NPS Form 10-900
(3-82)

OMB No. 1024-0018
Expires 10-31-87

**United States Department of the Interior**
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only
received
date entered

See instructions in *How to Complete National Register Forms*
Type all entries—complete applicable sections

## 1. Name

historic Caledonia Historic District

and/or common

## 2. Location

street & number ____ not for publication

city, town Caledonia ____ vicinity of

state Missouri code 29 county Washington code 221

## 3. Classification

| Category | Ownership | Status | Present Use | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| _x_ district | ____ public | _x_ occupied | ____ agriculture | ____ museum |
| ____ building(s) | _x_ private | _x_ unoccupied | _x_ commercial | ____ park |
| ____ structure | _x_ both | ____ work in progress | _x_ educational | _x_ private residence |
| ____ site | **Public Acquisition** | **Accessible** | ____ entertainment | _x_ religious |
| ____ object | ____ in process | _x_ yes: restricted | ____ government | ____ scientific |
| | ____ being considered | ____ yes: unrestricted | ____ industrial | ____ transportation |
| | _x_ N/A | ____ no | ____ military | ____ other: |

## 4. Owner of Property

name Multiple ownership (see continuation sheets)

street & number

city, town ____ vicinity of state

## 5. Location of Legal Description

courthouse, registry of deeds, etc. Office of Recorder of Washington County

street & number County Courthouse

city, town Potosi state Missouri

## 6. Representation in Existing Surveys

title Missouri State Historic Survey has this property been determined eligible? ____ yes _x_ no

date 1978-1984 ____ federal _x_ state ____ county ____ local

depository for survey records Missouri Department of Natural Resources
P. O. Box 176

city, town Jefferson City state Missouri 65102

# 7. Description

| Condition | | Check one | Check one |
|---|---|---|---|
| __x excellent | __x deteriorated | ___ unaltered | __x original site |
| __x good | ___ ruins | __x altered | ___ moved date ___ |
| __x fair | ___ unexposed | | |

**Describe the present and original (if known) physical appearance**

The Caledonia Historic District comprises 26 acres and includes thirty-seven lots of the original 1818 town, one-half of another, and two small adjoining plots of land. Thirty-three contributing structures are divided among the following types: twenty-one dwellings, two churches, one lodge hall, one school, and eight commercial and craft buildings. Five are brick, nineteen are frame, seven are concrete block, one is log, and one is stone. Nine are antebellum, twelve were built between the Civil War and a major fire of 1909, and twelve were built subsequently. Most are in good to excellent condition. Although the district represents a unified sense of a place and time, due to the topography two streetscapes dominate the district: the Main Street area and the College Street area. They reveal the major buildings, building arrangement and density, setbacks, yards, walks, grades, retaining walls, old easements, and even landscaping that have been developed in the town over more than a century. Types and styles of design in the dwellings range from folk vernacular in log and frame plank through "I" houses to Greek Revival. One pattern-book Prairie Style exists, but no bungalow. The commercial buildings are predominantly of cast iron post-and-lintel facades walled in concrete block. One church is a well-crafted brick vernacular design skillfully embodying elements of Gothic and Classic Revival detailing; the other is a turn-of-the-century "town" design in concrete block. The school is a Colonial Revival design noteworthy for its construction material: the local St. Francois Mountain porphyry.

The body of the Section 7 text is contained upon 32 pages of enclosed continuation sheets. Included also are ten building plans, eleven maps, and 114 photographs.

# 8. Significance

| Period | Areas of Significance—Check and justify below | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ___ prehistoric | ___ archeology-prehistoric | ___ community planning | ___ landscape architecture | _X_ religion | |
| ___ 1400–1499 | ___ archeology-historic | ___ conservation | ___ law | ___ science | |
| ___ 1500–1599 | _X_ agriculture | ___ economics | ___ literature | ___ sculpture | |
| ___ 1600–1699 | _X_ architecture | _X_ education | ___ military | ___ social/ humanitarian | |
| _X_ 1700–1799 | ___ art | ___ engineering | ___ music | ___ theater | |
| _X_ 1800–1899 | ___ commerce | _X_ exploration/settlement | ___ philosophy | ___ transportation | |
| _X_ 1900– | ___ communications | ___ industry | ___ politics/government | _X_ other (specify) | |
| | | ___ invention | | Ozarks rural-villag | |

**Specific dates** 1816-1936 **Builder/Architect** Various socio-economy

**Statement of Significance (in one paragraph)**

Caledonia Historic District is significant under criteria A, B, and C, to wit: A) the district represents the principal streetscapes of the original village, which was, for more than a century, the center of the surrounding Bellevue Valley of the St. Francois Mountains in the Missouri Ozarks. The Bellevue was site of the earliest (1798) interior agricultural settlement of Americans in Spanish Upper Louisiana. The settlers were "high" Scotch-Irish from the westernmost Carolina Piedmont, the Valley of Virginia, and the more elevated valleys of the upper Tennessee watershed. A relatively cultivated class of clan-related persons, they were early inclined to "progressive" values: property ownership and accumulation, organized religion, education, village life, and other incipient middle class goals. These respectable yeomen-cum-bourgeois founded the first Presbyterian church and one of the first Methodist churches west of the Mississippi as well as the oldest Masonic lodge continuously organized in Missouri (churches and lodge are contributing historic structures). The history of Caledonia and the Bellevue constitutes a case study of a particular type of Protestant Scotch-Irish socio-economy and culture planted in the relatively isolated Ozarks region. It was an historic rural type of persons, working out their idea of what "town" should be in the matrix of a modernizing nineteenth century. Caledonia became and remains an extraordinary Ozarks town. Modernity has, in the end, effected far less change than has been the case in most towns of the region; and the visitor's attention is forcibly drawn to nineteenth century streetscapes and fine old buildings, so striking and so extraordinary in their isolated Ozarks locale. Land and life have, in Caledonia, been interwoven to create a unique sense of historic place. B) Caledonia is significant for its association with the life of Willard Duncan Vandiver, president of Bellevue Collegiate Institute, 1880-1889. Vandiver was a prominent educator, Congressman, and politician, famous for authoring the phrase, "I'm from Missouri. You'll have to show me." C) The architectural significance proceeds primarily from the survival of the historic cultural landscape itself, possessing extraordinary integrity, and representing styles, types, materials, and building techniques from virtually every generation of the town's history. Patterning of structures within the town plan is such as to yield a very low building density in conformance to the original intention of that plan. The result is a distinctive kind of rural village ambience appropriate for the builders, so many of whom were primarily agrarian in their properties and pursuits. Many individual structures and ensembles of structures possess considerable significance, particularly in their portrayal of a prolonged preference for Renaissance-derived and Classic Revival vernacular styles. It is the cultural landscape created by and for a discrete and significant society.

(The body of Section 8 text is contained in the enclosed continuation sheets, under the following divisions: A) Introduction; Ozarks Land: The Bellevue Valley as a Place; Louisiana Frontier, 1798-1820; Manifest Destiny; Yeoman and Bourgeois, 1820-1860; Righteous Empire; B), C), and Notes.)

# 9. Major Bibliographical References

The bibliography is contained entirely upon eight pages of continuation sheets.

# 10. Geographical Data

**Acreage of nominated property** Approximately 26 acres

**Quadrangle name** "BELGRADE, MO." **Quadrangle scale** 1: 24,000

**UTM References**

| | Zone | Easting | Northing |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | 15 | 691651 0 | 4181861 8 6 0 |
| B | 15 | 691641 7 0 | 4181852 1 0 |
| C | 15 | 691650 5 0 | 4181852 1 0 |
| D | 15 | 691617 0 | 4181891 5 0 |
| E | | | |
| F | | | |
| G | | | |
| H | | | |

**Verbal boundary description and justification**

The text is contained upon two continuation sheets.

**List all states and counties for properties overlapping state or county boundaries**

| state | code | county | code |
|---|---|---|---|
| state | code | county | code |

# 11. Form Prepared By

**name/title** 1. Robert Flanders, Director and Professor

**organization** Center for Ozarks Studies, SMSU **date** June 20, 1984

**street & number** 902 S. National **telephone** 417-836-5755/836-5511

**city or town** Springfield **state** Missouri 65804

# 12. State Historic Preservation Officer Certification

**The evaluated significance of this property within the state is:**

___ national ___x___ state ___ local

**As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.**

**State Historic Preservation Officer signature** Wayne E. Brown

**title** for Frederick A. Brunner, Ph.D., P.E., Director, Department of Natural Resources and State Historic Preservation Officer **date** 9/8/86

For **NPS** use only

**I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register**

**date**

**Keeper of the National Register**

**Attest:** **date**

**Chief of Registration**

GPO 911-399

Owners are listed by property with numbers corresponding to map (Figure #5) and descriptions in Sections 7 and 8.

CONTRIBUTING PROPERTIES

1. RUGGLES HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #1, Lot #7; and south part of Lot #6)

   Robert and Millend Teuscher (Mr. and Mrs.)
   Gramercy 11
   St. Louis, Missouri 63122

2. RAMSEY HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #2, Lot #18)

   Hallie Ramsey
   Caledonia, Missouri 63631

3. THOMPSON HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #3, Lot #19)

   Francis Grider
   Mill Street
   Caledonia, Missouri 63631

4. CONOCO STATION, Main Street (Bldg. #4, Lot #30)

   Tyro Lodge #12 A.F. and A.M.
   Contact: Frank Wright
   Caledonia, Missouri 63631

5. MASONIC LODGE, Main Street (Bldg. #5, Lot #30)

   Tyro Lodge #12 A.F. and A.M.
   Contact: Frank Wright
   Caledonia, Missouri 63631

6. & 7. SLAVE HOUSE, and W. G. EVERSOLE HOUSE, Main Street (Bldgs. #6 and #7, Lot #31 and adjoining Plot of land as described in Section 10)

   Louise Eversole
   413 Main Street
   Caledonia, Missouri 63631

8. GEORGE EVERSOLE HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #8, Lot #43, and all of vacant Lot #42.

   Roy and Evelyn LaChance (Mr. and Mrs.)
   Caledonia, Missouri 63631

9. FERSON CARR HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #9, in North part of Lot #54)

Robert and Millena Teuscher (Mr. and Mrs.)
Gramercy 11
St. Louis, Missouri 63122

10. CARR-SIMMS HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #10, Lot #6 of Buxton Subdivision, and south part of Lot #54)

James and Patricia Simms (Mr. and Mrs.)
Box 117
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

11. WILCOX HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #11, Lot #17 and part of vacant Lot #16)

Ellen Wilcox
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

12. & 13. J. & L. WESTERN, and BRASWELL BLACKSMITH, Main and Henry Streets (Bldgs. #12 and #13, Lot #20 and part of Lot #21)

John and Linda Civey (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

14. BRASWELL'S SMITHY & GARAGE, Henry Street (Bldg. #14, Lot #29 and part of Lot #28)

Alois and Dee Kirchofer (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

15. & 16. POST OFFICE, and STEWART GENERAL STORE, Main Street (Bldgs. #15 and #16, Lot #29 and part of Lot #28)

Don and Gay Stewart (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

17. COMMUNITY CENTER, Main Street (Bldg. #17, Lot #32 and open space to the south; and part of Lot #33)

Alois and Dee Kirchofer (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

18. MCSPADEN GOLDEN RULE STORE; Main and Alexander Streets (Bldg. #18, Lot #32)

Roy and Evelyn LaChance (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

19. & 20. METHODIST CHURCH, and PARSONAGE, Main and Alexander Streets (Bldgs. #19 and #20, Lot #41)

Caledonia United Methodist Church
Contact: T. S. Douglas, Chariman of the Board
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

21. LONG HOUSE, Main Street (Bldg. #21, Lot #44)

Don Gallaher
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

22. MORRIS HOUSE, College Street (Bldg. #22, Lot #11)

Gerald Morris
205 College Street
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

23. BELLEVUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, College and Henry Streets (Bldg. #23, Lot #14; and all of vacant Lot #23)

Bellevue Presbyterian Church
Contact: Charles Drew, Clerk of the Session
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

24. QUEEN HOUSE, College Street (Bldg. #24, Lot #26; and part of vacant Lot #27)

Kenneth Queen
2373 Lamadera
Florissant, Missouri 63031

25. VANDIVER HOUSE, College and Alexander Streets (Bldg. #25, Lot #35)

John and Linda Civey (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

26. WOOD HOUSE, College and Alexander Streets (Bldg. #26, Lot #38; and part of vacant Lot #39)

U. P. and Edna Wood (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

27. BEAN HOUSE, College Street (Bldg. #27, Lot #12)

Norman and Ruth Bean (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

28. CRAIGHEAD-HENRY HOUSE, College Street (Bldg. #28, Lot #24; and all of vacant Lot #13)

Bob and Virginia Ryan (Mr. and Mrs.)
P. O. Box 545
Eureka, Missouri 63025

29. GREEN-STEVENS HOUSE, College Street (Bldg. #29, Lot #25)

Andle Stevens (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

30. CALEDONIA SCHOOL, College Street (Bldg. #30, Lots #36 and #37)

Caledonia School
Contact: Roger Yount, School Board
Route 1
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

31. GOODYKOONTZ HOUSE, College Street (Bldg. #31, Lot #48)

Marty Frakes
Star Route
Bismarck, Missouri 63624

32. MCSPADEN-BURRIS HOUSE, Alexander Street (Bldg. #32, Lot #40; and part of vacant Lot #39)

Monroe and Lillian Burris
856 Wilshire Drive
Belleville, Illinois 62223

33. BYRD-TIEFENAUER HOUSE, Henry Street (Bldg. #33, Lot #21; and part of vacant Lot #16)

Seth Tiefenauer
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NON-CONTRIBUTING PROPERTIES

NC #1 &
NC #2 GEIER HOUSE, AND GEIER TRAILER, Main Street (NC #1, and NC #2, Lot #20 and part of Lot #21)

Don Geier (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #3 &
NC #4 AL and DEE'S MARKET (now Lashley Market), Main and Henry Streets (NC #3 and NC #4, Lot #29)

Paul Lashley
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #5 JOHN CIVEY HOUSE, College Street (NC #5, Lot #35)

John and Linda Civey (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #6 WOODS RENTAL HOUSE, College Street (NC 6, Lot #38)

U. P. and Edna Wood (Mr. and Mrs.)
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #7 CALEDONIA SCHOOL TRAILER, College Street (NC #7, Lot #37)

Caledonia School
Contact: Roger Yount, School Baord
Route 1
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #8 JINKERSON HOUSE, Alexander Street (NC #8, Lot #34 and part of vacant Lot #27)

Daisy Jinkerson
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #9 ALEXANDER HOUSE, Alexander Street (NC #9, Lot #34 and part of vacant Lot #27)

Jim Alexander
2907 E. 2nd Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104

NC #10 WILLIAMS HOUSE, Alexander Street (NC #10, Lot #33)

Peggy Williams
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #11 ASHER HOUSE, Henry Street (NC #11, Lot #28 and part of Lot #33)

Vernon Asher
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #12 105 HENRY, (NC #12, Lot #29 and part of Lot #28)

Bill Wilkerson
Caledonia, Missouri 63631

NC #13 HULL HOUSE, Henry Street (NC #13, Lot #22; and all of Lot #15)

Robert Hedspeth
Rt. 1, Box 187
Medina, Tennessee 38355

**United States Department of the Interior**
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form

For NPS use only
received
date entered



2. Missouri: A Guide to the "Show-Me" State (W.P.A. Project)
1941 State
Published: New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, Inc.

1. Ruggles-Evans-Dent House
3. James Alexander Thompson House
23. Presbyterian Church

3. Missouri Historic Sites Catalogue
1963 State
State Historical Society of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri 65201

1. Ruggles-Evans-Dent House
3. James Alexander Thompson House
21. Long-White House
28. Craighead-Henry House

The Caledonia Historic District comprises approximately 26 acres or approximately 70% of the original Town of Caledonia, i.e., the town platted in 1818 (Figure 2). A map of the district is shown in Figure 5. The district contains all of thirty-seven lots of the original town, one-half of another, and two adjoining plots of land, as indicated below:

1) all of Lots 7, 18, 19, 30, 31, 42, 43, 54, and the south half of Lot 6, situated along the west side of Main Street; and

2) all of Lots 17, 20, 29, 32, 41, and 44 situated along the east side of Main Street; and

3) all of Lots 11, 14, 23, 26, 35, and 38 situated along the west side of College Avenue; and

4) all of Lots 12, 13, 24, 25, 36, 37, and 48 situated along the east side of College Avenue; and

5) all of Lots 15 and 16 situated along the south side of Patrick Street; Lots 21 and 22 situated along the north side of Henry Street; Lots 27 and 28 on the south side of Henry Street; Lots 33 and 34 on the north side of Alexander Street; and Lots 39 and 40 on the south side of Alexander Street.

6) a plot of land in Survey #2182 adjoining Lot 31 on the west, extending west from the NW corner of Lot 31 along the Webster Road 305', thence south 120', thence east 305', thence north 120' to the starting point; and

7) all of Lot 6 of Buxton's Subdivision to the Town of Caledonia, which lot adjoins the west side of the south portion of Lot 54 of the Town of Caledonia, said Lot 6 being 128' x 445'.

An anomaly must be noted with regard to the above description. Base maps of Caledonia, including those used in this document, follow the 1885 plat of the town, which was produced in order to record Long's Addition, the first addition to the original town as platted in 1818. The 1885 plat is the only surveyed plat in existence, and thus is and has been since then the plat of record. An aerial survey of Washington County made in 1983 has revealed a discrepancy between the 1818 plat, the 1885 plat based on it, and the actual layout of the town upon the land. The discrepancy is particularly pronounced in the eastern two-thirds of the town. The 1885 plat, executed by the county surveyor, did not correct the discrepancy, but, rather, perpetuated it. No attempt is made at reconciliation in the nomination document; however, the anomalies are shown in Figure 5 where actual street and building locations as revealed in the aerial survey are superimposed upon the grid of the 1885 plat.

The historic district contains thirty-three contributing structures (Figure 5). The following ennumeration coincides with the numbering in Figure 5 and with the numbers referenced in the text, except those specified as photo numbers.

1. Ruggles-Evans-Dent house, Lot 7.
2. Ramsey house, Lot 18.
3. Jane Alexander Thompson house, Lot 19.
4. Conoco service station, Lot 30.
5. Tyro Masonic Lodge, Lot 30.
6. Eversole slave house, plot west of Lot 31.
7. William Goforth Eversole house, Lot 31.
8. George Eversole house, Lot 43.
9. Ferson Carr house, Lot 54.
10. Carr-Simms house, Lot 6 of Buxton's Addition.
11. Lucas-Wilcox house, Lot 17.
12. J and L Westernwear Store building, Lot 20.
13. Old Braswell smithy, Lot 20.
14. New Braswell smithy and garage, Lot 29.
15. Post office, Lot 29.
16. Benton Sinclair store (Stewart's General Store), Lot 29.
17. Benton Sinclair garage (Community Center), Lot 32.
18. McSpaden's Golden Rule Store (Village Country Store), Lot 32.
19. Methodist Church, Lot 41.
20. Methodist parsonage, Lot 41.
21. Long-White house, Lot 44.
22. Morris house, Lot 11.
23. Presbyterian Church, Lots 14 and 23 (a single ownership since the construction of the church).
24. Queen cottage, Lot 26.
25. Vandiver house, Lot 35.
26. Wood house, Lot 38.
27. Bean house, Lot 12.
28. Craighead-Henry house, Lot 24.*
29. Green-Stevens house, Lot 25.
30. Caledonia School, Lots 36 and 37.
31. Tom Goodykoontz house, Lot 48.
32. McSpaden-Burris house, Lot 40.
33. Byrd-Tiefenauer house, Lot 21.

*Note: The discrepancy between the 1885 plat of record and the actual town layout and building location is most apparent in the case of the Craighead-Henry house, built perhaps before the town was first platted in 1818. Its legal location is upon Lot 24, which is the location used in the

nomination. See e.g. the W. J. Dent map, Figure 6, which shows the house centered within Lot 24; and the 1818 plat, Figure 2, which ascribes Lot 24 to "A. Henry".

The district consists of two principal areas comprised primarily of lots of the original town lying athwart its two principal streets, Main and College. Upon these streets and upon the lots facing them are sited the great majority of the extant properties within the original townsite which possess presumptive National Register significance. These two areas along Main and College reflect the history of the town's development. They are separated by the valley of Goose Creek, the topography of which proved relatively uncongenial to settlement and building. Of the four streets platted in and across the little valley, only two, Alexander and Henry Streets, were ever opened, and one of those not until the late nineteenth century. Building was minimal along Alexander and Henry Streets until the twentieth century, as indicated by only two contributing properties, and several more recent non-contributing properties along these streets. Along Main and College alone has orderly town development occurred.

Of the thirty-three contributing structures, twenty-one are dwellings, two are churches, one a lodge, one a school, and eight are commercial structures. Nine are antebellum, twelve built between the Civil War and the great fire of 1909, and twelve were built after that fire. The oldest is the Craighead-Henry house, c. 1816, and the most recent are the Conoco service station, c. 1930, and the school, 1936 (dating of some structures is only presumptive). Five are brick, nineteen are frame, seven are concrete block, one is log, and one is stone.

Major non-contributing structures, i.e. those fronting on the streets and visually prominent in the district, number thirteen. Two of these (NC#2 and NC#7, Lots 20 and 37) are house trailers, the latter of which is used as school overflow space. Minor non-contributing structures are assorted outbuildings, mostly of residences, which because of the rural village ambience of Caledonia, scarcely detract from the overall visual integrity of the district's cultural landscape. One visually prominent vacant space, created by the razing of a building, exists on Lot 32 between the Community Center (#17) and the Golden Rule Store (#18). Lots 13, 16, 23, 27, 39, and 42 are entirely vacant. Lot 42 once contained a frame combination store and residence which burned about 1900 (conversation with Stella Carr Bust, March, 1984, who vividly recalled the event). The office of Dr. George Eversole, Lot 42, shown on the W. J. Dent map of c. 1910-1920, is long gone. No evidence has come to light of a structure ever having been built on Lot 13, although its propinquity to the Craighead-Henry house and consequent association with the earliest history of the town makes it significant for data recovery potential. Early in this

century the vacant south portion of Lot 54 was the site of Stella Carr's large store building, and was part of the Carr family complex of properties. It is and will likely remain in the foreyard of the Carr-Simms house.

Most contributing structures are in good to excellent condition. All dwellings are inhabited save the Eversole slave house (#6); the Ferson Carr house (#9); the Craighead-Henry house (#28), which will soon be reoccupied; and the Tom Goodykoontz house (#31), which, though the most recently built, is the most decrepit. Of the other contributing structures, only the Conoco station (#4), and the Braswell buildings (#13 and #14) are not in use. Of these last, the Conoco station is in excellent condition, the Braswell buildings in poor condition. Recent stabilizing and renovating have occurred in several of the historic structures, most notably Ruggles, Carr-Simms, Long-White, Morris, Craighead-Henry, and McSpaden-Burris (#1, #10, #21, #22, #28, and #32).

The two primary streetscapes of Caledonia, those along Main and College, are the primary landscapes of the historic district. They reveal, along College and along the west side of Main, the arrangement, building density, setbacks, yards, walks, grades and retaining walls, old easements, and even landscaping, that has characterized the town for more than a century. The old Potosi-Belleview Valley road, now Missouri Highway 21, was not improved through the town (Main Street) until the 1920s and not paved until the 1940s. No curbs or gutters exist anywhere in the town and the streets, save Main, have indefinite edges, to say the least. Early Main Street scenes (Photos #1, #45-#47) reveal the "street" as really a public space bounded by trees, walks, and retaining walls in its residential north section, and less definitely in its business south section by building fronts, steps, store platforms and various impedimenta (the residence and original store of the fastidious Stewart McSpaden, Photo #46, being an exception). Following the 1909 destruction by fire of the entire middle of the east side of Main Street, the new concrete block business buildings were brought forward, to be separated from the street space only by paved sidewalk. The standard setback, metal and masonry construction, and flat planar surfaces of the facades created an up-to-date "town look" that has been extensively retained (Photo #46). On Main Street, as well as College, the flagstone walks and masonry retaining walls that raised and defined the residential yards in the mid-nineteenth century survive, e.g. those of the W. G. Eversole property (Building #7, Photos #30-#33). Even the line of trees between the sidewalk and pavement that runs from the Ruggles house south past Ramsey to Jane Thompson survives (Buildings #1-#3, Photos #2, #11, and #12). Alexander and Henry Streets are the only east-west streets constructed from the original town plat, connecting Main and College Streets. Due to the less desirable, low-lying area along Goose Creek, development was sparse along Alexander and Henry Streets until more recently. The historic ambience of the town is readily apparent despite a few unfortunate intrusions,

and is marred primarily by traffic and the frequent presence of automobiles parked in inadequate spaces along Main Street.

The remainder of Section 7 text describes the historic properties from north to south on Main and College, west side, then east side, concluding with the properties on Alexander and Henry Streets.

RUGGLES-EVANS-DENT HOUSE, 205 Main Street, Lot 7 and south half of Lot 6, Building #1, Photos #2-#10, Plan #1, c. 1850. The house is a full Georgian plan, two-and-a-half story with full basement and attached rear ell. The main block is 48' x 40'. The ell is 30' wide by 25' deep, including its north-facing porch. The outer foundations are 2 1/2' thick, of rough-dressed limestone. The inner foundations under the central passage walls are 1 1/2' thick. A smooth-dressed limestone sill caps the foundation and projects slightly beyond it. The sill terminates at the junction of the main block and ell, although the brick wall above is continuous and unbroken. The brick of the walls were locally made, and soft brownish-red in color. They are laid in common bond throughout, except for a Flemish bond facade. The exterior brick walls are 1 1/2' thick at the foundation while the interior brick walls are 9" thick and extend upward to the roof peak. The four brick fireplace chimneys of the main block are fully interior to the end walls and pierce the roof behind the cornice. The kitchen fireplace chimney at the rear of the ell is exterior to the wall and exhibits an unusual asymmetrical triple shouldering occasioned in part by the two bake ovens it contains. A north facing porch opens off the kitchen and off the rear of the central hall. The porch terminates in a fully brick-walled cool room at the northwest corner of the ell which is entered from the porch through a door with a glazed transom. In the end walls of the main block, two ranges of windows rise between the chimneys, topped by a single window of the third floor room immediately under each roof peak.

The facade is symmetrical, simple, and classically proportioned. The palette of materials is simple and elegant, as is their arrangement. The facade foundation is smooth-dressed stone. The lugsills and lintels of the four ranges of windows are of the same material, painted white but otherwise undecorated. The lintels are flush with the plane of the wall, but the sills project slightly to form a drip moulding as well as a shadow line on the wall below. The contrast between brick and stone is accentuated by the pronounced lateral projection of sill and lintel into the brick wall beyond the window openings. Basement windows are directly beneath the upper windows. A matching central window above the entryway lights the upstairs hall. The cornice at the eave surmounting the facade wall is boxed and finished with simple unadorned crown mouldings.

The simplicity of this arrangement is an artful setting for the dramatic entryway, the most elaborate and elegant of the many similar entries in Caledonia houses. It is approached from the street and sidewalk by three steps that rise through the front retaining wall, a 25' walk, and six more steps that negotiate the elevation between yard and ground floor level. The level of the first floor at the front, marked by the strong horizontality of the stone plate, is some 3' above ground. Flanking the porch steps are massive smooth-dressed stone plinths, 3' high and 15" square, upon which rest square carpenter-Doric columns with bases and capitals simply expressed, but fully articulated. Upon them rests a matching entablature, the cornice of which extends noticeably into the surrounding brick wall and provides the motif for the extended window sills and lintels. Within this little Doric bay is a porch some 5' wide and 3' deep. It is centered by a four-panel single-leaf door framed at the sides by two small columnar pilasters matching the main columns of the entryway. A glazed tramsom and sidelights complete the ensemble. The entryway woodwork is painted white, as is all the exterior woodwork of the house. The front door itself has recently been painted a pale slate blue.

The entry opens into a spacious central hall in which a stairway of analogous scale and elegance rises uninterruptedly to the second and again to the third floor. The handrail and hand-turned spindles are unpainted, varnished black walnut. Four doors open from the hall into the four rooms of both first and second floors of the main block. The third floor contains two fully finished rooms under the eave, opening from a small hallway at the top of the stairs. All walls throughout are lath and plaster save the rear wall of the kitchen, which is exposed brick.

The interior architectural decor is limited to the massive stylized Doric woodwork common to Missouri vernacular Greek Revival houses of the period and is confined to the first floor. Its exaggerated widening of the columnar members from "dog-ear" capitals to the base presents something of a battered effect. Most imposing in the ensemble of woodwork elements are the great double-pocket doors separating the double parlors of each wing. The fireplace mantels of the north rooms downstairs are of simple, somewhat primitive Greek Revival carpentry. Those of the south rooms are much more elaborate and match the work of door and window mouldings. The southwest (dining room) mantel is quite different from any other in the house: a rather elaborate overmantel contains a mirror resting upon the mantel shelf, itself supported on machined consoles. The Victorian impression of this ensemble is accentuated by its dark, brown-black finish. The tradition of a fire in one of the rooms would explain a late remodeling, an explanation further supported by the fact that the shelf and overmantel are veneered. The dark finish of all the first floor woodwork is extraordinary in a universe of Greek Revival white. Careful examination presuades one that the woodwork has never been painted and was

originally finished in a dark stain. At the dining room mantel at least, black was feather-painted into the stain to simulate heavy wood graining. The woodwork of the upstairs is simple by contrast, consisting of painted, undecorated boards.

The floors of the first level are hardwood with flush-butt edges (no grooves or bevels) laid directly upon the joists. The upstairs is random width pine, as are the floors of the ell.

The windows of the Ruggles house are double-hung single-pane sash throughout, perhaps a change in some late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century remodeling. The originals may have been six-over-six sash, like the Jane Thompson house. Or the single-pane sash may be original, in which case they would be consistent with its authentic Greek Revival severity of the house.

A brick retaining wall 2' high fronts the yard of the Ruggles house, and extends from the southeast corner of Lot 7 some 200' northward. The wall has been veneered by cement, now old and crumbling. It presently is surmounted by a handsome white picket fence, installed by the most recent owner, a picket fence which encloses the south side of the property as well. Just southwest of the house are three non-contributing structures (one garage and two sheds).

THE RAMSEY HOUSE, Main Street, Lot #18, Building #2, Photos #11-#12, pre-1860, is in plan a central passage "I" house presenting a three-bay, window-door-window facade. It is extraordinary in being fully three stories in height. A two-story portico common to Washington County "I" houses dominates the facade: a simple vernacular Eastlake porch-on-porch, a smaller version of the first-story structure resting on the hip of the lower porch roof at the second story. The main-floor doorway has the classical transom with sidelight treatment common to Caledonia; the second-floor porch by contrast has an unadorned doorway. Low windows under the eave of the third floor complete the tall, three-bay, triple-tiered effect. Ramsey has no fireplace chimneys. Stove flues flanking the center hall rise through the peak of the roof. The gable ends of the house present a centered single wndow on the first floor and paired windows joined by a heavy mullion at the second and third floors. Facade and gable-end windows are four-over-four sash. The gable is simply boxed; no other exterior ornament, save for the machine-turned porch posts, is apparent.

The house gains a tall and massive appearance from its three-story, one-room-wide and two-room-deep rear ell. A flue rises from the roof peak inside the rear wall of the ell. Another one-story flued ell extends rearward from the main ell. Two ranges of windows light the three-story ell, all

different from those of the main block. Only the second-story sash, six-over-six, appears to be original. A two-story porch extends the full length of the ell on the south, supported in part by peeled log posts. An outside stair connects the two porch levels. The rearmost one-story ell is also porched on the south. Both porches are covered with shed roofs.

The house, apparently of frame construction, is at present covered by composition siding in a red-brick print. The roofing is corrugated metal. Much of the exterior wood trim needs paint and is deteriorating rapidly.

The Ramsey house was apparently built as or modified to be an inn and tavern. Its tall, ill-proportioned masses and folk-Palladian porch rendered in a local vernacular contrast oddly with the elegant Greek Revival Thompson and Ruggles houses on either side. The unfortunate exterior wall covering of brick-red tar paper accentuates its awkwardness. The original covering was horizontal lapped siding. It was painted white, as is what remains of the paint on the exposed woodwork at present. The house, painted white, can be seen right center of nineteenth-century Photo #1. It is partially obscured by the indistinct mass of Jane Thompson. Several houses in Lost Creek Valley of western Washington County along the old Potisi-Meramec Mines road (present Missouri Highway 8) are very similar to the Ramsey house except for being only two-story. They are in construction both lapsided frame and brick, and they possess precisely the same front porch. Behind the house are two small non-contributing sheds.

THE JANE ALEXANDER THOMPSON HOUSE, 307 Main Street, Lot 18, Building #3, Photos #12-#18, Plan #2, 1848. This house is so similar to the Ruggles house that they may be thought of as fraternal twins. And if the metaphor may be extended, the Ruggles house is masculine while the Thompson house is feminine. The plan form of Thompson is almost identical to Ruggles, and may be detailed by mentioning the relatively few differences. The south rooms of Thompson are 20' wide instead of 18 1/2'. The stairways in the ells run in opposite directions, but both have traditional boxing with doors above the one-step-up landing. The kitchen chimney of Thompson possesses one fewer shoulders at the fireplace level. Ruggles's ell has a catslide roof over its porch, whereas Thompson's has a separate shed roof parallel to the main roof plane. Thompson's ell porch and cool room are similar to Ruggles, save that in Thompson's the outer lapped bevel plank wall remains in place, with a window-door-window piercing of the plank wall, the windows being six-over-six sash like the main block but proportionately smaller. The door has a closed transom. In Ruggles, the porch wall has been partially removed in favor of modern screening. Thompson's cool room contains a well, or cistern, whereas Ruggles does not. Ell brick wall piercing is identical: two ranges of windows in each story of the south wall with a central door at ground level, all

possessing the white painted stone sills and lintels matching the main blocks, but at smaller scale. Proportions of the ells of both houses are identical in ratio to those of the main blocks, including the ceiling heights. The second floor level of the ells, therefore, are lower than those of the main blocks, and in each are connected to the southwest upstairs bedrooms through a doorway by three steps. The interior woodwork of Thompson is identical to Ruggles except that it is painted white. The brick in Thompson throughout, including the facade, is laid in common bond.

On the outside the two houses appear more different than they really are. The facade of Thompson has six ranges of wall piercings: three in the south wing, two in the north wing, plus the entryway and upstairs window. The north wing arrangement is window-window in both stories. In the south wing, it is window-door-window downstairs and window-window-window up. This unusual arrangement resulted from Jane Thompson building her house to serve as a combination store and residence. The south downstairs rooms were for business: the store in front and a storeroom behind, the two connected by a typical single-leaf hinged door. The north parlors are connected by double-leaf pocket doors as in the parlors of the Ruggles house. Thus, the store has its own outside front doorway and flanking front windows. It was approached directly from the sidewalk by a very short walkway and four steps, the setback of the house from the sidewalk being a mere 8' or so. Although the south wing is only about 2' (outside dimensions) wider than the north wing, its facade nevertheless must contain an additional doorway and window range. The result is not as mismatched with the north wing ranges as one might imagine, however. Indeed, the facade is remarkably successful, its slight assymetry adding a certain liveliness and grace. The house retains its original six-over-six window sash, which soften and finish its appearance. The entryway is similar to Ruggles. By exception, Thompson possesses a boxed rectangular member atop the cornice which serves as a kind of cap moulding. The small columnar members at the sides of the Ruggles entry door have in Thompson been simplified to heavy mullions.

Other more subtle differences exist between the two facades. The first floor level of Thompson is a scant 2' above the ground as compared to 3' in Ruggles. Overgrown foundation shrubs, a merely vestigial retaining wall, and a virtually non-existent setback bring the house visually low and close. Instead of Ruggles's strongly horizontal white stone base plate, Thompson has heavy white stone lintels over the basement windows. Each facade is ninety-six courses of brick high. But the Thompson windows are set higher than the Ruggles: fourteen courses to the first window sill versus twelve: and a barely visible bit of brick exposed between top window lintel and the first cornice moulding versus a full six courses of exposed brick above the upper lintels in Ruggles. The effect at Thompson is one of attenuation of the

facade, of verticality, versus a heavier, more horizontal effect at Ruggles. The extra bay of wall piercings in Thompson means lesser expanse of brick surface and a greater expanse of vertically-thrusting white woodwork. Ruggles conveys a Doric sense of equilibrium and weighty repose, while Thompson possesses an almost Corinthian sprightliness.

The great difference between the Thompson and Ruggles houses is in the end walls of the main blocks. Ruggles is the sober and straightforward gable of a Georgian-plan, detached country house, extremely conservative in its plain brickwork, undecorated window openings cut into the plane of the wall, and paired chimneys piercing the roof. The dominant features of Thompson's end walls are its parapeted gables and engaged, partially exposed chimneys. The Thompson end walls are town house walls, reminiscent of similar houses of the period in St. Louis, St. Charles, and Ste. Genevieve. The chimneys protrude two brick courses (header width) beyond the wall plane, creating unbroken vertical lines which soar above the top of the structure. The chimneys are connected by a wall squared at the top and capped by a drip moulding of brick. The parapet slopes downward from the chimney, parallel to the roof slope, for only a short distance before intersecting the horizontal top of the squared shoulders of the walls. The effect of the whole is rectilinear verticality, softened by the brief slopes of the parapets. The vertical impact is strengthened by the fenestration. In the north wall the window arrangement echoes that of Ruggles, except that the third floor window in Thompson is the same size as those of the lower floors. In Ruggles, by contrast, the third floor windows could not match the windows below it in size, placed in the gable peak as they are; thus, they emphasize the closure of the wall under the gable. In the Thompson south wall, the special circumstances of the store chamber and storage room arrangement of the south wing imposed demands which led to an arrangement of the exterior elements whose effect is even more soaring than that of the north wall. In order to make the store chamber deeper than would be the case if the wing were equally divided between front and rear rooms, the partition between them was located slightly back of center. Consequently, the two-by-two arrangement of the between-chimney fenestration of the north wall was impossible to repeat. The solution was to place only one window between the chimneys, slightly front of center on both first and second floor. But at the third story no space existed in the unseen roof gable to continue the off-center placement, and the uppermost window is, therefore, centered between the chimneys. The windows lighting the rear rooms of the south wing were then placed behind the rear chimney. In order to locate the store's fireplace as close to the center of the outsized room as possible, it was moved with its chimney slightly rearward, or to the west. The companion rear chimney was moved forward the same distance, in order to present a symmetrical appearance on the outside. The result is that the paired south wing chimneys are much closer together than those on the north end. The

stacking of three windows one above the other in the narrow chimney bay gives the south wall an especially tall appearance. Inasmuch as an observer can never see the two ends simultaneously, the difference would seldom if ever be noticed. The roof of Thompson cannot be seen from the ends so no sense of closure can be gained from that source. Closure is achieved visually by the planarity of the end, accentuated by the fact that the front bays of both end walls are unpierced. So the tall expanses of blank brick with squared shoulders frame the facade in such a way as to reinforce the feeling that this is a town house, waiting to be attached at the ends to other similar houses springing from their common sidewalk. The Jane Thompson house would be at home in the river cities of Missouri, in Cincinnati, in Nashville, or even in Richmond.

The Thompson front retaining wall, like that of Ruggles, extends northward beyond the north end wall of the house. Thompson's goes the full width of one lot, or 132', whereas Ruggles goes the width of a lot and a half, or about 200'. The open space north of, as well as behind, each house contained gardens, while fruit trees were on the south side. Each house was on a street corner: Ruggles at Main and Alexander, Thompson at Main and Henry. In neither case was the east-west street ever opened, so the wide easement has served each as additional open space. The similarity between the houses finally includes their placement on the lots: each is at the southeast corner. Thompson is placed virtually upon the street, however. Behind the Thompson ell is a rectangular brick outbuilding of the same period as the house, in an advanced state of deterioration. Two other outbuildings are non-contributing.

CONOCO SERVICE STATION, Main Street, Lot 30, Building #4, Photos #19, #20. Constructed c.1930 from stock corporation plans, this small brick building is an example of the roadside corporate Colonial Revival typical of the 1920s and 1930s. It was originally painted green and white, and is now red and white, the two color logos of the Continental Petroleum Corporation.

TYRO LODGE #12 AF AND AM, Main Street and Webster Road, Lot 30, Building #5, Photo #20. Built in 1919 to replace the earlier lodge building on the banks of Goose Creek which burned in the same year, this building is typical of many such brick store-front Masonic lodges constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in small midwestern towns. The structure is brick, very simply decorated at the cornice of the facade and differentiated by the diamond-shaped window between the upstairs front sash windows. The downstairs was used as a store (the Dent plat identifies it as "McSpaden"), but is, in 1983, vacant. Upstairs is the lodge hall. The intrinsic significance of the building stems from its being a part of the post-fire business building ensemble of Main Street, the only such building on the west side of the street. Unlike the buildings of similar design across the street, it was built

of brick rather than block, perhaps in deference to the other fine brick structures on the west side of Main Street. But like the other new business buildings, its ceilings are of decorative pressed metal.

THE WILLIAM GOFORTH EVERSOLE HOUSE, Main Street and Webster Road, Lot 31, Building #7, Photos #21-#32, 1854. The house is a double-pile, two-and-a-half story side passage, or "2/3" structure, frame, with horizontal lapped siding painted white. It is dominated by two great brick chimneys on the south wall, one each for the front and rear rooms. They are painted barn red. Their shoulders are very high, beginning at about the level of the eave; below that they are unbroken brick shafts. This configuration of high-shouldered, completely separate paired chimneys is characteristic of eighteenth-century Georgian-plan houses in Virginia and Carolina, a feature which in a side-passage house is unique among known structures in the Ozarks and is probably unique in Missouri. The eaves and cornices are boxed and well finished in mouldings. The facade is articulated in three ranges of piercings, two windows and entry below and three windows upstairs. The entryway is almost identical to that of Jane Thompson, but is somewhat less dramatic inasmuch as its whiteness blends rather than contrasts with the color of the facade. A number of other significant similarities exist between W. G. Eversole and the Thompson and Ruggles houses. Its south end has paired windows between the chimneys at the first and second floors, of the same size and with the same shutters as the facade windows. At the third level, however, it has smaller paired windows under the roof peak, unlike the single windows in Thompson and Ruggles. As at Ruggles the original multiple window panes in the sash have been replaced with single panes. Immediately under the cornice moulding at the roof peak in both end walls a small ventilating grill opens into the vestigial attic space. These ventilators accent the triangularity of the prominent boxed gable cornice, with its returns at the eave level. Inside the house one discovers doors, and door and window trim, identical to that in Thompson and Ruggles, painted white. The stairway, octagonal newel post, handrail, and spindles of black walnut also appear similar. There are transoms over the doors that open from the passage into the main rooms. The setback from the walk is similar to that of Ruggles. A complex of additions are at the north end and at the rear of the house at the first floor level. An incongruous modern flue of concrete block has been attached to the north wall, venting a stove in one of the additions. Windows are framed by shutters painted black, which together with chimneys and entry constitute the primary decoration of the house.

The William Goforth Eversole house, like Ruggles and Thompson, was built at the southeast corner of a corner lot, the (south) side street of which was never opened--in this case Henry Street. However, the north portion of the lot was taken by the Webster Road, which was not accommodated in the town plat. So

finally the house possesses a northeast-corner-of-the-lot siting. The old Henry Street easement remains, however, to provide a spacious south sideyard. The building reposes well upon its corner lot, within its front and (north) side picket surround.

Behind is a large, well maintained frame slave house (Building #6, behind Lot 31, Photos #33-#34). It alone remains of the once spacious farmyard of the William Goforth Eversole farm, which was behind the town on the west, in the old Miles Goforth grant (see Figure 10). The yard, like those of all of the houses on the west side of Main Street, is slightly raised above sidewalk level, and is retained by a masonry wall. A non-contributing outbuilding is located southwest of the house.

CALEDONIA'S "I" HOUSES: GEORGE EVERSOLE HOUSE, Main Street, Lot 43, Building #8, 1877; FERSON CARR HOUSE, Main Street, Lot 54, Building #9, 1856; CARR-SIMMS HOUSE, Main Street, (Lot 6 in Buxton's Addition), Building #10, 1858; BEAN HOUSE, College Street, Lot 12, Building #27, 1867; and BYRD-TIEFENAUER HOUSE, Henry Street, Lot 21, Building #33, 1878. (All Photos: #35-#36, #37-#41, #42-#44, #79, #94-#95, #114; Plans #3 and #9). These five houses are similar in their characteristic plans: central-passage, single-pile, two-story, with rear ells. Their main-block plan dimensions, fenestration, door placement, frame construction, and lap siding are similar. Each has a classic entryway arrangement similar to those in W. G. Eversole and Jane Thompson: carpenter-Doric bays framing recessed doors with transoms and sidelights. Eversole, Ferson Carr and Bean have virtually identical boxed cornices with returns resting upon a wide flat architrave trim board in the wall plane. Ferson Carr has S-curve brackets supporting its facade cornice, the only such bracketing in Caledonia. Carr-Simms has an unboxed cornice and fascia without return; but as if to compensate, it alone has pilaster-like vertical corner trim with capitals and bases subtly expressed. All the ells extend rearward from the north wings, giving their inside-the-ell porches a southern exposure (in Ruggles, Thompson, and Byrd-Tiefenauer, by contrast the porch exposure off the ells is to the north).

The chimneys vary. Ferson Carr has the same high-shouldered chimney as in the William Goforth Eversole house (the north Ferson Carr chimney has collapsed). Carr-Simms alone has a massive stone fireplace with brick chimney. It is located on the rear exterior ell wall and served the kitchen. The George Eversole house has but one brick fireplace chimney, external to the south wall. Its corbelled shoulder is high, like that of Ferson Carr and Carr-Simms, being at about the lintel level of the upstairs window. The stack terminates in a six-course corbelled drip cap. This chimney serves one fireplace only in the downstairs. At the north end of George Eversole is a brick flue interior to the wall, the corbelled cap of which matches that of the

south chimney. The Bean house has interior brick flues only with simpler, two-course corbelled caps.

Front porches of the "I" houses vary as well. Only Bean, probably the last built, appears to possess a porch original to the house. Its vernacular Eastlake Victorianism contrasts emphatically with its otherwise pristine country classicism. A vernacular neo-classical porch was added to George Eversole about 1906. It rests on a poured concrete foundation and extends from between the first and second south front windows across and beyond the facade, to wrap around the north wall in an ell to the termination of the main block. It has machine-turned columns and balustrade spindles, bracketed cornice, and is altogether typical of turn-of-the-century porches. Like the Bean house porch, it is stylistically incongruous. The semi-classical cornice of the Eversole porch is less jarring, however, than is the roof of the Bean Eastlake, its mansard covered as it is with composition shingles. Both manage to please the eye, and communicate to the mind that they are transitions between classical-traditional and Victorian Picturesque tastes. No porch has been added to Ferson Carr, or Byrd-Tiefenauer. Carr-Simms is somewhat dominated by a recent Midwest Mt. Vernon porch addition resting on a poured concrete pavement and foundation veneered in cement, which together with the carriage lamps flanking the entry is in scale, style, and refinement incongruous to the house. Far more successful is the gracefully restored ell porch of Carr-Simms, with its appropriate scale, simplicity, and stylistic integrity.

The fenestration of the "I" houses is similar, with Carr-Simms again something of an exception. Typical are five-bay facades with windows in four ranges plus a central matching window over the entry lighting the upstairs passage. Carr-Simms and Byrd-Tiefenauer have one range of windows on either side of the entry rather than two. In the end walls Bean and Carr-Simms have windows behind the chimneys in both stories but none in front. George Eversole has windows behind but not in front of the flue on the north end, and in front of but not behind the chimney on the south end. The Eversole ell roof contains an underscaled dormer with hipped roof and single-pane window, a fancy common to Arcadia Valley houses of the period in neighboring Iron County. Ferson Carr is unfenestrated on the south end of the main block, but originally had windows in both floors behind the north chimney. Sash is six-over-six in George Eversole, Ferson Carr, and Bean. In Carr-Simms it is twelve-over-twelve and four-over-four in Byrd-Tiefenauer. Window surrounds are simple except for Bean, which has moderately pronounced lintel mouldings, and Carr-Simms, which has lintels forming entablatures matching the entablature over the entry in size as well as design. The facade windows of Carr-Simms are further enhanced by four strap-like vertical trim boards rising from the porch along the sides of the windows, fully engaged inside the siding, matching the corner pilaster boards. Were it not virtually blotted out by the porch, the Carr-Simms facade could be appreciated to be the most lavishly decorated of all the houses in the group.

The "I" houses are all sited in spacious circumstances with various non-contributing outbuildings usually in back. George Eversole and Ferson Carr are in the northeast corners of adjoining lots at the south end of Main Street. Both have similar setbacks, greater than those of the dwellings to the north along the west side of Main. The setbacks together with other details suggest that they were built later, and possessed a greater affinity for the Victorian front yard. Carr-Simms is "next door" south to Ferson Carr, but is more behind than beside it. Carr-Simms alone among the sites in the proposed historic district is outside the original town plat, and was the Ablert Carr farmhouse. It is set back from Main Street some 200'. The Bean house is across town, at the north end of College Street, and alone of the group that faces west. Its setback is some 50' with a yard fronted by a chain link fence set atop a concrete retaining wall. Though noticeably neat, the yard blends with the open land beside and behind the house to give the ensemble a more "countrified" look than the houses of Main Street. The Byrd-Tiefenauer House faces south on Henry Street with a small front yard.

All of the "I" houses save Ferson Carr have been perfectly preserved on the exterior and modernized in the interiors, and are occupied at present as dwellings. All retain a basic integrity of design and materials, although in some cases the interior walls have been covered with pre-finished wallboarding. Of particular interest is the interior woodwork of the house purchased by George Eversole, altogether similar to that of his father, the William Goforth Eversole house. The single mantel of George Eversole has unfortunately been lost. Ferson Carr, although in a sadly dilapidated condition and having lost its north chimney and ell, possesses much potential for restoration to its original nineteenth-century condition, in which case it alone would possess an original interior. Because of the great intrinsic interest of both its exterior and interior, such a restoration is attractive and eminently desirable.

THE LUCAS-WILCOX HOUSE, 302 Main Street, Lot 17, Building #11, Photos #48 and #49, c. 1850. The house is the sole surviving gable-entry vernacular Greek Revival dwelling in Caledonia. In plan at the first floor, it is a side-entry and parlor in the front half of the house, and a kitchen and chamber in the rear half. Parlor and chamber are larger; passage and kitchen are smaller. The second floor replicates the quadripartite plan of the first, the staircase between them being open, bannistered and spindled, and located against the inside wall of the passage.

The lot slopes sharply from front to back, necessitating a walk-in basement at the rear, entered through a massive coursed rubble limestone foundation wall. Floor joists are log, while sills and support posts are hewn and pegged timbers. A stone foundation under the parlor-chamber partition wall would

appear built to support a fireplace. But no evidence of it appears upstairs, and the brick flue in the roof would appear intended for a stove vent only. The octogenerian owner, Mrs. Wilcox, has no memory of any fireplace, or reference thereto by earlier occupants.

Two ranges of windows on the south (long) wall are symmetrically arranged, lighting each of the four interior rooms with one light. The north wall windows are similarly located at the first floor (the rear window now obscured by an added porch); but at the second floor the front portion of the wall is unpierced while at the back the window is located as far to the rear of the wall as possible. This arrangement is reminiscent of traditional gable-end houses in Caledonia and elsewhere in which one upstairs window is located at the extreme rear of the wall. The gabled facade has two upstairs windows arranged so as to divide the wall space flanking them into equal thirds, one lighting the upstairs passage and the other the chamber. The first floor front contains a south window directly below the one upstairs. But the entry is well outside the axis of the window above it, thus severely skewing the neatly symmetrical facade that would have otherwise been obtained. The result proceeded from the greater desire to possess a standard Caledonia classical entry of sidelights and glazed transom, which is too wide to be contained in the narrow passage and still permit the door to be located under the upstairs window. The facade piercing is finished by a small six-over-six sash window in the peak of the gable, lighting the attic. It would appear to be the only remaining original sash in the house, but suggests the design of the original windows, which have been replaced with modern double-hung single-pane sash.

The decoration of this vernacular Greek Revival house is its simply moulded and boxed cornice, returned at the corners, its entryway, its white painted clapboards, and (originally) its window sash. A typical Victorian porch has been added, similar to that of the Methodist parsonage: hipped roof, suspended spindle frieze, and machined posts with brackets.

OLD BRASWELL SMITHY, Henry Street, Lot 20, Building #13, Photos #51 and #52. This small frame building is a simple gable-with-shed form with boom-town facade and shed porch. The later concrete block grocery (now J and L Westernwear) was built against its west wall. Originally adjacent to the Braswell family dwelling to the north (not extant), it alone of early business buildings on the east side of Main Street survived the 1909 fire.

NEW BRASWELL SMITHY AND GARAGE, Henry Street, Lot 29, Building #14, Photo #54, c. 1910. These simple and utilitarian buildings were built after the 1909 fire and utilized the same concrete block as all the new business district on the east side of Main Street between Henry and Alexander Streets. They open onto Henry Street, and are situated behind Al and Dee's Market and directly across from the old Braswell blacksmith shop.

THE POST-1909-FIRE BUSINESS BUILDINGS, Lots 20, 29, 32, Buildings #12, #14, #15, #16, #17, #18; Photos #47, #49-#50, #53-#63, Plan #4. The first built of these were Stewart McSpaden's Golden Rule Store (present Village Country Store), Building #18, and Benton Sinclair's General Store, Building #16 (now Stewart's General Store). A third building, no longer extant, was the Caledonia Bank, at the southeast corner of Main and Henry. These three buildings appear in order from foreground to middleground in Photo #47, presumably taken sometime in the succeeding decade. They were similar in their concrete block construction, and their metal and glass facades. At the sidewalk, cast-iron post-and-lintel frames were filled with metal spandrels and sheet glass. Resting on the lintels and upon ledger blocks in the side walls were prefabricated upper facade infills of decoratively stamped metal, terminating in horizontal cornices of metal, also worked in elaborate designs. Fronts of Sinclair's store and the Bank appear painted white or silver in the old photograph; McSpaden's Golden Rule was and remains today painted dark. Subsequent to Photo #47, other similar buildings were built (none of which appear on the W. J. Dent Plat, c. 1909-1919). Those extant at present are J. & L. Western Wear; Building #12, originally a grocery; the post office, Building #15, originally a restaurant; and the Community Center, Building #17, originally a garage. Altogether they total five. All save the Community Center are similar in their long, narrow, rectangular plans; highly styled, glass-front facades; plain blank side walls with minimal fenestration; and undecorated sidewall tops finished in coping tiles, gradually stepped down from front to back to correspond with the unseen sloping roofs. Inasmuch as the terrain begins to slope downward immediately on the east side of Main Street, these buildings all are higher on the rear elevations than on the fronts. All of the facades exhibit the typical tripartite division of framing elements at the street: plate window and spandrel ranges at each side, and matching recessed, concave entry bays with double-leafed, glazed doors. All window glass rests on low spandrels at the ground level. Glazed transoms are under the lintels.

McSpaden's Golden Rule Store is exceptional within this family of buildings because of its larger size, unusually elaborate facade, and unique interior. Alone in the group, it is a full two stories high and possesses a fenestrated front at the second story as well as a row of six windows on the second-floor level along the sides. All are two-over-two-sash. Its stamped-metal facade facings above the first floor are expansive and imposing. Because of the width of the store, its glass front is articulated into two ranges at the sides of the concave entry bay. The bay has been enclosed by a second, wood-framed entry in the plane of the front wall which serves as a kind of storm door. Happily, its single-leaf door is in the classical cross-and-bible pattern, and the whole is finished with glazed transom and sidelights in the fashion of Caledonia's Classic Revival entries.

The interior of the Golden Rule Store is divided between front and back spaces which are articulated quite differently. The rear 15' is divided into a conventional upstairs and downstairs. The front 75' is open to the roof, creating a dramatic space within which a balustered balcony is suspended from iron rods attached to the roof. The balcony, 6' wide along the sides and a full 17' deep at the front, is entered from paired staircases fastened to the rear wall. They in turn are entered from a landing at the top of a single staircase which descends along the room's central axis. The rear second-story room is entered by a door in the center of the landing. The staircases and the balcony dominate the great room and artfully provide scale and articulation to its voluminous space. The sidewalls are unpierced (save for a service door) at the first floor. The balcony is generously lighted, however, by five large windows along each side wall which provided a kind of suffused illumination, clerestory fashion, to the floor level of the store below. The ceiling is pressed tin, as is the underside of the balconies. The side walls are plastered, but the interior of the metal front at the balcony level has been covered with knotty-pine sheathing. Two doors open through the facade wall to the outside, where there is nothing to step to but the metal awning (one is marked "Private"). Perhaps they were designed with window washing, signage service, and/or fire excape in mind - although one door would seemingly serve as well as two.

The concrete block of the walls, the alternating smooth and rock-faced blocks to quoin the front corners, the stamped metal inside and out, and the flute, block, and bullseye woodwork of the Golden Rule Store all match similar elements in the Methodist Church a few feet away across Alexander Street. It was a striking attempt to relate neighboring buildings of totally different design and function (compare Photos #47 and #65). Unfortunately, the painting of the store and the stuccoing of the church have almost totally obscured these relationships to the casual observer.

METHODIST CHURCH, Main and Alexander Streets, Lot 23, Building #19, Photos #60, #65-#68, Plan #5. The old Methodist Church, c. 1852, (Photo #64) burned in the great fire of 1909. Its site was immediately to the south of the present building, and was the southernmost structure totally consumed by the conflagration. The new church occupies the site of a dwelling also destroyed in the fire.

The present church is of a family of Methodist churches built early in this century that were designed for corner lots. Sometimes square, sometimes L- or T- plan, they departed significantly from the common rectangular and Wren-Gibbs baroque church models to exhibit a notable squarish, on-the-sidewalk-at-the-corner massing that distinguish them as establishing a new urban church design tradition. Caledonia Methodist is, when viewed from

the street corner, apparently of the L-plan variety, with the interior of the L opeing to the street corner (in this case the southeast corner of Main and Alexander). In actuality the building as constructed was a T-plan, consisting of two rectangular blocks, the nave block 33' x 50', set back from and parallel to Main Street; and the narthex-social hall block, 20' x 30', extending westward from the center of the nave block to form a T. The leg of the T then is the narthex, and the top of the T is the nave. But an L-plan effect was promoted by the placing of a square, thick-set entry-belfry tower in the angle of the nave-narthex opeing to the street corner. The remaining space within that angle was filled with a concrete pavement upon which the doorway opens. The pavement continues across the end of the narthex block, completing the church-upon-the-sidewalk motif (in reality there was no sidewalk there at the time). The mid-twentieth century addition of a concrete block kitchen in the other angle of the nave-narthex intersection obliterates the T-plan appearance, as seen from the street, altogether.

The church as built represented a stylistic eclecticism harkening back to architectural fashions of preceding generations. It was first a kind of rustic Richardsonian Romanesque. The tower is Romanesque in feeling, with its heavy proportions, low pyramidal roof, and bracketed eaves. No Roman arch is offered, however, to continue the metaphor. The entry tower is topped by a low pyramidal roof which rises scarcely above the roofline of the church proper. Its squat blockiness accentuates the squarish impression of the whole ensemble. Other rectilinear shapes were utilized; the tower belfry is pierced by louvered rectangles, small in scale so as to maintain the massive look of the tower; small louvered openings in the gable peaks of the main blocks; small windows in the walls; and squat square flues emerging from the roof corners of the tower (now removed). The building was constructed of coursed, rock-faced gray concrete blocks attempting to quote Richardson Romanesque (Photo #65). Alternate courses of gray and white blocks at every corner provided the appearance of quoining.

The gable walls and the walls of the tower above the sills of the belfry openings were decorated so as to simulate the Shingle Style. However, the material used was decorative stamped-metal panels of which the new business buildings being built to the north along main Street possessed so much. The projecting verges of the raking cornices were supported by prominent jigsawn brackets, three to each rake. The cornice gable peaks were decorated with lacy jigsawn verge boards. These Picturesque details were underscaled and recessive within the overall horizontal weightiness of the building. The west block (the narthex social hall contains a square opening in the end wall housing tripartite lancet windows topped by a squared transom and horizontal lintel. Lugsills and lintels are smooth-dressed here, as in all the windows. Glazing throughout is pictorial colored glass. The main window of the north end wall

in the east block (the nave) is similar to that of the west end, but is contained within a gothic arch of smooth-dressed stone, the dominant decorative feature of the exterior, as of the interior. Flanking side windows are similar to those of the west end. The south wall of the nave has matching fenestration that can no longer be seen readily from the street. The entry door was double-leafed and paneled, with the upper panels glazed. They have been replaced with modern, full-glazed, aluminum-framed, double-leaf swinging doors. The transom is a gothic arch glazed in colored glass.

The concrete block construction proved unsatisfactory as constructed because of severe condensation upon the inside of the walls. Consequently they were covered on the exterior with a heavy coat of stucco which was painted white. It is this stucco exterior which exists at present, thus greatly changing the appearance of the original church. An addition has been constructed along the south wall of the south block and the south wall of the nave as far as the main window. It houses a kitchen and utilities, is very plain, of white-painted stucco, flush with the main west facade, and possesses congruous fenestration.

The nave occupies the entirety of the east block. It is wider than it is deep, and the pews are fanned slightly to better accommodate the worshippers. The nave opens into the narthex-social hall through four large openings fitted with tambour panels which roll upward into the ceiling. The multilevel pulpit-and-choir spaces are in part recessed in a wide, shallow apse. The woodwork is machined oak throughout, stained dark.

THE METHODIST PARSONAGE, 101 Alexander, Lot 41, Building #20, Photo #69, just behind the church on the same lot is contemporary with it. A typical turn-of-the-century cuboid box covered in lapped siding painted white, it is distinguished by its Victorian porch. The porch has a half-hip roof, machine-turned posts, and an intricate jigsawn frieze suspended under its simple cornice, which is similar to the cornice of the house at smaller scale. To the rear is a non-contributing garage.

THE LONG-WHITE HOUSE, Main Street, Lot 44, Building #21, Photos #70-78, Plan #6. This house is the result of multiple construction episodes begun in 1848 by the Reverend Harrison Long, the Methodist minister of the 1852 church next door. At present two distinct historic structures remain: block "A" at the north, 15' x 20', and block "B" at the south, 20' x 21'. To these there are several additions, as illustrated in the plan and photographs. The block B ell is probably original.

To attempt comprehension of this house, study of its appearance in the nineteenth century Photo #70 is useful. The photo illustrates, from foreground

at right to background at left, the Long house, the old Methodist Church, and the original McSpaden store. The date of this photo is unknown, but it must be well after 1865, when McSpaden came to Caledonia, and before 1909, when the church and store burned. The street lamp and the trees suggest a late nineteenth century date. Major revisions of the Long house from its form as it was when that photo was taken appear to be very old work, however. Noteworthy features of the earlier house are: one-and-a-half story; north end chimney (and, one presumes, a matching chimney at the south end, although it is outside the photo frame); four front-facing roof dormers; lapped horizontal weatherboard siding; and a rather unusual porch. Closer examination of the porch reveals classically arranged double porticoes, with full entablatures resting upon Doric corner posts, and a segmental arch opening through entablature and tympanum and springing from very slender paired columns. Cornices are moulded and boxed. The porticoes are joined by a pergola which was unroofed (conversation with Stella Carr Butts, age 96, who remembers the porch as shown).

Comparison of the house in the old photo with the house as it appears at present would scarcely suggest that they have any relation whatsoever. Indeed, only the location leads to the preliminary conclusion that they are related. Local tradition as well confirms the notion: the house is "original" to the Reverend Harrison Long. Block A is found upon examination to be a pen of the earlier house. The dormer opening reamins in the rough-plastered ceiling of its attic room (Photo #75) as evidence. However, no stairway remains to join the main floor and attic, to which entry must be gained from block B. The present owner acquired the house only recently but has concluded that the walls of block A are brick, although they are hidden from view by weatherboarding on the exterior and various wallcoverings on the interior. The top of a single-course brick wall at the joining with block B may be observed at the eave level in the attic; but no timber plate or other framing members are apparent. Considering the relative thinness of the walls and the weatherboard exterior, one may surmise that the structure is timber framed with brick nogging, and/or brick walled interior to and against the frame, as seems to be the case in the south wall. Inasmuch as the fireplace is in that south wall, Suggesting that it was once the southern terminus of the house (the southernmost bay of the house in the old photo?) the compound timber-with-brick double wall seems more likely. A single-course brick wall would be impossibly insubstantial. The chimney has been replaced with a brick flue typical of the second half of the nineteenth century. Block A is founded upon stone rising some 12" above ground. The sash of the single window is nine-over-six. The woodwork of the interior (Photo #78), very simple in style and almost rustic in execution, exhibits a conservative old-fashioned provinciality. Despite the imputed 1848 date, it seems earlier, more Federal than Greek Revival, the latter being then the vogue among the style-conscious of rural Missouri.

Block B is different from block A in almost every respect and is to be considered a separate structure. Most obviously, it is a full two stories high. It rests virtually on the ground, with a foundation not apparent. Its floor level is lower by some 9" than that of block A. Block B is in plan a rather traditional hall-and-chamber, unique in the proposed historic district though with some similarity to Morris. The "hall", i.e., the larger of the two rooms, contains a large fireplace with (apparently) a traditional mantel, though it is now boxed over with masonite. As in block A it is vented by a brick flue rather than the presumed original chimney. The smaller "chamber" contains the opening into the stairway, which is in the very rear of the room; and its mass intrudes into the "hall". Upstairs, the division of spaces is identical to the downstairs; and the stairway returns into the upstairs "chamber", proceeding finally a full 180°. Photo #76 is taken from the landing at the top of the stairs; the staircase descends from the photo point and turns left into the downstairs opening. The upstairs opening is to the photographer's left. The photograph exhibits the wide vertical planking of the old wall (straight ahead) and the old tongue-and-groove ceiling. The side walls are modern.

The existence of a hall and chamber plan is not at all apparent on the facade. The house appears to be a side passage, or "two-thirds" house, of which there were a number in the Bellevue and Arcadia Valleys by mid-century. The William Goforth Eversole house (Photo #22) across the street north is a fine example of the type. The Long house entry is typical of the classic revival Caledonia entry, with glazed side lights and transom. Block B is in fact a discrete house possessing a traditional plan and a stylish facade. The doorway opens into the smaller "chamber" rather than into the larger "hall", as was traditional. But did the space into which the door opened really function solely or even primarily as a passage? To devote almost half of the downstairs space of the block to this purpose would seem impracticable. Perhaps it was a price that had to be paid for "style".

The structure of block B is clear by comparison to the mysterious block A, inasmuch as remodeling of the interior exposed it to the present owner. The walls are post-and-lintel timber frame of members which seem to be some 4" x 4" (the corner posts are probably larger). To the outside of this frame were nailed horizontal grooved planks varying from 12" to 18" in width. Over these similar planks were nailed vertically. Finally, the horizontal siding was applied. Framing members appear to be oak, and the planking and siding pine. Photo #77 is of the northwest corner of the upstairs chamber (the window is that above the entry) and exhibits elements of the post-and-lintel frame and the inside layer of planks. The stairway photo likewise illustrates the planks. Block B invites comparison with the construction of the Craighead-Henry house addition (Photo #104) which possesses similar planking, although it is apparently of black walnut.

Returning to the exterior of the Long house, nine-over-six sash in block A and the lower story sash on the front and south side of block B seem identical, although they are placed at different heights in the walls. All the upstairs windows of block B are six-over-six, as are the windows in the north side shed addition to block A. The flues also appear similar, although a cap for the block A flue is missing.

How to reconcile and explain the peculiarities and incongruities of the Long house? A probable explanation is that the north portion of the earlier house shown in the old pre-1909 photo was damaged or destroyed in the fire which took the church next door. From that debacle only the southernmost pen remained. To that structure, block A, a complete house, block B, was moved and joined. The large ell behind block B is congruous with it and was probably original to it. The various other additions remain unanalyzed. Perhaps the nine-over-six sash in the five downstairs windows of block B and its ell were salvaged from the old Long house. Perhaps they are original, although this is unlikely, considering the six-over-six sash upstairs. When the move and joining occurred, pulling down both original chimneys became necessary, and they were replaced with simple brick flues. Could such a large house have been obtained nearby, in order to accomplish such a move, requiring as it did so much labor and skill? The W. J. Dent plat (Figure 6) reveals the D. M. Queen house just next door to the south, on Lot 53, a structure no longer extant at that location. A final bit of evidence supporting such a thesis: the only element of the house suggesting that it was constructed after the 1909 fire is the front porch. Its hipped roof and carpenter-classic columns are typical late Victorian, like that of the more elegant 1906 George Eversole porch across the street. But its cement plinth-piers under the columns are typical of a design feature all the rage in porch fashion for the Bellevue and Arcadia Valleys in the Teens and Twenties of this century.

THE MORRIS HOUSE, College Street, Lot 11, Building #22, Photos #79-#81, Plan #7. Its date is unknown, but is probably antebellum. This frame structure was apparently built in at least three phases: the main (south) block was enlarged to its present size by moving the rear wall backward some two or three feet; and the ell (north) block was then added. Evidence of the addition to the south block is the unusual survival of the original oak shingled roof, intact, contained within the attic of the present house. Although it is in the form and manner of a rear ell, the north block is fully as large as the earlier south block to which it was added. The house is small, possessing some 640 square feet of enclosed space on each floor. In basic plan the south block is divided into two rooms, hall and chamber fashion. However, the entry door is to the side rather than to the center, and is dead against the boxed-in staircase in the southwest front corner of the building. The doorway is framed at the sides with solid oak log posts. No evidence of a fireplace is apparent.

The north block is partitioned in nondescript fashion both upstairs and down; exhaustive investigation would be necessitated to ascertain the course of events there.

The house has been vinyl-sided; but the white clapboard patterning with dark window surrounds and metal roof still evoke the probable original appearance. Rear placement of single windows at each level of the end wall is traditional; centered placement in the rear endwall of the north block as in the Vandiver house suggests late nineteenth century Victorian influence.

The Morris house is unique in Caledonia. Located in the back of this house are a non-contributing barn and two sheds.

BELLEVUE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, College Street, Lots 14 and 23, Building #23, Photos #80, #81-#85, Plan #8. The Presbyterian Church, completed in 1872, is a chaste brick structure urgently self-contained, a rectilinear box resting upon an exposed ground story. Its decoration is an almost ostentatious display of restraint, of how much can be achieved with an economy of means. The church is stylistically transitional between Neoclassical and Gothic Revival. Expressions of style are worked out in such a way as to exhibit excellent craftsmanship, subtle good taste, and a severely conservative temper. Built at the beginning of what was believed in Caledonia as elsewhere to be a new era, this fine church reflects consciousness of what was going on in the nearby up-and-coming railroad towns. It is contemporaneous to and shares some characteristics with the Methodist Church in Irondale eight miles to the east, and with the spectacular St. Paul's Episcopal in Ironton, some twenty miles to the southeast. Irondale Methodist, 1866-67, exhibits so many similarities, especially in its brick cornice detailing, that it would appear a likely model. Bellevue Presbyterian is much larger and more refined, however. (See Belleview, Beautiful View, p. 419)

Bellevue Presbyterian is a 60' x 36' brick-walled building, common bond throughout, with frame-timbered interior. It has no basement; and the functions typically served in church basements are here reserved to the ground floor: church school, social hall, and kitchen (the kitchen in the northwest corner possessed a packed-earth floor, literally on the ground, into this century, according to informant Charles Drew). This level of the building is articulated on the outside by a protruding four-course water table running around the building and supported at the corners and on the sides by brick pilasters resting on limestone piers. These pilasters protrude slightly outside the plane of the water table, and step inward to it upon two brick courses. The pilasters serve to articulate four side bays, each centered by a segmentally arched window with white painted slipsills, six-over-six sash, and plain moulding surround painted white. The upper story contains the nave and

is twice as high as the lower story. Its brick walls rise undecorated to the cornice.

The cornice is a subtle expression of an entablature all in brick, with the frieze worked out by brick bracketing. The mortar joints of the cornice are unbroken in their horizontality, even in the brackets, which are vertical. The cornice is returned on the facade corners in an echo of the cornice returns of so many dwellings in the town. The raking cornice of the facade repeats the design of the eave cornice except that it is slightly lightened in scale. Each course of wall bricks inside the raking cornice begins with a full stretcher, further enhancing the cornice and the suggestion of a pediment, a suggestion so strong as to draw the eye to a single header course (among many in the entire wall) that crosses the building at the level of the cornice return. The slender fascia of the roof is painted white. In the center of the pediment is a round opening, originally glazed, now filled with a simply moulded wooden plank painted white. The surround is a rosette of stretcher bricks stood on end. Beginning at the spring of the arches of the facade windows, the brick changes tone. It is slightly darker below, slightly lighter above. The color change creates a line of perceptible separation between upper and lower walls along a straight line between the two windows. At the outside of each arch spring the change in brick color is carried in a diagonal of approximately forty-five degrees up to the intersection between the corner of the facade wall and the base of the cornice return.

Crowning the building behind the facade roof peak is an octagonal cupola-belfry, an underscaled and understated classical accent. Its facets have round-arched openings filled with shutters painted green to match the main window shutters. The vertical corner members have a simple horizontal moulding trim at the spring of the arch to suggest a capital. The tower cornice is simply boxed, and the pitch of the tower roof is low. A lightening rod finishes the tower at the top. The whole rests on a wooden base, the wide face boards of which are beveled so as to create fine horizontal shadow lines. These give the base in appearance a bit of needed heaviness, inasmuch as its diameter is no greater than that of the tower proper. The division between base and tower is further accentuated by a protruding moulding between the base and the shuttered facets which provides added solidity to the base and breaks the sense of the vertical that would otherwise pertain.

Two stove flues of brick rise from each side of the building the width of one bay inward from both back and front, providing for four stoves on each level of the interior. The flues are fully engaged in the walls and pierce the roofline just behind the eave. They are finished with simple corbelled drip caps.

The dominant decorative feature of the Presbyterian church is its lancet Gothic windows, six lighting the nave and four the narthex. They rise almost the full height of the upper story, four each in the four bays of the side, and two in the facade, where they are placed well to the sides. (The rear wall of the building is unpierced.) The windows rest on lightly-scaled stone slip sills painted white, as are the wooden intrados of the opening above. The windows are six-over-six sash with the mullions of the upper sash bent to accommodate the points of the arch. On the exterior the windows are enclosed in shutters with moveable louvers painted dark green.

The entryway at ground level in the center of the facade, also a prominent decorative feature, is contained in a plain rectangle surmounted by a lancet arch matching those of the windows, save that it is slightly larger and is entirely white. Its intrados is a plain wooden fascia painted white, revealing the depth of the wall. The double-leafed, four-panelled doors are echoed in the lancet arch above by a four-panel blind transom. Doors and arch lancet are separated by a flat, rectangular transverse panel artfully engaging and reinforcing the strong horizontal line of the brick watertable. All entryway woodwork is painted white. The manner in which the strongest vertical and horizontal elements of the building are combined in the entryway gives it a special sense of being the true center of the whole, and demonstrates the grasp of aesthetic essentials possessed by the builders.

The church rests on a low limestone foundation. The roof is covered in unobtrusive dark shingles, and the white-painted eave trough and corner downspouts accentuate the mass of the walls.

Access to the interior was originally gained by separate entrances for each story. The center front entry opened into a lobby from which staircases rose on both sides in two flights to the upstairs narthex. On the east wall double doors under the east staircase opened into the lower story. The 180° turn of the staircases and the narrow, cramped landings made ingress and egress for coffins at funerals extremely difficult. Pallbearers found it necessary to stand the box virtually on end to negotiate the turn. This awkwardness finally precipitated a major remodeling. The east staircase was rebuilt to descend in an unbroken flight from the narthex to the old east ground floor doors. This "funeral stair" is the full width of the narthex, and is centered by a freestanding handrail. A new entrance to the first floor was gained by remodeling the next-to-rear east window into a doorway. Inasmuch as the parking lot is on the east, the side doors are now commonly used to enter the church.

The nave interior is white, even to the painted pews. The dark wine carpet, dark pulpit furniture, and the green of the closed shutters seen through the windows provide contrast. The original coved ceiling has now been covered by a dropped fiberboard ceiling. The smooth expanse of unpierced wall behind the pulpit is broken by two engaged half-octagon pilasters, one foot in diameter, with Gothic finials, engaged in the wall twelve feet from either side and rising some six feet off the floor. A choir is barely suggested by two slight rises in the floor, one of them 5' deep and the other 6' deep, each a low step up. There is no rail. Access to the lower floor from the northeast corner of the pulpit area is gained by a steep and narrow stair, boxed and doored at the bottom in the manner typical of traditional corner stairways of which there are many in Caledonia.

The first floor interior is unexceptional save for the four great timber piers, each one foot square, along the center line of the building, supporting the upstairs. The corners of the piers are artfully chamfered.

Although geometrically well-balanced, the tautness of the Presbyterian church gives it a somewhat tall appearance, an impression accentuated by the absence of plantings to soften the foundation. Furthermore, the church is sited on the highest point in town, and is thus quite powerful and dominant in its rural village setting. The Reverend T. C. Barrett, minister during the time of planning and construction, said of the church:

> This building is of brick . . . . The lower story is divided into vestibule, lecture-room, pastor's study, and fuel-room (the unfloored kitchen of the next generation). The upper story is occupied with the audience and vestibule. The style of the architecture is semi-gothic and the finish plain, but neat. The interior invites with its appearance of comfort. The whole cost of the building was about $6,000. This house, Free of Debt, was dedicated to the service of God on the 11th of August, 1872. (Sermon of T. C. Barrett, "History of Bellevue Presbyterian Church," 1877. Typescript copy, Center for Ozarks Studies.)

A non-contributing storage shed is located to the rear.

THE VICTORIANS; KENNETH QUEEN COTTAGE, College Street, Lot 26, Building #24,; WILLARD VANDIVER HOUSE, College and Alexander Streets, Lot 35, Building #25, c. 1880; and U. P. WOOD HOUSE, College and Alexander Streets, Lot 38, Building #26, c. 1883. (All Photos: #86, #88-#90, #91-#92). These houses, all on the west side of College Street, remain as reminders of the era of Belleview Collegiate Institute, located across the street to the east but long since razed. All are on corner lots and have L-shaped plans, the interior of which face the street corners; and all have porches and entries in the interior angle of the L.

Willard Duncan Vandiver, the president of Belleview Collegiate Institute and perhaps the most prominent public figure in the town's history, built by far the most elaborate house of the group. It was diagonally across the street from the imposing BCI building and campus (see Photos #107-#110). When erected c. 1880 it certainly departed from the prevailing classical and conservative traditions of the town's better houses, and was obviously intended to exhibit a sense of modernity and progress congruous with the spirit of BCI and its leader. (N.B.: When looking at the photographs of the Vandiver house, readers must recognize that the old photo with the Vandiver portrait insert was printed backwards.) The house has suffered neglect and loss of exterior detail, and has been severely altered and degraded in the interior. In describing it, the presumed original appearance as portrayed in the old photograph will be the primary reference.

The ends of the main block wings terminate in first floor bays with windows. The angle of the bays carries across the house corners to create first floor chamfering with jigsaw-cut brackets at the second floor overhang. The cornices here as throughout are plain. The peaks of the half-octagonal bay roofs just touch the sills of the windows centered in the upstairs wall ends. Alone among the dwellings of the proposed district (save for the Morris addition) Vandiver has centered windows in the second story end walls --a noteworthy departure from a strong design tradition in Caledonia, as elsewhere in the Ozarks. Dominating the complex of masses in this house is the entryway tower rising a full three stories in the interior angle of the main block L. It is roofed with a mansard, originally capped by a stick-style balustrade. At the second-floor level a door and window in the tower opened onto a porch on the flat portion of the roof of the first-floor porch mansard. This little second-story fancy was surrounded by a pierced-screen balustrade. Surrounding the entry tower and filling the L interior angle at the first floor was an elaborate porch. The roof was a mansard with little gabled dormers in the center of each side, the pediment of which was filled with fish-scale shingles. It was supported on bracketed machine-turned posts and decorated with a suspended spindle frieze under the eave. Completing the decor of the exterior were stickish brackets in the gable of the end walls, shutters of a dark contrasting color at all windows, decorated semi-hood lintels, horizontal lapsiding, and perhaps vertical corner trim in contrasting paint (note left bay in old photo). Most of this decoration is now gone: the balustrades, gable brackets, porch frieze and dormers, shutters, and contrasting paint. The roof shingles have been replaced with sheet metal, and the picket surround of the yard has disappeared. In back of the house is a contributing wood frame smokehouse.

By contrast, the U. P. Wood house across the street is in an excellent state of preservation (Photos #91-#98). It echoes a few of the Vandiver

details: front corner porch with bracketed post, spindle frieze, and pierced work balustrade on top surrounding a little second-story porch. Simple jigsawed brackets are in the gable ends. A slightly projecting rectangular bay at the first floor of the east end breaks the otherwise tall, severe austerity of the main block. The house is entirely white. Rear additions are neatly matched in siding, cornices, and window surround, so as to be stylistically congruous. The attic is ventilated by arched, louvered openings neatly moulded and completed with a carpentered keystone.

Of considerable interest is the placement of the windows in the end walls of the Wood house, otherwise innovative for its time: they are placed at the side rather than in the center of the walls, like every other two-story house in the proposed district save for Vandiver. It is an arrangement proceeding from the tradition of chimneys in the centers of end walls, which thus displaced to the sides other wall piercings, if any. No chimneys or flues are evident anywhere in the main block of Wood. To the rear is a non-contributing garage.

The Queen house, Photo #86, on the southwest corner of Henry and College Streets, is a modest single-story L-plan cottage. Its shed-roofed porch adjoins the south wing and leads to the entry at the angle of the L. An incongruous vinyl-sided addition extends beyond the end of the west wing. The house is undecorated save for turned porch posts and balusters, plain cornices, and window surrounds, all painted white in contrast to the dark red rolled composition siding of the walls.

THE CRAIGHEAD-HENRY HOUSE, 304 College Street, Lot 24, Building #28, Photos #80, #96-#104, Plan #10, c. 1816. This is the earliest structure in the proposed historic district and lies with the Woods-Holman house just outside Caledonia for the distinction of being the oldest surviving structure in the Belleview Valley. (For a discussion of the significance of the Craighead-Henry design, see Section 8.)

The lcoation of Craighead-Henry is anomalous. The legal description places it on Lot 24, the lot ascribed to the ownership of Andrew Henry on the 1818 plat of Caledonia (Figure 2). The only official scaled plat of record is that of 1885 (Figure 3). It cannot, however, be reconciled with a recent aerial survey map, especially along College Street (Figure 5). When the 1885 plat is superimposed upon the aerial survey map, Craighead-Henry appears entirely in the street, and in front of Lot 13 for the most part. The owners of Craighead-Henry, Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Scott, Sr., own all of Lot 24, which legally includes Craighead-Henry. For this reason, Lot 24 is embraced in the proposed district.

The house itself is a fascinating paradox. It is a double-pen, two story (or stack) dog-trot or double-house with a one-and-a-half story addition appended to the north gable end. Construction is of six-inch oak log, with frame addition.

The log pens are 16'6" x 15' (south) and 16'8" x 15' (north). Each is entered by doors centered in the interior end walls which open into the eight-foot-wide passage. Doors centered in the rear walls open upon the porch. Wall piercing on the rear (porch side) of the pens is traditional: doors only in the first story, single centered windows above them in the second story. Wall piercing on the front is most extraordinary for a log dwelling: two ranges of windows arranged symmetrically in each pen with centered side-lighted front door opening into the passage. A central window lights the upstairs passage. There is no transom or inset portico.

Placed behind the door openings into the passage and occupying almost eight feet of its depth is the staircase. It ascends in six ten-inch treads and rather steep eight-inch risers to a 45° turn. Instead of a landing, it is negotiated in three fanned diagonal steps. Four additional steps complete the ascent. The stairs are very solid, being fastened to the log wall at the side and heavy timber members at the rear. Inasmuch as the doors which serve the main downstairs rooms are located so as to serve the stairs, and the framing of the rear enclosure of the passage does the same, those elements would seem to have been designed as a piece, and indicate that the stairs were planned at the same time that the log pens were constructed.

The addition is to the north end, Virginia-fashion, rather than to the rear. It is one-and-a-half story, 16 1/2' x 15', with a rear shed room. The rear leaf of the addition roof is a continuous cat-slide over the shed (Photo 96). The upstairs of the addition is entered by a boxed staircase opening into the shed room. The interior walls, as revealed in the boxed stair, are constructed of very wide (c. 12") horizontal planks, V-grooved, nailed to c. 1" x 4" furring planks fastened to the log wall of the main block. Upstairs ceilings are of the same material. The ceilings are beaded-edge plank, resting upon beaded edge c. 3" x 6" rafters (Photos #102 and #104). This planking is similar to that in block B of the Long-White house, (Photo #71). Fireplace chimneys of limestone stood outside the center of the gable endwalls (the south chimney was taken down in the twentieth century and replaced with a brick flue interior to the wall). A shed porch shelters the entire length of the rear of the main block, the roof of which engages the wall just below the upstairs windows. Siding is stone-pattern gray motley rolled asphalt. Windows are modern single-pane sash, surrounded by plain flat trim moulding painted white.

So much is immediately apparent. Close examination, however, reveals significant structural differences between the log pens: the north pen logs are joined at the corners with V-notching (Photo #101), while those at the south end are joined in half-dovetails. The apparently continuous rear porch also reveals two structures. Its very wide ceiling planks (up to 16") laid lengthwise atop the exposed, barked pole rafters and under the corrugated metal roofing break at the inside termini of the main pens. The rafters of the north porch rest upon an exposed ledger plate fastened to the log wall with unfinished and partially protruding wooden pegs; the south porch rafters rest upon individual wooden brackets nailed to the wall. So both log joinery and porch construction persuasively suggest the construction of the two pens of the house as different building episodes. That the house had an open passage between the pens is suggested by the enclosure of that 8'-wide passage at the rear with vertical rabbeted planking. (A similar house is the Roehrs-Scott house, Iron County Survey #B67, in extreme southeast Bellevue Valley. It is an enclosed dog trot, stack, logs of black walnut rather than oak, and with exterior limestone end chimneys. Dimensions are also similar to Craighead-Henry.) To the southeast of the house, in a wooded area, are three dilapidated non-contributing outbuildings.

THE GREEN-STEVENS HOUSE, College Street, Lot 25, Building #29, Photo #105, c. 1900. This story-and-a-half frame cottage is unique to the proposed Caledonia historic district but is typical of German or German-influenced cottages of the mid- to late-nineteenth century in Missouri. Distinctive features of such buildings are here apparent: heavy stone foundation cellar with walk-in exterior entry; comparatively great depth of the main block in relation to width and height; correspondingly gentle roof pitch, with tern metal roof. The house is now sided with asbestos shingles painted pale green. The rear ell is similarly sided and roofed. The large dormer-gable of the facade now must compete for attention with a recent concrete block flue which rises across its corner. Date of the house is unknown, but may be presumed to be late nineteenth century. To the northeast is a non-contributing garage.

THE CALEDONIA SCHOOL, College Street, Lots 36 and 37, Building #30, Photo #106, 1936. This building is typical of between-the-wars school design in suburbs, towns, and small cities where land was abundant and such a widespreading structure might easily be accommodated. It displays the "colonial" elements common to many schools, post offices, and other public buildings of its generation: white woodwork contrasting with dark masonry construction; fanlighted transoms over entries; and "colonial" mullioned sash of generous proportion, in this case, six-over-six. The distinguishing characteristic of this building, however, is its smooth-dressed and ashlar-coursed St. Francis Mountains porphyry, the famous "Missouri Red" granite. It is the only building of this material in Caledonia.

SITE OF THE BELLEVIEW COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE (BCI), College Street, Lot 37, Photo #107. The BCI building was erected in the c. 1870 and then greatly enlarged in the 1880s,, to become the largest, most elegant, and most prized structure in Caledonia (Photos #108-#110). It was razed in 1955. At present only the foundation remains, together with the old BCI bell resting atop a commemorative marker. The non-contributing structure #7, is a trailer for additional classrooms. The present school is at the extreme left.

TOM GOODYKOONTZ HOUSE, College Street, Lot 48, Building #31, Photo #111, c. 1910-1920. This house, despite its abandoned, derelict condition is the newest dwelling in the proposed historic district, surely the only one built in the twentieth century. (Living informants in Caledonia well remember the preceding structure on the site, which was a BCI women's dormitory.) It may have been built as late as 1920; it was not built earlier than 1910. Its "Midwest Cube" form and style was an ubiquitous regional-national vernacular, a standard of the builder's vocabulary. Yet the Goodykoontz house is one of only two of its kind in Caledonia, the other being the Methodist parsonage, Building #20, Photo #69. Goodykoontz is the larger and more elaborate. In addition to its standard hipped roof, hipped facade attic dormer, and widespreading porch (now disappeared), Goodykoontz displays noteworthy details. The prominent boxed cornice gives the roof a slightly Japanesque, bellcast appearance. The wide, double-hung sash in the first floor facade contain leaded upper panes in the Prairie Style. These windows are unique not only to Caledonia but apparently to the Bellevue and Arcadia Valleys. The wall framing exposed on the facade (at the south end of the porch roof space) is not standard stud framing, and further suggests that this house might have been pre-cut and catalogue-ordered.

MCSPADDEN-BURRIS HOUSE, 103 Alexander Street, Lot 40, Building #32, Photos #112-#113, c. 1909. This is a two-story vernacular gable-roofed frame house, with imbricated wood shingles under the gable ends as its only elaborate feature. The small front porch is supported by three turned posts. Actually a T-plan shaped house, it was added to a pre-Civil-War slave cabin, which appears as the one-story rear wing. The original cabin (Photo #113) consists of two rooms with a transom over the door. A later porch has been added to the rear of the cabin.

Major Non-Contributing Properties

NC 1 GIER HOUSE, Main Street, Lot 20, Photos #49 and #50, c. 1940, small one-story three-room cottage. (Non-contributing).

NC 2 GIER Trailer House, Main Street, Lot 20, Photos #49 and #50, c. 1979. (Non-contributing).

NC 3-4 AL AND DEE'S MARKET (now Lashley Market), Main Street, Lot 29, Photos #53 and #56, c. 1970. This building combines two one-story buildings; a frame building on the corner, and to the south a concrete block and brick structure. (Non-contributing).

NC 5 JOHN CIVEY HOUSE College Street, Lot 35, Photo #87, c. 1966. This is a one-story frame house with a gable roof and a hip-roofed porch. (Non-contributing).

NC 6 WOODS RENTAL HOUSE, College Street, Lot 38, c. 1958. This is a one-story frame house with gable roof. (Non-contributing).

NC 7 CALEDONIA SCHOOL TRAILER, College Street, Lot 37, Photo #107. Trailer is adjacent to Caledonia School and serves the purpose of additional classrooms. The trailer sets on the site of the location of Belleview Collegiate Institute.

NC 8 JINKERSON HOUSE, 204 Alexander, Lot 34, c. 1943. This is a one-story frame house with gable roof, a hip-roofed porch, and weatherboard siding. (Non-contributing).

NC 9 ALEXANDER HOUSE, 202 Alexander, Lot 34, c. 1918. This is a one-story frame house with weatherboard siding, hip roof, and front porch. A carport addition and alterations have altered the integrity of the structure. (Non-contributing).

NC 10 WILLIAMS HOUSE, Alexander Street, Lot 33, c. 1956. This is a one-story frame ranch house. (Non-contributing).

NC 11 ASHER HOME, Alexander Street, Lot 28, c. 1980. One-story frame ranch house. (Non-contributing).

NC 12 105 HENRY, Lot 29, c. 1940. One-story, one-room frame cottage. (Non-contributing).

NC 13 HULL HOUSE, Henry Street, Lot 22, c. 1937. This is a two-story gable-roofed frame house with several alterations. (Non-contributing).

All other non-contributing properties consist of numerous associated outbuildings of a non-obtrusive nature. All non-contributing properties scarcely detract from the overall visual integrity of the district's cultural landscape and the unique rural village ambience of Caledonia.

A. Significance in American History

Introduction

Caledonia, Washington County, Missouri, was platted in 1818. It was the first and long the foremost village center of its conjoining rural neighborhoods, the upper Big River valley and the Bellevue Valley of the St. Francois Mountains. Inasmuch as these areas and their settlements were together referred to for an extended period beginning in the early nineteenth century as "Bellevue," that term will be used in this writing.The word dates from the French period and was long rendered by American settlers with the French spelling, both "Belle Vue" and "Bellevue." Gradually the spelling was anglicized to "Belleview," which is now the common and official rendering on maps and other place-name documents. "Bellevue" is not completely gone from local useage, however. The rustic signboard along side Missouri Highway 21 between Potosi and Caledonia reads "Entering Historical [sic] Bellevue Valley—Settled 1798." The Bellevue [sic] Valley Historical Society published its 1983 commemorative history under the title, Bellevue—Beautiful View. The History of the Bellevue Valley and Surrounding Area.[1]

The Bellevue and upper Big River valley settlements do indeed date from 1798, the same year as the settling of the more famous American lead mining colony of Moses Austin at Mine a Breton (Potosi) a few miles to the north. The Bellevue was then the most remote agricultural settlement of Spanish Upper Louisiana, and is consequently the oldest American farmers' settlement of the Missouri interior (i.e. at a distance from the Mississippi or Missouri Rivers). Its economy was primarily agricultural, based on livestock, hay, and small grains. Nearby mining and metalworking industries provided employment, markets, and the special frontier blessing of cheap iron and lead goods. In addition the land was covered with both pine and hardwoods, ubiquitous Ozarks resources which supplied a wood products industry almost without interruption to the present. Caledonia was and has remained a "high" Scotch-Irish community, not only one of the earliest but apparently one of the most distinctive of such settlements upon the Louisiana Purchase frontier. It possesses clearly identifiable social and cultural antecedents, and, equally, continuities from that founding virtually to the present. Evidence of such continuity is an almost ethnic self-consciousness and celebration of the social and cultural attributes of community values as expressed in its constituent families and institutions. The celebration of the heritage has been filiopietistic, to be sure, but it has as surely been a conservator responsible in part for the survival of the town as a distinctive cultural landscape. Caledonia portrays as a case study the role of Scotch-Irish Americans in the development of the national socio-economy, a theme often

generalized but seldom clearly exemplified. The Ozarks region, where Caledonia is situated, was settled first by Scotch-Irish-descended immigrants of the Southern Highlands, from Pennsylvania to Alabama. Of this great migration the Scotch-Irish of the Bellevue were a part. But they were extraordinary in the elevated degree of their sophistication and general cultivation; the amount of formal education possessed by many of them, and their interest in schools and schooling; their relatively advanced socio-economy; and their early and strong formal institutions remarkable in a region slow to develop institutions. The masonic lodge (1825) was the twelfth organized in Missouri, and of that pioneer group of lodges it was the only one to survive the antimasonic furor without being disorganized. The Methodist Church dates from c. 1810, one of the first Methodist Churches in the territory; and Concord Presbyterian Church, 1816, was the first of its denomination west of the Mississippi. These three Caledonia institutions have uninterrupted histories to the present. More readily apparent is a refined taste in architecture preserved in the town's cultural landscape, equally remarkable in the Ozarks. For these reasons I term the society "high" Scotch-Irish. That the village should be named Caledonia by the young entrepreneur Alexander Craighead, scion of a family possessed of five Scotch-Irish generations of distinguished Presbyterian divines, was portentous poesy indeed. Caledonia was an early and persisting center in rural Missouri for American Protestantism where the larger towns were yet dominated by Creole and Irish Catholicism. It was a culture hearth in the far West for what Martin Marty has called "the Righteous Empire" of the Protestant evangelical faith.[2] Caledonia and the Bellevue are, in a larger sense, perhaps a prototypical example of the actual working out of Thomas Jefferson's ideal model of the American future: a rural neighborhood and a small village of yeomen that were Southern, middling, modest, decent (if slaveowning), striving, expansive, tasteful, Godly, patriotic, and independent.

## Ozarks Land: The Bellevue Valley as a Place

Caledonia's history is woven inextricably into its setting as much as is that of San Francisco to coast and Bay, Chicago to prairie and Lake, or Charleston to sea and Low Country. For Caledonia the setting is the Bellevue Valley, the St. Francois Mountains, and the Ozarks. Of the Ozarks as a regional setting, suffice it to say that the inhabitants of the Bellevue have always and of necessity shared certain circumstances with all inhabitants of the region's interior: an isolation produced by stretches of difficult terrain; the blessing of a relatively benign climate; resources for a simple, self-sufficient abundance; and lack of resources for swift modernization. The Ozarks is a large region of small spaces, a region to embrace inhabitants possessed of modest

expectations, but likewise a region tending to deflect the very ambitious. Of all parts of Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana, it was perhaps most fit to be home for his ideological and spiritual heirs.

The area of the St. Francois Mountains constitutes an Ozarks subregion, an irregularly shaped oval of knobs and basins roughly fifty miles from east to west and seventy-five from south to north. It is in southeast Missouri, centering some one hundred miles south of St. Louis and fifty miles west-southwest of Ste. Genevieve. The landscape is gorgeous, celebrated alike by plowman, resorter, miner, and artist. It is entrancing to the eye and intriguing to the mind: images of brooding ancient mountains, intricate valley patchworks in virescent hues fleeting under cloud, wind, rain, or lingering fog at dawn; in summer all blue and green; in winter rust and umber. In spring a gauze of chartreuse spreads over the land, bejeweled with the pearl of dogwood and the amethyst of redbud. In autumn the country glows like the final embers of Creation's fire, revealing at last the opulent variety of its vegetation, lain upon the dark purple-red-black land. The valleys and mountains are bound together in an eternal counterpoint of opposites, the one domestic and enticing, the other wild and forbidding. The mountain slopes are not distant; they rise abruptly out of the fields and meadows. After snow or in moonlight, the valleys lie white and gentle while the mountains rise dark, massive, and close—always close.

The St. Francois Mountains are great knobs of igneous rock, granites and porphyries, shading in color from vigorous pink to purple-black, depending on the amounts and types of iron ores they contain. These knobs, of irregular but generally rounded shapes, rise some thousand to fifteen hundred feet above the valley floors. They are contained in basins of sandstone, shale, and limestone. The basins of the St. Francois possess some of the Ozarks' most fertile soils. From earliest settlement until now they have been prized as Ozarks garden spots. One of the smaller basins is the Bellevue Valley of north central Iron County and southeast Washington County. The soils of the Bellevue are predominantly the Fredricktown (Ashe) stony loams, similar to those of its larger sister basins to the north and east, and are derived from a parent limestone of the Bonne Terre formation, a late Cambrian age sedimentary. The Bonne Terre formation is also the bearer of the richest and most abundant lead and zinc ores in North America. It debouches upon the surface at many points in and near the St. Francois Mountains, and has provided for a continous mining industry from the early eighteenth century until the present. The occurence of lead in fabled abundance throughout the area played an indirect but decisive role in the history of Caledonia and the Bellevue Valley.

The Bellevue is a graben, a valley formed not by drainage erosion but by faults along opposite sides of the valley that have caused a subsidence of the entire landform.

So, although the valley is shadowed on three sides by mountain knobs and is very valley-like in feeling, it contains no large stream or river. Shelves, slipoff slopes, and flood plains so characteristic of most Ozarks valleys are absent in the Bellevue.

At the outset of Euro-American settlement the Bellevue was entirely forested in hardwoods interspersed with cedar and pine.

> The trees stood tall and perpendicular as if set by a plumb and line, branchless save at top . . . There was also the majestic pine whose pyramidal height seemed to blend into one, Earth and Heaven . . . . The valley was completely covered with grass, a luxuriant growth, bending in the breeze, like an immense meadow blooming into harvest.

Thus William Woods, a prominent Caledonia pioneer, recalled his impressions when on March 4, 1806, he first traversed the valley that was to be his new home.[3] Some thirty-five years later, c. 1840, the forest still dominated the valley landscape. As the traveller passed through,

> you would come to a farm surrounded by woods, shut in from all the rest of the world. After passing the farm, you would go for miles without seeing another house. . . . Belleview Valley, although it had a good many farms, and some of them quite large, each with its large family of negroes and all the necessary buildings. . . log houses and negro cabins, log stables and cribs . . . which made quite a town, yet such a farm or plantation was isolated from all the rest of the world . . . back and forward, through winding ways . . . you had to have a guide, the roads so narrow, the steps so high . . . .[4]

The climate is a mild phase of the humid continental zone, characterized by long springs and autumns. Freezing temperatures may occur at night during six months of the year with occasional cold smaps of $0^{\circ}$F. Prolonged very cold weather is unusual. Summers are hot and humid, and often droughts occur in July and August. Summer nights tend to cool off, however, and have made the St. Francois particularly attractive to residents of the torpid lowlands just to the east. Rainfall averages 52 inches, including twelve inches of snow. The climate was, in the nineteenth century, considered to be "healthy."

To the description of environmental factors—landforms, soils, timber, minerals, and

climate—must finally be added water resources. Springs and small streams abound in the Belleview as in all the basins. Streambed slope is sufficient to have provided numerous waterpower sites for grist and sawmills and for small iron forges. The hydrography was consequently most attractive to early nineteenth century settlers. One river of consequence, the upper reach of Big River, and its modest valley bound the Bellevue on the north. Big River flows in a northeasterly direction from its source a few miles to the west to its final confluence with the Meramec near St. Louis.[5]

Caledonia is sited at what was the early nineteenth century point of entry to the Bellevue Valley. Ingress was, at the outset of settlement, primarily from the north, along the twelve-mile route coming from Mine a Breton, soon to be the village of Potosi and the site of Moses Austin's mines and smelters. The Potosi road passed through a steeply dissected stretch of the Courtois Hills, down Flat or Furnace Creek (named for the Springfield Iron Furnace located upon its banks) to its mouth at Big River, nearby Andrew Hunter's mill (Figure 1). To that point the Potosi-Bellevue road had passed through land essentially worthless for agriculture. But there, at the Big River crossing, the country changed dramatically. The river valley proper lay on either hand, extending southwest and northeast. Straight ahead, to the south, was the Bellevue Valley. The elevation at the river crossing is about 830 feet; at Caledonia, three miles to the south, 925 feet. Flanking knobs rise 1100 to 1200 feet. The valley floor itself averages some 950 feet in elevation. Buford Mountain, which rises southeast of Caledonia and dominates the whole valley, is above 1700 feet, one of the highest places in the state of Missouri. The early route from Potosi to Caledonia continued south and a bit east across the valley, probably to dead-end there, at least in the first quarter century of settlement. Along this route, south of the river crossing and up and down the river from it, occurred the earliest land-taking and settlement, as indicated by the pattern of Spanish land grants claimed by Americans before the 1803 Louisiana Purchase (see Figure 2). In the Bellevue this corridor of grants is two to three miles wide and some eleven miles long, and marks the earliest claimants' choice of best settlement sites.

Caledonia was the first village of the Bellevue, and retained its primacy into the twentieth century, despite the establishment nearby of additional towns. Its general location, where the Bellevue and the Big River Valleys meet, and where the old road from Potosi debouches into the valley, is expectable. Before the village came into existence, Methodists had acquired land just north of the townsite, near the Potosi Road and also near a spring draining into Reynolds Branch of Goose Creek, for a church and cemetery. It was in the William Reed, Sr., grant, Survey #2120. Presbyterians had located their church and cemetery nearby as well, some one and one-half miles south of the Hunter's Mill crossing of Big River and three-quarters of a mile northeast of the townsite. At these places each group erected log churches that served for generations

before relocating "in town," i.e. Caledonia. The original cemeteries remain in use to the present, symbolizing the organic relationship between village and rural surround, a fundamental characteristic of society, economy, and culture that remains unchanged (see Figure 1).

The reasons for locating the Caledonia townsite precisely where it is are not readily apparent from geography. No river ford, trail crossing, millsite, or similar circumstance would seem to account for it. The location was athwart the boundary between two Spanish grants, which ran along the course of Goose Creek, meandering north by northeast toward Big River a few miles beyond (see Figures 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10). The town's topography thus is characterized by a sloping inward from the east and west boundaries down to the center. The flatter land is away from the creek, ordaining that most of the buildings would be upon the two north-south streets lying along the outer edges of the town, namely Main on the west and College on the east (see Figure 2). A third north-south street platted in the center of town (appropriately named "Spring Street") was never built, and the town has always been divided longitudinally by a kind of no-man's-land break along the creek. Such a site would appear unfelicitous for a town compared, say, with the high land near the Presbyterians or Methodists. Perhaps this relative undesireability made it attractive to the developers. Land of small value for agriculture might, by the magic of platting, be turned into town lots of great value. The phantom Spring Street was upon the boundary between Spanish Grants #2182 of Miles Goforth on the west and #837 of Ananias McCoy on the east (see Figure #1) resulting in an $8^{o}$ eastward inclination from north of the whole town plat, a phenomenon uncharacteristic of compass-oriented American surveys. The plat was rectangular, approximately 360 meters wide by 432 meters long, comprising some 38.5 acres, precisely divided between the two adjoining grants.

The first settlers apparently came to the Belleview Valley in 1798. A generation later, in 1818, Caledonia was laid out. Thereafter the landscape changed slowly and moderately. By the 1870s or 80s the trees had finally been cleared from the valley, and many more farms had been opened. A generation later such signs of modernity as graded roads and telephone poles began to appear. Today a modern highway traverses the valley roughly along the original north-to-south route, from Potosi through Caledonia and another from east to west has been added. Modern homes dot the valley, as do modern machines and other agriculture accouterments. But Caledonia and the Bellevue remain less changed otherwise than most American landscapes after a century and three-quarters of continuous intensive occupance. In town and valley, types and styles of buildings are extant from virtually every generation. No railroad has come, no industry, no revolutionary increase or decrease of population. Caledonia remains a village without motels, drive-ins, fast food establishments, prefab steel factory buildings, neon lights,

etc. Rather, the visitor's attention is attracted to the nineteenth century streetscapes with their dramatic, in some cases monumental, buildings so striking in their isolated Ozarks locale. Land and life have been interwoven through time to create a unique sense of historic place.

Louisiana Frontier, 1798-1820

Ray Allen Billington, best known historian of the westward movement of population in the United States, wrote of Missouri that by 1812, "aside from the cluster of French towns about St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, few settlers lived there . . . . Only the boldest pioneers would hurdle a pathless wilderness to seek such distant lands."[6] In fact, significant American settlements were in Missouri before 1812. Few would argue that the settlers were not bold; but one might dispute the implication that their early migration was so exceptional, or that it should be portrayed as hurdling a pathless wilderness. Before the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 numbers of Americans had crossed the Mississippi in order to obtain the readily proferred Spanish land grants (although possessing the lands granted was anything but easy). Those who did so were of the company of pioneers laying the foundation of an American empire in the TransMississippi. What was exceptional at that early date was inland settlements, interior to and separated from the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Of these the most prominent were settlements occasioned by the lure of lead in the St. Francois Mountains, in present St. Francois , Iron, and Washington Counties. The nethermost was at the site of a 1780s lead strike, the discovery of a French creole named Breton along a creek destined, like the diggings themselves, to bear his name. Mine a Breton was some forty air miles west of Ste. Genevieve. The actual traverse over often tortuous Ozarks terrain was much farther. From Virginia to Mine a Breton in 1798 came the celebrated, cantankerous Yankee mining and smelting entrepreneur, Moses Austin. (He rendered the name of his objective in his journal as he doubtless pronounced it: "Mine a Burton.") Austin and his considerable menage and retinue decided to hurdle the pathless wilderness by floating the Kanahwa, Ohio, and Mississippi, though not without hazard and tragic loss. His subsequent twenty-year enterprise at Mine a Breton brought more efficient mining and smelting techniques and better management than had been known in Upper Louisiana during the previous half-centuiry of desultory mining by French, Spaniards, Americans, or Indians. He was a considerable presence during the first generation of the Missouri immigration boom which followed the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. Austin's

American village rising above the Mine a Breton diggings was named Potosi, the largest interior village at that time. His ventures finally failed, however, in the great crash of 1819; and, through his son Stephen, he was to achieve greater fame in Texas than ever he had in Missouri. Nevertheless the lead industries of Potosi and nearby Old Mines had drawn a population into the Ozarks fastness which occasioned creation of the first interior Missouri county in 1814, respectfully named Washington, with Potosi as its seat. It was the nexus for a significant early Missouri socioeconomy.

The same year that Austin burst upon the twilight of Creole Louisiana—1798—American farmers began to arrive in fertile St. Francois Mountains basins nearby: Murphy's Settlement, modern Farmington, St. Francois County, and the Bellevue Settlement, in modern Washington and Iron Counties. The earliest Bellevue settlers were predominantly from western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee whose history constitutes a notable case study in Scotch-Irish, Protestant American migration. By the time of the Purchase they called for relatives and neighbors to hurry west to join them and lay early claim to lands. A number of them did so.

In the spring of 1804, in the final weeks of the Spanish authority, one Paschal Detchmendy of Ste. Genevieve sent Deputy Surveyor Thomas Maddin from Mine a Breton down to the Bellevue to survey a six thousand arpent claim under Detchmendy's pre-Purchase grant from Spanish Governor de Lassus de Luziere. Detchmendy already had a sawmill and other enterprises near Ste. Genevieve and was ready now to open more distant lands. Such was not to be, however, at least not in the Bellevue. Maddin related that

> From the mines I went to survey Detchmendy's concession at Bellevue. At my arrival at Wm. Reeds I found several armed men there, acted very insolent and declared themselves out of the Spanish government. I was told if I surveyed any land within nine miles of that place they would break, kill, and slay all before them. Many times I have been apprehensive for Mr. Detchmendy, myself, and compasses.

The district commandant at Ste. Genevieve, Jean Baptiste Valle, took exception to such obstreperousness and made summary demand that the offending parties repair to Ste. Genevieve and appear before him "within eight days." Moses Bates and William Reed, leaders of the Scotch-Irish Americans, replied to him by letter dated March 11, 1804. But thinly masking their sense of insult, they informed him that in no wise would they answer to his "or any mandate derived through the authority of the King of Spain without willful violation of our duty to the United States." Though the commandant had

haughtily omitted mention of the cause of his displeasure, the Bellevue men assumed that it was the Detchmendy affair. "We have been told," they wrote, "that it was the intention of Mr. Lassue [Governor de Lassus de Luziere] to oblige us to admit . . . Detchmendy to survey six thousand acres [sic] . . . include our improvements and turn out ten or twelve families . . . or become his humble servants . . . . such injustice we're determined to oppose . . . . nor do we intend to submit to the unjust representation of a St. Domingo REFUGEE and an unprincipled IRISHMAN . . . ." (The American settlers' disposition to consider arpents and acres as synonymous added perennially to the confusion over land.) One week later Valle was appointed the new United States Commandant of Ste. Genevieve by Amos Stoddard, thus becoming the American authority they demanded; but apparently he did not pursue the matter further. Detchmendy subsequently sold his claim to the American Joshua Morrison, who presumably laid it upon land not already preempted. So much for "foreign" prospects in a valley staked out by Americans for exclusive American settlement.[7] A few months after the Detchmendy affair, Moses Austin reported to the new government that there were twenty families in the Bellevue Valley, "all American, no French."[8] These Americans were of a particular kind, possessing a peculiar homogeneity of culture and historical background as we shall see.

The very first families were predominantly from Greene County, Tennessee, on the Scotch-Irish frontier of the Upper Holston River. They were clans closely interrelated by blood and marriage. By 1803 a second group of settlers began to come from another Scotch-Irish enclave, the upper Catawba Valley in the western Piedmont of North Carolina. That place, the future Catawba, Lincoln, and Iredell Counties, had been in the eighteenth century a kind of catchment basin for interrelated Presbyterian Scotch-Irish families migrating southwestward from Pennsylvania through the Great Valley of the Appalachians. A typical 1803 Catawba immigrant to Missouri's Bellevue Valley was one Robert Sloan. Sloan, with relatives and neighbors, was apparently attempting to establish legitimate settlement claims before the deadline of December 20, 1803, after which Spanish grant claims were not to be honored by the new American government. Those who came early endured great hardship in order to establish such priority rights. Four years later, in 1807, a larger contingent of Catawba families came as a group to the Bellevue. They were followed in succeeding years, interrupted only by the War of 1812, by a host of neighbors and clan relatives. Greene County, Tennessee and Catawba County, North Carolina, not far apart and possessing similar kinds of inhabitants, were the immediate sources of the pioneer founders of the Bellevue settlements, founders too of its distinctive and persisting cultural character.[9]

The simultaneous farmers' settlement of the Bellevue and Austin's miners' settlement at nearby Mine a Breton were scarcely coincidental. Moses Austin's brother-

in-law Moses Bates and son-in-law Elias Bates were either claimants to or settlers of Bellevue lands. All were New Englanders. Another important pioneer Bellevue family, the Ruggles, were New Englanders too, from Connecticut or Massachusetts (or both), and were family friends of the Austins. And Austin came to Missouri directly from Wythe County in westernmost Virginia, just upriver from Greene County, Tennessee, source of the earliest Bellevue settlers. Furthermore, all lands in the St. Francois Mountains region were believed by absentee claimants, speculators, and actual settlers to possess minerals. However, none of these expectations were realized, as far as the Bellevue Valley was concerned, and it remained essentially agricultural. Not until mid-century did perennial hopes among land purchasers for rich mineral strikes in the Bellevue subside. However, the mines and smelters of Potosi and Old Mines to the north, diggings down Big River, and the nearby Springfield iron furnace and Cedar Creek forge, described below, provided markets, jobs, and capital inputs for the agriculture economy of the Bellevue that helped assure its prosperity.[10]

The Potosi and Bellevue settlements were at the outset of the American period sufficiently populous and economically important to be drawn at once into the affairs of Ste. Genevieve County, one of the four original counties of nascent Missouri. In 1807 the Court of Ste. Genevieve authorized the survey for a road from Ste. Genevieve to Potosi, and included William Strother of Bellevue as one of the supervisors. In 1810 a congressional post route, Ste. Genevieve-Potosi-St. Louis-St. Charles, was authorized. In 1814 the Missouri territorial legislature created Washington County, the first completely interior county with no border on the Mississippi or Missouri Rivers. It was a sprawling jurisdiction, but its centers of population were Potosi and the surrounding mines, and the Bellevue Valley. Martin Ruggles and William Sloan of Bellevue were elected judges of the new county; and Bellevue men were in the new county commission, including Ruggles. In 1817 a memorial from Washington County to the Congress praying for statehood possessed the signatures of nine Bellevue men. In 1819 a new postal route from Potosi to Murphy's Settlement (Farmington) passed through the Bellevue, providing scheduled mail service.[11] Thus regular communication with the outside world came just on the eve of Missouri statehood. For the Bellevue frontier it was the end of the beginning.

## Manifest Destiny

The State of Missouri was literally born out of the torrent of immigration that poured across the Mississippi River in the four years between the end of the war in 1815

and the onset of the Panic of 1819. Many new towns were platted midst high hopes and expectations. Some leaped to robust life; others were stillborn. Early and spectacular growth attended Boonville and Franklin (1817) across the Missouri River from each other in the famous Boonslick. Further upriver in the state's far west, Lexington and Liberty were founded in 1822 and Independence in 1827. The same optimism attended the birth of Caledonia. It was platted in 1818, with an auction of lots to take place the following year. Caledonia was not laid out until a generation after first settlement; but unlike the prominent towns of similar vintage just mentioned, it did not then nor thereafter experience surges of growth and development. Its destiny, perhaps its salvation as well, was to be the village center of culture, society, and economy for the little rural province of Scotch-Irish Protestant farmers, their children, and their children's children in the Bellevue Valley. New immigrants continued over the years to enlarge the population, but its essential early character seems not to have changed significantly in the next century and a half.

By 1817 at least three businesses and two residences were grouped near the banks of McCoy's Branch, or Goose Creek, as it came to be known, a little south of the Methodists and southwest of the Presbyterians. The place now had the character of a coming pioneer hamlet: Fergus Sloan's smithy, Joshua Morrison's distillery, and Alexander Craighead and Andrew Henry's store. The families of Ananias McCoy and Robert Sloan were there too. The two storekeepers have achieved a modicum of fame in Missouri history, Henry because of his association with William H. Ashley in the Rocky Mountain fur trade, and Craighead merely because he platted and named Caledonia. Both are worthy of additional attention as examples of high Scotch-Irish founders of Missouri.

Andrew Henry had come to Ste. Genevieve in 1804 from southeast Pennsylvania when he was twenty-nine years old. He married a daughter of the prominent Creole families Villars and Valle. He was appointed to the Court of Common Pleas, the Grand Jury, the Potosi road survey, and as a trustee of the Ste. Genevieve Academy. He was a founding partner in 1808 of the original American Fur Company and was a principal in the 1809-1812 expedition to the Upper Missouri. In the War of 1812 he was major, second in command to Ashley, of the Sixth Missouri Regiment from Washington County. In 1816 he and Moses Austin were commissioners for property loss claims resulting from the war. In 1822-1824 he returned again with Ashley to the northwest Rockies. After that journey, his most famous exploit, he returned to Washington County and the status of local prominent and good citizen. The 1828 and 1830 canvasses were held in his house; and in 1828 and 1832 he was elected to the county court. He died in 1833 and was buried near Harmony, Washington County, in the upper Big River valley.

Alexander Craighead, Andrew Henry's young partner in the Caledonia store, was the man who platted and named the village of Caledonia. Local tradition has maintained that he named Caledonia "for his native Scotland." In fact, Craighead was not from Scotland, but from Nashville, Tennessee. Still, he brought to Missouri and to the Bellevue the most impeccable high Scotch-Irish family credentials. He had been at Ste. Genevieve as early as 1810, where at age 18 he opened a general merchandising business with a partner named Wilson. A year later he went inland to the Potosi area to open another store, and gained an interest in (or ownership of) the newly discovered Mine a Shibboleth. Meanwhile he and Wilson gained as a partner one of the Ste. Genevieve Dodges, family of the Henry Dodge who was subsequently to be governor of and U. S. Senator from Wisconsin. Craighead was also embroiled in a lawsuit with the notorious John Smith T over the ownership of Mine a Shibboleth. For better and worse he was in notable company. In the War of 1812 he became "Major" Craighead, and surely made money in the lead business as well. By 1817 he was in partnership with Henry at the Caledonia townsite (and was already using the new town name).

The previous year Concord Presbyterian Church had been founded in the Bellevue, the first Presbyterian church west of the Mississippi River. It was a portentous event, symbolizing the institutionalization of rural Protestantism in the new TransMississippi. One may surmise that Alexander Craighead came south from the mines to the Bellevue for more than business opportunity. He may well have chosen it for religious and cultural reasons, for having a Presbyterian Church and for being the most cultivated and congenial settlement for a young man of his background, tastes, and aspirations. Craighead's father, grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great grandfather were all Presbyterian ministers, the earliest being in the turbulent Ulster Presbytery of Lagan, on the Irish border. In 1715 his forebears began to tread the great Scotch-Irish migration route from Ulster to Pennsylvania, then to Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Grandfather Alexander had been leader of an anti-British faction of Reformed Presbyterian "Covenenters" in Mechlenburg County, North Carolina in the 1740s. The father, the Reverend Thomas Brown Craighead, was a notable divine and educator of Nashville, the founder of Davidson Academy. His six sons were all cultiviated and ambitious. The youngest, Thomas Brown Craighead, Jr., moved two steps further along the Scotch-Irish migration route, through Missouri to northeast Arkansas, where he became namesake for Craighead County. Doubtless other Craigheads might be found among the lineages of Arkansawyers and Texans. Young Alexander for his part, in addition to his energetic and audacious business enterprises, carried on an active correspondence in French as well as English, was confidant of his learned father on matters of philosophical as well as practical import, and concerned himself with the

education and careers of his younger brothers. In his own way he was as fully engaged in extending the culture and socio-economy of the United States into the new trans-Mississippi as his more famous partner Andrew Henry. By the time he platted the town of Caledonia and built his imposing log house and store there, he was all of twenty-six years old.[12]

The town plat was a straightforward piece of business. The original schematic drawing (Figure 2) survives, and reveals six files of nine ranks of lots, totalling fifty-four. They were typically 2½ x 2 chains, or 165' x 132', with those on the west boundary 156' x 132' and those on the south 165' x 165'. The streets were to be 49½ wide. The center axis of the rectangular plat was the boundary between Spanish Surveys #2182 on the west and #837 on the east, the claims originally of Miles Goforth and Ananias McCoy. William Buford, prominent and propertied valley pioneer, had acquired at least as much of the west or Goforth grant as was to be included in the town, and it was from Buford and McCoy that Craighead obtained the land. Buford retained adjacent west side lots 4, 5, 6, 9, and non-adjacent lot 10. McCoy retained east side lots 14, 15, and 35, 38, being adjacent pairs. We may surmise that given the prevailing abundance of raw land these lots may have been the recompense they received for the approximately nineteen acres that each contributed to the townsite. Lots 10 and 29 along the east side of Main Street were denoted as "Public Square," although they seem never to have served such a purpose. The names of thirty-four other persons are written in upon the remaining forty-three lots, including those of Henry on lot #24 and Craighead on lot #41. The notable Washington County pioneer John Rice Jones took four lots on Main Street. Jones, veteran of the George Rogers Clark Revolutionary War campaign against Vincennes was subsequently Washington County delegate to the first state constitutional convention and twice a justice of the Missouri Supreme Court.[13]

The financial disasters of 1819 drove the great pioneer miner Moses Austin from Washington County, from Missouri, and soon to his death. The Texas consequences of the Austin departure have attracted unlimited historical attention; the Missouri consequences have garnered but little. Austin, like tens of thousands of Americans of lesser estate, was caught by the 1819 debacle in a complex web of fiscal and economic difficulties caused by a combination of bad judgment, bad luck, and weaknesses in the financial system quite beyond his control. His attempt to move once again, this time to Spanish Texas, completed an emigration saga that began in Connecticut and moved through episodes in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Missouri. His hegira is important to this account because it may well have influenced the courses of other New England emigrants to the St. Francois Mountains, including the Ruggles family, and even a generation later, the very important Cyrus Russell family of Arcadia Valley. Certainly the Texas venture drew many persons away from Washington County, depleting the economy and society in

ways that can only be surmised. It did establish a lasting Missouri connection with Arkansas and Texas, along routes where people moved episodically in both directions. The Bellevue was no longer merely the nethermost point upon a distant frontier, but had become itself a staging area for pioneering upon yet more far flung frontiers. Scattered incidents suggest a pattern: Thomas, Fergus, and James Sloan, sons of early pioneer William Sloan, went into Lawrence County, Arkansas Territory, some hundred and fifty miles to the south along the Texas migration route. John Brown Craighead, Jr., brother of Alexander, also went to Arkansas where he lived out a successful life and was honored in the 1850s by the creation of Craighead County, named for him. Green Woods, eldest son of pioneer Methodist leader William Woods, went to Pocohontas, "Fourche Dumas," Arkansas to work in 1842. Many surnames of pioneer Bellevue families survive to the present in northeast Arkansas.[14]

The earliest history of the town of Caledonia is obscure. Probably the anticipated brisk sale of lots did not occur in the shock of the depression. Like many other such speculations conceived in the boom of 1815-1819 and born to the Panic, it probably was a disappointment, perhaps even a disaster, to its promoters. Indeed, Craighead seems to have succumbed to financial reverses, as did so many merchant-promoters then. He and his partner Andrew Henry were sued in February, 1819 for some $2700. It was a bad sign. The following September Craighead obtained the appointment to be Caledonia's first postmaster, but was succeeded by another only fourteen months later. Although he appears on the 1825 tax rolls as a property owner in the county, he seems to have disappeared from the historical record after the birth of his town, leaving the name and shape of Caledonia and the famous house which, by local tradition, he built c. 1816. A Craighead family genealogy says of him only "died, MO., 1848, unmarried."[15]

The conception and founding of Caledonia at the close of the first generation of settlement marked a separation between the earlier and later pioneer histories of the Bellevue. It straddled a great watershed in the early history of the American nation as well. The period ahead saw the development of a broad middle class, and, for the first time,the emergence of a popular culture. Revolutions in transportation and communication technologies joined with other factors to bring a concomitant socio-economic revolution to an agrarian society. Rising commodity prices and the growing generality of land ownership created a burgeoning yeoman class, the political power and economic independence of which spelled the demise of the old ruling elites and the birth of the great American bourgeoisie. These trends were all exemplified in the Bellevue Valley and in Caledonia.

Yeoman and Bourgeois, 1820-1860

The early 1820s in Missouri were, despite the birth of the new state, a difficult and somber time. Absorbing the shocks of 1819, the alarums sounded over slavery in the fiery statehood debates, and the flight of relatives, friends, and neighbors, all tended to moderate expectations and dampen optimism. For many it was literally a time of beginning again. Nevertheless, the Bellevue Valley remained a prized destination for many new immigrants from the East, more than enough to replace those gone to Arkansas and Texas. Pioneering in the Bellevue, it seemed, had scarcely begun.

In 1820, after a generation of pioneer American settlement and an even longer period of Creole occupance, the population of Washington County was only 2,769 whites and 425 slaves, a total of 3,194. It was a very sparse population, especially inasmuch as the first Washington County embraced an enormous area, as large as several modern counties. (One may surmise that the population may have been somewhat larger before the Panic of 1819.) The decade of the 1820s brought a great change. The population increased 150%, including a 183% increase in the slave population, whereas the increase for the whole state in the same decade was only 105%. Increases for Washington County in succeeding decades of the half century were more modest; but the data are skewed by the diminution of the size of Washington County as new counties were carved from its territory.

Washington County Population, 1820-1870[16]

| Year | White | Slave | %Slave | Free Black | Total | %Change White | %Change Slave | Total Ave. %Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1820 | 2,769 | 425 | 13.3 | | 3,194 | | | |
| 1830 | 6,784 | 1,202 | 15.0 | 34 | 7,986 | +145 | +183 | +150 |
| 1840 | 7,213 | 965 | 11.8 | 42 | 8,178 | + 6 | - 20 | + 2 |
| 1850 | 7,713 | 1,098 | 12.8 | 23 | 8,811 | + 7 | + 14 | + 7 |
| 1860 | 9,723 | 1,053 | 9.7 | 25 | 10,776 | + 26 | - 4 | + 22 |
| 1870 | 10,745 | — | — | 971 | 11,719 | + 11 | — | + 9 |

Despite the creation of Iron County in 1857, which removed most of the Bellevue Valley from Washington County and from Bellevue Township, the old county during the decade

of the 50s still showed an increase of 11% in its white population (the 4% decline in slaves was doubtless due to the loss of so much of the Bellevue). It was a decade of American prosperity, as almost all census indeces will show. More specifically, the period from about 1842-43, the time of recovery from the Panics of 1837 and 1839, until the Panic of 1857 was the period of prosperity. It was a time of population growth and expansion, of intensive investment, and of much building. It was the time when many of Caledonia's finest structures were raised. The censuses of 1850 and 1860 provide for the first time data on family economic activity.

Washington County was in 1850 divided into eight townships, with Bellevue Township in the southeast corner. Most of the township population and its economic activity, particularly farming, was in the Bellevue Valley and the upper Big River Valley. It was the most populous of the eight townships, with 20.6% of the white population (1,590 of 7,713), 22.6% of the slaves (243 of 1,075) and 21.7% of the free blacks (5 of 23). The Bellevue Township population was very young; an astonishing 60% were below the age of twenty-one years, and 87% were under the age of forty-one. Despite the apparent paucity of adults, Bellevue landownership was very high in the county context. Ownership of acres of improved lands was 23.3% of the county total (8,441 of 36,139), and of unimproved acres (presumably timber lands for the most part), 30% (25,956 of 86,606). Bellevue Township owned 25% of the horses, asses, and mules (906 of 3,621); 26.9% of the milch cows (869 of 3,231); 21.8% of the working oxen and meat cattle (1,427 of 3,621); 23.8% of the swine (6,103 of 25,539); and 25.5% of the sheep (1942 of 7,606). Bellevue Township grew 31.1% of the wheat (9,427 of 30,299 bushels); and 30.5% of the oats (23,935 of 79,112 bushels). Clearly the township of the Bellevue and upper Big valleys was the dominant agricultural district of the county.[17]

Bellevue Township was an agricultural domain predominantly of small yeoman farmers. The 486 households tilled a total of only 8,441 improved acres, or 17.36 acres per household. These modest estates are reflected in the farm valuations; 81% were ennumerated at less than $500. Caledonia and smaller hamlets are not broken out of these figures, nor are the households of miners or other primarily non-farm workers; so doubtless the actual average was somewhat more. Still the fields of hay and grain scattered about in the looming forest must have seemed for the most part small indeed. Ownership of that forest tells another story. The average of unimproved land, largely forest, owned by each household was 53.4 acres, more than three times the acreage of improved land. And an unknown but doubtless vast quantity of land remained available for purchase out of the public domain at low prices. Clearing timber was the farmer's everlasting task and challenge.

Of equal significance in portraying the socio-economy of the Bellevue Township in 1850 is the number of wealthier establishments. Fifty-seven household (11.7%) were

valued above $1,000, and six above $10,000. Of these latter the wealthiest was Missouri-born James S. Evans, 38, farm worth $30,000. Nine whites and two free blacks comprised the James Evans household, including Elizabeth Evans, 76, born in Kentucky (mother ?) and Jesse Evans, 32, (brother). The blacks were "Elizabeth and Peter Evans, both age 50." The James Evans family owned twenty-one slaves in addition. English-born Thomas Brack, 67, owned nine slaves and a farm valued at $22,000. Kentucky-born Harriett Byrd, 42, owned a farm valued at $15,000, but had no slaves. Her five children were all indicated to have attended school in 1850, including a son, age 21, despite the fact that no public school existed yet in the county. The farm of Virginia-born William Bryan, 48, was valued at $12,000, with eight slaves. Three of his children attended school. Finally, two farms valued at $10,000 were owned by North Carolina-born D. L. Green, 45, with eleven slaves, and Pennsylvania-born William Carson, 55, with six slaves. The pattern of slave-owning indicates something of the tendency of a relatively small group to aggregate wealth. Of the ninety-one households valued above $500, thirty-one owned slaves totalling 166 in all, or an average 5.35 per household. Twenty-four of the thirty-one owned more than one slave. Considering the great potential value of slaves, above $1,000 in Missouri in 1850 for a healthy adult of productive age, the aggregation of wealth in real and slave property in these families is not inconsiderable.[18]

Although the Bellevue did not finally disclose fabled wealth in iron and lead as expected, but yielded up primarily the seasonal and hard won fruits of agriculture, the valley economy was interwoven with those of nearby enterprises based on mining, smelting, forging, and finishing of both iron and lead. Markets among metals workers for the surplus products of agriculture gave the Bellevue a favored economic position from the beginning denied to most Ozarks pioneers. An enterprise with particular impact on the Bellevue socio-economy was the nearby Springfield Furnace and its subsidiary, the Cedar Creek Forge. Springfield Furnace began operations in 1823, and was thus earlier by three years than the larger and better known Massey-James iron works at the Meramec Spring, some fifty miles to the west. Springfield Furnace was on the Potosi-Bellevue Valley road where it passed along the side of Flat Creek (subsequently for a time also known as Furnace Creek), about half way between the two towns. It succeeded where other early operations did not because its owners were merchants and businessmen, not just smelters. They advertised as far away as St. Louis, and offered for sale an amazing array of goods: bar iron, custom castings, firedogs, fireplace backs and jambs, brine kettles, mill iron, lead ore wagon boxes, lead molds, steamboat furnace grates, windowsills, sugar mill rollers, steam engine cylinders and pipes, and domestic holloware such as pots, kettles, skillets, and ovens. They also gained a government contract to produce cannon balls during the Blackhawk War of 1832. Certainly Springfield Furnace was the first Missouri ironworks to produce so many products and market them so widely. In addition to the reduction of iron ore and the finishing and

marketing of iron goods, the place was a beehive of services and commerce. Lumber was sawn; saws, axes, and miners' tools were sharpened and repaired; horses and mules were shod, wheel hubs made, and wagons repaired. It was a heavy consumer of charcoal, and so created a subsidiary industry in charcoal burning for local producers. A general merchandise store purchased from local suppliers beef, pork, poultry, butter, cheese, and other farm produce and resold them, perhaps at wholesale in part, to small merchants in Potosi, Caledonia, and elsewhere in the county. In addition a wide range of store goods were stocked for sale: salt, groceries, textiles, hardware, shoes, boots, gloves, sewing materials, medicines, etc. It was certainly the largest and best-stocked store for Bellevue and Big River people short of Potosi (if even there). Springfield Furnace was a large and complex enterprise providing full- and part-time employment for local people, and because it exported value-added manufactures it brought much-needed cash into the local economy.

The primary product of Springfield Furnace was iron "pigs," i.e. the first raw product of the blast furnace ore reduction process itself. Pigs had then to be forged before the iron could be fashioned into useable goods. The pigs were marketed widely, including nearby Iron Mountain and St. Louis. Some may have been forged at the furnace works. But a considerable quantity of pigs were shipped to the Cedar Creek Forge in the Bellevue Valley, about a mile and a half southeast of Caledonia. One of the partners in this operation was one Ashebran, the same ironsmith who had with his partner Tong opened the first Missouri ironworks in nearby Arcadia Valley about 1816. Goods forged at Cedar Creek were presumably sold through Springfield Furnace. James Eversole, great-grandson of Abraham who built Springfield Furnace wrote that as a youth in the early twentieth century he found old pigs along the road to Cedar Creek which had long ago fallen off freighting wagons. "Some of these pigs," he wrote, "may well still lie on top of the two big chimneys at Grandfather's old home [William Goforth Eversole house] weighting down grids we installed to prevent swallows from roosting . . . ."

Springfield Furnace was an isolated frontier industry, briefly significant upon an isolated frontier, an economic and technical anomoly in both time and space. It profitably supplied a yet-isolated market by utilizing locally available human and natural resources: skilled and unskilled labor from nearby farms, forest, and mine; the high-grade hematite ore that occurred, if in small quantities, in nearby outcroppings ("banks") where it could readily be loaded onto carts and wagons; locally-produced charcoal and limestone for reduction; and the power of falling water. The furnace technology used was archaic and primitive. A limestone structure housed a "cold blast," i.e. cold air blown through a single tuyere upon the charcoal fire, which was topped with the ore and limestone flux. Known as a "Catalan fire" from its origin in the fourteenth century Catalan Pyrenees, it was a technique basically unchanged in half a millennium. The fire

was not hot enough to reduce the ore efficiently, rapidly, or in large quantity. Surely Springfield Furnace was a final occurrence of the Catalan fire midst the dawn of the metallurgical revolutions of the nineteenth century. But between 1823 and 1842 when it closed the furnace was a significant element in the socio-economy of the otherwise predominantly agrarian Bellevue Valley.[19]

The partners in the Springfield Furnace were three Bellevue Valley men, Martin Ruggles, Andrew Peery, and Jacob Eversole. Ruggles was a New Englander, one of the earliest immigrants into the valley. Peery and Eversole were Virginians, apparently recent arrivals. Peery and Ruggles probably put up the money. Jacob Eversole built the plant. He was a wood-technic hydraulic engineer who with his brother Abraham had already erected large water-powered works in the Valley of Virgina. That same summer of 1823 the three also erected a grist and sawmill a few miles downstream from the furnace, where Flat Creek debouches into the flood plain of Big River. Thus they opened two important industries on the Potosi-Caledonia road, strategically located to the main settlements of the county. Eversole was again the construction engineer. They soon passed the operation of the mill to another newly arrived Virginian, Andrew Hunter, either by sale or some other arrangement. Hunter and his son John Andrew operated the mill for many years, and it and its site bear the name of Hunter's Mill to the present. It was a landmark, located at the place where the Big River Valley road and the Potosi-Caledonia road intersected. These four families—Ruggles, Peery, Eversole, and Hunter—together with their kin and in-laws, were exemplary builders of Caledonia, both literally and symbolically. Martin Ruggles, like many Yankees on the Missouri frontier, seems to have had the entrepreneur's crucial edge of education, talent, ambition, and wealth. His own Spanish grant #1847 was one of the best. It lay athwart the Potosi-Bellevue Valley road and possessed the good soils of both Big and Bellevue valleys (see Figure 9). He was a first trustee of the Methodist Church property, was an elder of Concord Presbyterian Church, and was first worshipful master of the Masonic lodge. By the time of his death in 1840 he had obviously become a money lender, with more than $9,000 out at interest,and over $600 in specie on hand! His real estate holdings were substantial as well. Of Peery little is known save that he too left a large estate at his death in 1831, of which he made Martin Ruggles the executor. He also placed his two youngest daughters, Margaret and Malinda, as wards of Ruggles, their mother having died. As for Jacob Eversole, he moved to Greene County on the southwest Missouri Ozarks frontier. Meanwhile his brother Abraham, also a mill builder, had come to the Bellevue with his wife where their two sons, Hardin and William Goforth, were born. The parents died suddenly in 1829 leaving the two boys to foster homes. Only William G. stayed in the Bellevue, and seems somehow to have learned his father's skill (or at least picked up his interest) in waterworks. He went to California c. 1850, but instead of digging for gold, built sluices for miners and became partner and officer in one of the earliest California

aqueduct and canal companies. He returned home, but retained his lucrative shares in the company, which doubtless aided in his purchase of land and the building of his house in Caledonia c. 1854 (historic structures #6 and #7). Andrew Hunter farmed and milled, as did others of the Hunter clan who migrated in numbers from Virginia in the middle 1820s. Hunter, Ruggles, Peery, and Eversole, laid foundations. It was in the next generation of their families that the weight of their wealth showed up in town.[20]

In 1850 only two merchants were enumerated in the Bellevue Township census. One was Elijah Starr Ruggles, son of Martin. The other was a Hunter relative, Jane Alexander Thompson. They built the two "twin" Greek Revival houses on Main Street, the finest in the town.Elijah Starr Ruggles was thirty-nine years old in 1850. He was heir of one of the most distinguished names in the valley, a Ruling Elder of the Presbyterian Church, a leading Mason, and a town merchant. He had inherited $3,800 cash and an undisclosed amount of real property from his father's estate. He and his family obviously knew a degree of gentility. For example, ledger entries in the Springfield Furnace store note purchases of quantities of writing paper and ink, white gloves, ribbons and other fancy goods, and kid shoes. He also owned ten slaves. Of the select group of fifty-one slave owners in the township, only the brothers James and Jesse Evans owned more (twenty-one). In 1849 Ruggles purchased the south half of lot 6, and in 1851 all of lot 7, at prices that suggest they were unimproved. Upon this property, one conjectures, he erected the great house which has always borne the family name (Ruggles-Evans-Dent house, historic building #1). Then in the spring of 1853 he and his family suddenly, and from our perspective mysteriously, went to California never to return (a child was born to the family in Santa Clara in 1854). He had bought lot 7 from James S. Evans, the wealthy farmer, and it was to Evans that the property returned. Of the variety of possibilities that one may conjecture from the bits of evidence, the one that seems credible is that Ruggles overextended himself in building the house, or in a too rapid expansion of his businesses, or both; that he borrowed from Evans, perhaps by mortgaging the house; and that he simply liquidated what he could and left, leaving the house, perhaps only partially finished, to Evans. Whatever Ruggles's denouement, it appears that Evans and his wife, and in their turn his daughters Leona Evans Howell and Jennie Evans Finley and their families possessed and occupied the house from the 1850s until 1910. Then from 1911 until 1954 the banker W. J. Dent, relative of Julia Dent Grant, and his wife owned and occupied the house. They left it to their long-time boarder and close friend Florence Henderson who lived there until 1978 when it was sold to Rev. and Mrs. Robert Teuscher of St. Louis, the present owners. The persistence in local tradition of the Ruggles name in association with the house is credible evidence that Elijah Starr Ruggles did indeed build it, or at least began it. But the Evans and the Dents occupied it for a century, when Ruggles could have had it for only a year or so. The local claim that the house belonged to Martin Ruggles is incorrect. He never owned the land and died

long before it was built upon.[21]

The miller Andrew Hunter had a niece who was the daughter of his wife's brother. He had a niece who was the daughter of his brother's wife. The nieces were in fact the same person: Jane Alexander Thompson, the other Caledonia merchant in 1850. She was the daughter of his wife Jane Thompson Hunter's brother William, who died before she was born. And she was the daughter of William's wife Catherine Rutledge Brooks Thompson, who after William's death married John Hunter, brother of Andrew. We need not set down her relation to her cousin the second miller at Hunter's mill, John Andrew Hunter, nor her myriad other Hunter, Alexander, Thompson, Rutledge, Shields, or other familial kin. It is enough to suggest the labyrinthine character of clan interrelationships which reach back through the eighteenth century in Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ireland, and certainly continued in nineteenth century Missouri. Miss Jane Thompson did not carry on the tradition herself, for she remained chaste and unmarried through a long, profitable, and much honored life. She was born in the Valley of Virginia in 1807, came west in 1826, a part of what one family genealogist called "the great Hunter migration, and settled with her mother and step-father in Madison County, Illinois, just across the river from St. Louis. Despite her youth and sex, she already owned land, a horse, and possibly other property which she left behind in Virginia. She was well educated, very intelligent, and astonishingly shrewd and hard-working. She may very well have known the Andrew Peery family in Virginia, because upon the death of Peery in 1831, she was fetched down to Caledonia by Martin Ruggles as a kind of frontier nanny for the orphaned Margaret and Malinda Peery, then aged eight and thirteen. Jane A. Thompson was twenty-four. The relationship thus begun endured. The three lived together until death indeed did them part, a unique household of refined and wealthy Virginia ladies. Malinda Peery, the youngest, died first, in 1866. Margaret died in 1873. In 1880, at age seventy-three, Miss Jane returned to Madison County, Illinois, doubtless to be with kin (after 1854 it was less than a day's journey from Caledonia to Collinsville by train). She died in 1882, and her body was returned to be interred between the Peery sisters in the old Presbyterian cemetery.

Jane Thompson seems to have been one of those persons born to manage and manipulate property. In the sheer number of land transactions, few if any professional traders or speculators of her generation in Washington County would exceed her. Despite the legend that she "began with nothing," the probablility is that she inherited from many of those kin of hers, including those of Hunter's Mill, and that she was executrix and administratrix of many an estate, agent for many traders, and manager for many a kinsman and kinswoman. She surely managed the not inconsiderable property of the Peery sisters. In December, 1843 Jane Thompson wrote to Abram James at the Massey-James iron works:

I am informed you are in want of hands. I have a Black man who has been employed at a Furnace as keeper, if such a hand would suit you please write me by mail and say what price you would give for his character and qualifications I refer you to Mr. L [?] Shaler who knows him well as Philip was hired at Springfield Furnace where Mr. Shaler was founder.

Most Respt Yours
Malinda Jane Peery
By J A Thompson

P.S. Philip is a good hand at any work if you are not in want of a hand to work in the furnace.[22]

In the 1830s Jane Thompson bought out the store of James White, son-in-law of John Smith T, and from then on ran a retail merchandising establishment. According to local tradition she built her great house in 1848. Probably it was built near the time of the Ruggles house north of it, and probably by the same builder, though evidence of both is merely inferential. Such a fine house with a store integral to its design and with a separate entry on the facade is unusual, but somehow entirely appropriate to Miss Jane Thompson. She and the Peery sisters lived there alone, presumably with some or all of their slaves (several were children in 1860) but without other whites in the household. The sisters were domestic, if not quite domestics; one cared for the house, and the other the grounds, orchards, and gardens. Miss Jane cared for business. By 1860 besides the store and house she owned 525 acres of land, 150 of them improved, valued together with her livestock and equipment at $8,600. In addition she owned five slaves (the sisters owned three more). Of 215 taxpayers in Bellevue Township in 1860, only three had total taxes above $50. Highest was the partnership of James and Jesse Evans, $90.74. Jane Thompson was second at $69.33.[23] Thompson's management of the Peery sister's slaves and other assets, one may assume, was typical of her entrepreneurial activity. Further research might well reveal a relationship with Martin Ruggles, probably the capitalist par excellence in the valley. Indeed, one can imagine a pooling of resources through almost half a century in her capable hands, to the profit of many including herself.

Jane Thompson's neighbor up the street, James S. Evans, owned 1000 acres, 200 improved, valued with stock and equipment at $11,100. He owned sixteen slaves, the most of any person in the township. Her neighbor down the street, William Goforth Eversole (he bought his lot from her), owned 688 acres, 210 improved, with stock and equipment valued at $9,000. He also owned five slaves. These Main Street worthies

among them owned 29 of the 203 slaves in the township, or 14%. Befitting their station, they lived in the three best houses in town. Equally worthy of note is that they lived in town. Other propertied town-dwellers included H. C. and William Lucas, combined holdings of 948 acres worth $5,800; and H. M. Long, builder of the Long-White house (building #21) with 205 acres valued at $5,545. Just out of town, with his farm bordering the village on the east, was the French Huegenot-descended John Amonette, 470 acres valued at $5,600. (The splendid Amonette house still stands east of the village a mile or so.) John Amonette owned 5 slaves. William Holman, scion of the venerable Woods-Holman family just southwest of the village, owned 752 acres valued at $7,850. Jane A. Thompson's cousin John Andrew Hunter owned 580 acres worth $11,300, and four slaves. Two other prominent families to ennumerate in this portrait of family wealth are the Hutchings and Rutledge families. Three Hutchings households totalled 10 slaves and 743 acres valued at a total of $5,720. Nancy and E. T. Rutledge were not ennumerated in the agricultural census but together owned ten slaves.

Most of these families were interrelated by blood or marriage. A facet of the Thompson-Hunter relation has been described, but the total of their connections are prodigious. As for a few of the others: William Goforth Eversole married Rebecca Anne Rutledge; their son Dr. George Harrison Eversole married Mamie Amonette, daughter of John Amonette and Jane Hunter Fischer Amonette. Jane Amonette was the daughter of Jane Alexander Thompson's cousin John Andrew Hunter and his second wife Patsey Hutchings. Various connections of siblings in these three generations of the first half of the nineteenth century would further exemplify the weave of relations which together with their concomitant institutional expressions in church, lodge, politics, slave families, and finance made up the high Scotch-Irish town and valley society of Caledonia and the Bellevue. It was a part of the process by which a rural yeoman society began gradually to undergo the metamorphosis into a town bourgeois society.[24]

## Righteous Empire

The Spanish government's late eighteenth century invitation to Americans desiring to settle within the domain of Spanish Louisiana did not include religious freedom. From Natchez in 1797 Governor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos decreed that "the privilege of enjoying liberty of conscience is not extended beyond the first generation," and that "the children of those who enjoy it must positively be Catholics." Furthermore, of the

class of farmers and artisans, henceforth none should be admitted to Spanish lands but Catholics. The Creole towns, mostly perpetuated by French-descended habitants and mixed bloods, were already predominately Catholic and were to remain so for some time. The first Protestant communion celebrated in St. Louis by an ordained minister was in 1813, by the westering itinerant Yaleman Timothy Flint. He reported that the exclusivity, rivalry, and animosity among adherents of different Protestant groups was great, notwithstanding the small number of the lot of them. Observers might have argued, and surely did, that the Spanish proscription of Protestantism was of small substantive concern to most American pioneers because they sought not so much freedom of religion as freedom from it, whether Protestant or Catholic.

The apparent moral and spiritual collapse among the pioneers in the new West was believed by thoughtful critics to be the great cultural crisis of the new American nation. The American Unitarian Association observed that "those who are pioneers in a new country, are not infrequently more engaged in beginning the world anew, than in preparing to leave it [for Heaven]." Political corruption and rural crime were widespread and highly organized, largely beyond the power of government or other social agencies, including churches, to prevent or correct. Alcoholism, opium addiction, bastardy, mayhem, murder, and suicide were rampant, blighting and blasting the lives of individuals, of families, and of whole settlements. New communities often seemed to take on the cultural and moral tone of the earliest inhabitants. Governor Thomas Ford of Illinois said, "Having passed my whole life on the frontiers . . . I have frequently seen that a few first settlers would fix the character of a settlement for good or for bad, for many years after its commencement . . . . Rogues will find each other out, and so will honest men . . . by the promptings of a secret instinct, which, without much penetration, enables men to discern their fellows." One of the keenest observers of religion in western America, as of western society in general, was the Baptist missionary-minister John Mason Peck, whose analysis was especially influential upon the thought of the young historian Frederick Jackson Turner. Though not a carping nay-sayer like many fellow ministers, Peck saw in the chaotic freedom of the frontiers much cause for pessimism. When people were released from the constraints of social pressure and social control, he concluded, the result was typically either indifference to religion or a vigorous irreligiosity. Such a process could result in moral and cultural regression, affording "an interesting but melancholy example of the tendency of human nature toward the degraded state of savages. The improvement of the species is . . . slow and laborious . . . deterioration is rapid, and requires only to be divested of restraint, and left to its own unaided tendencies." In 1818 Peck preached in a place that demonstrated to him such tendencies. It was on the St. Francois River in what is now Wayne County, some fifty miles southeast of Caledonia. "They knew not the name of a single missionary on earth," he exclaimed, "and could not comprehend the reasons why money should be raised for

their expenses or why ministers should leave their own neighborhoods to preach the gospel to the destitute." A similar obtuseness characterized their approach to all of life. "They manifest the same backwardness in their business, a small crop or truck patch was the height of their ambition. Venison, bear meat, and hog meat cooked in the most slovenly and filthy manner, with corn bread baked in the form of a pone, and when cold, hard as a brick-bat, constituted their provisions. Coffee and tea were prohibited articles in this class, for had they possessed the articles, not one woman in ten knew how to cook them . . . . A kind of half savage life appeared to be their choice." The explorer-ethnographer Henry Rowe Schoolcraft made the same kind of observation of an encounter with hunters' families on the upper White River in what is now Taney County: "Learning and religion are alike disregarded and we are presented with a contradiction of the theories of philosophers of all ages, for we here behold the descendents of enlightened Europeans in a savage state, or at least in a rapid state of advance towards it." Freedom, observed the great French proto-sociologist Alexis de Tocqueville in 1832, was purchased by the Americans at a very high price.[25]

The foregoing somber assessment is more than the dyspeptic report of supercilious divines. It is a glimpse of the other side (one might say the underside) of the celebrated democratic frontier and its open society. Secular histories of the frontier have emphasized the quest for liberty. By contrast, a work by the modern historian, Martin Marty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America, emphasizes the quest for "righteousness," a very different endeavor. Marty says of the subject encapsulated in his title:

> In the first period to c. 1850 the Protestant experience is treated in . . . active form (= the fact of being consciously the subject of a state or condition). The actors styled themselves Evangelical (= since the Reformation, adopted as the designation of certain theological parties, who have claimed that the doctrines on which they lay especial stress constitute "the Gospel"). They set out consciously to create an empire (= realm; domain) and, despite their great diversities, knew considerable success. They set out to attract the allegiance of all the people, to develop a spiritual kingdom, and to shape the nation's ethos, mores, manners, and often its laws.[26]

Marty's idea that the Protestant experience in early nineteenth century America included a quest for an empire of righteousness in the new West is exemplified in the Bellevue Valley. The quest was played out in the lives of many first settlers who prefigured its moral and spiritual character, and by many of their descendents as well.

On the last day of November, 1807, a colony of pious Presbyterian families newly

arrived in the Bellevue Valley stayed the night at the house of Robert Sloan, their relative and old neighbor. They were from the Upper Catawba settlement of North Carolina, members of the old Fourth Creek Presbyterian Church and neighboring congregations, from whence Sloan had come in precedence to the Bellevue in 1802. These thirty-odd souls arose the next morning early enough to greet the rising sun with a prayer meeting. From then on, according to local tradition, each sabbath day was observed with prayer, instruction, and anticipation of founding a proper church.

At the same time more urbane and sophisticated agents of the Christian gospel were reaching out from New England and Philadelphia toward the unchurched and morally chaotic West. In 1812 the Missionary Society of New England sent two minister-explorers "to ascertain the religious state of the western country, the places most destitute of religious instruction, with a view to enter into some plan for the regular supply of such places with missionary labor." Due to the impending war they could not get as far as St. Louis, but wrote a Presbyterian elder there about the prospects of organizing societies and churches of the "Congregational or Presbyterian order" in the new Missouri country. Did infidelity prevail and error abound? Was it practicable to "found a Bible or religious tract society?" Their St. Louis correspondent, Stephen Hempstead, rejoiced in their labor and the prospect it afforded, but gave a somber reply of conditions. Many former Presbyterians had joined the Methodists, who had six preachers "of very little education and talent" and "who itinerate through the country." There were a few Baptists, but to them he accorded even less esteem than the Methodists. The Catholics he quite disdained. Through the Hempstead connection a network of Presbyterian acquaintances was formed, and the first Presbyterian minister came to St. Louis from the East to preach in the summer of 1813. Robert Stevenson, Robert Sloan's brother-in-law and one of the 1807 Bellevue migrants, made his way to St. Louis to hear the visitor (perhaps other Bellevue Presbyterians went too). Stephenson was not disappointed. Of the preacher he wrote to Hempstead, "he is indeed a burning and shining light." In 1816, after the war had ended, the first Presbyterian missionary was assigned to St. Louis and the West. He was the Reverend Salmon Giddings, a New Englander and a graduate of Williams College. He sought places to plant the work in Missouri; and the place that he judged to be ready was not St. Louis or anywhere along the rivers, but the settlement in Bellevue Valley. There he found four elders from North Carolina "that did not, as many others have done, hide their light under a bushel, but bore it with them to their new home." Since 1807, he said, they had kept the sabbath with prayer meeting and the reading of printed sermons. When the Methodists began meeting about 1810, the Presbyterians joined with them in common sabbath observances. A friendship and commonality of purpose was thus begun between the two groups that has apparently endured to the present. When Giddings proposed to organize the Bellevue church, Stephenson wrote Hempstead, "My dear friend, I cannot express the gratitude I

feel to the great head of the church for sending the blessed gospel among us in this wilderness . . . less than fifteen years ago the haunt of savage beasts and more savage men." Still he and the brethren were concerned about maintaining relations with their Methodist friends, and perhaps others as well. He said they would have some difficulty to organize a church so "as to give no offence to Jew or Gentile nor the church of God . . . ." The event itself, said Giddings, "was a most solemn scene." Services were held on Wednesday and Friday; and then on Sunday the sacrament was at last served to those who had not partaken in a decade. "All present were in tears." He had "examined all of them, and required confession of some who had not in all respects done as they ought to have done . . . . Many of the Methodist Society wished to commune with us, and I gave liberty to all who were in good standing." Thus in 1816 was founded in the Bellevue the first Presbyterian Church west of the Mississippi. The following year a Rev. Thomas Donnel from North Carolina was installed as pastor, where he was to remain for more than a quarter of a century. A log church house was constructed about one-and-a-half miles northeast of the Caledonia village site, with an adjoining cemetery. The building served until 1839 when it burned. A brick building was then erected on the site, which served until the present building was put up, 1870-1872, in town. The old cemetery remains in use to the present.[27]

The piety and energy of Bellevue Methodists was equally early and vigorous. In the nature of Methodist organization, however, the details of their foundings in the Bellevue were less formal and are less clearcut in retrospect than those of the Presbyterians. The "father" of Bellevue Methodism was William Woods, a layman among the Greene County, Tennessee immigrants. Woods, who came in 1806, was a man of intelligence and enterprise who founded not only the Methodist casue but one of the valley's most respected multi-generational families. He was not without a sense of cultural heritage, as is suggested by the sentiment of his father's first letter to him from Tennessee in 1807. The elder Woods acknowledged receipt of William's letter reporting his final whereabouts. "It was a pleasure . . . to know you was got to that part of the world," began his father,

> which I have some years thought the Best to move to, and to hear you are well pleased with it, and that you are amongst a number of my old acquaintences I ever took to be well-wishers to me, amongst whom I hope you will behave yourself well as becometh a young man who would obtain the esteem of every person around you . . . and be an Honor to your grayheaded father who is almost 72. . . . my compliments to . . . Col. Crow, Capt. Bird, Capt. McMurtrey, and Capt. Wilson. . . .

William married the daughter of "Captain" McMurtrey, and saw the others prosper and assume leadership roles in material and spiritual ways. Woods and his new wife organized a Methodist class, perhaps in 1809, and quickly drew upon the New Method to utilize lay talent and dedication to create an operative religious society, in substance a "church," despite the lack of a resident pastor. Further, the itinerance of Methodist ministers allowed for visits of a preacher from time to time at least. The relative informality and in-process character of the organization of this congregation, named "Shiloh," has made its dating elusive, to the frustration of local historians. Certainly it was early. By 1814 a building was in existence near the old Methodist cemetery, and was a landmark noted in the Potosi-Bellevue road survey anthorized that year. In 1815 a Bellevue Circuit of Methodism was appointed. In 1819 a Missouri conference of the Methodist church was organized at a meeting held at a Shiloh Meeting House. Houck indicated that it was at Belleville, Illinois; but Caledonia historian Adella Breckenridge Moore may have been right in her contention that in fact the meeting was at Shiloh Meeting House, Bellevue, Missouri. Circuits established were mostly nearby: St. Francois, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, and Saline (Saline Creek, near Ste. Genevieve). When the conference met at Potosi in 1829, it adjourned for a day to dedicate Shiloh Meeting House in the Bellevue which had been established "at least fifteen years" before, and had "a large congregation."In 1852 the Methodists moved to town. The fine Caledonia Methodist Church was modelled on the Potosi Presbyterian Church (still standing), and resulted from the successful administration of the Reverend Harrison Long, who had built his own residence (the Long-White house , building #21) just south of the church site. The church burned in the fire of 1909.[28]

The William Woods family exemplified something of the striving for betterment in the culture of the Bellevue. William was an organizer and officer of a Washington County Bible Society in 1824, for whom he kept an account of bibles sold or given away; and he was involved in the organization of a Caledonia Lyceum. In their imposing Continental Plan log house (the Woods-Holman house, southwest of Caledonia) his wife Elizabeth McMurtrey Woods gave birth to ten children who became a family of considerable cultivation and accomplishment. In 1839 for example their eldest son Harvey wrote to his young brother James Monroe Woods in a vein his grandfather would have approved:

> I would like to hear of your studying the different languages and if you will only have faith that what other men has gained you can gain you may at some future day be a conspicuous personage in the councils of the nation you will bear in mind the greatest . . . are self made . . . as that perservance and industry in accumulating knowledge is seldom found in rich peoples children for the very reason that they

are generally not raised to industry and to know that time is money.

In a detailed account of his stewardship the Woods's twenty-eight-year-old son Green Woods wrote in 1842 from Pocahontas, Arkansas that he was able to earn about $1.24 per day teaching subscription school, unfortunately paid him in doubtful Arkansas currency; and he hoped that by "using all the economy I can to get along /and/ be able to repay every cent I owe on earth . . . enough to settle off with Jane A. Thompson, Jas. Evans, and Dr. Lacy." He then observes, "I have got in the notion to marry at last;" but without ever mentioning the lady's name, returns to business: "I am studying stenography . . . you will see I have improved in my penmanship some—I commenced last night to relearn arithmentic—I have forgotten more than I was aware of . . . . The spirit of love runs through our school . . . . God has blessed me once more with peace."[29]

God blesses the world with his grace; and persons improve the world with their honesty, industry, and intellect. It was a gospel played out repeatedly in the Bellevue Valley, the foundation of society, economy, and culture. It was found in families, in church, in lodge, and finally--perhaps especially—in school. In antebellum Missouri the common schooling of children was in their homes (perhaps) and for some in "subscription" schools, private businesses run by an individual, often a minister, for a few students. Considering the paucity of money for such a luxury, few children had the privilege. The creation of sunday schools in the progressive churches such as those of Caledonia brought into the consciousness of society, often for the first time, a notion of school as a public and general concern. Sunday school societies finally made possible a new level of expectations and attainment both for pupils and teachers. As for "higher" schooling, it was entirely a function of church-sponsored academies and colleges, if it existed at all. In 1846 a Methodist academy was established some twenty-five miles from Caledonia in nearby Arcadia Valley. The minister-professor was Jerome C. Berryman, a Kentuckian who had begun his ministry in 1828 on the Bellevue Circuit and had then spent fifteen years as missionary-teacher in the Shawnee Mission manual labor school in Indian Territory (Kansas). On the eve of the Civil War, with his Arcadia Academy in financial straits, he returned "home" to the Bellevue Valley, first to a farm, then to Caledonia, where he lived until his death in 1906. He was the first semi-professional educator in the Bellevue, and he influenced the establishment of a Bellevue Academy immediately after the war.

In 1863 serious thought had been given in Caledonia, despite the war, to establishing a school as a private business venture and for the public good. William Goforth Eversole, George Goodykoontz, James Carson, John Amonett, Albert Carr, James S. Evans, Munson Carr, and A. P. Marrow formed a joint stock company for the purpose. Eversole, Carson, and others who supported the academy were leading

Presbyterians just embarking on an ambitious building program of their own that raised a manse, 1867, and the new church, 1870-1872. A newcomer to Caledonia during the war, Stewart McSpaden, joined the group and proved an important recruit. McSpaden came from Tennessee apparently to join and assist his uncle Joseph, a wealthy farmer (fourteen slaves in 1860); but by 1865 young Stewart had opened a store in Caledonia, the first step toward becoming the town's leading merchant. He was to be superintendent of the Methodist sunday school for sixty-four years, and secretary of the academy board throughout its thirty-five year history.

By 1867 the undertakers of the academy enterprise had raised $6,650, acquired Caledonia lot 37 upon what was to become "College Avenue," and planned to raise a big brick building somewhat in the fashionable Italianate style. (It was to become the "old wing" of the institution.) They were ready to pick up the work laid down by the defunct Arcadia Academy (subsequently purchased by an order of Catholic nuns). "Father" Berryman aided in recruiting a Professor Newlands to begin instruction, temporarily housed in the Methodist Church. The next step was to acquire a sponsor with more than local patronage. They approached the St. Louis Conference of the Methodist Church. Would the conference adopt the Bellevue Academy as its official college and support it financially? The Caledonia undertakers were able, reputable, pious, and had made a good start. The Bellevue Valley was a pioneer of Methodism and a hearth of Protestant Christian culture. The youth would be in good hands in such a place. So it was agreed. In 1869 a Bellevue Collegiate Institute was established, and a new and larger building was begun as an addition to the first structure. BCI was coeducational, taking students from a grammar school level through to a full baccalaureate program. It attracted an able faculty of both men and women, some local, some from elsewhere in Missouri, and some from either coast. Yet the school remained small, apparently with less than a hundred pupils at any time.

BCI's leading light was Professor Willard Duncan Vandiver. He was perhaps the first resident of the Bellevue to possess a full baccaulareate education, having received the Bachelor of Philosophy degree (PhB) from Central Methodist College in Fayette, Missouri in 1877. After two years in Caledonia as professor of mathematics and science, and a year away teaching in a Kentucky college, he was named president of BCI in 1880, a post which he held until 1889. He then became president of the state normal school at Cape Girardeau. From 1897 to 1905 he was United States Congressman from the Fourteenth Missouri District. Vandiver married the daughter of the Methodist minister in Caledonia, taught sunday school in the Caledonia Methodist Church, built the house referred to elsewhere in this report (building #25), and conferred some distinction upon BCI and Caledonia then as well as later, when he became a popular and respected public figure in Missouri.

Vandiver's cultural roots were very similar to those of most of the Bellevue Valley people. His mother's families, Vances and Glasses, were Scotch-Irish immigrants to Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century and were pioneer Presbyterians in the Valley of Virginia, representatives there of high Scotch-Irish culture. "None of them have been extremely wealthy and none extremely poor," said Vandiver. The families finally numbered among their members many clergy, mostly Presbyterians; army officers "in every war this country has engaged in," as Vandiver put it; United States congressmen and senators; and governors of Ohio and North Carolina. His father's families included Van Divers and Hyders, "Old Dutch" whose history mingled with that of the Scotch-Irish in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. Wherever they went, said Vandiver, they were mostly farmers or preachers, often Baptist, "owned their own homes, had large families, and ranked with the well-to-do middle classes." Most he said, owned slaves, "but they were humane masters and kind hearted neighbors." Vandiver himself was born in the Valley of Virginia in 1854, but was brought by his family to Missouri in 1857, finally settling on a farm in Boone County on the eve of the war. After the war, the slaves and the farm lost, they moved to Howard County near Fayette so-that the children could take advantage of the Methodist College there. Young Willard became a Methodist in a campus revival while a student. It was an event which he described as "not a time of wild excitement, but of religious awakening." Joining the church, he said, was a "fortunate decision." He graduated at age twenty-three, and he became president of BCI only three years later. The recruitment of Vandiver by the then president, Reverend T. M. Finney was felicitous, but it was also characteristic and exemplary of historic patterns. It reflects the long and fruitful connection between the Scotch-Irish Protestant societies of the Ste. Genevieve and St. Francois regions with analagous societies of the Booneslick region, which included Callaway, Howard, Boone, Cooper, and Saline counties. The American families that settled each of these Missouri regions had similar origins and histories in the East. Using the agencies of marriage, business, church, lodge, and political party, they wove networks which supported and provided leadership for Missouri's society, polity, and economy. Of the colleges created within that cultural matrix Vandiver said, " . . . the various Protestant denominational colleges were the pioneers of higher education in Missouri and laid its foundation in solid rock . . . . without Central College, Westminster College, and William Jewell College and others of lesser note but similar character, the citizenship of our State . . . would be lacking its noblest elements." In ignoring urban, German, and Catholic institutions, he may have been expressing a cultural bias. Certainly he was identifying with Old American and rural Missouri. Of BCI he observed, "[It] furnished educational facilities for more S. E. Missouri families than any other school in the State except the State Normal School at Cape Girardeau, which under the patronage of the State had grown to be a larger institution . . . . Bellevue College, as it was generally known from 1870 to 1900 . . . . during my nine years was nearly doubled and its influence extended to more than twenty

counties in that section of the State." Vandiver paid special tribute to the old pioneer educator Jerome C. Berryman, and the financial support of the Methodist minister J. H. Headlee (his father-in-law), and businessmen Stewart McSpaden, James S. Evans, and George Goodykoontz.[30]

The St. Louis Conference of the Methodist Chruch, never a strong financial supporter, withdrew its patronage from BCI altogether in 1897 and bestowed it upon Marvin College in Fredricktown, a county seat (Madison County) and a railroad town. BCI carried on only until 1902. In 1911 it was reopened as the Caledonia High School. The building remained in use as part of the Caledonia school facilities until 1955, when it was razed.

The Bellevue Collegiate Institute was Caledonia's most ambitious cultural institution, but it was short-lived, especially when compared with the others—lodge and churches—which have passed their sesquicentennials. It was a paradox—both the apogee of high culture and outreach, and possessed of a base of patronage too small to maintain it. Its glory and its fate were parts of the same history. BCI (and many similar institutions in Missouri and elsewhere) was the fulfillment, the climax, of high culture in rural America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, it bore a burden greater than it could carry. It was located in a small town, center of a rural neighborhood of modest population, without a seat of government, industries, or a railroad. Inexorable demographic factors became decisive, and it gave way before the centripetal forces of urbanization and modernization. BCI was the product of the Bellevue's tripartite faith in God, the Enlightenment, and self-help. Willard Duncan Vandiver personified that faith, but he also personified the history that swept away rural Protestant colleges. He brought to Caledonia specialization, professionalization, secularization, and an incipient cosmopolitan outlook. His movements were emblematic: from farm to Fayette and Caledonia, and then to Cape Girardeau, Washington, and St. Louis (from 1912 to 1920 he was Assistant Treasurer of the United States for the Subtreasury of St. Louis). Christian colleges were the crowning achievments of the rural provinces; but they also took away the children and sent them out into the larger world.

BCI flourished briefly in an interstice of time between a frontier past and a cosmopolitan future; between a world of small-scale societies characterized by a relatively high degree of cultural homogeneity and a world of mass societies characterized by cultural heterogeneity. Caledonia and the Bellevue Valley have experienced the same historical changes over a longer period of time, and have to an extent experienced a similar fate. The good valley, founded and fashioned by believers in the Righteous Empire of Protestantism, became only another small and seemingly

inconsequential place in the secular empire of twentieth-century American pluralism. Not that it was ever free of the compromising forces of American history—depression, slavery, war, to name but a few. Nor was there ever more than a small minority of its people bound into civic organizations, churches or lodges. Caledonia was "town" to only a small population at anytime. Still there was a tone to it, a quality of decency and taste and discipline in the people and in the place that are arresting yet.

In October, 1938, the first reunion of BCI alumni assembled in the old college building, beginning an annual rite which continued for a longer period than the college had been in existence. It became a rite of the celebration not only of BCI, but of the larger cultural meaning of Caledonia and the Bellevue Valley. Minutes of the reunions of 1949 and 1950, written by the indefatigable Adella Breckenridge Moore, herself a kind of celebrant laureate of the Bellevue Valley, preserve some of the sentiments of alumni then in their eighties and nineties:

> It was suggested that we select the two most outstanding living former students. Judge James T. Ronald, age 94, was nominated for his 40 years on the bench of the Superior Court of Seattle; Mrs. Lucy Gibson Green . . . as executive head of the Arkansas State School for the Blind . . . .
>
> "Yes, and well do I remember March 7, 1881. Father took me down to school and took Mr. McSpaden some dressed hogs. We went over to the school building and upstairs Prof. Vandiver had the east end partitioned off and father paid him $6.25. The rest of the second floor was all open, windows planked . . . . not even the ceiling was on.
>
> "Do you remember the Dr. Gupton family who lived in Caledonia? They reared Robert, Allen, Hennie, and Virginia Harrison as well as their two daughters Fannie and Patti. Mrs. Dr. R. A. (Fanni Gupton) Sparks lives at Fayette, where her son-in-law is dean of the college . .
>
> "I have dreamed of Caledonia and the old buildings many times. . . . It's a shame that the school was ever moved. I remember the Barger girls and McSpaden sisters. . . . Jennie Dartin was my first love. Bought my first cornet . . . from Frank McFarland and was useless as a student ever afterward. I boarded the second term, had all the pure maple syrup and hot biscuit and other good things I could eat at Mrs. Carr's and gained 26 pounds the first four months. At Mrs. McFarland's I had plenty of parsnips, and she knew how to cook them

much better than any I have ever had since. .

"I thank God for BCI and what it has meant to me and mine including my wife, her sister . . . and many cousins. Earlier her father . . . had been in Father Berryman's High School in Arcadia . . .

"You have a sacred inheritance in the training of the dear old school and those sincere and fundamental churches. I . . . owe my spiritual outlook and faith to the start I received there."[31]

Adella Breckenridge Moore was one of three to receive a baccalaureate degree in the last BCI graduating class. She spent much of the remainder of her life pursuing and promoting the substance and meaning of Bellevue Valley history. Although she was more than a genealogist, the meaning of that history centered in her own family experience. "When my grandfather George Breckenridge came to Missouri Territory from Tennessee," she said,

he brought a very good library of books for that day. His books were mostly religious books and there were several Bibles. Also there were some law books. . . . grandfather took the St. Louis newspaper soon after coming to Missouri. Grandpa's /log/ house had a large living room and fireplace . . . on winter evenings grandpa would sit in the corner with a tallow candle in one hand and a book or paper in the other. When he would find some item of interest he would rap for silence and then read aloud. . . . . The smaller children did not like to stop their play but were afraid to disobey the signal . . . . In less than two years George Breckenridge was made a county judge. He represented the county in the State Legislature in 1832-1833 when Daniel Dunklin from Potosi was Governor . . . .

We have no record that George Breckenridge or Elizabeth Cowan Breckenridge were members of any church. That both Breckenridges and Cowans were of Scotch-Irish Presbyterian blood is conceded. That Scotch-Irish parents want their children to marry other Scotch-Irish is conceded. Cousin James used to wonder why my grandfather Breckenridge came to Bellevue Valley to settle when he had surveyed land in four states and owned land at Old Mines and in Cooper County. My own opinion is that he wanted his growing children to marry into Scotch-Irish families. Palmer, James, and Smith Breckenridge married into Presbyterian families. Eliza, Melissa, and

Milly Ann married sons of Robert Sloan. So the plan seems to have worked.

Do you have children, grandchildren, and great-grand children as I have? . . . . I want you and any Breckenridge descendants you might have to know that I have the Bible of Alexander Breckenridge, father of George Breckenridge. It will be 200 years old in 1956.[32]

B. Association with persons significant in American History

Caledonia was for eleven years the home of Willard Duncan Vandiver (1854-1932), author of the saying which gave Missouri its official nickname and slogan "I'm from Missouri, you've got to show me." Vandiver was successively professor, then president, of Bellevue College (Bellevue Collegiate Institute) in Caledonia; president of the State Normal School in Cape Girardeau, now Southeast Missouri State University; United States Congressman from the Fourteenth Missouri District for four terms (1897-1905); and Assistant Treasurer of the United States for the Subtreasury of St. Louis. Vandiver was a prominent educator, a leading Democrat in the state, and the first Congressman ever to serve more than two consecutive terms from the Fourteenth District. He was unusual at the time as an educator-turned-politician. Vandiver was a thoughtful, cultivated, and colorful public speaker, likewise an unusual combination then; and it was thus that he became well-known throughout the state, as the newspapers often carried the texts of his speeches and more often quoted his memorable sayings. In Washington too he bacame known for his energetic and effective rejoinders including responses to slights aimed at the rusticity of Missouri and its congressional delegation. He is best remembered for one such riposte. As a member of the Naval Committee of the House he was in Philadelphia in 1899 to tour the Navy yard. He and the committee chairman, an Iowan, were feted at a banquet where evening dress was de rigeur, but with which neither was equipped. The Iowan secured formal attire at the last moment, but Vandiver did not, and alone among the company appeared in mufti. His colleague ribbed him unmercifully in the after-dinner speeches. Vandiver in return amused the audience with a good-humored but outrageous tale that insulted his colleague, all present, and the City of Philadelphia. He concluded with the challenge, "I am from a land of corn, cotton, cockleburs, and Democrats, and frothy eloquence neither convinces nor satisfies me. I'm from Missouri; you've got to show me." He sat down midst loud applause. But the speech garnered greater applause back home when it was carried in newspapers throughout the state. It was soon a part of the state vernacular, and finally of that of the whole nation.

Vandiver was apparently the first person in Caledonia to build (c.1880) a house in the "Victorian Picturesque style," which is still extant (see Sections 7 and 8 for more extended discussion of Vandiver and his house).

C. Architectural Significance[33]

Architectural significance of the Caledonia Historic District includes the following:

1. The thirty-three significant structures in the district represent every generation of Caledonia building from the founding until the 1930s. They probably represent most of the building types and styles erected in the town, and more probably, represent all primary building methods and materials utilized.

2. All thirty-three structures possess significance individually, or in ensembles, within the morphology of evaluation discussed below and above in Section 7.

3. The two primary streetscapes of the district present aspects of the village that evoke and portray cultural landscapes from the past relatively little changed.

4. Caledonia's rural-town ambience may provoke further study and reflection upon the issue of the spatial, socio-economic, and aesthetic relationships between towns and their rural environments upon the Trans-Mississippi frontier.

5. Caledonia retains extraordinary integrity for a town of its age and size in the Ozarks and in Missouri. It may consequently serve as a model to which other towns may be compared and contrasted.

6. Caledonia finally is unique among known Ozarks towns because of its spatial patterning, low building density, congruities of building scale, overall refinement of taste, and evidence of a long persisting preference for Renaissance-derived styles.

The following calendar of significant structures ennumerates approximate dates, types or styles, and materials utilized, in chronological order:

1) Craighead-Henry House, #28, c. 1816. Log, timber frame, and plank. Traditional single-pen, stack, doubled, and with central passage (possibly open at first). Traditional rear facade, vernacular Georgian front facade. Folk masonry limestone fireplace and chimney. See Plan #10 and detailed Section 7 description. (Photos #96-#104).

2) Long-White House, #21; block A, 1848; block B, undated, but of similar construction period as block A. See Plan #6 and detailed Section 7 description. Timber post-and-lintel frame, planked walls, brick nogging or partitions, lapped sawn siding. Folk-vernacular type. (Photos #71-#78).

3) Morris House, #22, date unknown but surely antebellum. Probably timber frame with log elements, originally lap sided. This house is unique in Caledonia, and may originally have been a single-pen structure (west front room with door and stair, see Plan #7). An older roof covering an earlier, smaller structure remains intact under the present roof. The Morris house may contain elements of structures from the first generation of the town, an inference based on its plan, construction, and location. (Photos #80-#81).

4) Lucas-Wilcox House, #11, probably 1840s. Frame on massive stone cellar foundations. The only gable-entry dwelling in the historic district, this house exemplifies vernacular expressions of the Greek Revival which became popular in towns of that generation. See detailed Section 7 description. (Photo #48).

5) Ruggles-Evans-Dent House, #1; Jane Thompson, #3; and W. G. Eversole, #7. Early 1850s. Ruggles and Thompson, (Photos #2 and #12) full Georgian plan, two stories and basement, with attached two-story rear ell. Brick outer walls and chimneys with pegged timber interiors finished in lath and plaster. Greek Revival porticoes, interior woodwork, and other Classic Revival characteristics. W. G. Eversole (Photo #22) is side passage Georgian plan, two-story, with rear ell and other additions. Frame construction (details not known) with sawn lapped siding. Paired brick end chimneys, high-shouldered in the Virginia-Carolina vernacular. See Plans #1 and #2 and detailed Section 7 description.

6) W. G. Eversole slave house, #6, probably contemporaneous with Eversole dwelling. Frame with sawn lapped siding and cornice returns echoing the style of the main house. Chimney removed. (Photos #33-#34)

7) George Eversole, Ferson Carr, Carr-Simms, Bean, and Byrd-Tiefenauer houses, #8, #9, #10, #27, and #33 respectively. None are dated exactly, but may inferentially be assigned to the period 1865-1890. All are late examples of the Southern transverse-axis, single-pile, stack central passage plan. All are frame with sawn lapped siding. Ferson Carr and Carr-Simms have fireplaces only; George Eversole has

both a fireplace and a stove flue; and Byrd-Tiefenauer and Bean have only flues. Bean alone was originally porched, and may be assumed the last built of the group. All are, and presumably always were, painted white save Ferson Carr, which may never have been painted. See Plans #3 and #9 and detailed Section 7 descriptions. (Photos #25, #37, #42, #93, and #114 respectively).

8) The Presbyterian Church, #23, 1870-1872. Brick with interior timber framing and plastered walls. It is the oldest public building extant in Caledonia. Dominated by its tall Gothic lancet windows and entry, it is still a structure expressive of the tradition of and taste for the Classic Revival in Caledonia. See Plan #8 and detailed Section 7 description. (Photos #82 - #85).

9) The Victorians: Queen, Vandiver, and Wood, #24, #25, #26 respectively, c. 1880-1900. Balloon frame construction, lapped siding. The L-shaped massing, corner orientation, picturesque detailing, and nearness to the Bellevue Collegiate Institute distinguish these houses from all others in the district. They depart almost completely from the styles and types enumerated above. They vary from relatively elaborate (Vandiver) to most simple (Queen), but when built they rejected the dominant building tradition of the town, to bespeak the modernity of the late nineteenth century (note in old photo #90 the dark trim paint, a novelty in Caledonia). (Photos #86, #88, and #91 respectively).

10) The old Braswell Smithy, #13, c. 1900 or earlier. This simple frame, lapsided structure with boom-town front and shed porch is significant because it is the oldest commercial structure in town, and of such structures, alone survives from the period before the 1909 fire. It appears never to have been painted. (Photo #51).

11) McSpaden-Burris House, #32, 1909. The significance of this two-story frame house constructed in 1909 is twofold: 1) It is a good example of a modest two-story vernacular "farmhouse" T-plan structure and the only one in Caledonia. Its only forms of ornamentation are the inbricated wood shingles under the gable ends and the turned post on the front porch. 2) The 1909 house was built onto a one-story two-room pre-Civil-War slave cabin, appearing as a rear wing to the structure. (Photos #112 and #113).

12) The post-1909 fire business buildings, #12, #14-#18, c. 1910-1920. Concrete block with cast iron post-and-lintel facades, plate glass windows, and decorative stamped metal cornices. Of uniform setback

at the sidewalk, deep, rectangular plans, common material (built of block from the town's own block-forming machine), these buildings brought to Caledonia for the first time the style and ambience of commercial streets across the nation common since the late nineteenth century. See Plan #4. (Photos #49, #54, #57, and #60).

13) The New Methodist Church, #19, 1909-1911. The 1852 church on the same lot was destroyed in the 1909 fire. The new church was built with the same block and stamped metal as the new business buildings to the north; and like them was brought forward to the street, with only an intervening sidewalk. In style, it followed the new town plans of corner-lot Methodist churches of the turn-of-the-century with L- or T-plans replacing two centuries of permutations of the Wren-Gibbs rectangular block-and-tower church design. See Plan #5. (Photo #66).

14) Green-Stevens house, #29, probably late nineteenth century. Frame on massive stone cellar foundation. Another vernacular dwelling unique to the district, but representative of similar German buildings in Missouri. See Section 7 description. (Photo #105).

15) The twentieth century styles: Tom Goodykoontz house, Conoco Station, Caledonia School, #31, #4, #30, c. 1920-1936. Frame, brick, and stone, respectively. Each of these buildings is unique in Caledonia. But each is expressive of the continuing penetration of national styles begun in the adoption of the Greek Revival in the 1850s and powerfully augmented by the designs of the new business block and the new Methodist church. Goodykoontz (Photo #111) is a stock-plan cube in the Prairie style, possibly catalogue-ordered, possibly preformed. The Conoco station (Photo #19) and the school (Photo #106) are corporate and public designs in the Colonial Revival style, popular in the twenties and thirties and appearing nationwide in that generation. The school, although less than fifty years old, derives primary significance from its construction of St. Francois Mountains porphyry, the famous "Missouri red" granite. The stone is laid in ashlar bond, the preferred method of laying stone in the St. Francois region. Despite the popularity of granite for both public buildings and dwellings in the Belleview and Arcadia Valleys, the school is its only occurrence in Caledonia. (In the cemeteries it is, of course, abundant.)

A listing of house types and styles common to Ozarks small towns but absent in Caledonia is also important to the context of architectural significance. Keeping in mind that the historic district includes the great majority of dwellings built upon Caledonia's principal streets during the past

hundred-and-twenty-odd years, at least, the absences are noteworthy. There is no double-pen mirror-image; no hall-and-parlor; at most two houses possessing possible single-pen elements (Long-White and Morris); no Federal, no Gothic Revival, Italianate, or other high picturesque eclectic or period revival; and no bungalow. (The Stewart McSpaden house shown in Photo #46 had a porch somewhat in the Italianate style, vertical board-and-batten siding, and jigsawn barge boards in the cornice, all applied to a conversative house which was in plan apparently identical to George Eversole across the street south, with which it was apparently contemporaneous. The McSpaden house was destroyed in the 1909 fire.) Examples of most of these house types may be found elsewhere in the Belleview Valley (including the extraordinary Woods-Holman house just southwest of the town, a log Continental Plan, c. 1816, and the splendid Alexander Russell house, an 1828 brick Federal style, some five miles south of Caledonia).

By contrast, the influence and persistence of the symmetrical central-passage plan and classic revival decorative detailing in Caledonia is striking; and it remains dominant in the landscape. Of the nineteen contributing dwellings in the district (not including the Eversole slave house) eleven are of this type. Entryways decorated with glazed transom and sidelights occur in thirteen of the nineteen, including the otherwise most Victorian Vandiver house. It even appears on the storm-door entryway to the Golden Rule Store (see Photo #61). Ten dwellings have cornice returns in the gable (Jane Thompson has parapeted gables). The largest and most dominant building in Caledonia is the Presbyterian Church, which, despite its splendid lancet windows and entry, exhibits the classic revival exterior detailing and the plain, austere interior preferred by its parishioners in their dwellings.

The Greek Revival style came early to Washington County. Moses Austin's Durham Hall in Potosi, an amazing complex of at least five buildings strung together, terminates in its largest block with a high two-story columned portico topped by a pedimented gable. While the work appears to be the simplest carpenter-classic, the form is clear and dramatic. This portion of the house may well have been the last built, probably between 1815 and 1819 (Durham Hall was destroyed sometime in the nineteenth century. For a unique photograph, see Louis Houck, A History of Missouri; Chicago, 1908, 1:370). Austin's house, like the man, was undoubtedly famous and extraordinary. A short distance up the hill from Durham Hall was a fine brick courthouse contemporaneous with it. Built in the Greek Revival vernacular of so many early nineteenth century southern county courthouses, that of Washington County was intended by its optimistic builders to be the new Missouri statehouse, suggesting their perception of Washington County as the "center" of the aborning state. It stood, together with Durham Hall, amongst what must have been a virtual wilderness of mean log and board buildings, and provided a model

for the second generation of pioneers, including those of the Bellevue, who required suitable forms to express their values and aspirations. Of course, a few of that generation may have seen examples of the Greek Revival or permutations of it in the East before coming to Missouri. In the event, Caledonians adopted it as their dominant form, expressed in a conservative way to match their Scotch-Irish Presbyterian culture (though they might have been Methodists or Baptist by then).

Alexander Craighead, "founder" of Caledonia, and his partner Andrew Henry, were doubtless such men. The store and dwelling which they built, the Craighead-Henry house, #28, requires particular analysis in this context because it is the oldest surviving structure in Caledonia (and with Woods-Holman the oldest in the Belleview Valley), and one of the oldest known structures in the interior Ozarks. It would seem to be transitional between traditional types and Renaissance-derived Georgian and Greek styles expressed in log, plank, and stone (see Section 7 description, Plan #10, and Photos #96-#104).

Analysis of the structure suggests that the house as it stands is an accumulation of construction events: first one pen; then the other, separated from the first and joined to it at the second story and roof; the enclosure of the open passage; and then, perhaps last, the frame-built end addition. Ownership of the house by the wealthy and prominent Dr. James Relfe family in the 1830s and 1840s provides one explanation for this process, including the inclusion of a significant stylistic feature: the vernacular Greek Revival entryway consisting of glazed side panels flanking the door (there is no tramsom and no suggestion of an inset portico, common to other Caledonia houses with similar entries). A basic question arises about such an attenuated building process interpretation, however. How to account for the fenestration of the facade, which is typical of the Georgian, five-bay facades of every other central passage house in Caledonia (save only Byrd-Tiefenauer and Carr-Simms)? Facade-wall piercings of typical single-pen log structures, whether one- or two-story, would provide a door in each pen, either centered in the facade or slightly off-center, and either no window, one window separated from the door by a common frame member, or, more rarely, two windows flanking the door. None of these occur in the west walls of the Craighead-Henry pens. When built as a double-house or dog-trot, doors of the two pens typically opened into the passage from the centers of the interior side walls of each pen, offering protection of the passage to each entryway. Windows of such double houses were then commonly placed in front, and perhaps rear, walls in the place of doors. Interior pen doors of Craighead-Henry are indeed to be found opening into the passage; but the Georgian-plan window arrangement of the facade, which doubtless pleased the same style-conscious owner who installed the sidelighted central front door, cannot be accounted for in single-pen building tradition.

At the present stage of research, one must resort to some conjecture about Craighead-Henry: perhaps what is today the back (east side) of the house was originally the front. The piercings of the east walls of the house correspond to what one would expect of early frontier log construction: one centered door at ground level of each pen, with one window directly above it. Alexander Craighead and Andrew Henry came to the Bellevue to open a store, and one surmises, the Craighead house was that store. One further expects it to have been built beside the main road or trail from Potosi into the Bellevue Valley. The early trail, if it were on the east side of Goose Creek at all, would more logically have been located on the east side of Craighead-Henry than on its west side because of the terrain just to the north. Any road going north from the house must soon enter the Goose Creek breaks. Some 200 yards or so north of the house a little ravine cuts eastward from the creek valley. College Street encounters it just before the street intersects modern Missouri Route 32 near the old north village boundary. The present street descends into the ravine through a deep cut in the bluff. (See modern topographic map, Figure 1.) That the original road would have been cut through the bluff or have gone down its face is inconceivable, because by directing the road toward the northeast that ravine would have been avoided altogether, and the road could have descended more gradually into the creek valley along a choice of routes. Moreover, a route to the neighborhood of the present Presbyterian Cemetery about a half-mile northeast across the upland would seem logical. The church was there from its founding in 1816 until 1871, and it was doubtless a focal point of a very early rural settlement. Such factors argue for a more easterly location than present College Street for the early Potosi-Bellevue road, i.e. in front of the present rear of the house. That the porch would have been on the front of the store building is also logical, even expectable. The fading out in local tradition of the original use of the building for merchandising is perhaps in part because it does not at all look like a store, at least not from modern College Street.

The thesis that the store/dwelling originally faced east does not account for what would then have been its "back", the present west or front facade. Variant possibilities are that 1) the west walls were originally unpierced, thus lending themselves to the later Georgian fenestration; 2) the west walls were pierced the same as the east walls, in which case very radical restructuring of the log walls would have been necessary to achieve the present arrangement; or 3) the builders planned the final result from the first: a traditional wall-piercing of the store front, both easier to construct, utilitarian, and conventional in appearance; and a formal Georgian-dwelling-like west facade, intended to look from the anticipated street of the new town as fine as possible. The last of these possibilities is the most persuasive. Neither of the partners were primitives, and surely neither were strangers to nor opponents of such canons of taste and refinement

as would be thus displayed. For Craighead and Henry to have built in such a manner -- or to have planned for its ultimate building, for it surely was not built all at once -- would have been extraordinary. But then the Craighead-Henry house is surely an extraordinary building, as were the men for whom it is named. The Craighead-Henry house might reasonably be imagined the largest and finest of the earliest Caledonia buildings which despite its rusticity forecast canons of taste and style that were to dominate the town for more than half a century.

Beyond the architecture itself, the distinctive ambience of Caledonia's built environment depends upon the presence of a few crucial elements that are rare if not unique among Ozarks towns. They are siting and building density, style and scale, and landscape structures. These are most visible in the historic district, especially upon Main Street, but occur to a greater or lesser extent throughout the town.

Building density is very low, and the distribution of buildings is consistent. Of thirty-two improved half-acre lots in the district, twenty-four have no more than one principal structure (including the school, one building upon two lots). Six more lots are entirely vacant. The resulting spaciousness is a survival of the intention of the 1818 plat, a spaciousness difficult to capture in photographs but immediately apparent to the critical observer on the ground. By contrast the row of four high-density lots along the east side of Main Street (Lots 20, 29, 32, and 41) are occupied by thirteen principal structures, presenting a focus of business buildings that retains its original character relatively intact.

Congruity of building style and scale is also a Caledonia distinction not apparent in other towns of the region. Of nine contributing dwellings in the Main Street area, all are two stories high and exhibit but two orders of massing, both large: the full Georgian plan of Ruggles and Thompson (in which order Ramsey may be placed because of its three-story height), and the half-Georgian plans of Eversoles, Ferson Carr, and Carr-Simms (Bean, on College Street, belongs as well in this second group, as do the stylistically different Lucas-Wilcox and Long-White houses of Main Street). Non-contributing structures #1 and #2 on Lot 20, (Photos #49 and #50) are particularly prominent in the streetscape not only because of their modest character but because they are in their smallness so incongruous among Main Street dwellings. They do, by contrast, serve to accentuate the harmony of scale among the contributing dwellings. The historic houses of Main Street are harmonious in materials, too. All are either brick or horizontal lapped siding painted white (except the unpainted Ferson Carr). Although roofs are not visually prominent, all are either metal or dark shingle. Style and plan of Main Street houses, excepting Long-White, are derivations from classical and Renaissance traditions, as

discussed above and in Section 7. All save Lucas-Wilcox (temple-form gable entry) are cross-axis presentations of the main block; i.e. their facades are on a long wall parallel to the roof ridge. All have rear ells save Lucas-Wilcox (Ferson Carr's ell has been removed). And, all are sited more or less in front corners of their lots, presumably to maximize blocks of open space at side and rear.

The space thus achieved is still used in a somewhat rural manner. Outbuildings of various kinds abound, exhitibing the characteristic Ozarks unpainted and weathered vertical oak siding. The dark gray color of the wood, its rough texture, and the corrugated or crimped sheet metal roofing, in color galvanized silver to rust red, create a feeling of little farmyards in town. Though poultry and livestock seem now to be absent, the rurality of Caledonia in both time and space is readily apparent. In contrast to such rusticity are the pickets and wire fence; low retaining walls of brick, stone, or concrete; the brick, flagstone, or cement walks; and the lines of planted trees joining them. These bound and enclose the properties and serve to separate them from the street space. Such comparatively formal landscape elements accord with the refinement of the houses, and contrast with the rustic, more pastoral elements of the scene to create a distinctive cultural landscape. The significance is an exemplification of the way in which the antebellum, almost completely rural society of Caledonia conceived and expressed its idea of "town".

Counterpointing the distinctive domestic landscape of Main Street is the equally distinctive business row in the middle of the street's east side. The 1909 fire swept away everything from the corner of Henry Street south across Alexander, up to and including the Methodist Church. In the vacant space left by the conflagration arose seven new commercial structures of similar style which replaced the old gable-frame-and-white-paint look of the nineteenth century with a completely different ambience. The town acquired a concrete block machine, perhaps at the instigation of the Caledonia's premier merchant, Stewart McSpaden. His own Golden Rule Store and the Methodist Church, of which he had been Sunday School superintendent for forty-five years, were the largest and most elaborate of the new concrete block structures. Built with materials of the new age of manufactured modular construction elements -- concrete block, decoratively stamped sheet metal, cast-iron structural members, and plate glass -- the new store buildings opened directly upon the sidewalk, inviting pedestrians to gaze in upon their wares through great windows. Their deep, narrow, rectangular plans were intended to butt them together, side wall to side wall, wasting no space or superfluous side yards. Business would not yield precious land to trees and grass in the new age! Of course, space in Caledonia was not at a premium, even in the generation that may have been the zenith for the town as a minor trade center. But the town image was important. The glass fronts, shaded by manufactured metal awnings (all faced

the western sun), and surmounted by large, elaborate stamped metal cornices with worked sheet metal decorations brought the modern look of towns and cities to the ever rural Belleview Valley. The first built (see Photo #47 and W. J. Dent Plat, Figure 6) were the Caledonia Bank (most distant) on the southeast corner of Main and Henry; Benton Sinclair's general store, #16 (middle ground), in the center of the block; and the largest and most imposing, Stewart McSpaden's Golden Rule Store, #18, northeast corner of Main and Alexander (foreground). Subsequently four smaller business buildings were interspersed, matching the pace-setters in style and general design, but with simpler cornices and other details. They are buildings #12, now J and L Westernwear; #13, now the post office, which has served as a restaurant and barbershop, probably among other things; and #15, Benton Sinclair's gasoline station, now the community building. This last structure appears not to have had the same facade treatment as the others. Whatever the original facade infill, it has disappeared. Buildings #17 and #18 have similar quoined corners at the front termination of their side walls, artifices created by interspersing smooth blocks painted white with the standard rock-faced block. The device was especially important in the case of #18, McSpaden's Golden Rule Store. It was the largest of the group, prominent on its street corner, and across from the new Methodist Church, which had the same quoining as one of its major decorative elements.

College Street is different from Main Street. It is more open, more domestic, more vernacular, more varied in the style and scale of its buildings. It has two public buildings, Bellevue Presbyterian Church and Caledonia School, the largest buildings in town. It is a bit more elevated. One looks westward down into the creek valley and across to Main Street, and eastward across spacious gardens and yards to the open farmlands beyond. But College Street shares with Main the same low density and for most of its houses, the same corner or the lot sitings, as well as the abundance of open land and the rustic outbuildings. College Street houses do not possess the stately style and harmony of Main Street. Vandiver and Wood, the two-story Victorians (#25, #26), are something of a pair. Bean and Craighead-Henry (#27, #28) are both central-passage, half-Georgian plans, are two-story, and possess side-lighted entries. Few casual observers would perceive their similarities, however, especially since Craighead-Henry has had its white-painted lapped siding replaced by a gray rolled asphalt. Morris, Queen, Green-Stevens, and Tom Goodykoontz are unique (#22, #24, #29, #31). Queen and Green-Stevens are one and one-and-a-half stories respectively, the only contributing structures in the district that are not a full two stories high. Morris and Green-Stevens are, with Long-White on Main Street, the only vernacular structures essentially without consciousness of style, although Morris has gable returns, and Long-White once had elaborate styled porching. And Bean alone on College has fence and retaining wall fronting the street; Vandiver originally had a

picket. Yet the College Street mixture of building and landscape elements presents, sometimes in shadowed fashion, much of the town's history. Green-Stevens' vernacular Germanness reminds us of that ethnic group coming to the Belleview after the Mid-nineteenth century, as does the name of the prominent family Goodykoontz. The history represented by the Morris house has yet to be discerned; but it is very old. The school and the Tom Goodykoontz house as buildings portray different aspects of the coming of modernity. Perhaps the most significant single structure in Caledonia is the Craighead-Henry house, both because of its variegated meanings as a building of its time and place, and because of its association with the founding of Caledonia. It is a rare and precious survival indeed. The church and school represent essences of Caledonia's significance to American history. Bellevue Presbyterian Church is one of the best preserved, least altered, and altogether finest public buildings of its period in the Missouri Ozarks (St. Paul Episcopal in nearby Ironton, exactly contemporaneous and a National Register property, is a suitable companion). Above all it symbolized the presence of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in this still remote valley for almost two centuries. The school is the latest built of all buildings in the district (1936). Even to the casual observer it looks recent. Yet its significance as Caledonia's only granite building in a region abounding with them, and in a site virtually shadowed by the vast granite mass of Buford Mountain, is persuasive. Perhpas the reluctance of Caledonians to build with this abundant local material, quarried for the whole nation beginning in the 1870s, suggests a conservatism about appropriateness and even respectability that created in Caledonia's first hundred years a town of brick and wood styled mostly in traditions established during the eighteenth century.

College Street, one must finally conclude, is haunted by the ghost of the building which ought to be there but is not: the old Belleview Collegiate Institute (see Photos #107-#110). Its Italianate Victorianism joined with the Vandiver and Woods houses across the street (and perhaps with others also now gone) to form a campus neighborhood. It was the crown jewel of Caledonia, the expression in a buidling of the town's ultimate moral and spiritual raison d'etre. It was strikingly similar to the public school built in Ironton about 1880, when the main (front) block of BCI was added -- so much so as to suggest that the two were executed by the same architect and builder.

Alexander and Henry Streets, the only east-west streets developed from the original plat, connect the two principal zones of Main and College Streets. As described in Item #7, these two east-west streets dissect the small Goose Creek valley and were sparsely settled due to the low-lying nature of the terrain.

Of the two contributing properties on these streets, the McSpaden-Burris House sits on the south side of Alexander Street, just east of the Methodist

Church Manse, on the edge of the hill just before dropping off to the Goose Creek valley. It, therefore, has its locational identity with that of the Main Street area. The Byrd-Tiefenauer House on the north side of Henry Street, however, sits in the valley just east of Goose Creek. Not necessarily being identified with either principle areas of those of Main and College Streets, it represents a connecting element between the two major areas. Perhaps due to a lack of population growth, it was not until on into the twentieth century that these streets began to be developed. However, the significance of this area between the two densely settled areas in Caledonia in its lack of development assists in supporting the geographical and cultural settlement pattern of the town itself. It is also this area that may be rich archaeologically due to having been the area of slave, and later Black servant, quarters. This is supported by the close proximity of the McSpaden-Burris rear wing having originally been a pre-Civil-War slave cabin. Oral tradition also mentions the location of a Negro school in Lot #27. However, the archaeological component is not being used as a basis of significance for this district nomination. Goose Creek ravaging floods have probably all but obliterated any evidence of these structures. Most of this low-lying area along Goose Creek is now wooded with extreme underbrush, making any surface visibility all but impossible. For the purpose of this nomination, the possible archaeological component of this area is only noted for informational purposes and the data-yielding potential of the area.

To summarize and conclude the significance of Caledonia's architecture, we observe in it and in the totality of the built environment the manner in which the high Scotch-Irish of the Bellevue Valley expressed their culture in "town": adoption and adaptation of vernacular Georgian and Greek Revival styles, important (for Missouri) survivals of folk building types, late and limited expressions of Victorian styles and techniques, planned consistency in the spatial arrangement of structural elements in the landscape, a mix of typically rural and typically urban buildings and accoutrements, few intrusions, and splendid taste and craftsmanship expressed in many well-preserved buildings. Finally, we observe in the historic landscape a lack of any extremes of taste. There is nothing crass, nothing to call attention particularly to one thing or another. There is no outstanding single monument. Especially noteworthy is the absence of any display of ostentation, notwithstanding the obvious presence of substance, skill, and taste. Caledonia does indeed express a kind of nineteenth century Jeffersonian golden mean of yeoman and bourgeois culture.

NOTES

[1]Bellevue-Beautiful View, The History of the Bellevue Valley and the Surrounding Area, Caledonia Missouri, 1983. This 864 page volume is a collection of documents, reminiscences, geneologies, family sketches and histories, photographs, etc., and will be cited subsequently as History.

[2]Martin E. Marty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America (New York, 1970). I am indebted not only for the term but for many of Marty's concepts as well.

[3]William Woods's description as handed down in family tradition. History, 16.

[4]Theodore P. Russell, "A Few Days Among the Farmers" (reminiscent account), The Iron County Register, Ironton, Missouri, May 30, 1889.

[5]The foregoing geographic description is greatly indebted to Milton Rafferty, "Physical Geography of Iron County, Missouri," private report to the Center for Ozarks Studies, 1981.

[6]Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion, third edition (New York) 468. The thesis is echoed in Carl O. Sauer, "Back to the Land," Landscape, 6:3, Spring, 1967. Indeed, it and similar unexamined details of historical demography are common place generalizations.

[7]American State Papers 2: Public Lands, 515 ff., quoted in History, 12. Louis Houck, History of Missouri, Volumes 1, 2, and 3 (Chicago, 1908) 2:35 ff. Bates and Reed to Valle, 1804, in Ste. Genevieve Fair Play, August 31, 1879.

[8]Moses Austin to Amos Stoddard, quoted in History, 12 ff.

[9]Ibid.

10Nineteenth century accounts of the Bellevue and upper Big valleys typically stressed iron and lead as opportunities for exploitation certain to be present and advantageous to land purchasers. Se e.g. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, A View from the Mines (1819); Beck, Gazetteer of Missouri and Illinois (1837); and Parker, Missouri As It Is (1867). Even

Williams, The State of Missouri (1904) says simply to describe Caledonia, "Flouring mill and mining interests." Washington County was early—and it would seem permanently—characterized as mining country.

[11]Houck, Volumes 1 and 3, ad passim; Gerard Schultz, History of the Northern Ozarks (Jefferson City, 1937) 111-115.

[12]History, 11-14; Washington County Deed Book A, 335; The Alexander Craighead Papers, Missouri Historical Society; Henry and Craighead Ledger, Joint Collection, University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscript Collection—Columbia and State Historical Society of Missouri (cited subsequently as "Joint Manuscripts Collection"); Edwin Scott Gaustad, Historical Atlas of Religion in America (Revised ed. N.Y. 1976) 19-21; Elizabeth R. Barton, "In Search of the Ancestry of Thomas B. Craighead," Craighead County Historical Quarterly, 16 (Autumn 1976) 10-12.

[13]History, 12 and 13. Survey of Grants #2182 and #837 are in the Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City. A copy of the original town plat is in the Washington County records, Potosi, and is reproduced in the History, 37. John Rice Jones sketch in Houck, 3:256, 257. The "Theophs Wills" and "Theos Williams" noted on lots 23 and 31 of the original plat are probably the same person.

McCoy had previously made contract for the sale of his entire grant, including his contribution to the townsite, before he sold the seventeen acres to Craighead. The first deal was with a Benjamin Imboden of Augusta County, Virginia, who arrived shortly thereafter to find that a piece of his purchase had been preempted. In some arrangement with McCoy not evident in the record, he agreed to relinquish claim to any land within the town. Copy of the McCoy-Imboden contract and its cancellation, dated 17 November 1817 and 2 November 1818, Washington County Deed Book A, 335, courtesy of Mr. James Finley, Modesto, California.

[14] Green Woods to William Woods, January.7, 1842, Woods-Holman Papers, Joint Manuscript Collection; Correspondence with Michael Dougan, Arkansas State University, Jonesboro, Craighead County, Arkansas, October 1983.

Mine a Shibboleth, discovered 1811, produced seven million pounds of lead in the first two years, "but since that time production has been much reduced." Report of Moses Austin, 1816, American State Papers 3:609-613.

[15]Barton, loc.cit; History, 77, taken from U. S. Post Office records, National Archives and Record Service. Perusal of the cemetery lists printed in the History and compiled from markers of all vicinity cemeteries fails to reveal any Craigheads.

[16]Fourth through Eighth Censuses of the United States, 1820-1860.

[17]The Eighth Census of the United States, 1850, for the Bellevue Township of Washington County.

[18]Ibid.

[19]St. Louis Missouri Republican, April 1, 1828; Springfield Furnace account ledgers, Joint Manuscript Collection; History of Franklin, Jefferson, and Washington, Crawford and Gasconade Counties (Chicago, 1888) 474; James E. Eversole, "The Eversoles of Bellevue Valley," Joint Manuscript Collection and History, 607-613; Arthur Cozzens, "The Iron Industry of Missouri, "Missouri Historical Quarterly, 35:509-538, July, 1941.

[20]Eversole Family History; Martin Ruggles and Andrew Peery Estate Papers, Washington County Probate Files, Potosi. Ruggles was the founder of Tyro Lodge No. 12, A.F. and A.M., the first institution specifically in the town of Caledonia, and destined to be the oldest lodge in continuous organization in Missouri. It expressed the coming bourgeois character of respectable society in town and valley.

[21]Martin Ruggles Estate Papers; 1850 manuscript census for Bellevue Township; Springfield Furnace, day books of the merchandise store, Joint Manuscript Collection; History, 257,258; Abstract of the deed to lots 6 and 7 , courtesy of Rev. and Mrs. Robert Teuscher. The abstract reveals a labyrinthine and certainly obscure history of ownerships of and claims against the property between 1851 when Ruggles bought lot 7, and 1877 when Evans finally cleared title to it. Missing from the abstract is the crucial record of transfer in the 1850s from Ruggles back to Evans, from whom he had bought lot 7 for $75. Continued interest of Evans in the property through those years however suggests that he did recover it from Ruggles; and it is possible that Evans retained an interest, financial or otherwise, in the property through the brief period of Ruggles' possession. On March 6, 1853 Elijah Starr Ruggles sought and was granted a letter of dismission from the Bellevue Presbyterian Church of which he had been Ruling Elder and Clerk of the Session. Noted in "History of the Bellevue Presbyterian Church . . . A Sermon Preached by the Rev. T. C. Barrett in Caledonia, Missouri, August 5, 1877," copy of the original typescript, Center for Ozarks Studies.

[22]Jane A. Thompson to Abram Jones, December 14, 1843, Woods-Holman Papers, Joint Manuscript Collection.

[23]One 1828 letter of Andrew Hunter, letters of Jane A. Thompson 1829-1834, and "Hunter Family Record," (typescript) courtesy of Mr. James T. Finley, Modesto,

California; Hunter, Alexander, Rutledge, and other family information in Edward Aull, Jr., Aull-Meteer and allied families of Ireland, Virginia and Missouri, 1965, private printing; History, 341-343, 261,262; Dorothy Caldwell file of Jane A. Thompson House, Missouri State Historical Society; Washington County Records of Deeds, Potosi; manuscript of the U. S. censuses for Bellevue Township, 1850 and 1860.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Houck, 3:201,227; Paul M. Harrison, "Introduction" to Rufus Babcock, ed., Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D. (Carbondale and Edwardsville Illinois, reprint, 1965) XXXII-XXXIX and 122; Thomas Ford, History of Illinois (Chicago, 1854) 406,407; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (Hugh Park, ed.) Schoolcraft in the Ozarks (Van Buren Arkansas, reprint, 1955) 174,175; Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, ad passim.

[26]Marty, "Foreword."

[27]Houck, 3:227-229; History, 13,279,381 ff., 389; Adella Breckenridge Moore, History of the Bellevue Presbyterian Cemetery (Potosi, Independent-Journal reprint, 1967).

[28]Michael Woods to William Woods, from "Nolachucky River, Washington County, Tennessee State," October 7, 1807, Woods-Holman Papers, Joint Manuscript Collection; Houck 3:239,241; History, 398,399; Muriel Furry Akers, History of the Caledonia Methodist Church, 1810-1967 (Caledonia, private printing, 1967); Adella Breckenridge Moore, Methodism in the Bellevue Valley (n.p., 1955). A Baptist congregation was established in the Bellevue at least as early as the Methodists; it moved to Potosi, and its history remains moot.

[29]Harvey Woods to James Monroe Woods, June 12, 1839; and Green Woods to William Woods, January 9, 1842; Woods-Holman Papers, Joint Manuscript Collection.

[30]"Autobiography of Willard Duncan Vandiver, 1854-1932," typescript, courtesy of Lewis Headlee Vandiver, Columbia, Missouri; History, 112,113,117-119,226,270,400-402.

[31]"Caledonia Echoes," Extra (Potosi) Independent-Journal, October 6, 1949; "Caledonia Echo," Steel reporting reunion of October, 1950.

[32]"Some Thoughts," Adella Breckenridge Moore Papers, Joint Manuscript Collection, Columbia.

[33]I am indebted to James Denny, Chief of Survey and Registration, Historic Preservation Program, Missouri Department of Natural Resources, for his pioneering research and thought on the vernacular built environment of rural Missouri. Not only his writings and public presentations, but his personal counsel and advice have guided and formed my own thinking.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Pamphlets

Akers, Muriel E. F. "History of the Caledonia Methodist Church, 1810-1967." Potosi, Missouri: Independent-Journal Printers, 1967.

Aull, Edward, Jr. Aull-Meteer and Allied Families of Ireland, Virginia and Missouri. Private printing, 1965.

Babcock, Rufus, ed. Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoir of John Mason Peck, D.D. (Reprinted, Carbondale-Edwardsville, Illinois, 1965.)

Beck, Lewis Caleb. A Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri. Albany, New York: Charles R. and George Webster, 1923. (Reprinted by the Arno Press, N.Y., 1975.)

Bellevue-Beautiful View: The History of the Bellevue Valley and the Surrounding Area. Bellevue Valley Historical Society, Caledonia, Missouri, 1983.

Billington, Ray Allen. Westward Expansion. New York: McMillan & Sons, 1967.

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927. s.v. "Relfe, James Hugh." Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1928.

Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927. s.v. "Vandiver, Willard Duncan." Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1928.

Brown, Richard D. Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600-1865. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Douglass, Robert Sidney. History of Southeast Missouri. Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1912. (Reprinted by Ramfre Press, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 1961.)

Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, Volume V (1901), s.v. "Potosi."

Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri, Volume VI (1901), s.v. "Washington County."

Ford, Thomas. History of Illinois. Chicago: S.C. Griggs & Company, 1854.

Gaustad, Edwin Scott. Historical Atlas of Religion in America. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

Glassie, Henry. Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford and Gasconade Counties, Missouri. Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1888. (Reprinted by Ramfre Press, Cape Girardeau, Missouri, 1958.)

Houck, Louis. History of Missouri, Volumes 1,2 and 3. Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1908.

Marty, Martin E. Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America. New York: Dial Press, 1970.

Moore, Adella Breckenridge. Methodism in Bellevue Valley. 1955.

Parker, Nathan H. Missouri As It Is In 1867: An Illustrated Historical Gazetter of Missouri. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Company, 1867.

Pierson, William H., Jr. American Buildings and Their Architects, I: The Colonial and Neoclassical Style. Garden City, New York, 1970

Rhodes, Margaret. "A Brief History of Caledonia." Potosi, Missouri: Independent-Journal Printers, 1969.

Roth, Leland M. A Concise History of American Architecture. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. A View of the Lead Mines of Missouri. 1819. (Reprinted by the Arno Press, 1972.)

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. Schoolcraft in the Ozarks, edited by Hugh Park. (Reprinted, Van Buren, Arkansas, 1955.)

Schultz, Gerard. Early History of the Northern Ozarks. Jefferson City: Midland Printing Company, 1937.

Tocqueville, Alexis. Democracy in America. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.

Tyro Lodge No. 12, A.F. and A.M. 125th Anniversary Celebration. Commemorative Publication, 1950.

Wetmore, Alphonso, compiler. Gazetter of the State of Missouri. St. Louis: C. Keemle, 1887. (Reprinted by the Arno Press, New York, 1975.)

Williams, Walter. The State of Missouri: An Autobiography. Columbia, Missouri: State Historical Society, 1904.

WPA Writers Project. The Guide to Missouri.

Government Documents

American State Papers, Volumes 2 and 3.

Carter, Clarence Edwin, ed. The Territorial Papers of the United States, Volume XIV. "The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814," Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1949.

Featherstonhough, G.W. Geological Report of an Examination Made in 1834 of the Elevated Country between the Missouri and Red Rivers. Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seton by order of the House of Representatives, 1835.

Forest Conditions of the Ozark Region. Missouri Agriculture Experiment Bulletin 89.

4th-8th Censuses of the United States, 1820-1860.

Geological Survey of Missouri, Bulletin No.1.

The Iron Works of Missouri. Missouri Bureau of Geology and Mines, Volume X, Second Series by G.W. Crane. Jefferson City: The Hugh Stephens Printing Office, 1928.

United States Congress, House of Representatives. Honorable A.S.J. Carnahan, in Extension of Remarks, speaking on Moses Austin and the Lure of Lead, 81st Congress, 1st session, 21 March 1949, Congressional Record.

Typescripts and Correspondence,
Center for Ozarks Studies

Akers, Muriel E.F. to Center for Ozarks Studies. Correspondence, 1983 and 1984.

Barrett, Rev. T.C. Sermon: "History of Bellevue Presbyterian Church, Caledonia, Missouri." 5 August 1877.

"Buford Family History." Typescript.

"Charles Elwin Drew Family History." Typescript.

Michael Dougan to Robert Flanders. October, 1983.

Hunter, Andrew. Correspondence, 1828. Courtesy, James Finley, Modesto, California.

Hunter, Matthew T. Correspondence, 1834. Courtesy, James Finley, Modesto, California.

Precis of Abstract of Deeds to lots 6 and 7, Town of Caledonia. Courtesy of Robert Teuscher, St. Louis and Caledonia.

Thompson, Jane A. Correspondence, 1834. Courtesy, James Finley, Modesto, California.

Tiefenauer, Frances to Center for Ozarks Studies. Correspondence: Bellevue Presbyterian Church. 19 June 1981.

Vandiver, Willard Duncan. "Autobiography of Willard Duncan Vandiver," 1932. Typescript, courtesy of Lewis Headlee Vandiver, Columbia, Missouri.

Archival Manuscripts

Alexander Craighead Papers. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Bellevue Valley Manuscript Maps, Washington County. n.d. Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City.

Eversole, James F. "The Eversoles of Bellevue Valley." Typescript, 1980. Joint, Collection, University of Missouri Western Historical Manuscripts-State Historical Society of Missouri Manuscripts, Columbia. (Subsequently referred to as Joint Collection.)

Henry and Craighead Business Ledger, 1817. Joint Collection.

Manuscript of the United States Census for Washington County Missouri, 1850 and 1860; and for Iron County, Missouri, 1860. Microfilm, Springfield-Greene County (Missouri) Library.

Minute Book #1 of the Meeting of the Board of Land Commissioners at Ste. Genevieve, 1816. Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City.

Missouri Iron Furnace Day Book, 1834-1835. Joint Collection.

Moore, Adella Breckenridge. "A Rock Was Found." Breckinridge Papers, Joint Collection.

Moore, Adella Breckenridge. Correspondence. Breckinridge Papers, Joint Collection.

Moore, Adella Breckenridge. "Pioneer Settlers of this Section Formed Bible Society, September 6, 1816." Breckinridge Papers, Joint Collection.

Moore, Adella Breckenridge. "Some Thoughts, #3." Breckinridge Papers, Joint Collection.

Springfield Iron Furnace Account Books, 1834-1842. Joint Collection.

Surveys of various Spanish Land Grants, Washington and Iron Counties. Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City.

Woods-Holman Papers. Joint Collection.

Unpublished Manuscripts and Reports

Denny, James. "The Building Activities of Abiel Leonard: A Thick Description." Unpublished manuscript. (A version of this writing was presented before the 24th Missouri Conference on History, 1982.)

Denny, James. "Cedar Grove/Amick-Kingsbury House." Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City. 1980.

Denny, James. "Ephraim J. Wilson Farm Complex." Nomination to the National Register for Historic Places. Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City. n.d.

Denny, James. "Form and Style in Missouri's Antebellum Domestic Architecture." Paper delivered before the 23rd Missouri Conference on History, 1981.

Denny, James. "Greenwood/Estill-Parrish House." Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City. 1982.

Denny, James. "Hicklin Hearthstone." Nomination to the National Register for Historic Places. Department of Natural Resources, Jefferson City. 1979.

Periodicals and Newspapers

"Americans in the Valley." Missouri Historical Society 46 (January 1952): 264-269.

Burton, Elizabeth R. "In Search of the Ancestry of Thomas B. Craighead." Craighead County Historical Quarterly (Autumn 1976): 10-12.

"Caledonia Echoes—BCI Holds Reunion at Caledonia Saturday." Independent-Journal Extra. Potosi, Missouri, 6 October 1949.

"Caledonia Echo" reporting BCI reunion of 1950. n.p., n.d.

Cozzens, Arthur. "The Iron Industry of Missouri." Missouri Historical Review 35 (July 1941): 509-538.

Dorsey, Dorothy B. "The Panic of 1819 in Missouri." Missouri Historical Review 29 (October 1934-July 1935): 79-91.

Eaton, David. "How Missouri Counties, Towns, Streams Were Named." Missouri Historical Review 13 (October 1918-July 1919): 72.

Finley, Jim. Letter to editor on Hunter and Imboden families. The Independent-Journal, 2 June 1983.

"Historical Notes and Comments." Missouri Historical Review 10 (July 1916): 308.

"Historical Notes and Comments." Missouri Historical Review 11 (October 1916): 91.

"Historical Notes and Comments." Missouri Historical Review 34 (October 1939): 271.

"Historical Notes and Comments." Missouri Historical Review 35 (October 1940-July 1941): 309.

"Missouriana." Missouri Historical Review 27 (October 1932): 74-80.

"Missouriana." Missouri Historical Review 33 (October 1938-July 1939): 534-535.

"Missouriana." Missouri Historical Review 35 (October 1940-July 1941): 242-247.

Moore, Adella Breckenridge. "The History of the Bellevue Presbyterian Cemetery at Caledonia, Missouri." Potosi, Missouri: Independent-Journal Printers, 1967.

Bates, Moses and Reed, William. Letter to Mr. Baptiste Valle, 1804. The Ste. Genevieve Fair Play, Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, 1879.

Russell, Theodore P. "A Few Days Among the Farmers." The Iron County Register, 30 May 1889.

Sauer, Carl O. "Back to the Land." Landscape (Spring 1967).

Simmons, Lucy. "The Rise and Growth of Protestant Bodies in the Missouri Territory." Missouri Historical Review 22 (April 1928): 227-306.

Swartzlow, Ruby Johnson. "The Early History of Lead Mining in Missouri." Missouri Historical Review 29 (October 1934-July 1935): 109-114.

Vickery, Kathryn. "Buford Log Cabin Among Oldest in Original Form." The Mountain Echo, 7 January 1981.

Violette, E.M. "Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks." Missouri Historical Review 32 (October 1937-July 1938): 433-603.

Public Records

Caledonia original plat. Manuscript Map, 1818. Zerox copy of the original.

Deed Book A. Washington County Clerk's Office.

Peery, Andrew. Estate Papers, 1831-1840. Washington County Probate Records.

Ruggles, Martin. Estate Papers, 1837-1845. Washington County Probate Records.

Thompson, Jane A. Estate Papers, 1882. Washington County Probate Records.

Beginning at a point 66' south of the northwest corner of Lot 6, which is the northwest corner of the original Town of Caledonia; thence southward along the western boundary of the town, being the western boundary (in order) of the south 1/2 of Lot 6 and all of Lots 7, 18, 19, and 30, to the northwest corner of Lot 31; thence westward along the south side of Webster Road 305'; thence southward 120'; thence eastward to the southwest corner of Lot 31 at the town boundary; thence southward along the western boundaries of Lots 42 and 43, to the southwest corner of Lot 43; thence westward, southward, and eastward around the boundary of Lot 6 of Buxton's Subdivision of the Town of Caledonia; thence eastward along the southern boundary of the town, which is also the southern boundary of Lot 54, to the southeast corner of Lot 54; thence northward along the eastern boundary of Lot 54 to the northeast corner of Lot 54; thence eastward across Main Street to the southwest corner of Lot 44 continuing eastward along the southern boundary of Lot 44 to the southeast corner of Lot 44; thence northward along the eastern boundary of Lot 44 to the southwest corner of Lot 40; thence eastward along the southern boundaries of Lots 40, 39 and 38 across College Street to the northwest corner of Lot 48; thence southward along the western boundary of Lot 48 slightly curving southeasterly to the southwest corner of Lot 48; thence eastward along the southern boundary of Lot 48 to the southeast corner of Lot 48; thence northward along the eastern boundaries of Lots 48, 37, 36, 25, 24, 13, and 12, to the northeast corner of Lot 12; thence westward along the northern boundaries of Lots 12 and 11, crossing College Street, to the northwest corner of Lot 11; thence southward along the western boundary of Lot 11 to the northeast corner of Lot 15; thence westward along the northern boundaries of Lots 15, 16, and 17 across Main Street to the northeast corner of Lot 18; thence northward along the eastern boundaries of Lot 7 and south 1/2 of Lot 6 to a point 66' north of the southeast corner of Lot 6; thence westward across Lot 6 to the beginning point.

The boundary thus described crosses all intervening streets and easements and includes the south half of Lot 6, all of Lots 7, 18, 19, 30, 31, 42, 43, 54, 44, 41, 32, 29, 20, 17, 16, 21, 28, 33, 40, 39, 34, 27, 22, 15, 11, 14, 23, 26, 35, 38, 48, 37, 36, 25, 24, 13, and 12; all of Lot 6 of Buxton's Subdivision of the Town of Caledonia, and a small plot of land 305' x 120' in Survey #2182 lying to the west of Lot 31.

Special circumstances exist with regard to bounding in Caledonia are as follows:

1) The only plat map of record to the Town of Caledonia is one made in 1885 to enter the first addition to the town. Instead of reconciling certain discrepancies which existed between the original (1818) plat of the town and its actual layout upon the land, the 1885 plat perpetuated them. Those discrepancies are illustrated in Figure 5.

2) The grid of the town is not oriented to the compass, but is inclined 8°to the east, consequent to its axis being the boundary between Spanish Grant Surveys #2182 and #837 (see Figure 10).

Boundary justification for the proposed Caledonia Historic District. The district is conceived as consisting primarily of those lots of the original (1818) Town of Caledonia. Upon those lots in the district are sited the extant properties within the original townsite which possess presumptive National Register significance. The two main developed areas along Main Street and College Street are separated by the valley of Goose Creek, the topography of which proved relatively uncongenial to settlement and building. Of the four streets platted for the valley, only two were ever developed, and of those two, one (Alexander), was not opened until the Late nineteenth century.

Justification for including entire lots is that they are historically in accord with their properties. Save for the business district on the east side of Main Street between Henry and Alexander, and the churches and school, the 1/2-acre lots of the old town have remained undivided and possess a single dwelling. (See W. J. Dent map, Figure 6.) Because of the relatively great age (for Missouri's interior) of the town and the relatively unbroken history of lot integrity and occupance succession, the lots as the discrete surround of their dwellings possess cultural landscape significance and potential for further research and data recovery. The exception to the whole-lot aggregation is the inclusion of the south 1/2 of Lot 6 because of its integration since the 1850s with the Ruggles-Evans-Dent property of Lot 7.

Two properties are included that are outside the original town plat: the .42 acres adjoining (behind) Lot 31 on the west, and Lot 6 of Buxton's Subdivision. Justification for the first is simply that it is and has been since the 1850s the backyard of the William Goforth Eversole house, upon which is lcoated a well-preserved slave dwelling. As for the second, Lot 6 of Buxton's Subdivision is included because it is the site of the significant A. F. Carr house (Carr-Simms house), and was historically a part of the Carr family land which included Lot 54 (site of the Ferson Carr house). Its present owners, Mr. and Mrs. James Simms, now own the southern portion of Lot 54 as foreyard for the residence. That portion of Lot 54 was site of a store building (now extant) erected and operated early in the twentieth century by Stella Carr Bust, who yet retains the mineral rights to all of the Simms property.

A small portion of the original platted town lots is not included in the district boundary. They were never developed, no doubt due to the rough terrain.

2. James M. Denny
Chief, Survey and Registration
and State Contact Person
Department of Natural Resources
Historic Preservation Program
P. O. Box 176
Jefferson City, Missouri 65102
Date: September 5, 1986
Telephone: 314/751-5376

3. Joetta K. Davis
Cultural Resource Preservationist I
Department of Natural Resources
Historic Preservation Program
P. O. Box 176
Jefferson City, Missouri 65102
Date: September 5, 1986
Telephone: 314/751-5368

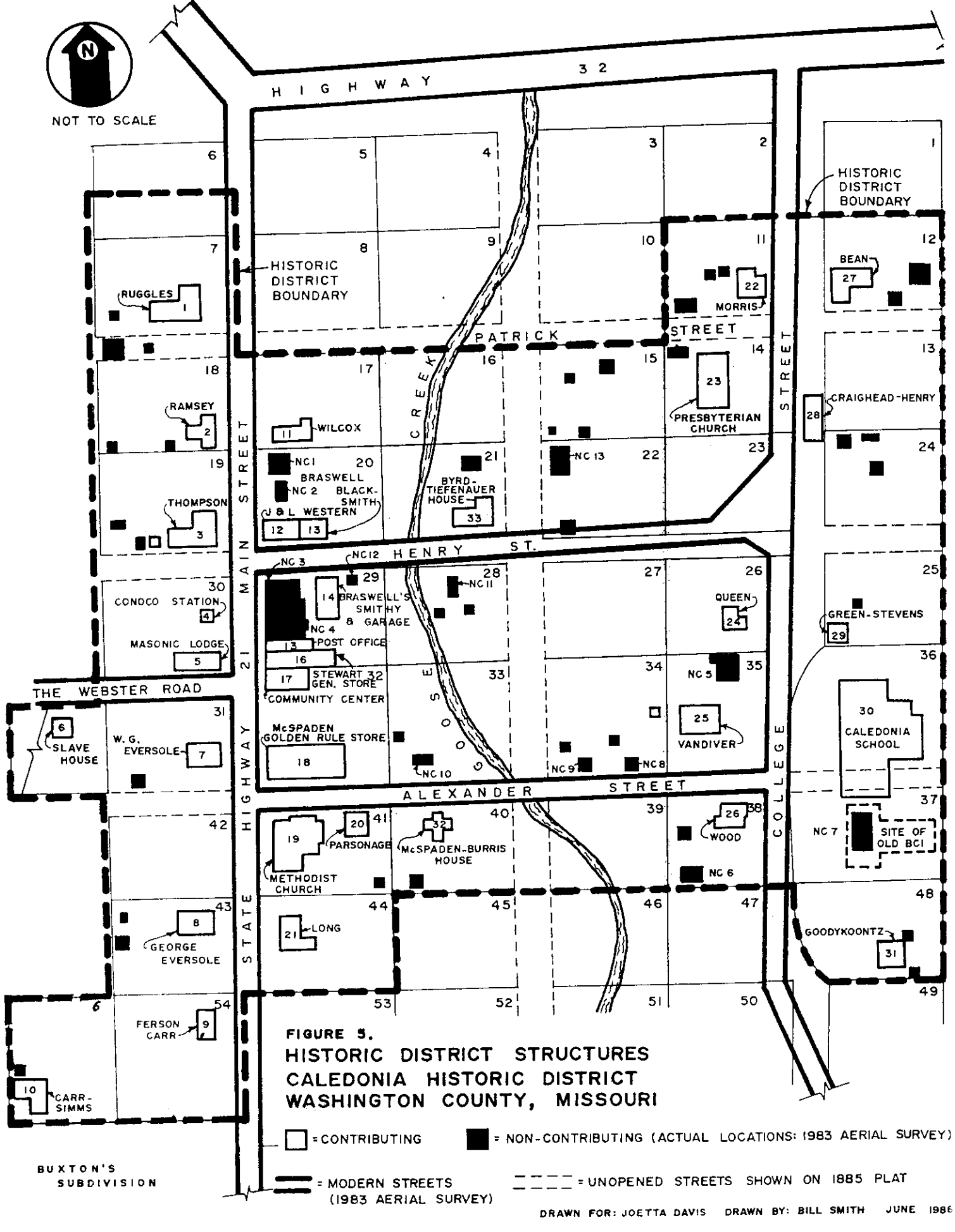



**FIGURE 5.**

**HISTORIC DISTRICT STRUCTURES**
**CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT**
**WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI**

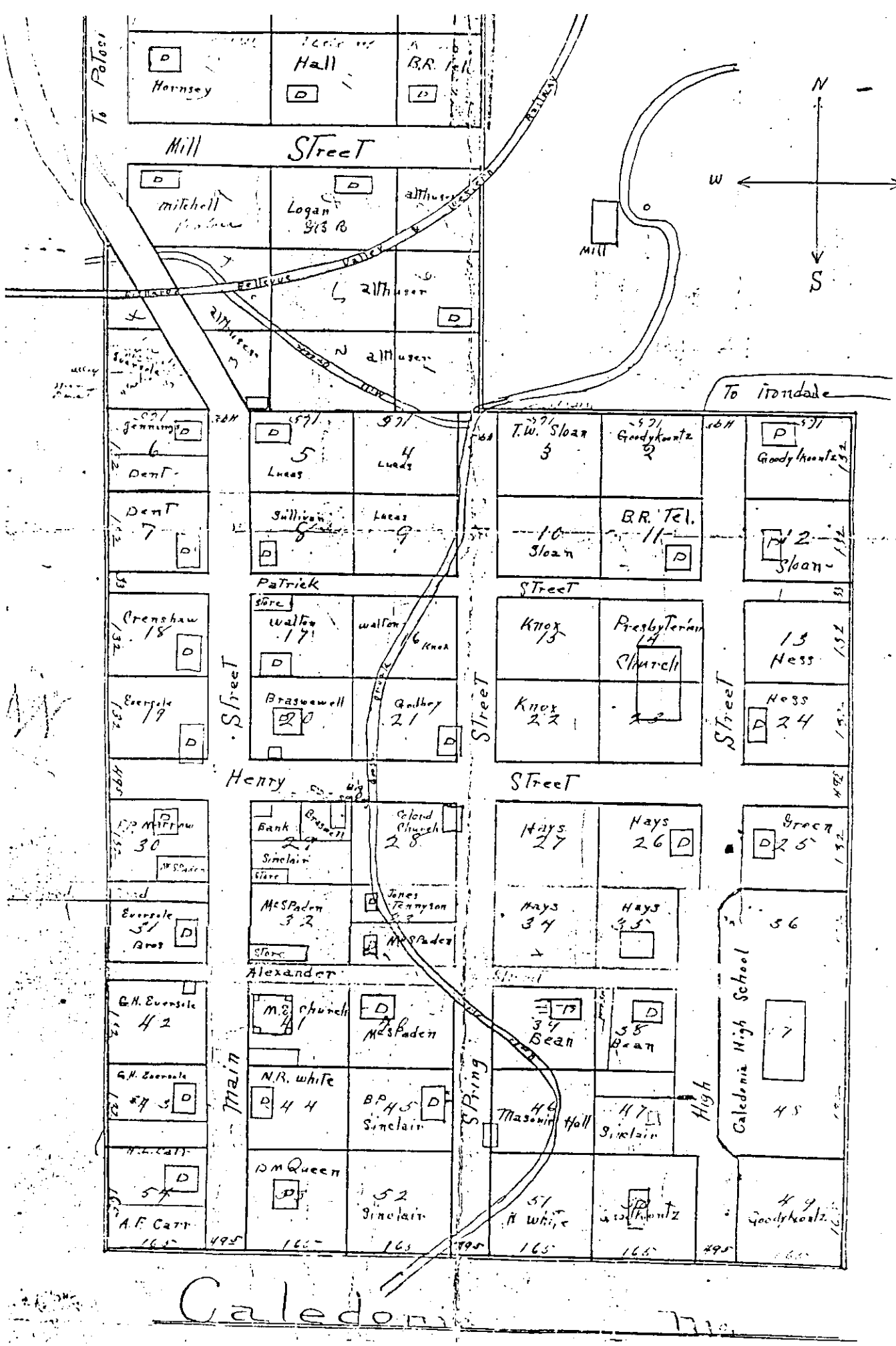



**Figure 6.** W. J. Dent Map of Caledonia c. 1910-1920.

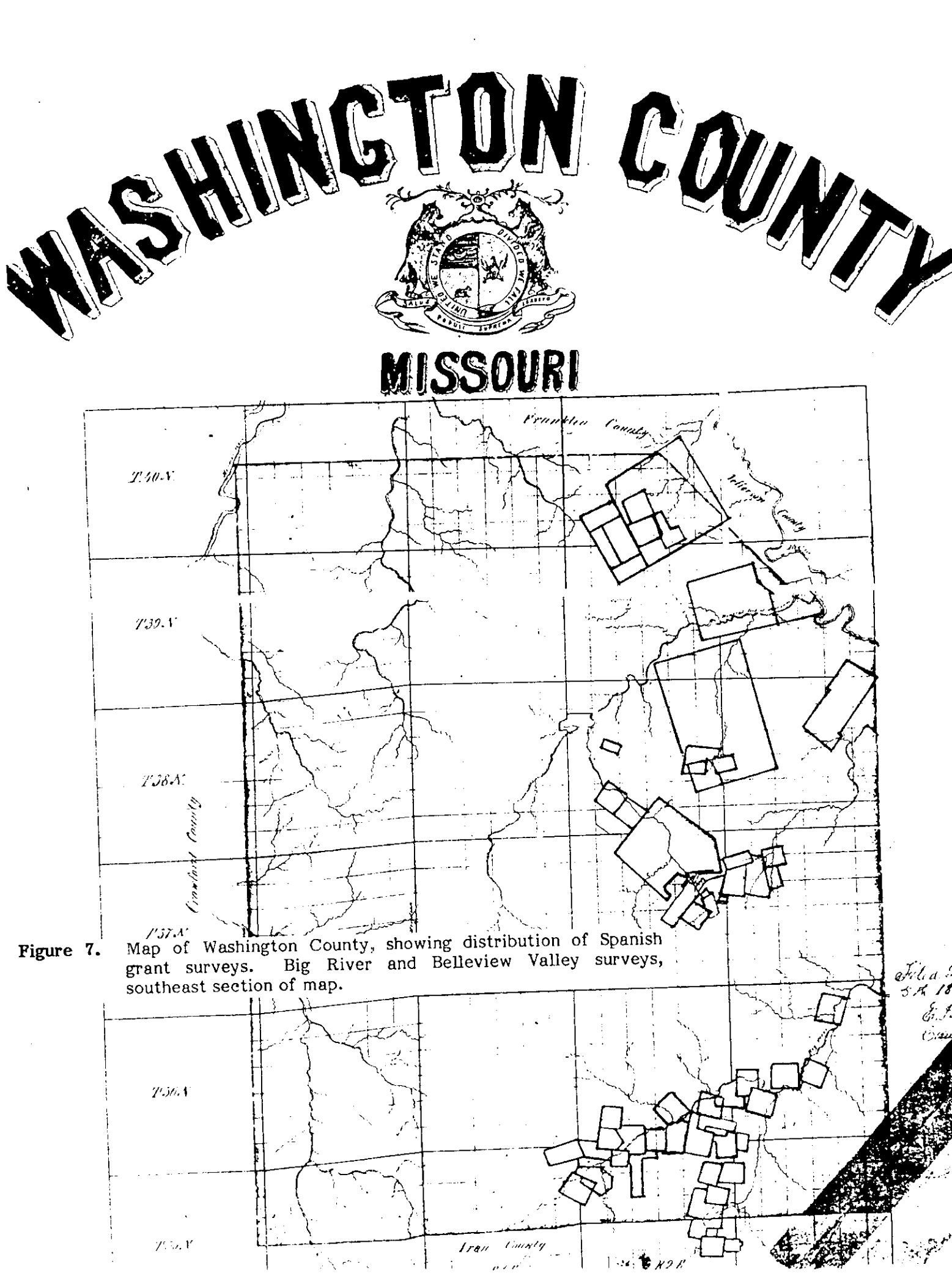



**Figure 7.** Map of Washington County, showing distribution of Spanish grant surveys. Big River and Belleview Valley surveys, southeast section of map.

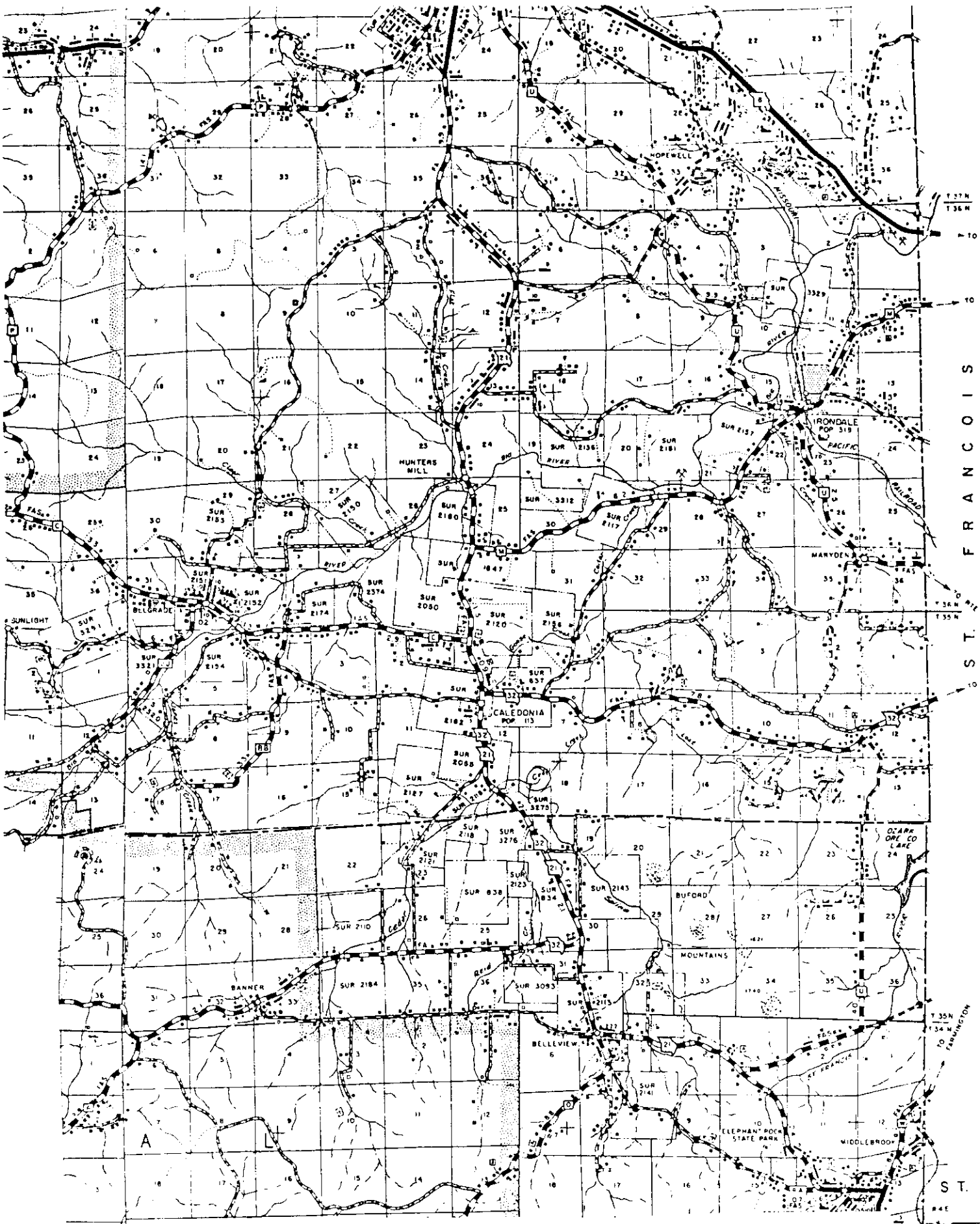



**Figure 8.** County Road Map of south Washington and north Iron Counties, showing Big River and Belleview Valley Spanish grants.

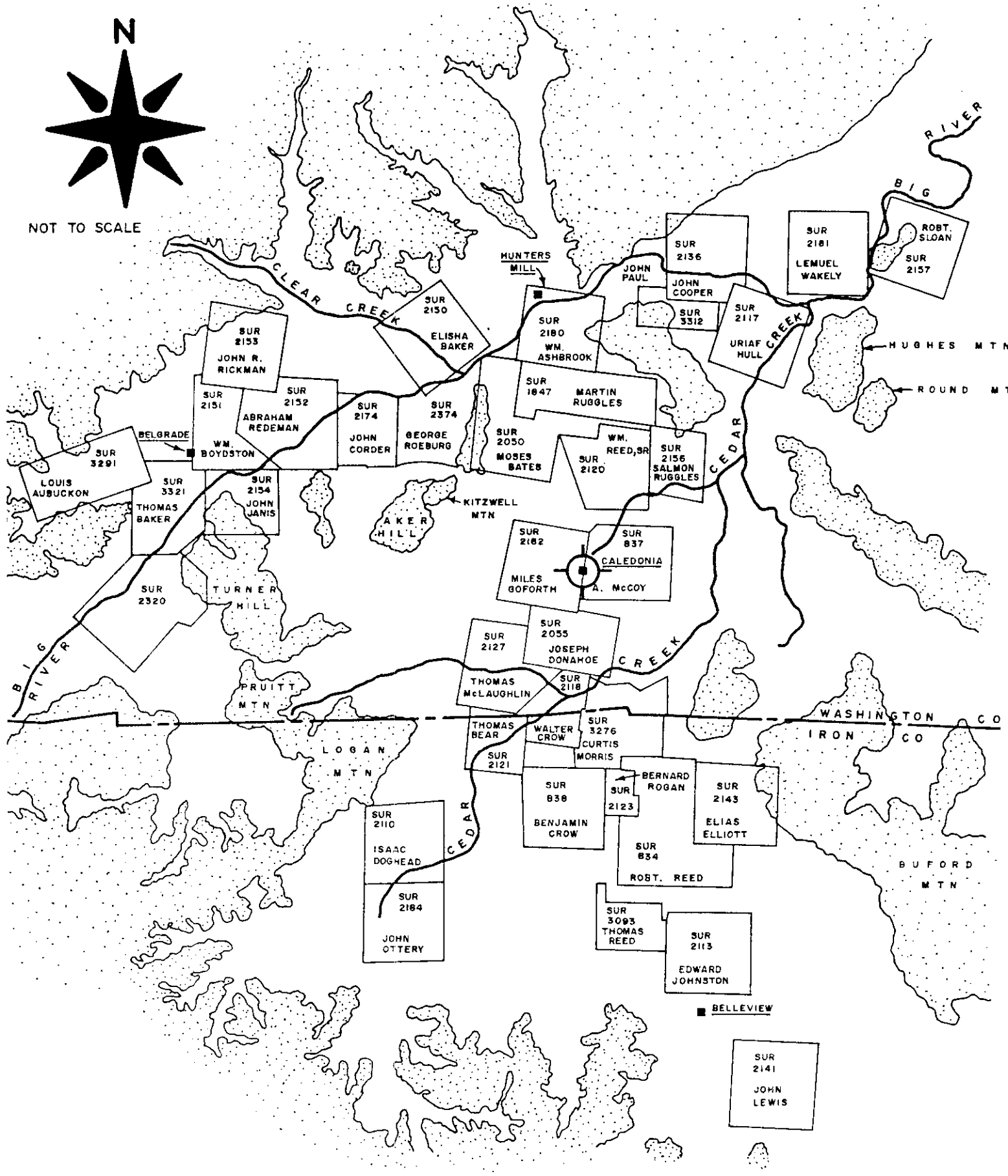



**FIGURE 9.** SPANISH GRANTS AND ORIGINAL GRANTEES, BELLEVIEW AND UPPER BIG RIVER VALLEYS, WASHINGTON AND IRON COUNTIES. SHADED AREAS ARE KNOBS, RIDGES, AND SLOPES WHICH IN INCLINATION AND ELEVATION CONTRAST TO THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE VALLEY FLOOR (UNSHADED AREA).

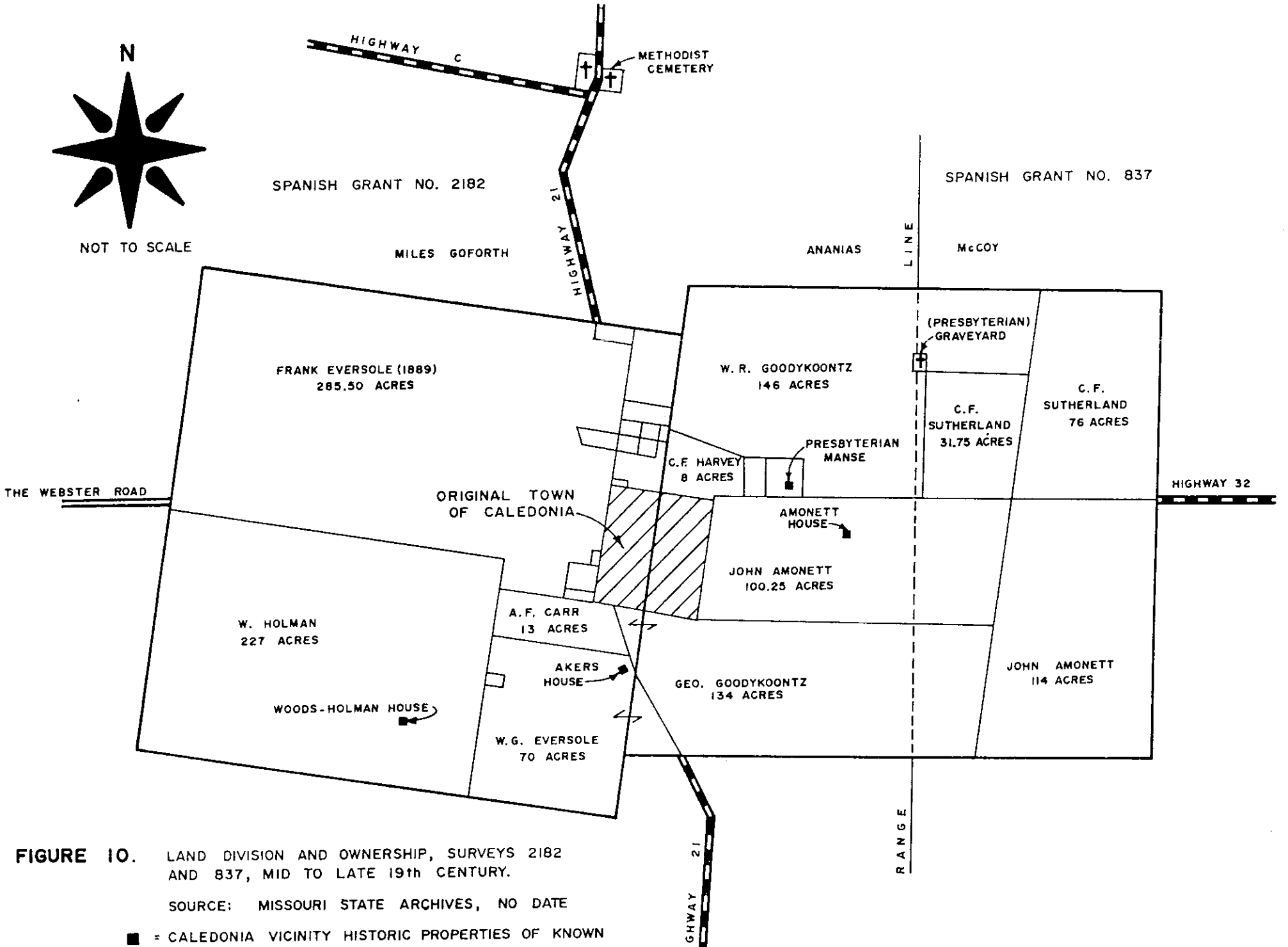



**FIGURE 10.** LAND DIVISION AND OWNERSHIP, SURVEYS 2182 AND 837, MID TO LATE 19th CENTURY.

SOURCE: MISSOURI STATE ARCHIVES, NO DATE

■ = CALEDONIA VICINITY HISTORIC PROPERTIES OF KNOWN

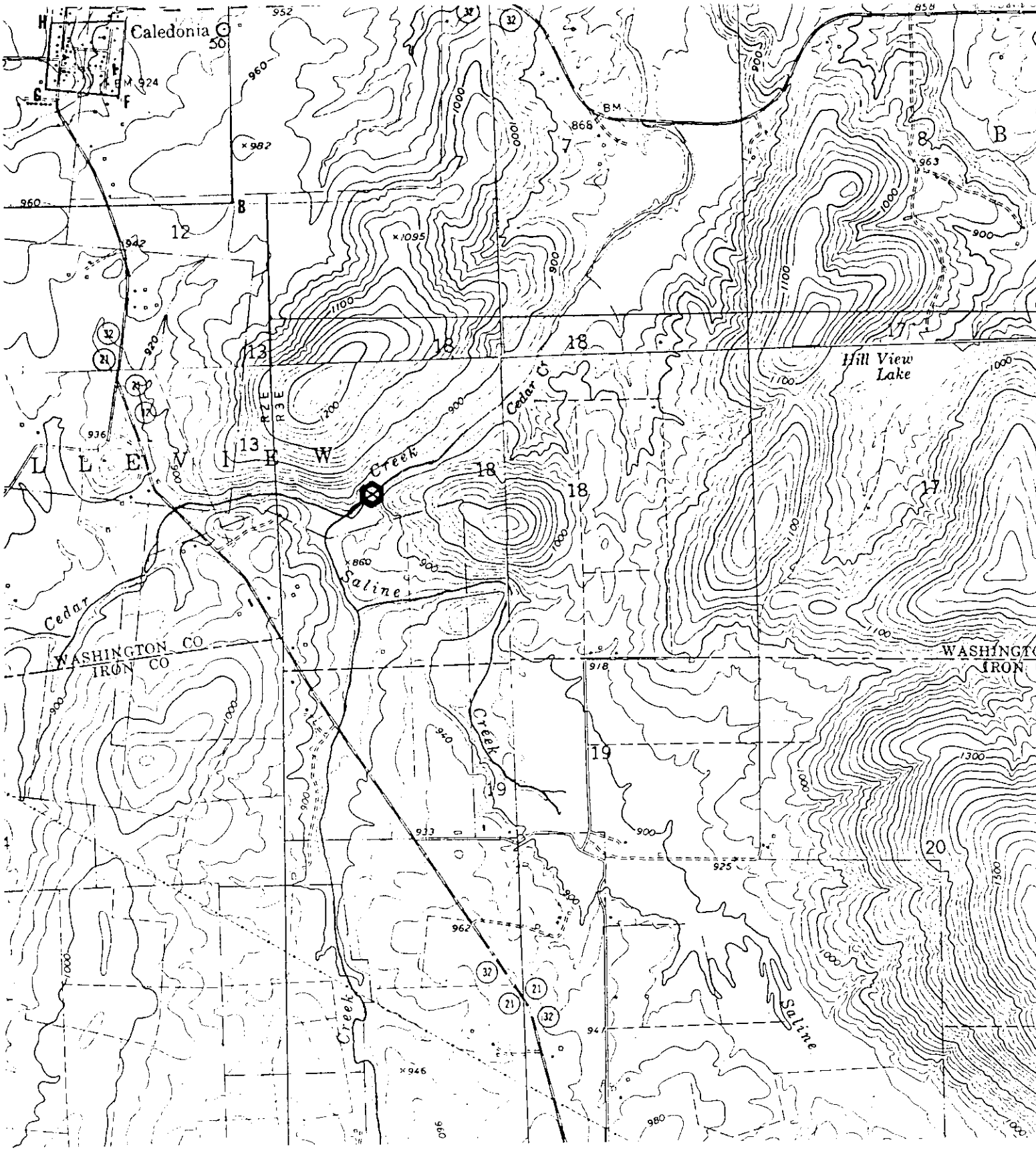
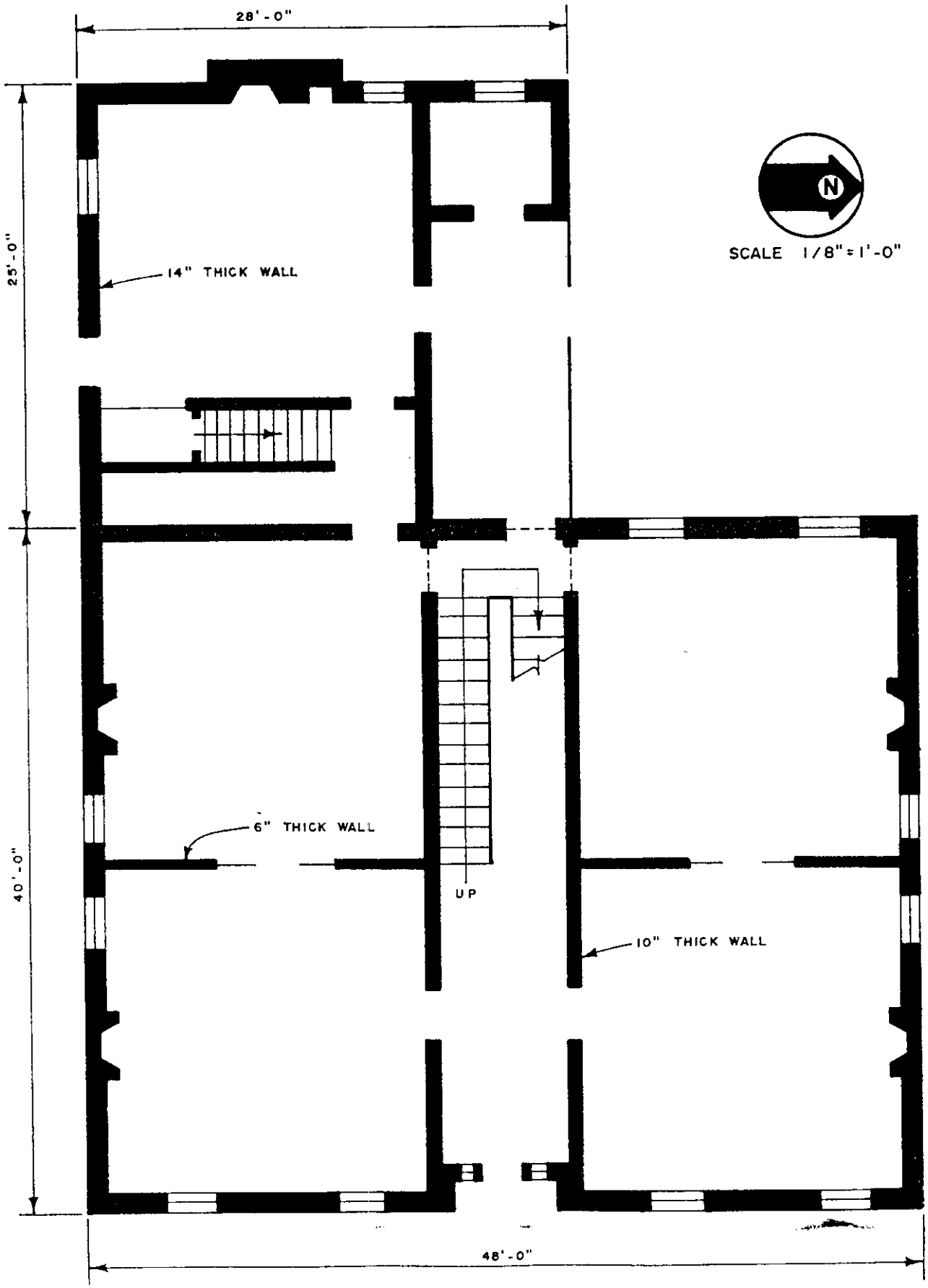



**Figure 11.** Site of Cedar Creek Forge

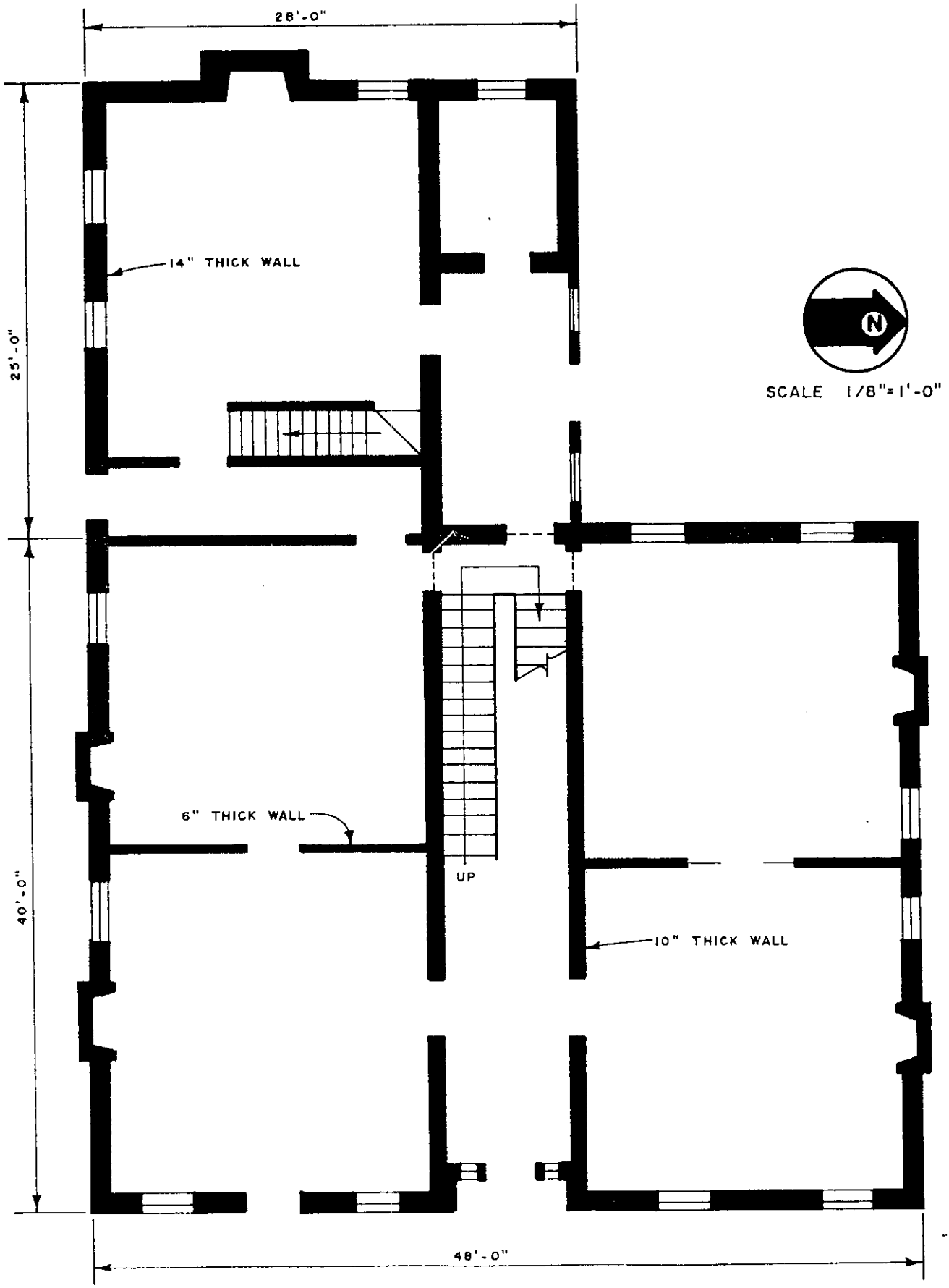
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

# RUGGLES HOUSE (BUILDING NO. 1 PLAN 1)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI



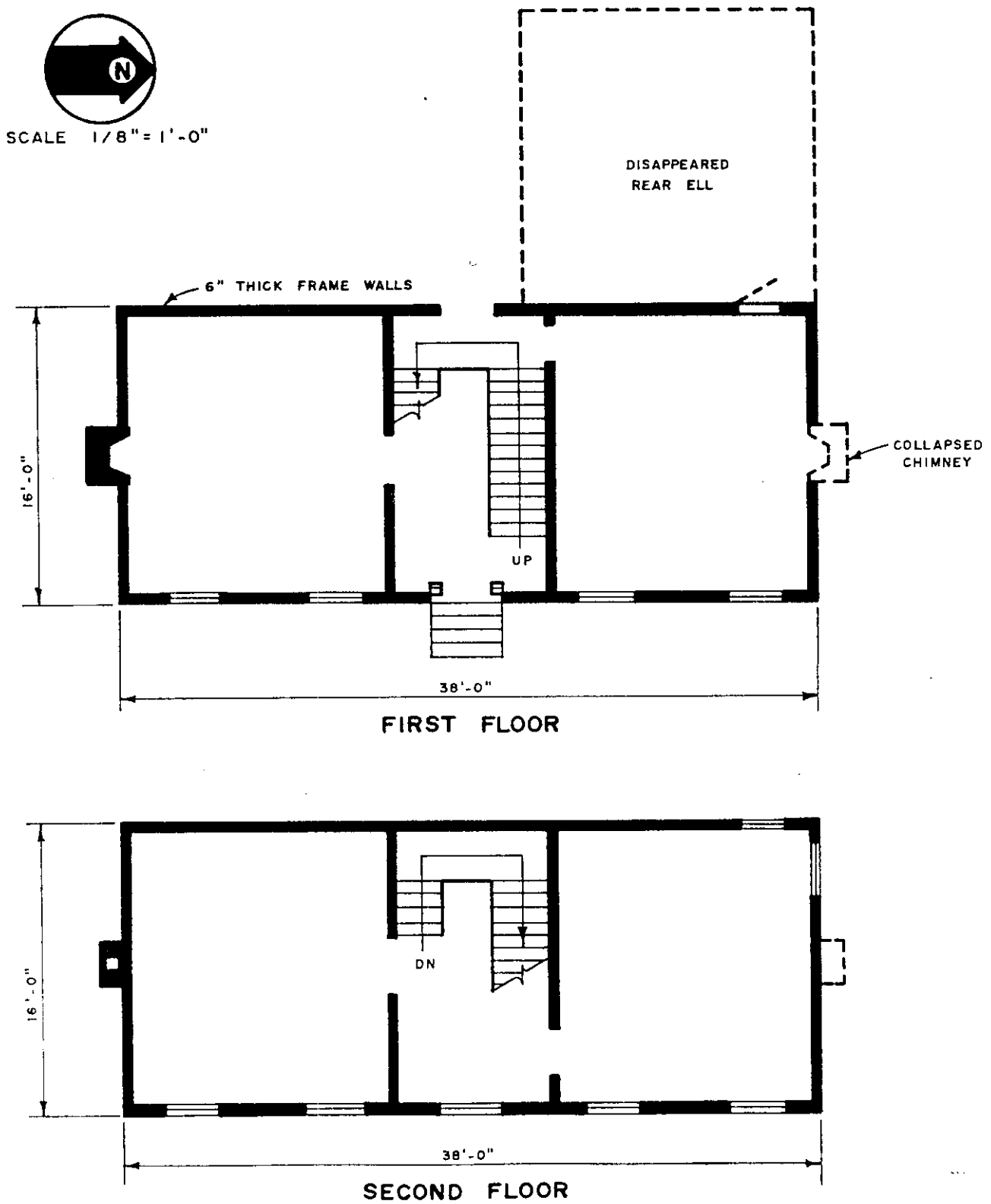
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

# JANE THOMPSON HOUSE (BUILDING NO. 3 PLAN 2)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI



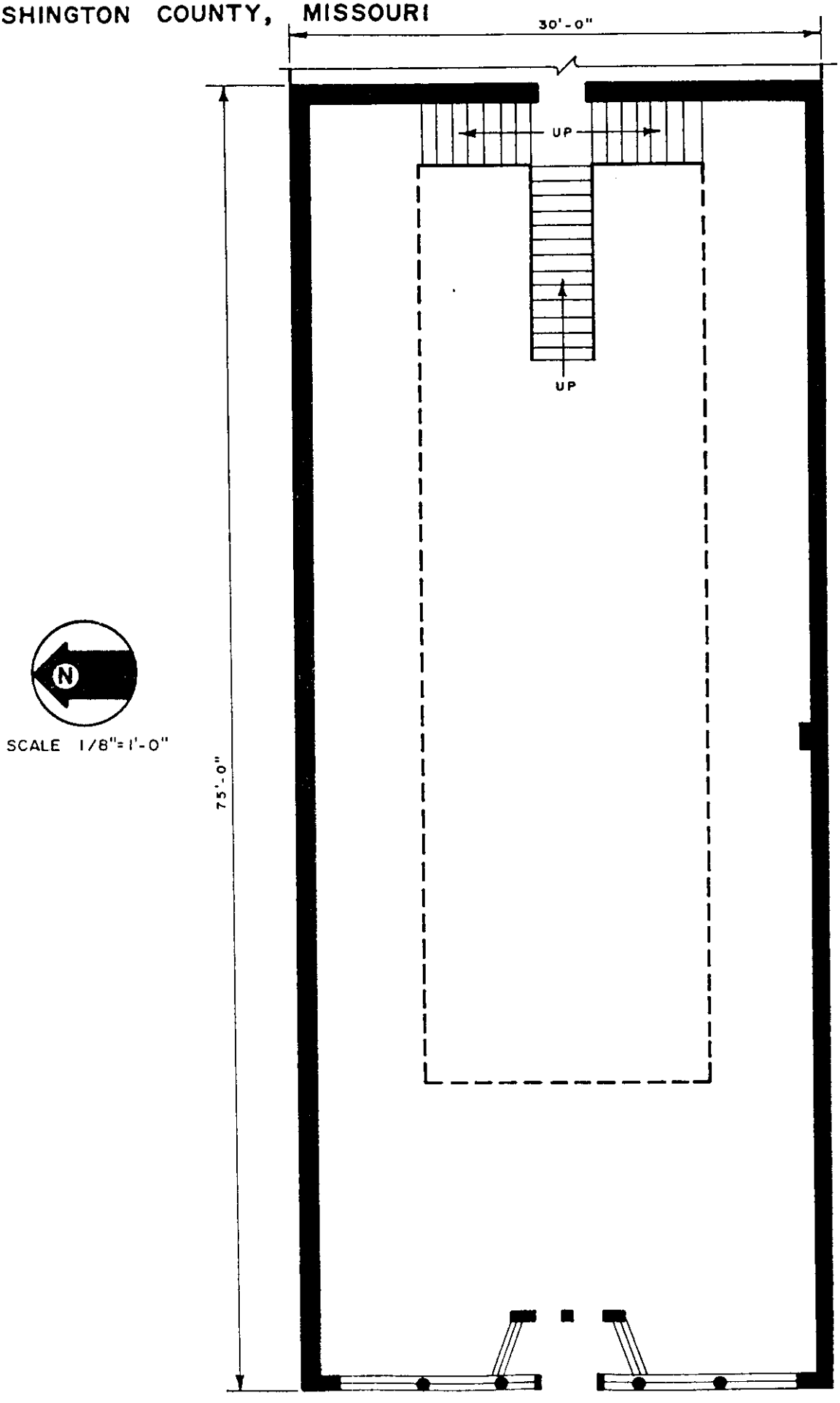
FLOOR PLANS

# FERSON CARR HOUSE (BUILDING NO. 9 PLAN 3)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

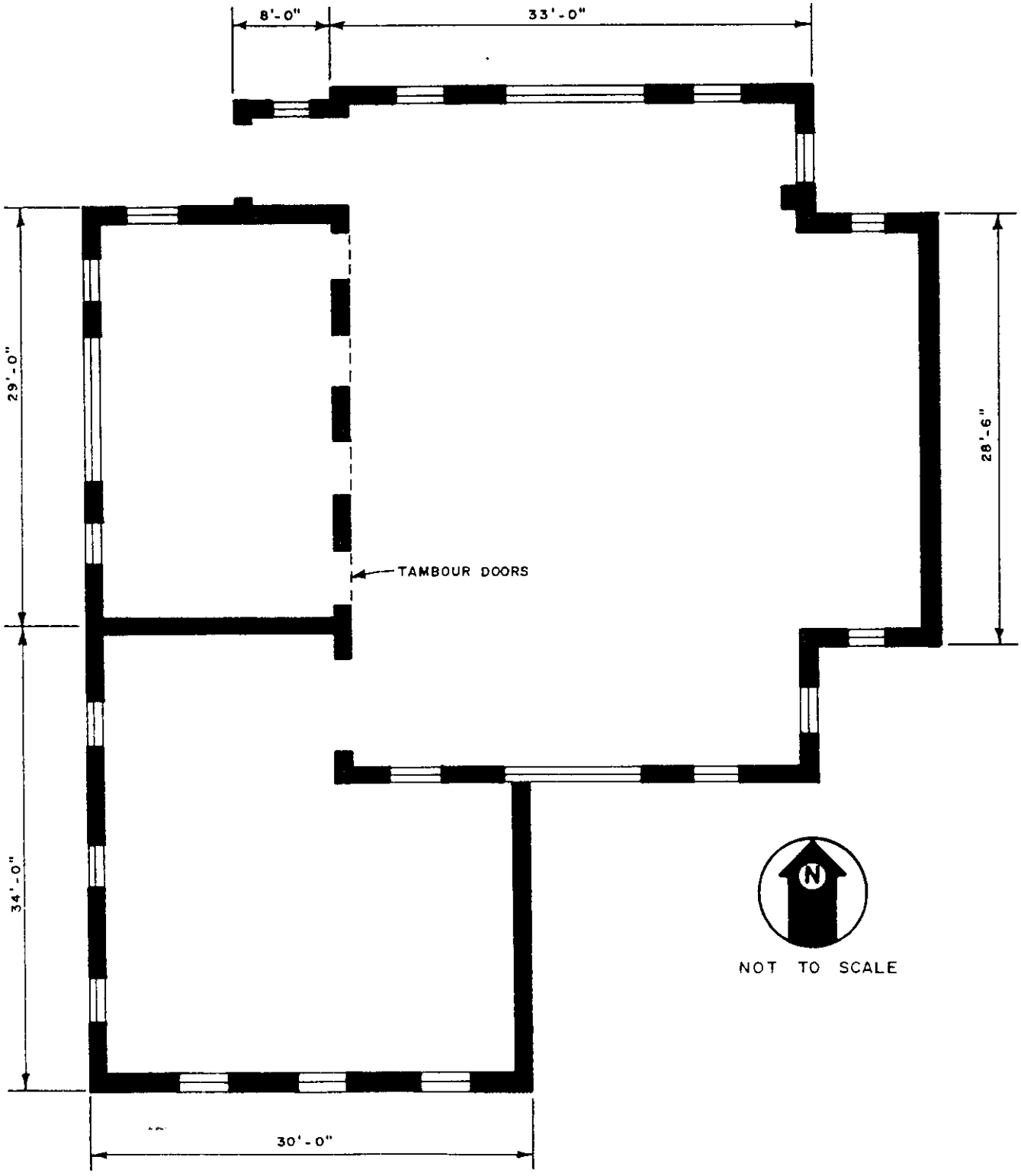
# McSPADEN STORE (BUILDING NO. 18 PLAN 4)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI




SCALE 1/8"=1'-0"

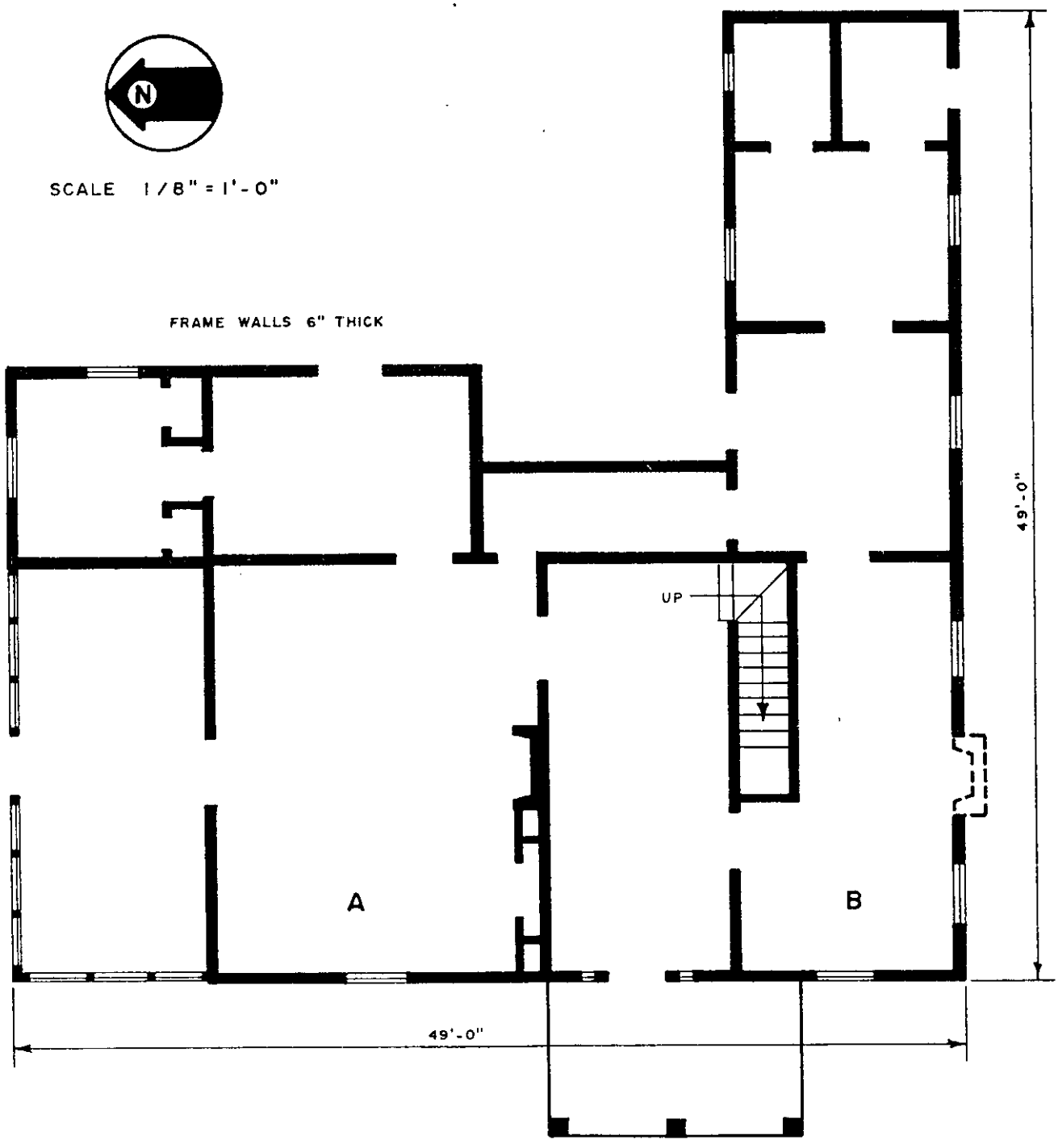
FLOOR PLAN

# METHODIST CHURCH (BUILDING NO. 19 PLAN 5)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI



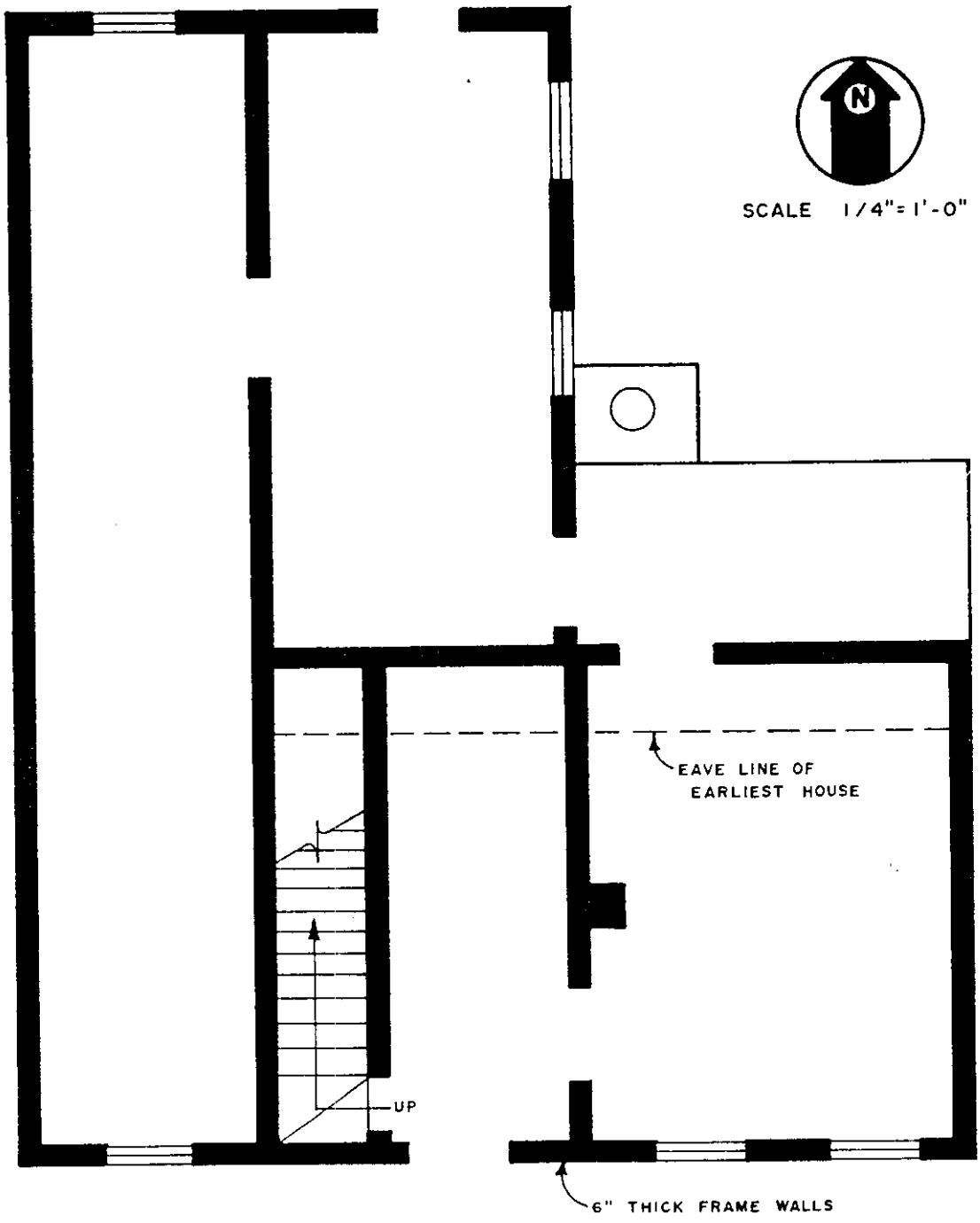
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

# LONG HOUSE (BUILDING NO. 21 PLAN 6)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI



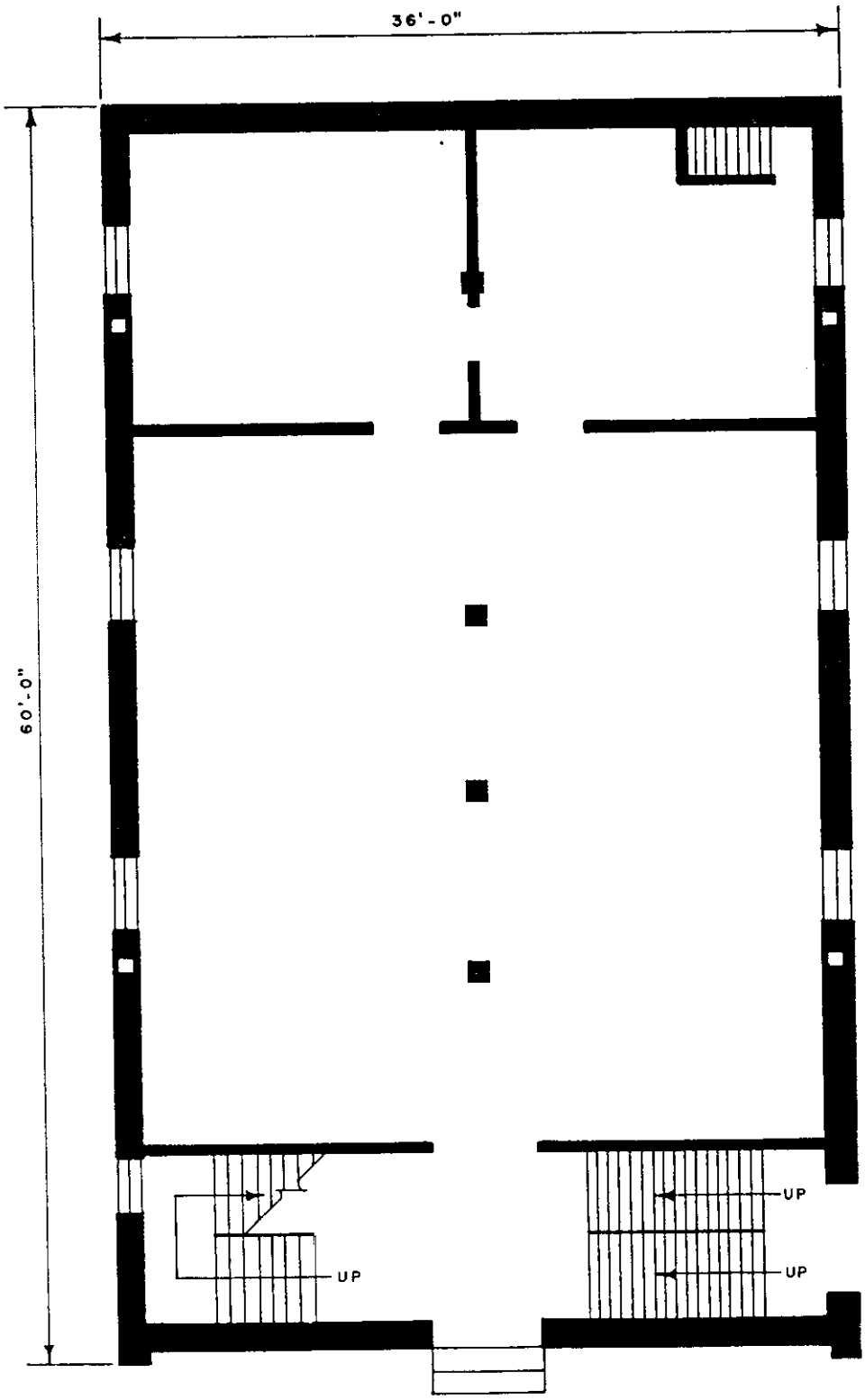
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

# MORRIS HOUSE (BUILDING NO. 22 PLAN 7)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

# PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (BUILDING NO. 23 PLAN 8-A)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI

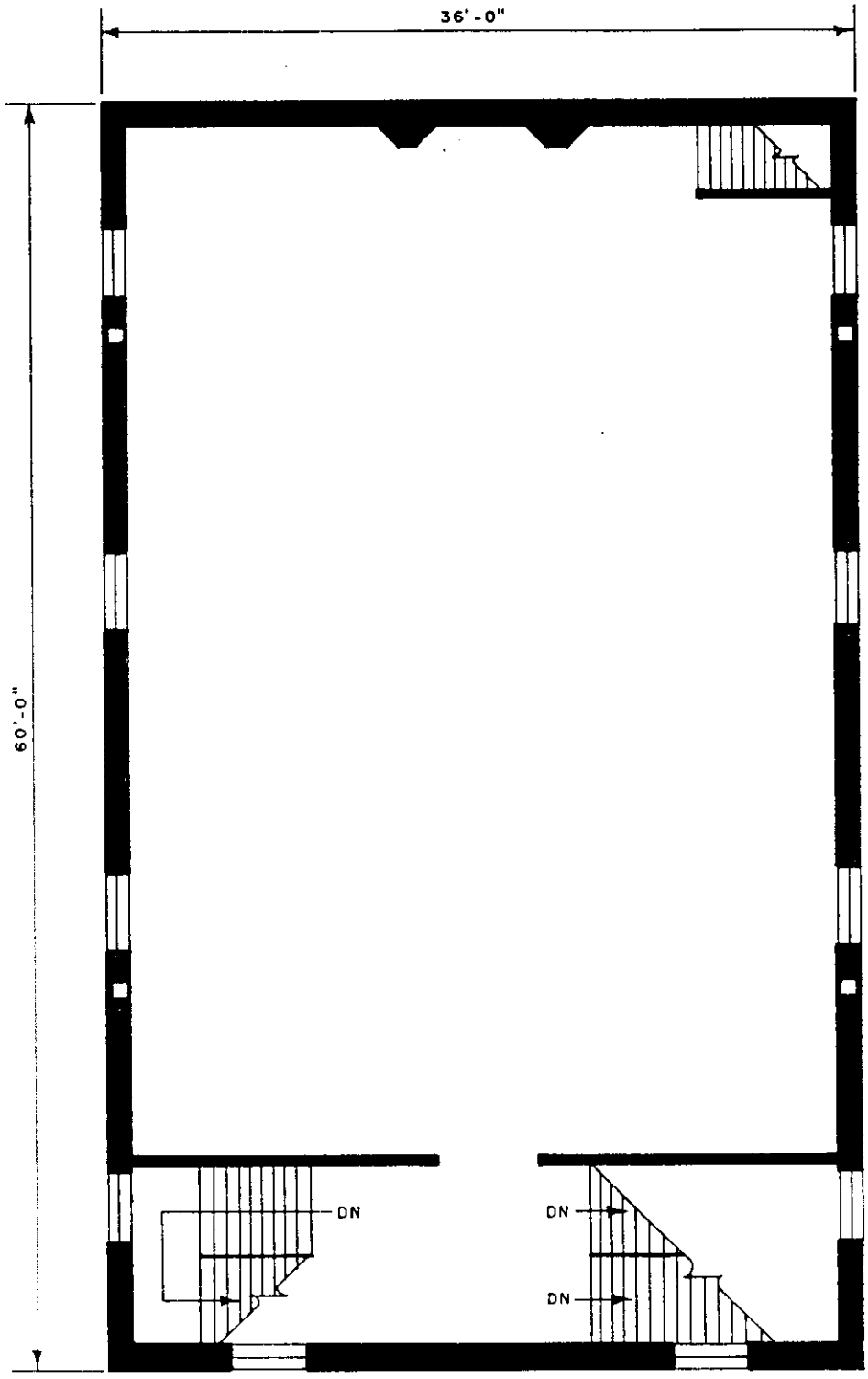




NOT TO SCALE

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

# PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (BUILDING NO. 23 PLAN B-B)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI

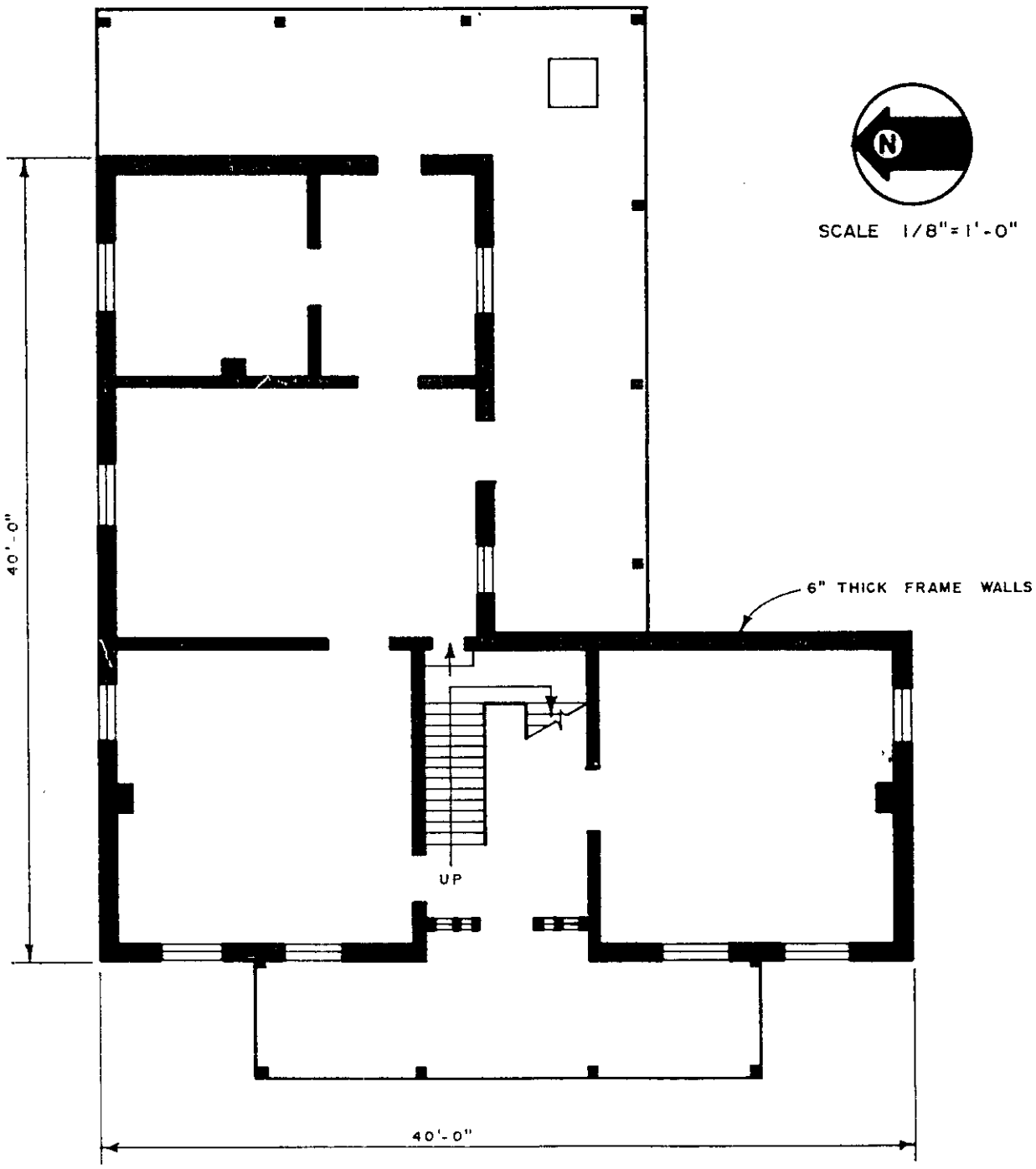




NOT TO SCALE

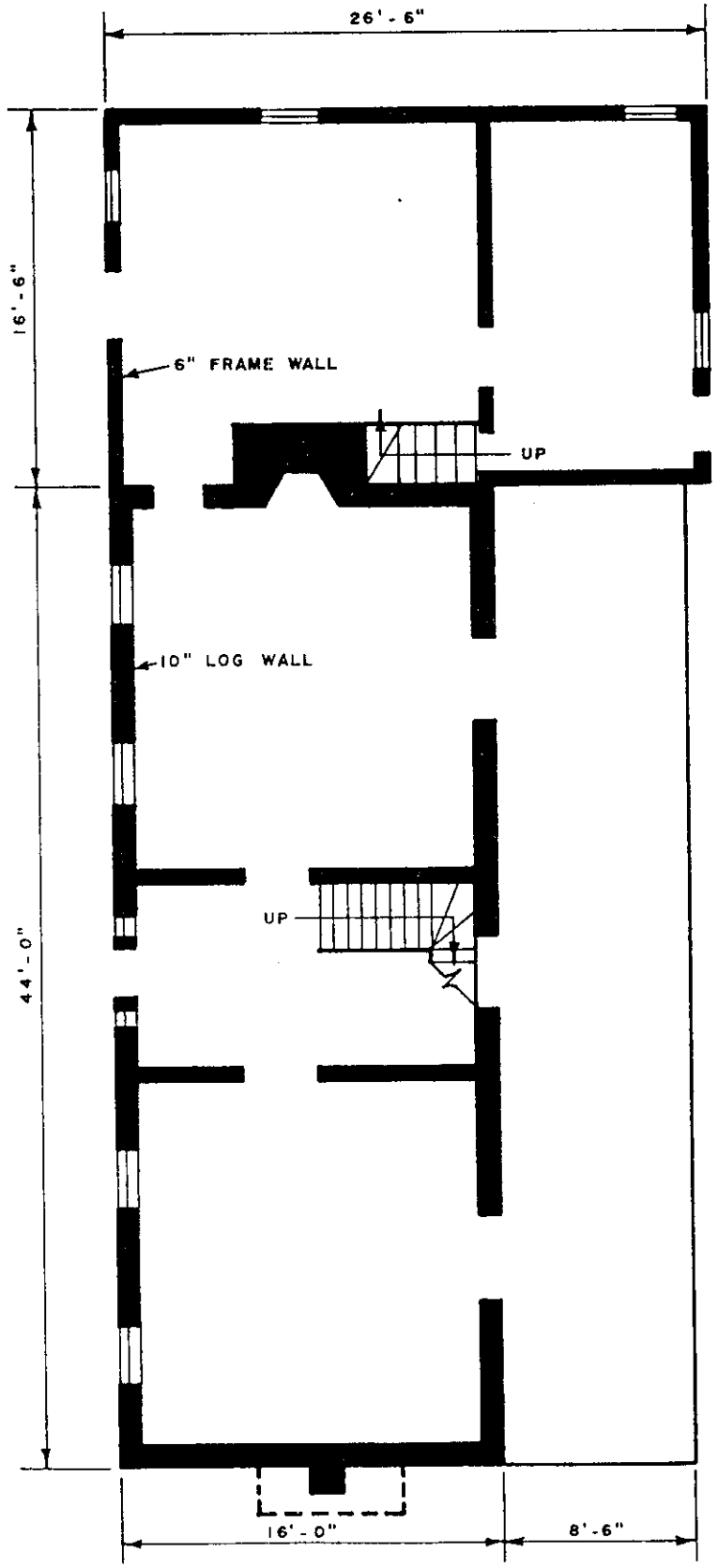
FIRST FLOOR PLAN

# BEAN HOUSE (BUILDING NO. 27 PLAN 9)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

# CRAIGHEAD HOUSE (BUILDING NO. 28 PLAN 10)
# CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
# WASHINGTON COUNTY, MISSOURI





NOT TO SCALE

CALEDONIA HISTORIC DISTRICT
Caledonia, Washington County, Missouri

U.S.G.S. 7.5' Scale: 1:24,000
"BELGRADE, MO." Quadrangle (1958)

U.T.M. References:

A. 15/696510/4181860
B. 15/696470/4181520
C. 15/696050/4181520
D. 15/696170/4181950

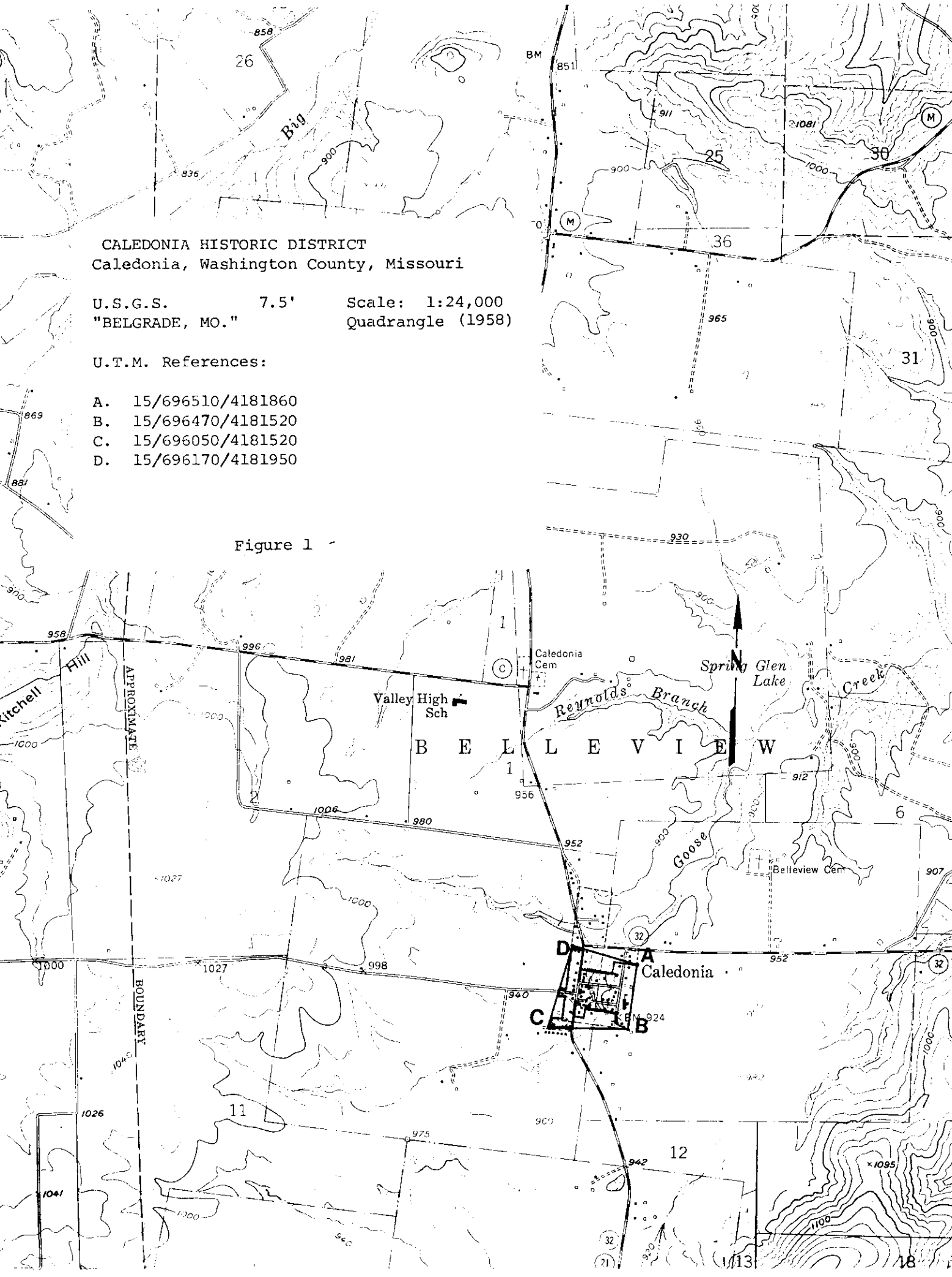



Figure 1

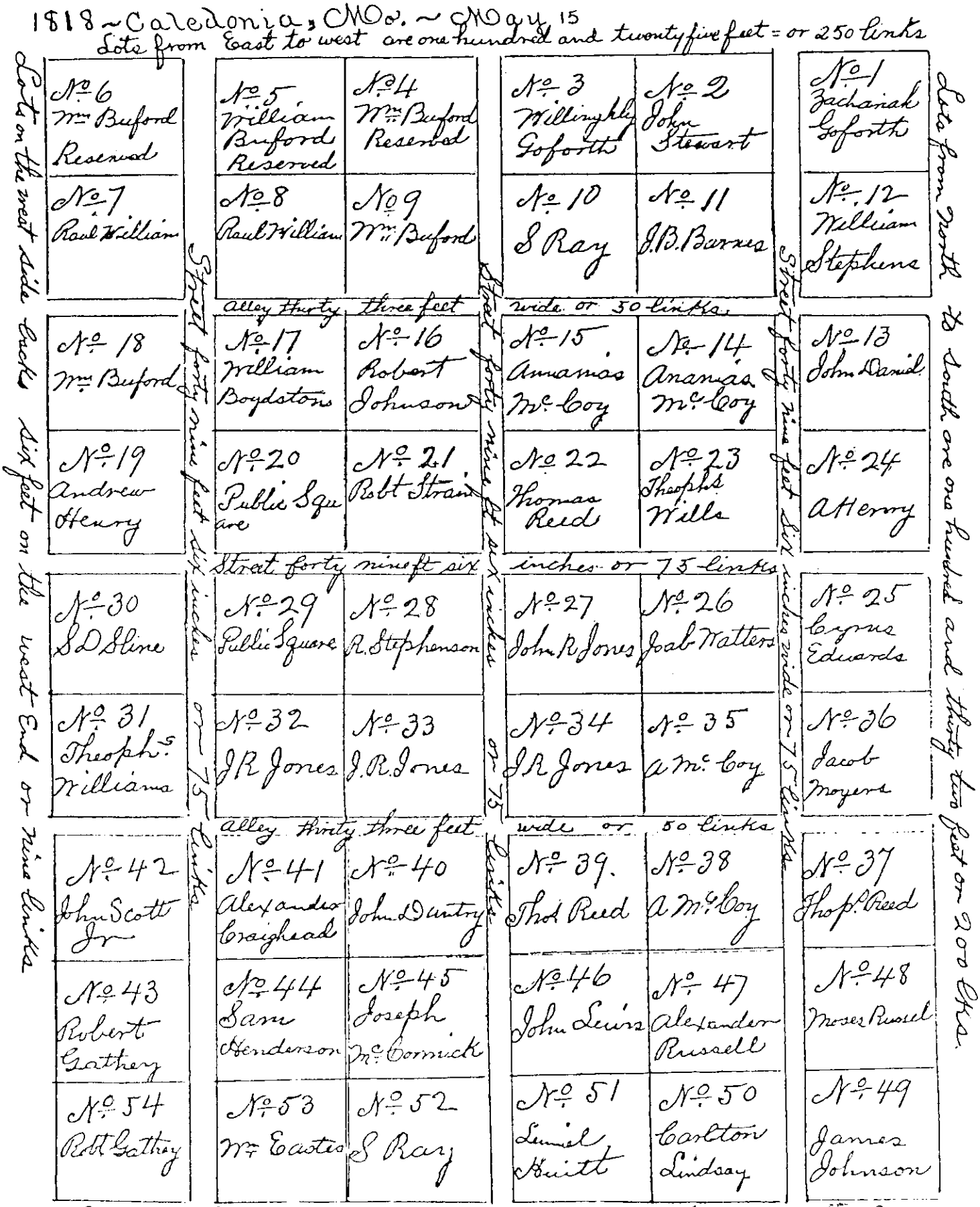



**Figure 2.** Original 1818 Plat (not to scale).

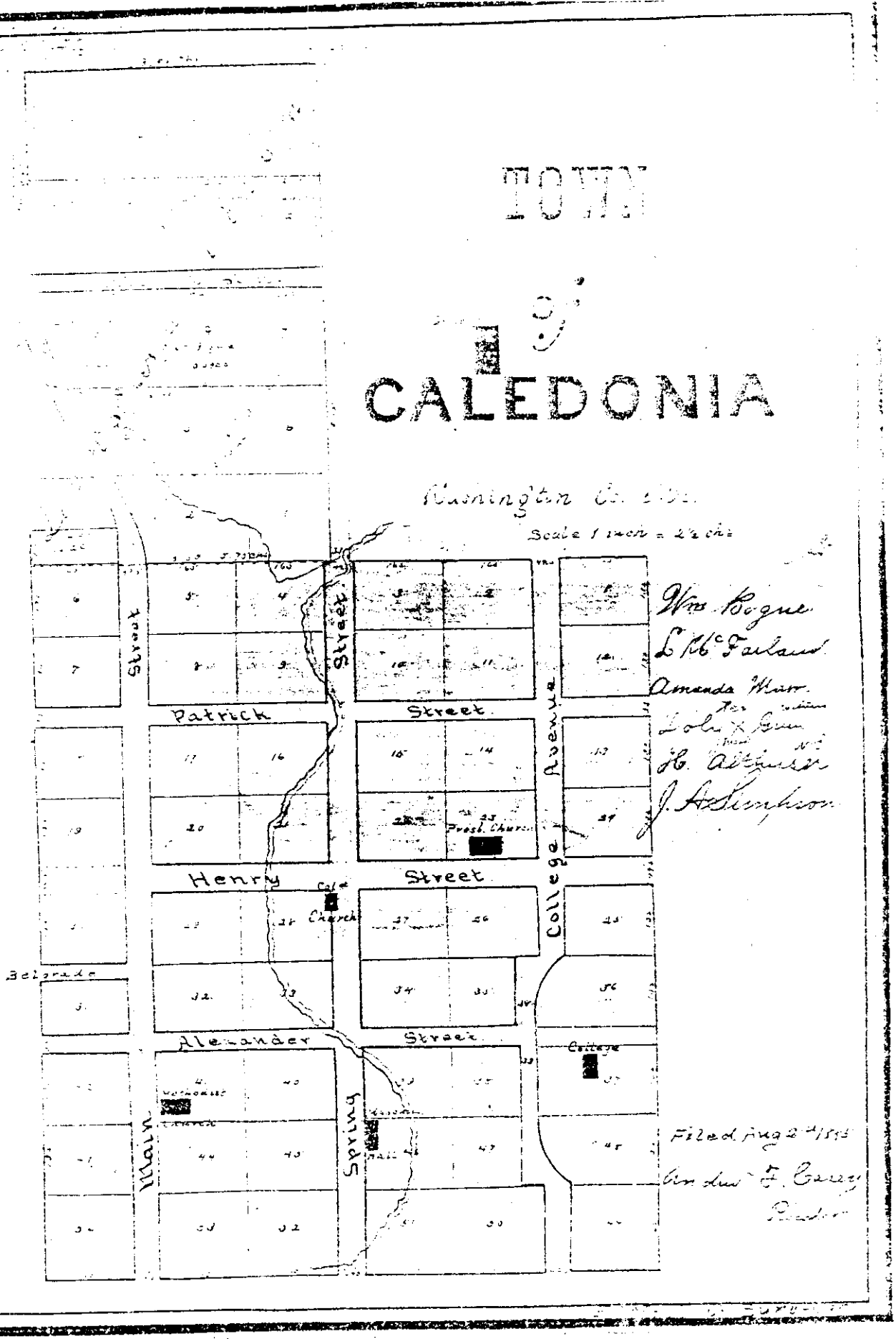



**Figure 3.** 1885 Plat of the Town of Caledonia.

STATE OF MISSOURI } ss
COUNTY OF WASHINGTON }

BE IT REMEMBERED: That on this 20th day of August 1885 personally appeared before the undersigned, a Justice of the Peace within and for Washington County and State of Missouri, Wm Bogue, L. M. McFarland

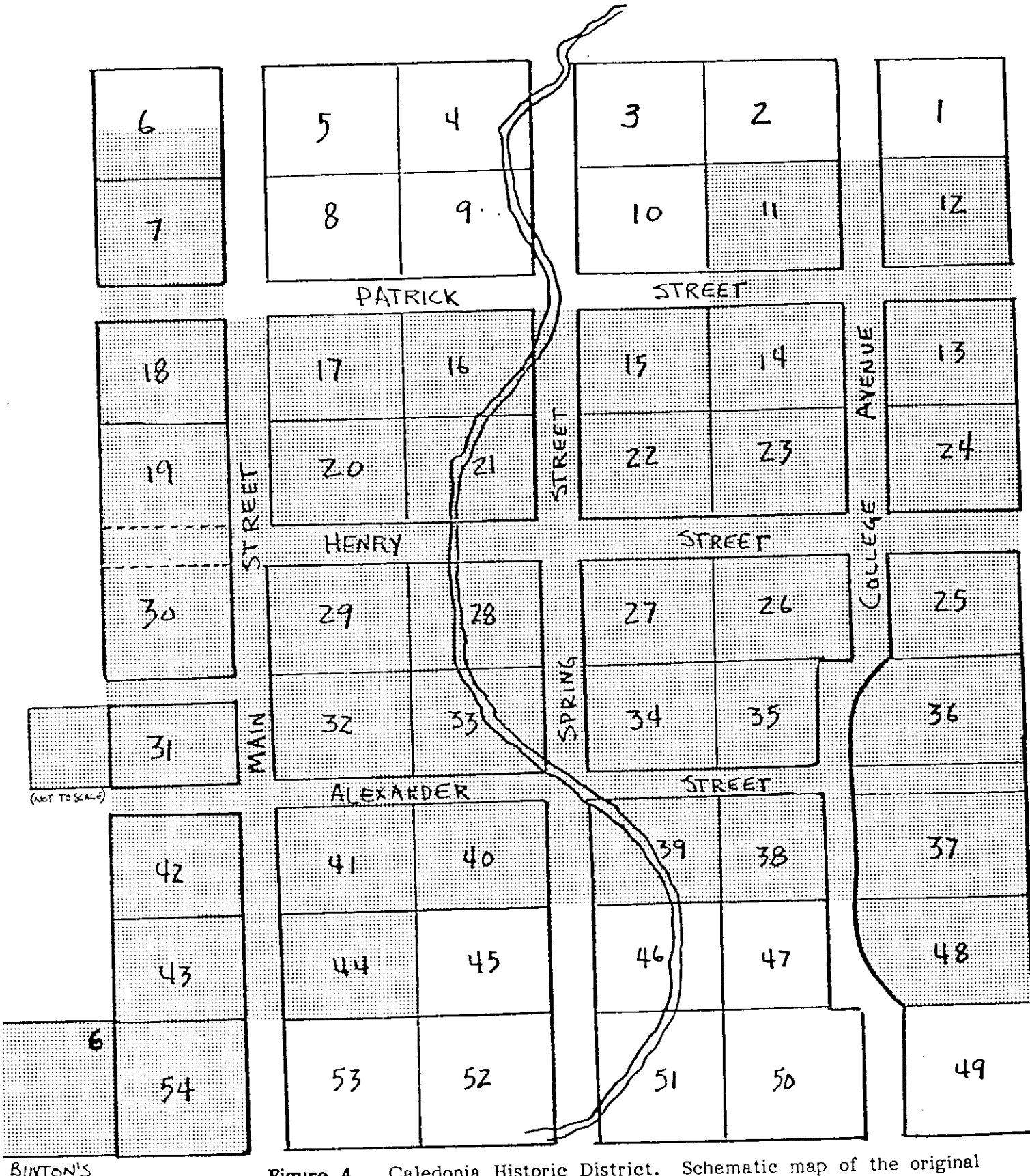



**Figure 4.** Caledonia Historic District. Schematic map of the original town of Caledonia (adjusted for c. 1870 changes in College Avenue and in lots 35-37 and 47, 48.

Caledonia Historic District

1. Main Street, probably late nineteenth century, looking NNW from near corner of Alexander Street. Outline of Jane Thompson house barely discernible behind trees, center middleground. Ramsey house, right middleground. Note street bounding by building fronts, tree line, fences and sidewalk.

2. Ruggles-Evans-Dent house, #1 c. 1852, looking NW. Note retaining wall.

3. Ruggles-Evans-Dent house, looking SW.

4. Ruggles portico.

5. Ruggles ell, looking SE. Note upper porch wall of plank. Cool room with window at near ell corner.

6. Ruggles ell, looking ENE.

7. Ruggles ell chimney, showing triple shouldering.

8. Ruggles central passage and staircase.

10. Ruggles, typical door, main block, first floor.

11. Ramsey house, #2, looking SW. Jane Thompson house in background. Note line of trees, lower retaining wall, sidewalk, and upper retaining wall.

12. Jane Thompson house, #3, looking NW. Ramsey and Ruggles houses in background.

13. Jane Thompson house, looking NW. Note low retaining wall and minimal setback.

14. Jane Thompson house looking SW. Conoco station left background (intervening house razed in 1982).


15. Jane Thompson portico.

16. Jane Thompson ell, looking SE. Note porch plank wall, porch door transom, and shuttered cool room window. Compare with Ruggles ell, photo #6.

17. Thompson ell and brick outbuilding looking east.

19. Conoco service station, #4, looking WNW.


20. Main Street looking SW: Conoco station, Masonic lodge, corner of Main and the Webster Road, and W. G. Eversole house. House at right razed 1982.


21. Main Street looking NNW from porch of Methodist Church. Alexander Street right foreground. Village Country Store, (old McSpaden's Golden Rule Store) at right, W. G. Eversole house at left, Masonic lodge and Jane Thompson house middle background. See photos 45 and 46.

22. W. G. Eversole house, #7, looking WNW.

23. W. G. Eversole house looking NNW. Masonic lodge in background.

24. W. G. Eversole house looking NW. Slave house left background, Masonic lodge at right.


25. W. G. Eversole portico.

26. Door from central passage to front parlor, W. G. Eversole.

27. Central passage and staircase, W. G. Eversole.

28. Newel post and hand-turned spindles, W. G. Eversole.

29. Mantel, W. G. Eversole.

30. Retaining wall, W. G. Eversole, corner Main Street and Webster Road

31. Retaining wall, closeup, W. G. Eversole.

32. Rear of W. G. Eversole looking SE. Retaining wall along the Webster Road.

33. Slave house, #6, W. G. Eversole, looking SE. Methodist Church middle background, George Eversole house extreme right.

34. Slave house, W. G. Eversole, looking SW.

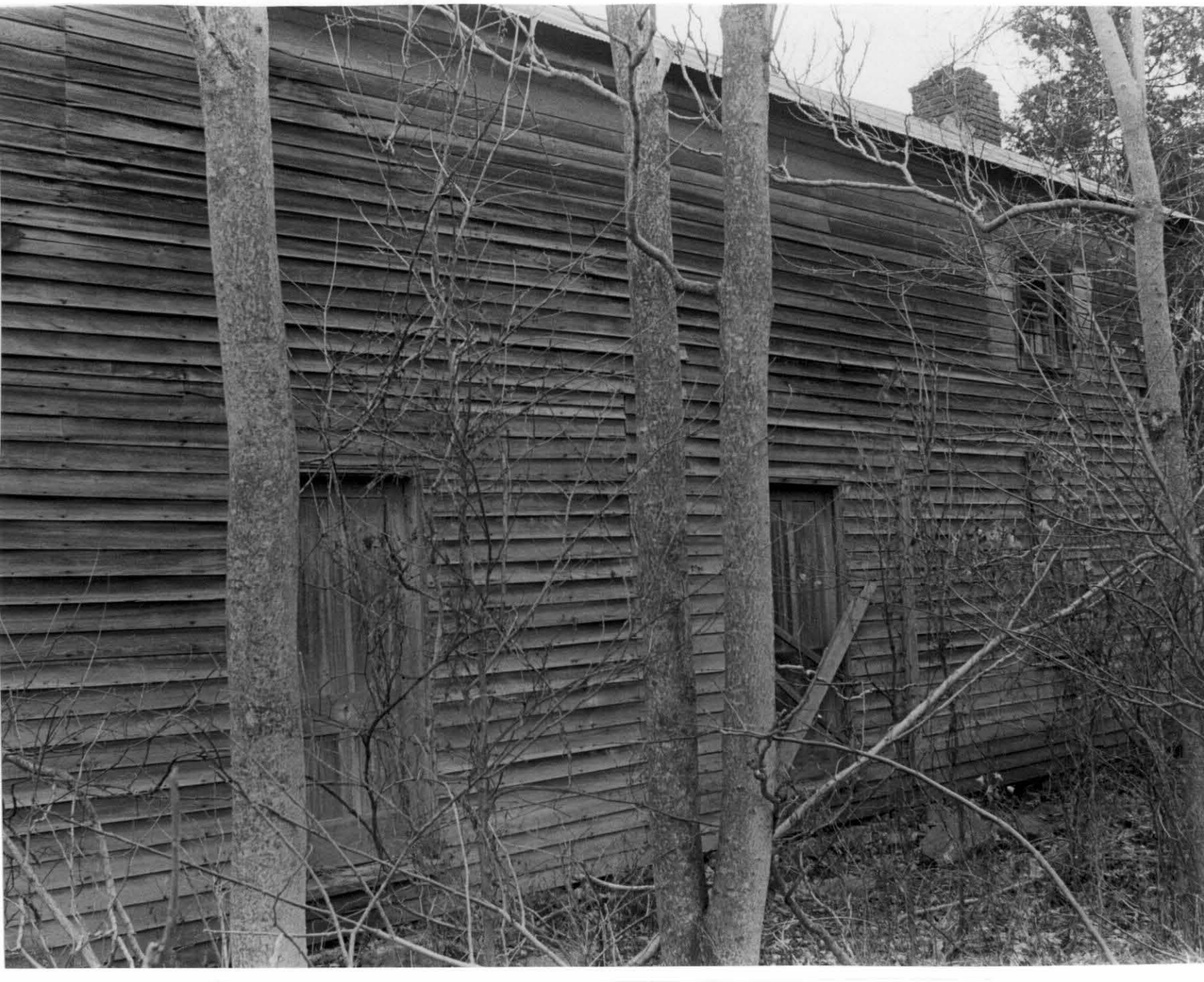
35. George Eversole house, #8, looking SW.

36. George Eversole house, looking NW.

37. Ferson Carr house, #9, looking SW.

38. Ferson Carr portico.

39. Ferson Carr house looking SSW. Note original wall piercing for disappeared chimney. Original upper end wall window replaced by door.



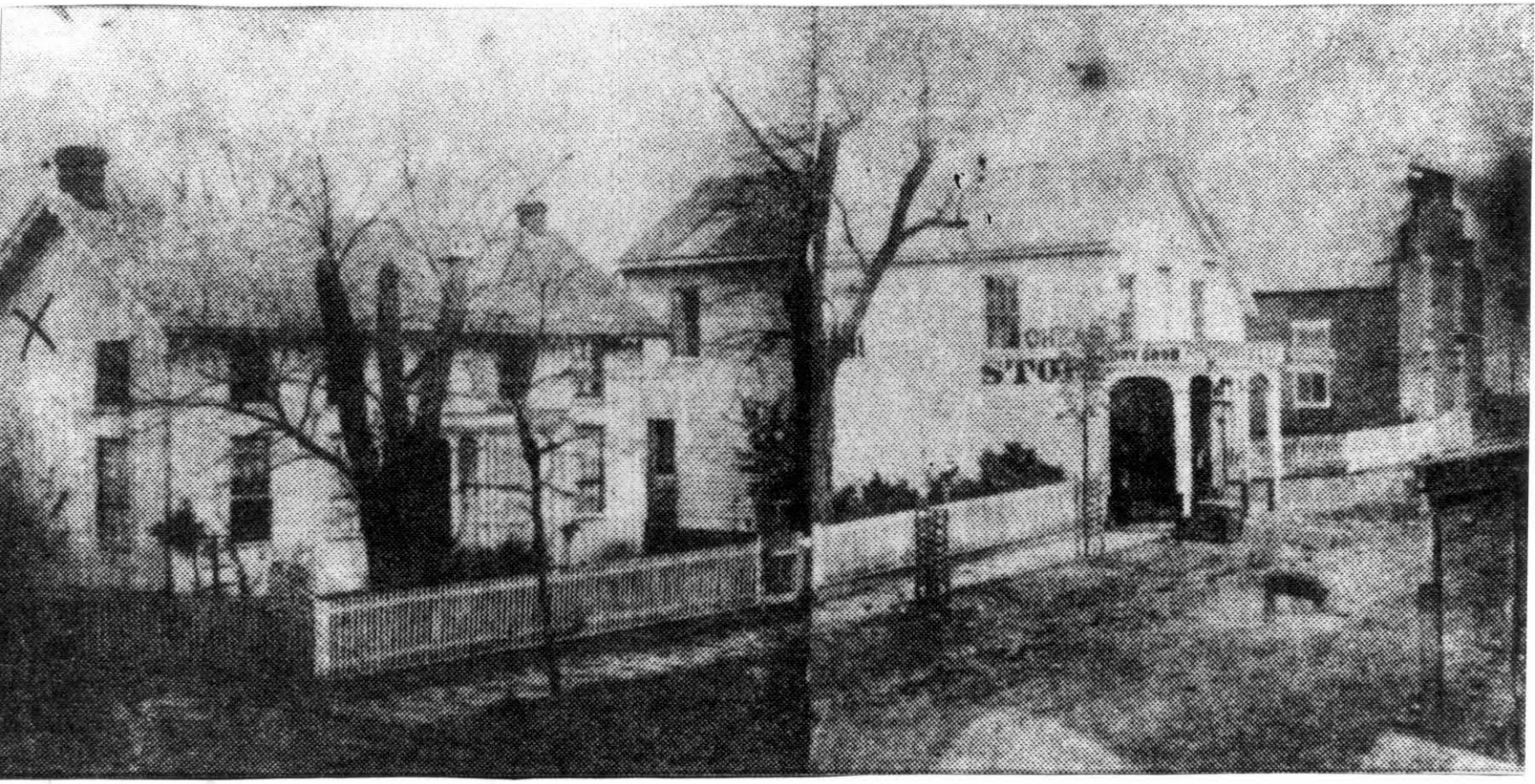
41. Rear of Ferson Carr house looking SE. Door at left once opened into disappeared rear ell.

42. Carr-Simms house, #10, looking WSW.

43. Carr-Simms facade.

44. Rear ell of Carr-Simms looking ENE. Note stone fireplace and brick chimney.

Street looking north, probably late nineteenth century, ently same photo set as #1 (note foreground log in both s). Photo characterized by extreme foreshortening, with ces appearing less than they are. Note decline in street level en Alexander and Henry. Store at right unidentified, presumably destroyed in 1909 fire. Picket north and corner of Main and Alexander. First house behind pick Lucas-Wilcox house, only extant structure other Thompson, dark outline barely visible in trees at left (not retaining wall).



46. Main Street looking SE at McSpaden house and store, sometime after 1865. Store on NE corner Main and Alexander. Note planted trees. Such picturesque elements as barge board cornice and board-and-batten siding of McSpaden house exist on no surviving Caledonia house. Both destroyed in 1909 fire.

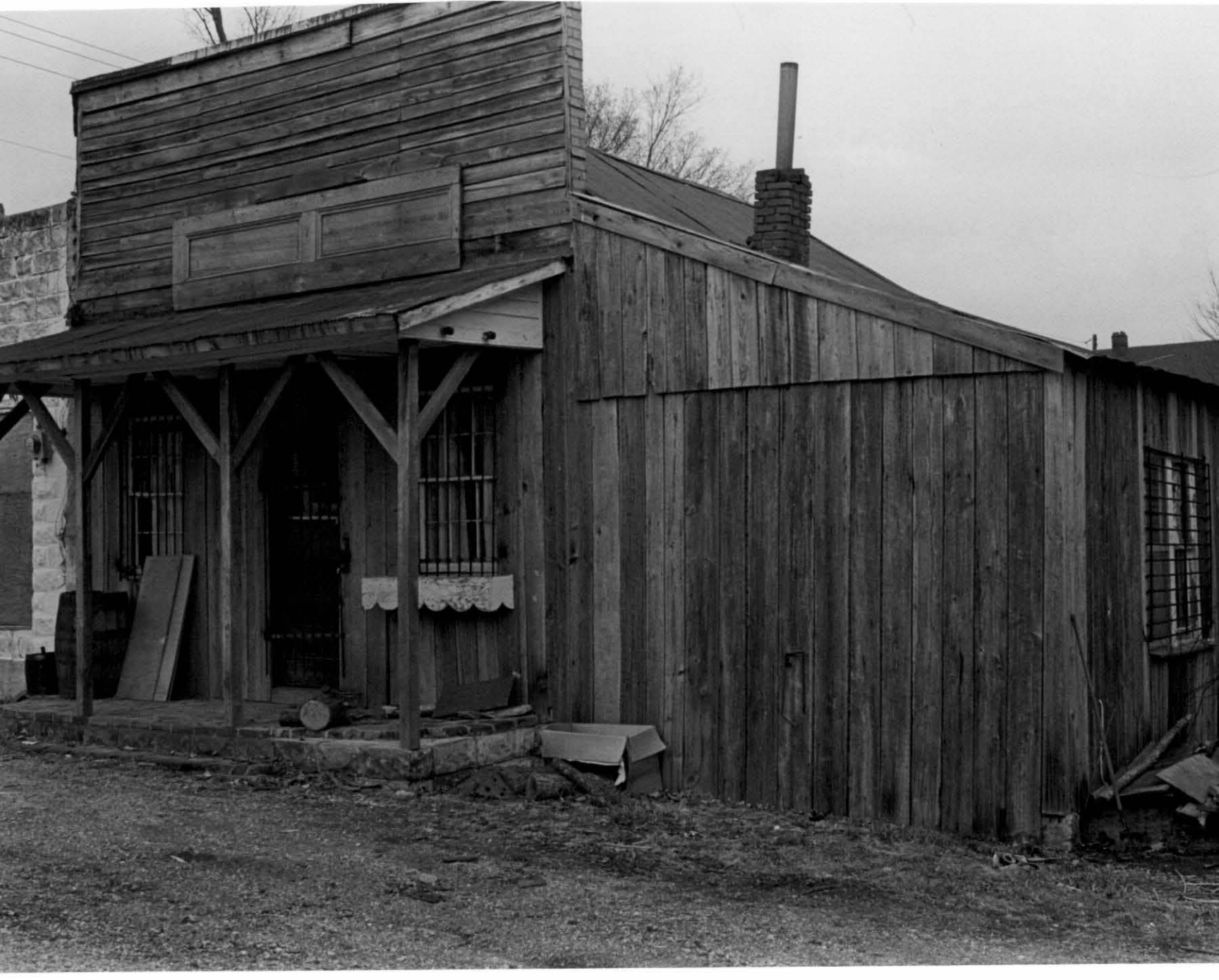

47. Main Street looking NNE after first phase of reconstruction following 1909 fire. In order, McSpaden's Golden Rule Store, #18, Sinclair's Store, #16, and Caledonia Bank, not extant (site of Al and Dee's Market, non-contributing structure #3). Curb of Methodist Church extreme right foreground, W. G. Eversole retaining wall and fence extreme left foreground.

48. Lucas-Wilcox house, #11, looking ESE.


49. Looking NNE. J and L Westernwear (originally a grocery) and old Braswell smithy, #12, and #13. Non-contributing structures #1 and #2 at left; Lucas-Wilcox far left.

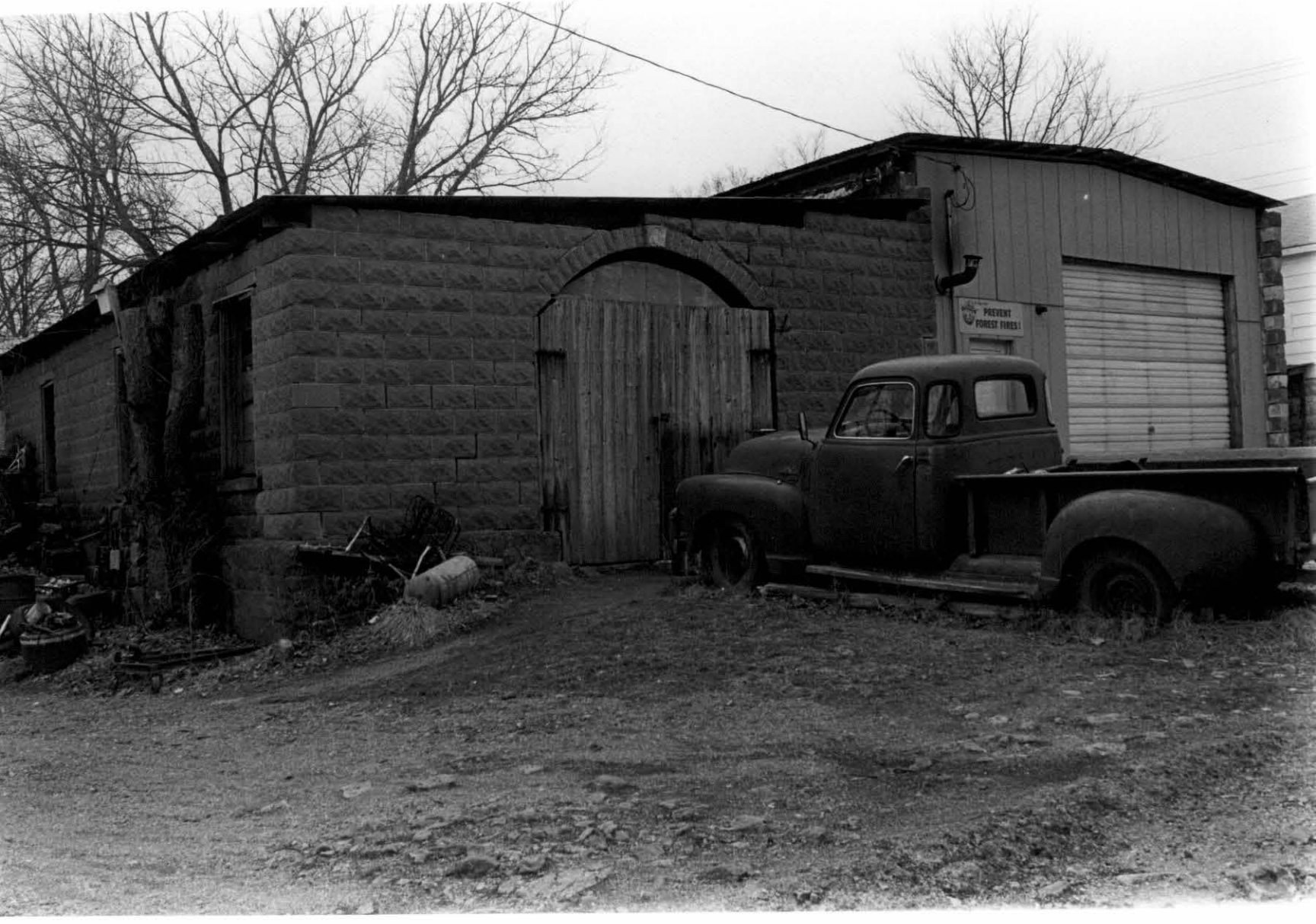

50. Looking NE. Left to right: Lucas-Wilcox, non-contributing #1 and #2, J and L Westernwear.


51. Looking NW: Braswell's old smithy, J and L Westernwear store, Jane Thompson house.



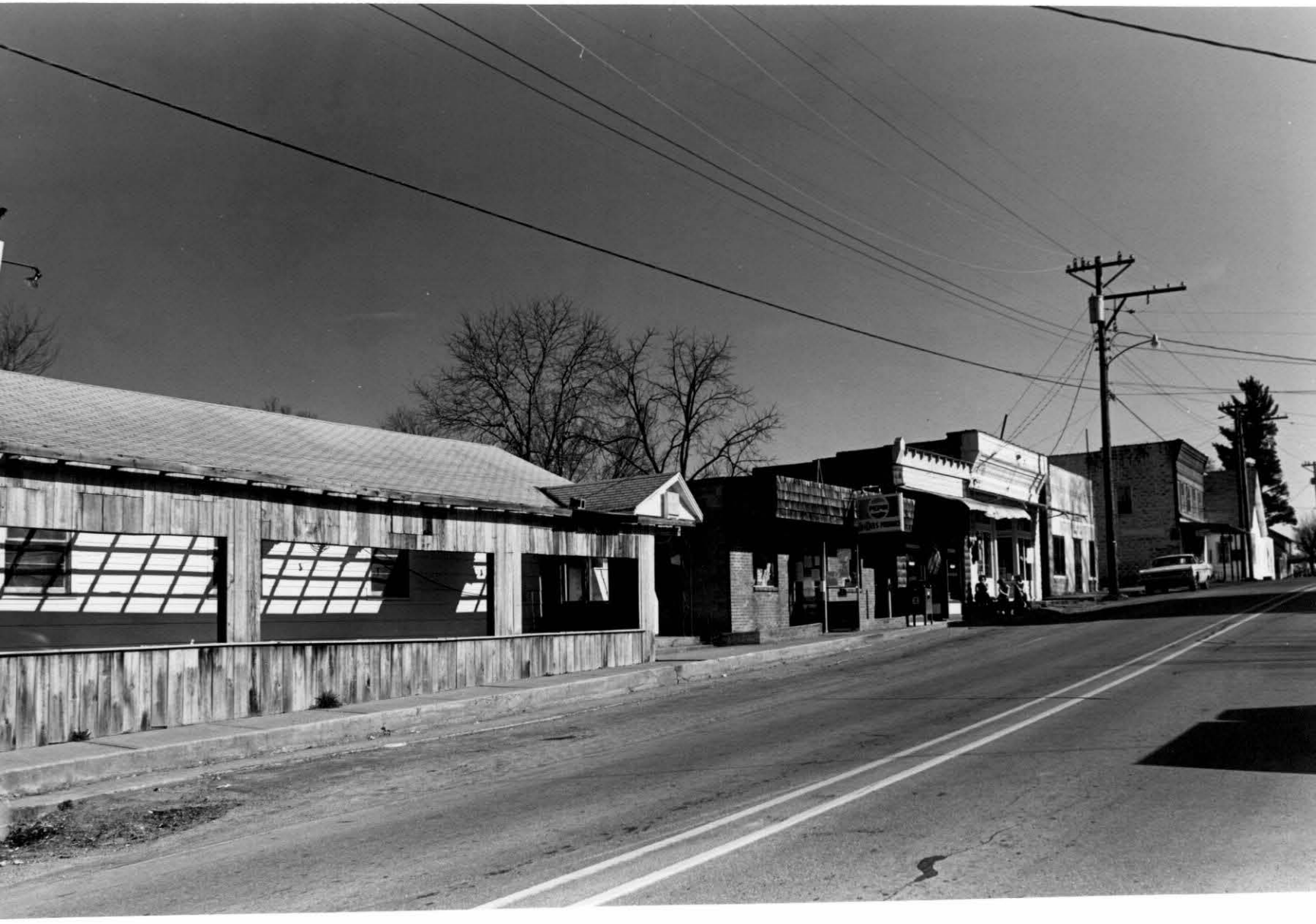
52. Braswell's old smithy looking NW.


53. Main Street view looking SSE. From left to right: J and L Westernwear, corner of Main and Henry; Al and Dee's Market (non-contributing structures #3 and #4); post office; Stewart's General Store (old Sinclair store); and community building (old Sinclair garage); #15, #16, #17; Village Country Store (old McSpaden's Golden Rule Store), #18; and Methodist Church #19.




54. Braswell's new smithy and garage, #14, looking SW.


55. NE (rear) corner of Al and Dee's market, originally foundation of Caledonia Bank, built of the common concrete block with brick stringcourse.



56. View similar to photo 53, but farther south. Al and Dee's market at left. Note change in street elevation apparent in old photos #1, #45, and #47.

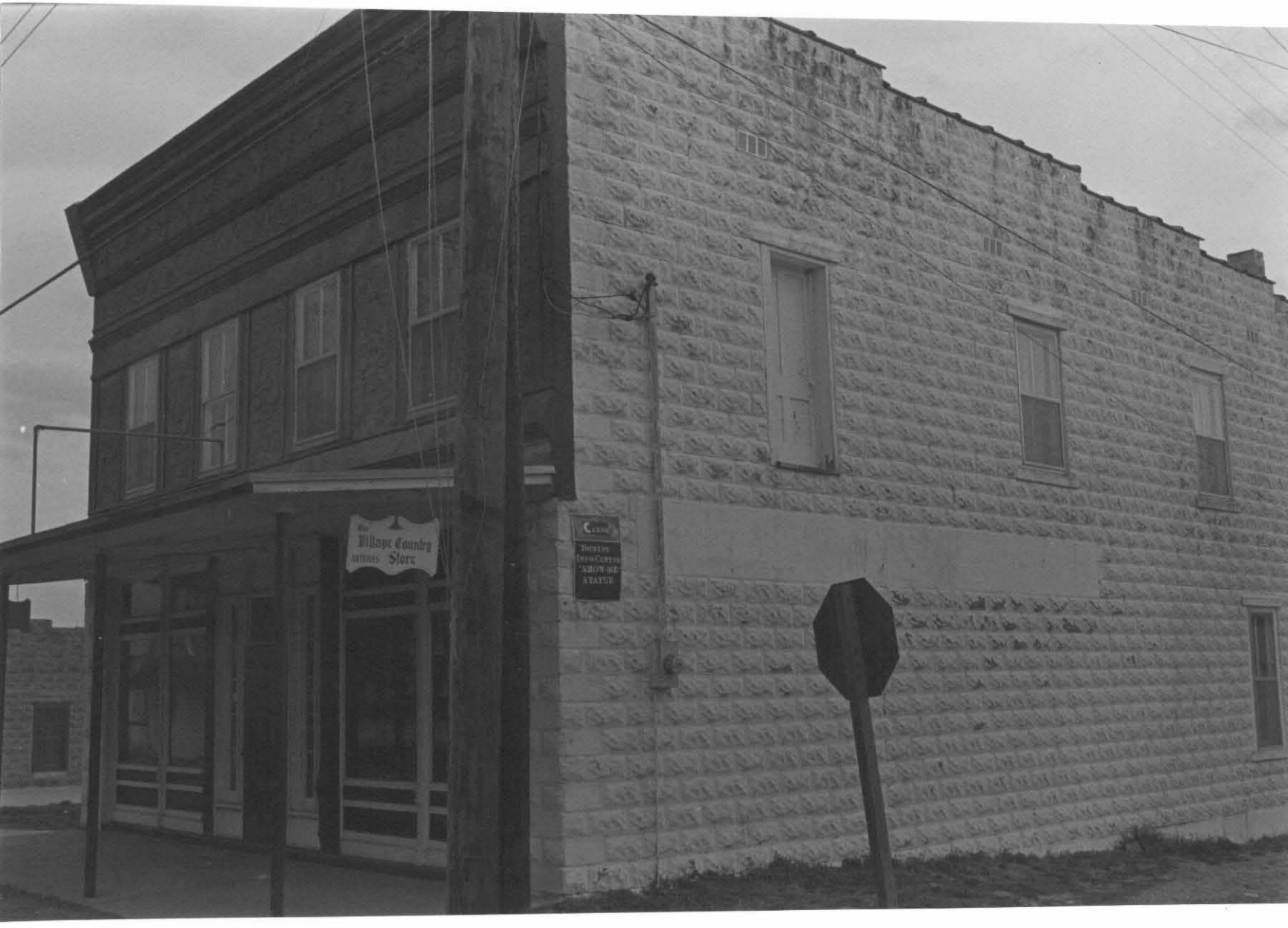
57. Buildings #15, #16, and #17. Non-contributing #4 at extreme left.


58. Building #17, Community Center, originally Sinclair garage.

59. Vacant space between #17 and #18. U. P. Wood house, #26, middle-right deep backround, across Goose Creek Valley.

60. Village Country Store (McSpaden's Golden Rule Store), #18, and Methodist Church #19, looking SE.

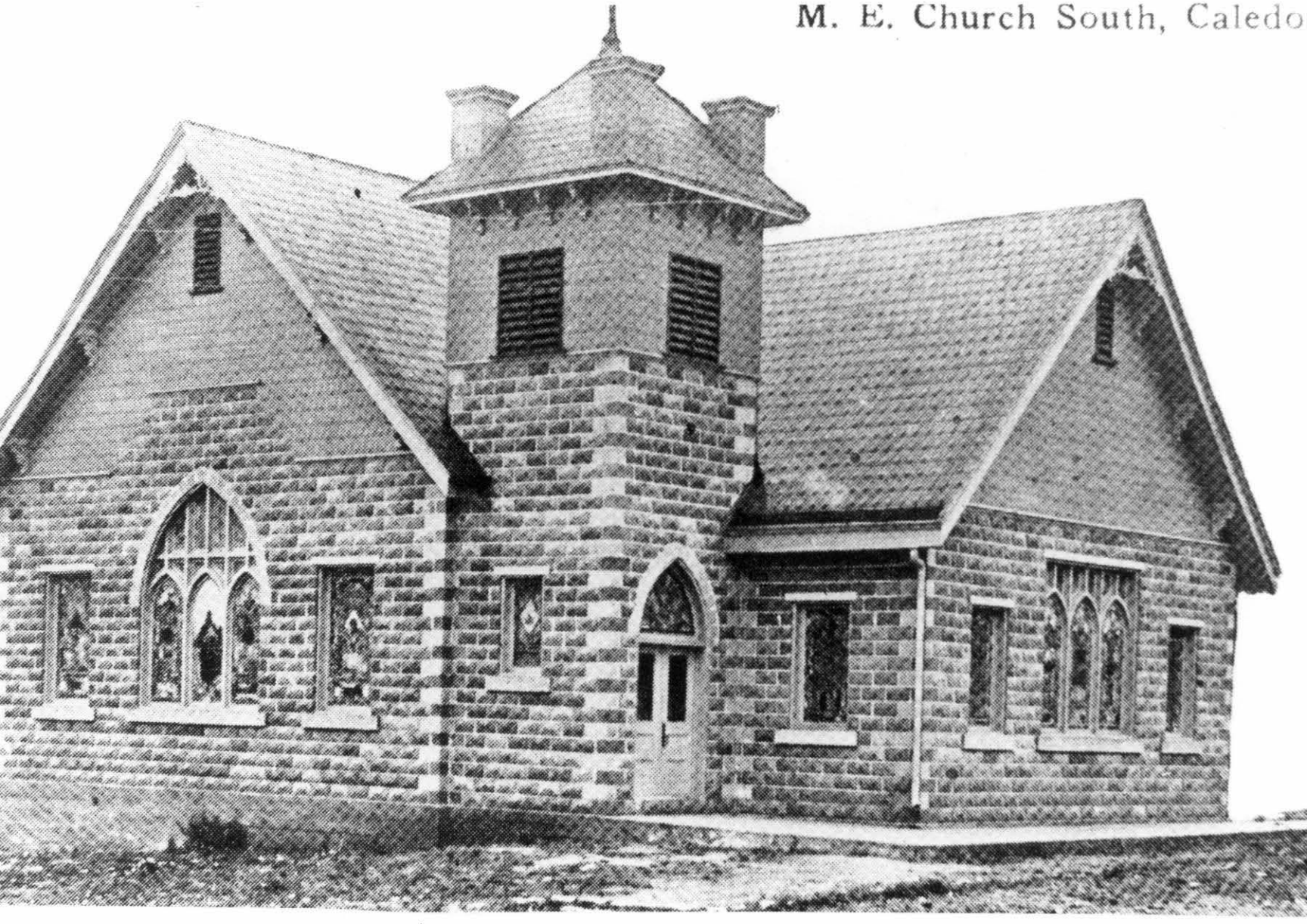

61. Facade, #18, looking ESE. Methodist parsonage right background.



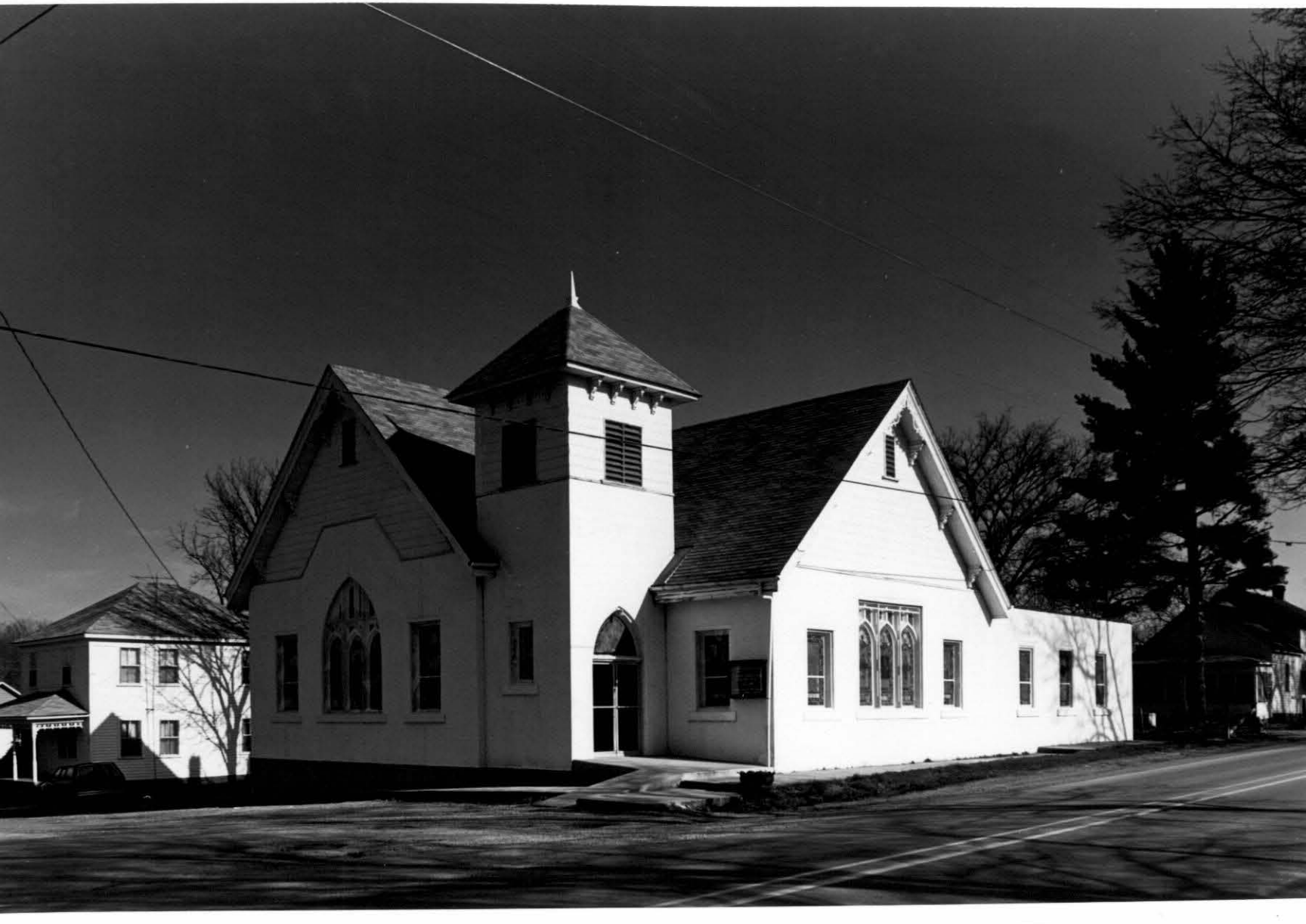

62. Building #18 looking NE.

63. Interior of Village Country Store #18, looking toward west (front) from stair landing.

64. Methodist Church of 1842, looking NE. Located on southwest corner of lot 41. Destroyed in 1909 fire.




65. New Methodist Church as it appeared when constructed in 1910. Looking SE.



66. Methodist Church, 1982, looking SE. Note 1950s wing at right. Parsonage at far left, Long-White at far right.

67. North facade of Methodist Church with projecting choir at left.

68. View from Main east along Alexander Street into creek valley. Village Country Store extreme left. Methodist Church and parsonage at right.

70. Main Street view, probably late nineteenth century looking NE. from left to right, McSpaden's Store, Methodist Church, Long-White house.

73. Long-White house, looking N. Main Street at left. W. G. Eversole, Masonic lodge, and Jane Thompson, left background.

74. Flagstone walk and curb, Long-White house.

75. Opening in attic ceiling for dormer, block A, Long White house, looking NW.

76. Stairwell, Long-White house looking E and facing original plank wall.

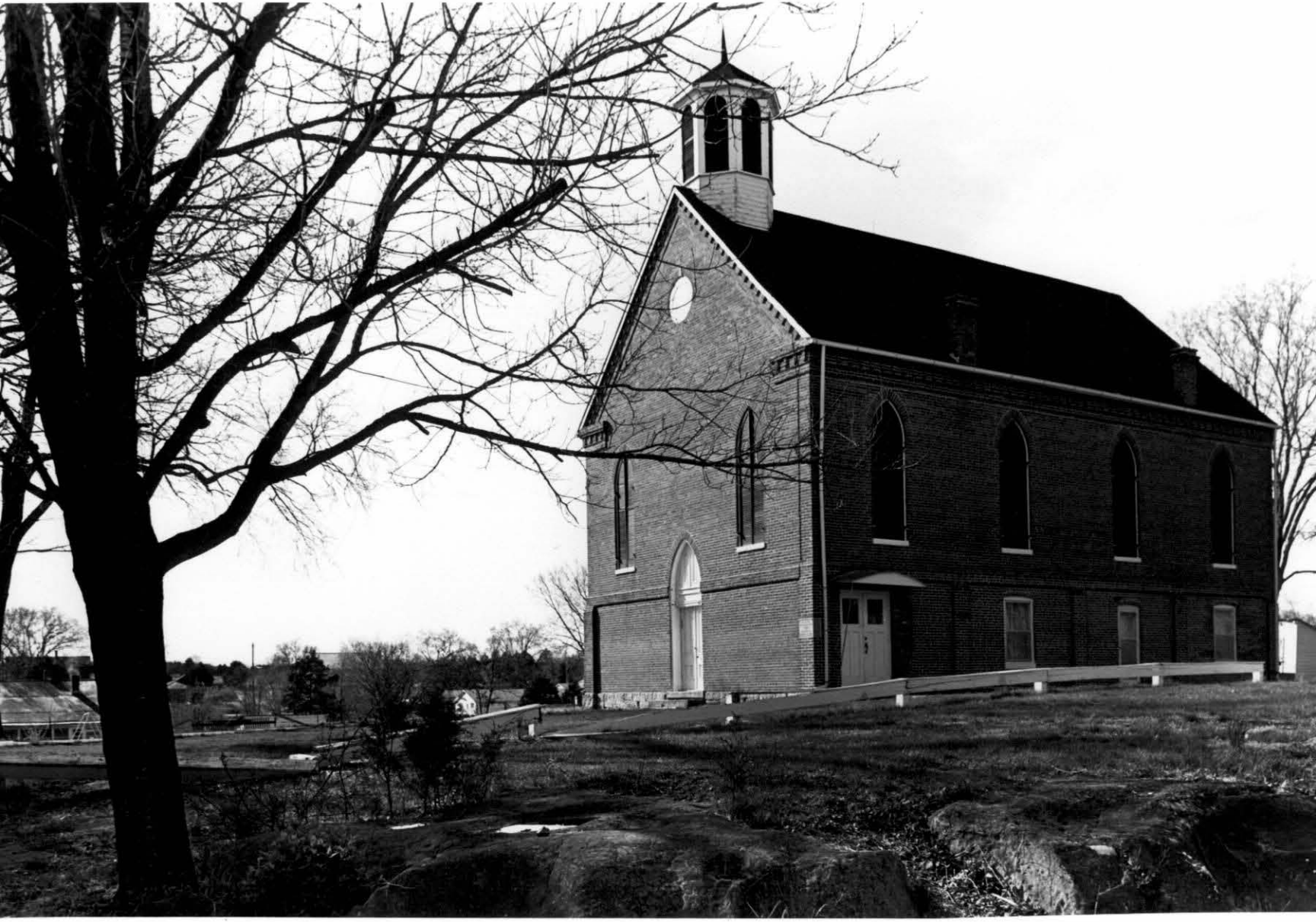
77. Second floor passage, Long-White house, looking NW at corner where blocks A and B are joined. Note post and lintels and plank walls.


78. Door, mantel, and cupboard, block A, first floor, Long-White house, looking SW.

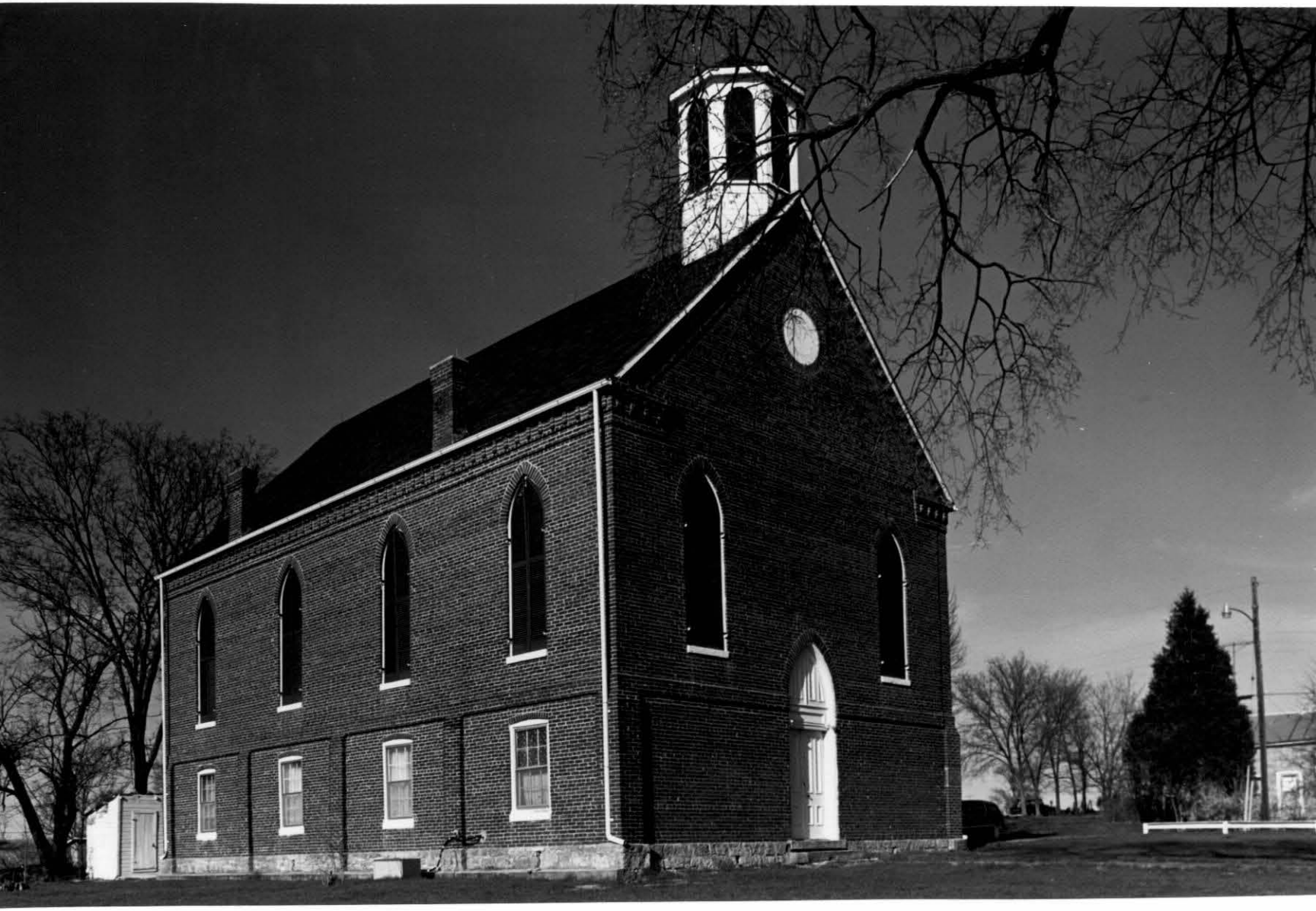
79. College Street looking south from near the northern beginning of the historic district. Bean house, #27, at left, and Morris house, #22, at right. Craighead-Henry house, #28, center background.

80. College Street looking north past intersection of Henry Street. Presbyterian Church, #23, at left. Morris house, #22, at center, Craighead-Henry, #28, at right.

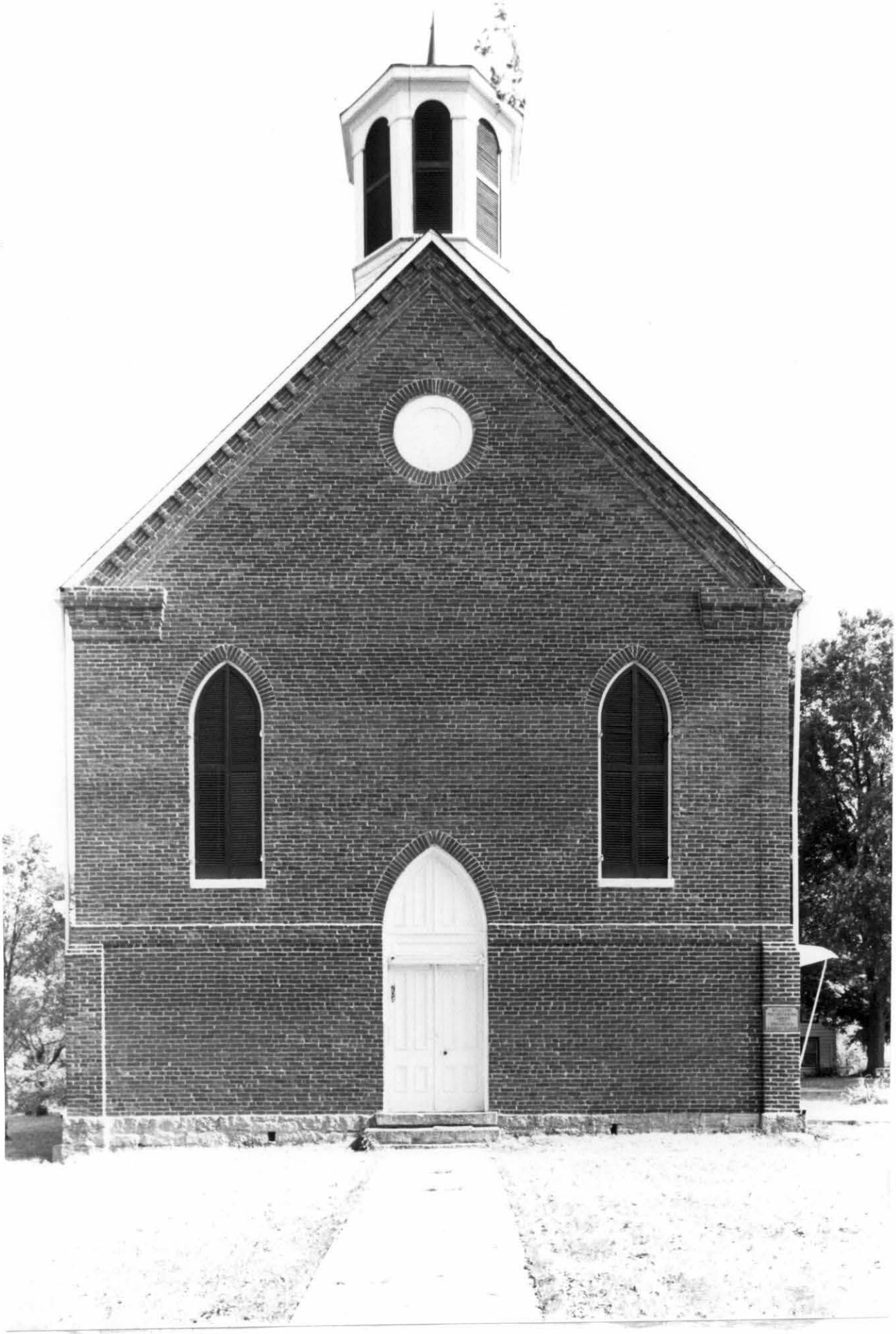
81. Morris house, #22, facade view, looking NW.



82. Presbyterian Church, #23, looking NW.



83. Presbyterian Church looking NE



84. Presbyterian Church looking N.

85. Presbyterian Church, view of second floor nave, looking SSE toward the rear.

86. Queen cottage, #24, looking WSW.

87. Non-contributing structure #5, looking W. Vandiver house at left.

88. Vandiver house, #25, looking WNW. House in background not in historic district.

89. Vandiver house, #25, looking NNW. Non-contributing structure #5 at right. Presbyterian Church, right background.


91. U. P. Woods house, #26, looking SW.

92. U. P. Woods house looking NW. Vandiver house at right.

93. Bean house, #27, looking NE. House at left not in historic district.

94. Bean house looking SE.

95. Bean house looking NNE across vacant lot 13.

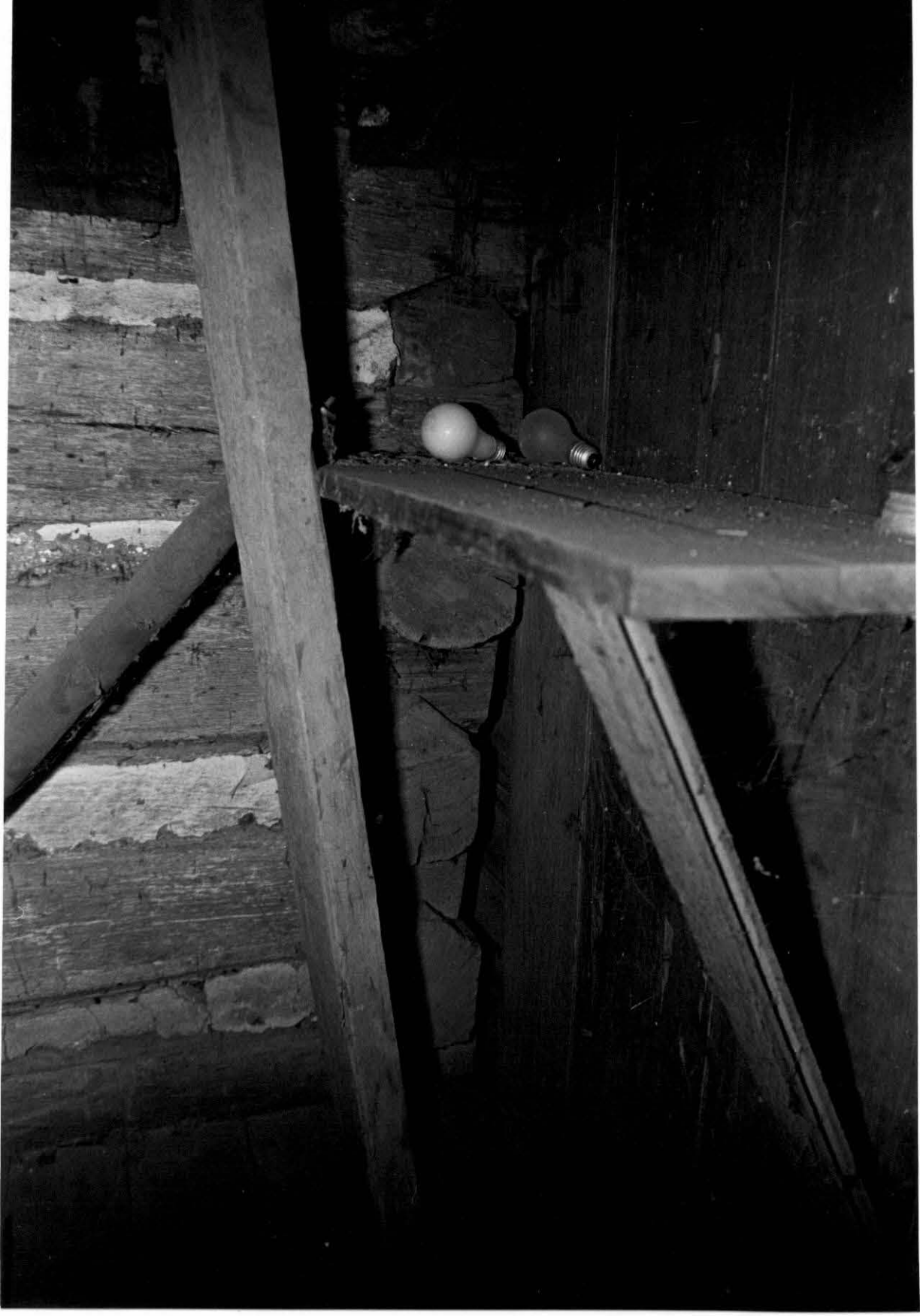
96. View across lot 13 looking SW. Craighead-Henry, #28, at left, Presbyterian Church, #23, at right.

97. Craighead-Henry facade looking E.

98. Craighead-Henry facade looking SE.

99. Craighead-Henry rear looking NW.

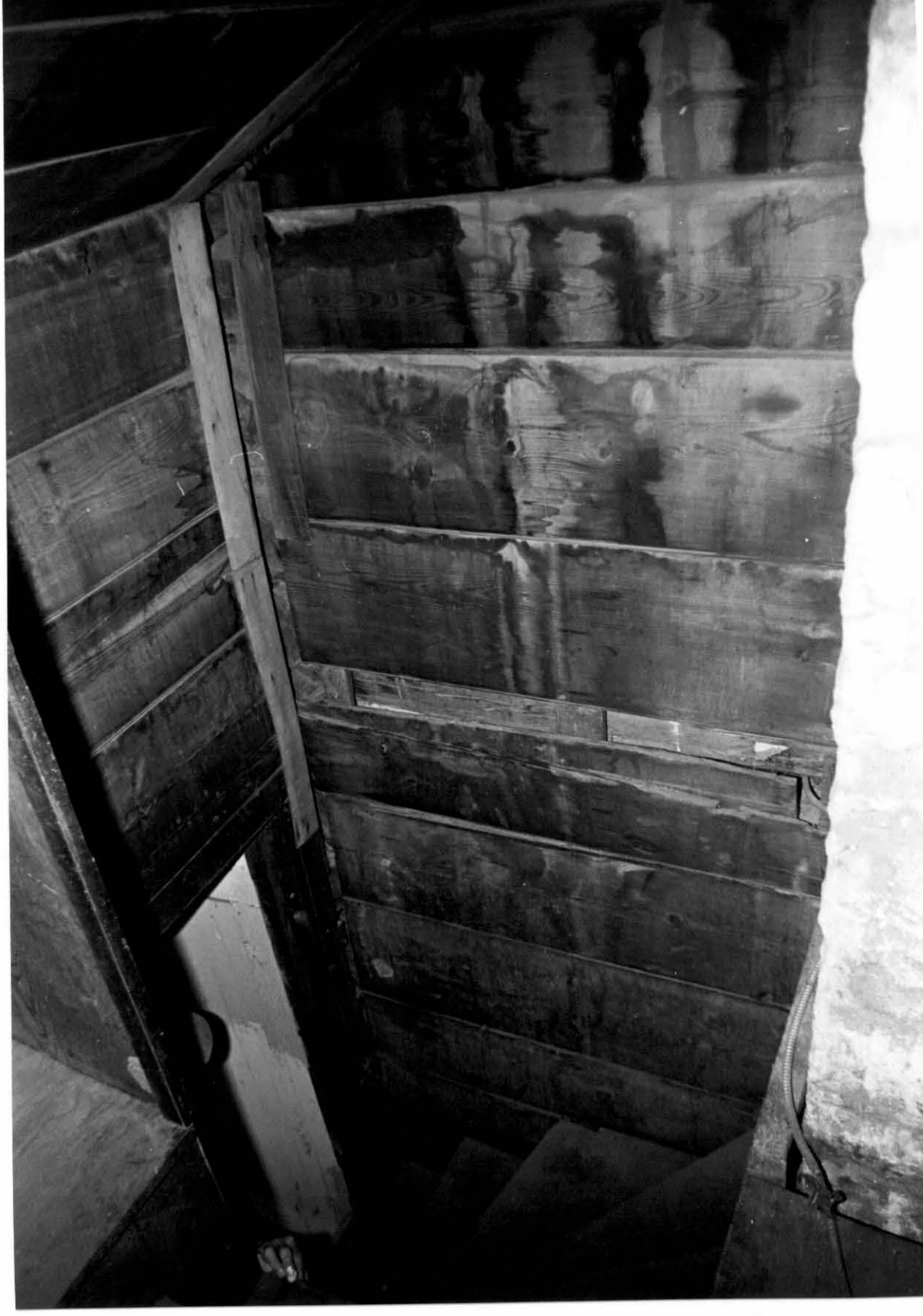
100. Craighead-Henry facade looking NE.



101. Craighead-Henry, interior of central passage showing v-grooved SE corner of north log pen. Planked wall of passage enclosure at right.

102. Craighead-Henry, ceiling of north first floor log pen looking S, showing beaded plank ceiling and joists.

103. Staircase of central passage, Craighead-Henry, lookint ENE.

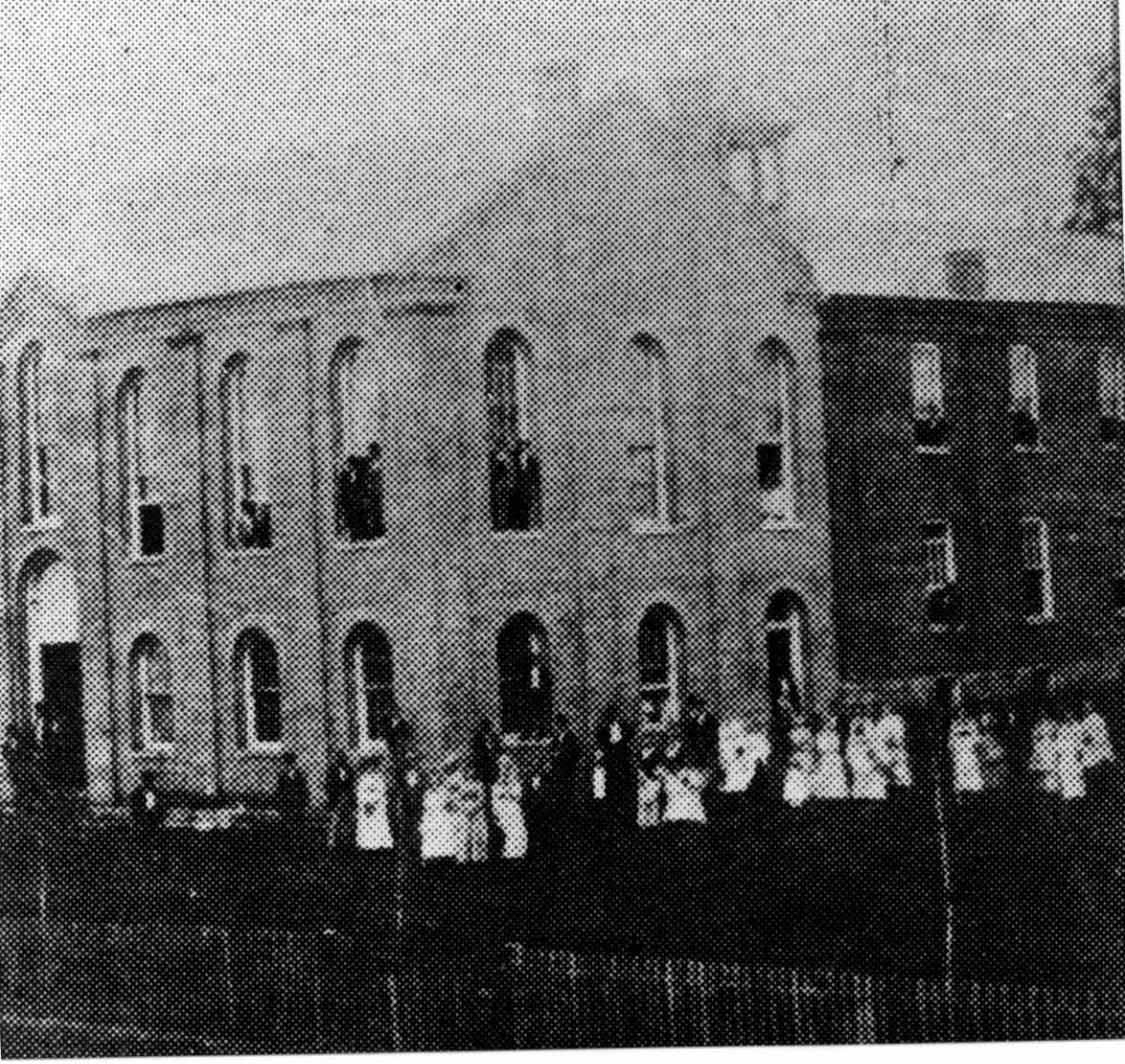


104. Stairwell of north end addition Craighead-Henry, looking SE. Attic of addition at left, south plank wall of addition at center, north end stone chimney at right.

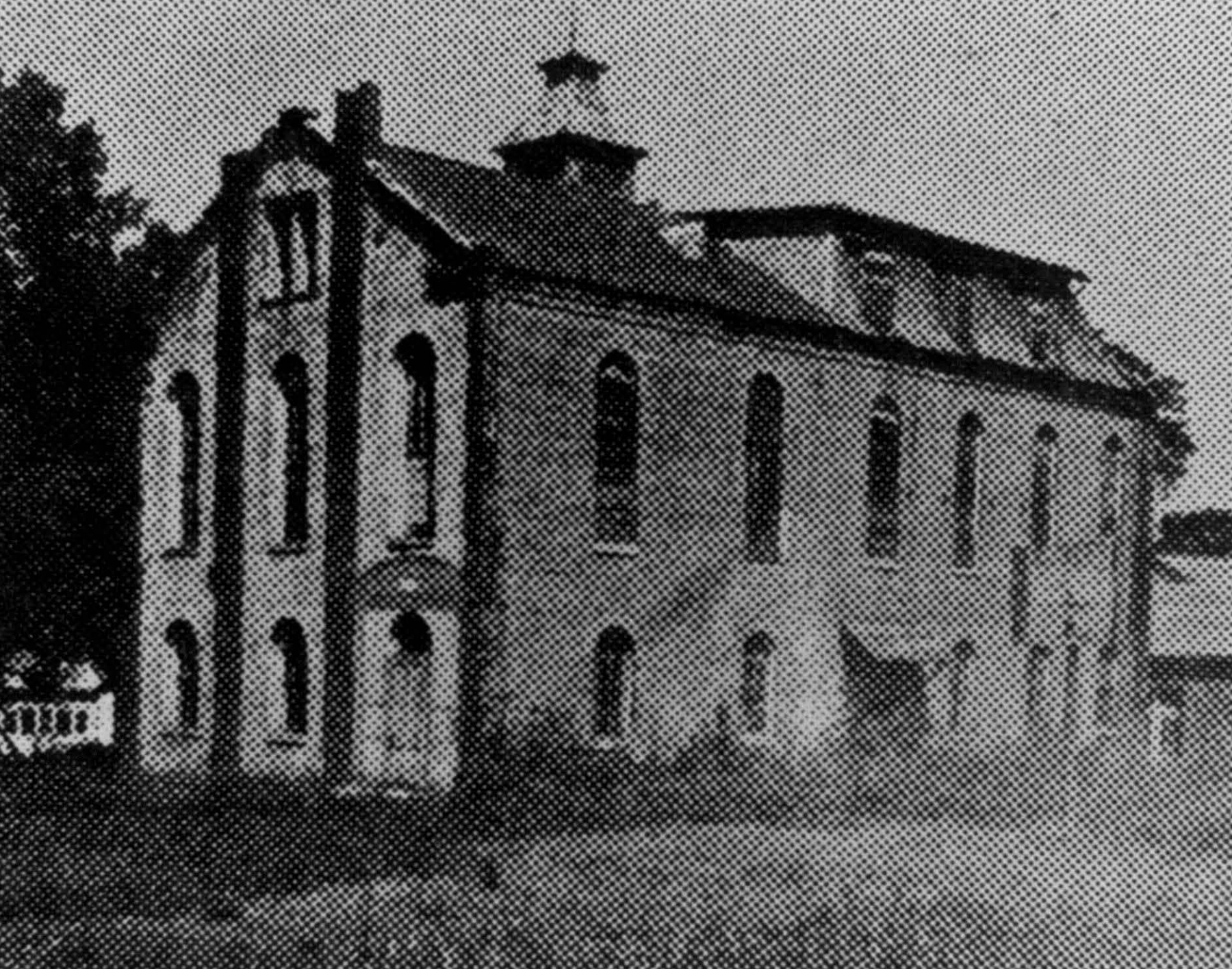
105. Greene-Stevens house, #29, looking SE.

106. Caledonia school looking NE.

107. Site of old Belleview Collegiate Institute. Note foundation, bell, and commemorative plaque, and non-contributing structure #6. School at left.



108. Old photo, Belleview Collegiate Institute building (not extant) looking NE. Photo c. 1900. Original building at right; new addition, facing College Street, at left.



110. Old photo, Belleview Collegiate Institute building (not extant) looking NE. Final structure in twentieth century.

111. Tom Goodykoontz house, #31, facade view looking E.