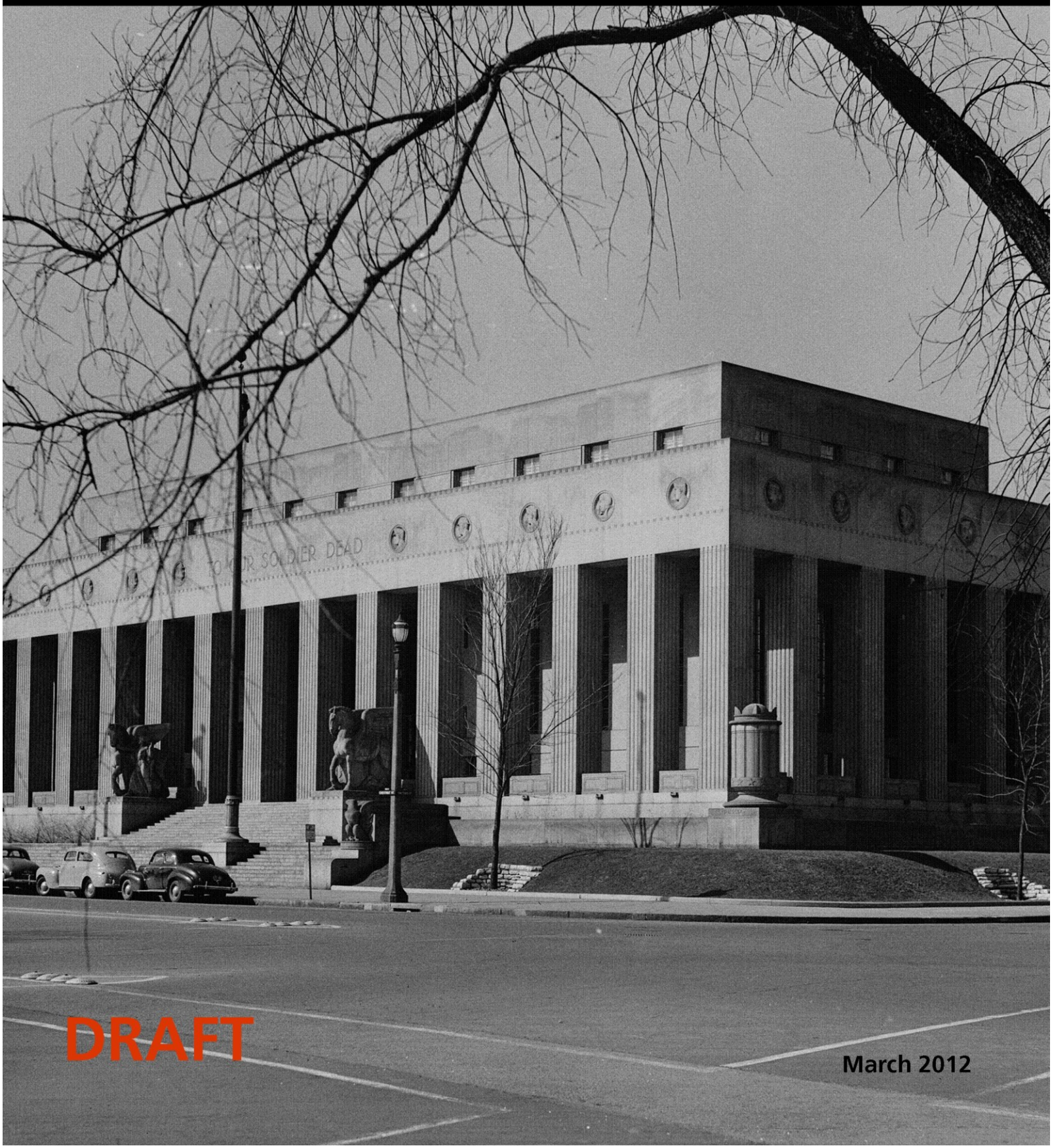
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum Special Resource Study

St. Louis, Missouri



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March 2012

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Acknowledgements:
This report would not have been possible without the time and expertise of the following individuals:

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This report has been prepared to provide Congress and the public with information about the resources in the study area and how they relate to criteria for inclusion within the national park system. Publication and transmittal of this report should not be considered an endorsement for a commitment by the National Park Service to seek or support either specific legislative authorization for the project or appropriation for its implementation.

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SUMMARY

Study Purpose and Background
The National Park Service (NPS) was tasked by Congress in Public Law 110-229 to evaluate if the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum in St. Louis, Missouri meets the criteria for addition to the national park system. This study applies the Criteria for Inclusion set by law and policy to the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum and the surrounding Memorial Plaza.

Historic Context
The Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum was completed in 1938 as a memorial to the St. Louis, Missouri area citizens who gave their lives in World War I. Following the war, patriotism and an inability of relatives of the fallen to visit foreign graves led to memorials throughout the country. Some were purely memorial structures; others were functional as well, such as stadiums and museums. The Soldiers' Memorial concept of a memorial museum in a park setting was proposed in 1919 and adopted by the City of St. Louis in 1923. Not only was the project intended to memorialize the lost, but also to remake a central area of the city following the principles of the City Beautiful urban planning movement. The neoclassical Soldiers' Memorial displays artifacts of the personal experiences of St. Louis area service members in all wars, is a focal point for the area veterans' community, and has been the setting for events of remembrance since its opening.

Special Resource Study
The special resource study evaluates the Soldiers' Memorial as a potential new unit of the national park system based on established criteria. To be recommended as a new unit, an area must be nationally significant, suitable, feasible, and have a need for direct NPS management.

Significance Finding: For cultural resources, a property must meet the criteria for National Historic Landmarks to be considered nationally significant. The Soldiers' Memorial was analyzed for its association with the City Beautiful movement, for representing the ideal of memorializing those lost in war, and for architecture and neoclassical design. The study found that other neoclassical memorials to World War I in the City Beautiful tradition that embody the same themes and associations are already represented among National Historic Landmarks, and that the Soldiers' Memorial does not rise to the same level of national significance, though it has local and regional importance, as well as excellent historic integrity.

Suitability Finding: Because the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum does not meet the criteria for national significance, suitability was not considered in detail. Preliminary investigations indicate a negative finding would be likely.

Feasibility Finding: Because the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum does not meet the criteria for national significance, feasibility was not considered.

Need for Direct NPS Management Finding: Because the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum does not meet the criteria for national significance, the need for direct NPS management was not considered in detail.

NPS finds that the Soldiers' Memorial does not meet criteria for a unit of the national park system.

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CHAPTER 1: STUDY PURPOSE AND BACKGROUND

In the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970, Congress declared that areas comprising the national park system are "cumulative expressions of a single national heritage."[1] Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in a unique way to a system that represents the superlative natural and cultural resources that characterize our heritage. Proposed additions to the national park system must possess nationally significant resources, be suitable additions to the system, be feasible additions to the system, and require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector.

Before Congress decides to create a new park, it needs to know whether the area's resources meet the established criteria for inclusion in the system. The National Park Service (NPS) was tasked by Congress in Public Law 110-229 to conduct a special resource study (SRS) of the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum in St. Louis, Missouri to determine if it meets those criteria. Sponsored by Representative William "Lacy" Clay, Jr. of Missouri's 4th Congressional District, the legislation findings state that "the Soldiers' Memorial is a tribute to all veterans located in the greater St. Louis area, including Southern Illinois." (See Appendix A for the full text of the law.)

This chapter presents the study purpose and an overview of the study area. Chapter 2: Historic Context places the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum and surrounding Memorial Plaza in the context of St. Louis city planning, the City Beautiful movement, the drive to memorialize those who sacrificed in World War I, and the function of the Memorial over the years. Chapter 3 will apply the criteria for inclusion, discussing national significance, suitability, feasibility, and the need for direct NPS management. The significance analysis compares Soldiers' Memorial to other World War I memorials in its association with the City Beautiful movement, for representing the ideal of memorializing fallen servicemembers, and for architecture and neoclassical design. The study concludes with a summary of findings.

Study Limitations and Recommendations

Special resource studies serve as reference sources for members of Congress, the NPS, and other persons interested in the potential designation of an area as a new unit of the national park system. The reader should be aware that the recommendations and analysis contained in an SRS do not guarantee future support or any subsequent action by Congress, the Department of the Interior, or the NPS.

Overview of the Study Area

This section briefly describes the property under study in this report and its local and regional surroundings. The study area is the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum and the surrounding Memorial Plaza, and the sculptures and smaller memorials thereon.[2] The museum and Memorial Plaza are owned by the City of St. Louis. The museum is managed by

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[1] Formally known as "An Act To Improve The Administration of the National Park System by the Secretary of the Interior, and to Clarify the Authorities Applicable to the System, and for Other Purposes 1970 (84 Stat. 825)"

[2] Location information: Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum, 1315 Chestnut Street (N 38.62904 W 90.20007), occupying all of City Block #500 (USNG 15S YC 43737 79327). Other parcels of Memorial Plaza (City of St. Louis Parks): City Blocks #492 (USNG 15S YC 43600 79277), #499 (USNG 15S YC 43618 79354), #505 (USNG 15S YC 43757 79410), #501 (USNG 15S YC 43853 79300), #490 (USNG 15S YC 43836 79218), and #491 (USNG 15S YC 43718 79248).

a Superintendent, and overseen by a Board of Commissioners, composed of St. Louis City employees, area veterans, and veteran organization representatives. The Friends of the Soldiers' Memorial, a 501(c)(3) non-profit incorporated in 2009, supports the museum. In addition to the Museum space, storage, and offices, the basement of the building is currently occupied by the offices of the City Emergency Management Agency, a division of the Department of Public Safety.

The Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum is located in downtown St. Louis, Missouri. The museum building itself occupies the full city block bounded by Chestnut, Pine, 13th, and 14th Streets.[3] The surrounding Memorial Plaza landscape is composed of parks owned by the City of St. Louis.[4] They include City Blocks #492, #499, #505, #501, #490, and #491 (*fig. 1*). Each occupies a full block, is partially wooded with grassy lawns, and has pedestrian pathways. City streets are not precisely laid out on north-south, east-west axes. Chestnut Street is open only to eastbound traffic, while Pine Street accommodates westbound flow; the north-south streets, such as Thirteenth and Fourteenth, carry two-way traffic.

Fig. 1: Map of Memorial Plaza and surrounding parcels.

[3] 1317 Chestnut St., Geo St. Louis: A Guide to Geospatial Data about the City of St. Louis, Planning & Urban Design Agency, http://stlcin.missouri.org/citydata/newdesign/data.cfm?Handle=10500000010&CFID=7678710&CFTOKEN=26172041, accessed May 26, 2011.
[4] These parcels are also known as "Memorial Park."

Some of the adjoining parcels hold either their own memorials or honorary designations. To the south of the Memorial is Block #491. Since 1948, it has held the Court of Honor, a recessed area of stone and brick designed by Eugene J. Mackey Jr., with a forty-foot sculpture by Hillis Arnold. It was built to honor those who lost their lives in World War II and subsequent conflicts. To the west of the Memorial is Block #499, officially named Eternal Flame Park. On its Fourteenth Street side is a stone monument, called by its sculptor Sascha Schnittman "The Search for Eternal Peace", which was commissioned by the Monument Builders of America to commemorate the second organizing caucus of the American Legion held in St. Louis in May 1919.[5] Though a plaque was dedicated here in 1935, and the monument completed in 1942, it was initially "banned from Memorial Plaza" because its design was considered too modernistic. It was erected there at a later date.[6] Facing Pine Street on that same block is another monument, a bronze figure of the German poet Friedrich Schiller atop a pedestal; it was moved there in the 1970s. Block #501, to the east of the Memorial, is named Kaufmann Park, while #490 is called Poelker Park. Stretching from Tucker Boulevard (Twelfth Street) to Twenty-First Street, between Chestnut and Market streets, additional parks were later added westward, so as to create some 3,700 feet of greenery.

Block #506, which lies northwest of the Memorial, includes the fourteen-story Ford Apartments at 1405 Pine Street. Placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2004,[7] it was designed by Preston J. Bradshaw, built 1948-50, and recognized for its functional, non-ornamented "modern" styling. The apartments were deemed significant in Community Planning and Development as a "slum-clearance" project. To the west is a large, squat parking garage, with a subterranean and an above-ground level.

Block #504, which lies northeast of the Memorial, includes the twenty-three-story Missouri Pacific Building. It was placed on the National Register in 2002.[8] Designed by William D. Crowell and built in 1928, its white terra cotta facing creates, said critic George McCue, "a clean crisp structural form on an important corner of Memorial Plaza."[9] Used by the Union Pacific Railroad until 2004, it is currently being converted to condominiums.

Immediately to the south, across Market Street and between Tucker Boulevard and Fifteenth Street, are respectively, City Hall, Municipal Courts, and the Municipal Auditorium (now, Kiel Opera House).

Located on Block #207, City Hall is the symbolic heart of St. Louis. Modeled after the Paris Hotel de Ville, it was constructed in 1896. Sharing Block #207 is Municipal Courts. Designed in 1909 and completed two years later, it now houses both the state criminal courts and some city courts. In 2002, the Landmarks Association of St. Louis placed Municipal Courts on its

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[5] The first organizing caucus was held in Paris, France in March, 1919.
[6] St. Louis Regional Arts Commission, "Public Art Details: 'Liberty Is Not License.'" http://www.art-stl.com/public-art/public-art-details.cfm?pid=108&title=Liberty%20Is%20Not%20License&artist1=Sascha%20Schnittman, accessed May 26, 2011.
[7] National Register of Historic Places, Ford Apartments, St. Louis, Missouri, National Register # 04001562. http://www.dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/04001562.pdf, accessed May 26, 2011.
[8] National Register of Historic Places, Missouri Pacific Building, St. Louis, Missouri, National Register #02001441. http://dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/02001441.pdf, accessed May 26, 2011.
[9] George McCue, *The Building Art in St. Louis: Two Centuries* (3d ed.; St. Louis: St. Louis Chapter of the American Institute of Architects Foundation, 1981), 56.

endangered list because of rumors that the City's Board of Public Service was considering its demolition for a parking lot.[10] The project did not move forward.

Located on Block #209 and first known as the Municipal Auditorium (1934), then as the Kiel Opera House. In 1992, the auditorium portion to the rear was demolished, in order to build the Scottrade Center (a sports arena). The remaining portion of the Opera House on Market Street, with its virtually intact Art Deco interior spaces, has stood vacant since 1991. Listed on the National Register in 2000,[11] but placed on the Landmarks Association's list of endangered sites in 2002,[12] it is now going through an $89 million renovation, backed by municipal bonds.

The Soldiers' Memorial is located just over half a mile from the boundary of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (colloquially known as "the Arch") in the City of St. Louis and approximately eleven miles from Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site in St. Louis County. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail also passes through the city. All three are units of the national park system. St. Louis is a city of approximately 319,000 people.[13] The population of the Greater St. Louis area (in both Missouri and Illinois) is over 2.8 million.

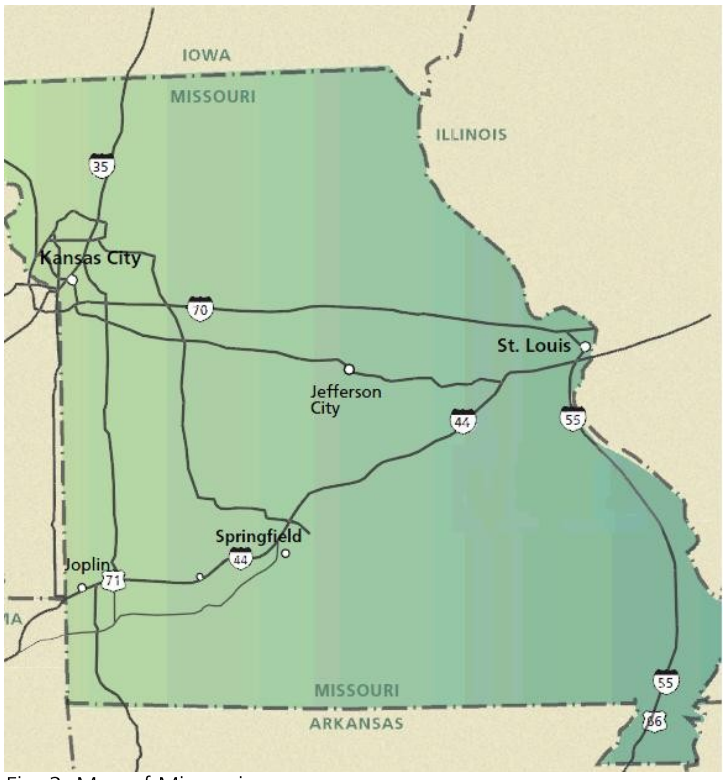

Fig. 2: Map of Missouri.

[10] Landmarks Association of St. Louis, "Landmarks' 2002 List of 11 Most Endangered Sites," http://stlouis.missouri.org/501c/landmarks/endanger02.html, accessed May 26, 2011.
[11] National Register of Historic Places, Kiel Opera House, St. Louis, Missouri, National Register #00000016. http://www.dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/00000016.pdf, accessed May 26, 2011.
[12] Landmarks Association of St. Louis, "Landmarks' 2002 List of 11 Most Endangered Sites," http://stlouis.missouri.org/501c/landmarks/endanger02.html, accessed May 26, 2011.
[13] U.S. Census Bureau: State and County QuickFacts, 2011. http://quickfacts.census.gov

CHAPTER 2: HISTORIC CONTEXT

Since its opening in 1938, the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum has been a focal point not only of Memorial Plaza, but also for military veterans of the St. Louis metropolitan region. The idea of a World War I memorial to the soldiers of St. Louis originated with the newly formed American Legion in 1919 and was officially adopted by the City of St. Louis in 1923. It symbolizes the sacrifice by area citizens associated with America's entry into World War I, which was a transformative event for both the United States and the world.

While the concept for a memorial was rooted in war, the physical and aesthetic origins of Memorial Plaza's development were rooted in the City Beautiful movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Memorial Plaza is an example of the City Beautiful movement, an urban planning philosophy of the Progressive Era, and represents its attempt to remake urban America.

The Soldiers' Memorial itself is stylistically a solemn modern classical structure. It was designed by two of the city's most productive architects of the day, William D. Crowell and Preston J. Bradshaw, and the building is highlighted by large stone figures by the nationally acclaimed sculptor Walker K. Hancock. In addition to its function as a soldiers' memorial and its roots in the City Beautiful movement, the St. Louis Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum's neoclassical architecture is also notable.

This Historic Context section will provide a history of the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum and Memorial Plaza and examine its place in the history of American memorialization, urban planning (the City Beautiful movement), and architectural history.

Origins of the Memorial: Reverence and Remaking Downtown St. Louis
The City Beautiful movement took off in St. Louis after the city hosted the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (World's Fair) in 1904, which drew 20 million visitors to Forest Park and the fairgrounds. The fairgrounds showcased an example of the City Beautiful philosophy of ordered planning and monumental architecture designed for beauty and instilling a sense of civic virtue. Landscape architect and planner George Kessler gained notoriety for the grounds at the World's Fair as well as for his boulevards in Kansas City, Missouri, and was influential in shaping the burgeoning movement in St. Louis. A Public Buildings Commission, which included the prominent local architect John Mauran, was chartered in 1904 and directed by the mayor to develop plans for a coherent civic center in the area west of Twelfth Street (later renamed Tucker Boulevard), between Clark and Washington Avenues (*fig. 3*). This area already housed City Hall (1896), Union Station (1894), an exposition hall, an art museum, and a municipal courthouse. According to the historian Eric Sandweiss, "these buildings were scattered about a neighborhood of aging tenements, newer apartment hotels, and small-scale wholesale and retail facilities, as well as the deteriorating homes of once-fashionable Lucas Place." What Mauran and the commission proposed was "a block-wide landscaped parkway running between City Hall and the new courthouse," as well as the construction of a new public library, and the demolition of not only the exposition hall but also the adjacent crowded residential blocks. The area also included dance halls and bars, as well as factories and commercial buildings. In addition to a project hewing to City Beautiful principles, the development would also mean the eviction of tenants from the area that the commissioners considered undesirable.[14]

[14] Eric Sandweiss, *St. Louis: The Evolution of an American Urban Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 194.

What followed was the zoning plan of 1918, which the historian Andrew Hurley called one of the city's "key turning points" in its environmental history.[15] Proposed by the City Plan Commission, headed by architect Ernest J. Russell, the zoning plan was designed by Kessler's successor, Harland Bartholomew (1889-1989). (*fig. 4)* A civil engineer and city plan commissioner, Bartholomew worked for the city of St. Louis - the first full-time planner employed by an American city - for over three decades and is credited with the introduction of comprehensive planning to the nation.[16] As shown in his *Zoning for St. Louis*,[17] which the mayor approved in 1918, Bartholomew wanted to make the city beautiful and profitable. Referring to the area between Seventeenth and Fourteenth streets on Olive Street, for example, the city's Public Safety director J. N. McKelvey bluntly said, "There seems to be no use for this property. It cannot be rented for enough to pay taxes; the neighborhood is deserted, business will not thrive there."[18]

Fig. 3: City Beautiful Movement, Proposed Public Buildings Group, early 1900s.

With the end of World War I on November 11, 1918, and the organization of the American Legion in St. Louis in 1919, the war's veterans pressed the city to build a memorial to honor those who perished. Cities elsewhere, including Kansas City and Indianapolis, acted similarly. American federal, state, and municipal authorities, as well as private associations and military branches, ordered the creation of memorials across the nation to honor not only the 117,465 Americans who died, but also the millions who had served "over there" and at home. Europeans created numerous and diverse memorials, but the pattern was different in the United States because of the logistical difficulties inherent in repatriating the remains of the fallen.[19] If the goal of a war memorial, as influential historian and critic Lewis Mumford suggested in 1945, "is to fix in some enduring form, with permanent materials, a memory that will otherwise too easily pass," the essential features of such a reminder, he thought, were "permanence,

Fig. 4: Harland Bartholomew, 1935.

[15] Andrew Hurley, "Introduction," *Common Fields: An Environmental History of St. Louis*, ed. Andrew Hurley (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997), 3.
[16] Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin S. Karson, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 2000, 14.
[17] City Plan Commission, *Zoning for St. Louis: A Fundamental Part of the City Plan* (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing, 1918).
[18] James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980* (3d ed.; St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 420.
[19] George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World* Wars (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

conspicuousness, eloquence and imagination."[20] While bulk was not necessary, what was crucial was the ability to inspire and, as he said, "to renew in ourselves the spirit of better men and women," for that was the goal of those who made the ultimate sacrifice in war.[21] These memorial plans dovetailed with the "one-hundred-percent Americanism" of Progressives who not only wanted to build a more orderly and proper society, but also to use architecture and monuments to encourage those values among the public. In this way, the private American Legion acted as a "chosen instrument" of local government progressives, as they shared common ground.

Under Bartholomew, the city proposed a massive $87.4 million civic improvement program, with some $15 million alone dedicated to remaking that area between Twelfth and Seventeenth streets and setting public buildings around a proposed Memorial Plaza and World War Memorial. To finance the project, the city put a bond issue up for a vote. What voters saw on the posters urging a "Yes" vote in 1923 was the Memorial Plaza as originally conceived; the main axis of the project, with one-half mile between its two ends, consisted of the proposed Court House (Civil Courts of Missouri) and the Memorial Building. (*fig. 5*) In between, and providing for a pleasing vista, was a block-wide pedestrian mall.[22] Fronting the mall were the extant City Hall and Municipal Courts, as well as an unnamed proposed building. At the center, and at a 90-degree angle, would be another block-wide mall, running 1100 feet from the library to the Municipal Courts. Passed by the voters, that proposal was "the biggest that St. Louis or any other American city had ever seen."[23]

Design, Funding, and Construction

To create Memorial Plaza and Soldiers' Memorial, the city established a Memorial Plaza Commission in 1925. Its members would fulfill what landscape architect Eldridge Lovelace called "Bartholomew's greatest single accomplishment in St. Louis."[24] Implementing his City Beautiful concept, the Plaza Commission was composed of eight architectural and two engineering firms. Parceling the work within their own ranks and setting the style collaboratively, the commission assigned Soldiers' Memorial to two firms: Mauran, Russell & Crowell, and the office of Preston J. Bradshaw. For the memorial's park space, the Plaza Commission's plans began grandly with a proposed triumphal arch and a large fountain. St. Louis native Hugh Ferriss (1889-1962), an architect and famed delineator, prepared plans for the commission, along the lines of the 1893 White City in Chicago. However, plans for the arch, fountain, and one axis were not implemented. As architectural historian Esley Hamilton noted, "As completed, the Memorial Plaza is considerably less splendid than the Plaza Commission had hoped. Without the lush accessories of the plaza, the relative austerity of the major buildings becomes more apparent. In part, this was budget; the millions in the bond issue proved to be insufficient, and the building projects were rescued only by grants from the New Deal's Public Works Administration."[25]

Initially six blocks were cleared in a two-block wide, three-block long neighborhood, then an additional four blocks were cleared, so as to implement the City Beautiful idea and build public structures, notably the Civil Courts (1930), Municipal Auditorium (1934), and

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[20] Lewis Mumford, "Monuments and Memorials," *Good Housekeeping* 120 (January 1945): 17, ff.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Primm, 423.
[23] Esley Hamilton, "Breath of the Modern in the City Beautiful," in *The Way We Came: A Century of the AIA in St. Louis*, ed. George McCue (St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1991), 58.
[24] Eldridge Lovelace, *Harland Bartholomew: His Contributions to American Urban Planning* (Urbana, IL: Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Illinois, 1993), 11.
[25] Hamilton, 59.

Fig. 5: Build the Court House Now, 1923 Bond Poster.

Fig. 6: African-American neighborhood, 1910s. Municipal Courts on Market Street at left; demolished areas above and to the right.

Soldiers' Memorial (1938).[26] A proposed fourth building was never funded. As would be the case for years to come, the poor, African American neighborhoods of Chestnut Valley, which included "a thriving honky-tonk district," were regarded as obsolete or blighted slums. As historian John A. Wright noted, not only did the Chestnut Valley neighborhoods challenge the dominant white, middle-class idea of propriety, they didn't generate much tax revenue.[27] As a result, the neighborhood on Market, Chestnut, and Pine streets between Eleventh and Fifteenth streets was leveled (*fig. 6*). Yet, while the $5 million allocated for the Municipal Auditorium, and the $4.5 million allocated for Civil Courts were sufficient for those buildings, the acquisition and clearing of the other blocks exhausted the $6 million allotted for the Soldiers' Memorial.[28] Thus, while the Memorial's design was completed by 1928, its block between Market and Pine, and Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets stood vacant.

Stalled and broke, the Soldiers' Memorial project resembled the nation's misfortune when the depression hit and unemployment skyrocketed. Appearing on the shores of the Mississippi River, a squatter's village, or Hooverville, was home to some 3,000 inhabitants and 500 buildings until the flood of 1935 swept parts away.[29] But the city's political fortunes were changing. In 1932, not only did the nation elect Franklin D. Roosevelt as president, but St. Louis also shifted from the Republican to the Democratic party. In 1933, Bernard F. Dickmann became the first Democrat to win the post in over two decades.[30] All the while, and in tune with FDR's New Deal, the city was pushing economic development and jobs programs, as with the construction of its Municipal Auditorium (1934) on Market and Fourteenth streets and the rehabilitation of City Hall (1936).

With Soldiers' Memorial still only on the drawing boards and with his appeal for private funding falling flat, Dickmann approached President Roosevelt for federal funding, and

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[26] John A. Wright, *African Americans in Downtown St. Louis* (Chicago: Arcadia, 2003), 39.
[27] John A. Wright, *Discovering African American St. Louis: A Guide to Historic Sites* (2d ed.; St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2002), 22. See the map, "Obsolete and blighted districts, 1936-1947", in Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 191.
[28] Primm, 424.

[29] St. Louis Virtual City Project, University of Missouri St. Louis. http://www.umsl.edu/virtualstl, accessed July 14, 2010; "Hooverville," "Flood of 1935."
[30] Lana Stein, *St. Louis Politics: The Triumph of Tradition* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 2002), 20-25.

Washington came through with monies from its relief program to implement the almost $1 million project. Before construction began on October 21, 1935, the chair of the Soldiers' Memorial Committee reminded Dickmann that "the entire seven blocks . . . constitute the Memorial Plaza and that but one – the Memorial Building – could be erected on the area covered by the Plaza."[31] With federal moneys priming the pump, Dickmann also pushed other projects near Memorial Plaza, including the construction of the U.S. Court and Custom House at Tucker Boulevard and Market Street (1935) and a new Post Office (1937) at Eighteenth and Market streets. But, as federal projects, these were not under the purview of the Memorial Plaza Commission. In addition, the mayor successfully floated a $7.5 million dollar bond to improve the downtown, and the Works Progress Administration began to clear almost forty blocks on the Mississippi River for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. In all, this represented a major remaking of downtown St. Louis, with much of the inspiration coming from the City Beautiful movement and the energy from an activist government trying to offset a depressed economy.

Eight years after completing the schematic design, the two architectural offices assigned to the project saw their plans for Soldiers' Memorial implemented. More prominent of the two was Mauran, Russell, and Crowell, which according to one study was "by any measure the single most important and influential architectural firm in the city between the World Wars."[32] The firm's founder, John Lawrence Mauran, had been educated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Well placed socially and politically, he served not only as the national American Institute of Architects (AIA) president (1916-18), but also as president of the Memorial Plaza Commission. His firm's prominent commissions in St. Louis included the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (1925), a restrained neoclassical building downtown; the Southwestern Bell Building (1926), which at the time was the state's tallest building; the Missouri Pacific Building (1928), with a white terra cotta facing; and the United States Court and Custom House (1935), which critic George McCue thought appears "in the distance as a rock-cut sepulcher for an unmourned potentate."[33]

While Mauran exercised the firm's political muscle, the architect who best illustrated its creative energies was William de Forest Crowell (1879-1967) (*fig. 7*). According to his obituary, he was credited "with the initial design of most of his firm's major work of the 1920s and 1930s."[34] Educated at MIT's School of Architecture, he won the prestigious Rotch Traveling Fellowship in 1905 and studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts for two years.[35] After joining Mauran in 1910, "Crowell was the principal designer of the firm, while his two older partners concentrated on planning and administration," as Ernest John Russell, for example, served as national AIA president (1932-35) and chairman of the St. Louis City Plan Commission (1917-37).[36] Said architectural historian Lawrence S. Lowic,

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[31] E. J. Spencer to Bernard F. Dickmann, February 27, 1935, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/2, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis.
[32] National Register of Historic Places, St. Louis Post-Dispatch Printing Building, St. Louis, Missouri, National Register #84002672. http://www.dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/84002672.pdf, accessed July 26, 2010.

[33] McCue, 46.
[34] National Register of Historic Places, Missouri Pacific Building.
[35] The Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris trained many renowned architects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and produced the Beaux Arts style of architecture.
[36] National Register of Historic Places, St. Louis Post-Dispatch Printing Building.

> Crowell's views and interests were decidedly modern, [but] his buildings prior to 1940 remained within the limits of the essentially conservative taste of St. Louis. . . . While his work of the 1920s and 1930s becomes ever more simplified and employs less and less applied ornament, it nevertheless remains either Neoclassical or Gothic in inspiration. Although his work is unmistakably contemporary, it remained eclectic rather than becoming 'modern.'[37]

Fig. 7: William de Forest Crowell (right), Eugene J. Russell (left).

Interestingly, Crowell's own biography in the *American Architects Directory* lists such major designs as the Bell Telephone Building and the Missouri Pacific Building as his accomplishments, but it makes no mention of Soldiers' Memorial.[38]

Fig. 8: Preston J. Bradshaw.

Working with Crowell was the consulting architect Preston J. Bradshaw (1884-1953) (*fig. 8*). Born in St. Louis, he went to work after studying at Columbia University for Carrere & Hastings, for whom he assisted in the drafting of plans for the Senate and House Office Buildings in Washington, D.C.[39] Establishing his own practice in St. Louis, he designed not only residential homes, but also dozens of automobile dealerships, eight of which are in the city's Locust Street Automotive District.[40] Expanding further, he was commissioned to design hotels in Louisville, Kansas City, and Dallas. During the real-estate boom of the 1920s, he designed the nine-story, 500-room Chase Hotel in the Central West End of St. Louis, which for many years was the city's "premier hotel" frequented by celebrities and even presidents.[41] He sketched, and invested in, other large hotels for downtown St. Louis, including the Lennox and the Mayfair.[42] Others, like the Coronado, were built near Forest Park. His commissions included large office buildings, like the Paul Brown, but the stock market crash and ensuing depression flattened his business. He took on smaller projects, including work at Soldiers' Memorial for the Plaza Commission. With his death in 1953, the city's Landmarks

Fig. 9: Walker K. Hancock.

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[37] Ibid.
[38] George S. Koyl, ed, "William De Forest Crowell," *American Architects Directory* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1955), 118.
[39] National Register of Historic Places, Weber Implement and Automobile Company Building, St. Louis, Missouri, National Register #04000343. http://www.dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/04000343.pdf, accessed August 3, 2010.
[40] Lindsey M. Derrington, "Preston J. Bradshaw, AIA (1884-1953)," Landmarks Association of St. Louis, Inc. http://www.landmarks-stl.org/architects/bio/preston_j_bradshaw_aia_1884_1953/, accessed August 3, 2010.
The Locust Street Automotive District is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.
[41] Charlene Prost, "Surprises Add to Costs at the Chase," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 11, 1998.
[42] "National Register of Historic Places, Paul Brown Building, St. Louis, Missouri, National Register #02001496. http://www.dnr.mo.gov/shpo/nps-nr/02001496.pdf, accessed July 29, 2010.

Association remarked, Bradshaw left "behind him one of the most important architectural legacies in St. Louis." His designs were covered in the most prominent architectural publications in the nation, and the scope of his nearly fifty years' worth of work stands a testament to his innovation and mastery of architectural style and form.[43]

While these architects were spotlighted in the newspapers, the building's fine-tuning before actual construction was in the hands of a Soldiers' Memorial Committee and the Memorial Plaza Committee, both of which were chaired by General Eugene J. Spencer, a veteran of the Spanish-American War and World War I. The Soldiers' Memorial Committee determined the structure's embellishments. Wanting to place captured ordnance on the building's four sides, for example, Spencer asked Gen. Douglas MacArthur for eight pieces, but when MacArthur's aide was only able to offer the likes of small mortars, Spencer shot back that they were "too light, too petty and trifling to put on the approaches of our Memorial."[44] In the end, none were available, thus averting a criticism influential scholar Lewis Mumford would later make that too many memorials "thought it necessary to put into the very center of the monument the tanks and machine guns our men used, as if our machines were as much entitled to reverence as our dead."[45] Without the desired ordnance, the city turned to Walker K. Hancock's eye-catching sculpture.

The Soldiers' Committee also determined that the monument had to include all of the armed services. When planning a list of sixteen notable American military engagements, whose names would be carved into the four stone pylons on the terrace corners, Spencer warned, "Do not forget the Navy and above all else the Marines! His Honor, the Mayor of St. Louis was one of the latter group."[46] Similarly, after the architects decided that carving insignia in the frieze would be difficult, the committee chose incised silhouettes, including that of a female nurse.[47] Even the two inscriptions on the north and south friezes were debated. Not satisfied with the architect's choice of GLORY TO OUR HEROES,[48] Spencer opened up the debate, and the suggestions included: LEST WE FORGET, THEY KEPT THE FAITH, and TO THOSE WHO SERVED.[49] William L. R. Gifford of the Mercantile Library Association suggested the phrase TO OUR SOLDIER DEAD, believing "I don't think the living soldiers would begrudge this limitation to those departed."[50] Even the contents of the cornerstone were scrutinized. The ephemera included not only a Register of the Gold Star Mothers and a Roster of all American Legion Posts, but also one photograph, and that was of Mayor Dickmann.[51]

Foreshadowing a debate that would last into the 1970s, one of the more difficult issues concerned the list of names to be carved into the cenotaph, or empty tomb in honor of those

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[43] Derrington. Many of Bradshaw's buildings have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places based on their architectural significance.
[44] E. J. Spencer to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, July 18, 1935, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/1, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis; E. J. Spencer to Col. Robert P. Glassburn, September 10, 1935, ibid.
[45] Mumford, 17.
[46] E. J. Spencer to Maj. Gen Mahin Craig, July 18, 1935, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/1, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis.
[47] Ernest John Russell to Mayor's Advisory Committee, January 7, 1936, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/4, ibid.
[48] E. J. Spencer to Wm. L. R. Gifford, October 1, 1935, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/1, ibid.
[49] Arthur E. Bostwick to E. J. Spencer, October 10, 1935, ibid.
[50] Wm. L. R. Gifford to E. J. Spencer, October 11, 1935, ibid.
[51] List of Contents Record Box for Cornerstone of Soldiers' Memorial, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/3, ibid.

whose remains are elsewhere. Though the information was incomplete or inaccurate, the committees refused to allocate any funds for research. Asking the American Legion for help, a committee member said: "This is one of their duties to the constituents they represent and to the dead they are supposed to represent. . . . That is part of its work and its duty if it is established for anything at all."[52] However, veterans from earlier wars also wanted their fallen comrades remembered. Believing that the warriors of the Spanish-American War had been slighted, as there was only a flagstaff (1934) in front of the Civil Courts to mark the conflict, Carl Hammer, Commander of the Department of Missouri United Spanish War Veterans, told Spencer that the city "has never in any way recognized the services rendered by the volunteers of 1898."[53] Spencer told the mayor that those veterans "have been too inert." In addition, he said, the 1923 bond, the legal arguments for land condemnation, and so forth, "involved only a World War Memorial. Even if it were legally possible it is now too late to change designs. Practically all stone cutting and inscriptions are complete."[54] Resentful, Hammer replied that he had no "wish to ride free or realize on Legion Legislation," believing that the American Legion was pulling all the strings.[55] There the matter died.

Even the project's costs were examined by the two committees. After the Soldiers' Memorial Committee stipulated the use of Missouri granite and Bedford stone,[56] for example, it and the Memorial Plaza Commission jointly requested that the stone be fabricated locally. "Practically all of our local stone cutters were on relief, and that inasmuch as the Government grant was predicated partly on the alleviation of unemployment," said one member, it was considered "quite appropriate for the City to assume the additional expense [of $25,000]. This was endorsed by all present."[57] In the end, however, the city's higher authorities rejected the request. The issue of the local jobless rate played out dramatically on Memorial Plaza, as many protest marches and labor rallies converged on City Hall.[58] A three-week strike by 75 construction workers also ensued during construction at Soldiers' Memorial.[59] Even more compromising to the building's construction was the fact that the building was going to cost more than allocated. That prompted the committees to urge in March 1935 that the city erect a smaller building and make architectural changes.[60] Funded in good part by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (Project No. 5098), the Memorial was constructed by the H. B. Deal & Co. It had already built the Missouri Pacific Office Building in 1928 and would build the Ford Apartments in 1948, the latter of which was designed by Bradshaw. They stand, respectively, to the northwest and northeast on Pine Street from the Memorial.[61]

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[52] Col. A. T. Perkins, in Minutes of Memorial Plaza Committee, June 8, 1936, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/2, ibid.
[53] Carl Hammer to E. J. Spencer, January 4, 1937, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/5, ibid.
[54] E. J. Spencer to Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann, January 11, 1937, ibid.
[55] Carl Hammer to E. J. Spencer, January 4, 1937, ibid.
[56] Meeting, Soldiers' Memorial Plaza Committee, October 18, 1935, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/2, ibid.
[57] Joint Meeting, Soldiers' Memorial Committee and Plaza Commission, June 3, 1935, ibid.
[58] "St. Louis Municipal City Hall," St. Louis Virtual City Project, http://www.umsl.edu/virtualstl accessed July 14, 2010.
[59] "Soldiers Memorial Strike to End Today," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 28, 1936.
[60] "Smaller Memorial Building Urged by Special Committee," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, March 1, 1935.
[61] National Register of Historic Places, Ford Apartments.

"A Perpetual Reminder of Valor and Sacrifice": Soldiers' Memorial Dedicated and Opened

Though the building would only be finished in 1938, it was dedicated by President Roosevelt on October 14, 1936, as he made a re-election campaign stop in St. Louis. As such, Soldiers' Memorial would become "the only structure in St. Louis . . . that was dedicated by a sitting President."[62] Oddly enough, the laying of the cornerstone, which typically marks a dedication program, was done a month later (*fig.* 10). In a ceremony arranged by Gen. Spencer, the president presented a flag and heard the forty-five-piece American Legion band play the "Star Spangled Banner."[63] For FDR, the visit was good politically because the project not only was a jobs program amidst the depression, but also shored up his military credentials. Shortly after taking office in 1933 he heard rumors of a plot by fascist financiers, in cooperation with alleged American Legion officials, to oust him, prompting a congressional investigation.[64] At the same time in the U.S. Senate's Munitions Investigation Committee, also known as the Nye Committee, Gerald Nye's two-year-long investigation of the role of big bankers and businessmen in America's entry into World War I was making sensational front-page news. Also at the time, Congress was rejecting presidential oversight of U.S. trade with belligerent nations and passing the first of a series of Neutrality Acts in 1935 and 1936. As a result, the president had every reason to shore up his standing with the veterans community. Moreover, he had enacted much of his second New Deal over the criticisms of conservatives, including Kansas Governor Alf Landon, who headed the Republican presidential ticket in 1936. Forty-five minutes before the president's arrival, as reported by the *Post-Dispatch*, a pro-FDR group of African Americans marched to Memorial Plaza, walking two abreast and forming a block-long line.[65]

Accompanying the president on his special train were Missouri's two U.S. senators, Harry S Truman and Bennett Champ Clark, both of whom had served as U.S. Army officers in the World War army.[66] Presenting what was called "a five-minute non political speech" before a crowd of some 75,000 on Memorial Plaza, Roosevelt stressed that this was a sacred site:

> You and I join here with the rest of the nation in dedicating this site as a memorial to the valiant dead of the World War. Here will rise a fitting structure--a symbol of devoted patriotism and unselfish service.
>
> We in America do not build monuments to war; we do not build monuments to conquests; we build monuments to commemorate the spirit of sacrifice in war -- reminders of our desire for peace. The memory of those, whom the war called to the Beyond, urges us to consecrate the best that is in us to the service of our country in times of peace. We best honor the memory of those dead by striving for peace, that the terror of the days of war will be with us no more.
>
> May the beauty of the monument, which will rise on this site, cast a beneficent light on the memories of our comrades, may a substantial structure typify the strength of

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[62] James P. Brown, Statement of on H.R. 1047, Hearing before the Subcommittee on National Parks of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, United States Senate, 110th Congress, 1st Session, April 26, 2007 (Washington, D.C: USGPO, 2007), 39.
[63] St. Louis Virtual City Project, "Dedication of the Soldiers Memorial: President Visits St. Louis to Take Part in Dedication of Memorial to Soldiers."
[64] Hans Schmidt, *Maverick Marine: General Smedley D. Butler and the Contradictions of American Military History* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998).
[65] St. Louis Virtual City Project, "Dedication of the Soldiers Memorial: Crowds Final View."
[66] "To Take Part in Dedication," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 14, 1936.

> their purpose, and may it inspire future generations with a desire to be of service to their fellows and their country.[67]

Speaking also was Sen. Clark. As a founder of the American Legion and a member of the Nye Committee, his words fit the tenor of the day, especially as abroad the bloodshed of the Spanish Civil War was increasing with Germany and Italy's military involvement. Critiquing the arms race and its selfish profiteering, and thus supporting the Neutrality Acts, he warned that the arms merchants were again bringing Europe to the brink of war.[68]

Before heading to Chicago to make what the *Globe-Democrat* called "one of the major addresses of the campaign," FDR drove past the Municipal Auditorium, whose completion relied on federal dollars, but he spent most of his 93-minute visit to St. Louis by touring the waterfront memorial to Thomas Jefferson.[69] Covering almost forty blocks and projected to cost $30 million, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial would remake St. Louis; implementing Bartholomew's Central Riverfront Plan, it was "the first great call for an American city to turn around and front upon, rather than to turn its back to, the waterfront."[70]

Nineteen months later, Soldiers' Memorial opened to the public. In a Memorial Day ceremony, on May 30, 1938, Governor Lloyd C. Stark spoke to a more subdued crowd of 5,000 (*fig.* 11). Standing on the Memorial's stairs with the cenotaph behind him, he used the symbolic stage to argue a case considerably different from Clark's in 1936. Advocating preparedness for war, he cited veterans organizations that wanted legislation to introduce universal military service.[71] Criticizing pacifists, he proclaimed, "We can't have peace merely by wishful thinking."[72] Still, like Clark and the Nye Committee, he asked Congress to

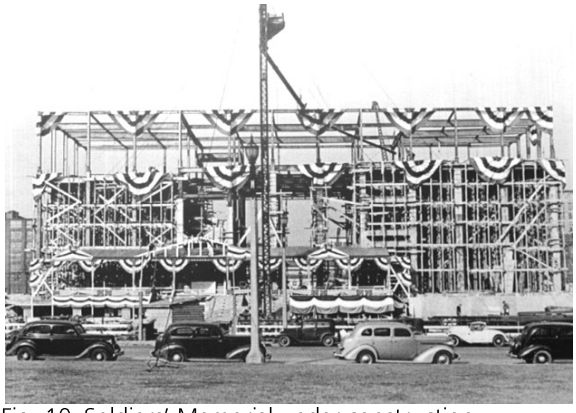

Fig. 10: Soldiers' Memorial under construction.

Fig. 11: Gov. Stark Speaks to Opening Day Crowd.

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[67] Ibid.; "President Dedicates Memorial Here," *St. Louis Star-Times*, October 14, 1936; St. Louis Virtual City Project, "Dedication of the Soldiers Memorial: President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Dedication address"; "'Let Us Not Turn Back' in Search for Sounder Well Being," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 14, 1936.
[68] *St. Louis Star-Times*, November 12, 1936; Thomas T. Spencer, "Bennett Champ Clark and the 1936 Presidential Campaign," *Missouri Historical Review* 75 (1981): 197–213.
[69] St. Louis Virtual City Project, "Dedication of the Soldiers Memorial: President Visits St. Louis to Take Part in Dedication of Memorial to Soldiers"; St. Louis Virtual City Project, "Dedication of the Municipal Auditorium"; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* October 14, 1936.
[70] "President Inspects Site of the Proposed Waterfront Memorial," *St. Louis Star-Times*, October 14, 1936; Lovelace, 8.
[71] "War Memorial Formally Opened by Gov. Stark," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 31, 1938.
[72] *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 31, 1938, 4D.

prevent wartime profiteering and to plan emergency controls over industry.[73] Sharing the limelight, the Memorial's main booster, Mayor Dickmann, spoke inspirationally about this shrine, saying,

> For seventy years the people of this nation, on this day have honored the memory of those who have died in defense of our country.
>
> Today, this gathering in St. Louis has a greater significance. It is to honor Soldiers of the Revolution; Soldiers of the War between the States; Soldiers of the Spanish War; Soldiers of the World War. This magnificent edifice, erected as a perpetual reminder of the valor and sacrifice that had enabled America to live, will spur us on as a people to make America greater. We who live, because others have died, should make of this shrine a place of love and a monument of peace.
>
> Visit this monument clothed in reverence; in quiet and in dignity. Let not your voice, your actions, pollute the sanctity of an edifice dedicated to those who gave their lives that others might live; that the cause of liberty and justice shall prevail.[74]

Visitors could now see the Memorial's many features. Finished at a cost of over $900,000, its neoclassicism was shaped, in part, by the sharp angles, undecorated cornice, and symbols prominent in some federal Art Deco designs. With a massing of 190 x 89 feet, the building is seventy-two-feet above the street; four seventy-five-foot flag poles also rise from the street. Placed on a terrace, the Memorial is topped by a recessed, second-story flat-roofed attic of offices and meeting rooms. Most dramatic when floodlit at night is its four-sided portico – thirty-eight peripteral square columns that are thirty-feet high and fluted without base or capital. Clad in Bedford limestone, its embellishments are few. Notably, the first-story entablature contains at the center of the north (Pine Street) and south (Chestnut Street) facades, respectively, the inscriptions WORLD WAR MEMORIAL and TO OUR SOLDIER DEAD; it includes thirty-two circular intaglios of soldiers, marines, sailors, aviators, and nurses in silhouette. Earlier designs showed four entries at the compass points (*fig. 12*), but as built it has only two (*fig. 13*).

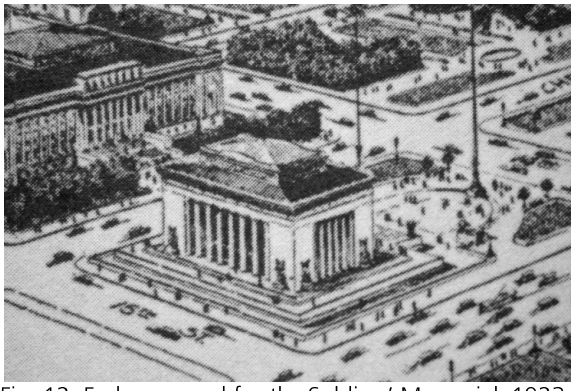

Fig. 12: Early proposal for the Soldiers' Memorial, 1923.

Fig. 13: Historic American Buildings Survey photograph (HABS No. MO-1639)

[73] "War Memorial Formally Opened by Gov. Stark."
[74] St. Louis Virtual City Project, "Dedication of the Soldiers Memorial: Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann's Dedication Address."

Mounted after its opening, the Memorial was highlighted by the sculpture of Walker Kirtland Hancock (1901-1998).[75] His four fifteen-foot limestone statues are placed on the steps to the loggia and are the most artistically significant features of the building. Born in St. Louis, Hancock studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia from 1921 until 1925 in the studio of Charles Grafly , "long considered the premier portrait sculptor in America" according to the *New York Times.*[76] Awarded the Prix de Rome fellowship, Hancock attended the American Academy in Rome for three years. In 1929 he became head of the sculpture department at the Pennsylvania Academy, where he taught for thirty-eight years. Some of his early commissions included works for Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, where his bas reliefs of General John Pershing, Grand Marshal Ferdinand Foch of France, and three other allied leaders were unveiled in 1935. Other prize-winning work was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1935 and the World's Fair in 1939.[77]

Fig. 14: *Sacrifice,* 1939.

Fig. 15: Eagle, 1939.

After Spencer's plan to display ordnance fell through, Hancock, who later remembered that "commissions were hard to come by and some of us had very, very hard times" in the 1930s, submitted his *Sketch for War Memorial* (1936).[78] Reportedly, he was not the committee's first choice, but he won the commission in 1937. Funded by the Federal Art Project, he was busy with these figures until 1939.[79] The statues, which all include Pegasus, represent Hancock's idea of the inner qualities of soldiers and their families. Flanking the south stairs (Chestnut Street) are *Courage* and *Vision.* Originally titled *Pegasus and Warrior*, *Courage* depicts a muscular warrior with a helmet and drawn sword, while *Vision*, picturing a female with her left hand raised, is dedicated to peace. On the north stairs (Pine Street) are *Loyalty* and *Sacrifice.* While *Loyalty* represents a man whose sword handle is up as a gesture of fealty, *Sacrifice* depicts a woman and child symbolizing maternal sacrifice.[80] The city initially rejected the inclusion of the baby, making the dollars-and-cents decision "a cause célèbre" in the international press before it relented, said Hancock.[81] (*fig. 14*) In addition, there are two smaller stone-

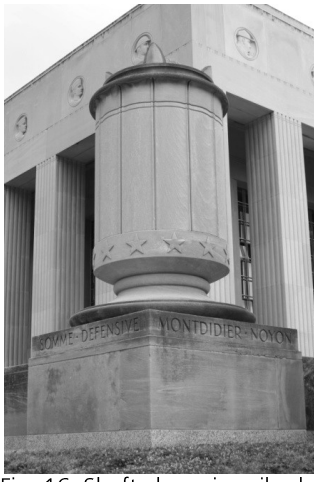

Fig. 16: Shaft above inscribed base, 1939.

[75] Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration, *Missouri, A Guide to the "Show Me" State* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1941), 315.
[76] Hubert B. Herring, "Walker Hancock, 97, Sculptor On War and Religious Themes," *New York Times*, January 2, 1999; The Monuments Men Foundation for the Preservation of Art, "Walker K. Hancock," http://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/monumentsmen/, accessed August 4, 2010.
[77] D. Roger Howlett, "Thirties Sculpture in the Manship Tradition Reborn in the Eighties," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 16 (Summer 1990): 25, 28, 30.
[78] Hancock with Lathem, *A Sculptor's Fortunes*, 112-14.
[79] St. Louis Virtual City Project, "Soldiers' Memorial"; Howlett, 30.
[80] Howlett, 36.
[81] Walker Hancock with Edward Connery Lathem, *A Sculptor's Fortunes. A Memoir* (Gloucester, MA: Cape Ann Historical Association, 1997), 112-14.

carved federal eagles, on the terrace stairs and whose wings merge into a pronounced streamlined wall (*fig. 15*). The terrace's four corners are also decorated with a squat, ribbed shaft with stars in low relief, topped by a dome. The base of each includes four prominent engagements from the World War, including such campaigns as the Somme, Montdidier, and Noyon (*fig. 16*). After his work for St. Louis and his service in World War II, during which he helped save European artistic treasures, Hancock's fame ascended further, climaxing with the National Medal of Art in 1989 and the Medal of Freedom in 1990, both conferred by the president.[82]

Fig. 17: Cenotaph

The Memorial's loggia is approached through four recessed columns; its walls are crafted from gold-veined marble from Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. At center and sitting atop a limestone base is the massive cenotaph of blue-black Belgian marble, whose inscription, THOSE WHO MADE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE, is above the names of the 1,075 casualties from the city of St. Louis, listed alphabetically without regard to rank (*fig. 17).* Thirty-eight feet above the cenotaph, the ceiling is a mosaic with red, gold, and silver tile, forming a compound star at center, surrounded by simple stars and bordered by a two-part, multi-colored Art Deco design. Though its provenance is uncertain, the Memorial stated that it was "probably designed and installed by the Ravenna Mosaic Company, St. Louis." It honors the mothers of St. Louis who lost their loved ones in the war.[83]

Fig. 18: Elevator detail.

The aluminum-cast doors to the exhibit halls are topped by a bas relief of King Louis IX of France, the patron saint of St. Louis, and fleur-de-lis. Sided by tall, free-standing Art Deco lamps, the entry of each wing leads to a lobby; the east side includes a stairway, with Napoleon gray marble walls and aluminum rails, window grills and lanterns, while the west side includes an elevator, paneled in American Walnut, whose aluminum doors depict in low relief a soldier and a sailor (*fig. 18*). The second floor includes a large auditorium, which is mostly unchanged since its construction, as well as offices and meeting rooms, the latter of which are used by local veterans and community groups.

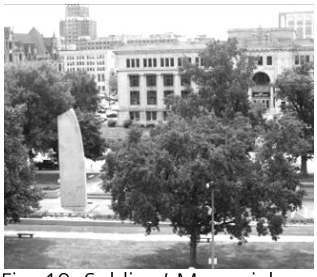
Fig. 19: Soldiers' Memorial Court of Honor.

Eye-catching, the Memorial drew a range of comments. Though an early critic thought it looked too much like the Lincoln Memorial, the revised design is more stern and restrained.[84] The commission's dedication booklet claimed that it achieved "a

Fig. 19: Museum display.

[82] Walker Hancock, "Experiences of a Monuments Officer in Germany," *College Art Journal* 5, #4 (May 1946): 271-311; Hancock with Lathem.
[83] Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum, "History of the Soldiers' Memorial," http://www.stlsoldiersmemorial.org/, accessed August 5, 2010.
[84] "Copying the Lincoln Memorial," unidentified, undated clipping, Soldiers' Memorial Collection, A1540/3, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis.

harmonious correlation between Hellenic serenity and the austere simplicity of modern functional architecture."[85] Perhaps Frank Lloyd Wright's was the most-quoted opinion. The nation's preeminent advocate of the modern found little to like in the neoclassical. Visiting St. Louis in 1939, he cringed at the sight of the civic buildings grouped around Memorial Plaza, calling the concept "post dated before it was begun." Crowell's two recently completed compositions were particularly troublesome. While Wright called Soldiers' Memorial "a deflowered classic, a Greek thing run through a modernizing mill," he dismissed the U.S. Court and Custom House as "a pile of innocuous desuetude."[86] Trying to explain the disparaging remarks, architectural historian Esley Hamilton suggested that "the stripped classical style of the Soldiers' Memorial seemed advanced in 1928. By the time it was finished a decade later, however, it was being compared to work then appearing in fascist Germany and Italy, and it seemed reactionary in contrast to the even greater severity of international modernism." Local architect Louis LeBeaume, however, attributed the problem to the conservatism of St. Louis and its unwillingness to change a ten-year-old design.[87]

The Life of the Memorial: A Site, Stage, and Symbol

As a triumph of the American Legion, Soldiers' Memorial revealed the bumpy road veterans faced. Even after its Memorial Day opening in 1938, the monument failed to yield the expected reverence. According to a journalist in the *Globe-Democrat*, "almost none of the visitors manifested any deep interest in the symbolism of the 22-foot long black granite tomb."[88] Victory in World War II was celebrated there, but a proposal to install a carillon in 1947 went nowhere.[89] To honor the 2,573 St. Louisans who died in that war, a Soldiers' Memorial Court of Honor was created in 1948 across Pine Street (*fig. 19*). Presented to the city by the St. Louis War Memorial Committee, its forty-foot limestone shaft, designed by sculptor Hillis Arnold, depicts a broken blade and includes bas-relief figures of soldiers. Yet, a ceremony in 1949 to honor them "drew a scant two dozen spectators," reported the *Globe-Democrat*, which sadly noted that there were more veterans in the firing salute squad and Gold Star Mothers than attendees from the general public.[90]

With the escalating Cold War, Soldiers' Memorial drew the attention of those who lobbied – in one way or another – for American action globally. As the Eisenhower Administration emphasized international cooperation in 1956, for example, the Memorial flew both the American and United Nations (UN) flags. But one opponent, a preacher who claimed Russia was in charge of the UN, publicly pulled down its flag, cut it up, and demanded U.S. withdrawal from the organization.[91] At the height of the nuclear arms race in 1967, the Memorial displayed for more than a week a 150-foot Titan missile, which towered over the monument and flag.[92] Even while President Nixon promoted detente with the Soviet Union, opponents held a wreath-laying ceremony in 1972 to remind St. Louisans of nations behind the Iron Curtain.[93]

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[85] Hamilton, 58.
[86] National Register of Historic Places, St. Louis Post-Dispatch Printing Building.
[87] Hamilton, 58.
[88] "Reverence Rare at Cenotaph," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 2, 1938.
[89] "Plan to Install...," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 22, 1947.
[90] "Few Attend Ceremony Here for City's World War II Dead," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, August 15, 1949.
[91] "Preachers Pulls Down UN Flag and Cuts It to Pieces," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 25, 1956.
[92] "Soldiers' Memorial to Display Titan," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 2, 1967.
[93] "'Captive Nations' Ceremony Today," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 18, 1972.

The long war in Vietnam generated rally-round-the-flag observances at Soldiers' Memorial. Just before some 100,000 antiwar protestors rallied in 1967 at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., the conservative Young Americans for Freedom and the American Legion jointly sponsored a "Lights On" campaign, using the Memorial's floodlights, to support the troops in Vietnam.[94] Yet, the war's human toll further brightened the focus on the Memorial. In 1972, the Gold Star Mothers asked that the names of both city and county casualties be included at the Court of Honor. But the Soldiers' Memorial Committee and the city's veterans organizations replied that the city charter limited the listing to those from the city.[95] Finally, a campaign for the establishment of a new memorial at the Court found success, and it was dedicated in 1979 for the Korean War's 161 casualties and the Vietnam War's 214. The campaign was led by veteran Andy Sgroi, a bugler who by then had played taps at over 1,000 services and would play at another 8,000 before his own passing. His bugle is today displayed at the museum.[96]

The Memorial continued to sponsor rallies when the nation was challenged. After some fifty American hostages were taken at the U.S. embassy in Iran in 1979, for example, the Memorial staff and AMVETS jointly sponsored a "Rally Round the Flag" event, complete with a marching band that drew 200 supporters.[97] The museum even sold T-shirts depicting Uncle Sam with the warning, "I Want Ayatollah."[98] When eight U.S. commandos were subsequently killed in the failed rescue mission, a color guard and rifle team from Scott AFB paid tribute, drawing about one hundred observers.[99] Yet that demonstration revealed a nagging problem. Said Memorial superintendent Larry Lanius, "I deeply regret that there aren't more people here. . . . I expected between 2,000 and 3,000. I think the American public is not as patriotic today as it should be." Col. William Weiss of Scott AFB concurred, "It's typical of the modern American attitude. . . . We don't realize the significance of what these men did when they gave their lives."[100]

Over the past half-century, Soldiers' Memorial has tried, with limited success, to expand its shrinking base of support.[101] Unlike museums elsewhere that were part of the school curricula, Soldiers' Memorial Museum was still an adjunct of the Legion and veterans, whose ranks were decreasing. With its free admission, money was another problem. Superintendent Eugene Berry regretted in 1974, "We are low man on the totem pole when it comes to funding . . . because we are a complete financial drain on the city."[102] Another superintendent, Roger A. Hill, appointed by the mayor in 1993 and the first African American and first Vietnam War vet to head the museum, recognized that the city's demographics had changed, and he wanted more coverage of and participation by African Americans.[103] But Hill's tenure led to what the *Post-Dispatch* called "the worst of times" for the Memorial, as he was convicted of and imprisoned for stealing as much as $50,000 and perhaps "several

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[94] "Memorial to Join in 'Lights On,'" *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 19, 1967.
[95] "City - County Disagreement over Soldiers' Memorial," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 25, 1972.
[96] "Ground Broken for Veterans' Memorial," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 3, 1979; Bill Smith, "Sadness Permeates Neglected Tribute to Nation's Defenders," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 23, 1998.
[97] "200 Rally to Support Carter and Hostages," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 10, 1979.
[98] "I Want Ayatollah, T-Shirts for Sale," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 9, 1979.
[99] "City Memorial Service for Commandos Sunday," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 30, 1980; "Casualties of Iran Raid Honored in Services Here," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 5, 1980.
[100] "Casualties of Iran Raid Honored in Services Here."
[101] "Patriotism Is His Constant Sermon," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 18, 1967.
[102] "Soldiers' Memorial – A Symbol of Tragedy of War," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, December 25, 1974.
[103] "New Superintendent of Soldiers' Memorial Plans Spit and Polish," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 9, 1993; "Audit Finds $25,000 Missing from Soldiers' Memorial Fund," *ibid.*, April 30, 1997; "Ex-Superintendent of Soldiers' Memorial Charged with Theft," *ibid.*, May 20, 1997.

valuable artifacts" from the cash-starved institution. Fundraising was difficult for the next superintendent, Ralph D. Wiechert, prompting one journalist to write that "sadness is everywhere, clinging to the marble walls . . . like something dark and cold."[104] Under the current superintendency, fundraising has improved.

Writing in the *Post-Dispatch* in 2003, the historian Warren Rosenblum of Webster University in St. Louis suggested, "If there were an award for most neglected cultural institution in St. Louis, the Soldiers Memorial downtown would be high on the list of nominees." With only one person on the payroll as "director, preservationist, curator and facilitator of events," and without much money for promotion, the museum could not as widely convey what it had in its basement: the artifacts and ephemera that told the "stories of ordinary St. Louisans in extraordinary times." Regretting that most residents did not "recognize and appreciate the historical experience, the sensibilities and ambitions that went into building this monument," he suggested, "We should treasure this place as a piece of history in its own right and as a repository for our collective memory."[105]

Over the years, St. Louisans had indeed donated artifacts and ephemera related to their service, primarily in World War II. With nine-foot wainscoting in Ste. Genevieve marble, trimmed with Belgian blue marble, the two exhibit halls are bordered by wall displays, World War II posters, and some glass cases, while the floor space includes many waist-level, free-standing glass cases (*fig. 20*). The collection is very eclectic, and once even displayed live munitions, which the police removed.[106] A few large artifacts are also displayed, such as the ship's bell from the USS *St. Louis* (1906), a World War II-era jeep, and a fifteen-foot long model of the USS *Missouri* (2010), an attack submarine. One six-foot high, glass-fronted wall case displays an array of hand-held World War II weapons, while another one includes personal memorabilia, photographs, dress uniforms, and trophies like the Nazi Germany flag, one of which has a soldier's boot literally stepping on it. Where possible, the displays tell personal stories. One label states: "Proud to Serve in WWII as a Jew and as an American," and tells the story of Sidney Rosen, a St. Louisan who served in the US Army Air Force in the Middle East. A floor case exhibits a Medal of Honor awarded posthumously after World War I to Gunnery Sergeant Fred W. Stockham, USMC. An orphan with no next of kin, Stockham had saved local resident Barak T. Mattingly, who later served on the Soldiers' Memorial Committee and donated the medal. Another tall circular glass case displays the white cape of American Gold Star Mothers, Inc., along with local family photographs.[107] Some exhibits are more focused, as are ones on "Montford Point Marines: Black Marines of WWII," "American Superhoeroes: Popular Culture and the St. Louis Experience", and "Hometown Heroes: Honoring Local Veterans Who Made It Home to Tell Their Story."[108] On the terrace is placed a nine-ton anchor from the USS *Langley* (CVL-27).

Soldiers' Memorial attracts 48,000 visitors per year, and it has become one backdrop for what has been called the largest Annual Veterans Day Parade and Observance in the

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[104] Smith.
[105] Warren Rosenblum, "The War Memorial That St. Louis Forgot," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 26, 2003. See also, "From Citizens to Soldiers: St. Louisans in the Great War," an exhibit at Soldiers' Memorial, prepared by Warren Rosenblum and his students, 2001-2005, http://www.webster.edu/~wrosenbl/Soldiers2.html, accessed, August 5, 2010.
[106] "Soldiers' Memorial Weapons Removed," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 15, 1978.
[107] James Lindgren, observations, July 8, 2010.
[108] Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum, "History of the Soldiers' Memorial."

Midwest.[109] Because of what the parade's founder "perceived as the public's indifference toward veterans," an annual event began in 1984. Helped by a $10,000 donation from Anheuser-Busch in 1990, the parade drew relatively small crowds through the 1990s, but that changed with the events of September 11, 2001.[110] As the *Post-Dispatch* explained in 2003, "A few years ago, before the terrorist attacks in 2001, the annual parade sometimes had a hard time drafting participants. Interest surged for the 2001 parade," whose opening ceremonies were held at the Memorial. It was organized by former superintendent Wiechert, who attributed the boom to St. Louisans wanting "to show their support for the troops." That parade drew about 2,000 participants who, while jets roared overhead and bands marched, entertained some 20,000 spectators.[111] In 2002, however, the crowd dropped to between 5,000 and 6,000. While the ninety-minute parade, which was led by the mayor, included everything from the Moolah Shrine's tiny hot rods to Polish-American war veterans to Black Hawk helicopters on display, the spectacle drowned out what the day's opening speaker at the Memorial, the Irish tenor John McDermott who also sang the national anthem, said about the problems of homelessness among veterans and the importance of corporate America assisting them.[112]

As former superintendent Weichert said, "This ought to be a living memorial . . . and not a dead, forgotten place," and the museum has been managed to that end in recent years with new events and initiatives.[113] In 2010, hoping to rekindle interest in the Memorial, St. Louis Mayor Francis Slay persuaded baseball great Stan Musial to lead a campaign to raise $6.6 million to restore the Memorial, so as to present, according to the *Post-Dispatch*, "a proper display of this generation's continuing obligations to its fallen heroes," a worthy but challenging goal to achieve.[114]

Conclusion

The cultural significance of Soldiers' Memorial continues to be found in the on-going tug between those life-and-death issues of veterans, the memories of past warriors, the needs of both the current American military and veterans groups, and the changing interests of everyday American citizens. As the historian Warren Rosenblum noted, the collective memory of a people is rooted in its daily activities, including war, and Soldiers' Memorial has a rich lode of local material relating to that, but over the years the impact of World War I, and subsequent wars, has faded.

The Soldiers' Memorial most notable physical elements are the City Beautiful design-influenced, though only partially realized, urban planning of Bartholomew, the sculpture of Hancock, and, to a lesser extent, the architectural design of Crowell and Bradshaw, all of

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[109] Rep. William Lacy Clay, Testimony in Support of H.R. 452, November 10, 2005, House Subcommittee on National Parks, 109th Congress, http://republicans.resourcescommittee.house.gov/Calendar/EventSingle.aspx?EventID=165284, accessed, July 16, 2010.

[110] "William S. Lill, 71; Was Known as 'Mr. Veteran,'" *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 26, 1994; "Anheuser-Busch Donates for Parade," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 17, 1990.

[111] Greg Jonsson, "Terrorist Attacks Help Revive Veterans Day Parades," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 8, 2003; Dawn Fallik and Phil Sutin, "20,000 Honor Soldiers' Sacrifice," *ibid.,* November 11, 2001.

[112] Linda Tucci, "Downsized Crowd Pays Tribute to Veterans' Sacrifices as Groups Parade Through Streets," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 10, 2002.

[113] "Old Relics Never Die, Just Fade, Curator Says," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, October 20, 1997. The building was rented as a set for a Sci-Fi B-movie, *The Black Hole*, in 2006. Internet Movie Database, *The Black Hole* (2006), http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0433883/, accessed August 5, 2010.

[114] "Mothers of St. Louis' Wartime Heroes Help Us Remember Their Children," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 31, 2010.

which have experienced few changes since their implementation. Intangibly, as representative of war memorialization, the Memorial has seen more changes. Its evolution is reminiscent of all too many others that began as sacred shrines to the departed, but then transitioned into collections of artifacts, meeting places for the survivors, and learning places for contemporaries. This transition at Soldiers' could be seen as early as 1938 when "almost none of the visitors manifested any deep interest in the symbolism" of the cenotaph.[115] The death toll of World War II, the fears of the Cold War, and the heartfelt loss of more lives in later conflicts would periodically renew interest in the Memorial, but much of its meaning has changed for later generations. Today the Memorial serves as a focus for veterans of all wars in the greater St. Louis area.

[115] "Reverence Rare at Cenotaph."

CHAPTER 3: SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY

In this chapter, the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum and Memorial Plaza will be evaluated using criteria for new units of the national park system. When specifically authorized by an Act of Congress, the NPS is responsible for conducting studies of potential additions to the national park system, and for transmitting the results of these studies to the Secretary of the Interior and Congress. These special resource studies rely on the Criteria for Inclusion (Appendix B) to evaluate these potential new areas.[116] To be recommended as a potential new area, a proposed addition to the national park system must meet the following criteria:

1. **Significance:** For cultural resources, significance is evaluated using the National Historic Landmark criteria. (Appendix C) Determinations of an area's national significance are made by NPS professionals in consultation with scholars, experts, and scientists.
2. **Suitability:** A property is considered suitable if it represents a resource type that is not currently represented in the park system or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by another agency or entity. Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the type, quality, quantity, combination of resources present, and interpretive and educational potential.
3. **Feasibility:** To be considered feasible, an area must be of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure long-term protection of the resources and to accommodate public use. The area must have potential for efficient administration at a reasonable cost. Other important feasibility factors include landownership, acquisition costs, current and potential use, access, level of local and general public support, and staff or development requirements.
4. **Need for Direct NPS Management:** Even if a resource meets the criteria of significance, suitability, and feasibility, it will not always be recommended that a resource be added to the park system. There are many excellent examples of important natural and cultural resources managed by other federal agencies, other levels of government, and private entities. Evaluation of management options must show that direct NPS management is clearly the superior alternative.

Each criterion is evaluated in succession. If a criterion is not met, only a summary assessment will be given of subsequent criteria.

SIGNIFICANCE

The purpose of the significance evaluation is to determine whether or not the St. Louis Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum qualifies as "nationally significant" in terms of the established criteria for National Historic Landmark status. The guidelines state that national significance is

> …ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture

[116] This criteria is outlined in NPS *Management Policies 2006,* and draws its legal basis from Public Law 91-383 §8 as amended by §303 of the National Parks Omnibus Management Act (Public Law 105-391).

> and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association…[117]

Nationally significant sites must meet one or more of six criteria:

1. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

2. That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

3. That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

4. That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

5. That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

6. That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.[118]

Commemorative sites are not qualified for NHL designation based on the importance of the event they commemorate. A primarily commemorative property can be considered if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.[119]

As described in the Historic Context, the St. Louis Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum and its association Memorial Plaza are notable as an example of war memorialization, of the City Beautiful movement's urban design philosophy, and of memorial architecture. It will be examined for its potential national significance under Criterion 1 (for association with the City Beautiful movement), Criterion 3 (for representing the ideal of memorializing war dead) and Criterion 4 (for architecture and City Beautiful design).

Nationally Historic Landmark guidance on the significance of properties also says that "establishing national significance requires the examination of the theme in which the property is significant to the extent necessary to document that the property represents an

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[117] National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Register Bulletin 16A, "How to Complete a National Register Registration Form," 1999. Appendix V. http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/nrb16a_appendix_V.htm, accessed on August 12, 2010.
[118] Ibid.
[119] National Historic Landmark criteria exceptions, See Appendix B, Section (b)(7).

important aspect of the theme on a national level and is outstanding in its representation. A property should also be exceptionally important compared to similar properties within that theme."[120] Therefore, the Soldiers' Memorial will be compared to other similar World War I memorials.

Comparative Analysis

The context after World War I was different from any major conflict in which the United States had previously fought. The sheer numbers of U.S. casualties in World War I and the logistical difficulties of repatriating the remains prompted a revision in military policy and the creation of military cemeteries on European soil. Back home, bereaved families unable to visit the graves and newly formed veterans organizations demanded the erection of memorials to the deceased. When these monuments rose during the 1920s and 1930s, the nation was still shocked by the horror of the World War, suspicious about overseas military commitments, and preoccupied by the boom and then the bust of the economy. Unlike the Civil War's sometimes conflicted monuments and statuary, and unlike the brief Spanish American War that generated comparatively few monuments, many World War I remembrances were conceived when "one-hundred-percent Americanism" was pursued. Those strident patriots demanded eye-catching monuments. And lastly, these memorials to World War I soldiers, marines, aviators, sailors, and nurses were built when the City Beautiful movement, neoclassicism, and symbolic public architecture were in vogue. Thus, World War I's memorials represented a new era in the nation's remembrance of its fallen heroes. Two World War I Memorials that embody these themes and are similar to the St. Louis Soldiers' Memorial are the Indiana World War Memorial in Indianapolis, Indiana, and the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, Missouri.

World War I memorials went beyond the model of memorial museum within a City Beautiful-inspired landscape. Many monuments consisted of a traditional statue atop a pedestal, such as the often-copied "Iron Mike" (1923) at Quantico Marine Corp Base (Virginia). Others recalled the European past, like the Rosedale (Kansas) Memorial Arch (1923), a petite *Arc de Triomphe*.[121] Even more imitated is the Greco-Roman temple, such as the District of Columbia World War Memorial (1931), a simple one-story neoclassic dome atop an open colonnade (*fig. 21*). Located adjacent to the Tidal Basin, it has recently gained attention following the dedication of the nearby National World War II Memorial.[122] Still, many others embraced the idea of "living memorials"; they included assembly halls (like Municipal Auditorium in Lowell, Massachusetts) and stadiums (such as Soldier Field, 1924, in Chicago).[123] If Lewis Mumford's ideal memorial qualities of "permanence, conspicuousness, eloquence and imagination" are considered, one can identify the rare cases of distinction among the wide range of World War I memorials.[124]

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[120] National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Register Bulletin 16A, "How to Complete a National Register Registration Form," 1999. Appendix V.
[121] City of Kansas City, Kansas, "Rosedale World War I Memorial Arch, 1923-24," http://www.wycokck.org/assets/80FEBD72-E9E7-440F-9038-3389471ABFBB.pdf, accessed July 22, 2010.
[122] Mark David Richards, "District of Columbia Service in World War One and the DC World War Memorial," *DC Watch*, http://www.dcwatch.com/richards/020526.htm, accessed May 31, 2011; Richard Goldstein, "Frank Buckles, Last World War I Doughboy, Is Dead at 110," *New York Times*, February 28, 2011.
[123] Andrew M. Shanken, "Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States during World War II," *The Art Bulletin* 84, #1 (March 2002): 130-147.
[124] Mumford.

Perhaps the nation's most famous World War I memorial is located just outside of Washington, D.C. After both the United Kingdom and France ceremoniously reburied one of their unknown infantrymen in national shrines, the United States Congress passed legislation on March 4, 1921, ordering the interment of an unidentified American soldier from World War I in the plaza of the new Memorial Amphitheater at Arlington National Cemetery. On the following Armistice Day, November 11th, President Warren G. Harding officiated at the re-interment ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknowns, or what is popularly known as the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Watched over around-the-clock every day since 1937 by an elite honor guard, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier now includes combatants from World War II and the Korean War. It is regarded as the most sacred of patriotic grounds. It has been visited by every president, as well as countless other dignitaries, to mark the sacrifices made by the nation's servicemen and servicewomen (*fig. 22*).

Fig. 21: District of Columbia World War Memorial.

Fig. 22: Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Leading the way in establishing such memorials elsewhere, American cities and the civic boosters of the late Progressive Era, regarded them as a means to put a patriotic stamp on their communities. Many cities, particularly St. Louis with its large German population and Socialist politics, were deeply divided by the European war, not only before America's entry in 1917, but also by the coercive forging of a pro-war consensus after 1917. As a result, the cities of Indianapolis, Kansas City (Missouri), and St. Louis launched plans soon after war's end to remake their environs by creating parks with a war memorial. In so doing, civic leaders also wanted to revitalize neighborhoods culturally and economically. The architects and landscape designers of the City Beautiful movement, which was already a quarter-century in the making, provided the desired ambience by casting refined, classically derived architecture as symbols of an enhanced government, by creating open, green spaces as vistas to frame and enjoy those stately buildings and the accompanying gardens, fountains, and statuary, and by predicting that such environments would spawn a more wholesome, productive community.

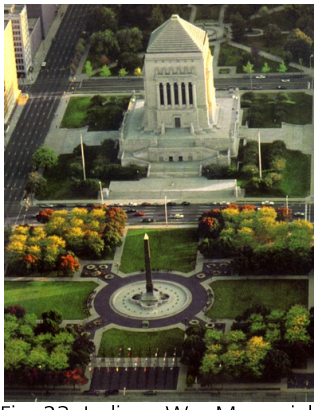
Fig. 23: Indiana War Memorial Plaza.

All the while, the war's veterans lobbied for both recognition of their service and relief from the war's psychological, physical, and financial toll. Formed in 1919 and then chartered by Congress, the American Legion spearheaded the drive, and city governments fell into ranks. Though founded in Paris, the Legion was formally organized in St. Louis, but moved to Indianapolis by the year's end.[125,] At its first convention, not only did the Legion urge delegates to lobby their cities and states to develop appropriate memorials for the deceased, but it also chose Indianapolis as its

Fig. 23: Liberty Memorial.

[125] Suzanne T. Rollins, et al., National Historic Landmark Nomination "Indiana World War Memorial Plaza Historic District," National Park Service, 1994, 19.

national headquarters, partly because Hoosiers promised to erect a grand war memorial and to create a space nearby for the Legion's own administration building.[126] What followed was the impressive Indiana World War Memorial Plaza, which was dedicated in November 1921 (*fig. 23*).

Carved from an existing neighborhood that was partly demolished, the five-block, linear plaza in downtown Indianapolis incorporated the existing county library and federal building in its City Beautiful plan. The highlight of the thirty-acre plaza, however, is the War Memorial. Its cornerstone was laid by General John "Black Jack" Pershing, the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces, on July 4, 1927. Delayed by fiscal problems, the building's interior was still incomplete when it was dedicated on Armistice Day, 1933. The federal Public Works Administration contributed almost $200,000 to speed construction. Based on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, a step pyramid atop a Greek temple that was acclaimed as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Indiana War Memorial Museum rises 210 feet above street level. It was finally completed in 1965. Fronted by Henry Hering's towering bronze sculpture of a nude male, *Pro Patria* (1929) and accompanied by other statuary on the plaza, the building today houses a museum honoring Hoosier soldiers who served from the American Revolution through modern times. The plaza includes Cenotaph Square, a sunken garden with a black granite cenotaph, and a one-hundred-foot obelisk rising from a fountain. The district including the War Memorial, American Legion buildings, sculpture, and other features was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1989 and designated a National Historic Landmark in 1994. Though the urban setting has undergone changes, the Indiana World War Memorial Plaza remains a powerful tribute to the many generations who served Indiana and the nation, and nationally significant for both its City Beautiful design and its association with the American Legion.

Similarly uniting the themes of the City Beautiful movement, war memorialization, and neoclassic public architecture, the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, Missouri, is another impressive monument to World War I's human toll (*fig. 24*). Only two weeks after war's end, local civic leaders began a drive to build a memorial. One year later, a two-week fundraising campaign, conducted in what the press called "an almost religious fervor," collected the then-quite-substantial sum of $2 million, reflecting both "one-hundred-percent Americanism" and civic boosterism.[127] Choosing a 173-acre site near Union Station, part of which was condemned for park purposes, the memorial committee held a national architectural competition for the design of a memorial with buildings. Attending the groundbreaking ceremony in 1921, which attracted over 100,000 people, were not only Vice President Calvin Coolidge, but also high ranking military leaders of the victorious nations, including General Pershing, Grand Marshall Ferdinand Foch of France, and Earl Beatty, Admiral of the British Fleet. Accompanied by a grand pageant with Vestal Virgins, that ceremony coincided with the American Legion's national convention, held that year in Kansas City. Though beset by funding problems, the commission approved the Beaux-Arts design by Harold Van Buren Magonigle, who had also designed the McKinley Memorial Mausoleum in Canton, Ohio. It centered around a 217-foot shaft ("The Torch of Liberty") fronted by a memorial court and sided by two structures, Memory Hall and the Museum Building (a.k.a., Exhibit Hall), each of which comprises 2,500 square feet of exhibit space.

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[126] In the block west of Soldiers' Memorial, facing Fourteenth Street, is Eternal Flame Park, so named in 2003 by the city. It contains the American Legion Founding Commemorative Monument, which was placed there after 1942 ("Downtown Parks," http://stlouis.missouri.org/citygov//parks/parks_div/downtown.html, accessed June 1, 2011).
[127] Milstien, 25.

While the Torch's orange-colored lights illuminate the night, the tower's courtyard is fronted by paired sphinxes; those Egyptian Revival elements suggest the idea of immortality.[128] One looks to the horrors of the past, the other to the promise of the future.

On Armistice Day, 1926, and before a crowd of nearly 150,000, which at the time was billed as "the largest crowd ever addressed" by a U.S. president, Calvin Coolidge dedicated the memorial, whose buildings and tall monument were complete.[129] He was joined at the rostrum by the Secretary of War and the American Legion's national commander. Over the next dozen years, the landscaping (which was planned by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.), the Wall of Dedication, and the plaza art and fountain were completed. Since the mid-1970s Liberty Memorial has made a concerted drive "to develop the museum as a first-rate, professional institution," leading to a threefold increase in its holdings by the early 1980s.[130] Listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2000, Liberty Memorial was rehabilitated and expanded by the creation of subterranean galleries under the tower in 2000-2002. Those 32,000 square-foot galleries accommodate what a reviewer in *The Public Historian* called a "world-class collection." Unlike the more broad-ranging war displays in Indianapolis and St. Louis, the Kansas City galleries focus exclusively on World War I through a mix of documentary film, static display, and interactive media. Within a circular floor plan, one third of its space is devoted to the war before America's official entry (1914-17), another third to the American years (1917-19), and the final third to a highly symbolic entry over a field of poppies and a theater. In addition, the tall tower offers panoramic views of Kansas City, while the two smaller buildings (Memory and Exhibit halls) display supporting World War I materials, including the full-wall mural in Memory Hall of "Pantheon de la Guerre," as modified and installed by Daniel MacMorris.[131]

Rededicated in 2002 and designated by Congress in 2004 as the National World War I Museum, Liberty Memorial became a National Historic Landmark in 2006. As the NHL nomination read, "More than any other memorial in the nation, Liberty Memorial expresses the ideal about the importance of World War I through aesthetic and moral values." Citing author Steven Trout, the nomination concluded: "Through its larger-than-life dimensions, the memorial lifts the war dead beyond the realm of ordinary experience, its acres of funeral concrete and bronze creating the impression of an enormous sepulcher, a crypt for titans."[132] Because of Liberty Memorial's stunning design and landscape, as well as its singular focus on exhibiting World War I at home and overseas, it is the nation's most impressive remembrance of that war.

Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum in St. Louis was first planned in 1923, and finally opened in 1938. Part of a seven-block Memorial Plaza of parks and surrounded by grand public buildings of various age and design, the project entailed erasing a large African-American neighborhood and replacing it, in the vein of progressivism, with visions of the

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[128] Cydney Milstein, National Historic Landmark Nomination "Liberty Memorial." National Park Service, 2006.
http://www.nps.gov/nhl/designations/samples/mo/Liberty%20Memorial.pdf, accessed May 31, 2011.
[129] Keith Eggener, "The Liberty Memorial as Modern Architecture," *Design Observer,* September 13, 2009. http://places.designobserver.com/entry.html?entry=10817, accessed June 1, 2011.
[130] Mark L. Beveridge, "The Liberty Memorial Museum," *Military Affairs* 46, #3 (October 1982): 146.
[131] Donald L. Stevens Jr., "The Liberty Memorial Museum," *The Public Historian* 27, #4 (Autumn 2005): 104-107; Shirley Christian, "World War I Museum's New Drive on the Home Front," *New York Times*, March 31, 1998; Mark Levitch, *Pantheon de la Guerre: Reconfiguring a Panorama of the Great War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press; Kansas City, MO.: National World War I Museum, 2006).
[132] Milstien.

City Beautiful. Designed by two prominent local architectural firms and a nationally noted city planner, ornamented by a nationally known sculptor, adjacent to grand, high-style, public buildings, and constructed by federal dollars when economic pump-priming was necessary, Soldiers' Memorial is the keystone of Memorial Plaza, which as a whole stated the city's aspirations for progress and order. Styled in Modern Classicism, its portico wraps around the temple-like structure. Dedicated in October 1936 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who spoke very briefly to a crowd of 75,000, the building opened two years later on Armistice Day. With two small exhibit rooms of mostly glass cases, including the Medal of Honor awarded to local marine Sergeant Fred W. Stockham, the Memorial contains an eclectic assortment of materials from twentieth-century conflicts, almost all of which were donated by local residents. As in his thirteen-foot limestone depictions of *Loyalty*, *Sacrifice*, *Courage*, and *Vision*, the most memorable features of the building are the statues by Walker K. Hancock, one of the nation's most prominent sculptors of the twentieth century.

Though locally and regionally important on these many counts, the themes represented by Soldiers' Memorial are already represented among NHLs by the Indiana World War Memorial and the Liberty Memorial. Architecturally, Soldiers' Memorial is a conventional neoclassical structure; even its principal architect did not recognize the building as one of his gems. Though representative of the City Beautiful movement, the full plan for Memorial Plaza was never realized, and while a good example, is outshone by the landscapes at the Indiana and Liberty memorials. In considering whether the Soldiers' Memorial is "exceptionally important compared to similar properties," it is clear that when evaluated in comparison to the two NHLs representing the same historical topics and themes, it does not rise to the national level of significance.

Integrity

In respect to its original design, workmanship, and materials, as well as its landscape, little has changed at Soldiers' Memorial since its opening in 1938. Styled as a neoclassic temple, but reflecting the restrained modernist aesthetics of the period, it is a dignified mausoleum. Seventy-five years after its dedication, it is a timeless memorial to the war's fallen.

In its engineering, there have been interior modifications, such as the placement of ceiling tiles on the second floor because of deteriorating plaster. The building currently lacks modern HVAC systems and UV windows. This minimum of modification has helped the Memorial retain an overall high level of integrity.

According to city representatives and building permits, the building has recently received electrical upgrades; accessible ramps have also been added to the exterior for ADA compliance. The plaza blocks have been altered over the years by the installation of new commemorative monuments, but these do not appreciably alter the landscape and are in harmony with the purpose of the Memorial Plaza.

Its Bedford limestone exterior received its first cleaning in 2002.[133] The building is occasionally impacted by outdoor events held by the city on the plaza that while having no

[133] Conversation with Lynnea Magnuson, Ph.D. (Museum and Collections Executive) and Jim Sondermann (Special Assistant to the Mayor), July 8, 2010; 1317 Chestnut Street, Permits, Geo St. Louis: A Guide to Geospatial Data about the City of St. Louis, Planning & Urban Design Agency, http://stlcin.missouri.org/citydata/newdesign/data.cfm?Handle=10500000010&CFID=7678710&CFTOKEN=26172041, accessed May 26, 2011.

impact on the physical integrity, can detract from the Memorial's solemn purpose.[134] According to the Memorial's personnel, the city placed iron gates at the two entrances to the loggia to deter trespassers at night. As Soldiers' Memorial now stands, it is buffered from dramatic changes in setting by a border of parks and architecturally prominent government structures. Its architectural and design integrity have been well maintained so that it resembles the structure and landscape of the late 1930s.

Significance Conclusion

In light of other examples of World War I memorials with ambitious urban design, architecture, and museum programs that are already distinguished as National Historic Landmarks, the St. Louis Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum does not rise to a similar level of importance.

Soldiers' Memorial fits into a long line of military cemeteries, war monuments, and public memorials that have been initiated and maintained by federal, state, or local governments.[135] As edifices designed to honor military service, recognize the duties of citizenship, and inspire present and future generations, these memorials had evolved considerably, becoming by the early twentieth century more grand and impressive. Whether one considers the World War I memorials in Kansas City, Indianapolis, or St. Louis, it is evident that America's heartland was committed to the war's fallen soldiers, sailors, aviators, and marines.

In its architectural design, sculptural decoration, interior displays, and City Beautiful landscape, Soldiers' Memorial is a fine example with a high degree of integrity that should interest and inform St. Louisans and citizens of the region. The greatest impact of the St. Louis Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum is that it symbolizes the local contribution to World War I and the impact of that transformative event. As a memorial, it reminds present and future generations of the ideals of service, duty, and sacrifice. However, its counterparts to the west and east, in Kansas City and Indianapolis respectively, are appreciably better on those counts, and have national scope and national significance. When evaluating Soldiers' Memorial compared to those similar memorials that also honor the fallen of World War I and that were also influenced heavily by the City Beautiful design philosophy, it is clear that while the site may be locally and regionally significant, it does not rise to the level of national significance.[136]

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[134] In 2011, the concert series will be held under the Gateway Arch ("Free Music at Celebrate St. Louis Summer Concerts," http://stlouis.about.com/od/topattractions/p/2009_live_levee.htm, accessed, June 7, 2011).

[135] Edward T. Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

[136] National Park Service, National Register Bulletin, "How to Prepare National Historic Landmark Nominations," U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999. http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nhl/index.htm, accessed May 31, 2011)

SUITABILITY

Because the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum does not meet the standard as defined by Management Policies to be a nationally significant addition to the national park system, suitability will not be evaluated in detail.

It should be noted that the Liberty Memorial in Kansas City, Missouri, and the Indiana World War Memorial in Indianapolis, Indiana, are both World War I memorials described in detail in the significance analysis. Both are publically accessible sites that protect resource with similar themes as those at the Soldiers' Memorial. Therefore, if suitability were fully analyzed, the Soldiers' Memorial would be found not to be a suitable addition to the national park system.

FEASIBILITY

Because the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum does not meet the standard as defined by Management Policies to be a nationally significant addition to the national park system, feasibility will not be evaluated.

NEED FOR DIRECT NPS MANAGEMENT

Because the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum does not meet the standard as defined by Management Policies to be a nationally significant addition to the national park system, the need for direct management by the NPS will not be evaluated in detail. However, if need for direct NPS management of the Soldier's Memorial had been addressed, the study would have also considered current management and the potential for state management as a historic site in determining whether or not direct management by NPS would have been a clearly superior alternative. It is worth noting that though budgets have been an ongoing concern for the Soldiers' Memorial, the building and plaza grounds are maintained, the museum is managed by a professional superintendent, is accessible to the public on a regular basis, and hosts several special events. Therefore, it is unlikely that the need for NPS management can be established.

SPECIAL RESOURCE STUDY CONCLUSION

The Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum and Memorial Plaza is a fine example of the City Beautiful movement's urban planning philosophy, of neoclassical public architecture, and of the ideal of war memorialization as conceived in the period between the World Wars. However, these themes are already well represented by the Indiana World War Memorial and Liberty Memorial. When compared with those two memorials, already designated as NHLs for similar themes, it is not an exceptional example on the national stage. In its identity, audience, and purpose, Soldiers' Memorial serves the Greater St. Louis area, and should be appreciated as a locally and regionally important historic site, as well as a museum and memorial that continues to serve the greater community and regional veterans of all wars. The NPS determines that the Soldiers' Memorial does not meet the criteria for national significance, and therefore is not appropriate for inclusion in the national park system.

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Figure 6: African-American neighborhood, 1910s. Note, Municipal Courts on Market Street at left; demolished areas will be above and to the right. John A. Wright Sr., African Americans in Downtown St. Louis (Chicago: Arcadia, 2003), 39.
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APPENDICIES

Appendix A: Public Law 110-229 Sec. 322

Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008

PUBLIC LAW 110–229—MAY 8, 2008

SEC. 322. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE STUDY REGARDING THE SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL MILITARY MUSEUM.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds as follows:

(1) The Soldiers' Memorial is a tribute to all veterans located in the greater St. Louis area, including Southern Illinois.
(2) The current annual budget for the memorial is $185,000 and is paid for exclusively by the City of St. Louis.
(3) In 1923, the City of St. Louis voted to spend $6,000,000 to purchase a memorial plaza and building dedicated to citizens of St. Louis who lost their lives in World War I.
(4) The purchase of the 7 block site exhausted the funds and no money remained to construct a monument.
(5) In 1933, Mayor Bernard F. Dickmann appealed to citizens and the city government to raise $1,000,000 to construct a memorial building and general improvement of the plaza area and the construction of Soldiers' Memorial began on October 21, 1935.
(6) On October 14, 1936, President Franklin D. Roosevelt officially dedicated the site.
(7) On Memorial Day in 1938, Mayor Dickmann opened the building to the public.

(b) STUDY.—The Secretary of the Interior shall carry out a study to determine the suitability and feasibility of designating the Soldiers' Memorial Military Museum, located at 1315 Chestnut, St. Louis, Missouri, as a unit of the National Park System.

(c) STUDY PROCESS AND COMPLETION.—Section 8(c) of Public Law 91–383 (16 U.S.C. 1a–5(c)) shall apply to the conduct and completion of the study required by this section.

(d) REPORT.—The Secretary shall submit a report describing the results the study required by this section to the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate.

Appendix B: National Park Service Management Policies 2006: 1.3 Criteria for Inclusion

Congress declared in the National Park System General Authorities Act of 1970 that areas comprising the national park system are cumulative expressions of a single national heritage. Potential additions to the national park system should therefore contribute in their own special way to a system that fully represents the broad spectrum of natural and cultural resources that characterize our nation. The National Park Service is responsible for conducting professional studies of potential additions to the national park system when specifically authorized by an act of Congress, and for making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior, the President, and Congress. Several laws outline criteria for units of the national park system and for additions to the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System and the National Trails System.

To receive a favorable recommendation from the Service, a proposed addition to the national park system must (1) possess nationally significant natural or cultural resources, (2) be a suitable addition to the system, (3) be a feasible addition to the system, and (4) require direct NPS management instead of protection by other public agencies or the private sector. These criteria are designed to ensure that the national park system includes only the most outstanding examples of the nation's natural and cultural resources. These criteria also recognize that there are other management alternatives for preserving the nation's outstanding resources.

1.3.1 National Significance

NPS professionals, in consultation with subject-matter experts, scholars, and scientists, will determine whether a resource is nationally significant. An area will be considered nationally significant if it meets all of the following criteria:

- It is an outstanding example of a particular type of resource.
- It possesses exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the natural or cultural themes of our nation's heritage.
- It offers superlative opportunities for public enjoyment or for scientific study.
- It retains a high degree of integrity as a true, accurate, and relatively unspoiled example of a resource.

National significance for cultural resources will be evaluated by applying the National Historic Landmarks criteria contained in 36 CFR Part 65 (*Code of Federal Regulations*).

1.3.2 Suitability

An area is considered suitable for addition to the national park system if it represents a natural or cultural resource type that is not already adequately represented in the national park system, or is not comparably represented and protected for public enjoyment by other federal agencies; tribal, state, or local governments; or the private sector.

Adequacy of representation is determined on a case-by-case basis by comparing the potential addition to other comparably managed areas representing the same resource type, while considering differences or similarities in the character, quality, quantity, or combination of resource values. The comparative analysis also addresses rarity of the resources, interpretive and educational potential, and similar resources already protected in the national park system or in other public or private ownership. The comparison results in a determination of whether the proposed new area would expand, enhance, or duplicate resource protection or visitor use opportunities found in other comparably managed areas.

1.3.3 Feasibility

To be feasible as a new unit of the national park system, an area must be (1) of sufficient size and appropriate configuration to ensure sustainable resource protection and visitor enjoyment (taking into account current and potential impacts from sources beyond proposed park boundaries), and (2) capable of efficient administration by the Service at a reasonable cost.

In evaluating feasibility, the Service considers a variety of factors for a study area, such as the following:

- size

- boundary configurations
- current and potential uses of the study area and surrounding lands
- landownership patterns
- public enjoyment potential
- costs associated with acquisition, development, restoration, and operation
- access
- current and potential threats to the resources
- existing degradation of resources
- staffing requirements
- local planning and zoning
- the level of local and general public support (including landowners)
- the economic/socioeconomic impacts of designation as a unit of the national park system

The feasibility evaluation also considers the ability of the National Park Service to undertake new management responsibilities in light of current and projected availability of funding and personnel.

An overall evaluation of feasibility will be made after taking into account all of the above factors. However, evaluations may sometimes identify concerns or conditions, rather than simply reach a yes or no conclusion. For example, some new areas may be feasible additions to the national park system only if landowners are willing to sell, or the boundary encompasses specific areas necessary for visitor access, or state or local governments will provide appropriate assurances that adjacent land uses will remain compatible with the study area's resources and values.

1.3.4 Direct NPS Management

There are many excellent examples of the successful management of important natural and cultural resources by other public agencies, private conservation organizations, and individuals. The National Park Service applauds these accomplishments and actively encourages the expansion of conservation activities by state, local, and private entities and by other federal agencies. Unless direct NPS management of a studied area is identified as the clearly superior alternative, the Service will recommend that one or more of these other entities assume a lead management role, and that the area not receive national park system status.

Studies will evaluate an appropriate range of management alternatives and will identify which alternative or combination of alternatives would, in the professional judgment of the Director, be most effective and efficient in protecting significant resources and providing opportunities for appropriate public enjoyment. Alternatives for NPS management will not be developed for study areas that fail to meet any one of the four criteria for inclusion listed in section 1.3.

In cases where a study area's resources meet criteria for national significance but do not meet other criteria for inclusion in the national park system, the Service may instead recommend an alternative status, such as "affiliated area." To be eligible for affiliated area status, the area's resources must (1) meet the same standards for significance and suitability that apply to units of the national park system; (2) require some special recognition or technical assistance beyond what is available through existing NPS programs; (3) be managed in accordance with the policies and standards that apply to units of the national park system; and (4) be assured of sustained resource protection, as documented in a formal agreement between the Service and the nonfederal management entity. Designation as a "heritage area" is another option that may be recommended. Heritage areas have a nationally important, distinctive assemblage of resources that is best managed for conservation, recreation, education, and continued use through partnerships among public and private entities at the local or regional level. Either of these two alternatives (and others as well) would recognize an area's importance to the nation without requiring or implying management by the National Park Service.

Appendix C: 36 CFR § 65.4 National Historic Landmark Criteria

The criteria applied to evaluate properties for possible designation as National Historic Landmarks or possible determination of eligibility for National Historic Landmark designation are listed below. These criteria shall be used by NPS in the preparation, review and evaluation of National Historic Landmark studies. They shall be used by the Advisory Board in reviewing National Historic Landmark studies and preparing recommendations to the Secretary. Properties shall be designated National Historic Landmarks only if they are nationally significant. Although assessments of national significance should reflect both public perceptions and professional judgments, the evaluations of properties being considered for landmark designation are undertaken by professionals, including historians, architectural historians, archeologists and anthropologists familiar with the broad range of the nation's resources and historical themes. The criteria applied by these specialists to potential landmarks do not define significance nor set a rigid standard for quality. Rather, the criteria establish the qualitative framework in which a comparative professional analysis of national significance can occur. The final decision on whether a property possesses national significance is made by the Secretary on the basis of documentation including the comments and recommendations of the public who participate in the designation process.

(a) Specific Criteria of National Significance: The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

(1) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

(2) That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

(3) That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

(4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

(6) That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

(b) Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for designation. Such properties, however, will qualify if they fall within the following categories:

(1) A religious property deriving its primary national significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

(2) A building or structure removed from its original location but which is nationally significant primarily for its architectural merit, or for association with persons or events of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(3) A site of a building or structure no longer standing but the person or event associated with it is of transcendent importance in the nation's history and the association consequential; or

(4) A birthplace, grave or burial if it is of a historical figure of transcendent national significance and no other appropriate site, building or structure directly associated with the productive life of that person exists; or

(5) A cemetery that derives its primary national significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, or from an exceptionally distinctive design or from an exceptionally significant event; or

(6) A reconstructed building or ensemble of buildings of extraordinary national significance when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other buildings or structures with the same association have survived; or

(7) A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own national historical significance; or

(8) A property achieving national significance within the past 50 years if it is of extraordinary national importance.

Appendix D: Public Comment Report

(Public meeting is scheduled for March 15th, 2012)