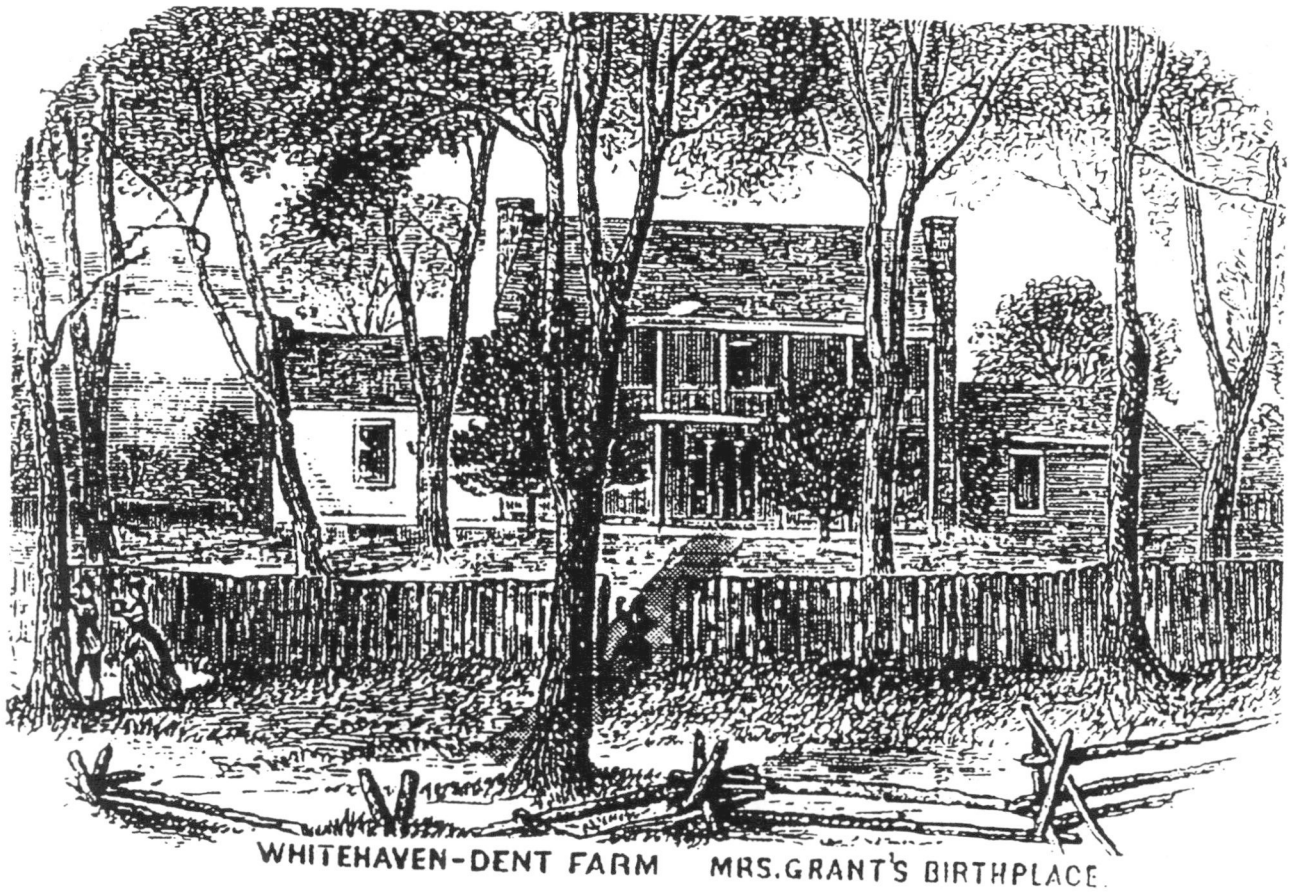
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ASSESSMENT



ULYSSES S. GRANT NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Mark Weekley
National Park Service
1993

The image on the cover is a detail of an engraving from Albert D. Richardson's, A personal History of Ulysses S. Grant (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Co.: Newark, New Jersey: Bliss & Co.; G. and C. W. Sherwood; San Francisco: R.J. Truball and Co., 1868, 1869.

DRAFT

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ASSESSMENT OF ULYSSES S. GRANT NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

By

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The primary purpose of this assessment was to provide sufficient information for the development of a General Management Plan and a Development Concept Plan for Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (ULSG NHS). To that end I undertook this study. It is my sincere hope that the information, analysis, and recommendations provided here will serve the needs of the park planners and the park staff.

This cultural landscape assessment is as much a work of original research as it is a focused analysis of work done by other people. The Historic Resource Study by Kim Little and Linda Bullard's draft landscape history of White Haven for the period of 1820-1885, were key resources for this assessment. The archeological studies conducted by Vergil Nobel and others from the Midwest Archeological Center and the Historic Structures report by Al O'Bright and Kristen Marolf provided invaluable information. I greatly appreciate the cooperation of these individuals and their willingness to make their draft works available to me for study.

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I would like thank all those who took time to review and comment on the drafts of this document. Finally, I would like to thank Historian Rachel Franklin, University of Missouri, Columbia, Department of History, for her editorial skills and insightful analysis which substantially improved this work.

Mark Weekley 1993

INTRODUCTION

This document is a preliminary summary and analysis of the research conducted, to date, regarding the landscape at Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (ULSG). This effort has been undertaken to provide a preliminary analysis of the White Haven landscape prior to the development of the general management plan. While this document is in no manner a full cultural landscape report, it does provide an analysis of the landscape for each historic period, with a focus on extant features from each period. Analysis of this information clarifies potential treatment options for this site which are in accordance with the Cultural Resources Management Guidelines, NPS-28 (Draft Release No. 4, February 1993, chapter 7).

This document contains the following five sections:

1. Existing conditions.

2. A brief history of the evolution of the site's landscape.

3. An analysis of the key issues and features for each historic period and a discussion of treatment options allowed under the terms of NPS-28 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.

4. A consideration of future research needs.

5. An assessment of treatment options for the landscape.

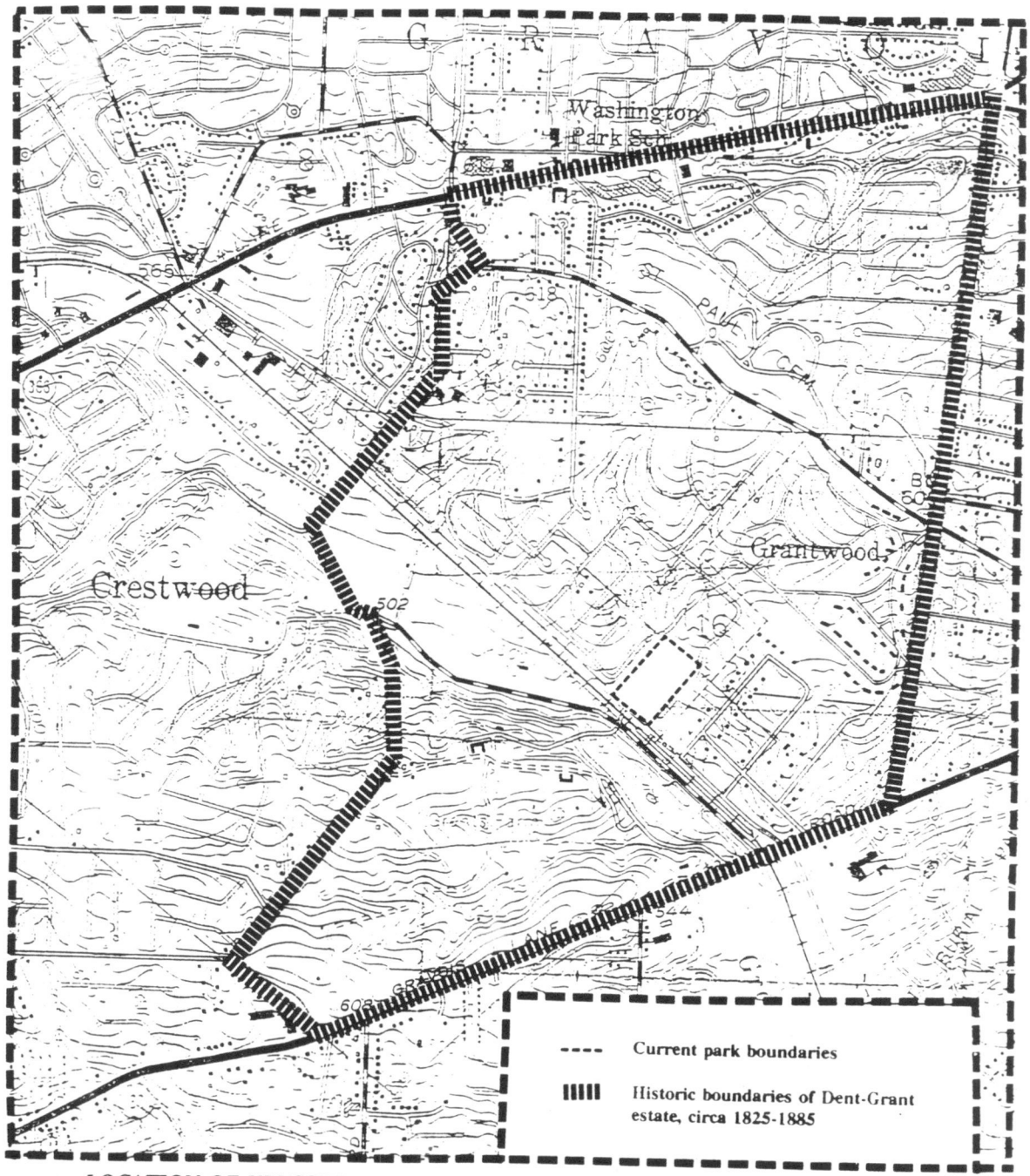
6. Treatment recommendations.

EXISTING CONDITIONS

Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site is located at 7400 Grant Road in south St. Louis County. The site was owned by Ulysses S. Grant, Union General and eighteenth President of the United States. After the period of Grant's ownership, numerous other owners held the site.

Today the National Park Service is responsible for the historic 9.65 acre core of the larger historic farm. The lands adjacent to the site are currently occupied on three sides by residential housing. Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc. operates a theme park on the south side of the property. Between the historic site and the theme park lie the remains of the rail line that served the area during the time Grant owned White Haven. Parallel to this rail line is Grant road, which serves as the primary access to the historic site (Figure 2).

The site has extensive tree and shrub cover, five historic buildings, and a limited road system. In addition to the historic buildings, a small house used as a caretaker's cottage during the first half of the twentieth century is located on the site. This building has been converted for use as an office building for the park's administration (Figures 2 and 8).



LOCATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE IN SUBURBAN ST. LOUIS

Figure 1: Location of Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site.

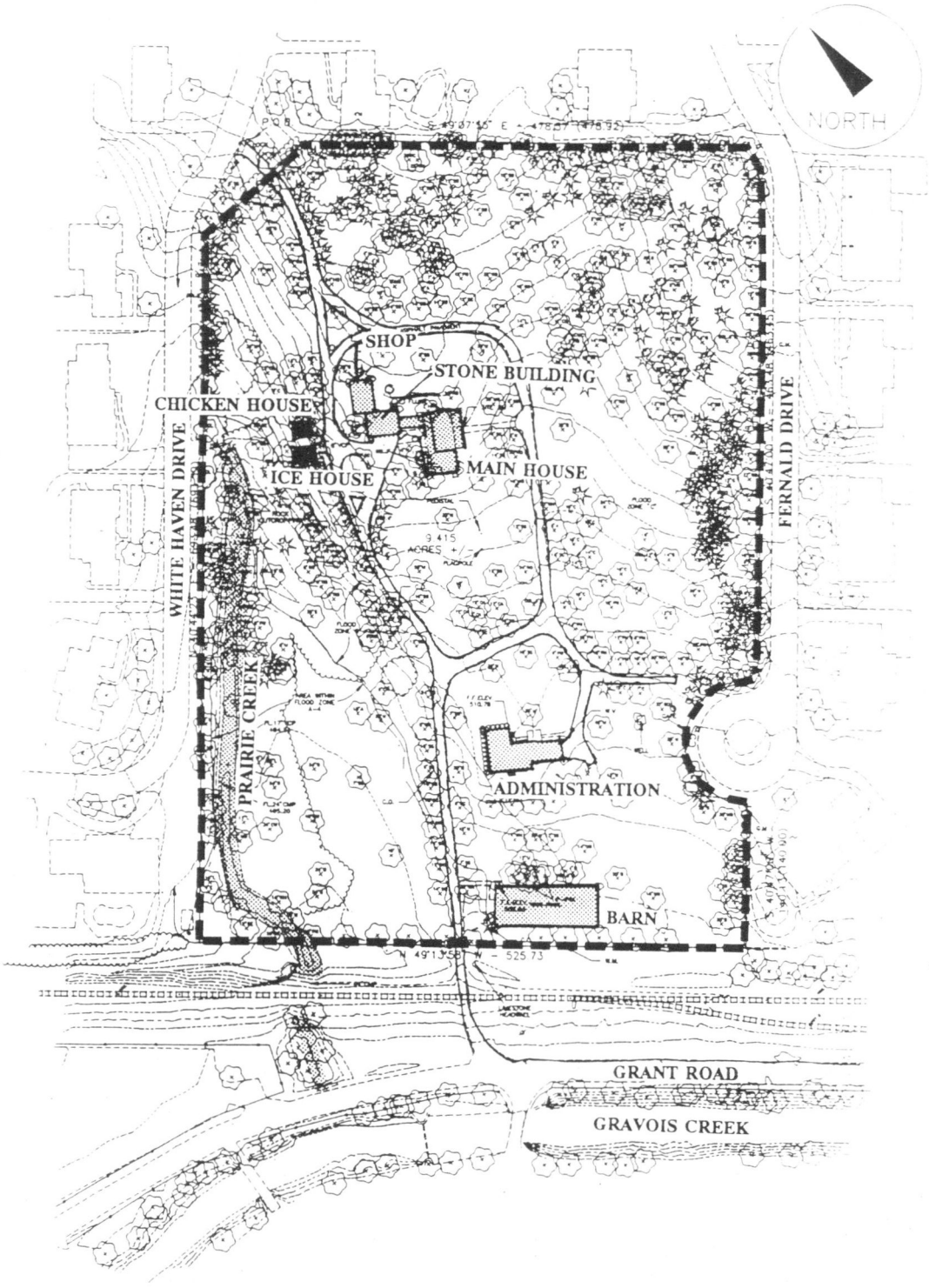


Figure 2: Site map including the building footprints of adjacent residential housing.



Figure 3: View of main house with stone building and the shop addition.

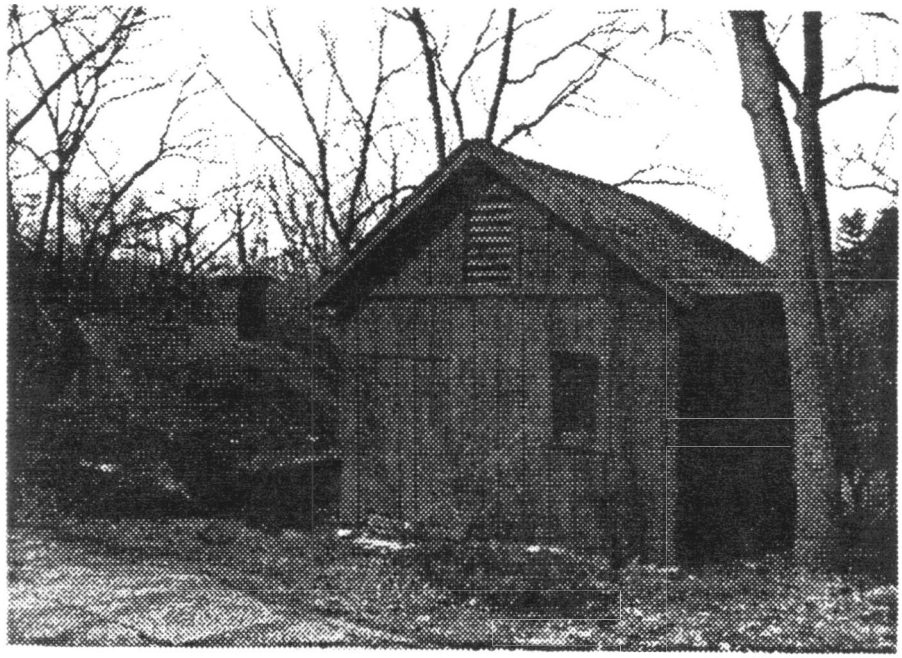


Figure 4: View of ice house on left, and chicken house on right. The chicken house has no known association with Grant or the Dents.

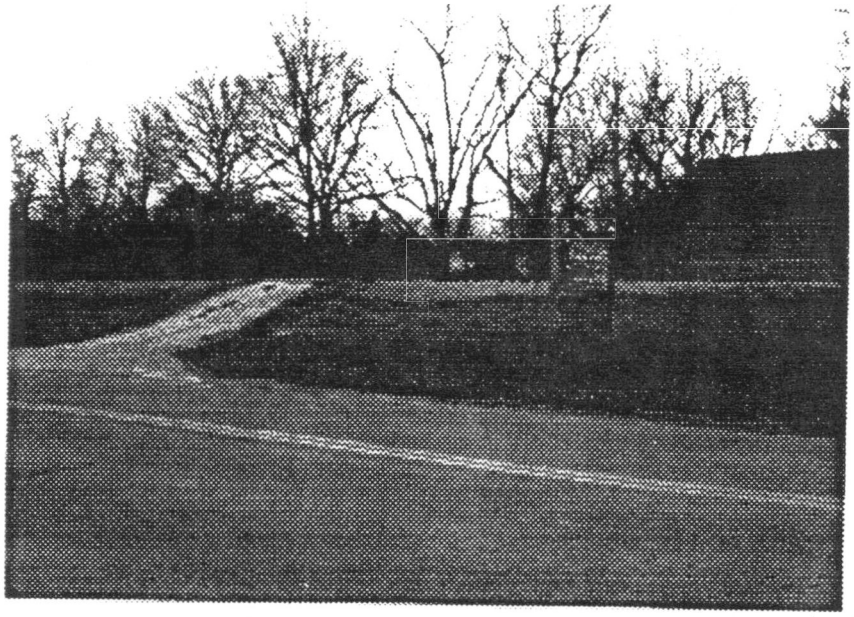


Figure 5: Entrance to Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site from Grant Road. The rail road bed and the former horse barn are visible in this photograph. April 1993, Mark Weekley.



Figure 6: View into site from the rail road bed. April 1993, Mark Weekley.



Figure 7: View towards Grant Road showing former horse barn and a mill stone moved to the site in the late 1980s. March 1993, Mark Weekley.

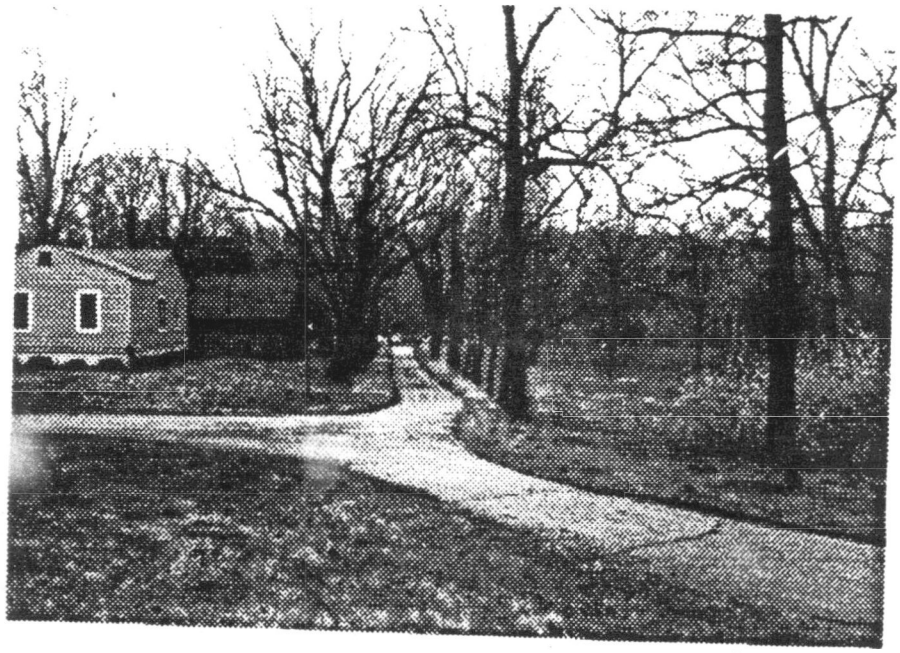


Figure 8: View towards Grant Road showing the current administration building (previously the caretaker's cottage). Note the liner arrangement of trees along the drive used to form an alley. April 1993, Mark Weekley.



Figure 9: View showing residential housing adjacent to the site and a well with a wooden cover. The extant former horse barn was located just in front of the house until in was relocated it the 1960's.



Figure 10: View from the front porch of the house showing one of two circular brick cooling ponds/fountains that were used as part of an air conditioning system in the early twentieth century. April 1993, Mark Weekley.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CHANGE ON THE WHITE HAVEN LANDSCAPE, 1796-1993

Landscape change on the portion of White Haven that makes up Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (ULSG) has been closely tied to the people who owned and lived on the property.[1] Known settlement goes back to the early nineteenth century. Each of these owners had an impact on the land as they used it. As they made changes, they often modified or even erased the marks of their predecessors while leaving their own imprint on the land. In the case of the White Haven site, like many vernacular sites, the most recent changes are the ones which are most apparent and which retain the highest degree of integrity. Consequently, the impacts of the earliest owners are not clearly evident.

Today, the National Park Service (NPS) is responsible for the 9.6 acre core of the larger historic White Haven farm. Even before the development of White Haven, the site was the home of earlier settlers. There is also evidence of prehistoric occupation.[2] The first person who can be documented as to having been an occupant of the site was Hugh Graham, who received a grant from the territorial Spanish government in St. Louis, in 1796. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, James Mackay acquired this property and retained ownership until he sold it to William Long in 1808.

The changes that Graham and Mackay made to the landscape are unknown. How or even if they used the land for any particular purpose has not been documented. The extent and nature of the landscape changes that occurred during this period, as well as earlier periods is a matter of speculation, however. The tremendous changes that occurred in the following years may well have erased the physical clues that could help explain what happened to the land during this period.

During the time that William Long owned the property (1808-1818), he nearly completed a two story house which was purchased by Theodore Hunt and his wife Ann. They owned the property and lived in the house between 1818 and 1820. During this time,

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[1]The name White Haven historically was used both as the name of the Dent family house and the larger agricultural operation associated with it. In this assessment the name refers to the 9.6 acre site managed by the National Park Service (NPS), unless otherwise noted.

[2]Vergil E. Noble, *Draft Report on the 1991 Excavations at Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site, St. Louis Missouri* (Lincoln, Nebraska: National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, 1993), 25.

Hunt built a small addition on the house.[3] While this addition was removed in the 1940's, the rest of the house is extant. The impacts that the Long and Hunt families made to the landscape are also unknown.

Around 1820, Frederick Dent acquired the property and owned it until 1865 when his son-in-law Ulysses S. Grant purchased the site. This was a period of active change during which time the site gained the name White Haven and was operated as a farm. It is possible that a stone building, portions of which are still standing, was constructed during this time period.[4] The construction and occupation of this building would have made some minor impacts on the landscape. The main residence was expanded and modified by the Dent family during this period.[5] The landscape also underwent changes.[6] Determining what changes occurred and where they occurred is problematic, however. Even though it is known that the property was used for agricultural purposes, the precise layout of the portion of the farm the NPS now manages is largely unknown due to the lack of written and graphic documentation.

Between 1865 and 1885, Grant owned White Haven as well as a large area of adjacent lands. While Grant did not live at the site during this period, he did affect its development through the use of resident managers. When Grant learned, in 1875, that several of his St. Louis friends were involved in the Whiskey Ring Scandal he lost his desire to retire at White Haven. After this time the property was leased by tenants who managed the property with little or no input from Grant.[7]

During the time of Grant's ownership, the site was operated as a farm where different crops were planted and livestock were kept. Grant's intent was to make this a retirement home where he could raise horses. To achieve this goal Grant had his tenants build a large barn, part of which remains on the site today, although not in its original location. It was also during this period that the railroad laid tracks adjacent to White Haven following an alignment recommend by President Grant. While the tracks and ties were removed in 1993,

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[3]Alan W. O'Bright and Kristen R. Marolf, *Draft Historic Structures Report* (St. Louis: National Park Service, Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site, 12 March 1993), 2.124.

[4] *Ibid.*, 3.1.

[5] *Ibid.*, 2.128-2.135.

[6]During the summer of 1991 a seasonal architectural technician, Linda Bullard, studied and later produced a draft landscape history for White Haven for the period 1820-1885. The paper and bibliography compiled by Bullard has been a valuable source of information regarding the nineteenth century White Haven landscape.

[7]LeRoy H. Fischer, "Grant's Letters to His Missouri Farm Tenants," *Agricultural History* 21 (1) (1947): 27.

the rail bed is still in place. Grant managed the property from Washington and elsewhere, ordering his tenants to build fences, build a horse barn, and plant various crops.[8] In most instances the letters to his tenants do not provide the kind of information that allows for an understanding of the precise locations of landscape features. Many of the changes that Grant had his tenants make may have occurred outside of the current boundaries of the historic site. Nor do Grant's letters to his tenants document the degree to which his wishes were actually implemented.

In 1885 Grant turned the property over to William H. Vanderbilt to settle some debts. What happened to the landscape until it was sold to Luther Conn in 1888 is unknown. During Conn's ownership there is no evidence that the landscape changed significantly. He used the site as a summer residence and had tenants take care of the farm.[9] In 1905 Conn sold the property. After he sold it, the property was owned by various land developers who in turn sold it to another developer in 1913, named Albert Wenzlick. During the part of the time that developers owned White Haven, the city used the site as a place to keep their garbage wagon mules.[10] The 28-year period between 1885 and 1913 is an era about which very little is known. This lack of knowledge does not mean that changes did not occur, but that if change occurred the nature of such change is unknown.

When Albert Wenzlick purchased White Haven he used the house as a summer residence between 1913 and 1937. The rest of the property was managed by the Davis family who farmed the land and raised livestock. During Albert Wenzlick's ownership, many changes occurred. The process of modifying the site continued when Albert's son, Delbert, acquired the property in 1937. The Davis family were active participants in making the changes to the site. Some of the changes they made were related to their farm operation, such as the mending and building of wire fences and the construction of a small dam on the Prairie Creek. Many of the other changes brought about by the Davis family, however, were done under the direction of the Wenzlicks.[11]

Many of the changes that the Davis family made resulted in significant changes to the landscape. The vegetation of the site was altered during this time. Numerous trees, shrubs and bulbs were added as ornamentation throughout the site. Ornamental flower gardens

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[8] *Ibid.*, 27-29.

[9]Hyde and Conrad, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis*, Vol. 1 (New York: Southern History Co., 1899), 466.

[10]Margerie Felice, granddaughter of Delbert Wenzlick to Kim Little (Former NPS Historian), 19 March 1986.

[11]Jim Davis, in conversation with author. Jim Davis lived at White Haven between 1913 to early 1940s, 12 April 1993.

were installed and then removed. Buildings were modified, constructed, and moved. Numerous topographic changes occurred. The creek was re-routed and a portion of it was run through a culvert. A drainage ditch was routed through a pipe and covered over. Utilities were added throughout the site.

A number of small scale features were added and then removed from the site while it was owned by the Wenzlicks. A corn crib, chicken coops, and a pig pen were all on the site and used at times by the Davis family. These were removed sometime in the late 1930's or early 1940's according to Jim Davis.[12] Exactly when these structures were built is unknown. Other features such as an arbor over the front walk, a barbecue pit, tennis court, and a horse shoe pit all were built and then removed.

The process of active change did not continue when Delbert Wenzlick's son Bill acquired the property in 1979. In 1986, the site became public property and was cared for by St. Louis County Historical Society. In 1990, the NPS became the owner of the property.

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[12] *Ibid.*

EVALUATION OF HISTORIC PERIODS

Definition of historic periods

In order to evaluate the findings regarding the historic landscape at White Haven, the history of the site's landscape has been divided into four periods. The periods were primarily defined on the basis of ownership and landscape change associated with a particular owner or group of owners during that period. This division is logical in terms of the changes made by each owner.

This approach does not correspond, however, with the period of significance documented in the National Register Nomination. The period of significance as defined in the nomination was the period that Grant was associated with the property, which was 1843-1885.[13] This time period spans both the era when Dent and then Grant owned the property. It is known that Grant had a significant impact on the White Haven landscape when he was the actual owner of the property. There is very little information which reveals what role, if any, Grant played in shaping the landscape when the property was owned by his father-in-law. Even so, the two periods of his association have been considered here as a single period that has been sub-divided. This allows for recognition of the change that occurred during Grant's association with White Haven without treating it as two completely separate and distinct periods.

Method of evaluation

In order to evaluate the landscape at White Haven for each historic period, five key issues have been considered. Where appropriate, these issues are examined using the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places, NPS-28, and the Draft Guidelines for the Management of Cultural Landscapes. The five key issues considered for each period are:

1. Historical significance of the landscape.

2. Number and integrity of extant features (Figure 11).

3. Documentation available; archeological, written, graphic and other sources of data.

4. Consistency with the established or potential key historic period(s) and themes of the property.

5. Functional and maintenance concerns.

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[13] Esley Hamilton, "White Haven," National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 3 April 1979, 8.

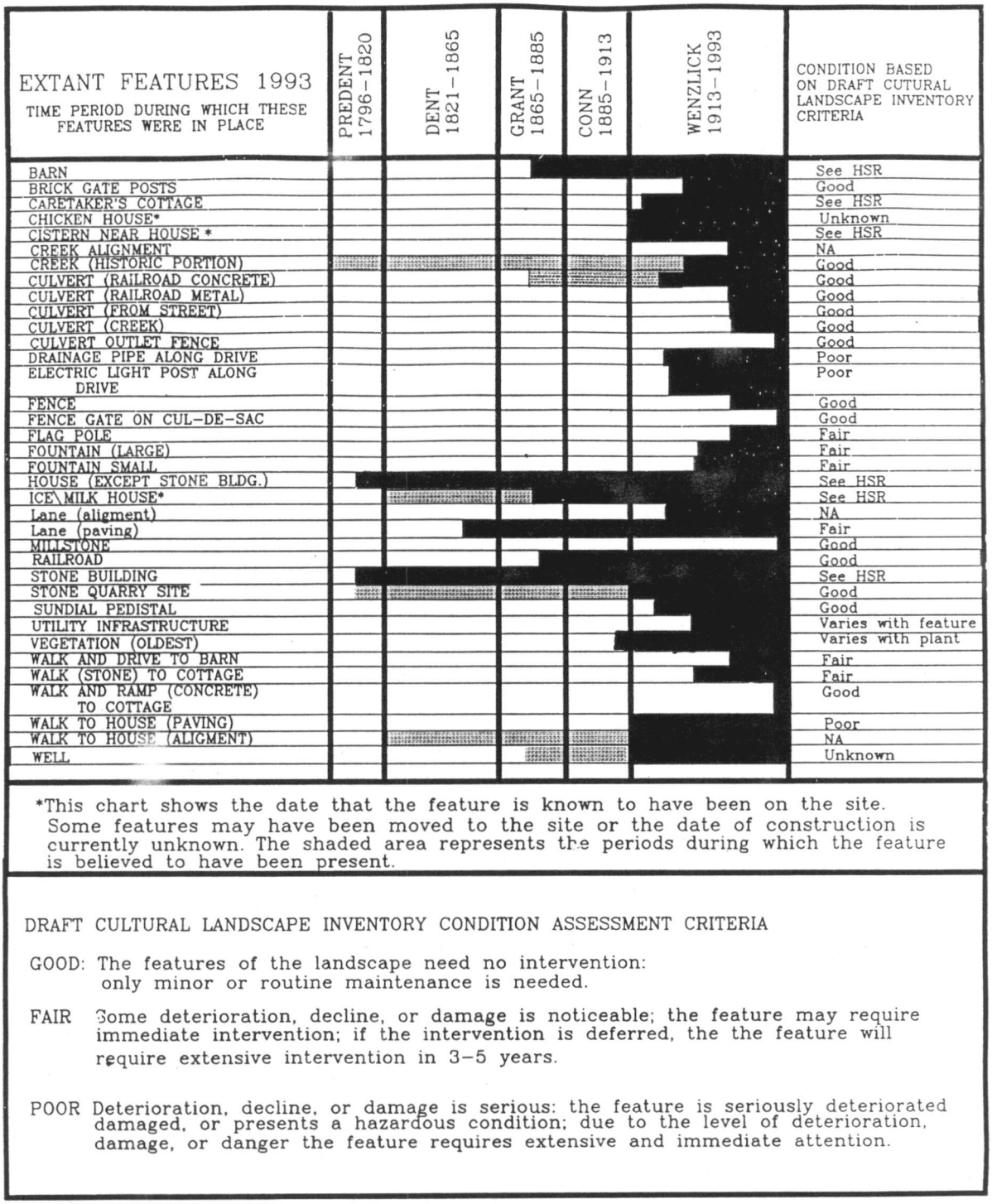


Figure 11: Extant features, 1993.[14]

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[14]Draft: *Cultural Landscapes Inventory (CLI) User Manual* (National Park Service, 1992), 14.

PRE-DENT PERIOD, 1796-1820

Issue one: Evaluation of the landscape's historical significance

This pre-Dent period represents the era in which the site came into private ownership as a Spanish land grant to Hugh Graham in 1796. The initial development of the site possibly began around this time with the construction of the cabins along the Gravois.[15] In 1818 the site was modified by the addition of a two story frame house by the owner, William L. Long. Between 1818 and 1821, a one story, two room addition was added to this structure by Theodore and Ann Hunt.[16]

The landscape during this period may have some significance in terms of the region's early settlement history. Most of the information about the landscape during this period comes from a letter Ann Lucus Hunt wrote to her father in 1818. While this letter provides a description of the farm, it does not give enough information to properly determine the significance or design of the landscape. Based on the information available, the landscape for the period cannot be considered significant on the basis the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places.

Issue two: Number and integrity of extant features (Figures 11 and 12)

In a letter Ann Hunt wrote to her father she describes the property as, "...having 50 acres of land...under good fence 10 acres of which is meadow, and a small crop of wheat in the ground; a new frame house...a new hewn log barn 20 feet by 20 with shelves all round...also several good log cabins. There is also a very fine spring near the house...." [17]

This description indicates what was located on the farm in 1818. Unfortunately, this letter does not provide details explaining the physical layout of the farm. What it does indicate is that the creeks and portions of the house are extant from this period. However, the integrity of these features has been compromised by the actions of later owners.

Topography

It can be assumed that the construction of the buildings listed in the Hunt letter caused some topographic changes if earth was excavated and was deposited in another location. Where such soil may have been placed is unknown.

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[15]Letter from Ann Hunt in St. Louis to her father in Washington D.C., 28 January 1818.

[16]O'Bright and Marolf, 2.124.

[17]Ann Lucus Hunt to her father, 28 January 1818.

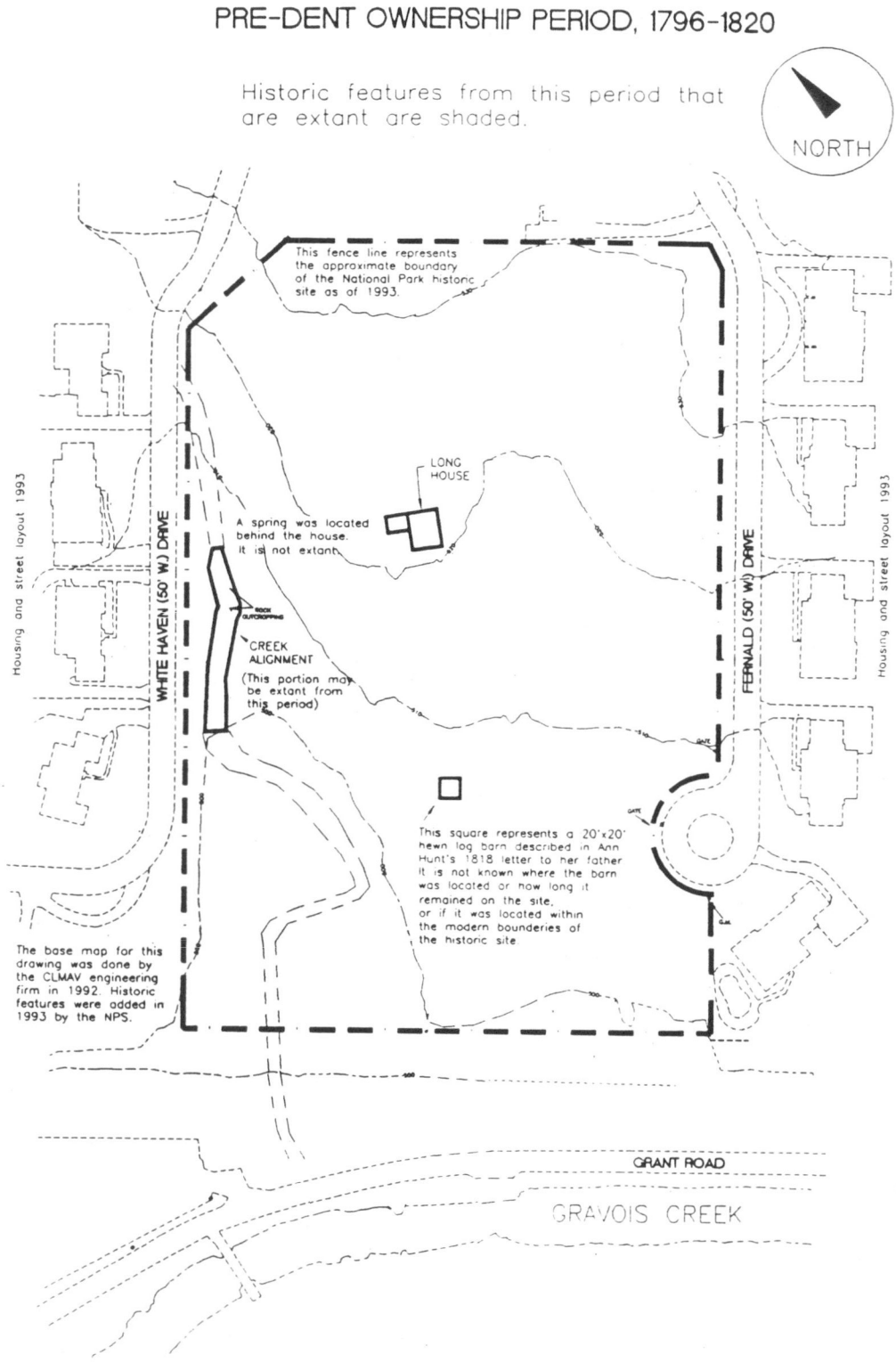


Figure 12: Map showing features extant from the pre-Dent ownership period, 1796-

Integrity

This site still has some integrity from this period in terms of location and association with the person who owned it. There is no evidence that the landscape features, apart from the buildings, have any integrity in terms of design, setting, materials, and feeling.

Issue three: Documentation available

There is no known graphic documentation of the site from this period. Records relating to the ownership of the property, the Hunt letter, and the research done for the Historic Structures Report (HSR) are the main sources of data for this period. These records provide very limited information on the development of the landscape.

Issue four: Consistency with the potential key historic period(s) and themes of the property

Interpretation of this period would not be consistent with an interpretation that focused on the later periods, such as the Grant era.

Issue five: Functional and maintenance concerns

Since so little is known about the landscape of this period, functional and maintenance concerns cannot be properly evaluated.

GRANT ASSOCIATION WITH WHITE HAVEN DURING DENT OWNERSHIP PERIOD, 1843-1865

Issue one: Evaluation of the landscape's historical significance

During this period the site was purchased by Frederick Dent and was operated as a farm with the use of slave labor. The changes Dent made to the landscape are not fully known. During this period the site acquired the name "White Haven." This was also the period during which Grant became associated with White Haven as a visitor and later as a resident son-in-law.

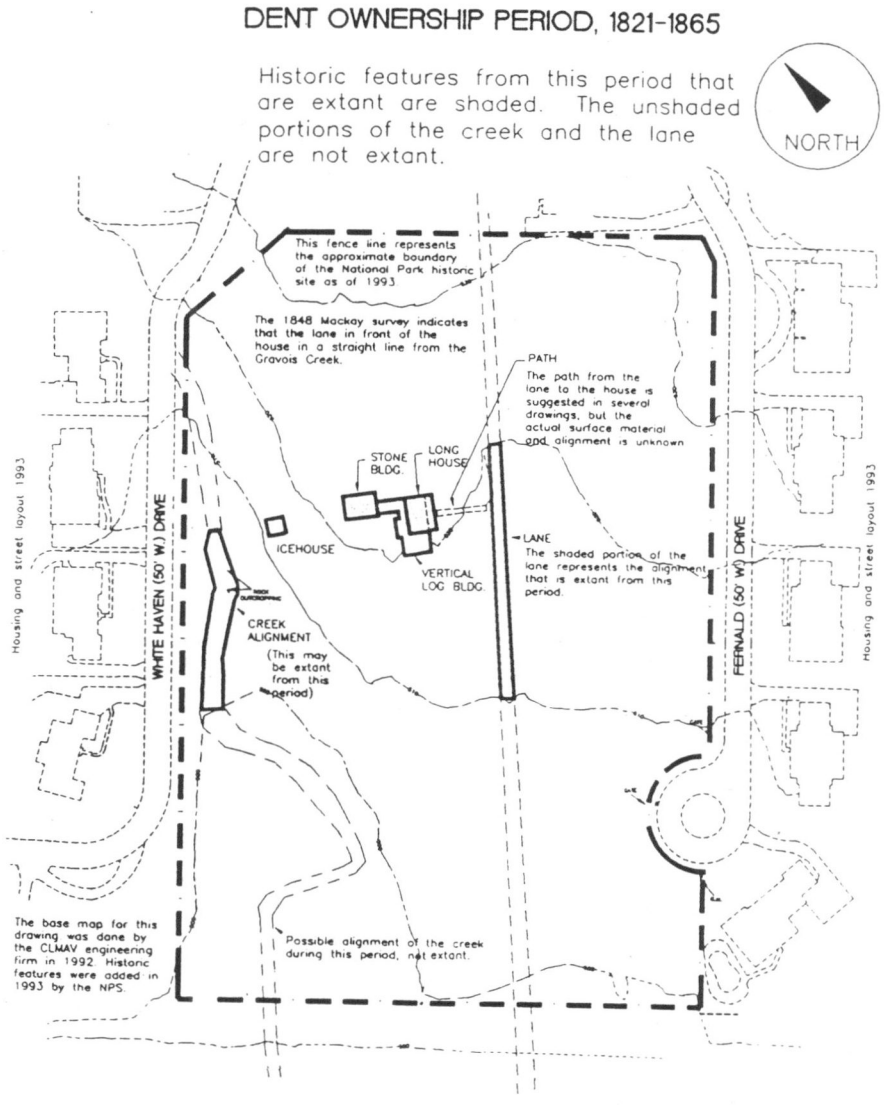


Figure 13: Map showing extant features from the Dent ownership period, 1821-1865

The significance of the landscape during this period is due primarily to its association with Grant and his wife Julia. Julia Dent was born in St. Louis, but grew up at White Haven. This was also the site where Grant met Julia and later proposed to her. Prior to the Civil War Grant lived at White Haven for a short time after their marriage. During part of the Civil War Grant's wife and children resided there.

Issue two: Number and integrity of extant features (Figures 11 and 13).

The only extant features which are known to have been a part of the White Haven Landscape during this period are the house, the stone building, the creek, the lane parallel to the front of the house, and a path from the lane to the front door of the house.

The conditions of the house and the stone building are detailed in the HSR. Both features were present when Grant was at the site. While the importance of the stone building during the period of Grant's association is not clear, this building and the house help contribute to the integrity of the overall landscape.

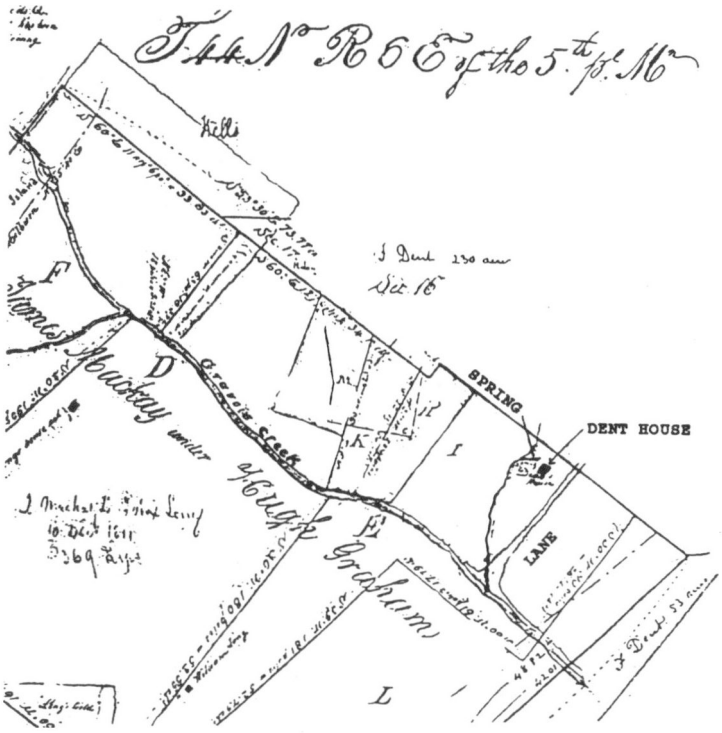


Figure 14: Detail of 1848 Mackay Survey of Quivre R. Tract. Labels identifying the house, the spring, and lane were added. (Source: Missouri Historical Society)

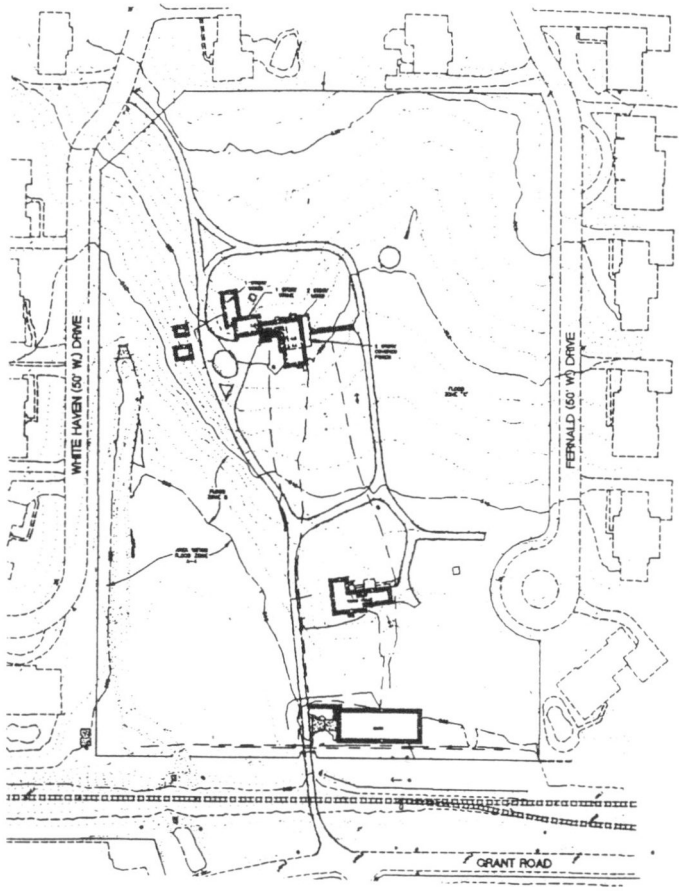


Figure 15: Existing alignment of the lane.

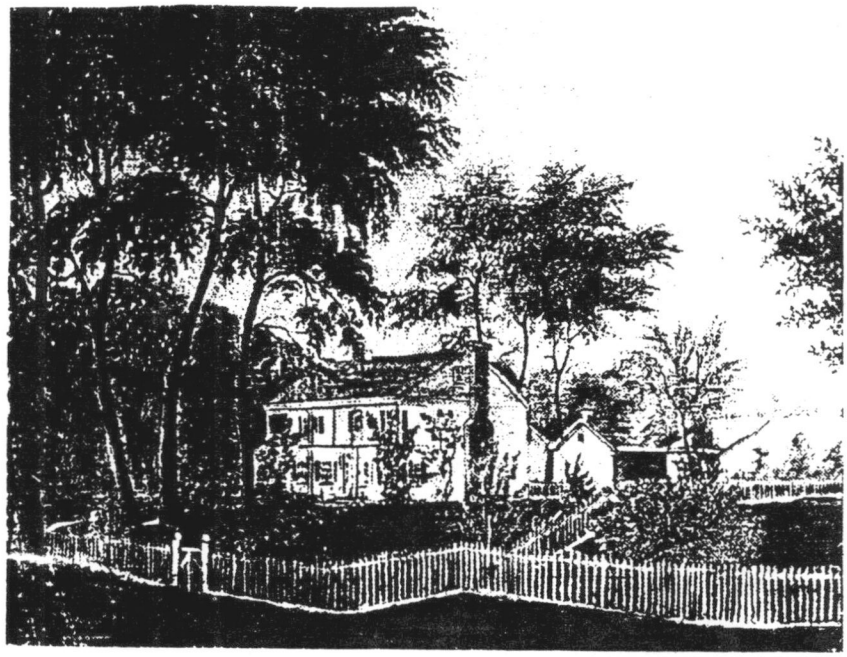


Figure 16: "White Haven, the house in which and where I was born-August 29, 1816." Photograph of album print of a painting done about 1840. (Source: Missouri Historical Society)

Topography

Little is known about specific changes that may have been made to the site's topography during this period. Gardening, removal of vegetation, erosion, circulation patterns, drainage systems (natural and constructed), and numerous other factors may have changed the site's topography. There is little clear evidence of when and where such changes may have occurred. This makes it difficult to determine if any topographic features are extant, and if they have any integrity. The one topographic change that could be tied to this period is found along the foundation of the stone building. The depth of the soil increased after its construction.[18]

Circulation-lane

The lane to the house as shown in the 1848 survey map appears to have a different alignment than that of the current lane (Figure 14). This may simply be an inaccuracy in this plat map. It is odd, however, that the lane today takes the turns that it does. The turns in the lane occurred possibly in response to an eroded ditch shown in the 1875 Leslie drawing (Figure 23). The current lane comes from Grant Road (contemporary name) at almost a right angle and then turns right and then left and then continues up past the house (Figure 16). The lane then circles the house and has an additional exit at the Northeastern corner of the site. The lane in the 1848 plat comes directly from Gravois Creek and continues past the house without any turns.

The turns in the contemporary lane represent a significant departure from the alignment shown in 1848 survey. If the 1848 survey is accurate, the alignment of the current lane has no integrity except for the small portion that parallels the front of the house. The current paving is not extant from this period, but there may be material under the present paving that is extant.

Circulation-Front walk and fences

The walk from the lane to the house appears in the painting of the Long House (Figure 16). The alignment of the path in the painting does not appear to follow the contemporary path. The current path is oriented at a right angle to the house. In the painting of the Long House, the gate does not appear to be aligned directly in front of the front door of the house. This would mean that the path would have been angled in some manner between the front of the house and the gate. If this is an accurate painting the alignment of the current path has little integrity.

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[18] *Ibid.*, 3.5.

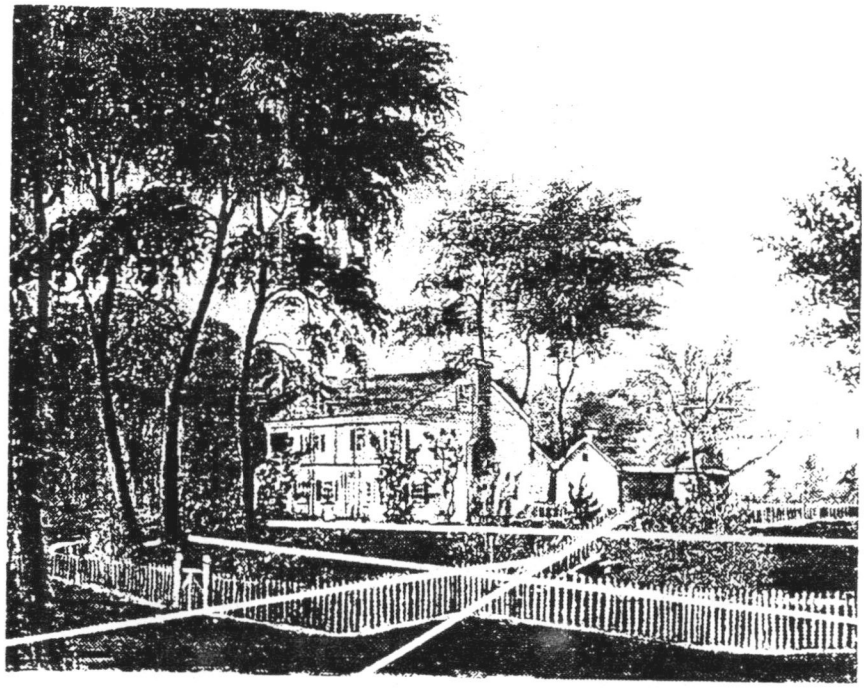


Figure 17: Same as Figure 16 except lines were added to show that the fence sections are not parallel to one another or to the front of the house. The gate has been drawn to the right of the front door.(see Figures 21 and 23)

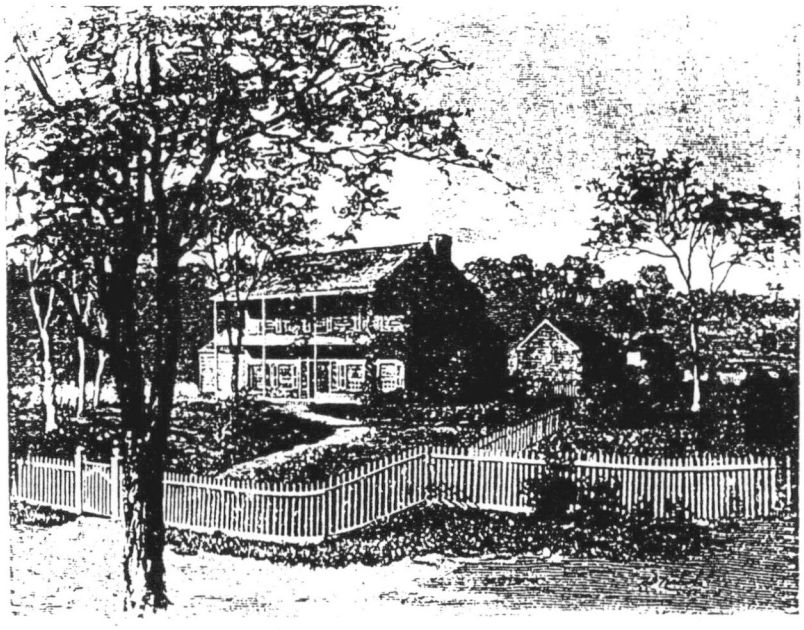


Figure 18: Painting of White Haven (undated) possibly a redrawing of the painting of the 1840 painting (see Figure 16). (Source: Missouri Historical Society)

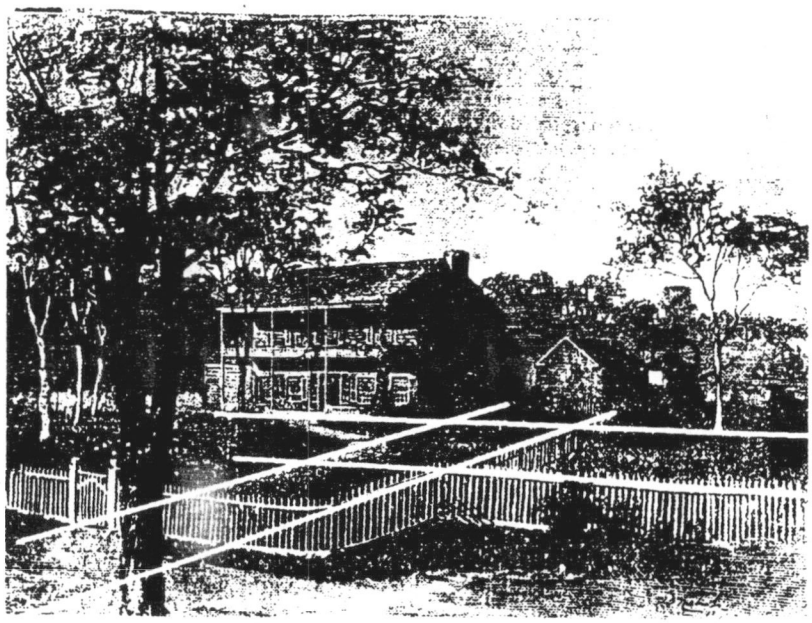


Figure 19: Same as Figure 18 except that lines have been added to show how the fences, the walk and house have been drawn to correct the graphic problems of Figure 19.

The accuracy of this painting, however, should not be taken for granted. The fence lines do not appear to run parallel to each other or to the house (Figure 16). In a drawing that appears to have been made from this painting, the path is laid out at a right angle to the fence with a curve to the left and then to the right at which point it straightens out until it reaches the front steps (Figure 18). The fence lines in this image run at right angles to each other and to the house. This suggests that the artist of this later work cleaned up the mistakes in the earlier image. While this image solves some of the graphic problems in the painting of the Long House, it cannot be taken as an accurate representation of the fence lines or of the alignment of the walk to the house (Figure 19).

It appears that only a portion of the contemporary walk alignment is extant from this period. The flag stones that exist today are not evident in any of the images from this period. This suggests that the current paving material has no integrity for this period.

Circulation-General

Circulation patterns throughout the site would have certainly existed in addition to the lane and the front walk. Many "informal" paths would have existed and been influenced by site features such as buildings, fields, privies, natural features, wells, fences, gates and

other features. As such features were lost, or new ones were added, the number of extant Dent-era circulation patterns would have been decreased. The later changes in the creek's alignment, the addition of the railroad, the Grant barn, the caretaker's cottage and the loss of much of the original site would have changed most of the circulation patterns that existed during this period. Consequently, the circulation system from this period has been lost for the site as a whole, as well as for the area around the house.

Structures-cistern and well

The dates when the cistern and well were constructed are unknown. This needs to be determined in order to evaluate if these features contribute to the overall integrity of the landscape for this period (Figure 20).

Vegetation

There is no evidence that any of the current vegetation on the site dates from this period. Tree coring has shown that none of the trees date from this period. It is likely that some of the current vegetation has descended from this period, but again there is no clear record indicating the placement of vegetation that is believed to have been present during the Dent/Grant era. Thus, the vegetation on the site today does not have any known integrity in terms of this period.

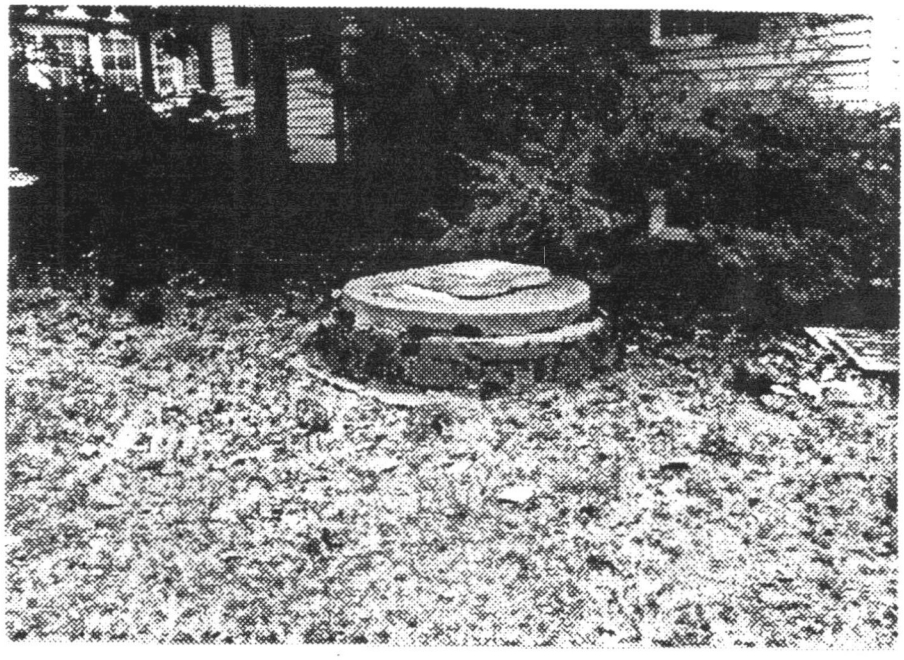


Figure 20: Cistern near house, this feature may date to mid nineteenth century. June 1993, Mark Weekley.

Water features-creek, and spring

While the Prairie Creek is an extant feature of this period, the twentieth century realignment and placement, or a portion of it, into a culvert greatly decreases the integrity of this feature (Figure 21). The 1848 plat shows the location of the spring. Since this feature is no longer present, the integrity of the landscape from this period has been decreased.

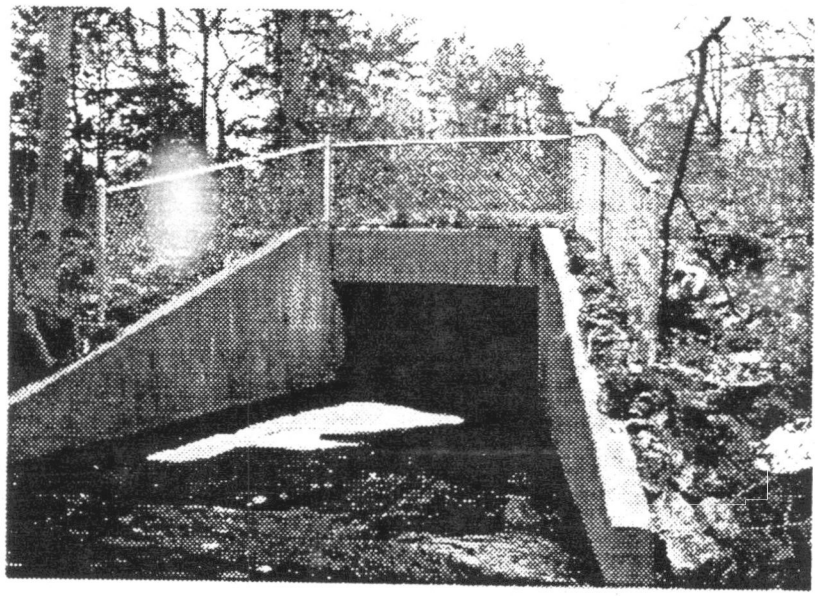


Figure 21: View of culvert outlet into which part of the Prairie Creek was diverted through in the 1960's. April 1993, Mark Weekley.

Spatial relationships

The organization and pattern of spaces in the Dent era landscape is largely unknown. While this was an agricultural landscape, the historic spatial patterns in the parcel managed by the NPS is only documented by the painting of the Long house. Given the fact that buildings such as barns, the spring house, privies and other features which were known to have been present at this time are not extant, the integrity of the site's spatial relationships impacted by these features has been lost. The integrity of spatial relationships has been further degraded by the loss of fences that are seen in period images and the fact that new fences now enclose a greatly reduced site. The addition of the 1872 barn, the chicken house, and caretaker's cottage further decreased the integrity of the period's extant spatial organization.

Surroundings/Setting

Even though the details of the site's surroundings are not well documented, it is known that it was an agricultural landscape. The setting of the extant portion of White Haven lacks integrity due to the loss of its context and many of its features.

Today, the houses and sounds of a sub-division have replaced the sights, sounds and smells of the agricultural landscape. This means that the integrity of feeling and setting has been lost for the landscape as a whole. While the current vegetation is not historically appropriate, it is useful to the extent that it helps screen out the intrusions of the current setting.

Issue Three: Amount of documentation available (especially graphic)

There are very few good sources of information regarding the White Haven landscape during this period. Three survey maps exist from 1848, 1854, and 1866. Field notes for the 1848 survey, provide general descriptions of the topography and vegetation. Undated survey field notes also exist which may be for the 1854 survey. General land plats from 1854 are available. An 1862 county atlas is also available, as is a map of St. Louis County roads between 1864 and 1872. The best image from this period is the photograph of the painting showing the Long House which was done circa 1840. Most of the sources that do exist fail to show more than only a small portion of the NPS site.

Written documentation

A notice that the site was for sale in 1846 provides a list of structures but little else.[19] Julia Dent Grant's memoirs provide a very general description of the White Haven site and the plants and animals (domestic and wild) that were present during her childhood. This description does not provide any answers as to where things were planted.[20]

A combination of magnetometry and soil resistivity data was gathered in June 1992 in an effort to find evidence of cultural resources that might be present in areas being considered for future development. The analysis of this information has not been completed at this time.

Issue four: Consistency with the potential key historic period(s) and themes of the property

This period would be consistent with historic themes that emphasized the life of Julia Dent and Ulysses S. Grant. This period should be considered in conjunction with the Grant ownership period in order to remain consistent with the period of significance as documented in the National Register nomination for the site.

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[19]"Improved and Unimproved Land for Sale," *Missouri Republican*, 5 August 1846.

[20]Julia Dent Grant, *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant, (Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant)* ed. John Y. Simon (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 33.

Issue five: Functional and maintenance concerns

Given the fact that very little is known about the landscape for this period plus the fact that the agricultural landscape from this period has been lost, basic functional and maintenance concerns for the landscape cannot be assessed. Until the GMP defines a period of significance and a treatment for the landscape, resources from this period should be preserved.

Grant ownership era, 1865-1885

Issue one: Historical significance of the landscape

This era represents a period when Grant owned White Haven and landscape changes occurred as a direct result of his actions. While Grant did not live at the site during this period, he ordered changes through resident managers. His association with the site gives it its historical significance.

The changes that occurred due to Grant's direct orders were the last historically significant changes. The key changes Grant implemented included the construction of outbuildings, fences, the planting of crops and a vineyard.

Issue two: Number, condition and quality of extant features (Figures 11 and 22).

The extant features from this period are the house, the barn, the creek (but not its alignment), the ice house, the rail line, at least a portion of the lane from Grant Road to the house, and a portion of the walk to the house. The well and cistern also may date to this period. An article written in 1873 states that the property contained, "...a fine well and cistern..."[21] The location of these features is not provided in this article. Additional research on these resources may provide more information about when they were built.

Topography

The main source of information concerning the topography during this period is the 1875 engraving in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (Figure 23). While this engraving can serve as a guide to past topographic forms, it must be remembered that the artist's goals were not necessarily to capture the topography and landscape in an accurate fashion. The etching was in fact created from a drawing. This means that another artist may have had an opportunity to embellish the final product. The emphasis of the image seems to have been on the buildings. The barn appears to have been drawn accurately. Whenever trees are shown in front of buildings, however, they are drawn with few limbs in order to allow the buildings to be seen. Two additional drawings which accompanied this one emphasized buildings only. When this was drawn Grant was the President of the United States. The artist certainly could have been tempted to make the landscape of White Haven appear more stately and orderly than it was in reality.

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[21]"President Grant's Farm: Destruction of Residence by Fire," *Missouri Republican*, 22 February 1873, 4.

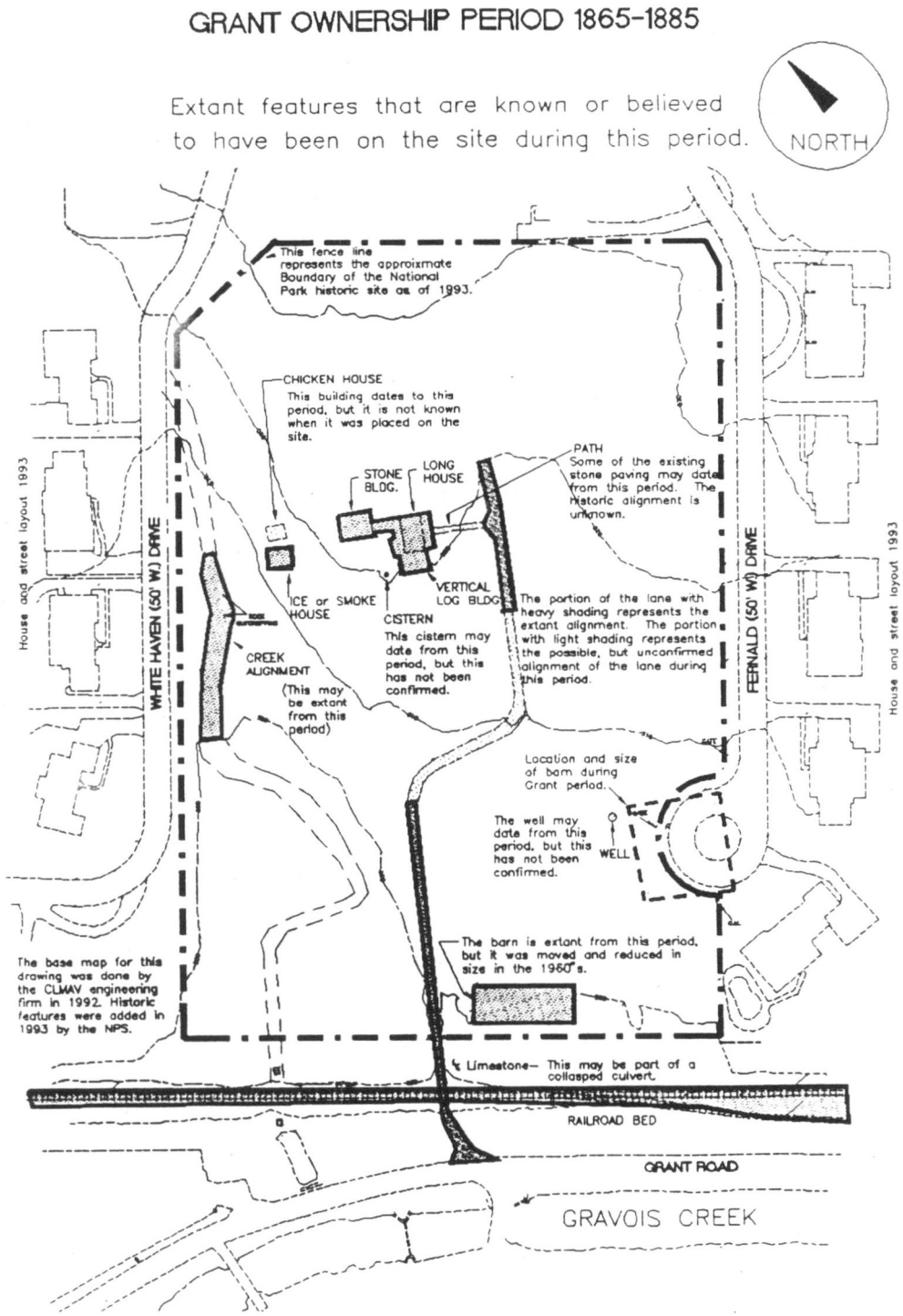


Figure 22: Map showing extant features from the Grant ownership era.

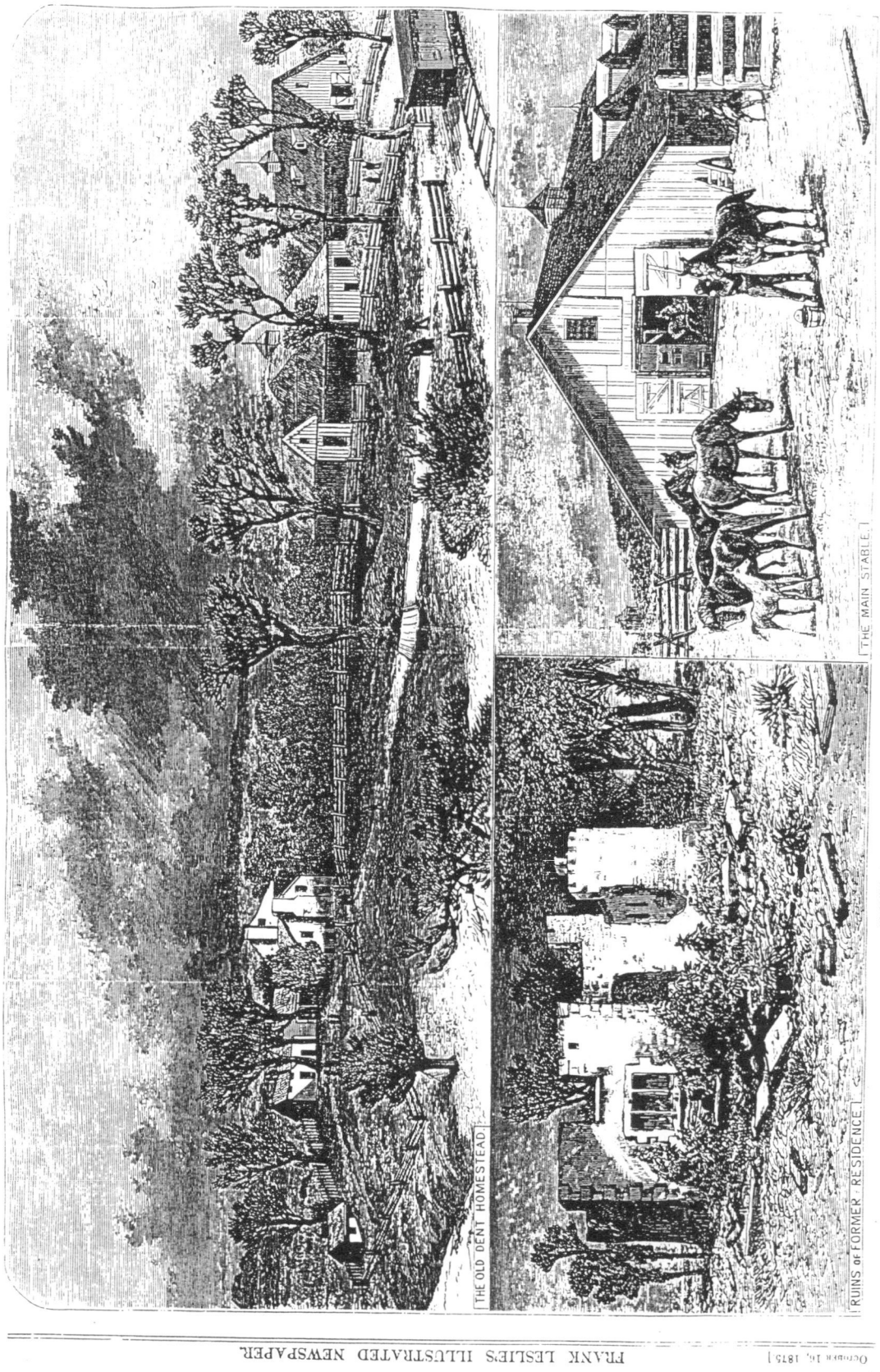


Figure 23: Engraving done from a sketch by William Staengel in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 16 October 1875.

This drawing has a number of graphic problems that make its accuracy highly suspect. Not only do the trees have few limbs, they are drawn in very similar, stylized manner. This generic way of drawing trees suggests that the drawing does not reflect an accurate representation of the vegetation, but rather an artistic convention. The perspective is not accurate. The vantage point that this was drawn from must have been very high since the top of the box car is visible. The tracks curve oddly in a direction that they did not go. The fence line which is parallel to the end of the house becomes parallel to the barns even though it is not shown to turn or bend at any point. The artistic nature of this drawing means that it cannot be assumed that it is an accurate representation of the White Haven landscape in 1875.

While the accuracy of this drawing is highly suspect, the current topography clearly differs from the one illustrated. The illustration shows a drainage ditch that runs under the lane leading to the house. A ditch in a similar location was routed through a culvert in the 1920's. The railroad does not appear to be built up above the surrounding topography, but this is not entirely clear. The portion of the creek that is shown appears to have had been more of an eroded gully than a creek.

Integrity

The changed alignment of the creek, the use of culverts in the drainage ditch and the addition of the twentieth century caretaker's cottage has changed the topography which had existed at this time. The topography which is extant from this period has lost a great deal of integrity in terms of its form.

The question of whether or not the railroad was historically as high as it is today is also important. The current height of the railroad bed greatly limits access to the site and views into or out of the site. If the bed was historically as high as it is today then this feature adds integrity to the site's landscape. The removal of the tracks and ties in 1993 slightly decreased the integrity of this feature.

Efforts to document the historic elevation of the railroad bed, to date, have not been successful. There is, however, circumstantial evidence that the railroad bed has not been raised significantly since 1872 when it was installed. Jim Davis, who lived on the site between 1913 and the mid-1940's, did not recall any work ever being done on the railroad that increased the height of the railroad bed.[22] More importantly, the lowest topographic elevation that the railroad crosses on the historic portion of Grant's property is at the creek near the entrance to White Haven. The topography that the railroad crosses northwest of the White Haven entrance has clearly been cut down to allow the tracks to remain at a

[22]Jim Davis, conversation with author, April 1993.

constant grade. The topography that the railroad crosses to the southeast of the White Haven entrance is essentially level with the grade of the tracks. The general practice in constructing railroads would have been to maintain as level a grade as possible with only gradual grade changes. This can be achieved by cutting high points and by bridging over or building up low points. On the historic White Haven property, the lowest spot the tracks crossed was located adjacent to the current entrance of White Haven, near Prairie Creek (Figure 24). This suggests that the elevation of the bed was built up when the railroad bed was first constructed, and was not raised after that time.

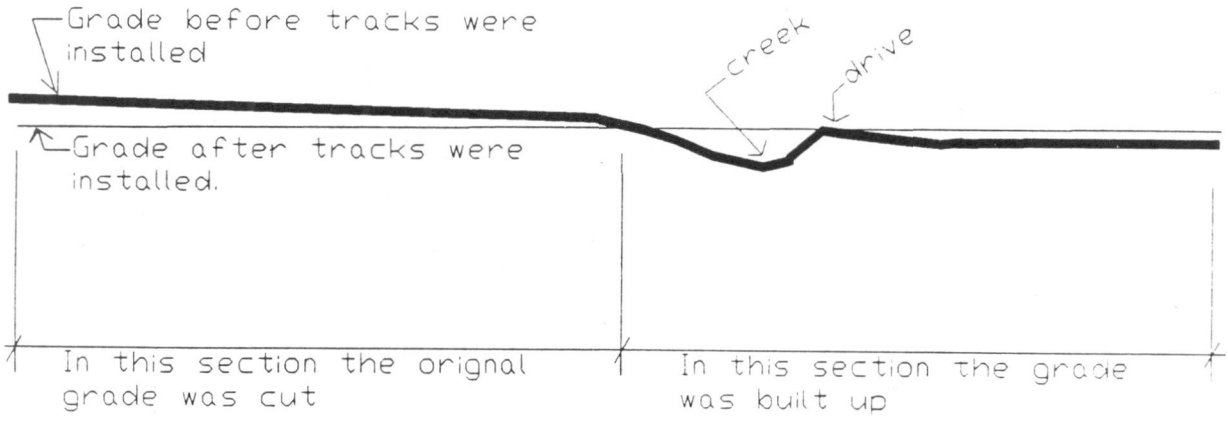


Figure 24: Approximate section of railroad in relationship to the topography. No scale.

Circulation

The 1875 image (Figure 23) shows little about circulation patterns. An opening in the fence leading to the barns shows that this was one pathway that has not been documented in the earlier periods. The cluster of three barns on the right side of the image indicates that circulation patterns would have existed between these buildings. The exact nature of such patterns cannot be determined from this picture.

Using this image as a guide, the only extant circulation patterns would be the portion of the lane from the railroad to the fence. The 1875 image shows the lane to the house passing through an opening in a fence. It is logical that the lane turns right after it passes through this fence (Figure 23). Most likely the lane continued up towards the house, but its route may or may not have been the same as the route the lane follows today. Where the lane ended near the house, or if it ended, needs to be determined. It also needs to be determined if there was any kind of carriage turnaround near the house. Archeological investigations may be helpful in answering these questions.

Most of the circulation patterns that presumably existed during the Grant period have been lost, with the possible exception of the lane. Certainly, all of the circulation patterns associated with the barns have been lost with their destruction or relocation. The circulation patterns associated with the house, the spring house (if it was present at this time), and the ice house are difficult to assess, given the fact that so many of the historic features from the Grant era are gone. The changing uses of the existing features altered the circulation patterns associated with them.

The walk to the front of the house is suggested in an image in Albert Richardson's 1868 history (Figure 26).[23] A very similar image also appears in Herman Dieck's 1885 history (Figure 27).[24] These images seem to indicate that the front gate is aligned in front, slightly to the left of the main entrance. This position of the gate is also shown in an 1885 engraving in the *St. Louis Republican* (Figure 28). If these images are correct they indicate that the alignment of the front walk changed sometime after 1840 (Figure 18). This, in turn, indicates that the current alignment of the walk is the same as it was during the Grant ownership period. None of these images shows a paved walk. In terms of alignment, however, the current walk appears to retain integrity from this period.

The change of the surrounding agricultural landscape to an urban residential setting may also have altered the circulation of the core of the White Haven site in relation to the surrounding area. Today the site is surrounded by a fence which directs access to specific points. The integrity of the circulation patterns from this period have been greatly diminished due to the changes that have occurred since this time.

Buildings

All of the buildings have been altered to some extent. These changes are explained in the HSR. Even so, conditions of the buildings contribute to the overall integrity of the landscape. In terms of the landscape, the barn is a particularly significant surviving feature of this period because it is the only extant feature that was constructed as a direct result of Grant's actions. Since the barn was moved and downsized after this period, however, it does not contribute significantly to the integrity of the site for the historic period. In fact, the barn in its present location decreases the integrity of the site in terms of circulation and spatial organization.

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[23]Albert D. Richardson, *A Personal History of Ulysses S. Grant* (Hartford, Connecticut: Sherwood: San Francisco: R. J. Trumball and Co., 1868, 1869).

[24]Herman Dieck, *The Most Complete and Authentic History of the Life and Public Services of General U. S. Grant* (Chicago: B. F. Jones and Co. 1885).

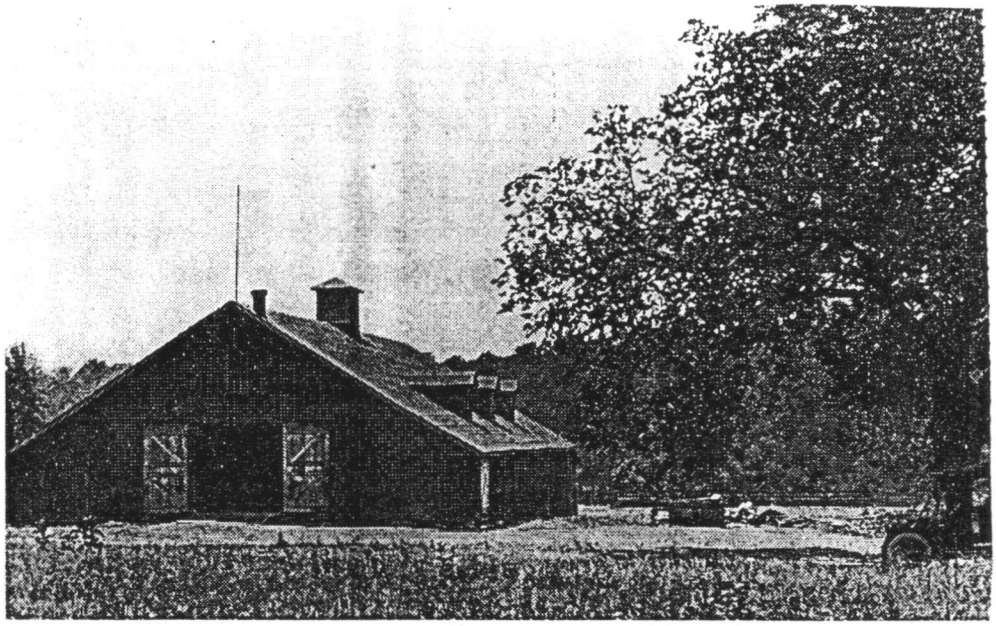


Figure 25: This photograph taken in the early twentieth century shows the barn that Grant ordered his tenants to build. In this picture the barn was still in the location in which it had been built. Note that the appearance of the barn was very similar at this time to the picture drawn in 1875 (see Figure 23). (Source: St. Louis Mercantile Library)

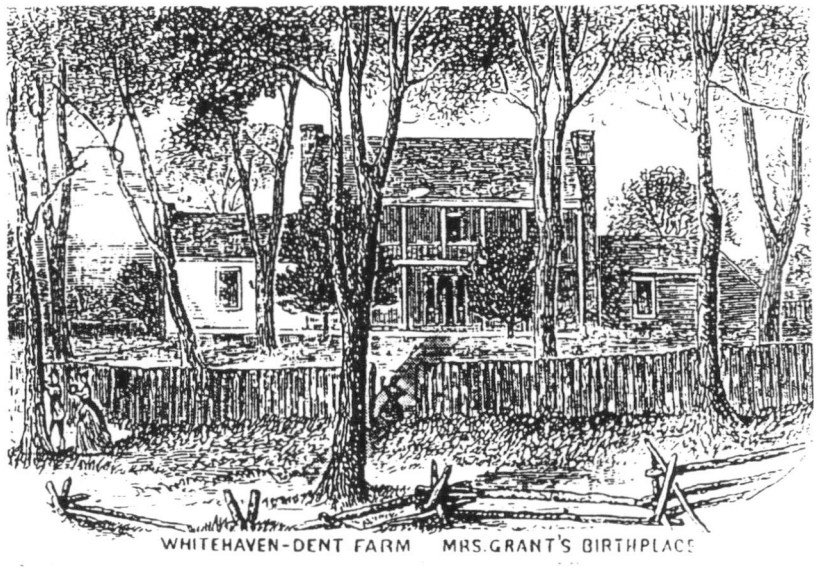


Figure 26: "White Haven-Dent Farm, Mrs. Grant's Birthplace." Portion of engraving from Albert D. Richardson's book, *A Personal History of U. S. Grant*, 1868. (Source: Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site Collection)

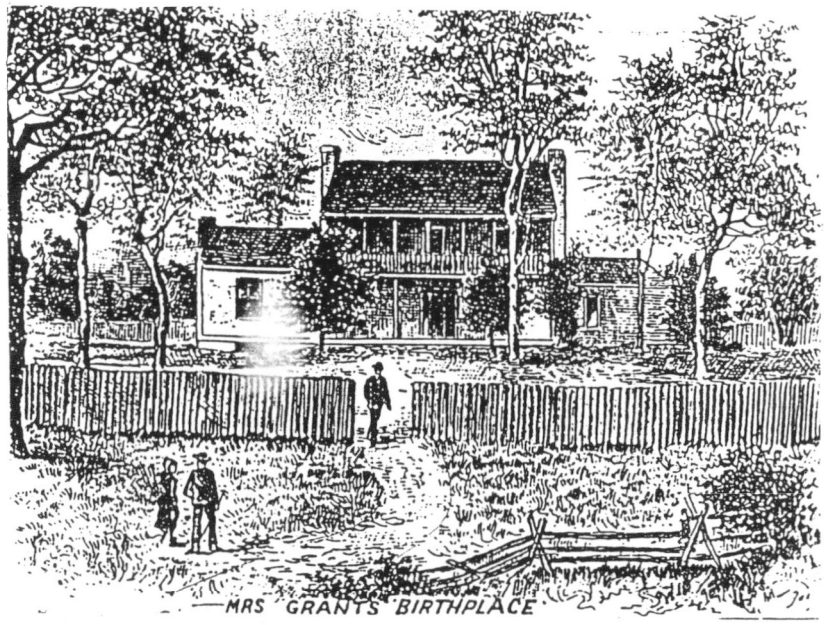


Figure 27: "Residence of Captain and Mrs. Grant in and about St. Louis." This engraving was located in Herman Dieck's, *The Most Complete and Authentic History of the Life and Public Service of General Ulysses S. Grant*, 1885. (Source: Missouri Historical Society Collection)

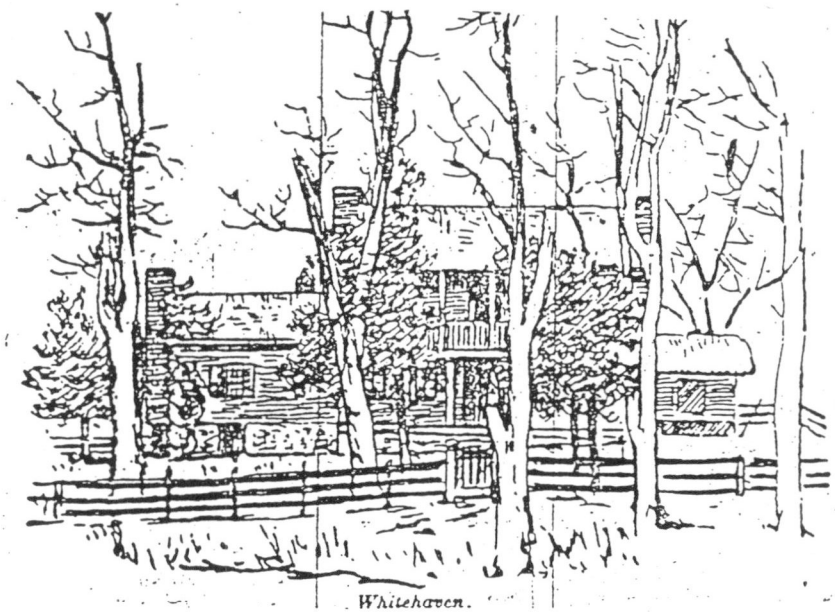


Figure 28: "White Haven." Engraving in the *St. Louis Republican*, 24 July 1885. (Source: Missouri Historical Society Collection)

Vegetation

There is no evidence of any extant vegetation from this period. While some of the herbaceous and woody plant material may have descended from this period, this cannot be documented. Tree coring done in 1993 has shown that none of the trees currently on the site are from this historic period.

The rumor that Grant planted trees at White Haven which were received as gifts on his world tour has never been verified. A newspaper article which discuses the gifts that Grant received on his world tour makes no mention of any trees.[25] If he did receive any trees as gifts, they either were never planted at White Haven or they no longer survive.

In 1986, a disk was cut from a Linden tree which had fallen over. This disk was examined by Osmund Overby of the Department of Art/History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia. While this disk came from one of the trees rumored to have been one of the gift trees, Overby's conclusion was that the tree was only about 78 years old. Overby did note that the tree had two centers which, "... could well be caused by a couple of sprouts starting and then growing together."[26] This suggests that this tree could have grown from the stump of an older tree. However, with no evidence that there were ever any gift trees, there is no reason to assume that this Linden was the descendant of an original gift tree.

Water features

See "water features" in the section pertaining to the Dent-era landscape.

Spatial relationships

The spatial relationships associated with the Grant-era landscape have essentially been lost with the loss of many of the features that defined spaces at that time. In a limited sense the cluster formed by the house, the stone building, and the icehouse still functions as a spatially cohesive unit. This "unit" does not, however, have the relationship with the other parts of the White Haven landscape that previously existed such as the cluster of buildings associated with the barn. The relocation of the horse barn, the loss of the chicken coop and cow barn, and adjacent field patterns means that the cluster of buildings near the house exists without the larger context that helped give it definition as a cluster. The relocation and loss of site features has greatly changed the spatial relationships that helped give this

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[25]*Missouri Republican*, "Grant's Farm Sold," 22 June 1888.

[26]Letter from Osmund Overby, University of Missouri-Columbia, Department of Art/History to Virginia Stith, Director of Historic Sites and Preservation, St. Louis County Department of Parks and Recreation, 11 September 1986.

farm its feeling and character that it would have had in this historic period.

The significant increase in vegetation since the Grant-era landscape has also changed the spatial relationships. The images from the Grant period suggest that the vegetation was denser around the house than elsewhere on the landscape. Today the vegetation is heavy across the entire site. Heavy brush along the creek up to the icehouse creates a particularly heavy mass that greatly changes the spatial characteristics from those depicted in the images of the Grant period.

Surroundings/Setting

See "Surroundings/Setting" in section on Dent-era landscape.

Issue three: Amount of documentation available (especially graphic)

Several sources of information are available from this period. These include Grant's letters to his tenants, newspaper articles, and several images.

Images and articles:

Richardson, Albert. *A Personal History of Ulysses S. Grant*. Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1868.

Dieck, Herman. *The Most Complete and Authentic History of the Life and Public Service of General U. S. Grant*. Chicago: B. F. Jones and Co., 1885).

Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. 1875.

Every Saturday: An Illustrated Journal. 1872.

1870 road map (image only)

1883 Photograph of Leis family on porch of White Haven

Photo of the front of the house which may be circa 1860's

St. Louis Republican. 24 July 1885

Missouri Republican. 1873.

Grant, Julia Dent. *The Personal Memoirs of Julia Dent Grant*. ed. John Simon. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975.

Fischer, Leroy. "Grant's Letters to His Missouri Farm Tenants," *Agricultural History*, 21, (1) (1947).

The most important of these images, other than the Leslie print, are the graphics and the possibly, circa 1860's photograph which show the front of White Haven. It seems clear that a degree of artistic license was practiced in at least some images which are drawings. The fences which are shown in the Richardson print of 1868 and Dieck print of 1885 are both constructed from tightly fitted vertical board fences (Figures 26 and 27). The image printed in *Every Saturday*, circa 1872, shows a picket fence in the yard near the house (Figure 29). Another image printed in the *St. Louis Republican in* 1885 shows a rail fence (Figure 28). The result is that the available evidence gives contradictory information pertaining to fence styles. The images do not make it clear if the lane parallel to the front of the house was in front of these fences or behind them. The Richardson and Dieck prints also show a rail fence with cross posts in front of the vertical board fence. It may be that the lane to the house ran between these two fences. Evidence provided in the drawings alone makes it very hard to restore a fence without an unacceptable level of conjecture as to style and location.

The photograph that is believed to be circa 1860s may help answer a few questions regarding the style of fence that would have been in place during this time (Figure 30). The date of the photograph, however, has not been confirmed. None of the other graphics prior to 1875 show a fence of this type near the house. This suggests that the photograph may in fact have been taken during the Conn ownership period or towards the very end of Grant's association with the property. If the date of this document is, in fact, verified to be from a period when Grant was associated with White Haven, it might then be possible to use it to determine the location of at least the portion of the fence line visible in this photo.

A photograph taken in 1913 shows a section of fence on the northeast side of the house with a style that is the same as the one in the circa 1860's photograph. It is extremely doubtful that a fence from 1860 could last 53 years until 1913 in the humid climate of eastern Missouri. Consequently, either the circa 1860's photograph is from a more recent period, or the fence in the 1913 photograph is not part of the one shown in the earlier photograph. It is possible that the fence in the 1913 photograph represents a portion of a rebuilt fence in the circa 1860's photograph. If an effort was made to rebuild the fence, then the question arises as to whether or not it was rebuilt in its original location. Such conjecture, while interesting, makes it clear that there are many questions regarding the fence around the house which must be answered before restoration can be considered.

All of the images for this period provide confusing and contradictory information about the vegetation in the front yard. None of images is drawn in such a fashion that the genus and species can be identified with any degree of certainty. The photograph (if it is from this period) might be used to identify the location and genus and species of a few trees, but overall, it provides very little information regarding the vegetation from this time. With the exception of the engraving in *Every Saturday*, all of the images show some type of tree with a conical form on either side of the front door. The photograph does not show the front of the house clearly enough to determine if there were conical trees here. Other than

these conical trees, no other trees appear in the same form and location in the different images. The most that can be inferred from these images is that there were a number of deciduous trees in the area around the house.

Issue four: Consistency with the potential key historic period(s) and themes of the property.

The strong association that Grant had with this site and his direct involvement in ordering specific changes (crop selection, fencing, construction of the horse barn, alignment of the railway, etc.) makes this period highly significant and consistent with themes that emphasize Grant's post-Civil War life.

Issue five: Functional and maintenance concerns

These concerns can only be fully addressed when more complete management and interpretive goals have been established, but any re-creation of the historic landscape would pose several difficulties. The lack of paved surfaces would make accessibility difficult for many people. The removal of the vegetation on the site would make all of the surrounding twentieth century houses so visible that the site would have a very strong feeling of being in

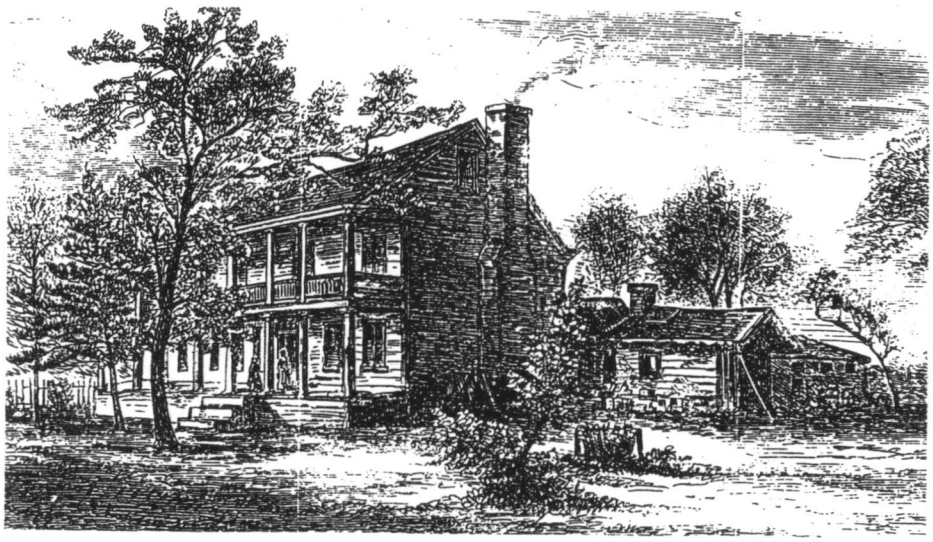


Figure 29: Black and white photograph of colored engraving in *Every Saturday*, circa 1872. (Source: State Historical Society of Missouri)

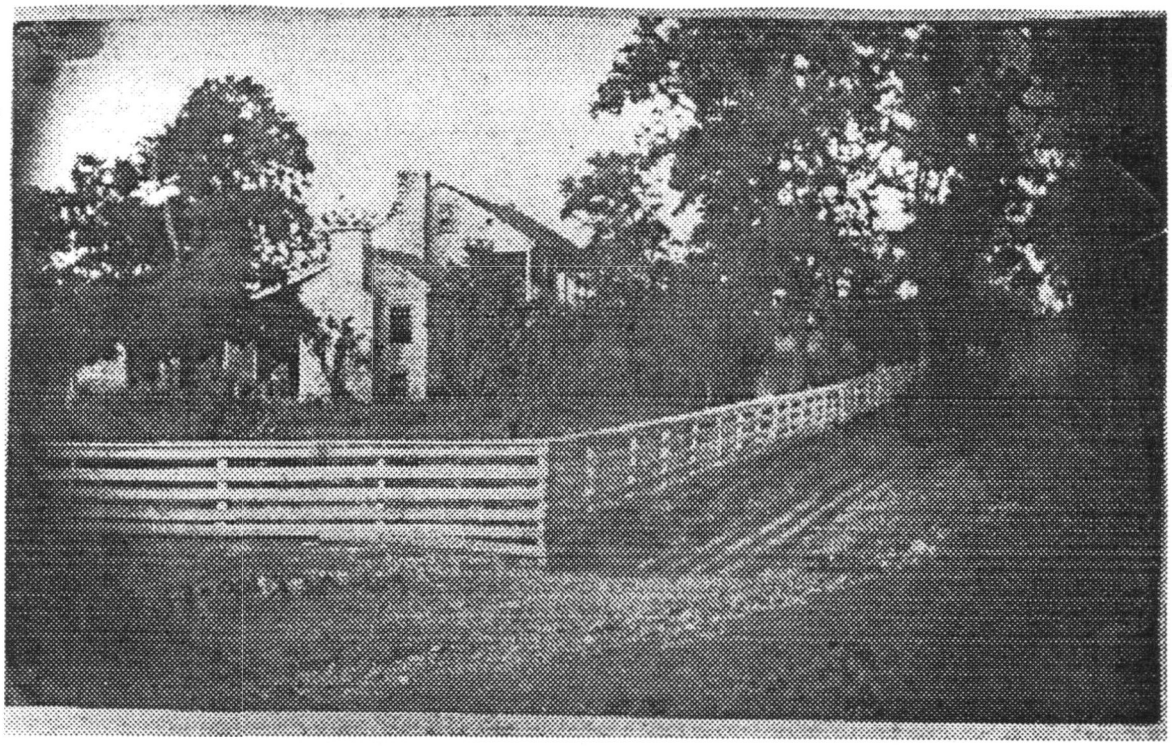


Figure 30: Photograph of White Haven taken sometime between the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. (Source: Ulysses S. Grant Historic Site collection)

suburbia. The plants which provided the historic ground cover are not known. The current ground cover, which is a mix of over 40 flowers and grasses, may in fact be more representative of the historic ground cover than a mono-culture lawn. Consequently, any efforts to "upgrade" the ground cover to suit contemporary aesthetics, or to create a grass lawn would be highly speculative and at odds with NPS management policy. Until additional information is available the current lawn should be maintained as it is to prevent erosion near the creek and throughout the site as a whole.

The current entrance across the railroad tracks is a hazard. Efforts to lower the elevation of the railroad bed and to widen the lane entering the property to two lanes would make the entrance safer and more functional if this is to be used as a vehicular access for visitors and large emergency vehicles. Even though these actions would further damage the integrity of the site's landscape, safety issues should be given first consideration.

Conn-era, 1885-1913 (Including ownership by Vanderbilt, Conn, Hughes/St Louis Development Corporation)

Issue one: Historical significance of the landscape

In 1885 Grant ended his association with White Haven. Between 1885 and 1913 five different owners held the White Haven site. Very little change to the landscape is known to have occurred during this time. The greatest significance of this period may be that Luther Conn, the owner between 1888 and 1905, named the White Haven site Grantwood. This suggests that Conn viewed the property as a memorial to Grant.

Conn acquired the property several years after the end of the Civil War. He fought in the war as a Confederate, earning the rank of Captain. During most of the war he was in various prison camps. He was released in a prisoner exchange in 1864. In 1865 he was part of the command that served as a special escort for Jefferson Davis on his retreat into Georgia. While in the St. Louis area, during the late 19th century, Conn was a successful businessman. He also worked to promote the establishment of Forest Park in St. Louis and was the commissioner of Lafayette Park for many years. [27]

While Conn was a prominent figure locally, his significance is not comparable to Grant's national prominence and historical significance. For this reason, apparently, Conn's association with White Haven has not been considered significant in terms of the National Register of Historic Places nomination process.

Conn sold the property in 1905 to the J. G. Hughes Land Development Company. In 1906 the Grant Park Land Company acquired the property, and held it until selling it in 1913 to Albert Wenzlick, the president of a realty and investment company.

Issue two: Number, condition and quality of extant features (Figures 11 and 31).

While it is believed that this was a period of little change, little is really known. Luther Conn operated the site as a horse ranch. Given the fact that this was the purpose for which Grant was developing the site, it is possible that Conn did not have to make many modifications. He did, however, own the property for seventeen years. During this period it seems likely that Conn would certainly have left his imprint on the landscape. The changes that occurred during this period are not known.

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[27]Hyde and Conrad, *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (New York: Southern History Co., 1899), 466.

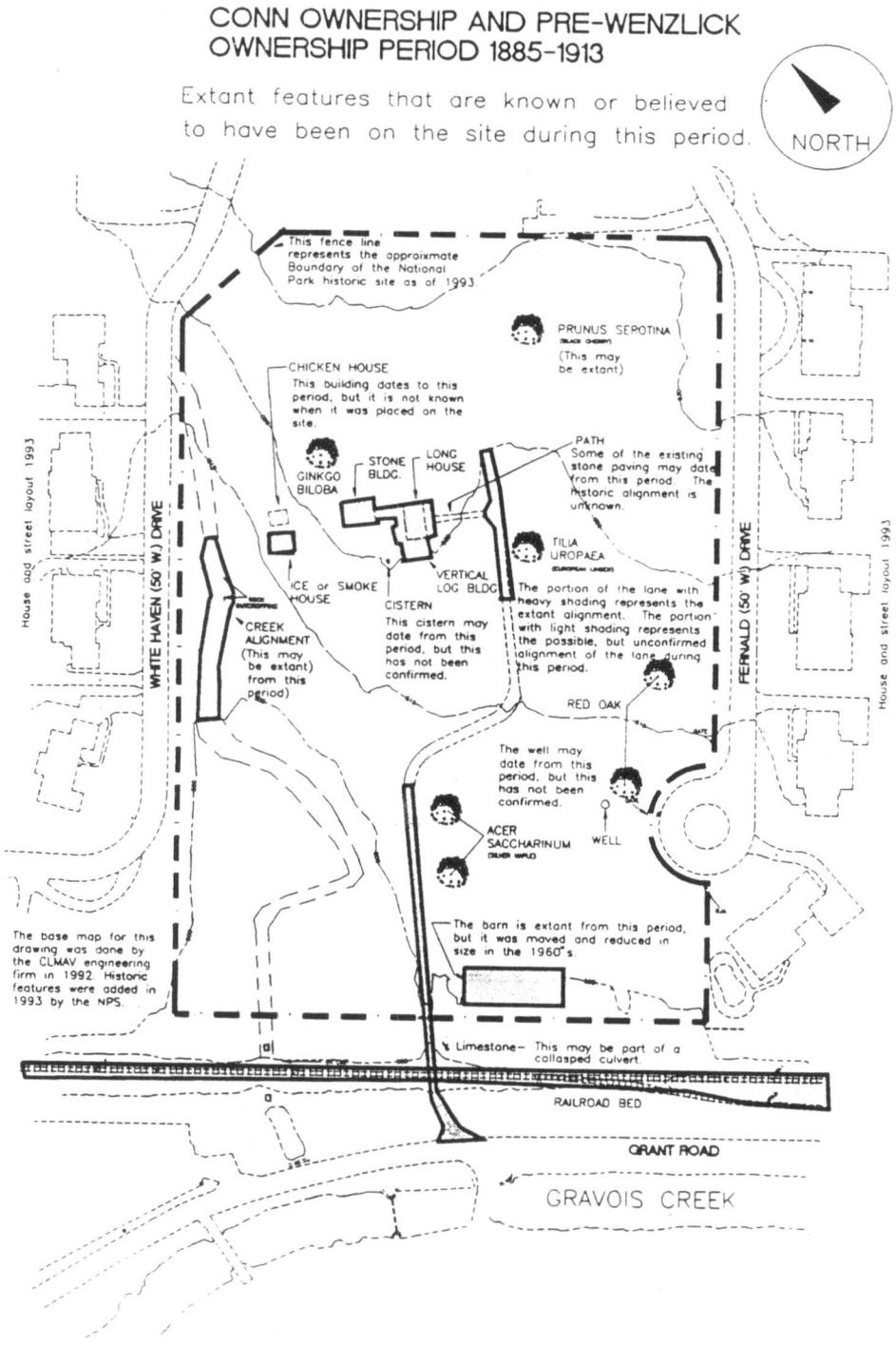


Figure 31: Map showing the extant features from the Conn-era.

After Conn sold the property, little is known about the site until the Wenzlicks acquired the property. When the Wenzlicks first purchased the site, "...the ground was pockmarked from the hoofs of the city's garbage-wagon mules being pastured there."[28] The pasturing of the mules would have contributed to erosion that would have altered the site's topography to some degree. The mules also would have damaged the vegetation on the site. There are three or four trees on the site that are extant from this period.

One photograph has been found from this period which shows the front of the house (Figure 32). A number of plants can be seen, but none of these exists today. The image does show a portion of a walk running from the front step towards the lane. Unfortunately, only a small portion of the lane can be seen in this picture. It cannot be determined from this image how the walk is aligned, although the walk appears to have been paved with stone.

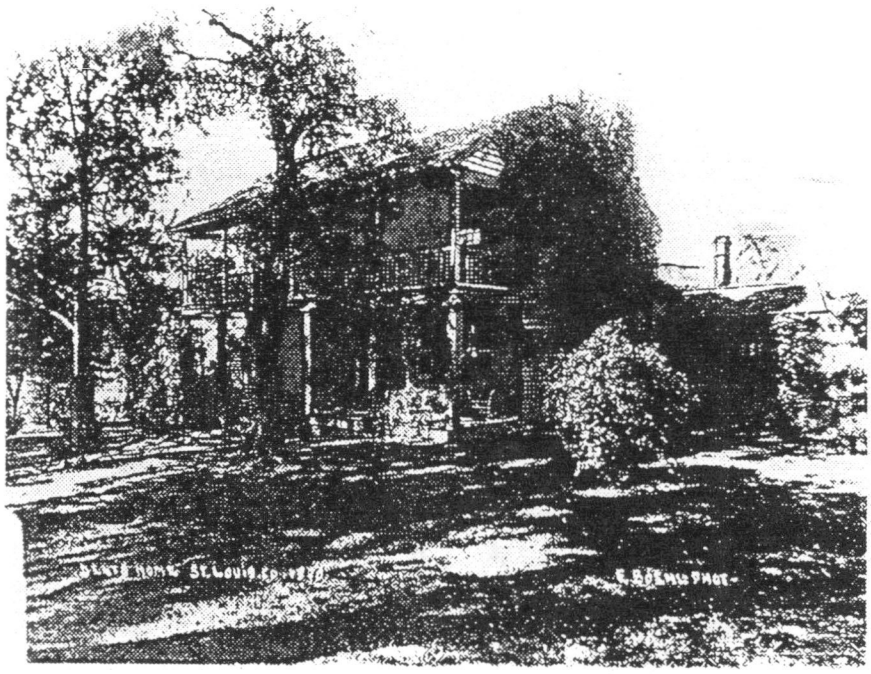


Figure 32: Photograph taken of the front of White Haven by Emile Boehl, 1890. (Source: Missouri Historical Society)

[28]Margerie Felice,. Granddaughter of Delbert Wenzlick. Letter to letter to Kim Little (Former NPS Historian), 19 March 1986.

Issue three: Amount of documentation available (especially graphic)

Boehl (photograph/painting) 1890

Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis 1899.

Article on Julia's 1894 visit to White Haven in the *Watchman*.

Issue four: Consistency with the potential key historic period(s) and themes of the property

This period is not consistent with historic themes which emphasize the life of Grant.

Issue five: Functional and maintenance concerns

With the exception of the trees that are extant from this period, the functional and maintenance concerns would be the same as for the Grant ownership period.

Wenzlick Period, 1913-1993 (Including ownership by Albert Wenzlick, Delbert Wenzlick, Bill Wenzlick, the St. Louis County, and the National Park Service.)

Issue one: Historical significance of the landscape

The White Haven site changed greatly during this period. The adjacent land that had been a part of Grant's extended holdings was developed for residential housing. The way White Haven was used changed slowly. During the time that Delbert Wenzlick owned the property (1913-1937), the house was used as a summer residence by the Wenzlicks. The caretaker used it as a farm. Over time, as the farm land was sold off for development, the site lost its connection to agriculture.

In an effort to evaluate the significance of the site's landscape, its twentieth century history was examined. An effort was made to determine if there were persons, designs, or features which gave significance to the landscape for this period. While deliberate efforts and thought clearly went into the planting and general development of the site, none of the designs, site features, or persons associated with the site during this period give the site significance in terms of any National Register criteria.

Issue two: Number and integrity of extant features (Figures 11 and 33).

Buildings
(See HSR)
Topography

The landscape's topography is known to have undergone several changes during the period of Wenzlick ownership. The topographic survey of the site still shows a slight depression where the lane was extended past the house by August A. Busch, Sr. in the 1920's. This section of the lane is no longer extant. The 1848 plat map shows the lane following a very similar route (Figure 14). It may be that Busch simply rejuvenated the old lane. It can not be assumed that Busch directed the original construction of this road. The 1940 HABS landscape plan shows the lane that Busch used (Figure 34). Archeological investigations may reveal whether any material relating to the lane is extant from earlier periods.

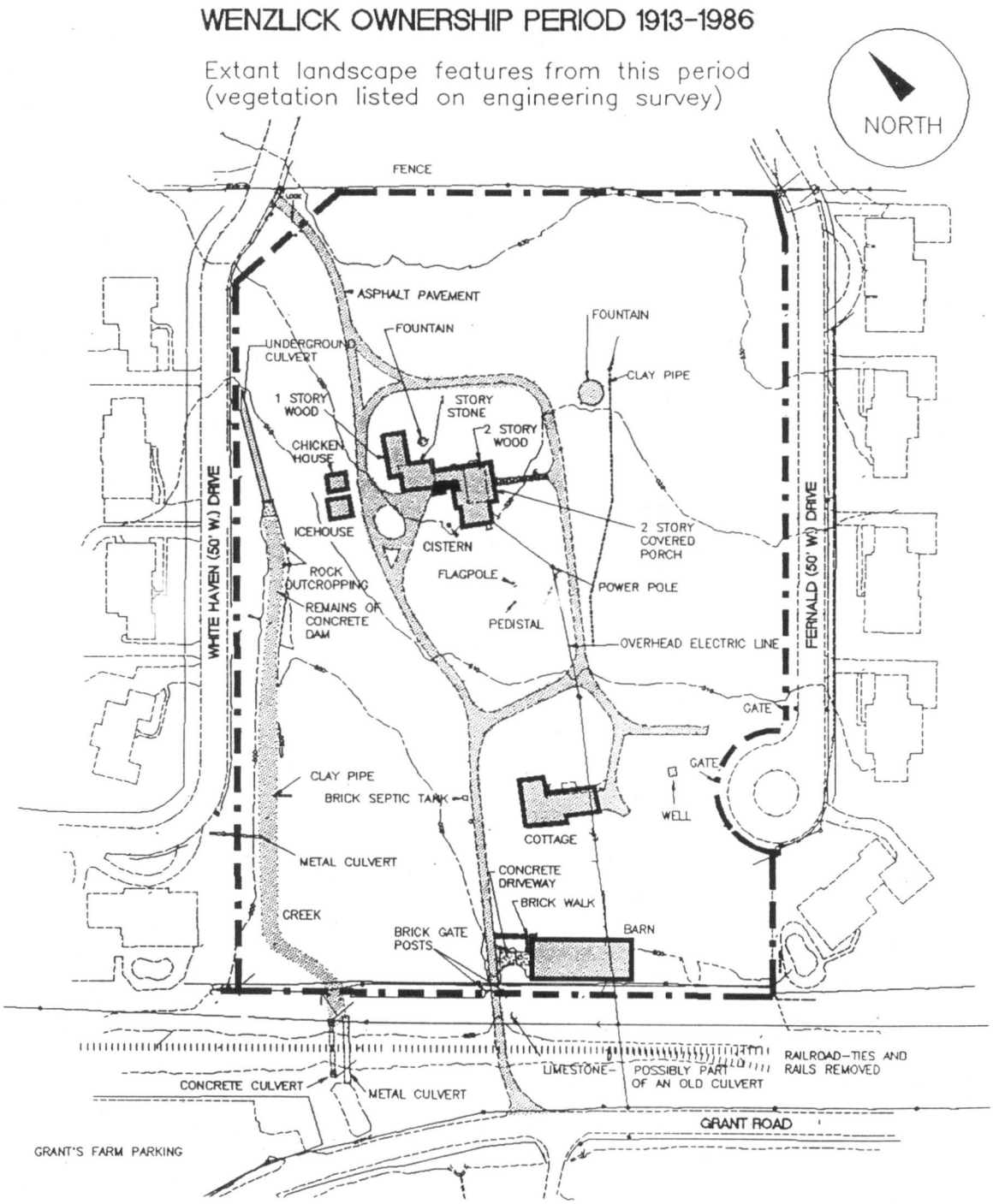


Figure 33: Map showing extant features from the Wenzlick-era.

The lane was also extended around the house for access to the garage (former stone building). An additional exit was added at the northern corner of the site. These changes in circulation patterns have also altered the topography to an undetermined extent. The addition of the large and small cooling fountains for the house's air conditioning system in the 1950's has slightly altered the landscape's topography. The most significant topographic change occurred when the creek on the site was routed through a culvert and the alignment of the creek was changed to limit flooding. The area between the drive and the realigned creek was filled.

A second significant topographic change occurred when a vitrified clay drain pipe was installed in a drainage gully that ran along the lane to the creek. This line was then filled so that the gully was no longer evident. This was first installed in the 1920's. In 1965, this drain line was extended when the creek alignment was changed. (The junction of the 1920 and 1965 lines may provide a good indication as to where the creek bed was prior to realignment.)

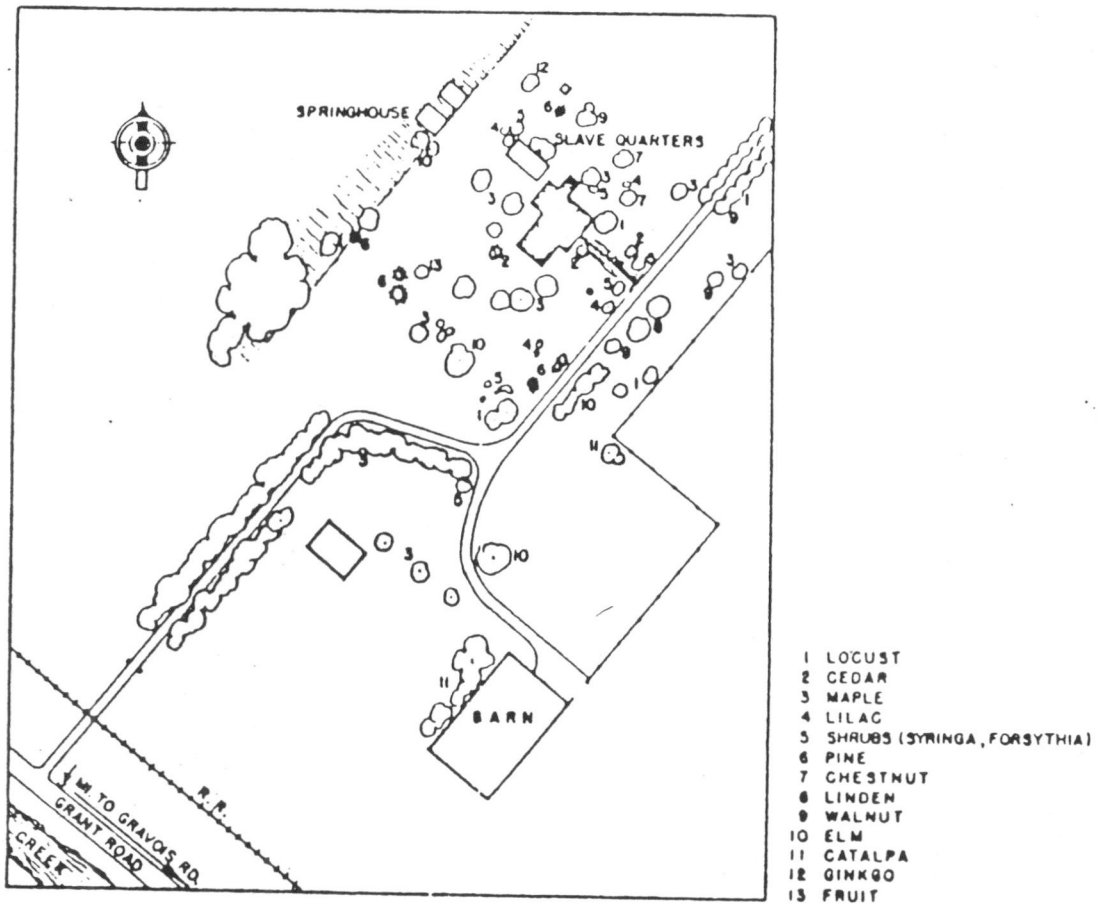


Figure 34: Cover sheet of 1940 HABS drawings showing plan view of White Haven.

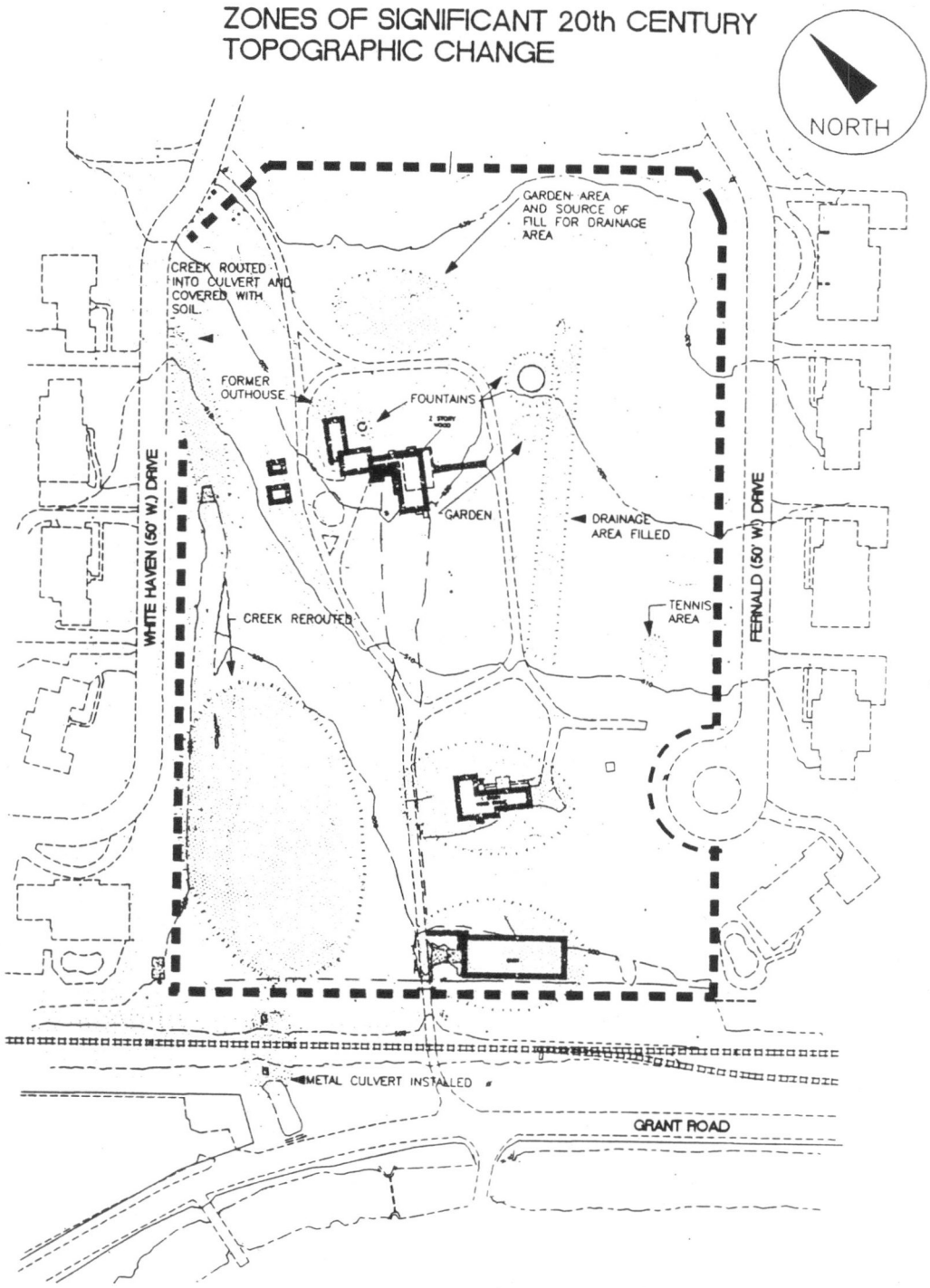


Figure 35: Map showing areas where significant topographic change has taken place in the twentieth century.

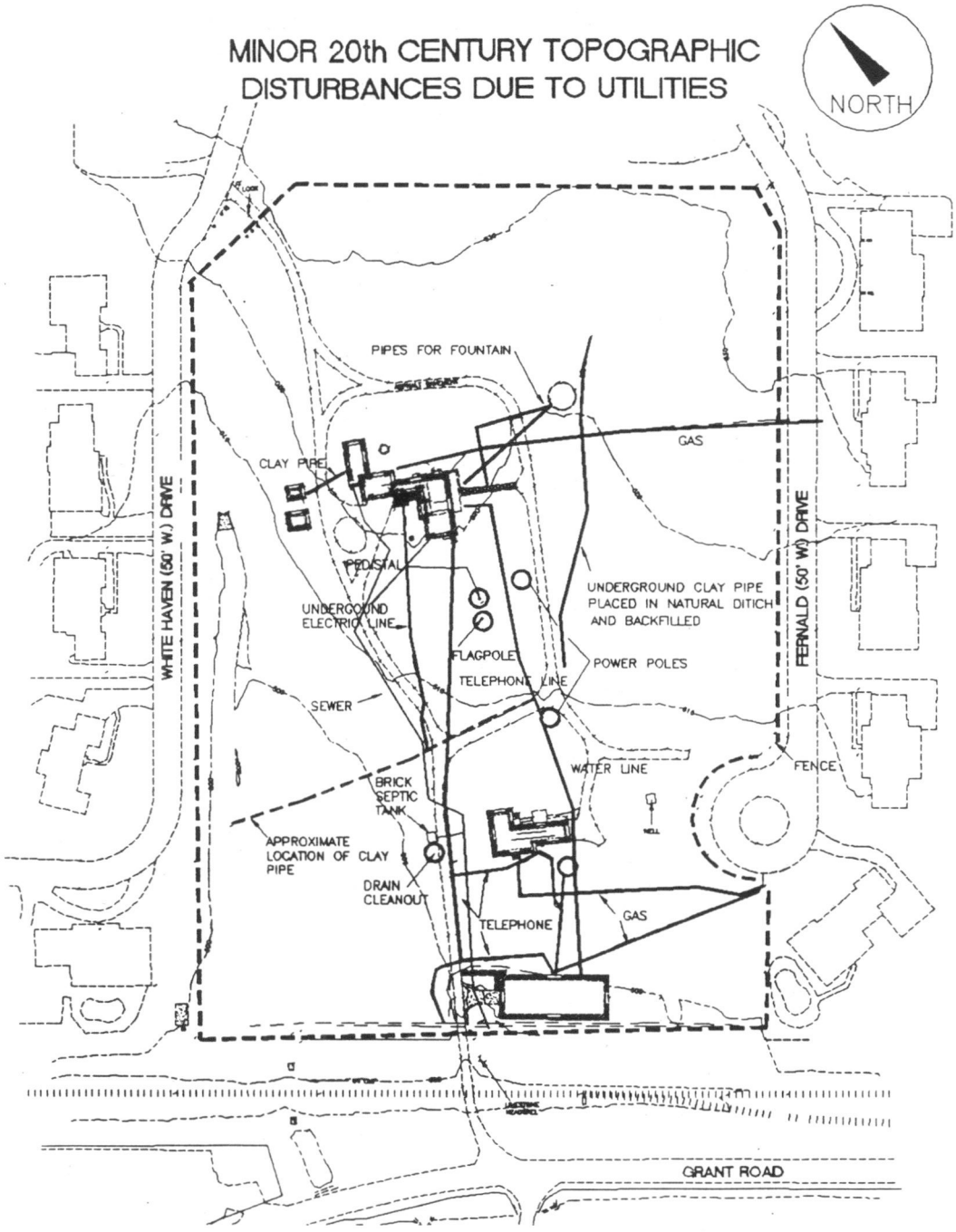


Figure 36: Map showing areas of topographic disturbance due to utility installation.

Circulation

The circulation patterns during the time that the Wenzlicks owned the property changed with the addition and removal of the lane by Busch, and the completion of the lane around the house. Circulation patterns also were changed as site features were added and removed (barn, creek alignment, tennis court, barbecue pit, corn crib, flag pole, and sundial pedestal).

See also the first two paragraphs of "Topography"

Structures/site furnishings/buildings

The following structures, site furnishings, and buildings are extant and were present during all or part of the Wenzlick period.

Brick gate posts
Caretaker's cottage and cistern
Chicken house (next to the ice house)
Cistern
Creek
Dam on creek (ruins)
Fence
Fence gates
Flag stone walk
Flag pole
Grant Barn (partial)
Large fountain
Main house
Paved interior lane
Small fountain
Stone quarry site
Stone building
Sundial pedestal
Well

The following structures, site furnishings and buildings were present during the Wenzlick period, but are no longer present.

Arbor
Barbecue pit
Chicken coop (next to the Grant barn)
Corn crib
Cow barn
Electric lights along drive

Pig pen
Spring House (ruins)
Tennis court
Wishing well

Vegetation

With the exception of a few trees that date to the Conn period, all of the trees on the site date from Wenzlick era. There is, however, no clearly identifiable design style. A 1914 newspaper article indicates that Wenzlick planned to hire a landscape designer. Bill Wenzlick, however, was certain that there was never a professional hired for either the placement or installation of plant materials.[29]

While numerous plants were added, there is no evidence that a specific recognized style of design was every implemented. Trees of the same species on the site were frequently planted in rows of four to six in the 1950's. In some places these rows of trees were planted along site features such as the lane, paths, and fence lines. In other places the trees seem simply to be lined up as specimens on display. This may in fact have been exactly what was done. The site contains a very wide variety of native and exotic trees which suggests there may have been an effort to collect and display unusual trees. Leni Williams, a worker at the site in the 1950's, was responsible for planting most of the trees that are on the site today.[30] Unfortunately, he was in very poor health and was not available for an interview. If it is possible in the future to interview this person and discuss the work that he did, it could help explain the logic of the planting scheme.

Even though the vegetation on the site includes a wide variety of different plants, these plants are not particularly significant individually. The dawn redwoods are probably the most unusual trees on the site. These plants were thought to have been extinct until their discovery in China in 1943, and seeds from these trees were distributed around the world in the mid 1940s. The dawn redwoods at White Haven were planted in the 1950s. Such plantings exist in other portions of St. Louis County. Many of these plantings at other locations are older than the ones at White Haven.[31] Consequently, the dawn redwoods at White Haven are a curiosity, but are not significant in terms of any National Register of Historic Places criteria.

Even though the vegetation on this site is not historically significant, it does have value. Collectively, the vegetation creates a nice park-like setting in a residential subdivision.

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[29]Bill Wenzlick, interview with author, 15 April 1993.

[30]*Ibid.*

[31]Skip Kincaid, phone conversation with author, 6 April 1993. Mr. Kincaid is an urban forester in the St. Louis area, and he is an associate with Kincaid and Associates.

The vegetation also helps control erosion on a site that has significant grade changes. In addition to screening out views of the surrounding houses, the vegetation also has some value as a wildlife habitat. The variety and quality of the plants of the site have value in there own right. Skip Kincaid, an urban forester, felt that the community would oppose any sudden removal of the tree cover. Although he has never actually heard these concerns expressed by anyone in the adjacent community, he has seen the removal of vegetation from large lots in suburban St. Louis create a great deal of opposition. [32]

Water features

In addition to the fountains and the creek discussed in the section on "Topography" of the Wenzlick era, the spring that was located behind the house dried up at some point prior to the time the Wenzlicks acquired the property.

Issue three: Amount of documentation available (especially graphic)

Photos, home movies, aerial photos, and HABS drawings, 1940

Interviews with Bill Wenzlick, owner from 1979 to 1986

Interview with Bill Hayes, worked at the site in the late 1940s

Interview with Jim Davis, lived and worked at the site between 1913 and mid-1940s

Issue four: Consistency with the potential key historic period(s) and themes of the property

This period is not consistent with themes that emphasize the Grant period.

Issue Five: Functional and maintenance concerns

Since this period does not have significance in terms of an association with Grant, functional and maintenance concerns do not need to be addressed for this period.

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[32] *Ibid.*

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH NEEDS

Additional evidence regarding the landscape may greatly bolster any arguments for a restoration of the landscape to the Grant era, particularly in an area immediately around the house. It is reasonable to assume that photographs from the Grant period were taken. Efforts should be made to let any source that might have photographs know of the need the NPS has for these. It is possible that other Grant sites may have photos of White Haven. Private collectors may also have photos that are yet unknown to the NPS.

Archeological research may help determine where fence lines were in the past. It may be very difficult, however, to determine from which period a specific fence line belonged. The known placement of fence lines in the early twentieth century may have followed the placement of earlier fence lines. The images from the Grant period also may provide useful clues as to where fences and other features were located. It is also important to try to determine when the well and cisterns were built. Such an effort could involve an enormous amount of work which may not provide any solid answers. Even so, the park management should consult with the Midwest Archeological Center to consider this possibility.

SUMMARY OF TREATMENT OPTIONS FOR THE LANDSCAPE

Evaluating treatment options for this landscape prior to the development of the General Management Plan is difficult, but may provide the basis for further discussions. The lack of an approved period of interpretation, interpretive themes, and facility needs means that some issues cannot be completely addressed at this point. The advantage of considering treatment options at this time is that it provides information that can help create an integrated General Management Plan that is sensitive to all of the site's cultural resources. The Draft Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes recommends the selection of a single treatment option for all of the cultural resources on a site.[33] While this may not be entirely feasible at White Haven, this approach should be considered to the extent that it is possible.

The dilemma that the landscape at this site (and most sites) presents is that as the integrity and the level of knowledge increases for each period, the historic significance for it decreases. The Wenzlick era has a high level of integrity and information, however, the historical significance is minimal. The majority of the landscape during the period which Grant was associated with the property has limited integrity, but it is the period which is considered to be the period of significance in the National Register nomination.

Even though an interpretative period has not been officially determined, the general period of Ulysses Grant's and Julia Dent's association with White Haven is clearly the most significant period for this site. Given this fact, there is little value in considering treatment options for the periods prior to and after this time. These other periods, which were discussed, have little known significance.

The National Park Service recognizes four treatment options for cultural landscapes.[34] These are:

Preservation. A cultural landscape will be preserved in its present condition if (1) that condition allows for satisfactory protection, maintenance, use, and interpretation, of (2) another treatment is warranted but cannot be accomplished until some future time.

Rehabilitation. A cultural landscape may be rehabilitated for contemporary use if (1) it cannot adequately serve an appropriate use in its present condition, and (2)

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[33]*Draft Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Washington D. C.: National Park Service, 1991), 6.

[34]*National Park Service Management Policies-Management of the National Park System* (Washington D. C.: National Park Service 1988), 5.6.

rehabilitation will retain is essential features and will not alter the integrity and character or conflict with park management objectives.

Restoration. A cultural landscape may be restored to an earlier appearance if (1) restoration is essential to public understanding of the cultural associations of a park, and (2) sufficient data exists to permit restoration with minimal conjecture.

Reconstruction. An obliterated landscape may be reconstructed if (1) reconstruction is essential to public understanding of the cultural association of a park established for that purpose, and (2) sufficient data exist to permit reconstruction with minimal conjecture.

Each degree of treatment requires differing levels of knowledge about the historic landscape. Reconstruction requires the greatest level of knowledge regarding characteristics and features of the historic landscape and is not a feasible option for the ULSG landscape. In circumstances where restoration or reconstruction is deemed essential but there is inadequate knowledge to implement such a treatment, it cannot be done.

PRESERVATION OF THE EXISTING LANDSCAPE

The choice of preservation would not allow for changes to the landscape to accommodate visitor needs. The current facilities for parking, access, administration, interpretation, and maintenance clearly are not adequate. This is an appropriate treatment only until another treatment can be approved and implemented.

RESTORATION OF THE ENTIRE LANDSCAPE TO THE GRANT ERA

There is clearly insufficient knowledge and integrity for a restoration of the landscape to the Grant era. While the amount of information regarding the landscape of this period is limited, there is sufficient knowledge about later periods to know that the landscape has been greatly changed since the time Grant was associated with it. These changes have altered the feeling, setting, workmanship, materials, and design of the site. Consequently, the integrity of the overall landscape has been significantly reduced.

The lack of reliable documentation means that any attempt at restoration or reconstruction would be based on a large amount of conjecture. While there are a number of pictures from this period, the only photograph focuses on people standing and sitting on the front porch. Given the artistic nature of these other images, they cannot be used to determine where the features such as fences actually were located. While archeological research might help determine the location of some missing features, this is uncertain given the high degree of soil disturbance that has occurred in the twentieth century.

There is insufficient knowledge to restore features such as the drainage ditch, the spring-run to the creek, the fences, and the plantings on the site. Many other features, such

as the barn, the creek, and the spring itself, cannot be restored because the surrounding land has been extensively changed and is not owned by the NPS. The fact that such features and the agricultural setting cannot be restored makes it improbable that a restoration of the entire property the NPS now manages could ever be done in accordance with the latest NPS policy regarding landscape restorations. NPS management policy makes it clear that, "Cultural landscapes...will not be 'beautified' to suit modern aesthetic tastes through decorative plantings or other modifications not reflecting historic conditions."[35] It would not be possible to reflect accurately the historic conditions of the Grant-era landscape with the level of information available.

Buildings such as the chicken house would have to be removed since they cannot be documented as having been on the site during this period. Other features such as the narrow access road and entrance over the tracks would have to stay as they were historically even though this would put the public at risk. While little is known about the historic pedestrian circulation system, it is doubtful that it would ever provide adequate access for future visitors. There is no graphic evidence that the walk to the front door was paved before 1890. The written evidence regarding the paving of the walk is inconclusive. This would mean that an unpaved path would have to accommodate future visitors.

A limited restoration of part of the site in front of the house to the Grant era might be possible. This would only be possible if additional information can be found through future research and archeological investigations. Since most of the images from this period emphasize the house, there is more information with which to work. Unfortunately, these images contradict one another in some instances. These images also show only the front portion of the house. The use of photographs taken after this period may provide some clues as to the appearance of the landscape during an earlier period. While such images are helpful, the lack of photographs from the time that Grant was associated with the property is a significant impediment to an accurate restoration of the landscape.

REHABILITATION OF THE CONTEMPORARY LANDSCAPE

Rehabilitation of the contemporary landscape, if done in a manner sensitive to the Grant-era landscape, may be the best alternative given the current level of knowledge. It is reasonable to argue that the site as it currently stands cannot serve an appropriate use for the public. Rehabilitation would allow the landscape to be retained as it evolved historically by maintaining and repairing significant historic features. Changes needed for contemporary use would be acceptable.

This option would mean that the barn, the chicken house, the walk to the front of the house and the caretaker's cottage could be retained and used for contemporary needs if desired. The vegetation on the property which is not historically significant could be

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[35] *Ibid.*, 5.6.

retained for its value in screening and for the prevention of erosion. Parking and circulation systems for vehicles and pedestrians could be added and modified as needed. Features from later periods which are hazardous to visitors, or visually intrusive, such as the fountains, could be removed.

TREATMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

The lack of knowledge and integrity for the landscape from the Grant-era makes it clear that the primary treatment for the overall landscape should be rehabilitation. The level of knowledge for the landscape around the front of the house is better. If additional evidence is found through archeological research or other means, it might be possible to restore an area immediately around the house within an overall landscape rehabilitation. This approach would require that the style and location of the fence, which is believed to have surrounded the house, be established. Currently there is not sufficient information to place a fence around the entire house or restore the yard within such a fence without a great degree of conjecture.

Using restoration as a treatment in the area near the house, while using rehabilitation as the treatment for the remainder of the site, would mean having two different levels of treatment for the site's landscape. The section of the draft *Guidelines for the Treatment of Historic Landscapes* that deals with rehabilitation indicates that it would be acceptable, although not ideal, to select rehabilitation as the primary treatment with restoration as a secondary treatment, thus allowing for the removal of selected non-historic features without attempting to restore a historic landscape that cannot be documented.[36]

Such an approach has the advantage that it would allow the issues of site access, parking, visitor needs, views into and out of the site to be dealt with while still respecting the historic fabric that remains. Having two levels of treatment would also allow for the removal or alteration of hazardous features or intrusive features. Restoration of the core area near the house is ultimately dependant on finding additional information for this area of the landscape. Until such information is found, rehabilitation of the entire site to meet immediate visitor needs, (life safety codes, ADA etc.) could be done provided it did not preclude a later restoration of the area immediately adjacent to the house. Until an ultimate treatment has been selected and approved, the current landscape should temporarily be stabilized. Even after a final treatment has been approved, changes that are not necessary to meet immediate visitor needs should wait for a complete cultural landscape report, containing full documentation and treatment plans.

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[36]*Ibid.*, 6.

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural and cultural resources. This includes fostering wise use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people. The department also promotes the goals of the Take Pride in America campaign by encouraging stewardship and citizen responsibility for the public lands and promoting citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.