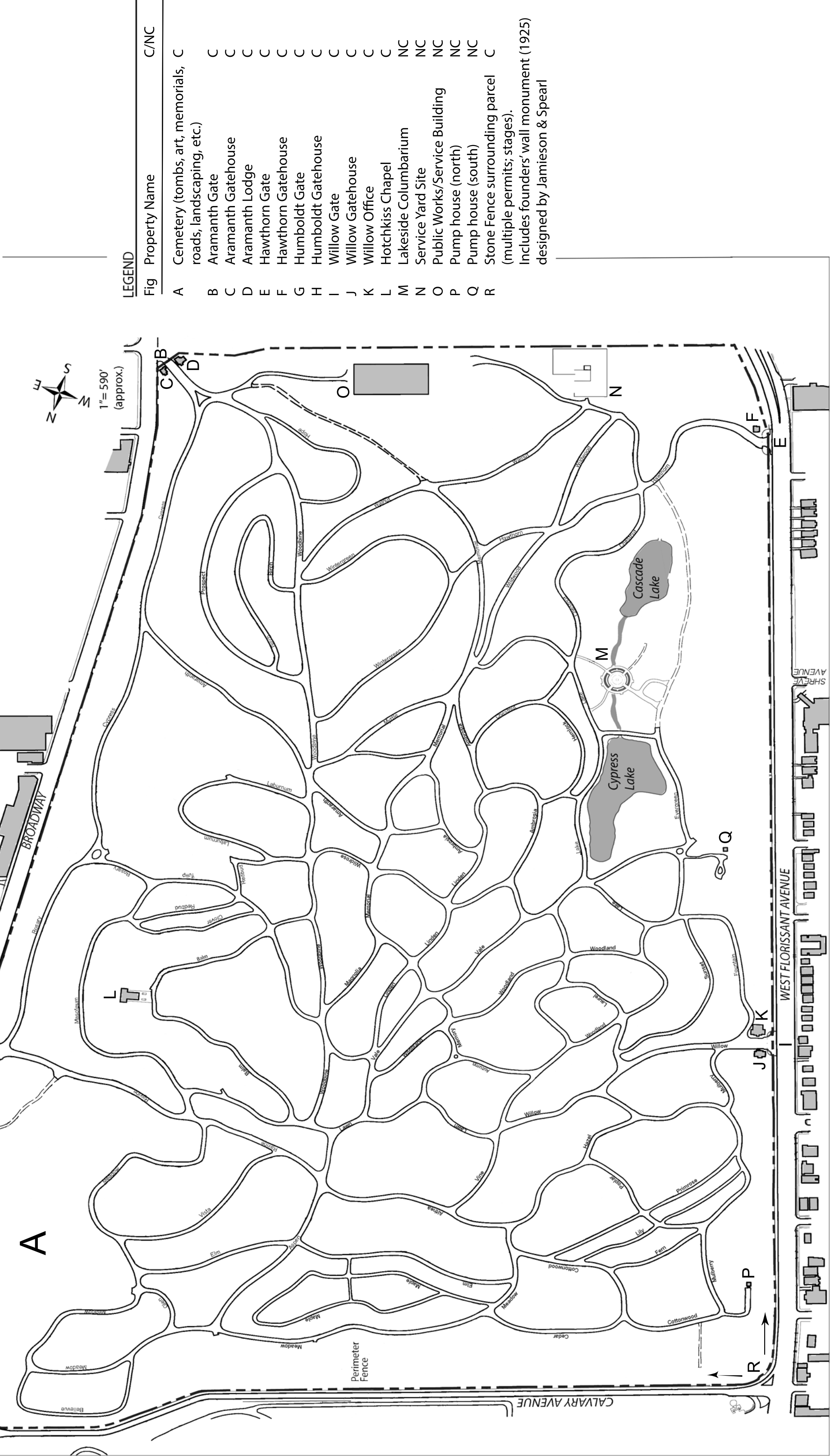
Figure 2. Contributing and Non-contributing Resources, Bellefontaine Cemetery (attachment)

Figure 3. Prominent Burials, Bellefontaine Cemetery (attachment)

Bellefontaine Cemetery

Fig. 2: List of Contributing/

Non-Contributing Properties

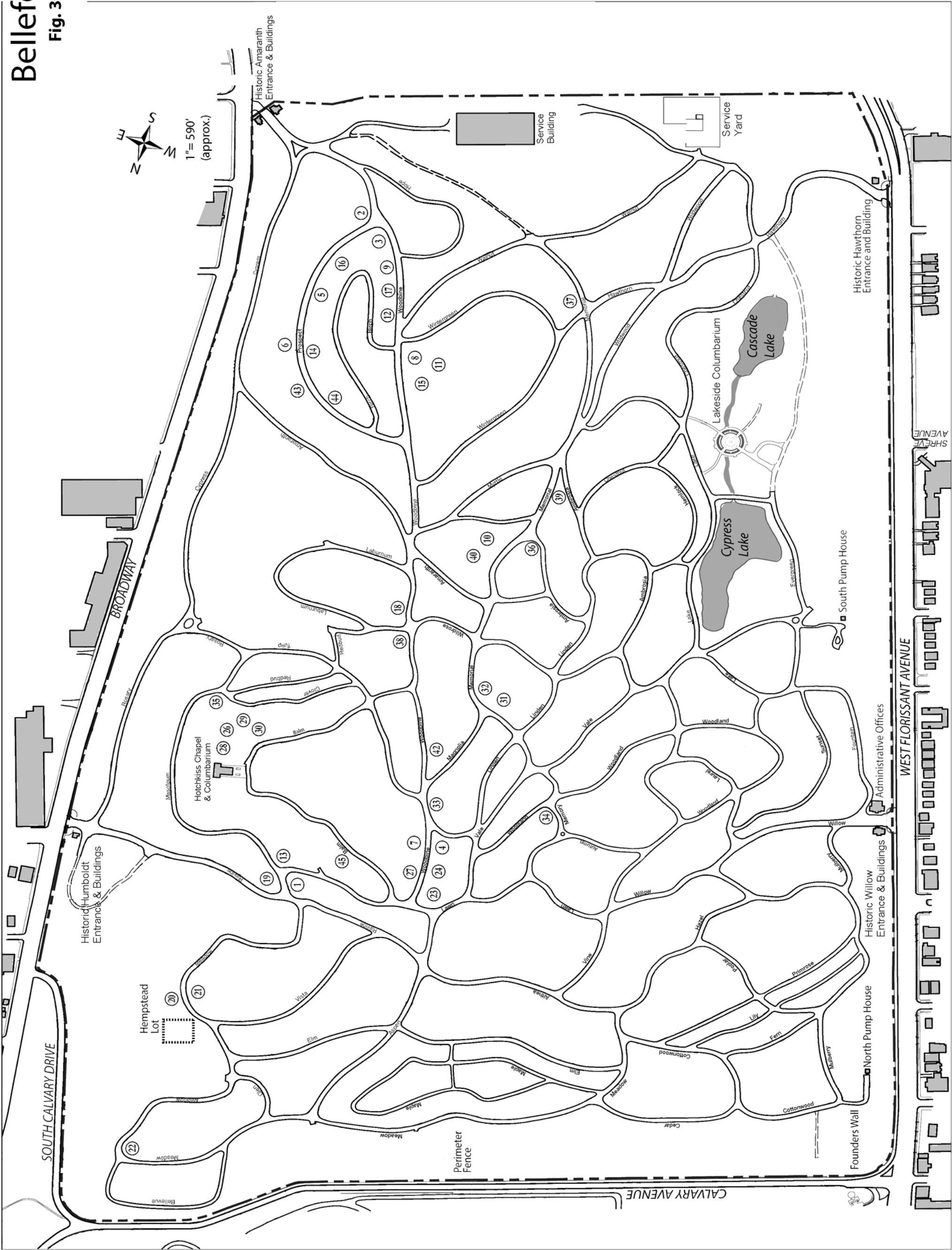


Bellefontaine Cemetery

Fig. 3: Examples of Noteworthy Mausolea, Memorials and Funerary Art

LEGEND

Fig	Associated Burial/Related Significance
1	Dr. D.S. Brock
2	Alanson Brown
3	George Warren Brown
4	Adolphus Busch
5	Samuel Cupples
6	Lemp Family
7	John E. Liggett
8	Edward Mallinckrodt
9	John Milliken
10	John J. Mitchell
11	Henry Clay Pierce
12	Frank R. Tate
13	George R. Taylor
14	Ellis Wainwright
15	James Louis Westlake
16	William Bixby
17	Spink Family
18	James Henry McLean
19	Brig. Gen. Richard B. Mason
20	Manuel Lisa
21	Wayman Crow
22	Gen. William Clark
23	Sol Smith
24	Henry T. Blow
25	Anne C. T. Farrar
26	Kate Brewington Bennett
27	Capt. Isaiah Sellers
28	Gov. John Miller
29	Rev. Alexander Van Court
30	Samuel Gaty
31	Col. John O'Fallon
32	Henry M. Shreve
33	Maude Sheble Judge
34	James B. Eads
35	Mrs. William Morrison
36	Anton Griesedieck
37	Herman C. Luyties
38	Charles Henry Peck
39	Chris von der Ahe
40	Bagnell Brothers
41	Semple-Ames Family
42	David Rowland Francis
43	Sidney Roland Francis
44	Hamilton Rowland Gamble



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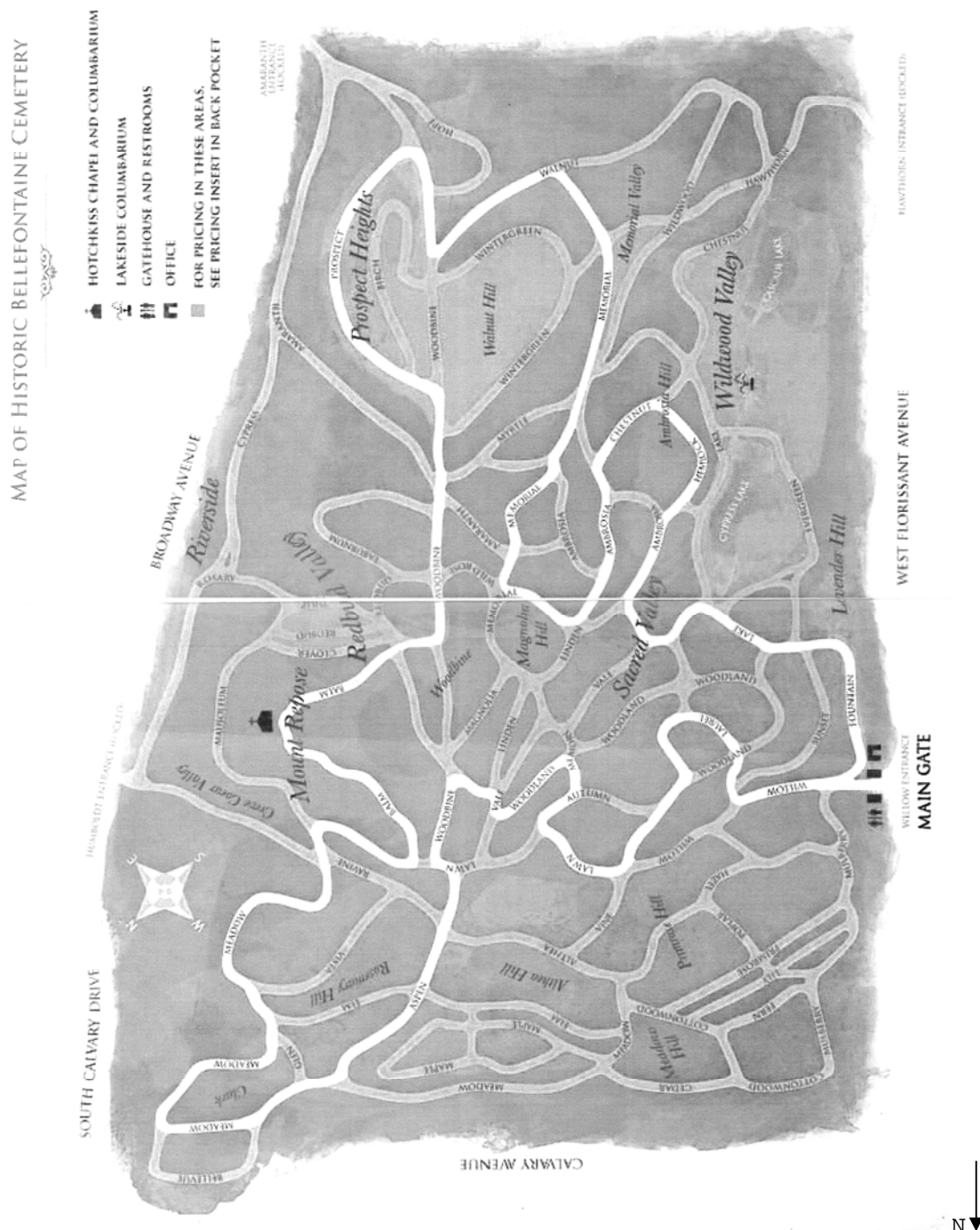


Figure 4. Map illustrating current parcel layout of Bellefontaine Cemetery. Not to scale. Available at cemetery's website: <http://bellefontainecemetery.org/history/resources/> (Access date: 3 January 2014).

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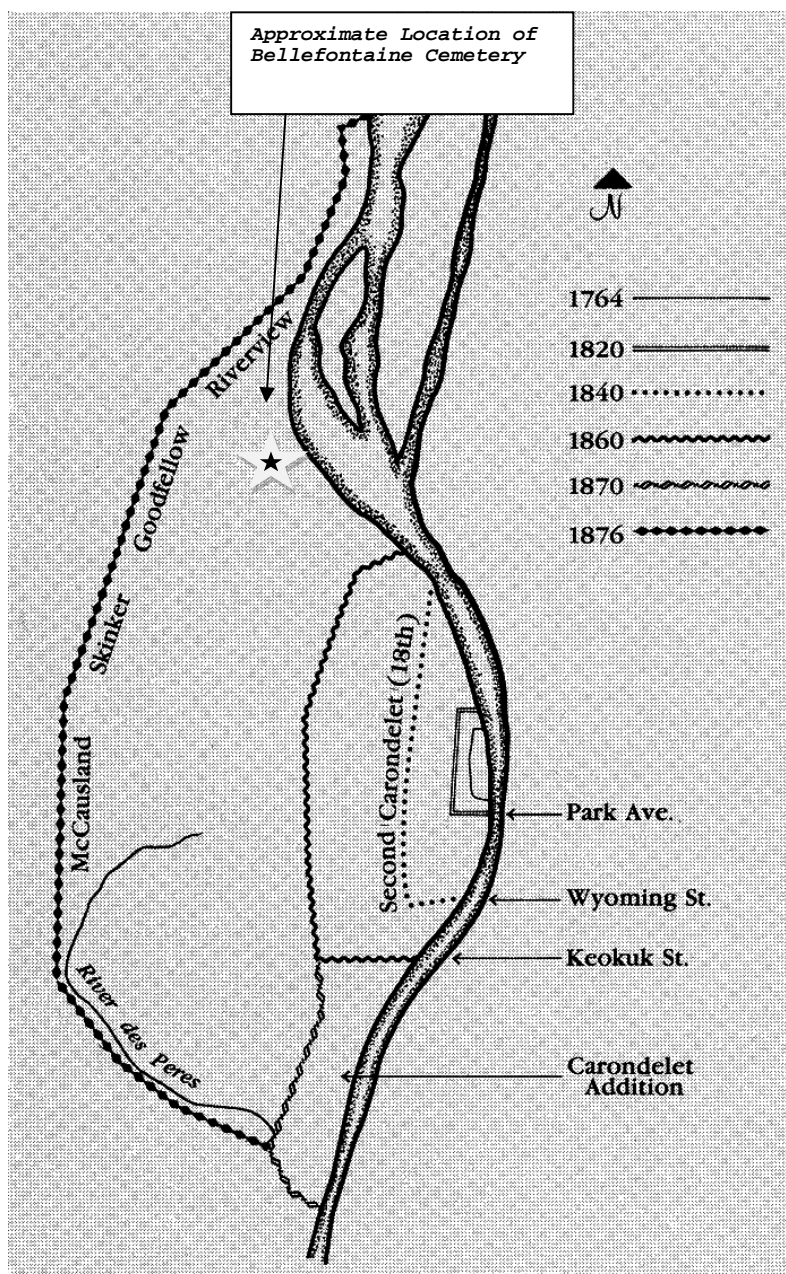


Figure 5. Map illustrating the city limits of St. Louis, 1764 – 1876.

Image available at: <http://cb12.raimistdesign.com/2012/10/29/413/> (Access date, 22 October 2013).

Scale is approximate: 1" = 3.5'

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Bellefontaine Cemetery & St. Louis' City Limits, 1868



Figure 6. Julius Pitzman's Map of St. Louis, 1868. Note John O'Fallon's parcel abutting the cemetery to the east. A portion of this area would later be incorporated into the cemetery's boundaries. Scale is approximate: 1" = 2.5'

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Figure 7. Map of Bellefontaine Cemetery, 1850, illustrates the original 138-acre parcel (Image courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association, map illustrator was F. W. von Egloffstein). This is the earliest known map of the cemetery grounds.

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Figure 8. Former Keeper's Cottage/Lodge (not extant), Bellefontaine Cemetery, date unknown. Courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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Figure 9. Hempstead lot in the late 1930s. Photo courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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Figure 10. Aramanth Gate on Bellefontaine Road opened in 1878. Photo date is unknown, courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association. Though the clock capping the building on the right has been removed, the remainder of this entry appears today much as it does in the photograph above.

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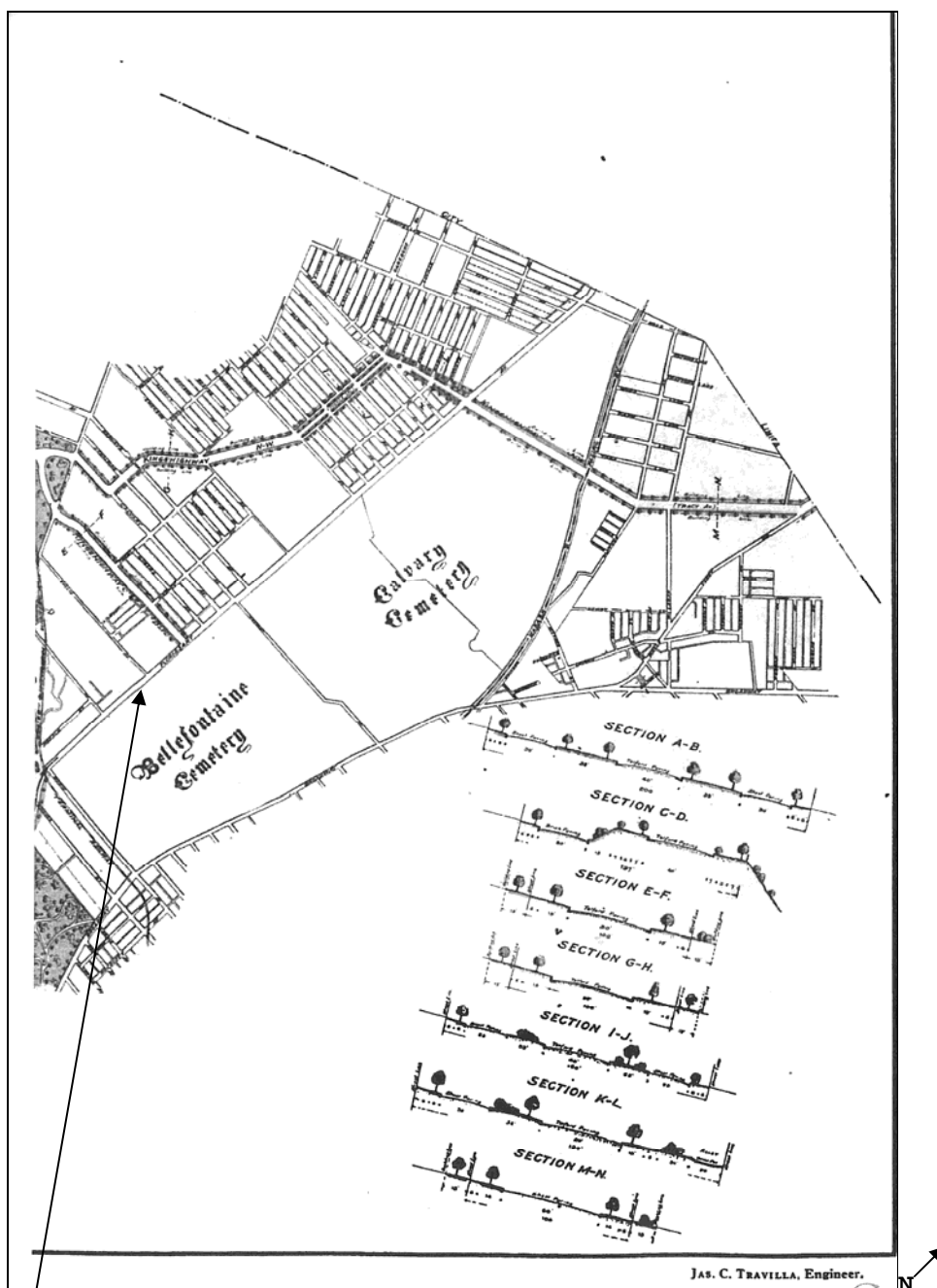


Figure 11. Kingshighway was an important north/south connector for streetcars and automobiles. This sketch shows sections of the highway when the route was being improved as a divided boulevard and widened from 100 to 164 feet. Note the terminus at Florissant Road near the cemetery's Willow Gate entrance (Source: The Civic League of Saint Louis, *A City Plan for St. Louis*, 1907, p. 56).

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Figure 12. An early view of Bellefontaine from Broadway (date unknown). Unlike the “Tour” section of the cemetery, this area was developed much later for burials and demonstrates the portion of the landscape that was used agriculturally. (Photo Courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association).

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Figure 13. Unidentified gate/entry at Bellefontaine, possibly constructed c. 1906 (per building permits). Note the sign by the gate house, which states "Automobiles & Bicycles Not Admitted." Photo courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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Figure 14. Photo by Emil Boehl of Willow Gate / Entrance, 1899. Photo courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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Figure 15. Photo by Emil Boehl of Wainwright Tomb, 1899. Photo courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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Figure 16. Hotchkiss Chapel (named in honor of first superintendent, Almerin Hotchkiss) was designed by Eames & Young in 1902 and completed in 1909. Photo dated late 1930s, courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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Figure 17. Founders Wall and Gate near the intersection of Florissant and Calvary Avenues. Photo from the late 1930s courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association (W.C. Persons, photographer).

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Figure 18. Willow gate, fence and administration buildings designed by Jamieson & Spearl. Photo late 1930s, courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association (W.C. Persons, photographer).

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Figure 19. View of Bellefontaine, early 1900s. The cemetery was established at the height of the rural cemetery movement and just prior to the landscape-lawn movement. Today, both influences are evident in the cemetery's landscape design and collection of monumental art. (Photo Courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association).

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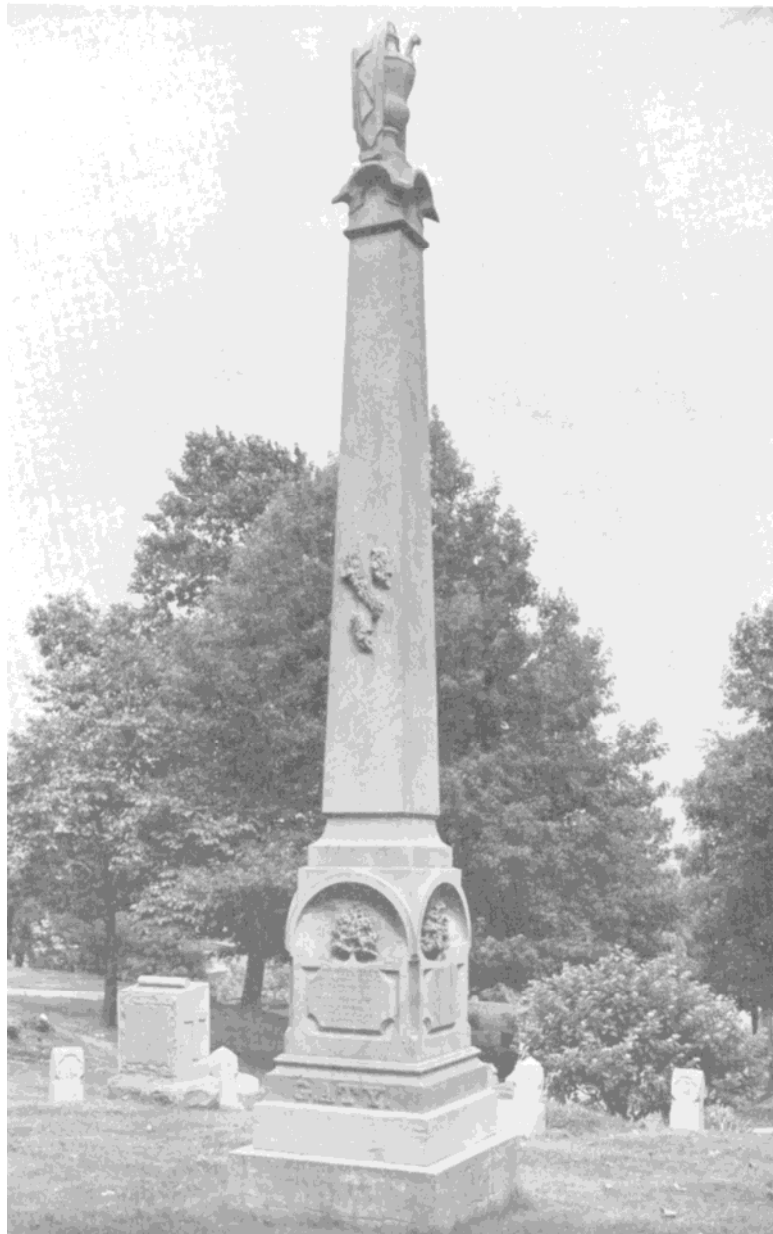


Figure 20. Gaty Memorial, c. 1930. Copy of photo available at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc., (Bellefontaine Cemetery Photo Collection).

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Figure 21. Memorial for Kate Brewington Bennett. c. 1930. Copy of photo available at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. (Bellefontaine Cemetery Photo Collection).

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Figure 22. Mausoleum row includes the Tate Tomb (foreground). The photo dates to the late 1930s, courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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Figure 23. John Albury Bryan at Bellefontaine Cemetery, 1933. Tombs are George I. Barnett's designs for Brock (foreground) and Taylor (rear). Arteaga Photo Studios. Available at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. (Bellefontaine Cemetery Photo Collection).

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Figure 24. O'Fallon Monument designed by George I. Barnett. Photo c. 1933, Arteaga Studios, St. Louis. Available at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. (Bellefontaine Cemetery Photo Collection). The monument was produced by Hinsdale-Doyle Granite Company of New York.

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Figure 25. Tomb for Mary Augusta Bissell Morrison, designed by Robert E. Launitz. Photo c. 1930. Copy available at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. (Bellefontaine Cemetery Photo Collection).

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Figure 26. Richard B. Mason memorial is attributed to John Struthers of Philadelphia. Photo c. 1930, available at Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. (Bellefontaine Cemetery Photo Collection). Photograph by Stuart C. Mahanay, Webster Groves, MO.

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Figure 27. Zolnay's sculpture at Bellefontaine Cemetery memorializes Jane Perry Francis. Photo c. 1965, courtesy of Bellefontaine Cemetery Association.

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n/a

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

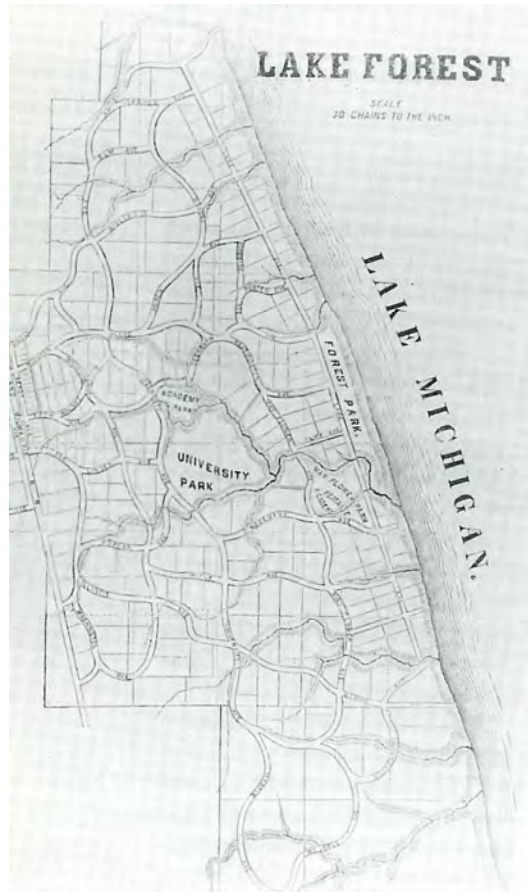


Figure 28. Map of Lake Forest (1857). Original image at Lake Forest Library (Illinois). The above copy is from Michael H. Ebner's *Chicago's North Shore: A Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 28. Ebner credits historic preservationist Margot Gayle (1908 – 2008) as the first person to correctly identify Hotchkiss as Lake Forest's landscape designer.

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Bellefontaine Cemetery

Name of Property

St. Louis (Independent City), MO

County and State

n/a

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

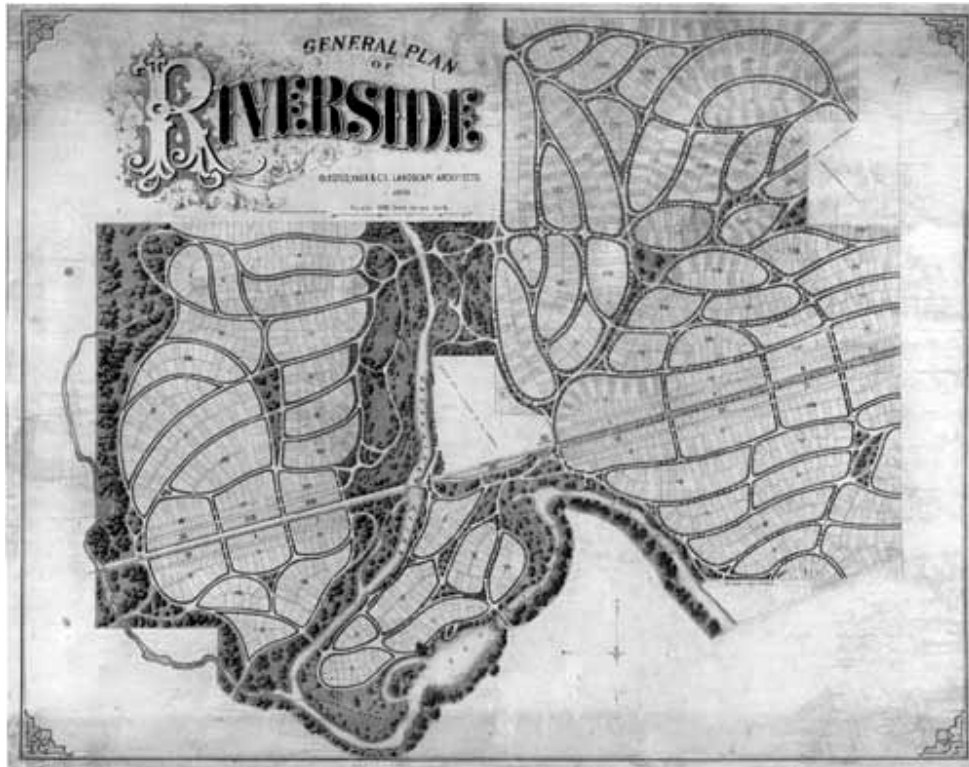


Figure 29. Map of Riverside, "Frederick Law Olmsted Society of Riverside," *Landscape Online.com*. Available at: <http://landscapeonline.com/research/article.php?id=4090> (Access date: 13 December 2013). The associated website displaying the above image credits the map as "created in 1829" and "unveiled" in 1868; however, the map itself is dated as 1869, Olmsted and Vaux.



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