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THE CHANGING FACE OF AN EXPANDING AMERICA: THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT, THE MYTH OF THE FRONTIER, AND THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION, ST. LOUIS, 1904

by

Susan E. Luftschein

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1996

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1904, the city of St. Louis celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon Bonaparte in 1803, an act that opened the western frontier of the United States.[1] The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, like the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition and its celebration of the "discovery" of America, commemorated westward expansion, but unlike the earlier fair, it was a celebration of American, not European, expansion in the New World.[2] The pretext of the Chicago fair was the four-hundredth anniversary of the landing of Columbus in the New World, and the fair expressed America's assumption of the mantle of civilization from Europe through its architecture, sculpture and murals.[3] In the case of St. Louis, the appropriation of this mantle was quite literal since the Louisiana Territory had been acquired from France, the Old World. Along with the 1803 Purchase came seemingly limitless opportunities for economic and social expansion. One hundred and one years later, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition memorialized America's historical march westward.

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It is worth noting that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, covering 1,240 acres, was the largest world's fair ever held in the United States. The immense size of the fairgrounds was nearly double that of the 633 acres utilized for the World's Columbian Exposition.[4] One reason for its great size was the organizers' decision to have the exhibits function as educational and literal demonstrations of America's industrial and technological superiority by showcasing the processes of production rather than its end results. As David Rowland Francis, President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company wrote,

> Color and life, infinite variety and activity, process as well as product exhibits characterized every section. [Included were] a working school for the blind and deaf and dumb, in the palace of Education, with daily sessions, and a complete commercial college in its own building with a full curriculum and corps of professors...; [a] complete shoe factory in the palace of Manufactures...; [t]he making of a magazine--preparation, printing and distribution--in the palace of Liberal Arts....; [and] the making of butter by the model dairy and the making of pastry by the French bakery in the palace of Agriculture.[5]

The large size of the fairgrounds can also be thought of as a compensating factor, a response to the closing of the American frontier, an event at the forefront of American consciousness at the turn of the twentieth century.[6] As C. Howard Walker, a member of the fair's Commission of Architects, wrote, "The scale [of the grounds] is characteristic of the West."[7] A fair celebrating the expansion of American territory could only be served by grounds

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that in sheer size recalled the former limitlessness of the vanishing frontier. The large size of the fairgrounds can also be considered a reaction to historian Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 pronouncement that the American frontier was closed. In effect the planners were declaring that the frontier was only physically closed, but still in fact offered limitless opportunities.

The purpose of this dissertation is to resurrect the neglected artistic achievements of the fair and place them in an historical context.[8] The fair demonstrated, through both its ground plan and its use of sculpture, the ideals and practices of the then ten-year old City Beautiful Movement. That same sculpture is notable in its own right for an iconography that clearly illustrated sentiments relative to the closing of the frontier, the same region opened up to Americans by the Purchase. The dissertation is therefore ordered to distinguish these two loosely related elements.

With its fan-shaped plan, the layout of the fairgrounds was different from those of previous fairs. The siting of buildings within that plan, the landscaping around the buildings, the size and manipulation of the grounds, the inclusion of an exhibit devoted to municipal art and planning, and the use of sculpture illustrate significant, yet neglected, lessons of the then still-maturing City Beautiful Movement and the ideas of one of that movement's most important advocates, Charles Mulford Robinson. The plan of the

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grounds was an innovation from those of its immediate predecessors, Buffalo's Pan-American Exposition (1901) and the World's Columbian Exposition. While the designers at St. Louis were indebted to Chicago's complex plan, it was felt that a fan-shaped arrangement of buildings provided more complete and panoramic vistas of the fairgrounds.

The free-standing sculpture created for the grounds, supervised by Karl Bitter, was viewed by Bitter as being of the utmost importance to city beautification, one of the goals of the contemporaneous City Beautiful Movement. All of the contemporary literature on civic enhancement, which in turn owed its creation to the proliferation of local town and village improvement societies, advocated the decoration of public spaces with sculpted monuments or fountains. Bitter himself was a firm believer in these ideas of civic beautification, writing on the subject and demonstrating his ideas in practice through the vehicle of world's fairs and through his tenure as President of the National Sculpture Society (1906, 1907, and 1914 until his death in 1915).

In 1893, at the World's Columbian Exposition, Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his now famous paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." In this essay, Turner described the recent closing of the American frontier. Once the frontier was declared closed, the opportunities for expansion made possible by the Purchase were perceived as no longer available. Since world's

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fairs, or universal expositions, were viewed as showcases for national achievements, the planners of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition created an artistic and commercial ensemble designed to reflect the cultural hegemony of the United States and quiet the unease that the loss of the frontier precipitated.

Bitter's sculptural program attempted to trace the progress of civilization throughout the Louisiana Purchase territory. Telling the story of that progress were images of the inhabitants of the region: animals, Indians, trappers and fur traders, early explorers, and the White Man.[9] Also evident in the sculptural program was both a sense of reminiscence for the vanished frontier and a racially biased view of its settlement. This approach was heavily indebted to Turner's nostalgic agrarian frontier thesis. However, the eleven years between the delivery of Turner's thesis and the opening of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition revealed that some new attitudes about the frontier had been catapulted to the forefront of popular consciousness. These attitudes were exemplified by the writings and life of then-President Theodore Roosevelt. Bitter's sculptural program also echoed the "racially progressive" frontier arguments of Roosevelt by reflecting a view of the settlement of the Louisiana Territory that relied heavily on the supremacy of the White Man.

Centrally located on the Mississippi, the east-ernmost border of the Louisiana Purchase territory, the city

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of St. Louis was the logical place to express and demonstrate these ideas. Historically it played an important role in the development of the western territories, having been a significant commercial site for the fur trade and an economic hub on the route to Santa Fe. The planners of its exposition were attempting to move on to the next step in the history of the frontier by creating an artistic, industrial and technological spectacle. Now that the region was tamed, the fair's planners were demonstrating to the country and the world what the area was capable of--great technological, industrial, agricultural, and cultural achievements, all of the traits of civilized man that had been forsaken during the conquest of the frontier. Although the frontier was "officially" closed, the employment of City Beautiful aesthetics allowed visitors to see how the vast resources of the region could still be used, even when they were popularly believed to be disappearing (a condition termed "frontier anxiety"). At the same time, however, the sculptors involved with the fair were creating a nostalgic look at what was perceived by the public as now vanished. This duality is not lost on us today, but at the time this contrast in attitudes, between nostalgia and expectation, were viewed in the same way by visitors to the fair and critics alike.

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Notes

[1]As will be discussed in Chapter 2, the opening of the fair was delayed by one year, from April 30, 1903 to April 30, 1904.

[2]The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, unlike its immediate predecessors the World's Columbian Exposition and the Pan-American Exposition, has received scant scholarly attention. Perhaps the Louisiana Purchase Exposition has been neglected by scholars because it followed so closely upon the heels of the Chicago fair, which had been arguably the grandest, most impressive such universal exposition ever held on American soil. See Appendix D, Bibliographic Essay, for a discussion of the literature on American world's fairs.

[3]Although there were no murals created for the buildings at St. Louis, a retrospective of American mural painting was included within the fine arts display. This retrospective was curated by Will Hickock Low, one of America's foremost mural painters, and provided an important adjunct to the lessons in civic beautification provided by the fairgrounds and sculpture.

The circumstances surrounding the lack of murals for the exhibition palaces are unclear. The Exposition Company hired a Chief of Mural Decoration, Louis J. Millet, whose duties involved developing a color scheme for the buildings. To quote from the Division of Works Report,

> The Commission of Architects was desirous that color should enter into the general scheme of the Buildings to enhance their beauty and to strengthen certain parts of same, but at no time was it contemplated that the exterior walls in general should receive "color treatment," with the exception of a uniform tint in subdued white or an ivory tinge.
>
> Mr. Millet designed in color, treatments for many of the entrances, loggias and colonnades of the different Exhibit Palaces, which were highly satisfactory and met with general approval as far as the designs were concerned. After serious consideration of the matter by the Committee on Grounds and Buildings and the Executive Committee, it was finally decided that color decoration should be eliminated from the Exhibit Palaces proper. Color was used to a more or less extent

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upon band stands, bridges and the smaller structures throughout the grounds. Gold leaf was applied to ornamentation on the Louisiana Purchase Monument, to sculpture on the Cascades and to the Colonnade of States. (Division of Works Report, June, 1905 [Part I], Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis)

This indicates that Millet did develop a scheme for murals which was "tested" on the west entrance of the Varied Industries Building. Members of both the Executive Committee and the Grounds and Buildings Committee inspected the work, and by consensus agreed that it should not be carried out. The reasons for this decision are nowhere elaborated. (Minutes of the Executive Committee, March 4, 1904, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis)

[4]The fairgrounds were also significantly larger than those of the Pan-American in Buffalo (300 acres), the Philadelphia Centennial (236 acres), and the most recent European fair, the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1900 (336 acres).

[5]David R. Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904 (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913), 1: 189. See Appendix A for the Official Plan and Scope of the fair.

[6]See Appendix D for a discussion of the literature dealing with the closing of the American frontier.

[7]C. Howard Walker, "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, Missouri," Architectural Review 11 no. 8 (August 1904): 208.

[8]The fair's architecture and its fine art exhibit, two elements traditionally discussed in dissertations on world's fairs (see Appendix D for a discussion of dissertations on this subject), will not be discussed because, in my opinion, they do not merit analysis on the order of that of the ground plan and the free-standing sculpture.

[9]This terminology comes from Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of Native Americans from Columbus to the Present (New York: Random House, 1978). Berkhofer's use of the term "White" was taken from a contemporary Smithsonian source.

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CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY AND PLANNING OF THE ST. LOUIS FAIR

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition was conceived as a commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the sale and transfer of the Louisiana Territory to the United States in 1803. In that year, Thomas Jefferson purchased most of France's North American holdings from Napoleon Bonaparte, effectively doubling the land area of the United States.

The first references to some sort of centennial celebration for the Louisiana Purchase began to appear in newspapers as early as 1889. An editorial published in the St. Louis Sunday Republic on May 12, 1889 suggested that the greatest observance of the era was still to come--the centennial of the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, which would be celebrated in St. Louis on April 30, 1903. This was followed by an editorial written by Professor Charles M. Harvey in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, and an article published in the Kansas City Journal written by William C. Ferril, Curator of the State Historical Society of Colorado.[1] These references, just a few of many, indicate

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that sentiment among the Purchase states and territories was running high to memorialize the event.

While the first mention of a world's fair to celebrate the Purchase came in March of 1890 in Denver's Commonwealth Magazine,[2] a number of St. Louis's prominent citizens also began advocating for a world's fair, or an equally grand event, to commemorate the anniversary. Their efforts culminated in the birth of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company on January 10, 1899.

Earlier, David Rowland Francis,[3] who would be elected President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, gave a speech to the annual meeting of St. Louis's Business Men's League on June 7, 1896, in which he stated,

> There is one event in the history of this city, second in importance only to the Declaration of Independence...and that is the Louisiana Purchase. St. Louis is the gateway of that great territory and she should celebrate its centennial in 1901 by a great international exposition, second to none ever held in the world. This body should take steps to secure Congressional recognition so that St. Louis can give the greatest exposition ever held in the world. If the League undertakes that work it will be a success.[4]

A year and a half later, on January 23, 1898, the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis adopted resolutions favoring a World's Fair in 1903 to celebrate the Louisiana Purchase Centennial, and a committee was appointed to promote the event. Soon after, on February 5, 1898, Congressman Richard Bartholdt, of St. Louis, introduced a bill in Congress providing for the holding of an international

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exposition in St. Louis in 1903, to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase.

These efforts were furthered by Pierre Chouteau, one of St. Louis's leading citizens and a descendant of one of its founders, who on May 19, 1898, issued a call to his fellow citizens inviting them to consider a celebration of the upcoming one hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase.[5] Chouteau wrote, "To fittingly observe this anniversary nothing less than a bold plan, novel and grand in conception, permanent and lasting in character, beneficial and instructive to our citizens, ornamental and profitable to our city, could with dignity be undertaken by a metropolis of our size and importance."[6] His initial scheme included the creation of a waterfront historical park with reproductions of historic buildings and a "museum of progress the objects in which will illustrate the gradual or rapid advancement of American Genius."[7] Chouteau continued,

> Through the park could be placed statuary and historical tablets commemorating the deeds of our heroes and benefactors in both peace and war, and probably in time to come our descendants might think an undertaking of this sort not unworthy of substantial record. A park of this sort would not only be ornamental and instructive but would add much to our comfort in the sultry days of summer, and would be a boon to our less fortunate brothers whose families are compelled to live in the disease-breeding districts of the lower end of the city.[8]

In the fall, a meeting was called by the Missouri Historical Society to discuss a variety of commemorative

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suggestions, and a committee of fifty citizens was appointed by Marshall S. Snow, president of the Society, to determine the appropriate type of celebration. This committee appointed a ten member subcommittee, with Pierre Chouteau as chairman, to formulate a plan.

The committee of fifty members met on November 26, 1898, at which time the report of the sub-committee of ten was received. This report recommended that the question be submitted to a delegate convention representing all the Louisiana Purchase States, the convention to be called by Governor Lon V. Stephens of Missouri, to meet in St. Louis no later than January 10, 1899. Among those appointed to a committee to see the Governor and arrange for the convention were Pierre Chouteau and David R. Francis. Soon after, Governor Stephens published a call for the convention to be held in St. Louis on January 10, 1899. The convention would be charged with considering the question of commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase. The call was issued to the Governors of all the states and territories in the Louisiana Territory.[9] At the convention, resolutions were adopted favoring an International Exposition in St. Louis in 1903. On the second day of the convention, an executive committee, with Francis at its head, was appointed to take charge of the plans. Also adopted was a resolution recommending that the United States Government be

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invited to participate in the Exposition and financially assist in promoting it.

The initial plan included a fund-raising scheme. The idea was to raise fifteen million dollars, five of which would come from subscriptions, five more from the city of St. Louis, and the final five million dollars from the federal government. A bill for the federal appropriation was introduced into Congress; it was passed, after St. Louis had raised all the necessary funds, in March 1901.

On April 12, 1899, an act to incorporate an Exposition Company was approved. Ten days later, a meeting of St. Louis residents was held to show Congress that the city would be able to live up to its part of the bargain, and pledges for the amount of $4,244,670 were raised. The appropriation of five million dollars from Congress would be made only upon the raising of the ten million dollars by the city of St. Louis. The Missouri Legislature, by an almost unanimous vote, submitted to the people a constitutional amendment authorizing a State appropriation of $1,000,000 for World's Fair purposes, and another amendment enabling the people of St. Louis to vote a municipal subscription of $5,000,000 to the Exposition--both of which were ratified by overwhelming majorities at the following election.

On February 20, 1900, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Bill was introduced into Congress; the bill was passed on June 4 and signed into law by President McKinley on March

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4, 1901. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company was incorporated on April 24, 1901. At its first meeting, May 2, 1901, the Exposition Company's Board of Directors, elected by the stockholders of the company, organized an election for executive officers. Francis was elected President; Walter B. Stevens, Secretary; and William H. Thompson, Treasurer. In June of 1901, the Board of Directors divided themselves into committees that were charged with the preparatory work of the Exposition. The committees that were charged with overseeing general management and the work of the architects and sculptors, were the Executive and Grounds and Buildings Committees. These committees were headed by, respectively, Francis (ex-officio Chairman) and Thompson (Vice-Chairman); and Thompson (Chairman) and Samuel Kennard (Vice-Chairman).[10]

The next step in the organization process was to find a site for the fair. St. Louis's Municipal Assembly passed an ordinance authorizing the use of city parks for the World's Fair on May 10, 1901. At the end of May, seven sites were inspected by the Executive Committee, and arguments for each of the sites were heard at the beginning of June. However, the two most important requirements were accessibility and proximity to the heart of the city. Thanks to the lobbying efforts of a group known as the Forest Park World's Fair Free Site Association, Forest Park became the logical choice. Accessible by many different

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means of public transportation, it provided a combination of different topographical features; and, initially, it seemed large enough.

One of the primary considerations for the choice of Forest Park was its location away from the flood-prone banks of the Mississippi. The World's Columbian Exposition, held on the shores of Lake Michigan, was a telling example of the problems of working with a site on or near a body of water. The marshy nature of the site had created numerous problems (as well as beautiful solutions) for its planners.[11] As the Association put it, "St. Louis must be content to build a land-locked fair, or suffer in the comparison with Chicago at every turn. Beautiful lake and lagoon effects surpassing those at Chicago are easily within our reach, if Forest Park shall be selected for a site...."[12]

Another consideration, when compared with the Chicago fair, was the topography of the site. Forest Park is composed of rolling hills and flat lands, and therefore offered a variety of vistas for visitors and builders. "The topography is such as to furnish a most perfect base for artificial lakes and lagoons, which utilized by the landscape gardener, the artist and the architect, may be made to far surpass in beauty anything which the world has ever seen in way of an exposition."[13] In addition, Forest

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Park was rich in trees which would afford respite from the heat of a St. Louis summer. This fact was not lost on the Association.

> St. Louis affords a site in Forest Park with an abundance of forest trees to furnish not only relief from these burdens and tortures [heat and sunlight], but to afford the greatest inducement for more frequent patronage on account of the great pleasure afforded by such conditions on the grounds....What feat of architecture can surpass the rising terraces, clothed with green, revealing and concealing piles upon piles of templed architecture, such as is only possible in Forest Park. It is a picture which when once beheld by the visitor will never fade from his mind, and which will afford pleasure and gratification beyond anything which money can buy to add to the exposition on any other site.[14]

After studying the matter, the Board of Directors, on June, 25, 1901, announced their selection of the western half of Forest Park as the site for the future exposition. On December 20, 1901, the ninety-eighth anniversary of the formal transfer of the Purchase Territory to the United States, ground was broken.

The fair's management created four principal executive divisions presided over by directors: Exhibits, Exploitation (for the promotion of interest or participation in the fair), Works (in charge of buildings and grounds), and Concessions and Admissions. This system was preferred by the Company's Executive Committee to the older tradition of a director-general because it divided the work evenly and allowed each division's Director to concentrate on his own

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particular field. All of the directors worked directly under President Francis.[15]

Ultimately, the opening of the fair had to be postponed by one year. The delay was caused by the concerns of foreign governments that they did not have enough time to prepare their exhibits, and also by the unavailability of steel trusses for the United States Government Building.[16] On June 28, 1901, an act of Congress was approved that outlined a formal postponement. The act also stipulated that the dedication of the exhibit palaces had to take place no later than April 30, 1903, and the Exposition had to open no later than May 1, 1904. The fair opened April 30, 1904 (fig. 1).

The Grounds and Buildings Committee of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, the body charged with supervising the preparation and construction of the fairgrounds and exhibit palaces, began to meet in the summer of 1901. On June 22, it was resolved by the Committee to appoint a Commission of Architects, to be composed of nine firms, five of whom were to come from the states and territories of the Louisiana Purchase. The final plan, stipulated by the Executive Committee of the Exposition Company, called for nine firms and one landscape architect and one sculptor.[17]

According to the minutes of the Committee, the purpose of this architecture commission was to decide upon the general designs for the buildings and grounds and for their

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arrangement and decoration. The Committee also decided that all designs would be submitted to the Architects Commission for critique, with the hopes that such "friendly criticisms" would provide for "a grand and harmonious combination presented to the public at large."[18]

The Commission of Architects of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the body of men chosen to plan the grounds and buildings, was formed by the end of June, 1901. The Commission was composed of the St. Louis firms of Isaac S. Taylor; Eames & Young; Barnett, Haynes & Barnett; Widmann, Walsh and Boisselier; and Theodore C. Link. From outside St. Louis were Cass Gilbert, New York City and St. Paul, Minnesota; Walker and Kimball, Omaha and Boston; Carrère & Hastings, New York City; and Van Brunt and Howe, Kansas City. Each of the firms was to receive the sum of ten thousand dollars for their services.[19] The landscape architect selected was George E. Kessler, Kansas City; and the sculptor recommended by the Architect's Commission was Frederick W. Ruckstull, New York City. In addition to these nine firms the committee also suggested the appointment of additional architects for the design of the subsidiary buildings that the fair would require.[20] Ultimately only one additional architect was hired as Chief of Design; this was Emanuel Masqueray, New York City, appointed on the recommendation of Cass Gilbert.

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Isaac Stockton Taylor (1851-1917) trained with one of St. Louis's prominent nineteenth century architects, George Ingham Barnett, with whom he was later in practice. After opening his own office in 1879, he designed many of St. Louis's commercial buildings, such as the National Bank of Commerce (circa 1900). He was also responsible for the Planter's Hotel, the site of many of the meetings of the committees of the Exposition Company.

The firm of Eames & Young, led by William E. Eames (1859-1915) and Thomas Crane Young (1858-1934), was noted for its penitentiaries designed for the federal government, specifically those at Atlanta and Leavenworth (1907). They were also responsible for the Boatman's Bank and Office Building, and the University Club, both in St. Louis; the United States Customs House in San Francisco; and the Fine Arts Building at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition, Omaha (1897).

Barnett, Haynes & Barnett was composed of the partners George Dennis Barnett (1863-c.1925), the son of George Ingham Barnett, his brother-in-law John Haynes, and Tom P. Barnett, his younger brother. Their most notable buildings were the St. Louis Post-Dispatch Building (1911), and the Roman Catholic Cathedral (1907-1914), also in St. Louis.

Widmann, Walsh & Boisselier was partnered by Frederick Widmann (1859-1925) and Robert Walsh (died c.1929). Their most prominent work was done for the

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Anheuser-Busch Company, designing structures across the country between 1884 and 1918.

Theodore C. Link (1850-1923) settled in St. Louis in 1873, after emigrating from Germany. He began practicing architecture in 1883 in two successive partnerships, but it was not until 1889 that he opened his own office. His most famous commission was St. Louis's Union Station, the competition for which he won in 1891. He was also known for St. Louis's Barnes Hospital and many of the Washington University Medical School's buildings. At the time of the fair he was working on the Mississippi State Capitol Building in Jackson (1900-1903).

Cass Gilbert (1858-1934) was certainly the best known architect associated with the fair. His most famous commissions were the Minnesota State Capitol in St. Paul, and the United States Customs House and the Woolworth Building in New York City.

Walker & Kimball was composed of the partners C. Howard Walker (1857-1936) and Thomas R. Kimball (1862-1934). The two formed a partnership in Boston in 1889 but moved to Omaha in order to take up the duties of official architects of the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. The office remained in Omaha until dissolving in 1898. The two joined together once more to work on the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Carrère & Hastings, composed of John Mervin Carrère (1858-1911) and Thomas Hastings (1860-1929), is another firm

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whose work was well known. They are best known for the designs of the New York Public Library, numerous buildings in St. Augustine, Florida, designed for Henry Flagler, and the House and Senate Office Buildings in Washington, D.C.

Van Brunt & Howe, composed of Frank M. Howe (1849-1909) and Henry Van Brunt (1832-1903), was also a well known firm. After forming their partnership, they moved to Kansas City from Boston in 1885 and began designing terminals for the Union Pacific Railroad. Other notable work completed as a firm (Van Brunt had had a distinguished career with William Ware before joining forces with Howe) included Harvard Medical School buildings, public libraries in Cambridge and Dedham, Massachusetts, and buildings for Wellesley College. Van Brunt was also the architect of the Electricity Building at the World's Columbian Exposition, and of the Court of Honor and Electricity Building at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, Portland (1905).

The Committee on Grounds and Buildings suggested the election of a Director of Works, or Supervisory Architect, whose duties would include

> the general direction and supervision of all the buildings, structures and works upon the entire grounds. He should select a competent corps of assistants to carry out in every detail all construction that may take place upon the grounds. The Director of Works should be responsible to the Committee on Grounds and Buildings...[21]

The Commission elected Isaac Taylor as the Director of Works.

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Forest Park, as discussed, was the logical choice for a site on which to build and hold the fair. Isaac Taylor, the Director of Works, discussed the site at length in the final report of the Division of Works.[22] The site covered 657 acres and was almost a parallelogram, about one mile by one mile in dimension, occupying the north-west corner of Forest Park. A range of low hills (approximately sixty feet high) ran east-west through the site. The northern portion of the site was relatively level and its eastern end was sparsely covered with trees. The level plain to the north of the hills was considered ideal for the "main picture" of exhibition palaces.[23] The term "main picture" was used by all the individuals involved with the planning of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and almost all other world's fairs between 1893 and 1915, to describe the location of the primary structures. The eastern portion of the site would eventually become the location of the smaller state buildings.

The Commission's first duty was to create a general plan for the site selected; the architects and landscape architect first inspected the site on July 9, 1901. Their first reaction was to note the need for more ground to the north and west of the original site. Upon their recommendation, the Exposition Company annexed (by lease) the new campus of Washington University, 5 tracts south of the University grounds, and a portion of the Parkview Realty

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Company's property, which yielded a site about one and three quarter miles long east to west, and one and one third miles wide, for a total of over 1,240 acres.[24] Washington University provided an ideal addition to the fairgrounds. Its new campus was directly across Skinker Road, the western boundary of the grounds; and it was in the process of erecting new buildings, all of which would be used by the Exposition Company for administrative purposes and to house the Departments of Physical Culture and Anthropology.[25] The grounds and buildings of Washington University would also have been familiar to Cass Gilbert, who had unsuccessfully entered the University's 1897 competition for a new general plan, a competition won by Cope and Stewardson of Philadelphia.

After their initial inspection of the site chosen for the fair, the northwest portion of Forest Park, the Architects Commission began the process of formulating a ground-plan. At the third meeting of the Commission of Architects, on July 10, 1901, the architects began experimenting with a layout of structures that seemed to meet with the general approval of all present.[26] Isaac Taylor then appointed a committee of four architects to formalize these initial suggestions. This committee was composed of Cass Gilbert, W.S. Eames, Thomas Barnett and Theodore Link. At the next meeting of the Commission, on July 29, the committee presented three plans to the larger Commission. Gil-

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bert, the chair, reported that his committee had developed certain schemes for the ground plan. The first plan presented was supposedly based on the initial informal discussion of the entire Commission. The second scheme was of an unusual fan-like design, and the third was a new presentation, unlike the previous two, and is presumed lost.[27]

The first plan may have been one by Gilbert now in the collection of the New-York Historical Society, titled "Preliminary Plan, 1905 [sic]," that shows a formal and axially symmetrical arrangement of buildings. This plan had much more in common with those of the World's Columbian Exposition and the 1901 Pan-American Exposition. In Gilbert's plan, the buildings were arranged along a central axis along which was the "Court of Honor," with the Electricity and Forestry Buildings on the western side, facing Skinker Road, and the remaining buildings on the eastern side. This composition ended in a waterfall display at the slope of a hill. Atop the hill was a large central structure (noted as the "Salle des Fetes") flanked on both sides by smaller ones (marked as "Fine Arts"). Gilbert's scheme included elements found in the final plan, such as lagoons, gardens, cascades, and, of great importance to the planners, a central focus atop the hill.

The second plan, "An entirely new departure, showing a fan like group of buildings with a central pivot and radiating vistas with circular boulevards at its extreme

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limit,"[28] was the one ultimately adopted by the Commission at its fifth meeting, on July 30, 1901. It encompassed primarily the "main picture" of the Exposition grounds. In the tradition of their predecessors at Chicago and Buffalo, the planners made provisions for structures such as state buildings, an amusement zone ("The Pike") and other outdoor exhibits outside the "main picture," in this instance the area covered by the fan shape.

The fan shape, once it was adopted, was used as a point of publicity for the fair because it seemed to incorporate two of the best features of the plan of the Columbian Exposition--the Peristyle closing the Court of Honor, and the Administration Building. Emanuel Masqueray's Colonnade of States, a curved neoclassical colonnade placed on either side of Festival Hall and containing allegorical sculptures representing the fourteen Purchase states and territories, immediately recalls the Peristyle in the sense of closure it provided Art Hill, and Cass Gilbert's Festival Hall, a large, elegant, Beaux-Arts structure designed primarily as a music hall, is strongly reminiscent of the Administration Building--both were large domed structures occupying pivotal points within their respective plans (fig. 2). These similarities were noted by Charles M. Kurtz, the Assistant Chief of the Art Department, in a handbook published describing the important features of the fair.[29]

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However, these buildings were the only similarities the two plans shared.

Unity of control was considered by the fair planners a most important feature for exposition buildings. To achieve this, the architects decided to incorporate a uniform, sixty-five foot cornice line for all buildings to create a homogeneous look. This was a practice also used by the architects of the World's Columbian Exposition. Also decided was a single color, ivory, that would give the buildings a mellower look than the gleaming white structures of the Chicago exposition (known as the "White City"). In addition, the architectural style agreed upon was intended to give some stylistic homogeneity to the fairgrounds. All of the buildings were created in what can be termed a traditional beaux-arts interpretation of classical or Renaissance architecture, with one exception--Theodore Link's Mines and Metallurgy Building (placed out of site of the main axis), which owed much to the earlier work of Louis Sullivan.[30] The result of all these efforts at St. Louis was indeed controlled and created a unified visual impression.

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Notes

[1]Typewritten document, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Box 1, Series 1, Folder 4, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. All subsequent information was found in this document, which summarized the chronology of events leading up to the fair.

[2]See note 1.

[3]David Rowland Francis (1850-1927) is rememberd primarily for his role in politics, both locally and nationally. He was elected mayor of St. Louis in 1885 and governor of Missouri in 1889. In August of 1896, Francis was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Grover Cleveland, serving in that post through the rest of Cleveland's administration. His opposition to William Jennings Bryan and free-silver cost him some of his political prestige in Missouri and he spent a decade out of politics. It was during this period that he became involved with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

[4]Typewritten document, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, Box 1, Series 1, Folder 4, pp.4-5.

[5]Typed document, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Box 1 Series I, Folder 2, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[6]Ibid., 1.

[7]Ibid., 3.

[8]Ibid., 4.

[9]The Louisiana Purchase territory was composed of the states of Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Wyoming.

[10]The remaining members of the committees include: Charles W. Knapp, Wilbur F. Boyle, Charles G. Warner, John Scullin, Rolla Wells, Nathan Frank, Corwin H. Spencer, Murray Carleton, Lewis D. Dozier, James Campbell, Alfred L. Shapleigh, Breckinridge Jones and Howard Elliott (Executive); and W.F. Nolker, Herman W. Steinbiss, John A. Holmes and John Scullin (Grounds and Buildings).

All of the individuals involved with the planning

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and day-to-day running of the fair were Missourians, and many were St. Louisans. Once the Louisiana Purchase Convention was over, non-Missourian involvement essentially ceased; the exception to this was the dispatching of delegations from many of the Purchase states to Congress to ask for funds and to request the introduction of a bill authorizing a fair. After this mission, the only non-Missourians involved were those on the National Commission of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, a body appointed by the President of the United States, and the Board of Lady Managers, appointed by the National Commission. For this and all subsequent information, see David R. Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904 (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913).

[11]See Titus R. Karlowicz, "The Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposiiton," Ph.D. diss, Northwestern University, 1965.

[12]Forest Park World's Fair Site Association, Argument for the location of World's Fair in western Forest Park. n.d., 2-3. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[13]Ibid., 2-3.

[14]Ibid., 4.

[15]Francis, 1:51.

[16]Ibid., 1:94.

[17]Minutes of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, June 27, 1901, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Minutes of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, June 25, 1901, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[20]Minutes of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, June 27, 1901, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[21]Minutes of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, June 25, 1901, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[22]See Division of Works Report, June, 1905 (Part I),

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Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Francis, 1:46.

[25]Among other events sponsored by the Department of Physical Culture and housed on the grounds of Washington University was the 1904 Summer Olympics.

[26]Minutes, third meeting of the Architecture Commission, July 10, 1901, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[27]According to an article written in 1904 by architect C. Howard Walker, six plans were presented for consideration. If this is so, no mention of an additional three is made in either the minutes of the meetings of the Architects Commission or the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, nor in the report of the Division of Works. The first and second plans are also not discussed in any of the Exposition Company's records, Cass Gilbert's letters, nor any of Walker's writings, but some sketches and a presentation drawing of what can only be either the first or second plan do exist in Cass Gilbert's papers, in the collection of the New-York Historical Society. C. Howard Walker, "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, Missouri," Architectural Review 11, no. 8 (August 1904): 197.

[28]Fourth meeting of the Architecture Commission, July 29, 1901, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Compnay Collection, St. Louis.

[29]Charles M. Kurtz, The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. A handbook of general information profusely illustrated (St. Louis: Gottschalk Printing Co., 1903), 29. The World's Columbian Exposition was not the sole prototype for each of these features. The architects responsible, Cass Gilbert and Emmanuel Masqueray, Chief of Design, used their own architectural training--Beaux-Arts--as a starting point (see Sharon Lee Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York, 1899-1905" [Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1985], 360-361).

[30]Although the influence from Sullivan's Wainwright Tomb (circa 1892, Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis) on Link's Mines and Metallurgy Building is apparent upon inspection, only one source has noted the similarity. See Folke Tyko Kihlsted, "Formal and Structural Innovations in American Exposition Architecture, 1901-1939" (Ph.D. diss.,

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Northwestern University, 1973), 69-70.

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CHAPTER 3

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DESIGN

The planning of the fairgrounds of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition must be discussed in relation to the City Beautiful Movement, which in 1904 was still relatively young. The Movement's impact on the planning and physical layout of American world's fairs after the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, including that of the St. Louis fair, was substantial.[1] There was a reciprocal relationship between the physical planning of America's world's fairs and the development, growth, and understanding of the City Beautiful Movement. In essence, world's fairs acted as laboratories for experimentation in city beautiful aesthetics. The large size of the grounds of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition provided an ideal opportunity for such experimentation. In a 1916 article in the Town Planning Review, Lionel Budden pointed out that the "form" of world's fairs had become more important than their "content" and that expositions should be thought of as full size models for the design of civic centers (grouped public buildings tied together by boulevards and greenswards).[2]

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The Louisiana Purchase Exposition offers just such an opportunity since its physical design was planned to reflect ideals associated with the City Beautiful Movement and its primary goal of beautifying America's cities. Since America's eastern cities were already heavily urbanized and populated, it was understood that beautification and the (re)design of cities would take place primarily in the West, a region that was in danger of losing its historic identity in the face of rapid industrial growth and urbanization.[3]

One of the Movement's ideals exhibited in the layout of the fair--the beauty and importance of the "main picture" as a model for the civic center--was exemplified in the planning of the grounds. The relationship between the "main picture" (the grouping of the major exhibit palaces) and the civic center is one that was cemented in the minds of the public by the World's Columbian Exposition and the resulting contemporary literature.[4] The Chicago fair's Court of Honor, dominated at one end by Richard Morris Hunt's Administration Building and at the other by Charles Atwood's Peristyle, and which contained all the major exhibit palaces, was cited by critics and observers as the architectural highlight of that exposition. Its monumentality, Beaux-Arts grandeur, and architectural unity would become influential for later City Beautiful plans. However, the <u>plan</u> for the World's Columbian Exposition was not used as a model for that of the St. Louis fair.

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The final, fan-shaped plan (fig. 3) was authored by C. Howard Walker, a later addition to the sub-committee of the Commission of Architects chaired by Cass Gilbert. In addition to Walker, John M. Carrère and F.M. Howe were also added.[5] Once complete, the committee set to work to develop the suggestions of the larger Commission. In a letter to Taylor dated July 20, 1901, Gilbert states:

> With plats of ground before them the Committee discussed at much length the locations and dimensions of the buildings, resulting in a suggestion as to the general axis extending from Lindell Avenue southwest to the top of the hills. This arrangement has some strong points and presents a plan which is entirely novel and different from any great Expositions so far as our Committee are aware. At the same time it fills the conditions suggested by you at the meeting in St. Louis [the third meeting of the Commission of Architects, July 10, 1901]. The Committee adjourned Wednesday evening and since then Mr. Walker and I have been planning the two general schemes in this office, Mr. Walker developing the last-named project, the motif of which was suggested by him.[6]

This letter to Taylor clearly states that C. Howard Walker was the architect responsible for first suggesting the fan-shaped plan.[7] Gilbert credits him again, in a letter to Taylor dated July 25, 1901.[8] Also in the collection of the New-York Historical Society is a sketch showing the fan-shaped plan and arrangement of buildings that is initialed "C.H.W." and dated July 18, 1901.[9] This is positive evidence that the plan was developed by Walker. Once the idea was adopted by the committee and Walker began to put his ideas to paper, the other members of the committee, specifically Gilbert, began to develop it further.

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One reason that the fan-shaped plan was adopted was because it best suited the topography of the site. At the southern end of the portion chosen for the main palaces (all placed in the northern half of the Forest Park portion of the site) was the row of hills, considered a choice location for a dominating element. Below the hills stretched a long, broad plain, which ended at Lindell Boulevard and the site chosen for the Pike. The hillside was also incorporated into the plan--it would be the site of the Cascades, an elaborate tripartite waterfall originally perceived by the planners to be the equivalent of the Grand Basin in the Columbian Exposition's Court of Honor. It was suggested by numerous writers that the Cascades resembled those at St. Cloud, France, and possibly may have been modeled on them, although this was denied by Gilbert.[10] It was anticipated that this would be remembered as much more dramatic and memorable than the Grand Basin.[11]

Gilbert's role in the development of the fan-shaped plan must not be underestimated. Although he does credit Walker with the original idea a number of times, he played a large role in the maturation of the scheme. He was familiar with the area chosen for the fairgrounds because he had been one of the entrants in the 1897 competition for a plan for adjacent Washington University ultimately won by Cope and Stewardson of Philadelphia. Through his participation in this competition, Gilbert had become familiar with the

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topography of the area. When he returned to St. Louis in 1901 for the initial meetings of the Commission of Architects, he studied Cope and Stewardson's plan for Washington University (1900) and observed how its design responded to the topography of its site. The main campus sits upon a hill, and is entered via a large sweeping staircase leading to the first of many quadrangles, entered through a large and imposing main building. All of these quadrangles sit on relatively level ground atop the hill (fig. 4). Gilbert's treatment of the dominating hill in Walker's fan-shaped plan was probably inspired by Cope and Stewardson's treatment of the hill in Washington University's plan. It is this hill, upon which would eventually sit Festival Hall and the Art Building, both designed by Gilbert, that was determined from the start of the design process as the focal point of the plan;[12] it was ultimately distinguished as such by the Cascades and accompanying stairways.

Isaac Taylor described the plan and the rationale behind it in an article in the World's Fair Bulletin:

> [I]t became necessary in formulating the general lay out [*sic*] of the scheme, to carefully consider the topography of the ground....A comparatively level plain, about one-half mile wide and one mile long in the west end of Forest Park was selected for the placing of the eight principal, vast structures for the fair purposes....A range of hills runs nearly parallel with the plain from east to west, and it was the endeavor of the Commission of Architects to so arrange the buildings in one vast group as to give the very best arrangement for accessibility and show, and at the

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> same time to produce the most pleasing and artistic effects by a proper grouping of the structures.
>
> Having to contend with this line of hills,...it was finally determined to place some ornamental and striking building at the point on the hill which would be on the main axis of the picture, and from which point radiating lines would form the main boulevards in a symmetrical manner. After further careful study of the topography, it was determined to take advantage of the high elevation, and after placing the Art Hall and Festival Hall in the center to be flanked with two extensive and ornamental buildings for public service on either side, to form the slope of the hill in front of same into one grand feature to be developed in the fullest manner by the art and skill of the landscape architect. The hill that receives the Festival Hall being very nearly in a semi-circular shape on its plan,...it was decided to terrace the slopes...and to construct three magnificent cascades pouring their wares from the top of the hill down into a grand basin at the foot of the same....[13]

An additional explanation of the fan-shape was offered by Charles Caffin, writing in the International Studio:

> Whether because of preference, or through local necessities of the ground, the plan was to be a unit; therefore the superabundance of distance on the main axis must be distributed on lateral ones. Accordingly, a fan-shaped ground-plan, spreading out from Festival Hall, was adopted. It has advantages; especially on the map.[14]

When viewed on a map, it is easy to see why this plan was adopted over Gilbert's. The arrangement of buildings was more varied than those of earlier exposition plans upon which Gilbert's was based.

Another explanation for the adoption of the fan-shaped plan was the contrast it would provide with the more grid-like symmetrical layout of neighboring Washington

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University, the grounds of which were used by the fair. Folke Tyko Kihlsted, in his dissertation on American and European exposition architecture, discussed the relationship between the exposition's fan shaped plan and the grid-like arrangement of nearby Washington University.[15] According to Kihlsted, and readily apparent on a map, the relative uniformity of the University's plan provided a visual contrast to the irregular avenues and constantly changing vistas of the fair grounds.[16]

More important, the plan developed did conform in many ways to the points outlined by Charles Mulford Robinson in his influential 1901 book, The Improvement of Towns and Cities, a treatise that outlined all of the ideas pertinent to City Beautiful aesthetics.[17] Robinson recommended a combination of a grid, diagonals, and an encircling ring as the ideal type of ground plan. Diagonal avenues "afford economy of communication, vistas of much possible beauty, and open squares and spaces that are grateful to the eye and of no little sanitary value."[18] As for the ring, "We often see it adopted...in the United States, where, as in Boston and Chicago for example, parks and boulevards are planned to form a circle of beauty around the city."[19] To combine these elements, along with a suitable site, would create the ideal plan.

> Imagine a central point, a plaza...or the green or common of a village. It is a grouping spot for the public buildings, or it may be a strongly distinguished natural feature of the site, perhaps an

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> eminence....To this, numerous diagonal streets of primary importance would focus, so cutting irregularly a network of--not oblong blocks, as in New York, but even squares with access to the rear of houses. And around the outside, or at various periods, place circling parkways, or boulevards...whence the diagonal streets may radiate. The result is a wheel, superimposed on a checker-board. The hub is the true heart of the town; the spokes are arterial thoroughfares, receiving the heaviest traffic because they are the most direct lines of communication. The rim, or rims, are boulevards and parkways, affording convenient means for belt-line intercourse. Incidentally, the vista of every street is broken at intervals, for very long street perspectives without substantial termini are not things to be desired. Unless there be plainly visible an eminence, or an architectural or sculptural mass, at the end of the street, distance becomes only wearisome.[20]

The ground plan for the fair took into account two of these points, combining diagonals and encircling rings. Although there was some criticism of the rings, which were not true semicircular boulevards, some vistas were achieved--of Festival Hall, the Cascades, or the United States Government Building, for example (figs. 5, 6).

The fan-shaped plan is also the one that fits most closely with City Beautiful ideas. It placed great emphasis on pictorial elements; great changes in vista were possible; radiating avenues dominate the scheme; and these avenues created numerous possibilities for majestic termini to vistas.

The final plan as actually carried out differed in some important ways from the original sketches.[21] The original conception included a definite sense of closure for

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the area created by the Plaza of St. Louis and the Grand Basin. Walker's "Closure" was an integral part of his design, "as important as the buildings around the court."[22] The removal of the Closure was the most serious omission made, as Walker himself noted. The same problem of closure had arisen at Chicago and was solved by the Peristyle, so a precedent existed. The original conception to close this vista included a monumental entrance structure composed of pavilions connected by colonnades that would screen the northern end of the Plaza of St. Louis. Walker's original design, with his Closure, was considered an important part of the plan; it was published in early perspective views and upon postcards, and working drawings and specifications were made and estimates obtained for construction.[23] Therefore, the idea was apparently abandoned late in the construction process. Some of the individuals involved expressed doubts that visitors would use this main entrance more than any of the subsidiary entrances. This logic was based on the experience of the Pan-American Exposition, where visitors ignored the main entrance and entered the grounds at odd places.[24]

According to Walker, at some point after the adoption of the plan, his curved boulevards were changed to angled ones. However, in the sketch by Walker and the final plan submitted to Taylor, both in the collection of the New-York Historical Society, these transverse avenues are angled

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rather than curved. The encircling boulevards were consciously modeled after Vienna's Ringstrasse (and noted as "Ringstrasse" on both the sketch and the presentation plan). According to Walker, "The [original] intention was to obtain a broad avenue in which the vista was constantly changing as a contrast to the straight courts, where the vistas were fixed and permanent."[25] The subsequent angled boulevards were heavily criticized after their completion. According to Montgomery Schuyler, writing in Scribner's Magazine, "It seems a pity that the transverse avenue should not have been a curve instead of the broken line of which the angle occurs in the centre of blocks of palaces....It was probably the practical difficulties of building round [*sic*] the curve that resulted in the choice of the artistic difficulties of building round [*sic*] the corner."[26] Schuyler goes on to point out that by abruptly angling the boulevards, the buildings themselves are at a disadvantage because they do not receive the visual benefit of their length. He continues, "[T]here can be no such effect of 'magnitude, uniformity, and succession' as was attained by the interminable series of the flank of the Liberal Arts at Chicago."[27]

Another criticism of these boulevards was voiced by Charles Caffin:

> For the main weakness of the scheme, when tested by the actual experience of sight-seeing, is a certain confusion and inadequacy in the vistas. The lateral ones are broken; partly straight,

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> partly on a bias, so that the gaze, after travelling uninterruptedly for a while, is suddenly brought up to conclusion by the corner of some structure beyond or stops abruptly at some point in a facade. There is a consequent confusion of effect; not without its interest, certainly not without all sorts of beautiful surprises and unrehearsed effects, but with a diminution of that conclusive impressiveness which, for example, the Court of Honor possessed. In other words, there is no point from which the accumulated splendor of the scheme can be enjoyed. One knows it to be colossal--legs and brain enforce the fact; but the grandeur which such a fact might imply eludes us; we can only get at it piecemeal.[28]

Caffin also pointed out that there are no separate termini for the important vistas, the ribs of the fan; everything is oriented toward Art Hill and Festival Hall only. This is only partly true. On a map, the radiating avenues terminate at restaurant pavilions placed at the end of the Colonnade of States, which surrounded Festival Hall. These pavilions were designed to be termini to vistas. Obviously Caffin did not believe them to be successful as such.

By angling the encircling boulevards, the planners of the fair did create termini to vistas; however, these same termini did seem rather awkward to visitors to the fairgrounds since they were not, for the most part, isolated objects like fountains or free-standing buildings, but rather portions of the sides of buildings. When walking down these transverse avenues, the effect may have been of buildings unfolding, but the general view remained the same until the corner of the building was reached. However, since the exhibition palaces were so large, neither angled

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nor semicircular boulevards, no matter how wide, would have provide enough room for sight lines terminating in vistas at the ends of the transverse avenues. The only important and successful vistas were those achieved by the straight avenues, the so-called ribs of the fan.

The placement of the buildings within the plan and the relation of those buildings to the site is also an important element that deserves analysis. Upon entering the grounds at the main entrance, at Lindell Avenue near DeBaliviere, the visitor came into the main space, the Plaza of St. Louis (fig. 7). Immediately to the right was the Palace of Varied Industries and on the left the Palace of Manufactures (figs. 8 and 9 respectively). Both of these buildings also fronted on the outer and inner transverse avenues and as such were angled. At the southern, far end of the Plaza was the Grand Basin, at the end of which were the Cascades and Art Hill, with Festival Hall at its top (see fig. 5). On either side of the Grand Basin, past Manufactures and Varied Industries, were, respectively, the Education and Social Economy, and Electricity Palaces, also angled but only on the sides that fronted the inner transverse avenue (figs. 10 through 14). Moving to the right, or west, the visitor came upon the Transportation Building and Machinery Hall (figs. 15, 16). To the left, or east, past Manufactures and Social Economy were placed the Liberal Arts and Mines and Metallurgy Palaces (figs. 17 through 19).

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These four were square or rectangular buildings, since they were placed at the far end of the outermost ribs of the fan. Between the Transportation and Varied Industries buildings was the Plaza of St. Anthony; between Liberal Arts and Manufactures, the Plaza of Orleans (figs. 20, 21). Between Mines & Metallurgy and Liberal Arts was the Sunken Garden, one of the major landscape effects of the fair (see fig. 17). Past these two palaces was the United States Government Building, designed by James Knox Taylor, the Government's architect (see fig. 6). Behind Festival Hall was placed the Fine Arts Building, designed from the beginning to be permanent and to serve as the city's art museum after the close of the fair, hidden from view by Festival Hall (fig. 22).[29]

As the plan was finally implemented there were only minor changes made in the placement of specific buildings. The exception was Cass Gilbert's Fine Arts Building, a structure that was the source of much conflict between Gilbert and Halsey Ives, chief of the Art Department.[30] Gilbert accepted the commission for this structure on the proviso that it would be the crowning element atop Art Hill. During the planning and construction phases of the exposition, the Art Building's location was changed several times: first atop Art Hill, then to the grounds of Washington University, and finally back to Art Hill. However, by the time its final, and original, location was determined,

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it was blocked from view by Festival Hall, which had been chosen as the principal terminus of the main vista.[31]

The grouping of buildings within the plan was also based on City Beautiful aesthetics. Robinson, in _The Improvement of Towns and Cities_, made specific provisions for the placement of buildings within the City Beautiful.

> A building's site is like a statue's pedestal. Therefore until buildings are well placed, their architecture does not exert its full power to add beauty to the city. It is not enough that a structure be good or that it sufficiently harmonize with its neighbors. It must be so situated as itself to be seen to advantage.[32]

George Kessler, the landscape architect for the fair, specified areas of grass to be placed around each of the "palaces", in order to visually separate the structures from the adjoining avenues; the avenues themselves were wide enough to provide visual separation between the buildings. Robinson advised the use of classically-influenced structures when an extended view was possible; a structure in the Gothic style was not recommended because it would be easily dwarfed by large open spaces. The reasoning behind this comment undoubtedly originates in the theories of Andrew Jackson Downing, America's first landscape architect and author of many influential treatises on the subject. Downing identified the Gothic style as possessing "striking forms with bold projections, deep shadows and irregular outlines."[33] This description certainly does not describe a building style suitable for a large open space; shadows and

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irregular outlines would obscure features from a distance, whereas the regularity and monumentality associated with the classical style would not. Robinson's preference for classical buildings can be traced to his own early journalistic experiences writing about the World's Columbian Exposition, as well as the strong impression made upon those Americans who visited the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, a fair noted for its Beaux-Arts architectural emphasis. Interestingly, the focal point of the Grand Basin, Festival Hall, employed a typical Beaux-Arts silhouette with jagged outlines and elaborate decorative elements. However, this building provided the terminus to the fair's major vista, with nothing around it to obscure its outline.

The eight main exhibit palaces at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition were executed in a loose classical style, described as "free treatment of the Renaissance." Such structures, according to Robinson, were to be used to close a vista and should occupy a large space, as indeed they did at St. Louis. In this respect, Gilbert and his committee must have made a conscious choice to contrast architectural styles with the adjacent neo-Gothic buildings of Washington University, in addition to conforming to the by-then popular practice of using classical or Renaissance styles for exposition architecture. Montgomery Schuyler noted that the "admirable" buildings of Washington University were designed in the collegiate Gothic style "which is probably the least

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expositional of all architectural styles,"[34] another reference to Downing's definition of the Gothic.

The last major component of City Beautiful aesthetics to be considered here is landscape architecture. George Kessler was appointed Chief of the Landscape Department for the fair, and came to this post with impressive credentials. He was the landscape architect for Kansas City, Missouri; as noted by William H. Wilson, that city's comprehensive plan was one of the City Beautiful Movement's major successes.[35]

Kessler, unlike Olmsted at the World's Columbian Exposition, was not involved in the design of the ground plan or the siting of the buildings. Kessler was not a member of the sub-committee chaired by Gilbert, and is not mentioned by Gilbert in any letter discussing the development of the plan. Kessler's role was confined strictly to the landscaping of the fairgrounds. In a letter to Isaac Taylor, Kessler wrote,

> As landscape Architect, the writer would wish to be in charge of designing and embellishment [*sic*] of the grounds and in [a] position to advise with the Director of Works in all matters in relation thereto that he should desire.
>
> This involves a complete study of the grounds and the arrangement of present buildings and those to come and the location and extent of the connecting avenues.
>
> Then to plan for the proper shaping of the ground surfaces, avenues, lawns and plantations, and the decorative floral work. I assume also that you wish this work to involve direction of maintenance of lawns, plantations and floral decorations during the term of the exposition.[36]

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This letter makes very clear what Kessler's conception of his duties was to be. He had no involvement with the placement of buildings and avenues, but once they were sited, he was in charge of landscaping these elements. Once employed, Kessler's idea for the landscaping was based on his belief that this was a city of gigantic palaces, not a group of buildings in a park.[37] He created grass plots around every building, and wherever possible he placed banks of trees and shrubs at the corners, to emphasize and isolate each structure (fig. 23).[38] This was a common City Beautiful tactic--monumental public buildings placed in the civic center should be somewhat isolated in order to emphasize their location and architecture.

Kessler made liberal use of trees. He placed a double row of trees, taken from other areas of Forest Park, along the Grand Basin (fig. 24), and single rows along the subsidiary waterways and footpaths that ran between the other palaces (see figs. 9, 13, 15). Between the trees and the banks of the waterways were broad plots of grass (fig. 25). These trees provided relief from the heat and also framed the buildings. Their visual impression was similar to the formal avenues of some European cities, like Paris, but more closely to the Mall at Washington, with its double row of trees. Kessler was evoking the same visual response as had the planners of Washington,[39] one that was decidedly not picturesque but rather French and formal, such as the designs for the gardens at Versailles and St. Cloud.

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The majority of the gardens Kessler designed were formal, such as the Sunken Garden (between the Liberal Arts Building and the Mines and Metallurgy Building; see fig. 17) and the Cascade Gardens, on either side of the Cascades below Festival Hall. The Cascade Gardens were his primary achievement, containing the most elaborate landscaping and presenting the most difficult problem. The hill upon which the Cascade Gardens were created, the site of Festival Hall and the Art Building, was left for Kessler and his crew as a mass of rock and shale. In order to create a frame for the Cascades and Festival Hall, much transplanting and planting was required. His conception of the garden was that it would unite the two halves of the exposition. He wrote, "Opportunity here was given...for bringing about complete harmony between the even, broad lines of greensward and the sharper architectural lines of the Cascades and Colonnades."[40] In some notes jotted by Kessler in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, he noted, "The Cascade gardens are partly formal, merging into the informal and natural scenes. The whole scheme of the Exposition is really on the same lines."[41] The Cascade Gardens were designed to be the first landscaping element to be seen by visitors, and to create a smooth psychological transition between the formal, architectonic lines of the main picture, and the softer, more picturesque area beyond.

The policy that Kessler adopted for his landscape scheme was sensible and conservative--he used plants

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indigenous to the region and those which would stand up to St. Louis's extremes of heat in the summer and cold in the winter (the fair ran from April 30th through December 1st). This was a policy adopted by Olmsted for the landscaping of the grounds of the World's Columbian Exposition; however, Olmsted's choice of plants native to the region was made to combat a time problem.[42] Kessler faced no such problem. He was able to grow much of the greenery he needed in greenhouses set up on the fairgrounds at least two years prior to the opening of the exposition.

Unfortunately, due to the large size of the grounds, no plan was drawn up for the area outside the main picture. However, Kessler himself noted that "The disposition of the villa-like State buildings on the higher levels of the forest area to the South gave to each building a fine setting; the forest serving as a splendid background for the whole and the entire picture suggesting the possibility at least of a beautiful City in reality."[43] The promise of the Exposition Company to destroy as few trees as possible enabled Kessler to disregard the areas outside of the main picture, since Forest Park received its name due to the large amount of trees on the grounds.

Evident in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition's plan were all of the elements of a City Beautiful: a coherent, logical arrangement of structures, an acknowledgement of the value of focal points and vistas, an understanding of the

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function of open spaces, a comprehension of the effect of scale, a recognition of the need for stylistic homogeneity and the importance of unity of control. These are also elements important for the success of any large-scale municipal plan.[44] Architectural critics readily acknowledged these ideas, and even after the City Beautiful Movement began to fade in importance, the legacy of the world's fairs, much more visible to the public, lived on. "American architecture above all needed to learn to plan in a big way, each building designed with an eye to its relation to all the others....The desirability...of thoughtful and co-ordinated [*sic*] layouts has been taught by one after another of the expositions, so that even the careless layman is beginning to see the point."[45]

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Notes

[1]For a discussion of the literature of the City Beautiful Movement, see Appendix D, "Bibliographic Essay."

[2]Lionel B. Budden, "The Relation of Exposition Planning to Civic Design," Town Planning Review 6, no. 3 (January 1916): 154.

[3]See David M. Wrobel, The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1993).

[4]See Charles Zueblin, "The 'White City' and After," The Chautauquan 38 (December 1903): 373-384.

[5]The date of the addition Walker, Carrère and Howe to the Committee is unclear; in a telegram dated July 17, 1901 addressed to Isaac Taylor, Gilbert mentions the addition of these three men. ("Have added last three to Committee.") In a letter, also addressed to Taylor, dated July 20, 1901, Gilbert agains mentions the addition of Howe, Walker and Carrère. However, the exact date cannot be determined. Letterbook, Cass Gilbert Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York.

[6]Cass Gilbert to Isaac Taylor, July 20, 1901, Letterbook, Cass Gilbert Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York.

[7]Walker came to the St. Louis fair with direct experience in planning; he and his partner Kimball had served as Chief Architects for the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha in 1898. The Trans-Mississippi fair was consciously modeled on the plan of the Chicago fair, and Walker may have subsequently realized the deficincies of the latter's plan while designing the one for St. Louis.

[8]"The scheme with the main axis diagonal to Lindell Avenue and with the Ringstrasse was largely Mr. Walker's suggestion, and the credit for it should be given to him. It has some admirable points, and would have the advantage of novelty." Letterbook, Cass Gilbert Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York.

[9]Cass Gilbert Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York.

[10]See Elsie Reasoner, "American Sculpture and the

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Louisiana Purchase Exposition," Munsey's Magazine 30 (January 1904): 549; Charles M. Kurtz, "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition and its Art Department," The Criterion 4 no. 2 (May 1903): 6.

For Gilbert's denial, see letter from Walter B. Stevens to John Lebens, Press Bureau, March 1, 1904, Cass Gilbert Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York.

[11]The fan-shaped plan may also have been perceived by Gilbert *et al* as being a relief from the grid plans used since the eighteenth century in the layout of America's cities. According to the Land Ordinance of 1785, the western territories were to be surveyed into six-mile square townships, the square being the easiest way of measuring the acreage. The idea for the square came from Charleston's and Philadelphia's urban grid plans (the first and second of their kind, respectively, in the country). The placement of roadways along a general north-south, east-west axis within these squares was the result of Congress's neglecting to specify the location of public roads. The first public trails merely wandered across the territories, but settlers acquiring sections began to insist that roads follow the section lines to forestall boundary disputes and define easily cultivated square and rectangular fields. The grid proved to be reasonably effective in the distribution of lands for settlement, and settlers soon became accustomed to it. According to historian John Stilgoe, "By the 1860s the grid objectified national, not regional, order, and no one wondered at rural space marked by urban rectilinearity." John R. Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 99-107.

[12]"It was, as you remember, the consensus of opinion on the part of the architects, that the general plan of the Exposition required an important monumental point at the top of the hill on the main axis, and that this point could be best expressed by means of a large dome. I myself hold this opinion very strongly. It was also felt that the axes of the two minor courts should also terminate upon fixed points located at or near the top of the hill, and forming part of this crowning composition. These conditions suggest the composition and practically determine its length...." Gilbert to Taylor, November 13, 1901, Cass Gilbert Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York.

[13]Isaac S. Taylor, "The Construction of a Great Exposition," World's Fair Bulletin 3, no. 5 (March 1902): 2-4.

[14]Charles Caffin, "The Artistic Ensemble of the World's Fair," International Studio 23 (1904): ccciv.

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[15]Folke Tyko Kihlsted, "Formal and Structural Innovations in American Exposition Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1973).

[16]In contrast to Kihlsted's view, Sharon Lee Irish, in a dissertation on the architecture of Cass Gilbert, sees Washington University's quadrangles as irregular and picturesque. (Sharon Lee Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York 1899-1905" [Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1985]). In an article published in the Architectural Record in 1915, Guy Study also describes the quadrangles as "picturesque." (Guy Study, "Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri," Architectural Record 37 [January 1915]: 67.) The quadrangles are rectangular, and are also firmly closed by either buildings or trees--no long or varied vistas are possible.

The "picturesque" nature of the University's quadrangles alluded to by Irish and Study does not make complete sense when Andrew Jackson Downing's definition of "picturesque" is considered. In A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Downing defines the picturesque as composed of "striking, irregular, spirited forms." (Andrew Jackson Downing, A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening [New York: A.O. Moore & Co., 1859], 48.) If this explanation is applied to Washington University's quadrangles, it must be concluded that they are not "picturesque." Their regularity in both design and execution, and they are indeed regular in form, conforms most closely to Downing's interpretation of the Beautiful, "nature or art obeying the universal laws of perfect existence...easily, freely, harmoniously, and without display of power." (Ibid., 53.)

[17]Charles Mulford Robinson (1869-1917) began his career as an editor of the Rochester Post-Express. He was a native of that city, and earned his A.B. at the University of Rochester. One of his earliest independent writings was "The Fair as Spectacle," based on his own reactions to the World's Columbian Exposition and issued by the Board of Directors in Chicago. His experience there was fundamental to his later preoccupation with the form and functioning of cities at a time when little attention was being paid to city planning as a viable profession. His first major writings on the subject were a three part series entitled "Improvement in City Life" that appeared in Atlantic Monthly in 1899, and which were well received by the public. Harper's Magazine then offered him the opportunity to go abroad to study municipal improvements in Europe. The results of his trip appeared as articles in 1901 and 1902, but he also had additional material which was used as the basis of The Improvement of Towns and Cities, published in 1901. Since he could not find a publisher, he published it himself. The

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book ran through 11 printings in 15 years. This was not a how-to book, but a compilation of good examples of civic improvement in American and European cities. Its success inspired Robinson's next book, Modern Civic Art (1903). Thanks to the success and popularity of these volumes, Robinson became a successful city planning consultant. He died in 1917, at the age of 49.

[18]Charles Mulford Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities (New York; London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), 21.

[19]Ibid., 23.

[20]Ibid., 23-24.

[21]The final design used for construction and publicity purposes was completed by Taylor and Masqueray, based on Walker's original.

[22]C. Howard Walker, "The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, Missouri," Architectural Review 11 no. 8 (August 1904): 201.

[23]Ibid., 199.

[24]Ibid., 201.

[25]Ibid., 206. See also note 18.

[26]Montgomery Schuyler, "The Architecture of the St. Louis Fair," Scribner's Magazine 35 (April 1904): 392.

[27]Ibid., 392.

[28]Caffin, ccciv-cccv.

[29]See Appendix B for the assignment of buildings to architects.

[30]Halsey Cooley Ives (1847-1911) had also served as Chief of the Art Department at the World's Columbian Exposition. His appointment at St. Louis was based on his experience at Chicago, as well as his reputation in the St. Louis cultural community. After studying at the Polytechnic School of St. Louis in 1874, he joined the faculty of Washington University. In 1879 he was appointed director of the St. Louis School of Fine Arts, and in 1881, of the city's Museum of Fine Arts which would move, at the close of the Fair, to its new, permanent quarters in Cass Gilbert's Fine Arts Palace. He would remain in this post until his death.

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[31]The sequence of events surrounding this move are discussed by Pamela Gayle Hemenway, "Cass Gilbert's Buildings at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904" (Master's thesis, University of Missouri, 1970).

[32]Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities, 206.

[33]Downing, Landscape Gardening, 60.

[34]Schuyler, 394.

[35]See William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1964) and William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

[36]Letter from Kessler to Isaac Taylor, October 15, 1901, George E. Kessler Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[37]Henry C. Pratt, "Landscape Art at the World's Fair," Brush and Pencil 14 no. 2 (May 1904): 153.

[38]For full details of Kessler's work, see Division of Works Report, June, 1905 (Part I), Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis.

[39]The McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C. (1902) was the work of Daniel Burnham, Frederick Law Olmsted and Charles Follen McKim.

[40]Division of Works Report, June, 1905 (Part I), Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[41]Folder 3, George E. Kessler Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[42]Laura Wood Roper, A Biography of FLO (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 429.

[43]Division of Works Report, June, 1905 (Part I), Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[44]See Budden, 155-160.

[45]G.H. Edgell, The American Architecture of To-Day (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), 68.

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CHAPTER 4

THE SCULPTURAL PROGRAM

The sculptural program created for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was the primary vehicle for the dissemination of the general theme of the fair, a celebration of the centennial of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. The sculpture was noteworthy because its subject, specifically a celebration of the advancement of man from savagery to civilization as experienced in the Louisiana territory, was more accessible to the general public than those of earlier American expositions.[1] As will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6, the sculpture was also used to demonstrate the importance of civic art in the City Beautiful and its theme to promulgate the myth of the frontier.[2] The following discussion and description of the sculpture will focus primarily on the free-standing works intended for the grounds proper. The works created specifically for the exposition palaces will not be discussed, as they are images of, or refer largely to, the types of exhibits found inside, and are therefore not as cohesive in theme as the large number of works placed throughout the grounds.

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The sculptural program of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, as finalized by Chief of Sculpture Karl Bitter, also followed closely in the footsteps of its immediate predecessor, the Pan-American Exposition, held in Buffalo in 1901. The Pan-American was the first exposition to employ a cohesive theme (the efforts and progress of Man) for its fairground sculpture, a theme devised by its Chief of Sculpture, also Karl Bitter.[3]

The program for the free-standing public sculpture as originally conceived by Frederick W. Ruckstull for the 1904 Exposition focused on the history of the Louisiana Purchase expressed primarily through allegory. When Bitter took over the role of Chief of Sculpture he substantially expanded and revised the program by including the story of "the winning of the west." As such, the images created by Bitter and his team included portraits of prominent figures in the history of the Purchase, such as Thomas Jefferson and Napoleon Bonaparte; images of Native Americans and white pioneers and settlers; and a small number of allegorical images representing the continents and lofty ideals such as Liberty and Progress.[4]

The scheme developed by Ruckstull and reworked by Bitter can be divided into two distinct groups: the free-standing works, and the sculpture placed in the pediments, niches, lunettes, etc., of the exposition palaces. The sculpture placed on the buildings, some realistic, some

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idealistic, referred uniformly to the types of exhibits found within. Any portrait sculptures were of men notable in the various disciplines assigned to each building. Each individual building's sculptural program was coherent and unified in theme, but obviously there could be no one unifying factor for all the architectural sculpture. In contrast, the free-standing sculpture was conceived as a whole and created independently of the architectural sculpture. The architects had no say in the locations of free-standing works with the exception of the Fountain of Liberty, which was planned with the cooperation of Cass Gilbert and Emanuel Masqueray, the designer of Festival Hall and its segue into the Cascades, respectively. Bitter, ultimately, was entirely responsible for the subject and location of all free-standing works.

Frederick W. Ruckstull, the original Chief of Sculpture of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, was hired on the recommendation of the Architect's Commission of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings. Ruckstull's chief recommendation for the job was his role in the founding of the National Sculpture Society in 1893. As such, he was a highly visible figure in the world of public and architectural sculpture.[5] In addition to Ruckstull, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French and John Quincy Adams Ward were asked by the Exposition Company to act in an advisory capacity to the Department of Sculpture. These gentlemen,

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correctly considered by the Company to be among the primary figures within the American sculpture community, were to confer with the Chief of Sculpture and to make judgments on the fitness of the models submitted by the different sculptors employed by the Department.[6] In actuality, Saint-Gaudens, French and Ward acted as rubber stamps for Ruckstull's, and later Karl Bitter's, schemes.[7]

Ruckstull's scheme symbolized in sculpture the history of the Louisiana Purchase. The free standing sculptures were divided into four principal classes, as follows:

> 1. The animal owners of the soil, including the wild bronco, the deer, the buffalo, the elk, the Rocky Mountain lion, the alligator, the Kansas steer, and the moose; 2. The uncivilized owners of the soil--the Indian; 3. The discoverers, explorers, trappers, and hunters, who won the soil from the red men; 4. The highly civilized races of Spain and France, who followed the path the more uncouth white man pioneered.[8]

This arrangement clearly indicates an influence from historian Frederick Jackson Turner, whose conception of the frontier was based on the westward movement of civilization.

In addition to the works representing these four classes, there were planned fourteen allegorical statues symbolizing the fourteen purchase states and territories, to be placed within the Colonnade of States flanking Festival Hall atop Art Hill.[9] In front of this decorative screen, which closed the vista at the southern end of the grounds, there was to be a monumental group, thirty feet wide and sixty feet long, depicting the "Triumph of the Missouri."

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At the junction of the Plaza of St. Louis and the main transverse avenue there were to be four heroic groups of four figures each, symbolizing the glorification of science, learning, agriculture and art, and along the main avenue, forty allegorical statues were to be placed. In an article in Brush and Pencil, Ruckstull outlined his scheme in greater detail:

> The first inhabitants or owners of the land were mythological nymphs, fauns, satyrs, dryads, which will be used in the focal pieces around the big cascades. With them will be used the winged horses, and the sea-dragons which fable connects with them. Next will come, as the cascades are left behind, the Indians, the second owners of the soil....
>
> The animals, simultaneous owners with the Indians, will be shown in the radiating avenues, in compositions fifteen feet high. The wild bronco, the bear, buffalo, elk, Rocky Mountain lion, the alligator, the Kansas steer and the moose are the eight animals suggested....Indians in canoes and Indians moving are other compositions...to show primitive methods of transportation.
>
> The next stage shown will be the explorers and trappers who won the land from the Indians and the wild animals. Statues of Lewis and Clark... will stand, respectively, at the head of the east and west bridges which cross the lagoons at the foot of Art Hill. Gigantic sculptural groups, showing DeSoto discovering the Mississippi and Marquette and Joliet exploring the stream, will hold a place in the avenues beside the Grand Lagoon.
>
> In the avenues south of the Electricity and the Textile Buildings, seated statues of Napoleon and Jefferson will appear. The former is to be shown deliberating...the desirability of signing the purchase treaty, the latter triumphant, with the purchase treaty in his hand.
>
> Two great companion groups will stand in the main transverse avenue....The former will show symbolically the fraternity existing between France and the United States, and the latter, a group of thirty feet high, will be "America, the Universal Peacemaker."[10]

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This description clearly indicates that Ruckstull favored didactic, allegorical imagery in the tradition of European public sculpture. Approximately half of the groups he suggested were recognizable (the animals and mythological creatures), yet all were to be used in highly allegorical groupings and within a scheme which itself was clearly bombastic in its allegory, and therefore difficult for the layman to comprehend without explanation.

Ruckstull did not remain in his position for long, due to conflicts with Isaac Taylor, the Director of Works.[11] In a letter dated December 11, 1902, sent to David Francis, President of the Exposition Company, Ruckstull outlined his grievances and effectively terminated his employment with the Exposition Company.[12] To replace him, the Executive Committee of the Exposition Company, after conferring with the Sculpture Advisory Committee, hired Karl Bitter, a well-known architectural sculptor, to be Chief of the Department.[13] Bitter was well qualified to take over for Ruckstull; he had first worked at a world's fair in Chicago in 1893, creating the sculpture for Richard Morris Hunt's Administration Building, as well as a few pieces for George B. Post's Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building.[14] He had also served as the Chief of Sculpture for the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo.[15]

Upon entering the grounds, the visitor first entered what Bitter termed "Monument Court" (fig. 26). A number of

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realistic groups stood in this large plaza at the end of the Grand Basin, the midway point of the transverse avenues and officially known as the Plaza of St. Louis. The first free-standing monument the visitor encountered was Charles Niehaus's "The Apotheosis of St. Louis," an equestrian image of Louis IX of France dressed as a crusader (fig. 27, 28).[16] As Bitter wrote, "I have sought to refer to the earliest mention that history has made of the name that concerns us so much...."[17] The statue stood on a large architectural base, at the foot of which was seated an heroic figure representing the City of St. Louis welcoming guests to the exposition (fig. 29). Charles Caffin, who was rather harsh in his criticism of the fair's sculpture, singled out Niehaus's work as one of the very few pieces on the grounds worthy of comment. He described it as "...a vigorous and impressive mass, handled with as much ease as dignity...."[18] Bitter felt that this work was the ideal image for this location. It "gives effective adornment for such a locality, as far as shape is concerned, and furthermore, by its expression and meaning stands as a fitting welcome to the observer."[19]

At the far end of the plaza, at the foot of the Grand Basin, was the Louisiana Purchase Monument by Bitter and Emanuel Masqueray (fig. 30). This was essentially a tall column topped with a figure representing Peace (fig. 31), described by one writer as "a youthful woman beckoning

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with an olive branch held high above her head, while her right hand is below the level of her waist and outward with palm downward. Her draperies swirl in picturesque folds, and on her head there is a diadem well back, set with five rays, each point perhaps to show at night a dim star."[20] At the base of the column were three groups representing historic incidents connected with the Purchase. One of them, facing the Grand Basin, was entitled "The Signing of the Purchase Treaty"; it depicted this historic event and its participants, Robert Livingston, James Monroe, and François Marbois[21] (fig. 32). The fourth side of the base was a pulpit used for dedicatory speeches and other festive events. This side faced the main entrance at Lindell Avenue across the grand open space of the Plaza. In discussing the iconography of the monument, Bitter's biographer James Dennis wrote,

> When in full use...the base of the Louisiana Purchase monument became a busy scene of dark-suited orators accompanied by gigantic bleach-white figures of staff. Through this composition of black and white occurred a juxtaposition of the visionary past and the envisioned future. While the sculpture was a plaster portrayal of a promise-laden past, the words spoken from the rostrum were...dominated by pride-ridden projections of a great American century. This visual reminiscence of a formative period in the country's history and the optimistic anticipation of its future were brought together throughout the largest of world's fairs as one big, grand and glorious generalization of greatness.[22]

Continuing straight across the length of the Grand Basin were the Cascades (fig. 33). The only instance where

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Bitter, unlike Ruckstull, called for didactic imagery was in the sculpture for this area. For the Cascades, Bitter made the first of a series of important changes to Ruckstull's scheme. The Cascades were, for Bitter, the focal point of the exposition's sculpture, embracing not just the works created specifically for the cascades themselves, but also the works in the Colonnade of States. In an article in Brush and Pencil, Ruckstull was quoted as saying, "The cascades and the stairways will be decorated with sportive groups of human and animal form--nymphs, cupids, horses, dragons, etc." These images would be merely the starting point for a sculptural scheme that would subsequently unfold throughout the grounds. In the same article Bitter stated, "The cascades are the most important feature of the exposition--a feature which will distinguish this exposition from every former exposition. For this reason it is meant that the decorations of the cascades shall give expression to the high ideals on which this exposition is based."[23] Bitter got rid of the flying cupids and dryads and other mythological creatures, concentrating instead on allegory of a higher ideal that would also be easily read by the public. For the main cascade, he proposed the Fountain of Liberty, which consisted of a crowning figure of Liberty, extending her arms in a commanding gesture, flanked by figures of Truth and Justice (fig. 34). The side cascades were to be symbolic representations of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans,

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because the Purchase was the means by which the United States spread its democratic ideals from the east to west coasts. Bitter felt that the rushing water of the Cascades would lend itself well to the representation of these oceans. He stated, "Their decoration has been designed both to create a picture of surpassing beauty, and to express in the most noble form which human mind and skill can devise, the joy of the American people at the triumphant progress of the principles of liberty, westward across the continent of America."[24]

These works, by Hermon MacNeil and Isidor Konti, respectively, are typical of the types of allegorical sculpture popularized by the NSS.[25] MacNeil's fountain consisted of the figure of Liberty typified by a woman, clad in classical drapery, holding aloft the torch of liberty, easily recognizable to Americans through its use in the figure of Liberty recently erected in New York City's harbor. Truth and Justice were also female figures, more scantily clad, and holding related attributes such as the scales of Justice. Flanking the central fountain were twelve smaller groups representing such ideas as patriotism and the family, these being at the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon ideal of liberty. Of MacNeil's contributions, Charles Caffin wrote, "[They] present a design that is full of imagination and has a truly decorative sweep of line and luxuriance of mass."[26] Another critic described the Fountain of Liberty as "full of

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superb dignity, and...impressive beyond words to describe."[27]

Konti's Atlantic Ocean was a muscular youth clad in swinging drapery, lifting his right hand into the air in a gesture commanding attention (figs. 35, 36). At his feet was an eagle with outstretched wings. The Pacific was represented by a woman with similar flying draperies, her arms up at different angles, and an albatross soaring at her feet (figs. 37, 38). Both figures were balanced on spheres resting on pedestals bearing little Cupids playing with fish. This type of personification, so typical of allegorical sculpture, was intended to convey the idea and the power of these two great oceans, themselves the borders of the continental United States, in a clear and concise fashion. In general, the criticism of Konti's works was not positive. Caffin wrote, "[They] have been brilliantly gilded, which possibly accentuates the unintelligibility of their contours, when viewed from a little distance. Anyhow, their composition seems to be rather of a fly-away kind...."[28] L.R.E. Paulin, in <u>House and Garden</u>, wrote, "[T]o symbolize adequately the majesty and turbulence of the two great oceans something sterner and less sentimentalistic was required than the delightful young figures he selected for his types."[29] Paulin regretted the lack of "strong and severe sentiment" that had characterized Konti's work at the Pan-American Exposition; but it was this severity that Bitter was attempting to avoid.

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Surrounding the main Cascades statuary were smaller groups, also by Konti, representing activities associated with physical and intellectual liberty. These sculptures, like their immediate neighbors, emphasized allegory and didacticism, yet employed elements that were more easily recognizable. For example, Konti expressed the idea of Physical Liberty through the figure of an Indian running alongside a buffalo (fig. 39). These two Western denizens were historically associated with the openness and subsequent freedom of that region. The Progress of Commerce depicted a classically draped seated female pointing to the horizon; at her side was a young boy holding an oar (fig. 40). The Progress of Navigation was very similar; in this instance the seated classical woman was holding a model of a ship for another young boy (fig. 41). These latter two utilized the contrast of youth and maturity, in addition to easily recongnizable symbols, to indicate their respective specific types of Progress.

Although the sculpture for the Cascades was conceived independently of the rest of the sculpture and its theme, the westward march of civilization, some of the groups, specifically Konti's, did employ imagery that was distinctly related to that subject and the related myth of the frontier. The movement and freedom of Physical Liberty's composition, combined with the obvious subject matter, made this a noticeable nostalgic reference to the

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frontier and the freedom it allowed its inhabitants, and placed this Indian firmly within the frontier mythology of then-President Theodore Roosevelt. The Progress groups referred not to human progress in fishing, navigation, etc., but rather to American westward progress. This fact was emphasized by the positioning of the works: all were facing to the northwest. In the group representing the Progress of Commerce, the allegorical female figure is also pointing in that same direction, a clear reference to America's westward march and the idea of manifest destiny.

Behind the Cascades, flanking Festival Hall, was the Colonnade of States, in which were placed fourteen allegorical representations of the Purchase states and territories (fig. 42).[30] The Colonnade itself was in a neoclassical design, like the rest of the Exposition's architecture. There were fourteen niches, one for each of the statues. Of these, Caffin wrote,

> The adoption of a certain uniformity of composition gives them collectively and individually an impressiveness, while more than a few of them will repay more detailed study. Again the uniformity to which I have alluded is attuned to the architecture at the back of them. They have been designed with an appropriate sense of the architectonic requirements, and, as a result, the Arcade and its embellishments are one of the handsomest portions of the whole scheme.[31]

An anonymous critic writing in Brush and Pencil echoed Caffin's sentiments: "The statues...fulfill Poe's definition of the essential character of a poem, 'variety in uniformity.'"[32] Bitter avoided monotony and achieved vari-

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ety by assigning only one image per sculptor. While the individual images were allegorical in inspiration, each was accompanied by an inscription in the lintel of the niche behind, identifying the territory and its date of inclusion into the Union. The sculptors responsible for these grandiose works were all relative newcomers; for many, it was their first exposure to public sculpture. As Edwina Spencer, another critic, wrote, "the results are craftsman-like and original, offering excellent promise for the future."[33]

On either side of the Grand Basin, at the boat landings, were portrayals of wild animals (the first stage in the development of the territory) by Edward Potter and F.G.R. Roth; "Battle of Bulls and Mountain Lions" and "Combat of Grizzly Bears and Sea Lions," respectively (figs. 43 through 45). These works were neither allegorical, didactic, or myth-related. They were also virtually the only representations of animals on the grounds that treated their subjects as primary rather than secondary.[34] Traditionally, animal sculpture was an important accessory to grand architectural undertakings in Europe. The practice extended to the United States, especially in expositions. Again, the Pan-American is a very good example; it used animal statuary throughout the grounds. By severely restricting its use at St. Louis, Bitter was again departing from tradition, perhaps emphasizing a more modern approach.

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In Monument Court, just beyond Niehaus's St. Louis, stood equestrian statues of Louis Joliet (in front of the Palace of Manufactures) and Ferdinand De Soto (in front of the Palace of Varied Industries) by, respectively, Alexander Phimister Proctor and Edward C. Potter (figs. 46, 47).[35] Both works were intended as representations of the two countries, France and Spain, that first explored and settled the western regions.[36] Of these two, Bitter wrote, "I believed...that, apart from the decorative effort which would result from these equestrian statues in mediaeval [sic] costume, there would be considerable interest in seeing represented the two nations who first entered upon the scene in connection with this part of our country...."[37] Both Proctor and Potter were known primarily for their portrayals of animals; these images therefore represented somewhat of a departure for them. Caffin, the most perceptive of the exposition's critics, wrote of these two, "...while full of spirit and possessed of commanding qualities, [they] have something of a conscious ceremonialism in the composition."[38]

At the lower end of the Grand Basin, near the Purchase Monument, stood four groups by Solon Borglum, "Buffalo Dance," "A Peril of the Plains," "Cowboy at Rest," and "A Step to Civilization" (fig. 48).[39] "Buffalo Dance" depicted the Indian before the arrival of the white man; "A Peril of the Plains" showed that arrival; "Cowboy at Rest"

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represented the establishment of the ranchman; and "A Step To Civilization" showed the converted Indian.

Of these last two Caffin wrote,

> They were originally designed in statuette size, so that the breadth and economy of modelling, then very admirably adjusted to the whole, offer now, when they have been reproduced on a large scale, a certain barrenness of effect. Yet, even so, these statues hold their own in composition and sentiment very well, and have a peculiar appropriateness to the occasion.[40]

Another critic stated, "Mr. Borglum's four magnificent groups show...a splendid skill and an intuitive sympathy that make them true works of art."[41] Bitter's intention was that these four groups represent the earlier settlements of the Purchase territory.

Near these four works were the entrances to the main transverse avenue, along which were placed two fountains, "Destiny of the Red Man" by Adolph Weinman (see fig. 17), and the Indian Fountain by Lorado Taft.[42] These works were intended to refer to the legends and folklore of the Indians, and as one critic wrote, "so masterfully and poetically as to attract delighted study."[43]

Continuing past both these works, in the Plazas of Orleans and Anthony, stood, respectively, two equestrian works: the "Sioux Chief" by Cyrus Dallin (fig. 49) and the "Cherokee Chief" by James Earle Fraser (fig. 50).[44] These two works, originally intended to be placed on "Indian mounds," depicted representatives of the two principal tribes with which the white man had to fight for possession

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of the Purchase Territory. Dallin's sculpture is now known as "The Protest," and is one of the cycle of four equestrian Indian images for which he is best known.[45] It represents the protest of the Sioux against the invasion of their hunting grounds by the white man. Of Dallin's work Caffin wrote, "[It] exhibit[s] so fine a quality of imagination, so much truth and artistic capability, as to stand out amid the profusion of undigested technical problems and slip-shod sentiment with emphatic conspicuousness."[46]

Along the avenues that represented the outer ribs of the fan, leading from the Plazas of Anthony and Orleans to Art Hill, were placed portrait statues. These were images of men (and one woman) who figured prominently in the exploration and early history of the purchase territory, the purchase itself, and in the region's later civilization and development.[47] Like some of the other works already discussed, this group of portrait statues decorating Art Hill was the subject of much critical commentary. The statue of Père Marquette, by Cyrus Dallin, was considered by many critics to be the finest (fig. 51).[48] One critic, Zoe Fleming Dunlap, wrote, "Mr. Dallin has entered into the true feeling of Father Marquette...and to the burning zeal of the missionary added the knowledge that rendered his discoveries invaluable....The spirit of a grand missionary life is forcefully portrayed in this statue."[49] Dallin's Père Marquette, the French missionary who was the first priest to

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travel through the upper Mississippi and Great Lakes region, was part of the series of works representing the third phase of Bitter's scheme: the earliest white men on the continent.

Also intended to represent this phase were Louis Gudebrod's image of Sieur La Salle (fig. 52) and Herbert Adams's portrait of Panfilo Narvaez (fig. 53). Both continue the historical emphasis first noticed with Proctor's and Potter's equestrian works.[50] The historical costumes of these two sculptures once again identify them as figures out of the wild past as well as figures whose time has come and gone. Unlike the equestrian works, however, these figures are masterful in their expressive qualities. La Salle cradles a rifle in one arm while the other reaches out as if to grab the riches of the vast wilderness. On his face is an expression of quiet intensity and determination. Narvaez was also depicted as a man to be reckoned with. Standing with the banner of Spain in one arm, a long and mighty sword in the other, feet planted firmly on the ground and cape flowing behind him, he presents an image of conquest and victory.

Bitter's work for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition differed from that for the Pan-American. At Buffalo, the scheme Bitter devised was much more dependent on the architecture than at St. Louis, and its theme was entirely ideal and didactic. At the Pan-American, the location of the three-dimensional sculpture was decided upon primarily

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by the architects, who specified the locations of pedestals, fountains, and open spaces. At St. Louis, first Ruckstull, then Bitter, was responsible for the placement of the free-standing work. The theme Bitter devised for Buffalo was based on "big ideas": the efforts and progress of man, especially relevant to the civilization of the Western hemisphere. Specifically, the controlling conceptions were Nature, Man and the Genius of Man.[51] This theme was devised by studying the grouping and contents of the individual exhibition palaces, as well as the general theme of the exposition, which was to encourage closer communication between the countries of North and South America, and to showcase the achievements of those continents alone. There was no readily comprehensible, historically recognizable theme as there would be at St. Louis. All of the Pan-American sculpture was therefore designed to complement the buildings as well as disseminate these lofty ideals.[52] As Bitter himself wrote,

> The simple facts demonstrated inside of the buildings should find ideal and elevating expression not only in the architecture, but in the paintings and sculpture about the buildings....[T]he expression of the artist in color and form must give inspiration to the mind and assist the reason which has been appealed to by the contents of the buildings. Not a mere shell, beautiful and glittering but empty, is the work that the sculptor should give us here; not merely a scheme with here and there a spark of an idea: but, instead, a conception which, step by step and link by link, should lead the receptive mind to grasp one big idea and ignite a fire of true and lasting enthusiasm.[53]

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Bitter's scheme departed from Ruckstull's in several respects. The most significant difference was that for Bitter, the sculptural decorations were to be full of life and motion, and therefore the less "decorative feature" of allegorical images would be kept to a minimum. Bitter's scheme, like Ruckstull's, proposed symbolizing the acquisition and development of the Louisiana Purchase. Unlike Ruckstull, who relied primarily on allegory, Bitter concentrated on the use of portraits and realistic/genre groups. As he stated in his report to the Director of Works, "I have endeavored to employ the art of sculpture in order to not merely gain decorative effects, but stimulate the imagination and teach certain lessons by a proper and intelligent selection of subjects."[54] By de-emphasizing didactic imagery in favor of realistic, and occasionally simple allegorical, works, Bitter created images that were more readily comprehensible to the general public than those found at earlier expositions.

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Notes

[1]The primary theme of the World's Columbian Exposition, for example, was "Columbus." However, this theme was expressed through only a few images on the grounds. According to Wim de Wit, a general "theme" was expressed through the two major free-standing sculptures: Daniel Chester French's "Republic," and Frederick William MacMonnies' Columbian Fountain. The "Republic" referred to national unity, and the fountain to national ambitions. Along with a few other selected works, such as those atop the Peristyle (a quadriga with Columbus, and repeating images of an orator, a boy fisherman, and a Native American), these images represented the victory of western culture. (Wim de Wit, "Building an Illusion," in Neil Harris, et al, Grand Illusions: Chicago World's Fair of 1893 [Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993], 83-88). The didactic and allegorical nature of these works made them difficult for the public to easily comprehend.

[2]The theme of the sculptural program also mirrored the goals of the fair's Department of Anthropology, to detail the development of man's progress in the arts and industry from savagery to civilization, in a sequential synopsis that corresponded to the fair's individual departments. See Robert Rydell, All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), chapter 6.

[3]For information on the sculpture of the Pan-American Exposition, see Joann Marie Thompson, "The Art and Architecture of the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, 1901" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1980), Chapter Four.

[4]Unlike the World's Columbian Exposition and the Pan-American Exposition, the sculpture for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was of a very high quality. For the finish of the sculptures Karl Bitter employed a new type of modeling cement that gave the works an appearance of finished sandstone. In addition, the sculptural program was designed three years before the opening of the fair, and as such, the sculptors had more than ample time to complete their models. This had not been the situation for the previous two American fairs. [See Thompson, 12-17; and Robert Rydell, "Rediscovering the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," in Carolyn Kinder Carr and George Gurney, Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art; National Portrait Gallery, 1993), 27-28.] In addition,

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the funds for the Department of Sculpture were greater than those for similar departments at the earlier fairs.

[5]For an interesting discussion of the role of the National Sculpture Society in the development, maturation and decline of architectural sculpture in the United States, see Michele Bogart, "In Search of a United Front: American Architectural Sculpture at the Turn of the Century," Winterthur Portfolio 19 nos. 2,3 (Summer/Autumn 1984): 151-176. Ruckstull and his role are discussed on pages 159-160.

[6]Minutes of the Committee on Grounds and Buildings, August 2, November 29, December 16, 1902. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[7]Ibid. The Advisory Committee was responsible for selecting Karl Bitter to replace Frederick Ruckstull; their positive opinion of Bitter's alterations to the original plan were therefore not unexpected.

[8]E.T. Henderson, "Sculptural Embellishments at St. Louis Exposition," Brush and Pencil 11 no. 5 (February 1903): 346.

[9]Each state was invited to reproduce or cast the statue pertaining to it in bronze, for permanent display at the close of the Exposition.

[10]Henderson, 348-351.

[11]In an article published in The New York Times, Ruckstull outlined the exact sequence of events that led to his resignation. He claimed the first disagreement between himself and Taylor came in October of 1901 over Ruckstull's compensation. Next, in October of the following year, Taylor insisted he reduce the number of sculptures, which Ruckstull refused to do. Taylor also supposedly attacked Ruckstull for his decision to use only American sculptors, criticized him for the wording of the sculptors' contracts, and tried to prevent him from creating his own sculptures for the grounds at the same rate of pay as the rest of the sculptors. Ruckstull stated, "I think that he began to see that the successful carrying out of an admirable scheme of sculpture would gradually make of the chief of sculpture, even in spite of himself, one of the most prominent men connected with the Exposition, and I fear that was too much for him; for my competence could not have been in question, seeing that the only work of mine which could be judged of as a measure of my ability was found admirable by the three most eminent sculptors of the country." He also was quoted as saying, "To those who can read between the lines, all

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this is the result of Mr. Taylor wanting to be the Sultan of the St. Louis World's Fair." "The Resignation of Fred. W. Ruckstuhl," The New York Times, 28 December 1902, 2A. See also "Cass Gilbert Resigns and Sues World's Fair," The New York Times, 28 April 1904, 1A.

[12]The full text of the letter is as follows: "On account of the numerous humiliations inflicted upon me by Mr. Isaac S. Taylor, Director of Works, and which have been more noticeable since the endorsement of my scheme of Decoration of the Grounds of the Exposition by the Committee of distinguished Sculptors, appointed for that purpose, and which are to me utterly incomprehensible except as an evidence of his fixed intention of reducing me from the position of DIRECTOR of Sculpture to that of a mere hired assistant of himself, and in view of the fact that my Department is dangerously in arrears on account of his strange dialatory [sic] tactics before, and since, I became definitely connected with the Exposition, and in order that my Department will not end in a fiasco and delay the opening of the Exposition on May 1st, 1904, I respectfully and finally demand,

FIRST: That the first request which I ever made of your Company--that is to say: That I be made DIRECTOR of Sculpture, and not CHIEF of Sculpture--be granted. It is utterly impossible for me to continue to serve your Company as a sub-chief under the direct orders of Mr. Taylor. I must insist that my Department be made an Independent Department--subject only to the orders of the Executive Committee made in consultation with me.

SECOND: If the Exposition is to be opened May 1st, 1904, the Department of Sculpture is dangerously in arrears. I have during the past year repeatedly warned officers of your Company, especially Mr. Taylor, that this would be the case unless more haste was made.

In order to save the situation it will be imperative that I, as Director of Sculpture, be made more independent than a mere clerk of Mr. Taylor can be, and that I receive the most generous and immediate support of the Board of Directors of your Exposition.

THIRD: I must be allowed to engage as my assistants such men as I regard able to do the best and most rapid work, as there is no time to spare for haggling over a few dollars more or less of salary for important men.

FOURTH: A copy of the attached agreement must be signed.

If this is not entirely satisfactory, please inform me at once and my connection with your Company will terminate immediately." Minutes of the Grounds and Buildings Committee, Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

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[13]See the Minutes of the Executive Committee, December 18, 23, 30, 1902. Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Bitter does not seem to have encountered the same difficulties with Taylor as had Ruckstull. Whether he was simply better at handling Taylor's personality is not known. However, nowhere in Bitter's nor the Exposition Company's papers is there any reference to conflict between these two.

[14]For the Administration Building, where he concentrated most of his activities, Bitter created an extensive allegorical program representing man's control of nature, his institutions and some of his basic social values. See James M. Dennis, Karl Bitter: Architectural Sculptor, 1867-1915 (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967) for a thorough discussion of Bitter's life and work.

[15]See Thompson for a complete discussion of Bitter's role at that fair.

[16]Niehaus's St. Louis was one of the few works chosen to be reproduced in permanent form at the close of the Exposition. It stands today in front of the St. Louis Art Museum, formerly the Art Palace of the Exposition.

The statue's journey from staff to bronze was not smooth; Niehaus demanded a larger sum of money to reproduce the work than the Exposition Company was willing to pay. Niehaus intended to entirely redesign the image, since the exposition's statue had been hastily enlarged to its detriment. Because Niehaus placed what many in the Exposition Company considered undue demands on them, the contract for the casting was given to a commercial firm and made from the statue already in existence. See "Niehaus's St. Louis in Bronze," Brush and Pencil 16 no. 6 (December 1905): 240.

For more information on Niehaus, see Rufus Wilson, "Charles Henry Niehaus," Monthly Illustrator 12 (1896): 391-400; Regina Armstrong, The Sculpture of Charles Henry Niehaus (New York: De Vinne Press, 1901); and "Charles Henry Niehaus, American Sculptor," International Studio 29 (1906): 104-111.

[17]Karl Bitter, "Sculpture for the St. Louis World's Fair," Brush and Pencil 13 no. 3 (December 1903): 171.

[18]Charles H. Caffin, "The Artistic Ensemble of the World's Fair," International Studio 23 (July 1904): cccviii. Of the sculpture in general Caffin wrote, "...it is only here and there that a statue or a group arrests and holds one's interest." He continued,

> For in traversing and retraversing a great scene

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> like this, where sculpture bristles at you on every side, you experience a bewilderment and sinking of the spirits. Out of so much it is but a little that has any intrinsic magnetism; one loses heart at the fatuity of piling Pelion upon Ossa, and at the detriment to American art and public taste which such profligacy and sloppiness may involve. (p. cccviii)

Caffin's negative tone was not adopted by all critics of the exposition. He was, however, the only one to discuss the exposition's decorative scheme in a forthright and honest fashion, as a critic, rather than as a publicist, the tone taken by most other writers.

[19] Bitter, "Sculpture for the St. Louis World's Fair," 170-171.

[20] Charles DeKay, "An Exposition Figure Factory," Scientific American Supplement 56 (28 November 1903): 23330.

[21] Robert Livingston was Jefferson's Ambassador to France; James Monroe was his special envoy sent to France to hasten the process of purchasing French territory in the New World, and Marbois was Napoleon's Finance Minister and a friend of Livingston's, who was directed by Napoleon to begin formal negotiations for the purchase of French territory by the United States.

[22] Dennis, 115.

[23] Henderson, 347.

[24] Edwina Spencer, "The Sculpture of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," The Chautauquan 39 (May 1904), 248.

[25] For more information on MacNeil, see Jean Stansbury Holden, "The Sculptors MacNeil," World's Work 14 (1907): 9403-9419; and "The Art of MacNeil," Craftsman 16 (1909): 709-710.

For more information on Konti, see Edward Brush, "The Art of Isidor Konti, Sculptor," Fine Arts Journal 26 (1912): 330-335; A.S. Levetus, "Isidor Konti: A Hungarian Sculptor in America," International Studio 45 (1912): 197-203; and The Sculpture of Isidor Konti, 1862-1938 (Yonkers, New York: Hudson River Museum, 1974).

[26] Caffin, cccix.

[27] Amy Woods, "Statuary at the St. Louis Fair," New England Magazine 31 (September 1904), 38.

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[28]Caffin, cccix.

[29]L.R.E. Paulin, "The Sculpture of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," House and Garden 5 (May 1904): 214.

[30]See Appendix C for the assignment of portraits to sculptors.

[31]Caffin, cccviii-cccix.

[32]"Gleanings from American Art Centers," Brush and Pencil 12 no. 4 (July 1903): 297.

[33]Spencer, 247. See Appendix C for sculptors.

[34]The only other animal statuary I was able to locate was a group of lions by Ruckstull on the Varied Industries Building.

[35]For more information on Proctor, see Vivan A. Paladin, "A Phimister Proctor: Master Sculptor of Horses," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 14 no. 1 (January 1964): 10-24; Ernest Peixotto, "A Sculptor of the West," Scribner's Magazine 68 (September 1920): 266-277; and A. Phimister Proctor, Sculptor in Buckskin: An Autobiography (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

For Potter, see Henry Wysham Lanier, "The Sculpture of E.C. Potter," World's Work 12 no. 5 (September 1906): 7968-7981.

At the close of the fair, the statue of De Soto was placed in St. Louis's Carondelet Park, and the image of Joliet in O'Fallon Park. See David R. Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904 (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913), 2:660.

[36]Joliet, in conjunction with Pere Marquette, explored the Mississippi region in the seventeenth century. DeSoto is known as the first "civilized" man to travel the Mississippi River, a journey undertaken in the 16th century.

All of the portraiture on the exposition's grounds included identifying inscriptions to further aid the visitor in understanding and tracing the sculptural program.

[37]Bitter, "Sculpture for the St. Louis World's Fair," 172.

[38]Caffin, cccviii.

[39]For information on Borglum, see A. Mervyn Davies, Solon H. Borglum: "A Man who stands alone" (Chester, CT: Pequot Press, 1974); Charles Caffin, "Solon H. Borglum, Sculptor," International Studio 19 no. 76 (June 1903):

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cxxvii-cxxx; Gutzon Borglum, "Solon H. Borglum," American Magazine of Art 13 no. 1 (November 1922): 471-475; Selena Ayer Armstrong, "Solon H. Borglum," Craftsman 12 no. 4 (July 1907): 382-389; Louise Eberle, "In Recognition of an American Sculptor," Scribner's Magazine 72 (September 1922): 379-384; Frank Sewall, "A Sculptor of the Prairie," Century Magazine 68 (June 1904): 247-251.

[40]Caffin, cccviii.

[41]Spencer, 248.

[42]Taft's work will not be discussed because no images or descriptions of it were found.

[43]Spencer, 248.

[44]For information on Dallin, see E. Wilbur Pomeroy, "Cyrus E. Dallin and the North American Indian," Arts and Decoration 4 no. 4 (February 1914): 152-153; Anna Seaton-Schmidt, "An American Sculptor: Cyrus E. Dallin," International Studio 58 (1916): 109-114; Katherine Thayer Hodges, "Dallin the Sculptor," American Magazine of Art 15 no. 10 (October 1924): 521-527; E. Waldo Long, "Dallin, Sculptor of Indians," World's Work 54 no. 5 (September 1927): 563-568; John C. Ewers, "Cyrus E. Dallin: Master Sculptor of the Plains Indian," Montana: The Magazine of Western History 18 no. 1 (January 1968): 35-43; and Rell G. Francis, Cyrus E. Dallin: Let Justice Be Done (Springville, Utah: Springville Museum of Art, 1976).

For information on Fraser, see "James Earle Fraser," Bulletin of the Pan American Union 46 (May 1918): 648-655; and Elizabeth Anna Semple, "James Earle Fraser, Sculptor," Century 79 no. 6 (April 1910): 929-932.

At the close of the fair, Fraser's Cherokee Chief was placed in St. Louis's Compton Heights Park. See Francis, 2:660.

[45]The other three are "The Signal of Peace" (1889, Lincoln Park, Chicago); "The Medicine Man" (1899, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia); and "The Appeal to the Great Spirit" (1908, Musuem of Fine Arts, Boston). "The Protest" was created expressly for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and was only reproduced in permanent material on a small scale.

[46]Caffin, cccviii.

[47]The full roster of works reads as follows: John J. Boyle, "Benjamin Franklin"; Julia M. Bracken, "James Monroe"; Louis Potter, "Andrew Jackson"; W. Clark Noble, "Anthony Wayne"; Alexander Stirling Calder, "Phillipe Francois Renault"; Herbert Adams, "Panfilo Narvaez"; Frederick

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W. Ruckstull, "William Clark"; Cyrus E. Dallin, "Pere Marquette"; John Flanagan, "John Henry"; Janet Scudder, "James Madison"; Elsie Ward, "George Rogers Clarke"; Enid Yandell, "Daniel Boone"; Louis A. Gudebrod, "Sieur LaSalle"; Henry Augustus Lukeman, "Robert Livingston"; Charles Lopez, "Le Moyne Bienville" and "Merriwether Lewis"; Jonathon Scott Hartley, "Pierre Laclede"; Henry Herring, "F.B. Marbois"; and Bruno L. Zimm, "Sacajawea". Portraits of Napoleon and Jefferson, by Daniel Chester French and Charles Grafly, respectively, were placed in the Plaza of St. Louis.

[48]At the close of the fair, this work and Enid Yandell's portrait of Daniel Boone were donated to the St. Louis School Board. See Francis, 2:660.

[49]Zoe Fleming Dunlap, "The Sculpture at St. Louis," Catholic World 79 (July 1904): 461.

[50]For more information on Adams, see "Herbert Adams," Bulletin of the Pan-American Union 45 (1917): 93-104; Ernest Peixotto, "The Sculpture of Herbert Adams," American Magazine of Art 12 no. 5 (May, 1921): 151-159; and Katherine Derry Holler, "Herbert Adams: American sculptor" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1971).

Robert Cavelier, Sieur La Salle, established a string of fur trading posts throughout the Great Lakes region and down the Mississippi River beginning in 1675. His explorations gave New France a claim to the continent's interior. Panfilo Narvaez was the first Spaniard to explore the North American interior. In 1528 he and his men landed at Tampa Bay with a plan to build several cities along the Gulf Coast from which Indian raids could be conducted. Upon their arrival, the local natives showed them gold, and expecting a second Mexico City, they found only crude native villages. Although his journey was not successful, Narvaez's brief exploration laid the way for later Spanish colonization.

[51]Karl Bitter, "The Sculpture Plan," in Art Handbook: Official Handbook of Architecture and Sculpture and Art Catalogue to the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo: David Gray, 1901), 50.

[52]See Thompson, 115-116.

[53]Bitter, Art Handbook, 49-50.

[54]Division of Works Report, June 1905 (Part I), Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

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CHAPTER 5

CIVIC PLANNING AND CIVIC ART:

THE ST. LOUIS FAIR AND THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT

The aesthetics of the City Beautiful Movement as outlined by Charles Mulford Robinson were pivotal for the appearance of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The creation of the plan, as discussed in Chapter 3, was the result of City Beautiful ideas. City Beautiful concepts also inspired an exhibit devoted specifically to civic planning and art, the Model Street. The sculpture demonstrated, through its placement within the grounds and its emphasis on realism, the importance of municipal art and education within the City Beautiful.

The plan of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the Model Street, and the importance of a sculptural program to municipal art can only be fully understood and appreciated within the context of the history of the City Beautiful Movement. Two significant figures, Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted, and one monumental event, the World's Columbian Exposition, gave the movement its start.

In the 1840s, America's first landscape architect, Andrew Jackson Downing, published a number of books which

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were the first American discussion of the problems of creating a coherent landscape design. Downing's books were written to interpret for an American mass audience contemporary and historic British landscape design, and as a reaction to the pedestrian nature of American city planning as it existed before the Civil War.

Arguably, Downing's greatest contribution to the City Beautiful Movement lay in his development of the concept of landscape gardening. Prior to Downing's day, landscape gardening was confined to large properties, tenanted by those with the means to adorn the grounds.[1] The industrial and commercial growth of the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century forced Americans to rethink their attitudes towards the natural landscape, as much of it began to be swallowed up by suburbs that grew at a rapid pace. He developed theories, based on those of his friend and correspondent, John Claudius Loudon,[2] about Utility or Truth, and Beauty in the landscape. For Downing, Utility meant efficiency and functionalism, or convenience and appropriateness. In this respect he focused his writings on architecture and garden and farm layout, advocating logic in the layout of houses and grounds. However, it was in his definition of Beauty that he made a greater mark. For Downing, beauty was a necessary ingredient in our surroundings. Human nature was unsatisfied without it, and therefore it had to be an ingredient in all architecture and

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landscaping. A graceful, flowing landscape was his ideal; in such a setting, houses should be adapted to their surroundings, *i.e.*, harmonize with it. Views and vistas from the house were extremely important; this was an idea readily adopted by City Beautiful adherents. Although Downing's ideal landscape was "picturesque", *i.e.*, composed of irregular forms, the concept of creating a setting that would enhance its architectural inhabitants and create a certain mood was one that readily fit the goals of the City Beautiful Movement.

According to William H. Wilson, one of the few scholars studying the City Beautiful Movement, Frederick Law Olmsted made some fundamental contributions to the movement.[3] The progression from designing single yet multifunctional parks to planning complete, multi-purpose park and boulevard systems was Olmsted's first significant contribution. These systems often involved significant alterations to the existing landscape.[4] Fair planners and adherents of the City Beautiful Movement believed in, and practiced, reshaping the landscape for the sake of civic art; this activity had a precedent in Olmsted's conscious transformations of the landscape.[5] Olmsted planned these park and boulevard systems collaboratively, usually in conjunction with his partner Calvert Vaux, and later with his sons, who would inherit the firm. City Beautiful projects and world's fair planning were also collaborative efforts--between

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architects, sculptors, painters, landscape architects, etc.[6] Olmsted's parks incorporated formal vistas, directional axes and carefully positioned neoclassical structures, elements that anticipated the practice of the City Beautiful Movement.[7]

One of the best examples of Olmsted's contributions to the field of world's fair planning was his own work for the World's Columbian Exposition.[8] In 1869 Olmsted and Vaux had been asked to prepare a plan for South Park in Chicago, which included the entire area chosen for that Exposition's site. The site was essentially a swamp, and their original report included suggestions for massive improvements, including a chain of interconnected lagoons with natural shorelines; flat grounds built up with dredged material from the lagoons; a shore drive; and a pier extending into the lake to accommodate boats and prevent further silting. By 1890, when planning for the Chicago fair was underway, very little of this had been done, and Olmsted once again submitted a report calling for basically the same improvements. It was this kind of project, involving a tremendous change to the existing landscape, that provided one impetus for the City Beautiful Movement's reshaping of the landscape for the sake of civic art.

The World's Columbian Exposition is often cited as the origin of the City Beautiful Movement. One reason is that contemporary critics and visitors to the fair heralded

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it as the beginning of a new spirit in this country. Olmsted himself saw it as "an advance in civilization."[9] However, as early as 1899 some writers were aware that the Chicago fair was not the beginning of a new municipal improvement movement, but rather a major milestone in bringing to the public an awareness of a new chapter in American civic improvement. Charles Mulford Robinson, one of the first outspoken advocates of the City Beautiful Movement, wrote, "To say that the world's fair created the subsequent aesthetic effort in municipal life [was]...false; to say that it immensely strengthened, quickened, and encouraged it would be true."[10] More importantly, it was not until the 1902 McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C., some nine years later, that some of the general aesthetic features of the Columbian Exposition, such as Beaux-Arts influenced, neoclassical architecture; spatial formality; public building groups and axiality; etc., were adopted for comprehensive civic planning.

An important connection between the City Beautiful Movement and the World's Columbian Exposition is the personality and practice of Daniel H. Burnham, the Director of Works for the fair. Burnham's duties included acting as general coordinator for all aspects of the design process; as such he commanded a great deal of attention. Burnham later became intimately involved with civic planning and urban improvement as a result of his experience with the

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World's Columbian Exposition; this is evident in his plans for Washington, D.C. (1902) and the city of Chicago (1909). Burnham brought to these projects his experiences with complex urban planning issues learned from the fair.

By 1897 and the formation of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, an organization that stressed outdoor art and landscaping, the World's Columbian Exposition was only one of a few large-scale, planned, landscaping projects already underway throughout the United States, projects made possible by the joint cooperation of architect/planners and lay citizens with enough power and wealth to carry such projects through to completion. The World's Columbian Exposition was the most visible, on a national scale, of these projects.[11]

The development of the civic center, grouped public buildings tied together by boulevards and greenswards, is one aspect of the City Beautiful Movement's ideology that <u>can</u> be traced to the World's Columbian Exposition. Prior to the Chicago fair, the civic center was an idea that had not yet fully developed.[12] City Beautiful advocates and others interested in civic improvement had discussed the idea, but it was not until the Columbian Exposition that the concept of the civic center became a reality. The success of the Court of Honor rekindled the nation's interest in the public square as the focal point of municipal life. "...[T]he same human nature and human convenience that made the old city

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centres [sic] will not be satisfied except by new ones at which shall be centred [sic] the public life of the city of to-day [sic]."[13] Due to the success of the Court of Honor, many subsequent comprehensive city plans and architectural publications included the idea of a civic center.[14] The civic center was intended to supplement the city's existing political, social and economic functions with new structures. These grouped buildings would also enhance the beauty of the site by adhering to a single scale and architectural style, an idea that was used effectively in the Court of Honor. Indeed, in one publication, an equation was made between the new civic center of Cleveland and a "court of honor."[15]

In one of these publications that discussed the idea of civic centers, Charles Zueblin, a University of Chicago sociologist and prolific writer on civic improvement, elaborated upon the effect of Chicago's Court of Honor on later expositions as well as on city planning in general. The most important idea learned from Chicago was that of unity, achieved by harmoniously grouping buildings all constructed on the same scale. "This is the first achievement in exposition making which is of the first importance in the influence on city making."[16]

The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland, issued in 1903, was another publication of the period that discussed the idea of a Court of Honor or civic

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center. This volume also emphasized the importance of scale for public buildings. The plan, created by Burnham, John M. Carrère and Arnold Brunner, was a comprehensive look at Cleveland's waterfront, where some public buildings, most notably the Post Office, had already been constructed. The city's chamber of commerce had already deemed this section the most advantageous for the construction of its public buildings due to the location of the train station nearby, at the edge of Lake Erie. Burnham, Carrère and Brunner were aware that the Post Office could not, for economic reasons, be relocated, and therefore made the most of existing conditions. Their plan called for the creation of a mall, or Court of Honor as they also termed it, to run south from the Lake toward the site of the Post Office.

> ...[T]he scheme of the group plan, which is very simple, consists in placing the Post Office and the proposed Library at the south end of the Mall, symmetrically balancing each other. At the north end of the Mall and on its axis, a monumental railroad station--the vestibule of the City of Cleveland--is placed; and an imposing Court of Honor or Mall, lined if possible, with dignified and harmonious architecture, joins these two groups of buildings.[17]

On either side of the Mall would be placed streets for vehicular traffic, and walkways for pedestrians. All would be lined with trees. In between the roadways a depressed area was to be placed, containing a sunken garden filled with statuary, flowers and trees. The effect was one of beauty and monumentality.

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Also important to the plan was the inclusion of vistas, an element identified by Charles Mulford Robinson as being of critical importance to City Beautiful projects. Cleveland's plan included vistas along all of its main axes. This was an element that was identified by the planners as being of the utmost significance. "All the main axes of this scheme are great vistas in whatever direction one may look."[18] The County Court House and City Hall were consciously placed at the ends of two north-south streets in order to create termini to a vista in one direction, and introduce magnificent views in the other.

As mentioned earlier, the elements of scale and uniformity were also of the utmost importance to the idea of a Court of Honor. As Burnham _et al_ wrote,

> The beauty of a great design involving many elements must rest either, on picturesqueness, arising from various styles, or, on uniformity of style. It needs no argument to prove that in such a composition as this, uniformity of architecture is of first importance, and that the highest type of beauty can only be assured by the use of one sort of architecture. This was the lesson taught by the Court of Honor of the World's Fair of 1893, in Chicago; a lesson which has deeply impressed itself on the minds of the people of the entire country, and which is bearing much good fruit.[19]

The same idea of uniformity was used by Burnham in his earlier and later city plans (Washington, D.C.; Chicago), and was also adopted by world's fair planners.

The importance of scale was also stressed by John M. Carrère, as head of the Board of Architects for the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo (1901). As at Chicago, a

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uniform cornice line was set for the buildings. In the Pan-American's Art Handbook, Carrère declared that scale made up "one of the most important factors in the harmony of the entire artistic composition."[20] The Pan-American Exposition's plan also included one major vista through the grounds into its "court of honor," the Court of Fountains. As a result, the visitor was confronted with a panoramic, comprehensive view of the fairgrounds. The arrangement of buildings at this fair, along one main and two subordinate axes, would be influential for many subsequent city plan proposals, notably those of Cleveland, Chicago and San Francisco.[21]

Another early publication that discussed the importance, and defined the role, of the civic center was Charles Mulford Robinson's Modern Civic Art (1903). Robinson identified the civic center as the location within the city plan that will house government buildings. By placing such buildings together in one location, they not only provide convenient access to citizens, but they will, if grouped and treated correctly, provide a grand and imposing view. In order to achieve this view, they must be placed on a hill of some sort that will emphasize their importance, rather than on a street where the narrowness will distort the perspective. "[N]ot only do these structures belong together, but each gains from the proximity of the others. There is...a utilitarian gain, in the concentration of public business

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and the consequent saving of time; and there is a civic gain, in the added dignity and importance which the buildings seem to possess."[22] The civic center must also be ruled by a sense of scale, so important for such significant buildings. "If they so adhere that no building clashes with its neighbour [sic], we may hope to attain that beauty of harmony and repose of which so many non-professional persons gained a new concrete conception in the 'Court of Honor' at the Chicago Fair. If they do not adhere to it, the grouping will prove of doubtful aesthetic value."[23] Robinson's conception of the civic center borrowed features other than scale from the Court of Honor. The buildings at Chicago were united aesthetically not just by a common scale and architectural style, but also by lagoons, sculpture, landscaping and architectural features like balustrades and bridges. Buildings within civic centers should also be joined visually by similar elements.

The McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C. had a profound effect on subsequent large-scale urban plans.[24] Montgomery Schuyler echoed popular thought when he praised Burnham and his fellow planners for reminding the public of the importance to cities of having such comprehensive plans.[25] The McMillan Plan enabled City Beautiful advocates to see, for the first time, grouped public buildings united with a sophisticated park and boulevard system. The plan for the Mall area, the visual focus of the scheme, included

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neoclassically designed public buildings, imposing national monuments, and extensive vistas. According to Wilson, "What observers saw was a grand architectonic production, a confirmation of the role of civic design in city planning."[26] What the McMillan Plan also illustrated was the importance of the civic center in civic planning.

Burnham's 1901 McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C. also provided an obvious influence on the St. Louis planners. It was one of the first plans to include diagonal avenues (based on L'Enfant's original plan, and wisely retained by Burnham), large lawns and other open spaces, and public monuments. The plan was also noteworthy for the removal of the railroad tracks, which had previously crossed through the area, outside the Mall area. This segregation of the transportation systems would have great influence on subsequent City Beautiful plans, and we see this same kind of segregation at St. Louis, namely in the location of the intramural railway and other main systems of transportation (*e.g.*, street cars) to the outskirts of the plan.

Other precedents for the relationship between fair planning and the City Beautiful Movement also exist, namely the planning of earlier European fairs, such as those held in Vienna in 1873, and Paris in 1900. Vienna's fair was the second international exposition to be held in a public park (the Prater; the 1851 Crystal Palace was held in Hyde Park), and the second to house exhibits in separate structures

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(Moscow's Polytechnic Exhibition of 1872 was the first).[27] By placing exhibits in more than one building new problems arose, namely how to arrange those buildings in a convenient and appropriate manner. Vienna's solution did not take into account the problems of a "main picture," i.e., the aesthetic relationship between the buildings. There were only three major structures, the Palace of Industry and the Machinery and Fine Art halls. The buildings were placed perpendicular to the Danube and parallel to each other; this was the only thought given to the layout, although it did make communication between the palaces easier. There was, however, a contrast between the major palaces and the subsidiary buildings in terms of situation. The major palaces were large structures, arranged along straight axes and surrounded by formal avenues. In one corner of the park were subsidiary buildings, and these were arranged in a more "picturesque" fashion, i.e., along curving lanes and among the preexisting trees and foliage of the park.

The Prater itself underwent some physical changes at the hands of the builders of the fair, although in comparison to later expositions, very little was done in the way of transforming the landscape. One of Vienna's major engineering projects of the period was the relocation of the Danube closer to the center of the city. The five hundred thousand cubic feet of gravel removed from the location of the new channel was used for the exhibition site near the

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river.[28] Although the surface of the ground was not even and therefore not well suited for building, and because the water table was relatively high, rather than spend a large sum of money on grading, the engineers elected to drive piles into the ground to support all the structures as well as the avenues and carriage-ways.

The Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900 was much grander in scheme and conception, and was undoubtedly the European fair that would have the greatest influence on the City Beautiful Movement, especially in the area of architecture. Although the site set aside for the fair was the same as for previous French fairs, all existing structures were to be wiped away (with the exception of the Eiffel Tower) and new and grand ones designed to replace them. Because the French fairs were located within the city of Paris, rather than in a large park relatively distant from the city center as in Chicago and later St. Louis, there was not as much room for broad landscaping effects. The grandness of the scheme had to rely on architectural effects. Although the 1900 fair included the Bois de Vincennes, traditionally used for livestock exhibits, there was still not much open space. Many of the buildings were also placed very closely together, with certainly overwhelming effects. However, the grandness of the fair, achieved by the Porte de la Concorde, the Quai des Nations along the banks of the Seine, and the Grand and Petit Palais, was certainly more inspiring than any previous exposition.[29]

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The beginnings of interest in municipal art, civic improvement and outdoor art can be cited as additional contributors to the origins of the City Beautiful Movement, and would have a profound effect on the planning of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The most important was an interest in municipal art which began in New York City in the 1890s. The Municipal Art Society was founded in that city in March, 1893; 1895 saw the formation of the Fine Art Federation "To secure united action on common issues...and to include in the new charter for the Greater City of New York, a municipal art commission to oversee art acquisitions by the city."[30] From 1897 on, the term "municipal art" was used to cover any proposal for enhancing the city's appearance. According to Jon Peterson, another historian who has explored the City Beautiful Movement, "Less an ideology than an activated urbanity, municipal art was rooted in the jarring contrasts between the artful civic scenes of Europe and the artless cityscapes of America. Its proponents spoke more often of Paris, Rome, and Florence than of the White City."[31]

By 1899, the term "City Beautiful" was in use by New York's artists and art critics; its legitimacy was enhanced when it was placed on the cover of the December 1899 issue of Municipal Affairs. Even though the term had been adopted to describe municipal improvement in general, it still did not mean "planning," i.e., the orderly arrangement of build-

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ings, streets and services in metropolitan areas. New York's Municipal Art Society was still concentrating on smaller changes, such as competitions for public monuments.

Civic improvement, on the other hand, began as a layman's cause and thrived in America's smaller cities. On October 10, 1900, a national convention sponsored by the magazine Home and Flowers was held in Springfield, Ohio; at this convention, Charles Zueblin, Frank Chapin Bray, the editor of Chautauqua Magazine, and Mayor Samuel Jones of Toledo, Ohio, formed the National League of Improvement Associations.[32] Like the City Beautiful Movement itself, the National League also had older roots, namely in the writings and practice of Alexander Jackson Downing. Another source was the tradition of village improvement which also dates to the antebellum era and assumed active citizen involvement, a feature that would become central to the goals of municipal improvement and the City Beautiful Movement.[33]

Jessie Good, one of Home and Flower's major contributors and a member of the Executive Board of the National League of Improvement Associations, published many articles and pamphlets on the subject of civic improvement. In one such pamphlet Good described the work of civic improvement, which primarily consisted of erecting monuments, planting trees, maintaining sidewalks and flower beds, etc. This was not planning, but rather aesthetic

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enhancement, and this kind of activity was always undertaken by lay people, not professionals. For example, Good cited one organization, the Honesdale, Pennsylvania Improvement Association, made up entirely of women.[34] In another publication, Good stated, "Inquiries received at the headquarters of the National League of Improvement Associations indicate most clearly the lack of literature upon the subject of public beauty, as well as the need of that which may serve as a manual for the work of civic improvement. Since the movement for the promotion of civic beauty has become of national importance, the need of such a manual became imperative."[35] Good's "manual" was soon to be published by Charles Mulford Robinson. However, what Good was advocating was, again, not planning, but aesthetic enhancement and embellishment. Her, and the League's, message was directed not toward professionals, but to the average citizens of small towns and villages across the country.

At its second convention in August 1901, the National League of Improvement Associations renamed itself the American League for Civic Improvement (ALCI). By emphasizing "civic" in its title, the ALCI was aligning itself with a new reform spirit and the Progressive Movement.[36] This new interest in reform soon spread to the larger cities, where similar organizations were formed, e.g., The Civic League of St. Louis, founded in 1902.[37]

In 1897, the American Park and Outdoor Art Association (APOAA) was formed to champion outdoor art and the

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cultivation of landscape beauty. In a broad sense, it traces its origins back to Downing and Olmsted. However, the APOAA also sought to educate, heighten and concentrate public support for outdoor art. Unfortunately, the APOAA was relatively unsuccessful in these efforts, but its goals received unconscious support from American world's fairs, which placed great emphasis on outdoor sculpture and murals.

During the years 1900 and 1901, all of these organizations began to interact and share ideas. The American Civic Association (ACA) was formed in 1904 from a merger of the APOAA and the ALCI, thereby creating an organization with greater national support and visibility.

The publication in 1901 of Robinson's The Improvement of Towns and Cities was another important force for the development of the City Beautiful Movement. Robinson's book became wildly successful, going through numerous printings in only a few short years. In it, he set up what can be considered guidelines for the new City Beautiful. He discussed ideal street plans; the importance of color, trees and gardening; education; playgrounds; and buildings. Many of his suggestions would be incorporated by the planners of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Robinson's ideas, as opposed to those set forth by Jessie Good, constitute "planning" in the attention paid to all aspects of municipal life and the suggestions for achieving the desired results. He discussed much more comprehensive municipal elements, such

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as those cited above, elements that are not discussed by Good. The Improvement of Towns and Cities outlined the necessary steps for the creation of a complete, beautiful town/city, and solidified all of the ideas that had first come to the attention of the American public with the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. In this sense Robinson's ideas were not unique; however, he was the first writer to present these ideas to the lay public in a coherent, logical manner.

Robinson felt that the best example of a plan with a single harmonious scheme, with no haphazard or conflicting elements, was the one devised for the University of California at Berkeley by Emil Bénard, not that of the World's Columbian Exposition.[38] Bénard's plan was one of the first to be recognized by City Beautiful adherents, after the fact, as exemplary of the goals and ideals of that movement. The plan, which was the winner in an 1897 competition sponsored by Phoebe Hearst, was noted for its flexibility, providing "not only for present readjustments but for growth either by extension or by the incorporation of additional buildings into the scheme."[39] Sharon Lee Irish points out that Gilbert and Walker took from Bénard's plan "the confident manipulation of a large area into a controlled exhibit and the belief that a monumental display could serve educational goals."[40] Education was primary to the ideology of the City Beautiful Movement, and the choice

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of a university plan as exemplary of its ideology was an apt one for City Beautiful adherents. It provided a ready-made, preexisting precedent for the goals and ideals that were in the process of being solidified.

The Berkeley plan contained other features later praised by the City Beautiful movement. The buildings were arranged along a primary axis making the plan easily negotiable; it included many large open spaces; and it carefully preserved the natural features of the site, leaving groves of trees, waterways, etc. in their original condition.

While its general plan was novel, the St. Louis fair's plan was relatively simple, although the large scale and angled transverse avenues may have made it a little difficult to comprehend at first glance. Its architecture, although guided by the general ruling "free treatment of the Renaissance," was possessed of some variety. The plan incorporated many large open spaces--the Plazas of St. Louis, Orleans and St. Anthony, the Cascades and accompanying gardens, and the Sunken Garden, and one of the general rules adopted by the architects was to sacrifice as few trees as possible.[41] In all, the St. Louis plan did contain most of the features important to the City Beautiful Movement. In addition, one of its larger exhibits, the Model Street, was an example of City Beautiful aesthetics in practice.

The Model Street was an exhibit which would profoundly influence American small town planning.[42] Lining

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this street, located on the northern side of the Palace of Manufactures and just to the left of the main entrance to the fairgrounds, were structures representing a town hall, public museums, a guild hall, civic buildings, restaurants; a playground; gardens; and street furnishings such as kiosks and lampposts, all to illustrate the well-tended American city (figs. 54, 55).

Such an exhibit was first proposed in 1901 at a convention held at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo by the American League for Civic Improvement (ALCI). At this convention, the ALCI drafted a resolution stating the need for a municipal art and improvement exhibit to be included in the upcoming Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The resolution was sent to David Rowland Francis, the President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company. In the resolution, the ALCI expressed its enthusiasm for both education and the dissemination of its ideas by proposing an "exhibit of Municipal Art and Science." This exhibit would include

> a small group of buildings, located, if possible, about a plaza. The site should be isolated to insure the illustration of certain outdoor principles of city-making....The buildings should contain exhibits of maps, plans, photos and projections of the leading municipal improvements of the world, as well as plaster casts of public building, bridges and statuary, with representations of artistic and scientific street fixtures.[43]

The exhibit was designed by a Philadelphia architect named Albert Kelsey and was officially sponsored by the ALCI, which urged its affiliate members to visit. The ALCI also

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worked with the Chautauqua Assembly to publicize the display. The idea for such an exhibit received a great deal of attention in journals devoted to City Beautiful ideas, such as Municipal Affairs and Charities. The original suggestion was for a Model City. In actuality the Model City became the Model Street, although it was often referred to by its original name. The proposed scheme was very large in scope, calling for exhibits dealing with engineering, fire, police, sanitation, garbage disposal, as well as general municipal art. William S. Crandall, writing in Municipal Affairs, stated, "Its general purpose is to show (1) the progress already made in every phase of municipal development, (2) the most successful methods of solving each and every municipal problem,...and (3) how art may be combined with utility so as to make the city not only the most effective industrial, commercial and social unit, but also the most attractive and the most beautiful."[44]

The buildings on the Model Street were to serve a dual purpose; they themselves were examples of good civic architecture and they housed exhibits. There was the model Town Hall, strongly reminiscent of Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Designed by Kelsey and the contribution of the Exposition Company (fig. 56), this structure was the main one on the Street's central public square. The building was later noted by Howard J. Rogers, Chief of the Department of Social Economy (which oversaw the Model Street), as a pivotal point of the exhibit.[45]

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Included in front of Kelsey's Town Hall was a Civic Pride Monument, designed by the architectural sculptor John Massey Rhind (1860-1936) to commemorate Charles Eliot (1859-1897), a prominent landscape architect and designer of the Boston Metropolitan Park System, whose untimely death was greatly mourned by his associates. Rhind was an apt choice to execute this commission. Because his early training was in decorative sculpture, and the majority of his work was architecturally related, Rhind was particularly sensitive to the role of sculpture within civic beautification. The monument included figures at the base representing Inspiration holding out the torch to Genius, both figures separated by a figure of brutal strength representing greed and ignorance. Above them, on a pedestal, was a figure depicting civic affairs. At the base of the monument was an inscription:

> In any city, town or village where men and women give jointly and freely of their wisdom, strength and substance to achieve and maintain appropriate beauty in the surroundings of public and private buildings, the visible perfection of a place whose ways are ways of pleasantness, and all whose paths are peace, bears witness to the enlightened civic pride of its inhabitants.[46]

Other structures built by cities served as exhibit buildings for additional municipal displays. New York City's building clearly recalled that municipality's eighteenth-century City Hall (fig. 57). Inside were displays of public works: docks and street cleaning, as well as subways, tunnels, and industrial and commercial features.

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The Kansas City building designed by Van Brunt and Howe demonstrated the importance of Kansas City as a railroad center and distribution point for goods for much of the western United States. Similarly, Minneapolis and St. Paul erected a prototype for a public museum that contained an exhibit of the manufacturing and transportation facilities of those cities.

The street itself was also an exhibit, illustrating various types of road paving and construction materials. Along the side of the street were placed lamps, mail boxes, kiosks, drinking fountains, etc., to illustrate the elements of the well-tended city. All of these structures and exhibits were designed to represent model civic art. The entire Model Street was one interactive exhibit, an idea that coordinated very well with the fair's emphasis on processes rather than products.

The Model Street did not lead to the wholesale redesign of American cities; rather it had important piecemeal effects. Since it was only a single street, it did not have its desired impact on future planning, *i.e.*, the infrastructure and maintenance of a complete municipality guided by City Beautiful ideas. Its long-term influence was more readily seen in playgrounds, city squares, or decorative fountains rather than whole cities, a fact later noted by J. Horace McFarland, president of the American Civic Association.[47] It did, however, provide an

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immediate boost for the still-young City Beautiful Movement, and many of its examples, primarily those of landscaping and "civic art" were found immediately outside, in the fair-grounds themselves.

The sculpture created for the grounds of the fair was, as discussed in Chapter 3, designed to serve a number of purposes, all of which can be traced to the goals of the City Beautiful Movement. In the context of this discussion, its primary purpose was to illustrate the value of civic art to the City Beautiful. This was achieved by its emphasis on education (in which the dissemination of a coherent message was emphasized through realism rather than didacticism), and its mission to decorate public spaces. Both of these provide important lessons of the value of civic art and put the sculptural program firmly within the goals of the City Beautiful Movement.

Bitter's emphasis on education (through realism rather than allegory) fit very well with the fair's emphasis on the same, expressed through the displays of processes and products, but it was also typical of the goals of the NSS, of which Bitter was an active member for many years. The NSS promoted the idea that public, i.e., architectural and free-standing, sculpture should be dedicated to educating the public, at that time composed of large numbers of immigrants. This was to be achieved through the use of allegory which would communicate lofty ideals as well as

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help socialize an audience unfamiliar with American society, culture and values.[48] Although Bitter tried to educate, the process was different from that used by the NSS; what separated Bitter's goal at St. Louis from that of the NSS was his lack of reliance on didacticism. By 1904, Bitter's personal style was beginning to change, from a European-influenced idealistic one to something more modern, specifically based on archaism. Although this shift is nowhere evident in the work Bitter himself created for the Exposition, the emphasis on greater realism in the scheme of the sculpture may be a result of this beginning shift in personal style.[49]

Bitter's choice of style was in keeping with the popular trends in American sculpture. The American public was, by 1904, used to seeing, and often demanded, realistic works: portraits of prominent men in American history placed in their parks and public squares. These images, which can be traced to the post-Civil War trend of honoring generals and other war heroes, were simple and straightforward.

Although not a new form of sculpture, public sculpture had received a fair amount of attention by 1904 thanks to the lobbying efforts of the NSS. Members of the NSS were responsible for some highly visible collaborative projects, such as the sculpture for the Appellate Court House in New York City (1900), the Library of Congress (completed 1897), and the Dewey Arch (1899). All of these projects used

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European-inspired grandiose allegorical imagery to convey lofty ideals to the public.[50] By 1904, the majority of American sculptors had trained in Paris, and had absorbed the lessons of a culture and society that placed great value on didactic public sculpture. At St. Louis, the distinctly American imagery was treated in a much more realistic, commanding and appropriate manner.

One of the foremost American sculptors of this period, Cyrus Dallin, contributed an article discussing the current state of American sculpture to Brush and Pencil in 1903. In this article Dallin wrote,

> ...American sculpture...is pre-eminently a reflection of the sculpture of France, and...has not yet acquired a national character....The natural aptitude of the American student is recognized in France, and his great powers of assimilation and quick, ready intelligence enable him to advance at almost phenomenal speed. Unfortunately this has not proved in many cases an unmixed good, for often a student does not fulfill his brilliant promises, and after returning to America...his work becomes mediocre and timid.[51]

Dallin's pessimism echoed much of the criticism of contemporary American sculpture, and it was against this mediocrity that Bitter was working. It was to his credit that George Zolnay, sculptor and head of the sculpture division of the fair's Art Department, noted the prevalence of realistic works on the Exposition grounds. He wrote, "There have never been so many direct representations in sculpture as you have occasion to see here; and I do not hesitate to say that this breaking away from consecrated traditions is

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the beginning of a new school in sculpture, the American school...."[52]

One of the more significant features of Bitter's position as Director of Sculpture, in light of his lack of reliance on tradition and his emphasis on education, was his hiring of large numbers of young and relatively unknown sculptors.[53] As Bitter stated, "[T]his great common studio...was a school of training for so many young American sculptors, who found there an opportunity for study on large and ambitious objects which art schools cannot ordinarily afford."[54] Bitter's patronage of young artists for exposition work was well known. In an article in Art and Progress, Edward Hale Brush wrote, "Mr. Bitter looked upon these enterprises as intended to serve, among other things, for the development of native talent."[55] Lorado Taft was quoted by another critic,

> [I]t is one of the finest features of Mr. Bitter's management that with him every man has his opportunity. However little he may be known to fame, an artist who has something to say may give proof of it here. It may be safely predicted that the summer of 1904 will make revelation of new men with new gifts.[56]

Of the eighty sculptors employed by Bitter in St. Louis, approximately three quarters of that number were either young sculptors, or sculptors of lesser renown.[57] Because Bitter's sculptural program was fairly radical in its departure from allegory and didacticism, the choice of young sculptors, artists who would not cringe from "daring" (i.e.,

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realistic) representations of historical events and personages, was logical. As George Zolnay wrote, "a number of our sculptors have presented facts, with a daring, backed by the conviction that they were doing right, [and] that will leave a deep impression on American sculpture and the public mind."[58]

The sculptural program of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was also viewed by Bitter as a chance to improve the cause of municipal art, considered such an important part of the City Beautiful. Charles Mulford Robinson's prescription for the City Beautiful, outlined in The Improvement of Towns and Cities, included ideas about the purpose and placement of sculpture.

> [Public sculpture] is not merely (1) to instruct, by embodying ideals and principles in allegory, symbolism, or historical scenes; not merely (2) to record history; not merely (3) to be decorative; nor (4) in notable mingling of these functions to rise to splendid achievements, differing in degree rather than in kind from the foregoing. It is all of these things together, is each magnificently...."[59]

Robinson also outlined principles for the placement of sculpture, to which Bitter adhered. Robinson felt that monumental sculpture, like that for the Cascades, should be in conspicuous locations where they will not be dwarfed but will dominate. Indeed, the sculpture for the Cascades dominated the scene on the Grand Basin. As for expositions, Robinson wrote, "...a delegation of sites available for public sculpture would admit of a systematic development and

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treatment of historic themes."[60] Bitter, in the treatment of the Cascades and the inclusion of readily comprehensible historic images, followed Robinson's teachings almost to the letter.

To his credit, Bitter did not blindly follow Robinson's City Beautiful ideas. As early as 1898, at approximately the same time that Robinson was just beginning to formulate his initial conception of the City Beautiful, Bitter was publicly voicing his concerns over the direction in which American public sculpture was heading, and issued a plea to the general public to pay more heed to this branch of sculpture. He believed that public sculpture was the ideal way to create a sense of civic pride, disseminate ideas, and beautify the city. "A city, in its public works...is bound to prove what power and strength it possesses. Its monuments must tell of its history, and the quality of its sculpture must be taken as the most enduring standard of the culture of its people."[61] In three expositions, Bitter was given the opportunity to demonstrate the importance of integrating sculpture with architecture, and using sculpture to impress upon the public "the historic, dramatic and ethical lessons of art," and to convey "philosophical" ideas normally found only in libraries. At St. Louis he demonstrated his ideas through the emphasis on easily readable images that not only conveyed their message easily and forthrightly, but were also beautiful examples of the art of public sculpture.

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Notes

[1]See W.G. Jackson, "First Intepreter of American Beauty: A.J. Downing and the Planned Landscape," Landscape 1 (Winter 1952): 11-18.

[2]John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) was one of England's first landscape gardeners. Known primarily for his written contributions to the field, Loudon was the editor of Gardener's Magazine from 1826 until his death; and authored the Encyclopedia of Gardening (1822), the Encyclopedia of Agriculture (1825), the Encyclopedia of Plants (1829), and the Encyclopedia of Farm and Villa Architecture (begun 1832). Loudon was also a regular contributor to The Horticulturist, a journal edited by Downing.

[3]William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989). Wilson's first section discusses the relationship between Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Beautiful Movement. Wilson does make clear his belief that Olmsted did not believe in City Beautiful design principles and did not accept the movement's progressive values.

[4]Ibid., 23.

[5]For example, through the site of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition flowed the River des Pères in an extremely torturous route. The course of the river lay under the proposed sites of several of the main exhibit structures. This stream would be the greatest engineering problem facing the planners as the course of the river had to be straightened and placed under ground. This massive earth-moving project echoed Olmsted's similar projects.

[6]For a discussion of the history of collaboration among architects, artists and sculptors, see Barbaralee Diamonstein, ed., Collaboration, artists and architects (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1981). See also Richard Guy Wilson, Dianne Pilgrim, and Richard N. Murray, The American Renaissance, 1876-1917 (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1979).

[7]Wilson, 28.

[8]For a complete discussion of Olmsted's work on the World's Columbian Exposition, see Titus M. Karlowicz, "The Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposition" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1965).

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[9]Frederic Law Olmsted, "A Report Upon the Landscape Architecture of the Columbian Exposition to the AIA," American Architect and Building News 41 (September 1892): 151. See also Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, "The Artistic Triumph of the Fair-Builders," Forum 14 (December 1892): 539; Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 340.

[10]Charles Mulford Robinson, "Improvement in City Life. III. Aesthetic Progress," Atlantic Monthly 83 (June 1899): 771.

[11]Other late nineteenth-century jointly envisioned and/or completed projects that were also highly visible include the comprehensive park and boulevard plan for Kansas City, Missouri, begun circa 1882; the Fairmount (later Benjamin Franklin) Parkway in Philadelphia, first proposed in the early 1890s by James H. Windrim; and the 1895 competition for Cleveland's civic center.

All of these projects are mentioned in Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement. For a complete discussion of Kansas City's plan, see Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1964). For Fairmount Parkway, see The Proposed Parkway for Philadelphia: A Direct Thoroughfare from the Public Buildings to the Green Street Entrance of Fairmount Park (Philadelphia: The Parkway Association, 1902). For the Cleveland plan, see Thomas S. Hines, Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 159-160; and Burnham, John M. Carrère and Arnold Brunner, The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland: Report Made to the Honorable Tom L. Johnson, Mayor, and to the Honorable Board of Public Service (Cleveland, 1903).

[12]For an interesting discussion of the importance of civic centers see John DeWitt Warner, "Civic Centers," Municipal Affairs 6 (March 1902): 1-23. "From the earliest times all have agreed that to mass at the central or most conspicuous point of a city the public or quasi-public buildings needed by government or people was the most effective fashion of dignifying the city and emphasizing its greatness, while experience and logic have concurred in the convenience and pleasure thus subserved." Warner, 3-4.

[13]Ibid., 4.

[14]See Burnham, Carrère and Brunner, The Group Plan of the Public Buildings of the City of Cleveland; Albert Kelsey, "The City Possible: Utility--Beauty--Economy," Booklover's Magazine 2 (August 1903): 162-173; Frederick L. Ford, The Grouping of Public Buildings. Publications of the

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Municipal Art Society of Hartford, Connecticut, bulletin no. 2 (Hartford: Municipal Art Society, 1904); Charles Zueblin, "The 'White City' and After," The Chautauquan 38 (December 1903): 373-384; Charles Mulford Robinson, Modern Civic Art, or the City Made Beautiful (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1903).

[15]"...[A] court of honor overlooking Lake Erie...." Warner, 18. This equation was also made in the publication on Cleveland by Burnham, Carrère and Brunner, in which the civic center was called the "Court of Honor." Burnham et al, [1].

[16]Zueblin, 378.

[17]Burnham et al, [2].

[18]Ibid., [3].

[19]Ibid., [3].

[20]Art Handbook: Official Handbook of Architecture and Sculpture and Art Catalogue to the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo: David Gray, 1901), 17.

[21]See Joann Marie Thompson, "The Art and Architecture of the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, 1901" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1980), Chapter Two.

[22]Robinson, Modern Civic Art, 82.

[23]Ibid., 95.

[24]For more information on this plan, see Thomas Michael Walton, "The 1901 McMillan Commission: Beaux Arts Plan for the Nation's Capital" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1980); Washington: Design of the Federal City (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund, 1981); and Richard Longstreth, ed., The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991).

[25]Montgomery Schuyler, "The Art of City-Making," Architectural Record 12 (May 1902): 5.

[26]Wilson, 69.

[27]For a discussion of the Vienna fair and America's role in it see W.P. Blake and Henry Pettit, Reports on the Vienna Universal Exhibition, 1873, Made to the United States Centennial Commission (Philadelphia, 1873), and Henry Pettit, Final Report to the United States Centennial Commission on the Structures Erected for the Vienna Universal Exhib-

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ition (Philadelphia, 1873).

[28]John Allwood, The Great Exhibitions (London: Studio Vista, 1977), 47-48.

[29]See Richard D. Mandell, Paris 1900 (University of Toronto Press, 1967).

[30]Quoted in Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," Journal of Urban History 2 no. 4 (August 1976): 418.

[31]Ibid., 418-419.

[32]"The National League of Improvement Associations: A Short History," in Jessie M. Good, The How of Improvement Work (Springfield, OH: The National League of Improvement Associations and The Home Florist, January 1901), 44.

[33]Wilson, p. 42. See also Peterson, pp. 421-422.

[34]Jessie M. Good, The Work of Civic Improvement (Springfield, OH: The National League of Improvement Associations and The Home Florist, October 1900), 6-11.

[35]Jessie M. Good, The How of Improvement Work, 1.

[36]For a comprehensive discussion of the Progressive Movement, see Sean Cashman, America in the Age of the Titans (New York and London: New York University Press, 1988).

[37]The Civic League of St. Louis owed its formation to William Marion Reedy, the editor of Reedy's Mirror, a St. Louis newspaper. Reedy was an active booster of the fair and a critic of St. Louis's political machine, which he accused of being corrupt. At the turn of the twentieth century, St. Louis had a poor national reputation; to counteract this, Reedy proposed a large program of civic improvement (the repair of streets, the installaion of seweres, the construction of water purification facilities, the renovation of public buildings) in order to present a good face to the thousands of visitors St. Louis would be expecting with the opening of the exposition. To fight the political corruption which he felt was hampering civic improvement, Reedy attempted to form a new political party which would be more representative of the public (it would include women). The party was never formed, but his platform for it was explicit in its demands for reform, as outlined above. Rolla Wells, elected Mayor of St. Louis in 1900, achieved his office by adopting Reedy's ideas about the improvement of St. Louis. Reedy's, and Wells', concerns over civic improvement led to the formation of the Civic

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League, as well as many other major civic plans, such as the reorganizaiton of the downtown district, the construction of new waterworks, the paving of miles of streets, and the construction of miles of new sewers.

The Civic League's stated primary purpose was to ready St. Louis for the fair through the implementation of aesthetic and practical improvements. Not only was evidence of the City Beautiful Movement found in the planning of the grounds, it could also be found outside of those grounds, in the transformation of St. Louis itself. See Stephen J. Raiche, "The World's Fair and the New St. Louis 1896-1904," Missouri Historical Review 67 (October 1972): 98-121.

[38]Charles Mulford Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities (New York; London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901), 207.

[39]Edward B. Payne, "The City of Education," Overland Monthly 34 (October 1899): 357.

One of the points regarding the ground plan for the St. Louis fair, as noted by David R. Francis, was its flexibility. David R. Francis, "Attractive Features of the St. Louis Exposition," Century 68 (June 1904): 264.

[40]Sharon Lee Irish, "Cass Gilbert's Career in New York, 1899-1905" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1985), 342.

[41]The area housing the state buildings was covered with an almost unbroken forest of oak, hickory, elm and other trees, and the buildings were picturesquely placed to conform to the natural grade. Isaac S. Taylor, Division of Works Report, June, 1905 (Part I), Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

[42]Unfortunately, very little information exists about this exhibit. Besides the brief mentions in the secondary sources consulted, the main source of primary information is Howard J. Rogers' final report, published in David R. Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904 (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913).

[43]Quoted in Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement, 45.

[44]William S. Crandall, "The Model City: A Suggestion for the St. Louis Exposition," Municipal Affairs 5 (September 1901): 672.

[45]Rogers, Report of the Department of Social Economy, in Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904, 1: 341.

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[46]See Francis, 1:341.

[47]Mel Scott, American City Planning Since 1890, 71. See also Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and John Nolen, "The Normal Requirements of American Towns and Cities in Respect to Public Open Spaces," Charities and the Commons 16 (30 June 1906): 411-426; and Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., "The Limits of City Beautification--A Reply to An Inquiry," American City 2 no. 5 (May 1910): 209-212.

[48]See Michele H. Bogart, "In Search of a United Front: American Architectural Sculpture at the Turn of the Century," Winterthur Portfolio 19 nos. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn, 1984): 162-164.

[49]See Susan Rather, "Toward a New Language of Form: Karl Bitter and the Beginnings of Archaism in American Sculpture," Winterthur Portfolio 25 no. 1 (Spring 1990): 1-19.

[50]See The American Renaissance, 1876-1917 (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1979).

[51]Cyrus Dallin, "American Sculpture--Its Present Aspects and Tendencies," Brush and Pencil 11 (March 1903): 424.

[52]George Julian Zolnay, "Sculpture and Decoration at the Exposition," National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses (1904): 165.

[53]Bitter also hired some well-known sculptors.

[54]Bitter, Art Handbook, 54.

[55]Edward Hale Brush, "Karl Bitter: An Appreciation," Art and Progress 6 no. 9 (July 1915): 301.

[56]Edwina Spencer, "The Sculpture of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," Chautauquan 39 (May 1904): 250.

[57]For a full list of the sculptors and their works, see Appendix C.

[58]Zolnay, 165-166.

[59]Robinson, The Improvement of Towns and Cities, 221.

[60]Ibid., 232.

[61]Karl Bitter, "Municipal Sculpture," Municipal

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Affairs 2 (March 1898): 97.

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CHAPTER 6

SCULPTURE AND THE MYTH OF THE FRONTIER

In their attempt to memorialize and immortalize the inhabitants of the Louisiana territory, many of the images created by Chief of Sculpture Karl Bitter and his team of sculptors reflected an idea that spoke loudly to all citizens of the United States. The myth of the frontier, at the forefront of American consciousness at the turn of the century, was conveyed quite clearly by the images of Native Americans, pioneers, and early explorers that were placed around the grounds. This myth was, by 1904, firmly embedded in the national consciousness thanks to the popular press, who in turn owed the power of their imagery to the writings of American historians Frederick Jackson Turner and Theodore Roosevelt. Included in the myth were representations of Native Americans, long objects of fear, derision and nostalgia in American cultural, social and intellectual thought. The sculpted images of Native Americans at the fair reflect the contemporary and historical attitudes of Americans toward these indigenous peoples.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the frontier was a term and a place that immediately evoked images of

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cowboys and Indians, Buffalo Bill, Sitting Bull, Geronimo, Custer's Last Stand. Even today, the frontier calls to mind many of the same images. Many twentieth-century historians have explored the power of this myth, and all of them have concluded that it still evokes great power over the American psyche.[1]

In 1902, Frank Norris, a popular writer of the period, published an article in World's Work entitled "The Frontier Gone at Last." This article appeared at a time when America was struggling to come to grips with the closing of the frontier, by that time an acknowledged fact. In it Norris wrote,

> Suddenly we have found that there is no longer any Frontier....[W]e had always imagined that out yonder somewhere in the West was the border land where civilization disintegrated and merged into the untamed....
>
> And the Frontier has become so much an integral part of our conception of things that it will be long before we shall all understand that it is gone. We liked the Frontier; it was romance, the place of the poetry of the Great March, the firing line where there was action and fighting, and where men held each other's lives in the crook of the forefinger. Those who had gone out came back with tremendous tales, and those that stayed behind made up other and even more tremendous tales....
>
> So, lament it though we may, the Frontier is gone, an idiosyncrasy that has been with us for thousands of years, the one peculiar picturesqueness of our life is no more. We may keep alive for many years yet the idea of a Wild West, but the hired cowboys, and paid rough riders of Mr. William Cody are more like 'the real thing' than can be found today in Arizona, New Mexico or Idaho....The Frontier has become conscious of itself, acts the part for the Eastern visitor; and this self-consciousness is a sign, surer than all

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> others, of the decadence of a type, the passing of an epoch.[2]

Emerson Hough, an historian, published a book in 1918 entitled The Passing of the Frontier: A Chronicle of the Old West. In this volume, Hough traced the history of the region through a discussion of development and settlement. Like Norris, Hough used distinctly romantic language to characterize the region and its inhabitants. "The frontier was the place and the time of the strong man, of the self-sufficient but restless individual. It was the home of the rebel, the protestant, the unreconciled, the intolerant, the ardent--and the resolute...."[3] He continued,

> We had a frontier once. It was our most priceless possession. It has not been possible to eliminate from the blood of the American West, diluted though it has been by far less worthy strains, all the iron of the old home-bred frontiersmen. The frontier has been a lasting and ineradicable influence for the good of the United States. It was there we showed our fighting edge, our unconquerable resolution, our undying faith. There, for a time at least, we were Americans.[4]

These sentiments entered the popular consciousness through books and countless articles published in wide circulation journals like Harper's Monthly, Scribner's, and The Century, and also through the writings and illustrations of an artist most often linked to the romanticism and mythology of the Old West, Frederic Remington.[5] The public during these years was fascinated by stories about the Old West because they satisfied their nostalgic longings, and artists like Remington, and writers like Hough, Norris, and Owen

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Wister, whose novel The Virginian (1902) was inarguably the most popular tale of the West of the early years of the twentieth-century, fueled that fascination and attempted to satisfy those longings.

Easterners had begun traveling west long before the beginning of the twentieth century, in order to search for what Earl Pomeroy has called an American or Western antiquity.[6] By the 1870s, more and more easterners were travelling west, as a result of the increased wealth of an urbanized and industrialized post-Civil War America, accessible transportation, and the promotion of tourism. According to Pomeroy, "A new West offered climate and scenery unknown to the older West of the Ohio Valley, and a drama of wilderness that was too much for many Easterners until it was no longer wild and the legendary ruffians were safely dead."[7] By the 1880s, tourists were looking to the West as something to be enjoyed before it disappeared. However, the most popular tourist spots were in heavily settled areas where the perils of the frontier, the very elements that formed the myth, were minimal. In these areas, Easterners were able, with not much danger, to search for the mythic West--the land of gunslingers, cowboys, Indians.[8] This search was conducted in a region filled with prosperous towns with newspapers, public transportation, and automobiles.

As a result, the physical placement of the Old West and the frontier began to move farther and farther west,

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from the Mississippi River to the Missouri River, and finally into the arid vicinity of the ninety-eighth to one hundredth meridian, where annual rainfall was only about twenty inches a year. This kind of topography could not foster the trappings of civilization; it could only support the types of people and activities associated in the popular imagination with the Old West, the types described by Norris and Hough.[9] As a result, even today, the Old West brings to mind regions like the Dakota Badlands (where Theodore Roosevelt ranched), Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico.

The primary cause for this searching was a national anxiety over the loss of free land, an anxiety that itself was used as a scapegoat and/or justification for other issues of contemporary American society. The 1890 Census, used by historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893 to justify his claim that there was no longer a frontier, recognized that there was a continuous band of settlement throughout the western portion of the United States. This was taken by the public to mean that there was no longer any available land left for anyone who might want it (an idea that was far from true), prompting what can only be termed "frontier anxiety." The "safety-valve" of available free land that had supported America for so long was perceived to be gone. As a result, the overwhelming interest of the 1890s in the "Old West" was based on nostalgia, a longing for what was no longer available. Americans began to look

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for some sort of escape from contemporary society, which was in the process of rapid change.

Although it was the Census of 1890 that prompted Turner to make his pronouncement, the 1880 Census also provided strong indications that the frontier was closing. In 1880, there were more tenant farms in the United States than any European country, many of these farms were too heavily mortgaged to be profitable, larger (corporate) holdings were becoming much more common, and there was no longer an extensive frontier of free land that might help to reverse these trends.[10] As a result of these findings, efforts were made to locate the exact position of the receding frontier. Accompanying this search was a steady flow of articles recounting the story of the settlement of the West and the hardy character of the pioneers.[11] All of this provided a basis for the flood of nostalgia that characterized the following decade.

The 1890 Census's conclusion about the closing of the frontier vaulted frontier anxiety into the forefront of popular consciousness. A number of factors contributed to this. Agrarian radicalism became a powerful political force in 1892 with the rise of the Populist party; the depression of 1893 was severe, leading to, among other things, widespread labor unrest; the appalling conditions of American's industrial cities were becoming more visible; and political corruption was extensive. In addition, the rise

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of the robber barons and the rapid industrialization of America seemed to have transformed an agrarian paradise into an industrial nightmare. Indeed, the 1890 Census showed that the value of America's industrial output now exceeded its agricultural wealth. The 1880s was the decade when the process of change from an agricultural to an industrial society was already under way; in the 1890s the process rapidly accelerated.[12] David Wrobel, one of the historians exploring the myth of the frontier, claims that these negative developments in American society were often attributed to the loss of the frontier, America's safety valve. Furthermore, the political events of the late 1890s (victory over Spain and the expansionism that followed) were often justified by intellectuals expressing concern over the closing of the American frontier as a means of keeping some type of frontier for Americans alive. The official announcement in 1890 that a frontier line of settlement no longer existed symbolized the completion of the shift from an agricultural to an industrial society.[13]

As further "confirmation" of the conclusions of the Census, by the time the Census was published in 1891, there were only four territories (Utah, Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico) that were not yet states. The public perception was that there was no more uninhabited West to explore. When the Indian Territory was opened to settlers in 1889 and 1890, thousands of people rushed to claim land, lending sup-

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port to the notion that cheap, tillable land was a scarce commodity.

Another cause for the widespread anxiety over the loss of the frontier was the damage it might do to the democratic nature of American society. American tradition, beginning with the Puritans and solidified by Thomas Jefferson, posited the continent as the New Eden, and Americans traditionally believed that contact with the virgin soil of this pure land would release them from poverty and oppression by providing them with new opportunities, and remove them from contact with the corruption and vice associated with European societies. Therefore, the subsequent history of American development was centered on agriculture and the exploitation and preservation of this virgin soil. As the nineteenth century progressed, the image of America as a garden, a vast and constantly growing agricultural society spreading throughout the country, defined "the promise of American life." By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, this vision was firmly embedded in the national consciousness as a myth, thanks to the rise of industrialism and commerce. Turner's pronouncement that the frontier was closed signalled a loss of contact with that very nature that was to keep America democratic.[14]

As early as the 1870s there were many Americans who saw that the agrarian paradise was in peril. The growth of the railroads, the vehicle by which industry and its output

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was spread, was the first major threat. Another was the influx of immigrants, who were perceived as usurping what little free land was left. A third was the rapid growth of farm tenancy, again usurping all the free land. These were the primary threats to the disappearance of the safety-valve. Free land in the United States was perceived by Americans as intimately tied to systems of democracy and to uniquely American institutions. Its disappearance was a fact that many Americans seemingly refused to accept.

Between 1880 and 1920, many historians, as a result of these fears and concerns, began to invent a mythic West that never really existed, and one that was the antithesis of contemporary society. The ideas of Turner and his contemporaries were rapidly disseminated into the popular consciousness by writers, artists, and other marketers of popular culture.[15] The West that they created was nowhere like the reality. It was characterized by a majestic, uncluttered landscape, peopled (sparsely) with noble and distinctive individuals personified by mountain men, trappers, cowboys, and pioneers. All of these individuals, no matter what the reality had been, displayed all of the moral values associated with the nineteenth-century Protestant Ethic. The myth created by these writers was an unconscious alternative to the reality: overcrowded cities, millions of immigrants, and rapid industrialization.[16] This alternative was propagated, in part, by Frederick Jackson Turner and the "Turner thesis."[17]

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Turner's thesis supposed that American development was a continuous process, beginning at the Atlantic Coast and moving westward as the settled areas became "civilized," i.e., developed from agrarian to industrial societies. This constant move westward not only created new opportunities for expansion, but was a continual process of social evolution or rebirth. As pioneers struck out for the unknown western territory, they returned to primitive conditions, leaving civilization for savagery. As Turner wrote, "[T]his expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West."[18] As Americans moved westward, they also were moving farther and farther from European influences, becoming more and more American. With this new theory, and his attitudes about the regenerational powers of the frontier, Turner created, within the academic community, a new school of historical thought, and provided one basis for the frontier nostalgia that would soon sweep the country.

Turner's initial essay spawned many more by him to popularize his thesis, the initial reception of which had been lukewarm at best.[19] In 1896 Turner published "The Problem of the West," the most interesting and clearest reiteration of the original thesis, and the one which helped

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stimulate thought about the role of the West in the current affairs of American life and explain these events. "The Problem of the West" is an interesting essay. Its appearance in Atlantic Monthly ensured its circulation to a larger audience than "The Significance of the Frontier." It also clarifies Turner's own attitudes towards the West as an aspect of society rather than a geographical area. When pioneers head west, "a new environment is suddenly entered, freedom of opportunity is opened, the cake of custom is broken, and new activities, new lines of growth, new institutions and new ideals, are brought into existence." The wilderness gradually disappears and the "West" moves on to a new frontier, leaving behind a more civilized society.[20]

He continued by discussing some of the ideals of early Western democracy, e.g., its independence from European institutions, and its reliance on free land. It was free land that created equality among Westerners and checked any aristocratic Eastern influences. "The West was another name for opportunity."[21] It is clear that Turner's attitude toward the frontier was nostalgic, primarily as regards free land. It is also clear that Turner tied free land to the principles and development of American democracy.

For Turner, the purpose of the frontier was not to solve all of society's ills, but to prepare the way for civilization.[22] Therefore, its disappearance, although mourned

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by Turner, was seen as inevitable. What frightened people, and caused frontier anxiety, was the fact that that civilization had finally arrived. From this perspective, then, Turner's thesis was not the answer to all of these questions.

Turner's thesis was essentially a nostalgic look back at the formative years of the American people, and it celebrated, in its nostalgia, the passing of a golden age, while at the same time it reflected a sense of foreboding about America's industrialized future. As Gerald Nash has pointed out, this kind of nostalgia implied that Americans were, by the beginning of the twentieth century, convinced they were now confined to a closed, frontier-less environment.[23] In other words, Turner's pronouncement merely added the final straw to the perception that one major era in American history had passed and another was beginning.

Turner's pronouncement about the frontier played an important role in the creation and dissemination of frontier anxiety in the United States; however, it was not the only statement that came out of the period, nor was Turner the only important and well-known historian to make such assertions about the frontier.

In contrast to the Turner thesis were the thoughts and writings of Theodore Roosevelt, who was President of the United States at the time of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, as well as an historian of some renown.[24] Roosevelt

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established his own "Frontier Thesis" which shares some similarities with Turner's, but also differs in some important aspects.[25] While Turner's thesis was important in shaping American cultural attitudes towards the frontier, Roosevelt's frontier thesis conditioned, to a greater extent, the representations of Native Americans and Whites created by artists of the period, and was more influential in shaping the attitudes of the public toward the imagery of those representations.[26] Both of these men, prominent in their fields, and in the case of Roosevelt, literally a household name, imprinted on the national consciousness certain agrarian nostalgic (in the case of Turner) and racially superior (in the case of Roosevelt) attitudes towards the frontier.

Both Turner and Roosevelt believed that the closing of the frontier would precipitate a national crisis. With the loss of free land, the democratic conditions based on property that had shaped this country were in danger of disappearance. Both believed that the frontier had been the most significant force in the shaping of American national character and institutions.

However, unlike Turner's thesis, which bemoaned the loss of an agrarian paradise, of free land, and was essentially nostalgic in its praise of a pre-modern frontier as the basis for modern civilization, Roosevelt's frontier thesis stated that contemporary American civilization was

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the culmination of centuries of progress, and was, in that sense, not nostalgic.[27] To prove this theory, Roosevelt established a direct link between America's contemporary urban-industrial society and the historical frontier. Where Turner's ideal frontiersman had been a yeoman farmer, Roosevelt's was a hunter, a man used to conquest and violence. For Roosevelt, "significant action occurred at the cutting edge of expansion, where representatives of different races contend for mastery, and not in the peaceful regions where the husbandman tills his fields." In other words, Turner praised the democratic collective; Roosevelt, the struggle of race to create a class of heroes who have earned a neo-aristocratic right to rule.[28]

Roosevelt identified a number of historical figures who exemplified his hunter-hero: Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, George Rogers Clarke, Kit Carson, Sam Houston, even George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. These were men who fought and hunted for survival, both personal and racial. His admiration for historian Francis Parkman,[29] who represented history as a racial conflict, allowed him to advance these figures as superior to everyone else: French, Indian, and even those pioneer Americans who favored farming over hunting. Roosevelt's racial ideology was conditioned by his education; his early childhood predisposed him toward feelings of superiority over non-whites, and while a student at Harvard he studied under Nathaniel Southgate Shaler,

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geologist, historian and naturalist, described by Thomas Dyer as an ardent white supremacist. In addition, his mother was from the South and the racial attitudes of that region were imprinted on his consciousness.[30]

Roosevelt's fascination with the West began in 1884, when he bought a ranch in the Dakotas. He spent the following two years there recovering from the deaths of his wife and mother. As a child he had been sickly, and was encouraged by his father to excel at outdoor activities as a way of overcoming his physical obstacles. As a result, he came to admire men who challenged the environment, and this admiration colored all of his writing about the West. "He expected those men who waged warfare against 'the wild forces of nature' to be men among men, and he honored them for it...."[31]

Many of Roosevelt's books describe the lives of these hunter-heroes, as well as his own adventures as a hunter. Hunting Trips of a Ranchman (1885); Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail (1888); and The Wilderness Hunter (1893) all describe Roosevelt's own personal western experience through the guise of hunting. They became the means by which he could connect himself with his heroes. According to historian Richard Slotkin, Roosevelt's experience in the Dakotas suggested that he possessed the potential to be like Boone and Crockett, figures who were both role models and heroic ideals.

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> He felt he had acquired, through immersion in the wilderness, a capacity for 'strenuous' life and achievement that set him above the selfishness and sloth of the leisured and moneyed classes whose political impotence he accused. He began to see himself as the representative man of his class, embodying its essential energies and latent virtues.[32]

One of the more interesting developments in this link with the past was his founding, with, among others, Henry Cabot Lodge and George Bird Grinnell, of the Boone and Crockett Club in 1887.[33] This was an organization for men like himself, a social club, and an agency fostering conservation policies. Membership in the club was based on the applicant's skill at big-game hunting (the requirement being the killing of at least one big game animal in fair chase). The Club promoted hunting with rifles and the protection of endangered species, and travel and exploration of the North American continent and conservation of those same lands.[34] It also sponsored hunting expeditions, lobbied for conservation measures and the creation of national parks, helped establish the American Museum of Natural History, and set up education programs to foster public appreciation of hunting as an exercise to produce men with qualities similar to their own.[35] By venerating plebeian men like Boone and Crockett and the frontier democracy they represented, in which wealth and its privileges were unknown, while at the same time acting as cultural and social philanthropists, Roosevelt et al were affirming as legitimate their own wealth, privileges and power.

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Roosevelt's first foray into the field of historical writing was The Winning of the West, a multi-volume work first published between 1885 and 1894 that traced the settlement of the first American frontier west of the Alleghenies. It was critically praised upon its appearance and established Roosevelt as an historian of the first rank.[36] The Winning of the West also provides important clues about its author's attitudes toward the frontier. In these volumes, Roosevelt set individual acts of heroism within the context of a systematic conception of race history; in other words, conflicts on the frontier produced a race of heroic fighters, all of whom were equal. Government was by mutual consent, without traditional class distinctions, and those individuals who possessed higher qualities--virtue, wisdom, strength--were allowed to lead. This democracy by consent then produced a race of super-heroes, a doubly distilled product of the hero-making incubator that was the frontier. His American super-hero had Germanic/Teutonic roots, and had simply returned, by coming to the New World, to an environment similar to the one that had initially produced him, a wilderness that forced him to survive. According to Slotkin, "He intended to show that...the new institutions of American republicanism were rooted firmly and primarily in a process of race-regeneration....The regression to a precivilized natural state purified the American...."[37] However, Roosevelt

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did not think of the purifying wilderness as 'virgin land,' a term that conjures up an idyllic vision of America as the New Eden; on the contrary, his wilderness was sublimely wild, and the purification of the white man was achieved by conquering and eliminating the Indian. This was definitely not the agrarian paradise of Turner.

Roosevelt developed, in The Winning of the West, what Slotkin has termed a "myth of origins."[38] This myth was based on the racial superiority of whites; the white man as pioneer had to acquire a racial consciousness similar to the one to which, Roosevelt believed, the Indians subscribed. According to the laws of progress to which Roosevelt subscribed, the Indians would naturally give way to the superior white race.[39] Roosevelt identified the Indian as savage and incapable of self-motivated labor. In this regard he was comparing them to the aristocracy of his own day who owned and exploited land for selfish and unproductive purposes. Therefore, Indians became foils for his own conceptions of the virtues of the white man. Their antithesis was, of course, the frontiersman, whom Roosevelt racially transformed into a super-hero. According to Slotkin, Roosevelt conceptualized the Indians as primitive representations of the antiprogressive tendencies in modern, contemporary society, while using the frontiersman as the primitive anticipation of the progressive movement and its subscribers.[40] The Winning of the West created a parallel

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between primitive and modern American society, tracing the development of virtues that Roosevelt considered essential to progress, virtues to which Americans had to subscribe if they were to overcome the problems facing contemporary American society. According to Slotkin, the problem of the closing of the frontier was, for Roosevelt, not an issue of economic concern, but rather one of a faltering sense of racial identity and purpose.[41] It was the hardship of the frontier and the rigorousness of its living conditions that created the frontiersmen whom Roosevelt so admired, and the presence of the Indian was a continual reminder of the pioneer's own racial identity and the concurrent need for racial solidarity. The nostalgia for the frontier that was currently sweeping the country was based, for Roosevelt, not on the loss of free land, but on the loss of the hardships of frontier life, and it was this nostalgia that informed the depictions of the frontier at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

By concentrating on individual heroes, Roosevelt created a frontier thesis that became much more influential than Turner's. Turner's thesis was conceived in an antiseptic, academic setting; Roosevelt's within the broader confines of popular culture. Roosevelt's conception of Boone, Crockett, et al as hunter-heroes had much more in common with the characterizations of cowboys used in contemporary dime novels and Wild West shows than did the yeoman farmers of Turner's thesis.[42]

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Encapsulated within the Rooseveltian myth of the frontier was the Indian. Almost from the start, the Indian was viewed for a short time as a symbolic representative of the promise of the new land, but more often as an impediment to the civilized settlement of the New Eden, a fact that made their removal pivotal.

The early settlers, in their attempts at making the new land inhabitable, were trying to re-create a familiar society based on order and free from all the societal ills they had left behind. In order to do this they had to civilize the new continent, and that meant civilizing the native inhabitants. As a result, by the end of the eighteenth century there were very few Indians left on the eastern seaboard. According to historian Roy Harvey Pearce, theoretically, the "savages" were capable of being civilized because they were men; practically, they were bound to be. Unfortunately, practice did not support theory, and the Indians were not civilized, but destroyed.[43] The few that escaped were no longer seen as a threat by governmental leaders in Washington because, in the fashion of the Enlightenment and its belief in Rousseau's "noble savage," they believed that the Indian could be converted into a Jeffersonian yeoman farmer and then assimilated into American society.

However, even at this early stage a form of nostalgia can be recognized in depictions of Native Americans.

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During the late eighteenth century, Indians were used by painters and sculptors to represent the promise of the new land. They were idealized as "natural men," living beyond the edges of civilization but embodying wilderness "virtues."[44] The audience for these images were those enlightened leaders who also believed that treating Indians well was a republican virtue.

As the nineteenth century opened, American civilization began to spread westward, and this movement was soon equated with ideas of American destiny. As the riches of the continent west of the Alleghenies were discovered by settlers, the Indians of the region came to be viewed as impediments, and the subversion of their culture was seen as something necessary, albeit regrettable. Thomas Jefferson's evolutionary perspective, in which a journey across the continent would reveal the successive stages of civilization, identified the Indian as both an object of public concern and an opponent of progress. Therefore an American attempt to assimilate, or "civilize," them would affirm the nation's claim as an instrument of human advancement and further stake it's claim to manifest destiny.[45]

Concurrent with early attempts at civilizing the Indian was the more popular attitude, essentially calling for the Indian's destruction. Since the Indian was perceived as uncivilized, and had not yet done anything to change that perception, he was destined to be destroyed by

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the westward march of progress, "the lesser good necessarily giving way to the greater."[46] The Indian was seen as the remnant of a savage past which civilized man was trying to outgrow, and his destruction came to be seen as necessary. "To civilize him was to triumph over the past. To kill him was to kill the past. History would thus be the key to the moral worth of cultures; the history of American civilization would thus be conceived of as three-dimensional, progressing from past to present, from east to west, from lower to higher."[47]

The American history of the remainder of the nineteenth century can be seen as a battle between Indians and Whites. The process of removal, in which Indians were physically relocated from tribal lands to open areas in the far West, began as early as the 1830s under Andrew Jackson. The inhumanity of this practice was defended by the President as a means of preserving the culture of the tribes.[48] The reservation system was begun in the 1850s when settlers in California, Oregon and Washington were confronted with extreme violence. The system was defended as a means to avoid racial extinction.[49] It was at this time that images of the Indian as a savage began to appear.

After the Civil War, support for Indian rights began to gain strength, and advocates for Indian citizenship became increasingly vocal. These politicians and reformers, working amidst Reconstruction, were convinced that enfran-

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chising the Indian would civilize him and bring him into the fold. They also felt that the Indian was not yet able to fend for himself and therefore needed protection. Efforts were made to improve the effectiveness of the Indian Office and upgrade President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy which turned control of the reservations over to missionary groups with a history of administering to the Indians, and created a Board of Indian Commissioners. These efforts were undermined, however, by continued outbreaks and increases in violence between Indians and whites out west. Indeed, the 1870s saw a new peak of violence: the Sioux Wars, Little Big Horn, and smaller conflicts in California, Arizona and Colorado. No matter how sincere the government in its efforts at peace, the problems of the reservation system continued to undermine them. Efforts at reform culminated in the passage of the General Allotment, more commonly known as the Dawes, Act in 1887, allotting all Indians a small parcel of land in an attempt at total assimilation. Special schools for Indians were also established by the government in which young children would be educated vocationally.

In 1898 Congress passed the Curtis Act, which dissolved tribal governments in the Indian Territory, done without Indian consent or knowledge and in violation of treaties. The Curtis Act stripped the Indians of their last remnants of dignity; they were no longer officially viewed as separate nations capable of making treaties with the

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United States, nor were they accorded the protectorate status of domestic dependent nations. Instead, they were wards of the government with virtually no rights.[50] By the turn of the century it was clear to all that the Indian had finally been defeated; the process of "civilizing" the continent was complete.

The spread and wholesale acceptance of the frontier myth changed the public perception of Indians. "Like the prairie schooner and the roughhewn cabin, the Indian too would slip into history. The race would become more important for what it represented than for what it might become."[51] As the frontier began to evoke feelings of nostalgia rather than dread, Indians were no longer thought of as an immediate threat that required civilizing. With the struggle for the frontier behind them, Americans no longer felt the need to destroy these native cultures. They would become as important to the idea of the fading frontier as the land itself.

By 1904, Indians roused both censure and pity in Americans. They had for so long been viewed as obstacles to progress that this idea had become embedded in the national consciousness. At the same time Americans came to lament the loss of the land's native peoples, believed to be emblematic of the American West. Because Indians were fast disappearing they came to be viewed as emblematic of the vanishing of the frontier, the land with which they were

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intimately tied. They were now ripe subject for display. In ethnological displays, such as those included in world's fairs, and in wild west shows, Indians were presented as barbarians, as a backward race, but one that no longer posed a threat. In popular displays, Indians were exhibited in a more romantic vein that stressed the idea that their traditional way of life was antithetical to modern civilization. Either way, Indians were viewed as an extinct race, and it was this view, essentially nostalgic, that informed the sculptures at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

The majority of the sculpture on the Exposition grounds was devoted to the promulgation of the myth of the frontier. As described in Chapter 3, the sculpture was primarily realistic and not didactic in treatment. Because of this emphasis, it lay firmly within the history of the nineteenth century art of the American West. It also reflected popular views of both the frontier and the Native American.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, most images of the West were geographic and scientific in nature. The exploratory parties sponsored by the government invariably included a painter whose duties included documenting the landscape and the native inhabitants for the public record. On the side, many of these artists created their own more personal records of the journeys. Artists like Samuel Seymour and Titan Ramsay Peale exemplify this trend.[52]

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The depiction of the landscape appealed to artists throughout the nineteenth century. Albert Bierstadt, Worthington Whittredge, Samuel Colman, Sanford R. Gifford and Thomas Moran are just a few of the landscape painters who traveled west to capture the romantic, sublime beauty of the land for their eastern audiences.[53]

Subjects other than landscape also appealed to American artists. Indians, trappers, scouts, pioneers, and later, cowboys were all fair game. Lewis and Clark's journey aroused the public's imagination to many of these types. Artists like George Caleb Bingham, Alfred Jacob Miller and Charles Deas painted many canvases depicting these characters.[54] One of the most famous of the characters to inhabit the West was Daniel Boone, an early nineteenth century scout whose life quickly spawned several biographies and fictional tales. Boone, in his capacity as a western scout, reconnoitering the land and leading parties of pioneers, represented the movement of America from stratified society to freedom and democracy, and as such became fodder for countless mid- and later nineteenth century images.[55]

Much of the free standing sculpture on the Exposition grounds depicted images of explorers, pioneers and settlers, or Indians. The former, almost entirely portraits of specific individuals, were generally optimistic in tone, while the images of Indians, with one exception generic "types," evinced pity, nostalgia and sometimes hope.

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Although Turner's influence can be seen in the general arrangement of the scheme, the movement from savagery to civilization, the dominant historical influence on the images themselves was the work of Theodore Roosevelt, whose ideas about race and his veneration of the hunter-hero clearly influenced popular culture to a much greater degree than Turner's thesis.

Alexander Phimister Proctor's and Edward C. Potters's works, of Joliet and DeSoto, respectively, portray riders seated upon horses who are standing firmly; both men are shown staring forward, as if they are looking at wilderness as far as the eye can see (see figs. 46 and 47). Both sit tall and majestically in their saddles, and are proud representatives of their race. By emphasizing historical details like costume, both sculptors are firmly placing their subjects in the past; they are not the current owners of the land, nor could they be. The "old-fashioned" nature of the details made these works appear as relics from the past, albeit the past in which the land was wrested from the Indian.

While Solon Borglum's choice of subjects comes directly from Turner, the execution of Borglum's works was clearly influenced by Roosevelt. His Indians were both noble, and therefore celebrated for their capacity as hunters in the Rooseveltian manner, and pitiful, as a people who were destined to be destroyed if they do not assimilate.

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"Buffalo Dance" depicted three Indians who could only be described as magnificent and majestic, each clad in buffalo skins and horns and in the midst of a forceful and energetic dance (figs. 58, 59). All three imitate the movements of the hunt. They were idealized by Borglum, and celebrated for the sense of freedom the artist so admired.

"A Peril of the Plains" depicted an old man, possibly a fur trapper, huddled underneath his horse for safety as a storm raged around him (fig. 60). The trappers were primarily French, or of French descent, and were therefore not quite American. They also tended to assimilate into the Indian way of life and this practice was frowned upon by the rest of the population.[56] He peers out from his blanket with a pitiful, helpless look, as if foreseeing the end of his livelihood and his way of life. The life of the trapper was indeed well over by 1904; the practice of hunting beavers was confined primarily to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and stopped because the beaver population was severely depleted. Thus the trapper represented one of the frontier types in both Turner's and Roosevelt's scenarios who were forced to give way in the westward march of civilization.

"A Step To Civilization" showed an Indian chief directing his son to adopt the white man's ways--the chief holds a bound volume in his hand, and has thrown off his headdress (fig. 61, 62). The book symbolizes civilization,

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and the older man's gesture, pointing the way toward that enlightened state to a young child, suggests that the white man's ways are the hope for the future. This was an image conceived in the spirit of assimilation and optimism that accompanied the passage of the Dawes Act. Even though assimilationist policies had been dismal failures, Borglum's work held out the hope that perhaps someday the Indian would lay down his weapon, here symbolized by the headdress thrown off the chief's head and laying down his back, and embrace the white man's civilization.

In contrast to these images, "A Cowboy at Rest" showed a cowboy stretched out on the ground underneath his horse with his head resting on his arms, surveying, in comfort, leisure and safety, all the open land for miles (fig. 63). There was no threat implied in the work; even the horse held his head high in the opposite posture of the old trapper's in "A Peril of the Plains." This is not the cowboy as glorified in dime novels and other forms of popular entertainment as a mythic hero; Borglum presents us with the last installment of his series, a Turnerian figure whose presence on the frontier is the result of years of westward movement and civilization's advancement.

Alexander Weinman's work, "Destiny of the Red Man," showed a marching buffalo flanked by two chiefs, a squaw and child, and a young brave carrying a recently killed fowl and leading a dog, while astride the buffalo's back sat a robed

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figure representing fate (figs. 64 through 66).[57] At the rear, atop a decorated totem, was perched a vulture. As Charles DeKay described them, "The action of the several figures expresses haughtiness and stoical calm or anxiety. They have a movement in common and a general air of depression and sorrow which is shared by the buffalo, the vulture, and the dog in leash."[58] Weinman's group was indeed sorrowful, and was one of the more masterful and expressive images of the destiny of the Indian. Unlike Borglum's "A Step to Civilization," these Indians are walking stoically toward their fate, a fate that does not include assimilation. In this respect the work is more faithful to the reality of the plight of the Native American. No symbols of "civilization" are included, no hope for redemption is offered; these Indians are destined for extinction because they do not possess the heroic virtues of Roosevelt's hunter-hero, and they must give way in the face of the Turnerian progress of civilization.

The Sioux chief depicted in Cyrus Dallin's "The Protest" was, like Borglum's first Indians, a Rooseveltian hunter (see fig. 49). Roosevelt could celebrate these "savages" because they embodied many of the qualities he so greatly admired in the early frontiersmen: they were strong, swift and excellent hunters. Fortunately (or unfortunately), they were not as strong, swift or excellent as the white man. Dallin chose to emphasize the chief's

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bravery and to highlight his defiance, but at the same time, the horse is shown with his head and hind quarters thrust down in what could be described as a gesture of submission. The work therefore reflects two prevailing attitudes: the defeat of the Indians, by 1904 an established fact, and the Rooseveltian celebration of the hunter, so much a part of the national consciousness.[59]

James Earle Fraser's companion to Dallin's Sioux chief, his image of a Cherokee chief, was also an equestrian, although in this instance the chief was shown on a striding horse (see fig. 50). He points a spear in front of him, holding on to the reins with his left hand. A shield hangs from his waist. There is no threat implied, either by or to the Indian, in this posture, and thus the image did not carry the same iconographic implications as Dallin's. It reflected no nostalgia, pity or even celebration, and is thus not in keeping with the mood of the majority of frontier images. This work stands in striking contrast to one that Fraser would create just ten years later for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. That work, "The End of the Trail," became one of the most recognized and celebrated images of the Native American in the history of American art.[60]

A number of the portrait works leading to Art Hill were conceived within the ideology of both Turner and Roosevelt's frontier myths. The image of Father Marquette

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by Cyrus Dallin showed the priest holding a crucifix aloft in his right hand with his head and eyes lifted upward (see fig. 51). It is an image that radiates divine inspiration, and is therefore very much in the tradition of seventeenth and eighteenth century American attitudes towards nature: America as the New Eden, which Americans have a God-given Christian right to dominate.[61]

Elsie Ward's statue of George Rogers Clark portrays this eighteenth-century hero in historical costume (fig. 67, 68). Clark was a Virginian who, in 1776, led a popular revolt in Kentucky, both against the proprietary government and for making Kentucky the fourteenth colony. He was later involved in the Revolutionary War, leading expeditions against British-allied Indians. Like the images of Narvaez and La Salle, Clark's historical costume allies him with a past that has come and gone.

Enid Yandell's portrait of Daniel Boone depicts the archetypal frontiersman (fig. 69).[62] Boone figures prominently in the frontier myth. A backwoodsman, Boone acted as a scout for Judge Richard Henderson of North Carolina, a land speculator, to hunt out choice Kentucky regions for the latter's hunting trips, beginning in 1764. By 1767, Boone was trying to find a route from the southern back country to the bluegrass regions of Kentucky, via the Cumberland Gap. These explorations enabled him to explore the regions of Kentucky. Yandell's image shows Boone in buckskin, cradling

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his rifle in his arms. The details of costume and accessories were clear signals to all viewers that this was a figure comfortable in the wilderness of the frontier, a man who, in the Rooseveltian tradition, straddled both civilization and savagery.

Bruno Zimm's Sacajawea, unlike its companion portrait works, looks to both the past and the future (fig. 70). In the only portrait of a specific Indian on the grounds, Zimm portrays Sacajawea, a Shoshone captive of the Dakota tribes who promised to lead Lewis and Clark over the Rockies in exchange for her freedom, as a proud representative of her race. Again, costume identifies her with the past, but on her back she carries a child, a clear indication of the future.

Although the sculpture for the Cascades, already discussed, was allegorical in nature, there were some statues among them that fit into this discussion. Among the more interesting images, in the light of the frontier myth, were Carl Heber's "Indian Territory" and Lee Lawrie's "South Dakota" (figs. 71, 72 respectively).[63] Heber's work employed an Indian squaw holding sheaves of tobacco in both hands while at her feet lay an Indian vessel and a sheaf of wheat. Lawrie's "South Dakota" showed another squaw, but in this instance a much more muscular figure, with a blanket around her legs. At her back is an oak stump with leaves, some of which she is using to wipe down the blade of a

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scythe, held across her lap. She turns her head to the left, and the braids of her hair fall straight over her breast. Charles DeKay wrote of this figure, "With the Indian type ennobled and made majestic, the sculptor has joined the idea of labor in the field as typical of the State."[64] Both of these works employ the Indian for allegorical purposes, but their inclusion within a group of sculpture created to be didactic signals a familiarity with such images on the part of the public. This familiarity was made possible by the prevalence of such images within American popular culture.

Located appropriately at the entrance to the Pike, the fair's amusement zone, was "Cowboys off the Trail" by Frederic Remington (fig. 73; more commonly known as "Coming through the Rye"). This work depicted four mounted cowboys on wildly galloping horses, violently and excitedly brandishing their weapons. Like Borglum's "Cowboy at Rest," it dealt with the myth of the frontier from the white man's perspective. As one critic described it,

> It is a bit of the life of to-day [sic] on the Western plains....The four broncos are modeled as only Remington knows how to do it. Their riders have the dashing ease of men whose only home is the saddle. It is a group of marvelous activity....It is a spirit of reckless deviltry which seems to pervade horses and men in this statue.[65]

Remington's work, so popular then, epitomized for Americans the Wild West that had already vanished. This work, with its emphasis on movement and the carefree attitudes of the

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cowboys, signaled the romance of the vanished way of life of these itinerants. Remington's conception of the cowboy differs markedly from Borglum's; where Borglum's was calm and assured in the knowledge of his place on the frontier, Remington's figures are romanticized, hunter-heroes in the best Rooseveltian sense. The exploits of this type of western character were available to the public through dime novels, wild west shows, and in the near future, movies,[66] and these were the types so lionized by Roosevelt. Their placement at the entrance to the Pike also signaled differing attitudes between Borglum's cowboy and these figures. Their wild, carefree attitude perfectly expressed the popular amusements located just behind them; Borglum's figure rests in the midst of sculpture representing higher ideals, and therefore possesses a more reserved air.

As discussed earlier, Karl Bitter adopted most of Frederick Ruckstull's sculptural theme, but made some significant changes. Primary among them was an increase in the number of works depicting Indians, although the ratio of sculptures of white men versus those of Indians was still heavily skewed in the direction of the former. Although Bitter was German born he assumes Ruckstull's motif--a celebration of America's assumption of the mantle of civilization through a Turnerian idea of progress. Bitter clarified the Turnerian aspects and added a Rooseveltian idea of superiority in the progression of the scheme.

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Turner's frontier thesis described American history in terms of sequenced stages of social evolution, from the beasts through the Indians to the white man; Roosevelt's described it in terms of the hunter-hero; and indeed, these ideas clearly influenced Bitter's adaptation of the original scheme. The sculptures, therefore, represent the prevailing attitudes towards the frontier and Indians at the turn of the century, attitudes, as discussed earlier, conditioned by the political, economic, social and historic atmosphere of the United States.

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Notes

[1]See Appendix D for a discussion of the historians involved with studying the myth of the frontier.

[2]Frank Norris, "The Frontier Gone At Last," World's Work 3 (February 1902): 1728-1729.

[3]Emerson Hough, The Passing of the Frontier: A Chronicle of the Old West (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918), 3.

[4]Ibid., 172-173.

[5]In 1885 Remington brought a portfolio of his drawings to J. Henry Harper of Harper's Weekly, thus beginning a long career as an illustrator of stories and articles about the West. For more information on Remington, see Peter Hassrick, Frederic Remington (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1973); Peggy Samuels and Harold Samuels, Frederic Remington: A Biography (New York: Doubleday, 1982); Michael Shapiro and Peter Hassrick, Frederic Remington: The Masterworks (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1988); James K. Ballinger, Frederic Remington (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1989).

[6]Earl Pomeroy, In Search of the Golden West: the Tourist in Western America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 37.

[7]Ibid., vii-viii.

[8]According to Pomeroy, as late as 1881 the threat of raids in the Southwest prompted the Santa Fe Railroad to furnish its trains with rifles, and passengers felt that they were reenacting the dangers of the pioneer wagon crossings. Ibid., 68.

[9]See Robert G. Athearn, The Mythic West in Twentieth-Century America (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1986), 16-19, for a comprehensive discussion of this change of conception of the location of the frontier.

[10]See David M. Wrobel, The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 13.

[11]For example, Thomas W. Higginson, "The Great

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Western March," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 69 (June 1884): 118-128; N.C. Frederiksen, "The Development of the West," Dial 3 (August 1882): 74-75, a review of Robert P. Porter's The West from the Census of 1880: A History of the Development from 1800-1880 (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1881); James B. Walker, Experiences of Life in the Early Settlements and Cities of the West (Chicago: Sumner, 1882); and a review of Walker's book, "The Chronicles of a Western Pioneer," Dial 2 (September 1881): 98-100.

[12]For discussions of America's transformation from an agricultural to an industrial society see Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, The Age of Enterprise (New York, 1942) and Samuel P. Hays, The Response to Industrialism, 1885-1914 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

[13]Wrobel, 29. See also Gerald D. Nash, Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 5.

[14]For a discussion of the tradition of America's agrarian myth, see Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), Part 3, "The Garden of the World." See also Appendix D.

[15]Another historian who wrote often about the impact of the frontier on American life was Woodrow Wilson. Wilson had been Turner's teacher at Johns Hopkins University and the two stayed in touch for the remainder of their lives, sharing ideas and thoughts regarding the history of the West. (See George C. Osborn, "Woodrow Wilson and Frederick Jackson Turner," Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society 74 (July 1956): 208-229.) For Wilson, the history of the United States was, as it was for Turner, a history of developments. Wilson managed to state in more concrete terms the impact of the frontier on the American consciousness. He wrote, "The formative period of American history has had no geographical limitations....That part of our history, therefore, which is most truly national is the history of the West. Almost all the critical issues of our politics have been made up beyond the mountains, beginning with the Louisiana purchase...." (Woodrow Wilson, "Mr. Goldwin Smith's Views On Our Political History," The Forum 16 (December 1893): 496-497.)

In another essay he expresses the frontier anxiety that was so prevalent in American society at the time. "The 'West' is the great work of our history. The 'Westerner' has been the type and master of our American life....The Westerner, in some day soon to come, will pass out of our life....Then a new epoch will open for us...." (Woodrow Wilson, "The Proper Perspective of American History," The

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Forum 19 (July 1895): 551.)

In general, Wilson accepted the view that the West had served as a repository for those people who could not make a life for themselves in the East, who could not adjust to the ways of civilization. His prime concern was that American cities would now have to find a way to accommodate these individuals, now that there was no more free land to absorb them. (See Athearn, 14.)

[16]See Nash, 208.

[17]Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Co., 1894): 79-112.

[18]Turner, Significance of the Frontier, 80.

[19]For a discussion of the critical and popular reception of Turner's thesis, see James D. Bennett, Frederick Jackson Turner (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975).

[20]Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Problem of the West," Atlantic Monthly 88 (September 1896): 289.

[21]Ibid., 293.

[22]William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," The Western Historical Quarterly 18 (April 1987): 167.

[23]Nash, 6.

[24]Roosevelt first came to public attention as an historian with the publication of The Winning of the West (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889-1896).

[25]Richard Slotkin has explored the genesis of Roosevelt's frontier thesis in chapter one of Gunfighter Nation, and "Nostalgia and Progress: Theodore Roosevelt's Myth of the Frontier," American Quarterly 33 no. 5 (Winter 1981): 608-637.

[26]This is not to say that Roosevelt was the sole arbiter of taste and interpretation in this matter. Americans were also exposed to "dime novels," the pulp fiction of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, that romanticized the frontier and its inhabitants; wild west shows, like that of Buffalo Bill; and, eventually, films. All of these popular culture artifacts were conditioned by both Turner's and Roosevelt's pronouncements, but also by newspaper and magazine reports on conditions in the

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West. There is no one cause, as discussed earlier, for the manifestations of frontier nostalgia.

[27]See Henry Farnham May, The End of American Innocence (New York, 1959) for a discussion of the relationship between the progress of American civilization and the ideas of moralism and the superiority of the Eastern intellectual and cultural elite, of which Roosevelt was a member.

[28]See Slotkin, Gunfighter Nation, 35.

[29]Parkman (1823-1893) published a monumental history of the Indian wars between 1859 and 1892, but is best remembered today for The Oregon Trail (1849).

[30]For a discussion of the distinct racial bias in Roosevelt's frontier ideology, see Thomas G. Dyer, Theodore Roosevelt and the Idea of Race (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).

[31]G. Edward White, The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 92.

[32]Slotkin, Gunfighter Nation, 37.

[33]Roosevelt described the Club in a short essay entitled "The Boone and Crockett Club," Harper's Weekly 37 (18 March 1893): 267. See also George Bird Grinnell, "A Brief History of the Boone and Crockett Club," in Hunting at High Altitudes (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1913).

[34]Other members included Redfield Proctor, a politician; industrial magnate John Rogers, Jr.; historians and social scientists Francis Parkman, Madison Grant, and Henry Fairfield Osborn; geologist Clarence King; painters Albert Bierstadt and Frederic Remington; novelist Owen Wister; and Gifford Pinchot, a conservationist.

[35]See Slotkin, Gunfighter Nation, 37.

[36]See Michael L. Collins, That Damned Cowboy: Theodore Roosevelt and the American West, 1883-1898 (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), Chapter VI, "The Frontier Historian", for a discussion of the reception of Roosevelt's historical works.

[37]Slotkin, "Nostalgia and Progress," 621-622.

[38]See Slotkin, "Nostalgia and Progress", for an in-

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depth analysis Roosevelt's "myth of origins" and its basis in his racial biases.

[39]In contrast to this school of thought, there were some intellectuals, reformers, and politicians anxious to see the Indians saved and assimilated into white society. See Frederick E. Hoxie, "The Curious Story of Reformers and the American Indians," in Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., Indians in American History: An Introduction (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1988), 205-228, for a discussion of one group of advocates of Indian rights, the Mohonk Conference, one of whose members was Senator Henry L. Dawes, the sponsor of the General Allottment (Dawes) Act of 1887, which allotted all Native Americans a parcel of land for farming. The Dawes Act was just one of many attempts to assimilate into and/or protect the Indian from mainstream American society.

[40]Slotkin, "Nostalgia and Progress," 625.

[41]Ibid., 630.

[42]For discussions of the literary conventions of Western dime novels, see Smith, Virgin Land, and White, The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience.

[43]Roy Harvey Pearce, Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 3-4.

[44]Julie Schimmel, "Inventing the 'Indian'," in William H. Truettner, ed., The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920 (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1991), 151.

[45]Hoxie, "The Curious Story of Reformers...," 207-208.

[46]Pearce, 49.

[47]Pearce, 49.

[48]Jackson described removal as the fulfillment of "'the moral duty...to protect and if possible to preserve and perpetuate the scattered remnants' of the Indian race." Hoxie, "The Curious Story of Reformers...," 211.

[49]Ibid., 211.

[50]See Walter L. Williams, "American Imperialism and the Indians," in Hoxie, Indians in American History, 236.

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[51]Frederick E. Hoxie, A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 85.

[52]Both Seymour and Peale accompanied Major Stephen H. Long on geographical expeditions; Peale in 1819, Seymour in 1819-20 and again in 1823. For general information on these, and other, surveyor-artists, see Larry Curry, The American West: Painters from Catlin to Russell (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1972); Patricia Hills, The American Frontier: Images and Myths (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1973); and Peter Hassrick, The Way West: Art of Frontier America (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1977).

[53]For Bierstadt, see Nancy K. Anderson and Linda Ferber, Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1990). For Whittredge, see Anthony F. Janson, Worthington Whittredge (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989). For Gifford, see Ila Weiss, Poetic Landscape: The Art and Experience of Sanford R. Gifford (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987). For Moran, see Anne Morand, Splendors of the American West: Thomas Moran's Art of the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone (Birmingham: Birmingham Museum of Art, 1990); and Joni Kinsey, Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

[54]For example, Bingham depicted squatters, fur traders and river boatmen in works such as "The Squatters" (1850, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), "Fur Traders Descending the Missouri" (1845, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and "The Jolly Flatboatmen" (1846, National Gallery of Art). For more information on Bingham see E. Maurice Bloch, George Caleb Bingham: The Evolution of an Artist (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Michael Shapiro, et al, George Caleb Bingham (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1990); and Nancy Rash, The Painting and Politics of George Caleb Bingham (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

Representative examples of Miller's works include "The Last Greenhorn" (Gulf States Paper Corporation), "Setting Traps for Beaver" (1837, Joslyn Art Museum) and "The Trapper's Bride" (1850, Joslyn Art Museum). For more information on Miller see Ron Tyler, ed. Alfred Jacob Miller: Artist on the Oregon Trail (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1982).

Deas's depictions of these frontier types include "The Voyageurs" (1845, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and "The Death Struggle" (c.1845, Shelburne Museum). For more information on Deas see Carol Clark, "Charles Deas," in American Frontier Life and John F. McDermott, "Charles Deas: Painter of the Frontier," American Quarterly 13 (Autumn

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1950): 293-311.

[55]For example, Boone was painted by Bingham ("Daniel Boone Escorting Pioneers through the Cumberland Gap" [1851-52, Washington University Gallery of Art, St. Louis]) and William Ranney ("Boone's First View of Kentucky" [1849, The Anschutz Collection, Denver]).

Hills, in The American Frontier, discusses the reality of the lives of scouts like Boone, who gained reputations as vagrants, too irresponsible to own and cultivate land. They were lumped by their respectable land-owning neighbors with squatters, who were in turn compared with Indians in their general disregard for the land. See also Smith, Virgin Land, 59-70. The reality stood in stark contrast to Roosevelt's conception of these types.

[56]One of the ways trappers assimilated into Indian culture was through marriage. See Schimmel, 175-178 for a discussion of images of such marriages and their reception by eastern audiences.

[57]For information on Weinman, see "Adolph Alexander Weinman," Bulletin of the Pan-American Union 45 (December 1917): 775-787; and Charles H. Dorr, "A Sculptor of Monumental Architecture: Notes on the Work of Adolph Alexander Weinman," Architectural Record 33 no. 6 (June 1913): 518-532.

[58]Charles DeKay, "An Exposition Figure Factory," Scientific American Supplement 56 no. 28 (November 1903), 23330.

[59]A search of the literature revealed no negative comments about Dallin's work.

[60]See Dean F. Krakel, End of the Trail: The Odyssey of a Statue (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973).

[61]See Perry Miller, "The Romantic Dilemma in American Nationalism and the Concept of Nature," Harvard Theological Review 48 no. 4 (October 1955): 239-253.

[62]For more information on Yandell, see Richard Ladegast, "Enid Yandell, the Sculptor," Outlook 70 (1902): 81; Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, American Women Artists from Early Indian Times to the Present (New York: Avon Books, 1982), 100-101; Desiree Caldwell, Enid Yandell and the Branstock School (Providence, Rhode Island: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1982); and Stephanie Darst, The Sculpture of Enid Yandell (Louisville, Kentucky: J.B. Speed Art Museum, 1993).

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[63]For more information on Lawrie, see H. Tachau, "Lee Lawrie, Architectural Sculptor," International Studio 75: 394; Lee Lawrie, Sculpture by Lee Lawrie (Cleveland: J.H. Jansen, 1936); Joseph F. Morris, ed. Lee Lawrie (New York: National Sculpture Society 1955); and Timothy J. Garvey, "Lee O. Lawrie: Classicism and American Culture, 1919-1954" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1980).

[64]DeKay, 23329.

[65]Amy Woods, "Statuary at the St. Louis Fair," New England Magazine 31 (September 1904): 44.

[66]For a discussion of the persistence of the myth of the cowboy in the twentieth century, see Slotkin, Gunfighter Nation.

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CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition is here reevaluated concerning its ground plan and its free-standing sculpture, both of which were conceived within an artistic and cultural milieu heavily influenced by the emergence of the City Beautiful Movement and contemporary popular attitudes about the West. These were expressed by both the large size of the fairgrounds, a reaction to the popularly perceived loss of free land, and the plan of those grounds, a product of the City Beautiful Movement; and the purpose and theme of the sculpture, a demonstration of the importance of civic art and a celebration of the advancement of mankind throughout the territory.

While the plan for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition is seldom referred to in the literature as a City Beautiful project, much of its plan was guided by City Beautiful aesthetics and it must now be considered a product of that development. The fair had the good fortune to be planned during the formative years of the Movement, and therefore holds a significant place in its history. It was also

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noteworthy because it gave many people an opportunity to view City Beautiful aesthetics in practice and a chance to understand that in spite of the recent "closing" of the frontier, they, and the United States, still had room to grow. This idea was illustrated by the Model Street, an exhibit that, in its size, scale and scope, demonstrated what could and should be done to beautify and conserve the American landscape, and appealed to the broadest range of American citizens.

As Francis Swales pointed out, "It is the effect of the ensemble--the buildings, terraces, gardens, fountains, lighting and general gaiety of the grounds--in a word, the 'picture' which draws the crowd."[1] Certainly, the planning of a world's fair was calculated to create the most beautiful effect, and in the case of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the most beautiful effect was created by the new ideas surrounding the City Beautiful Movement.

Karl Bitter's appointment as Chief of Sculpture was also a happy circumstance when the City Beautiful goals of the fair's planners are considered. His interest in municipal art places this aspect of his work firmly within the City Beautiful movement and as a result, the sculpture, such an important part of any City Beautiful program, worked in harmony with the layout and landscaping of the grounds and, more importantly, demonstrated the importance of civic art to any large-scale planned project.

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Additionally, Bitter's familiarity and experience with public and exposition sculpture enabled him to adapt and perfect a sculptural program with an important American historical theme so as to be easily comprehended by all visitors to the fair. Its emphasis on realism, through portraiture and genre, in addition to his choice of young sculptors, many of whom consciously rejected the Beaux-Arts style of their masters in favor of a more modern/realistic approach, created a group of works that traced a coherent, logical and readily comprehensible sculptural program.

The sculptural program's iconography attempted to address, like the application of City Beautiful aesthetics to the large size of the grounds, the phenomenon of frontier anxiety, and was therefore an attempt to revive the earlier freedom of the frontier as described by Frederick Jackson Turner. It successfully indicated the racial superiority of the White Man over the Indian, an idea central to the philosophy and writings of Theodore Roosevelt, and it created a sense of nostalgia for the "real life" of the frontiersmen. As Turner wrote,

> That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness, that practical, inventive turn of the mind, quick to find expedients, that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends, that restless, nervous energy, that dominant individualism, working for good and evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom,--these are the traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier.[2]

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These were some of the characteristics that Bitter and his team of sculptors attempted to convey in their works.

The frontier thesis of Theodore Roosevelt also places the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in a strong position to lead us into the American art and history of the twentieth century. His alliance, politically and ideologically, with the Progressive Movement, and belief in the generative power of the West, combined with the ideas of the City Beautiful Movement so eloquently expressed by the plan and decoration of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, helped spark a number of important cultural developments in the early years of the twentieth century. Among them were the patronage of the fine arts, a national interest in land conservation and beautification, and the establishment of the national parks system.[3] The beginnings of all of these can be traced to ideas and aesthetics expressed by and at the Lousiana Purchase Exposition.

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Notes

[1]Francis S. Swales, "The Brussels Exposition, 1910," Architectural Record 28, no. 6 (December 1910): 405.

[2]Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Co., 1894): 111.

[3]The literature on Roosevelt is too extensive to list here. However, for information on Roosevelt's patronage of the fine arts, which was expressed primarily through the redesign of the United States coinage, a task that employed many well established and relatively unknown sculptors, see Cornelius Vermeule, Numismatic Art in America: Aesthetics of the United States Coinage (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). Much of the literature on Roosevelt also discusses his patronage of the arts during his tenure as President. Roosevelt's interest in conservation and beautification, and the public's part in these efforts, is fixed by the creation of the Country Life Commission, which then lent its name to the conservationist Country Life Movement (1900-1920). For more information, see David M. Wrobel, The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1993). Wrobel discusses, in great detail, such "back-to-the-land" movements of the early years of the twentieth century that emphasized conservation and the creation of parks and gardens.

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APPENDIX A

Official Plan and Scope

The official plan and scope of the Board of Directors reads as follows:

The foundation plan of the St. Louis World's Fair will be that of an exposition both national and international in its character, so that not only the people of the Louisiana Purchase Territory, but of our union, and all the nations as well, can participate. It will be so projected and developed as to ensure the active interest of all the peoples of the world and induce their participation upon a scale without parallel in any previous exposition.

It will present in a special degree, and in the most comprehensive manner, the history, the resources, and the development of the states and territories lying within the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase, showing what it was and what it is; what it contained and produced in 1803; what it contains and produces in 1903.

It will make plain that the prophecy of 1803 has been more than fulfilled, and show that a veritable empire now lies between the Gulf of Mexico and Puget Sound, within the limits of the territory Jefferson obtained by the Louisiana Purchase.

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It will show the history, resources and development of the possessions of the United States, including Porto [sic] Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, Samoa, Guam and the Philippines. It will embrace in a similar portrayal, Cuba and any other country which may enjoy the special and exceptional protection and guardianship of the United States.

It will depart from the plan of all past expositions and make life and movement its distinguished and marked characteristics. To this end it will aim definitely at an exhibition of man as well as the works of man; at the presentation of manufacturing industries in actual conduct as well as the machines out of action; at the exhibition of processes as well as of completed products.

It will carefully plan in the location, the construction and arrangement of all buildings and works so as to assure the highest degree of convenience, ease and comfort for visitors who come to inspect the wonders contained within its enclosure. It will make it both easy and comfortable to get to the Exposition grounds from every quarter of the city, and from every railway terminating in St. Louis. It will in like manner make it easy and comfortable to move about the Exposition grounds, and to pass from building to building, and from point to point within every building of large area. In short, it will make the transportation of visitors the subject of special study, and spare no expense in the solving of this vital problem, so

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that the St. Louis World's Fair may go down in history as the first great international exhibition which a visitor could inspect without enduring fatigue and hardship.

Finally, it will embody and illustrate the latest and most advanced progress in the employment of the energies of nature. It will be up to date in the use of all new motive forces, and be fully abreast with science in the utilization of every novel invention or discovery that has practical value.

In order that the general plan outlined for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition may be fulfilled in its actual accomplishments, it will exhibit the arts and industries, the methods and processes of manufacture of the whole world; it will gather the products of the soil, mine, forest and sea from the whole earth.

It will comprehend man in his full twentieth century development, exhibiting not alone his material, but his social advancement. It will show humanity at rest as well as at work, presenting man in his hours of recreation, his exercise, his games and his sports. It will illustrate the modern home with infinity of comforts and conveniences that have been brought into common use within the century the St. Louis World's Fair will commemorate.

It will embrace in its scope a comprehensive anthropological exhibition, constituting a congress of races, and exhibiting particularly the barbarous and semi-

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barbarous peoples of the world as nearly as possible in their ordinary and native environments.

It will bring together the wild life of the forests, plains and waters, showing visitors a zoological collection of untrained and untamed animals as nearly as practicable with the surroundings of their native state.

The progressiveness of the Exposition will be most especially manifest in the manner and extent of its use of artificial light, both for purposes of illuminating and as a means of decoration. Electric lighting in the latest, most striking and most effective form, as well as other new and efficient modes of illuminating, will be so liberally employed that the Exposition grounds and buildings will blaze with light at night, and their beauties successfully rival the attractions of daylight.

For the development of the Exposition to the full scope outlined, it will provide for the housing and care of exhibits divided into a number of grand sections, each of which will be again divided into departments and sub-departments. The principle sections into which the Exposition will be divided will be as follows: Agriculture, Anthropology and Ethnology, Athletics and Outdoor Sports and Games, Chemical Industries, Civil Engineering, Colonization, Decoration, Furniture, etc., Diversified Industries, Education and Instruction, Electricity, Fine Arts, Food Stuffs, Forestry, History, Horticulture and Arboriculture,

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Liberal Arts, Machinery, Military and Naval, Mining and Metallurgy, Social Economy, Textiles, Transportation, Wild Animals. (From David R. Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904. [St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, 1913], 1: 50-51.)

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APPENDIX B

Assignment of Architects and Buildings

The following is a list of the architectural firms, the buildings (the major exhibition palaces) they were commissioned to design, and the square footage and cost of those buildings.

Barnett, Haynes and Barnett
Liberal Arts
391,172 sq. ft., $476,957.20

Theodore C. Link
Mines and Metallurgy
443,286 sq. ft., $498,661.72

Widmann, Walsh and Boisselier
Machinery
405,856 sq. ft., $511,042.19

Eames and Young
Education and Social Economy
336,000 sq. ft., $365,421.98

Carrere and Hastings
Manufactures
564,642 sq. ft., $723,510.00

Van Brunt and Howe
Varied Industries
452,300 sq. ft., $703,815.00

Cass Gilbert
Art Building and Annexes:
Main Art Building, 61,658 sq. ft., $621,906.73 (approximately)
Two annexes at either side of the main art building, total 158,556 sq. ft., $329,354.17
Sculptural Hall, 17,795 sq. ft., $39,440.00

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Festival Hall
41,700 sq. ft., $218,430.35

Walker and Kimball
Electricity
331,400 sq. ft., $412,948.11

Emanuel Masqueray
Transportation
690,038 sq. ft., $684,608.76

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APPENDIX C

Sculptors and Commissions

The following list is taken from Karl Bitter's report of the Department of Sculpture, contained within the final report of the Division of Works (Division of Works Report, June, 1905 [Part I], Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis), and from a contract list submitted to Walter B. Stevens, Secretary of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, April 13, 1905 (David R. Francis Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis). It has been alphabetized, edited for spelling, and the locations of the sculptures have been identified.

Sculptor	Sculpture
Herbert Adams	Panfilo Narvaez
Vincent Alfano	Group at western terminal pylon of Colonnade of States
L. Ameteis [sic]	Models for Manufactures Building
Clement J. Barnhorn	Tympanum, east front, Varied Industries Building
Theodore Baur	Frieze, Mines and Metallurgy Building
George E. Bissell	Two groups for Liberal Arts Building
Karl Bitter	Louisiana Purchase Monument
Solon H. Borglum	Four groups for Grand Basin
John J. Boyle	Benjamin Franklin
Julia M. Bracken	James Monroe
George T. Brewster	Spandrels, Manufactures Building

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	Eleven Medallions, Fine Arts Building
Robert P. Bringhurst	One quadriga, two spandrels, one standing figure and two reclining figures for Education Building
Henry K. Bush-Brown	Horace Mann
Alexander Stirling Calder	Missouri, Colonnade of States
	Phillip F. Renault
Jonathon Conway	Oklahoma, Colonnade of States
Cyrus E. Dallin	Pere Marquette
	Sioux Chief
F. Edwin Elwell	Classic Art, Fine Arts Building
John Flanagan	Joseph Henry
	Groups, Varied Industries Building
James Earle Fraser	Cherokee Chief
Daniel Chester French	Sculpture, Fine Arts Building
	Napoleon
F. H. Frolich	Torchbearer, Machinery Building
John Gelert	Gothic Art, Fine Arts Building
Gustav Gerlach	Minnesota for Colonnade
Charles Grafly	Truth, Fine Arts Building
	Groups, Electricity Building
	Thomas Jefferson
Louis A. Gudebrod	Sieur LaSalle
Charles F. Hamann	Modern Art, Fine Arts Building
	Wyoming for Colonnade
Jonathon Scott Hartley	Pierre Laclede
Charles Y. Harvey	Models for Liberal Arts Building
Eli Harvey	Animal Group, Agriculture Building
Carl A. Heber	Indian Territory for Colonnade
Henry Herring	Marbois
Albert Jaegers	Egyptian Art, Fine Arts Building
	Arkansas for colonnade
	Johann H. Pestolazzi
Isidore Konti	Progress of Manufacture, pylon group for Manufactures Building
	Side Cascades sculpture
Lee O. Lawrie	Two horse groups, Manufactures Building

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	South Dakota for Colonnade
Henry Linder	Oriental Art, Fine Arts Building
	Group for Liberal Arts Building
Evelyn B. Longman	Victory, dome of Varied Industries Building
Charles Lopez	Bienville
	Meriwether Lewis
	Quadriga, Liberal Arts Building
Henry Augustus Lukeman	Robert Livingston
	Models for Electricity Building
	Music, Festival Hall
Max Mauch	John Gobelins
	Group, Machinery Building
Hermon Atkins MacNeil	Frieze, Fine Arts Building
	Main Cascades sculpture
William W. Manatt	Spandrels, Varied Industries Building
Philip Martiny	Nature, Fine Arts Building
	Figures, Liberal Arts Building
	Apollo and the Muses, Festival Hall
	Fountains, Manufactures Building
Fernando Miranda	Tympanum for Machinery Building
Charles J. Mulligan	Figures, Mines and Metal-lurgy Building
Charles H. Niehaus	Apotheosis of Saint Louis
W. Clark Noble	Anthony Wayne
Andrew O'Connor	Inspiration, Fine Arts Building
F. H. Packer	Nebraska for colonnade
	Two models for Transportation Building
H. P. Pederson	Figures for Liberal Arts Building
R. Hinton Perry	Atlas and Globe for Machinery Building
Attilio Piccirilli	Eleven Medallions, Fine Arts Building
Charles J. Pike	Cartouche for Festival Hall
F. F. Porter	Model for Transportation Building
Edward C. Potter	Animal groups for Grand Basin
	DeSoto, Grand Basin

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Louis Potter	Andrew Jackson
Bela Lyon Pratt	Group, Electricity Building
Alexander Phimister Proctor	Louis Joliet Griffin, Fine Arts Building
Frederic Remington	Cowboys off the Trail, entrance to the Pike
Alexander Reul	Group for Colonnade
Peter Rossak	Spandrels, Varied Industries Building
Frederick G. R. Roth	Animal Groups for Grand Basin Bear for Colonnade
Frederick W. Ruckstull	William Clark Lion, Varied Industries Building Models, Mines and Metallurgy Building Groups, Varied Industries Building
Louis St. Gaudens	Painting, Fine Arts Building
Anton Schaaf	Spandrels, Machinery Build-ing
Rudolph Schwarz	Louisiana for colonnade Figures for dome of Mines and Metallurgy Building Torchbearer, main entrance to Mines and Metallurgy Building
Janet Scudder	James Madison
William Sievers	Model for Transportation Building
Antonin C. Skodik	Montana for colonnade Models, Varied Industries Building
Edith B. Stevens	Reclining figures on pedi ment, Liberal Arts Building
Lorado Taft	Fountain Groups
Carl E. Tefft	Renaissance Art, Fine Arts Building Iowa for Colonnade
Douglas Tilden	Tympanum, Varied Industries Building
Michael Tonetti	Victory, Manufactures Building Dance, Festival Hall Charles Goodyear, Manufactures Building
Elsie Ward	George Rogers Clark
John Quincy Adams Ward	Thomas Jefferson
Adolph Alexander Weinman	Kansas for Colonnade Destiny of the Redman

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	Shieldholders, Machinery Building
Paul Wiehle	Cartouche for Transportation Building
M. Beatrice Wilson	Spandrels, Machinery Building
Enid Yandell	Victory, Restaurant Buildings
	Daniel Boone
Bruno L. Zimm	North Dakota for colonnade
	Sacajawea
	Torchbearer
	Figure for colonnade screen, Varied Industries Building
August Zeller	Colorado for colonnade
George Julian Zolnay	Model for Transportation Building

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APPENDIX D

Bibliographic Essay

The primary sources consulted for this dissertation were the papers of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company, housed in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. In addition, numerous secondary sources were consulted, primarily contemporary journals and newspapers that devoted much space to the fair. Prime among them are The American Architect and Building News, Brush and Pencil, Harper's Weekly, World's Work, The Nation, The New York Times, and The World To-day. All of these sources printed numerous articles discussing the progress of the construction and details of the architecture and sculpture. Also of importance were the numerous publications of the Exposition Company, such as the handbooks for the fair, official catalogues of the various departments, and the World's Fair Bulletin, published prior to the opening mainly as a publicity vehicle.

Other sources that provided general information about the period include The American Renaissance, a catalog accompanying an exhibition of the same name held at the Brooklyn Museum in 1979, and H. Wayne Morgan's New Muses:

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Art in American Culture, 1865-1920 (University of Oklahoma Press, 1978).

For world's fairs, there are a number of sources. Of primary importance for American fairs is Robert Rydell's All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1879-1916, (University of Chicago Press, 1984). While Rydell's book discusses world's fairs from a sociological and anthropological view point, it does provide valuable information about how these fairs were perceived, both at home and abroad.

In contrast, the artistic ensembles of world's fairs have received limited attention. For example, the sculpture of what can arguably be considered the most "important" American fair, the World's Columbian Exposition, has not been the subject of major scholarly study. For general information see Wim de Wit, "Building an Illusion," in Neil Harris, et al, Grand Illusions: Chicago World's Fair of 1893 (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1993), 83-88; and James Riedy, "Sculpture at the Columbian Exposition," Chicago History 4 no. 2 (1975): 99-107.

The display of American painting and sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition was the subject of a 1976 dissertation by Elizabeth Broun ("American Paintings and Sculpture in the Fine Arts Building of the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," Ph.D. diss., University of Kansas, 1976), and was commemorated by

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the catalogue accompanying the exhibition "Revisiting the White City" held at the National Museum of American Art and the National Portrait Gallery in 1993 (Carolyn Kinder Carr and George Gurney, Revisiting the White City: American Art at the 1893 World's Fair [Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art; National Portrait Gallery, 1993]). The architecture was examined in a 1965 dissertation (Titus M. Karlowicz, "The Architecture of the World's Columbian Exposition," Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1965).

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition's immediate predecessor, the Pan-American Exposition, has also been the recipient of only limited scholarly study, again in dissertation form. (Joann Marie Thompson, "The Art and Architecture of the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, 1901," Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1980). This dissertation examines the architecture, sculpture and fine arts display.

Similarly, the City Beautiful Movement has received little scholarly attention. The modern studies are William H. Wilson's The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), the only full length study devoted to that movement, and his The City Beautiful Movement in Kansas City (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1964). The latter, essentially a case study of the development and creation of the park and boulevard system in Kansas City, became the basis for the former, which includes

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a more detailed study of the origins, in the author's view, of the City Beautiful Movement as well as the inclusion of additional case studies. This was also the primary analytical source consulted.

Other sources are Mel Scott, American City Planning since 1890 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969); Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978) and Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," Journal of Urban History, 2 no.4 (August 1976): 415-434.

Other modern sources that include discussions of the City Beautiful Movement and its relationship to world's fairs and civic planning are Giorgio Ciucci, Francesco Dal Co, Mario Manieri-Elia, Manfredo Tafuri, The American City: From the Civil War to the New Deal (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979); Irving D. Fisher, Frederick Law Olmsted and the City Planning Movement in the United States (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986); and Stanley K. Schultz, Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning 1800-1920 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

For contemporary accounts of the City Beautiful Movement, see John Nolen, ed. City Planning (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916); Frederick Law Olmsted, "The Limits of City Beautification--A Reply to an Inquiry," The American City 2 no. 5 (May 1910): 209-212; Charles Mulford Robinson,

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Modern Civic Art or the City Made Beautiful (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1903) and The Improvement of Towns and Cities (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901).

The impact of the myth of the frontier on the fine arts is one that has only begun to receive attention from art historians. Until recently, there were very few sources on American western art, and the few that exist concentrated primarily on what has been called the "Turner thesis," the pronouncement by historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893 that the frontier was closed. (Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin [Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Co., 1894]: 79-112.) In this regard, art historians have lagged behind western historians who, fifty years ago, dismissed the Turner thesis as no longer relevant to studies of the development and settlement of the American West. Patricia Hills, The American Frontier: Images and Myths (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1973) and Peter Hassrick, The Way West: Art of Frontier America (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1977) are two sources that discussed American western art in light of Turner's thesis.

In recent years, American art historians have begun examining American western art from more inclusive and revisionist standpoints. Unfortunately, their efforts are still few in number. The most comprehensive treatment is

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William H. Truettner, ed., The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820-1920 (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1991), published to accompany the exhibition of the same name, and was the primary art historical source consulted. It is an interesting compilation of essays and bibliographic material on the history of the American West and the concurrent images of it created by American painters and sculptors. Other exhibition catalogs that tackle the theme of frontier art are Jules Prown, et al, Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West (New Haven and London: Yale University Art Gallery, 1992) and the Amon Carter Museum's American Frontier Life: Early Western Paintings and Prints (New York: Abbeville Press, 1987). Another effort made in dissertation form was Dawn Glanz's How the West Was Drawn: American Art and the Settling of the Frontier (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982).

Turner's thesis had been used as the primary source for discussing American western art primarily because of its academic imprimatur (Turner was affiliated with the University of Wisconsin, and Johns Hopkins and Harvard Universities over the course of his career) and its prominent place in American historiography. (The Turner thesis has been the subject of scholarly inquiry and debate almost since it was first delivered. See Ray Allen Billington, The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical

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Creativity [San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1971], and America's Frontier Heritage [New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966] for a discussion of the history of the thesis, its reception, and its influence on American historical studies.) It is also of interest because it was initially delivered before an international congress at the World's Columbian Exposition, the major milestone of the American Renaissance, and the world's fair of the period that has received the most attention from art historians.

Some of the authors who have explored the myth of the frontier and its hold on the American consciousness are Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970); Robert G. Athearn, The Mythic West in Twentieth-Century America (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1986); William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," The Western Historical Quarterly 18 (April 1987): 157-176; Gerald D. Nash, Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1991); and David M. Wrobel, The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1993). For the purposes of this dissertation, the most important historian consulted was Richard Slotkin, whose many books on the history of the frontier most

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astutely discuss it in terms of popular culture. See Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860 (Middletown, Connecticut: Weslyan University Press, 1973), The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890 (New York: Atheneum, 1985), and most importantly, Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America (New York: Atheneum, 1992).

Included within the myth of the frontier is the historical conception of America as the New Eden. A survey of the literature on this subject also bore much fruit. Most of the historical investigation into this idea has been undertaken by literary historians and scholars of American Studies. For example, for the transference of European ideas about the "New World" to America, and American attempts to describe it, both in written and visual forms, see Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World. American Culture: the Formative Years (New York: Viking Press, 1964). Other sources that discuss the importance of nature to the development of the American psyche, are Perry Miller, "The Romantic Dilemma in American Nationalism and the Concept of Nature," Harvard Theological Review 48 no. 4 (October 1955): 239-253; R.W.B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); David W. Noble, Historians Against History: The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in

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American Historical Writing since 1830 (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1965); Russel B. Nye, "The American View of Nature," in This Almost Chosen People: Essays in the History of American Ideas (Michigan State University Press, 1966), 256-304; and Lee Clark Mitchell, Witness to a Vanishing America: The Nineteenth-Century Response (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981).

There has been little in the way of scholarship on this theme within the discipline of art history. Hugh Honour has explored the depictions of the New World by the Old in The European Vision of America (Cleveland, Ohio: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), and The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975). Ron Tyler, in Visions of America: Pioneer Artists in a New Land (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1983), also discusses European images, as well as early American images of this continent as the New Eden. Another discussion can be found in Sarah Burns, Pastoral Inventions: Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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1. President David Rowland Francis touching the key to open the Exposition (Francis)

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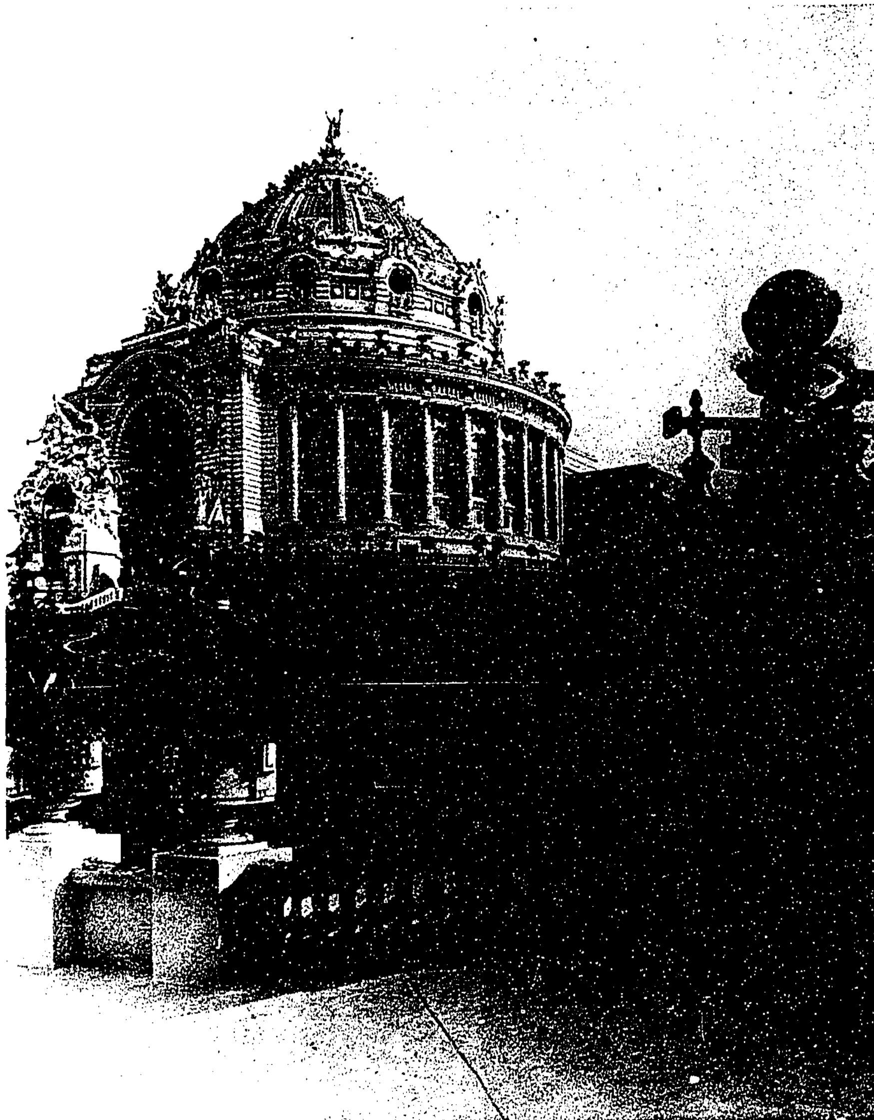

2. Cass Gilbert, Festival Hall (MOHS)

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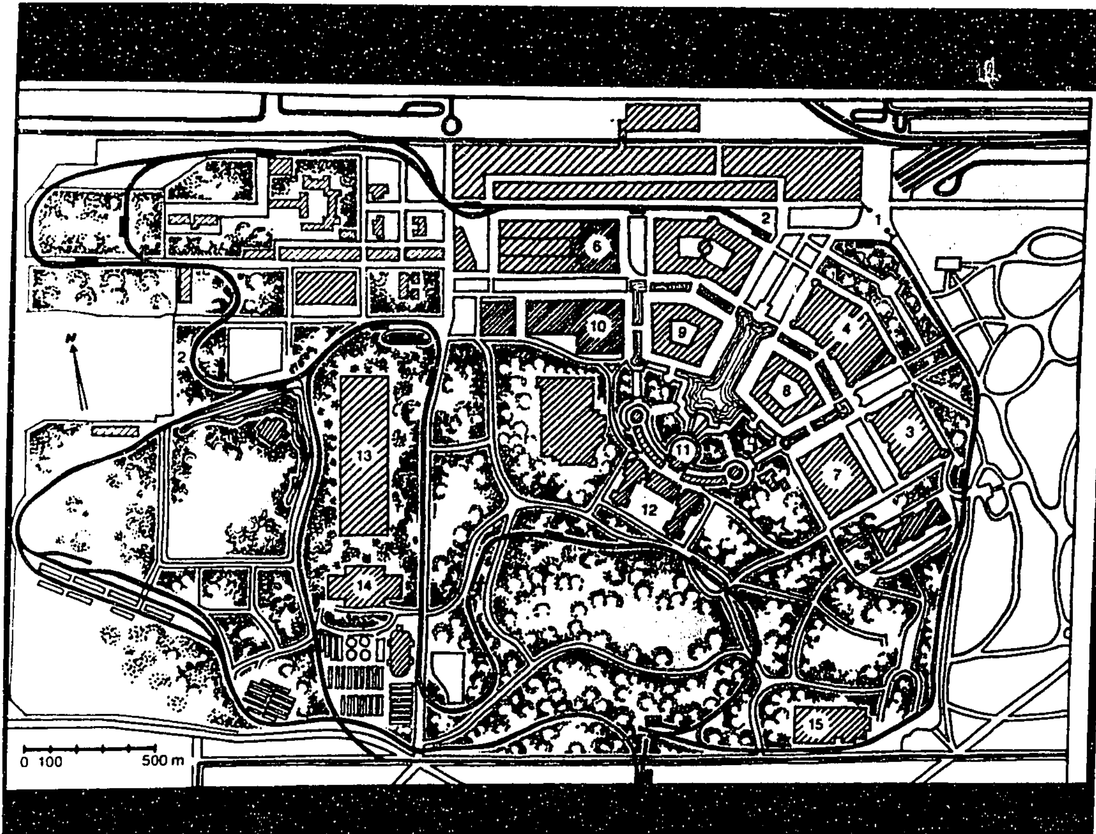

3. Ground plan, Louisiana Purchase Exposition
    1. Main entrance
    2. Plaza fronting Palace of Varied Industries
    3. Palace of Liberal Arts
    4. Palace of Manufactures
    6. Palace of Transportation
    7. Palace of Mines & Metallurgy
    8. Palace of Education and Social Economy
    9. Palace of Electricity
    10. Palace of Machinery
    11. Festival Hall
    12. Art Palace
    13. Palace of Agriculture
    14. Palace of Horticulture
    15. Inside Inn

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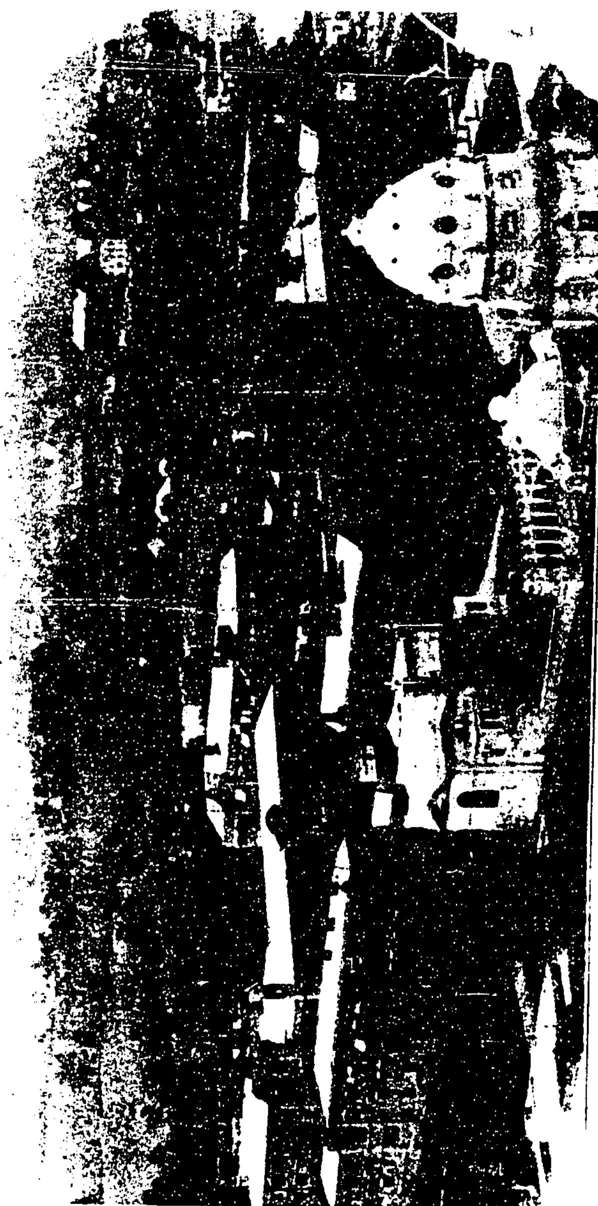

4. Administration Building (main building, Washington University) (Francis)

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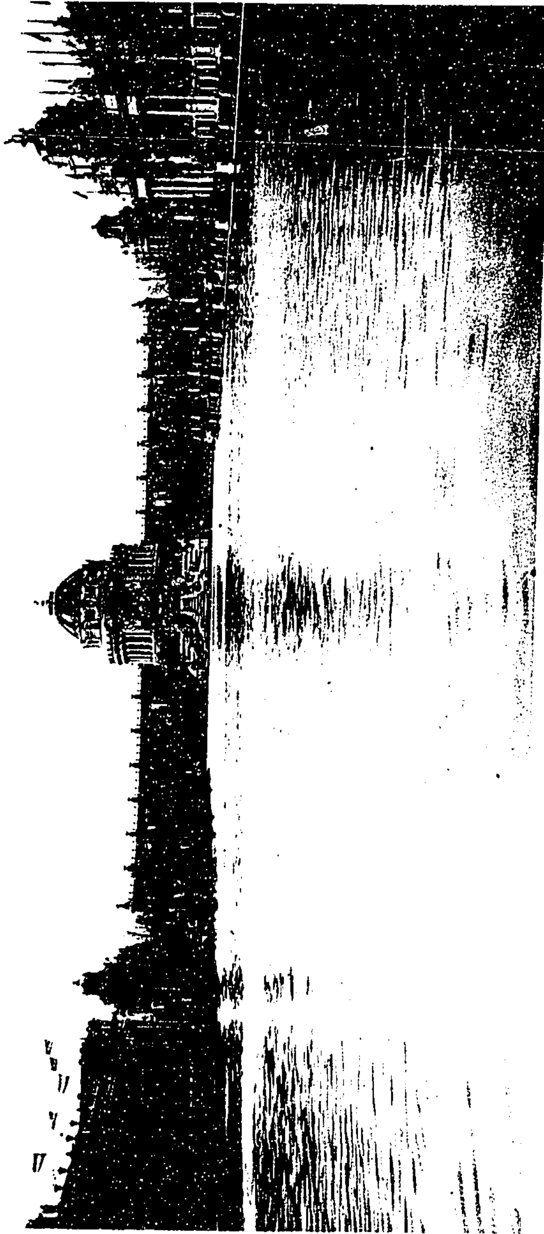

5. Festival Hall and the Grand Basin (MOHS)

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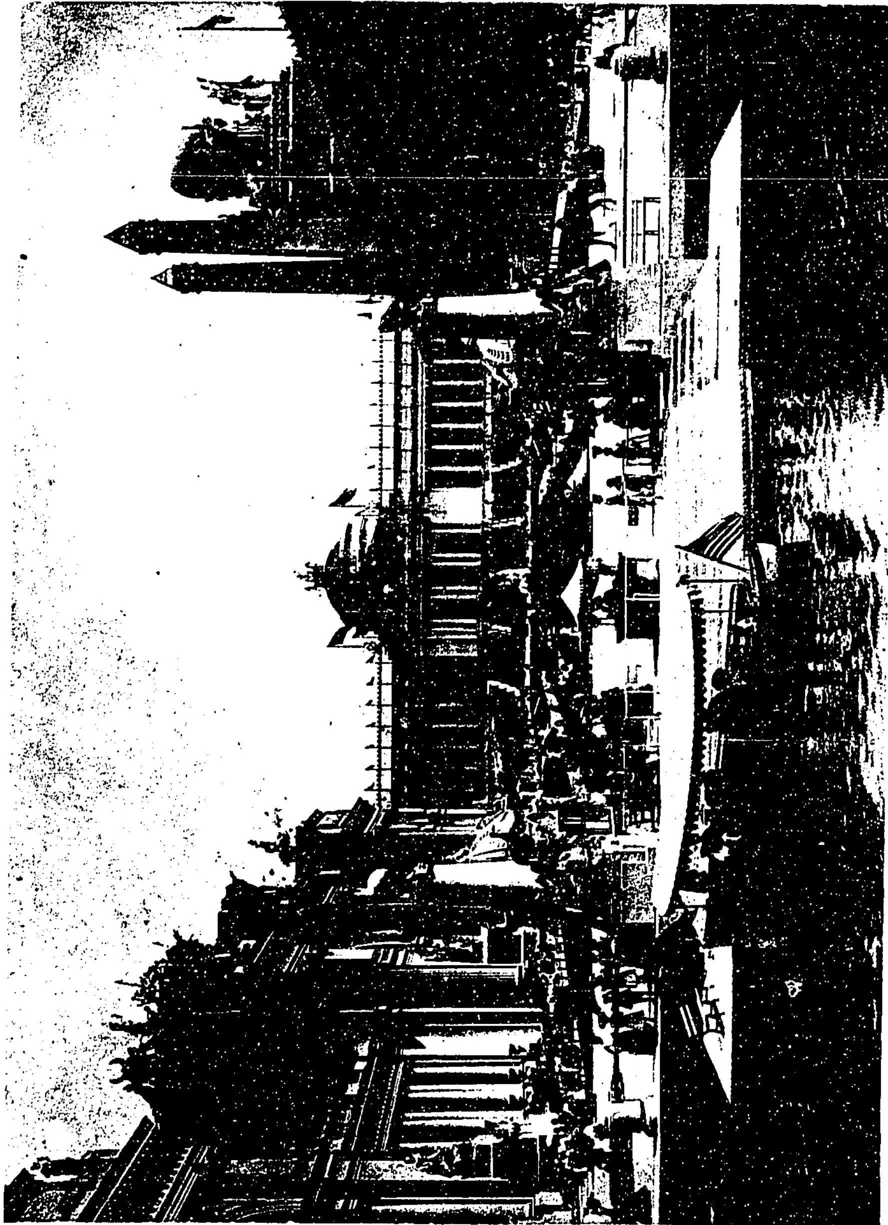

6. James Knox Taylor, United States Government Building, Sunken Garden, and Palaces of Mines and Metallurgy and Liberal Arts (MOHS)

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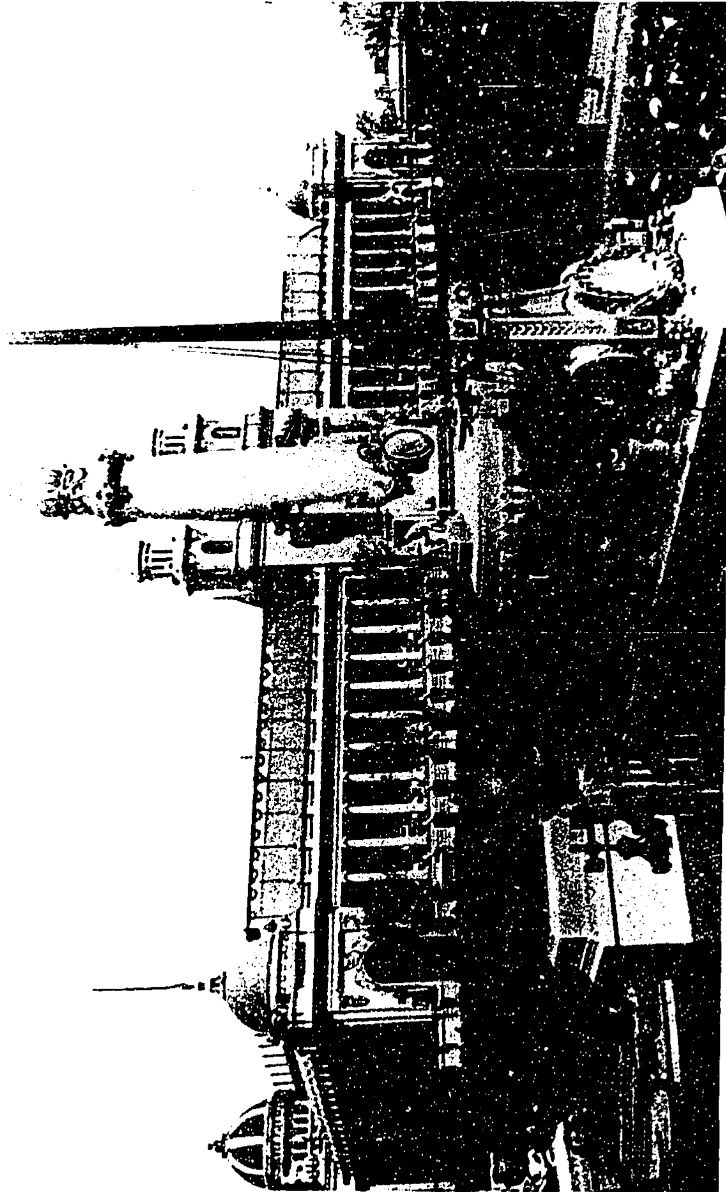

7. Plaza of St. Louis on opening day (Francis)

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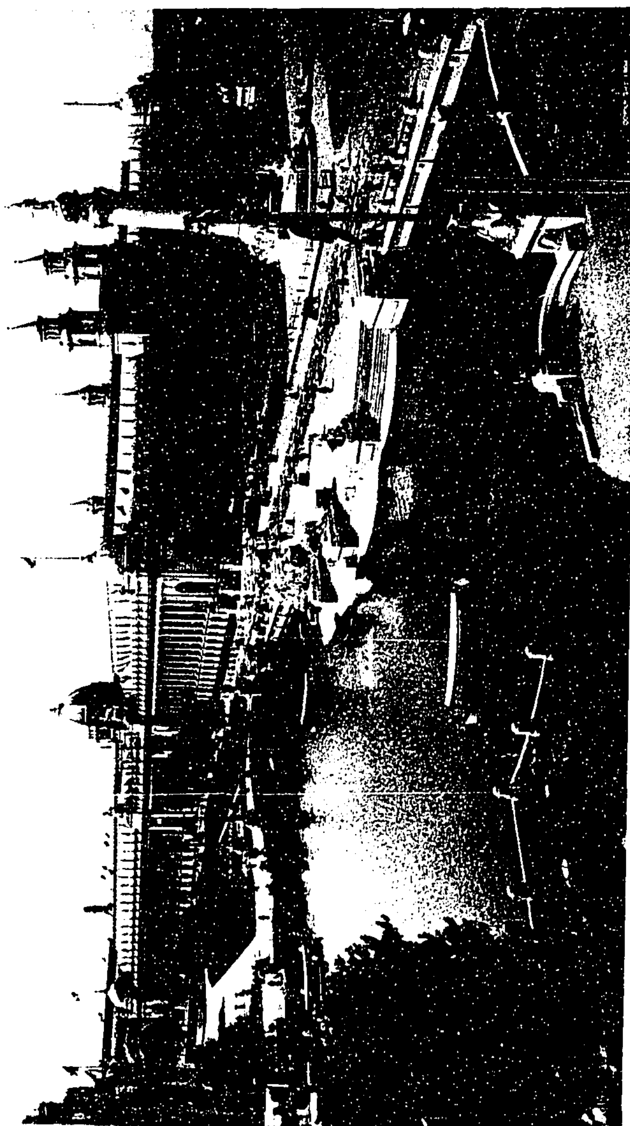

8. Van Brunt and Howe, Palace of Varied Industries (MOHS)

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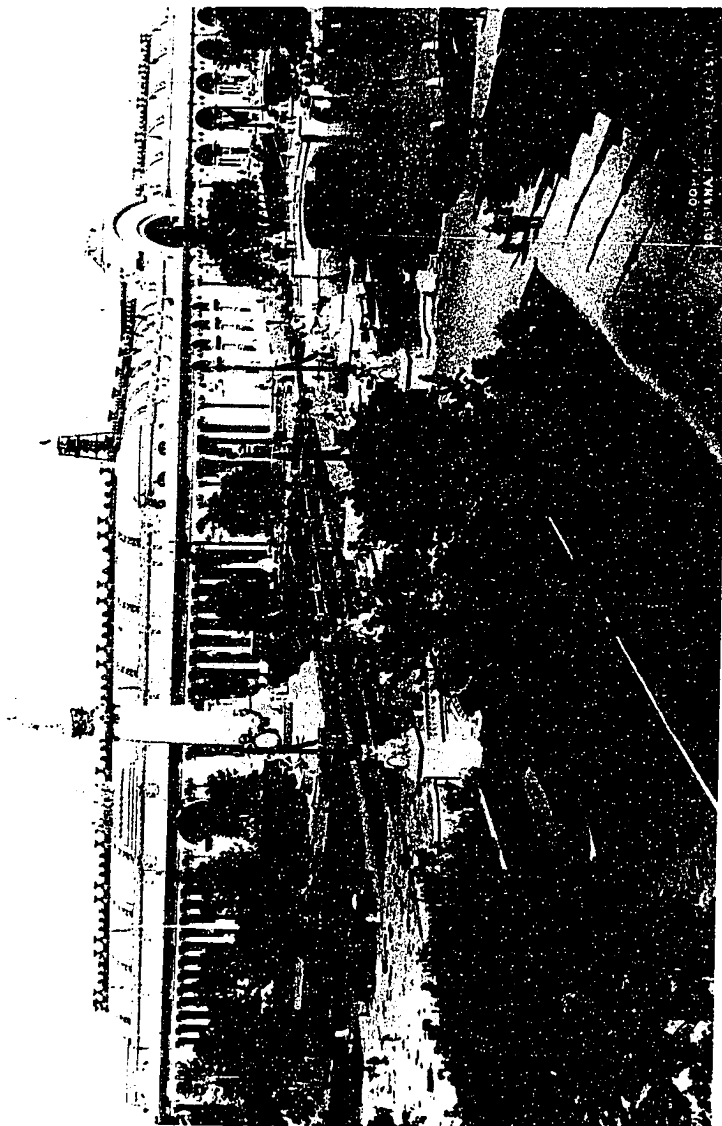

9. Carrère and Hastings, Palace of Manufactures (MOHS)

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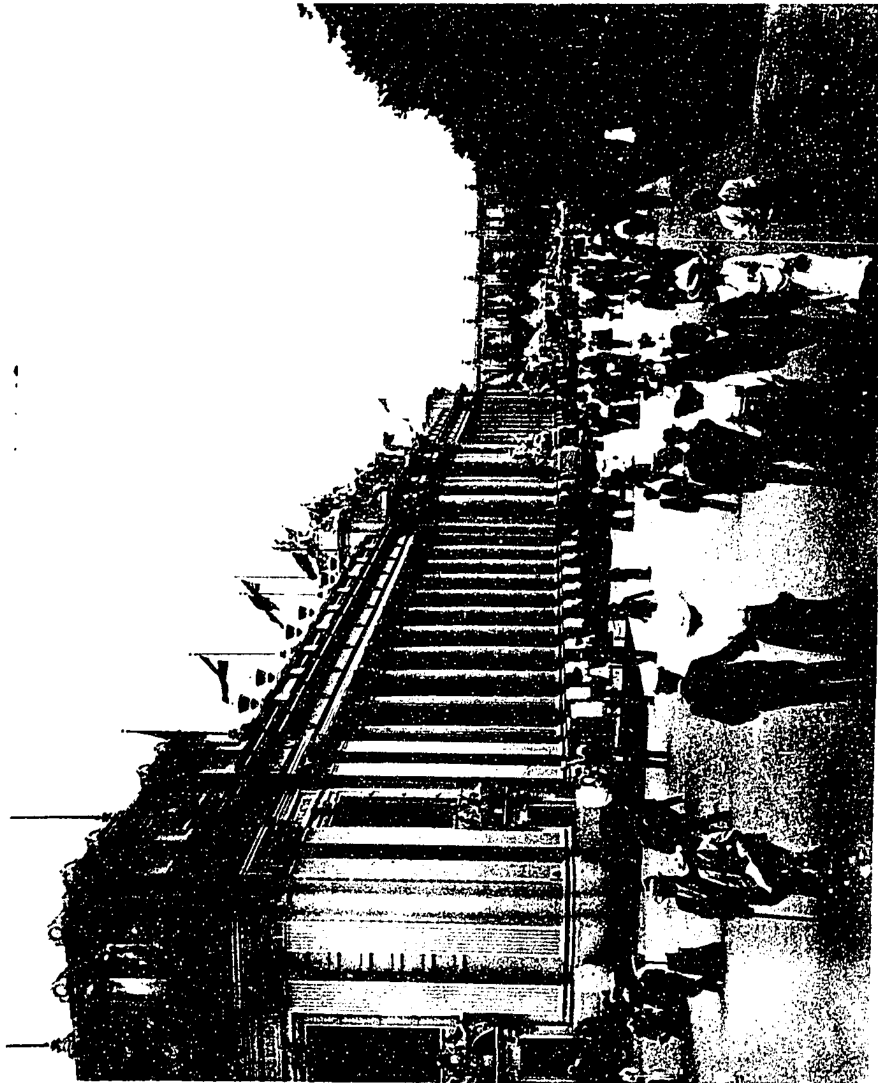

10. Eames and Young, Palace of Education and Social Economy (MOHS)

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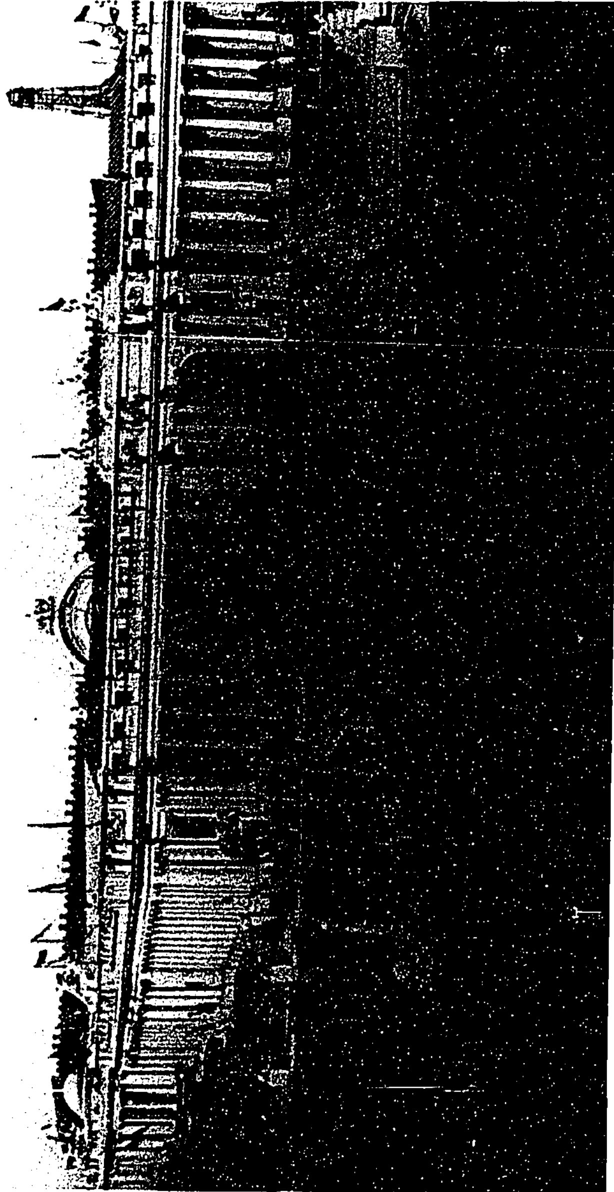

11. Palace of Education and East Cascade (Francis)

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12. Walker and Kimball, Palace of Electricity (Francis)

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13. South lagoon with facades of the Palaces of Education and Electricity (Francis)

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14. Palace of Electricity and Widmann, Walsh and Boisselier's Palace of Machinery from the West Cascade (Francis)

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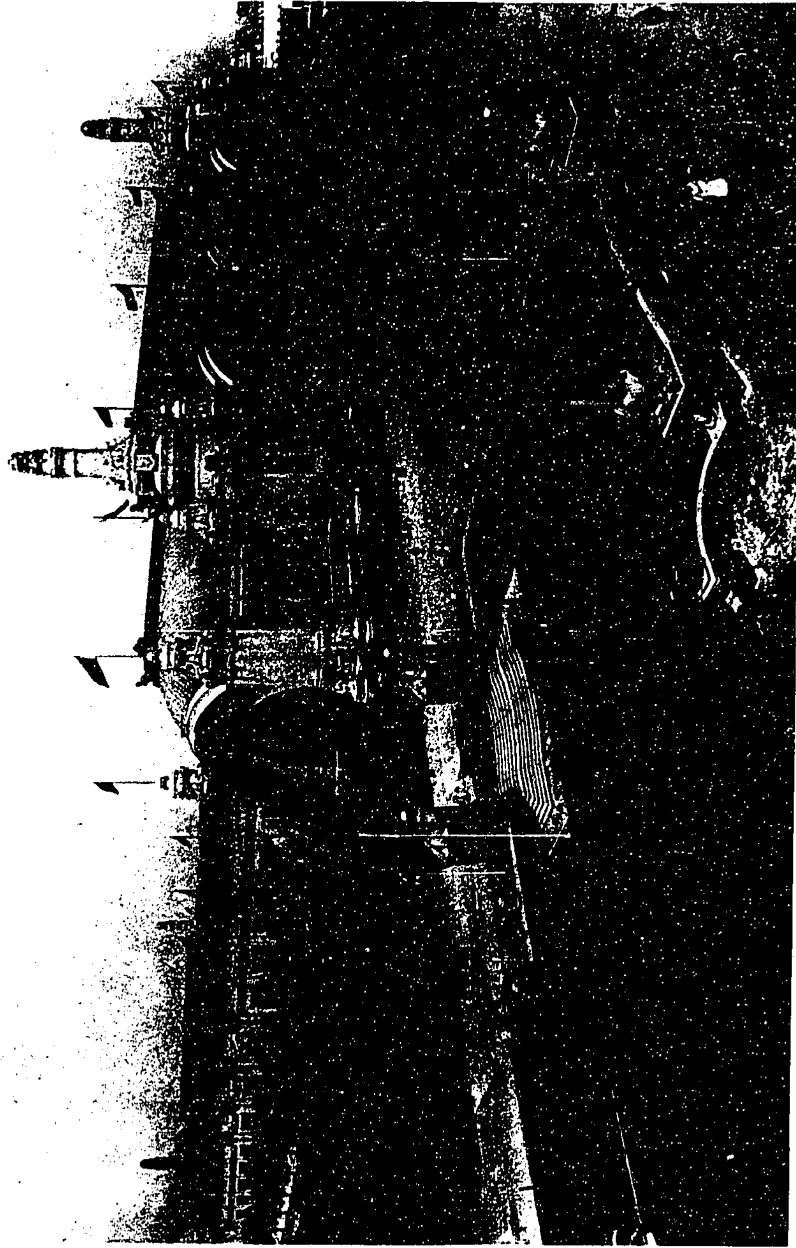

15. Emanuel Masqueray, Palace of Transportation (MOHS)

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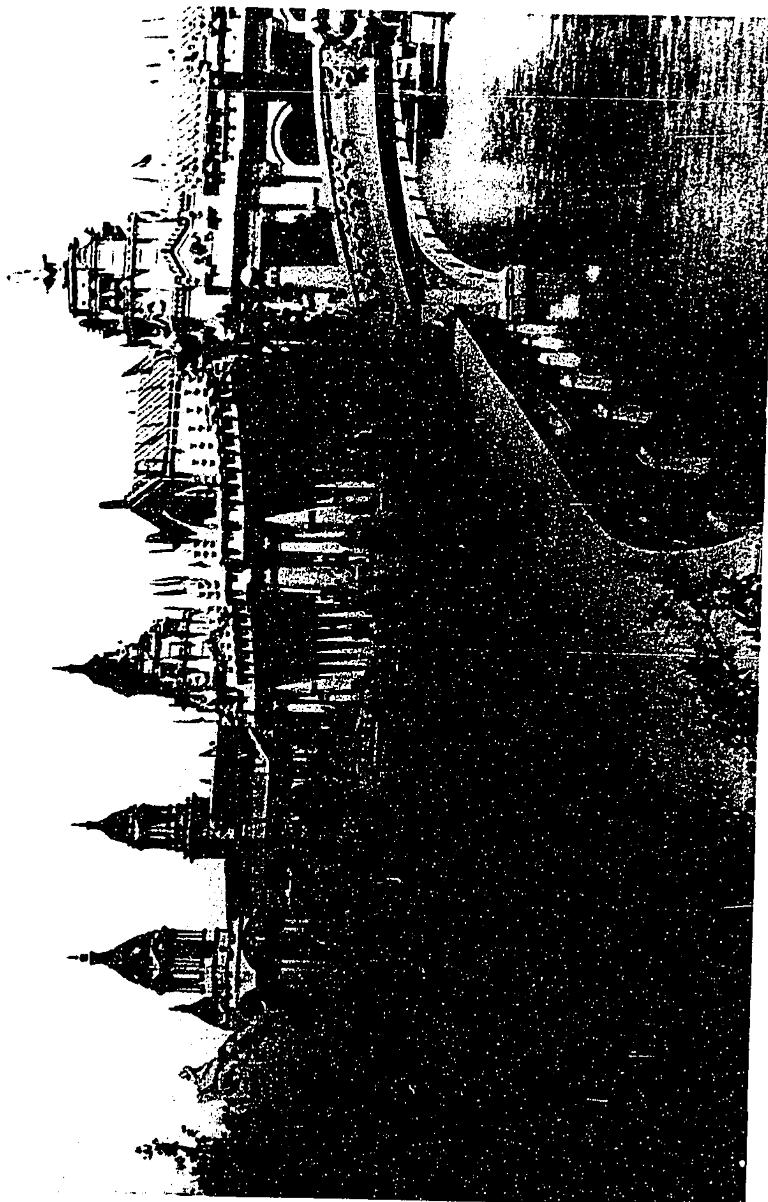

16. Palaces of Electricity and Machinery (Francis)

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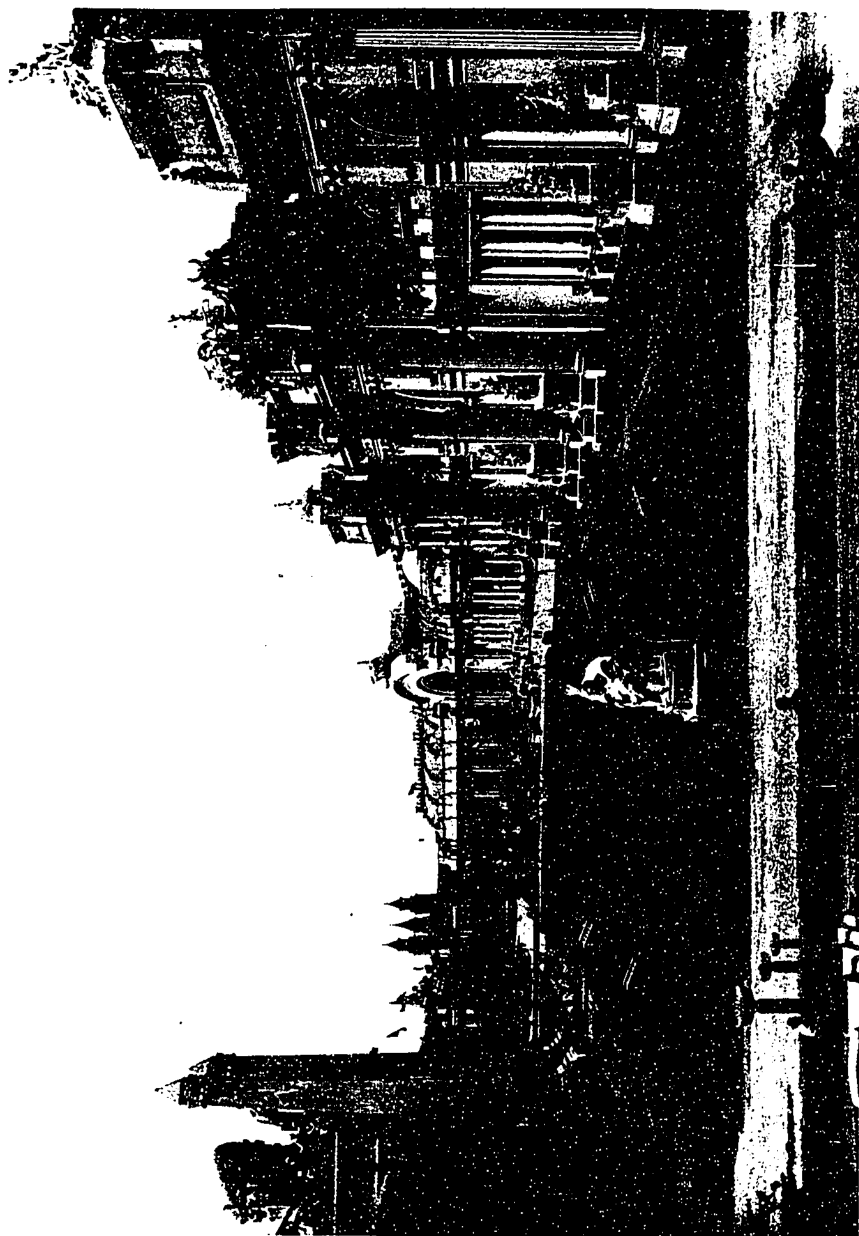

17. Sunken Garden between Palace of Mines and Metallurgy and Barnett Haynes and Barnett's Palace of Liberal Arts, with Adolph Weinman's Destiny of the Red Man in foreground (MOHS)

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18. Theodore Link, Palace of Mines and Metallurgy, with Fraser's Cherokee Chief in foreground (Francis)

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19. Entrance to the Palace of Mines and Metallurgy (Francis)

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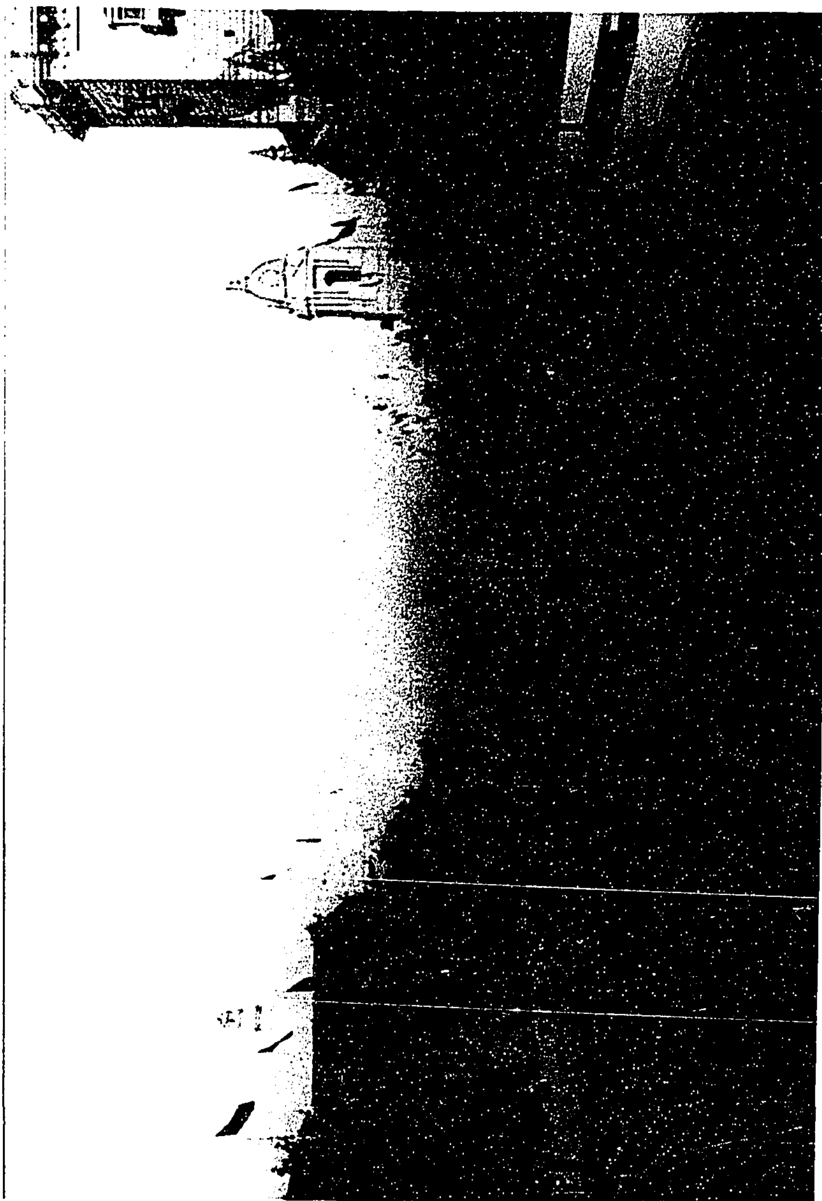

20. Plaza of St. Anthony (Francis)

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21. Plaza of Orleans between Palace of Liberal Arts and Palace of Manufactures, with Bruno Zimm's Sacajawea in foreground (MOHS)

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22. Cass Gilbert, Palace of Fine Arts (MOHS)

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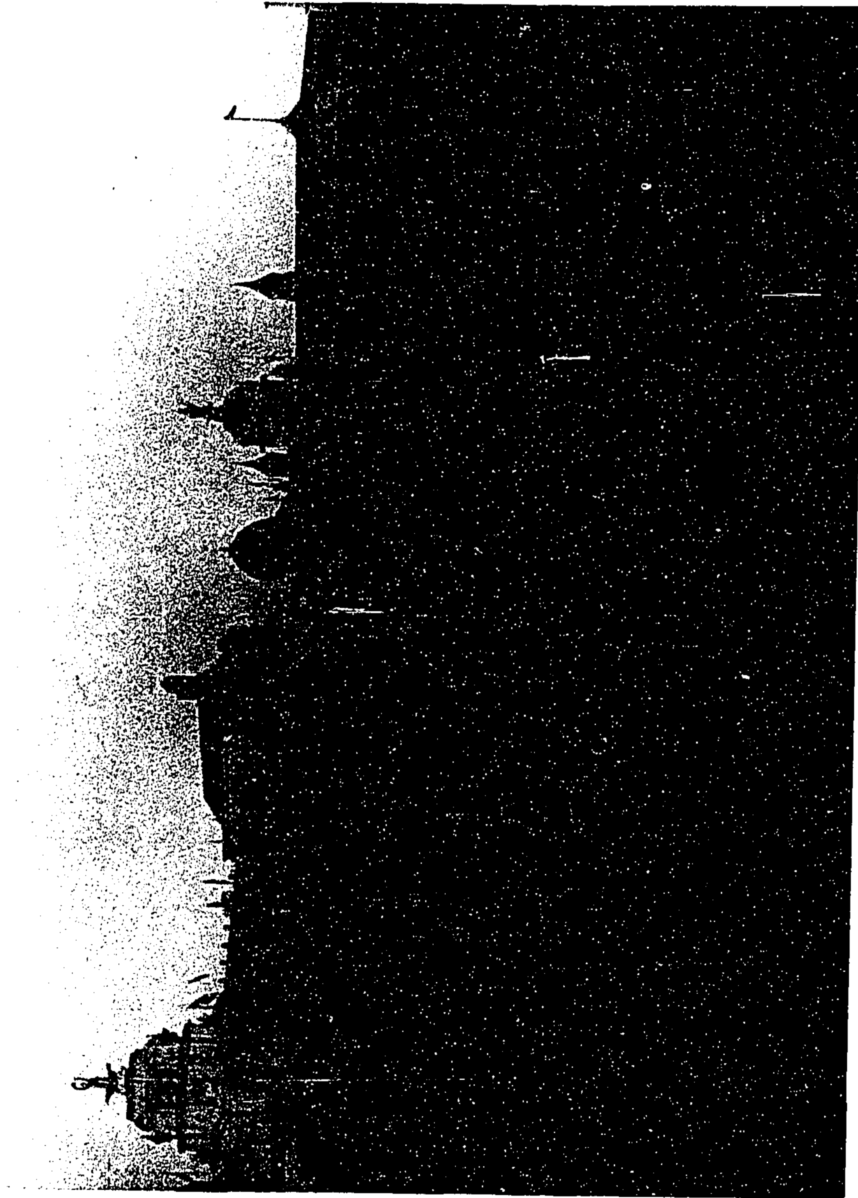

23. View westward from the Palace of Education (Francis)

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24. Grand Basin and Plaza of St. Louis from Art Hill
(Francis)

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25. View toward restaurant pavilion at the end of the Colonnade of States from the lagoon between the Palace of Mines and Metallurgy and the Palace of Education (Francis)

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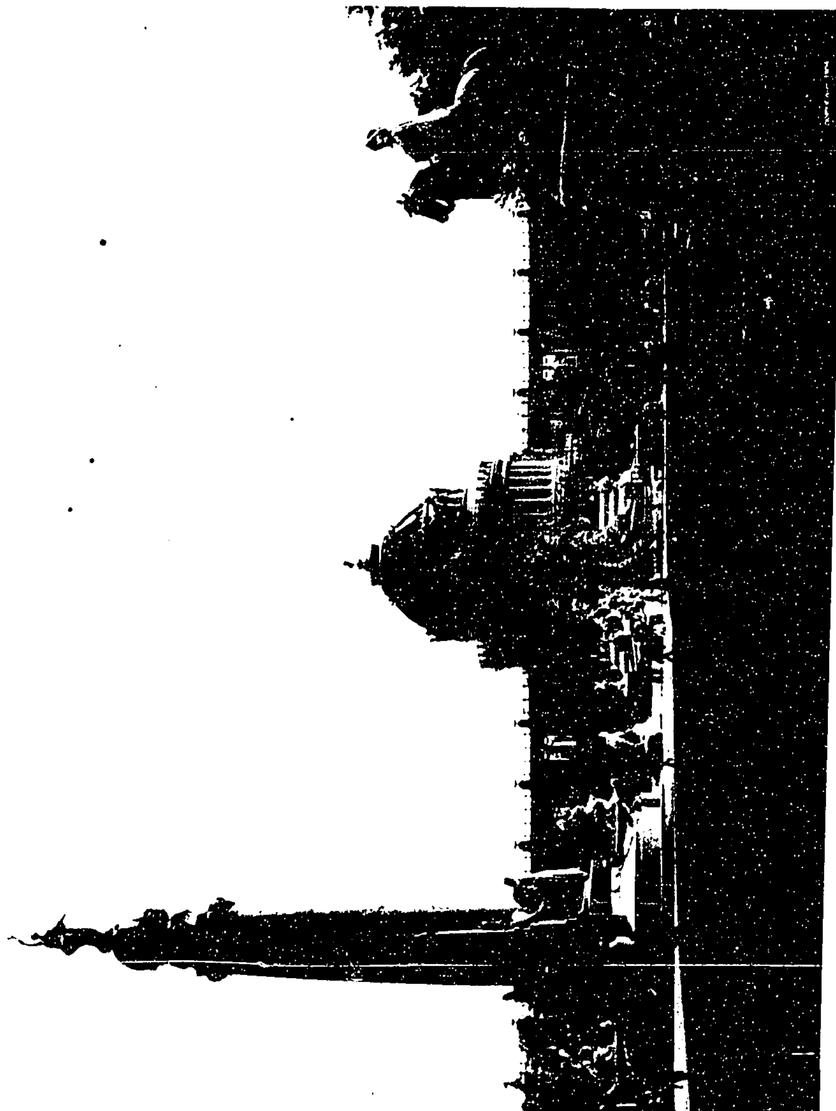

26. Plaza of St. Louis (MOHS)

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27. Charles Niehaus, *St. Louis* *in situ* (Bitter)

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28. Charles Niehaus, St. Louis (Bitter)

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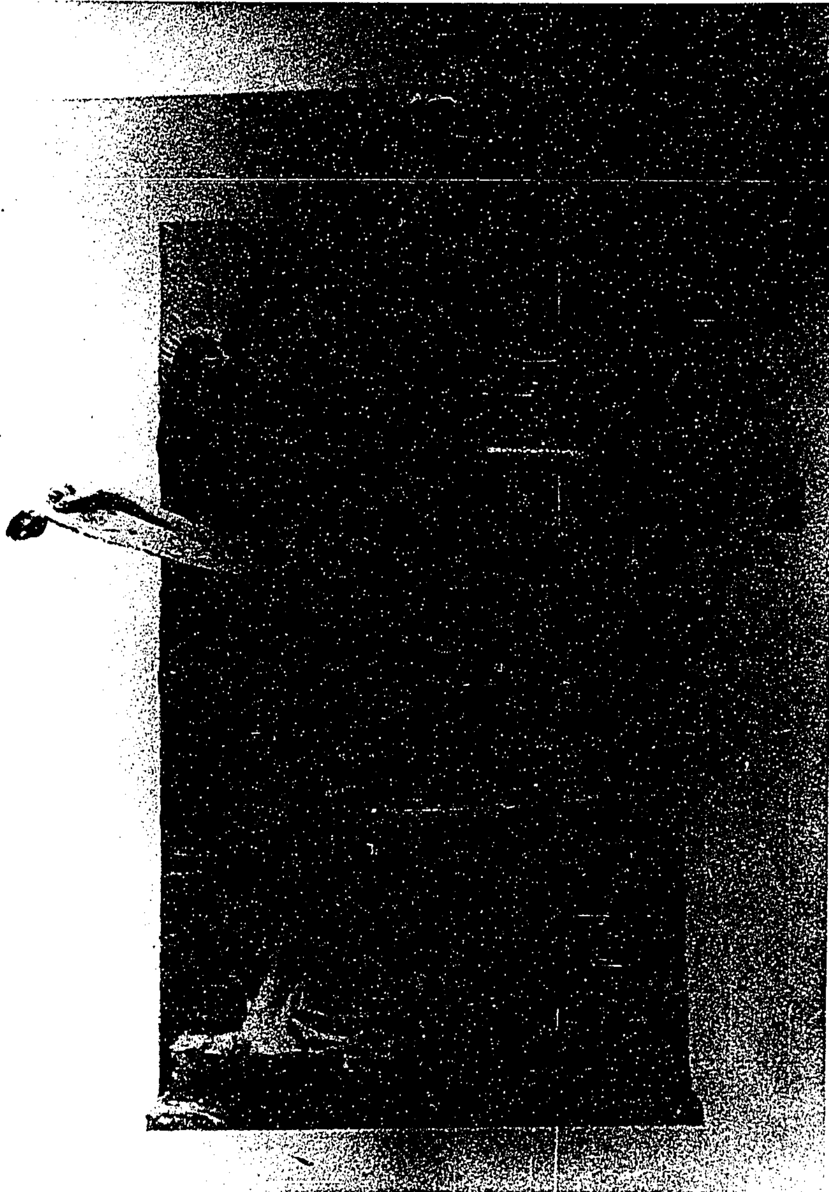

29. Charles Niehaus, The City of St. Louis Welcoming Guests to the Exposition (group adorning the base of St. Louis) (Bitter)

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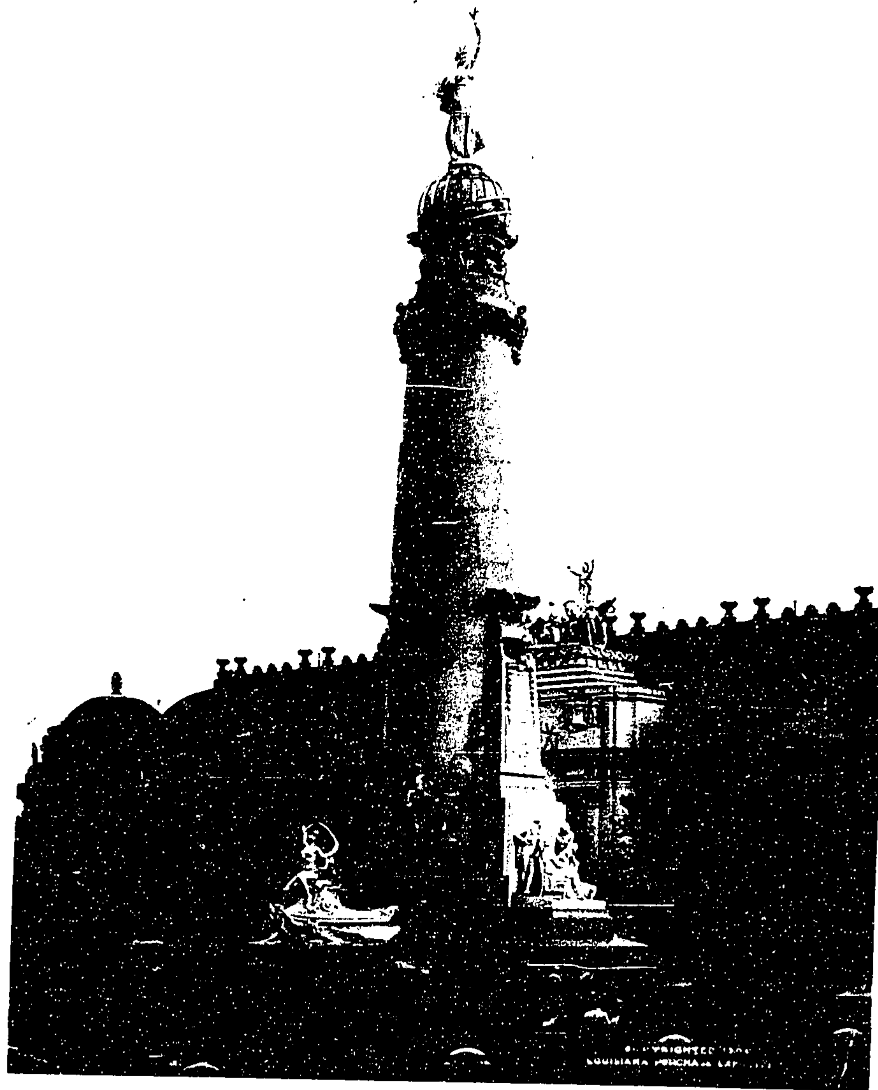

30. Karl Bitter and Emanuel Masqueray, Louisiana Purchase Monument (MOHS)

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31. Karl Bitter, Peace (figure atop the Louisiana Purchase Monument (Bitter)

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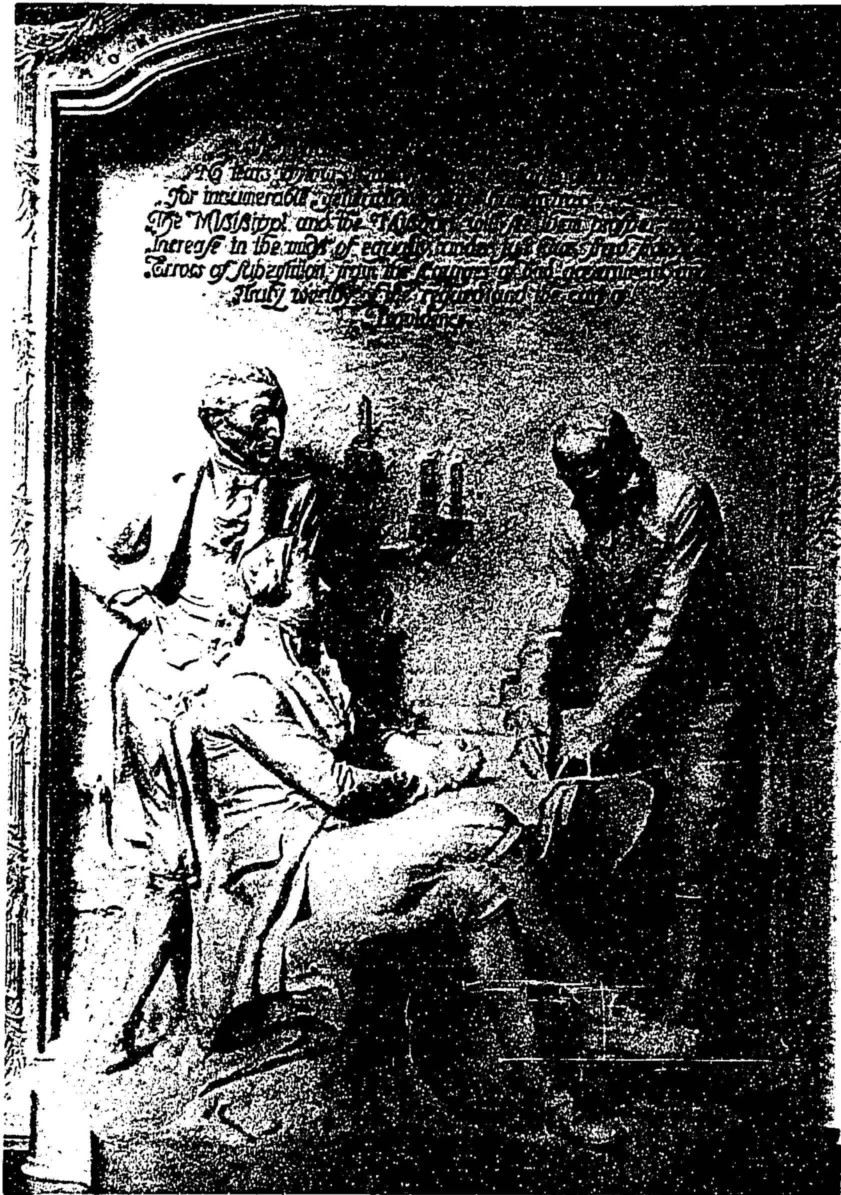

32. Karl Bitter, The Signing of the Purchase Treaty (group from the base of the Louisiana Purchase Monument) (Bitter)

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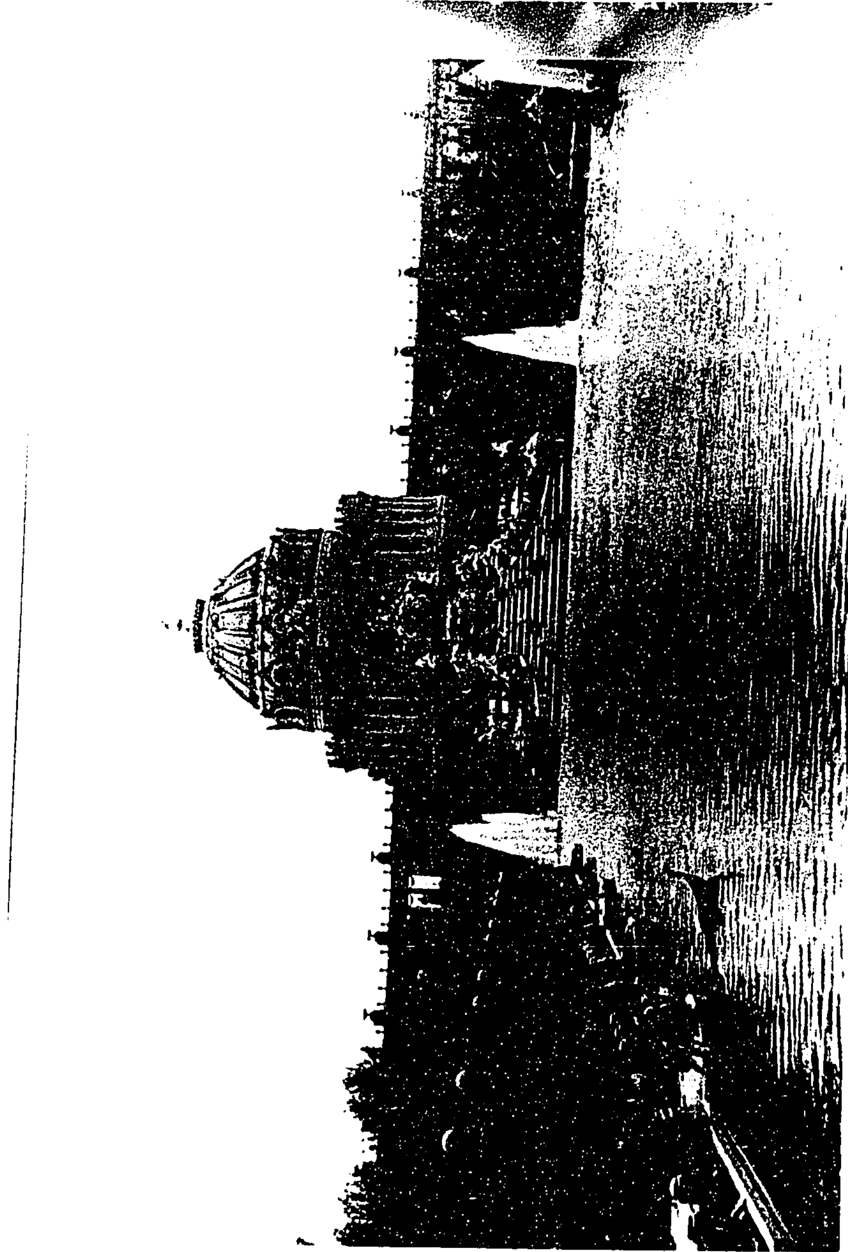

33. Grand Basin and Festival Hall (Francis)

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34. Hermon Atkins MacNeil, Fountain of Liberty (Bitter)

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35. Isidor Konti, Atlantic Fountain in situ (Francis)

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36. Isidor Konti, Atlantic Fountain (Bitter)

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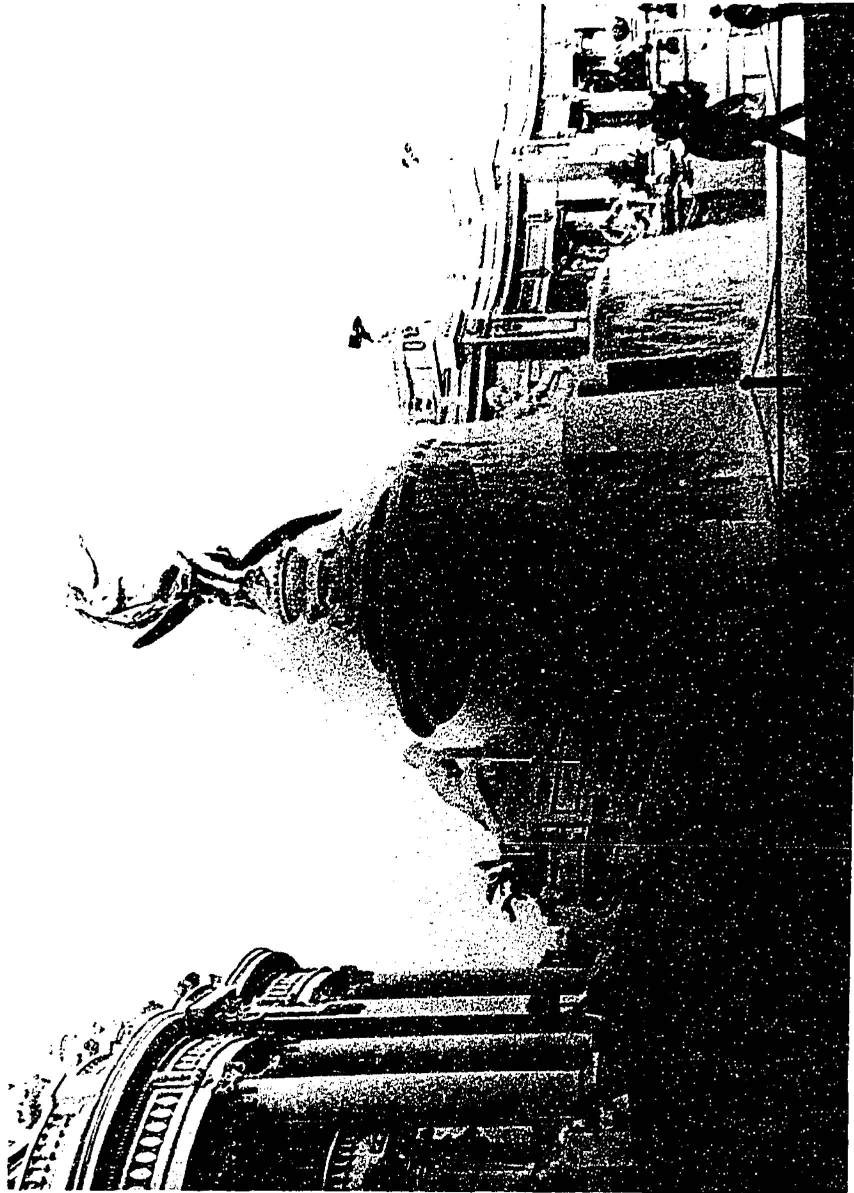

37. Isidor Konti, Pacific Fountain in situ (Francis)

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38. Isidor Konti, Pacific Fountain (Bitter)

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39. Isidor Konti, Physical Liberty (Bitter)

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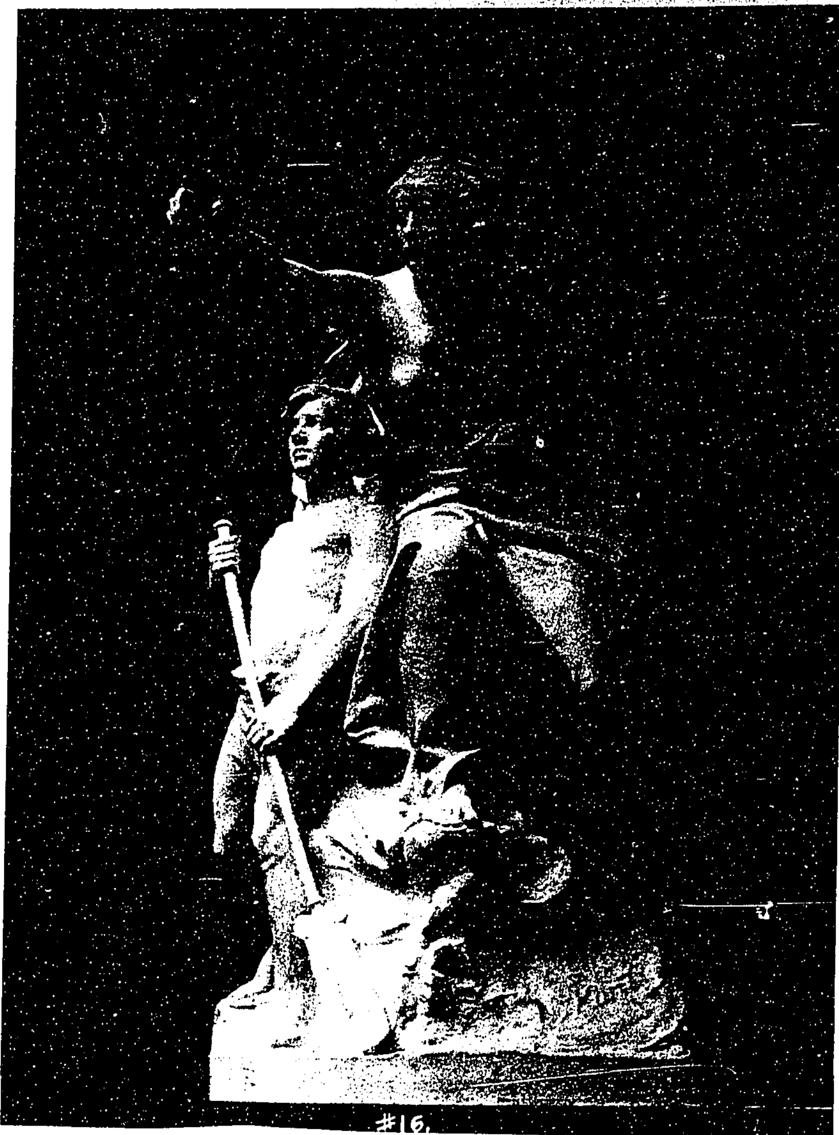

40. Isidor Konti, <u>Progress of Commerce</u> (Bitter)

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41. Isidor Konti, Progress of Navigation (Bitter)

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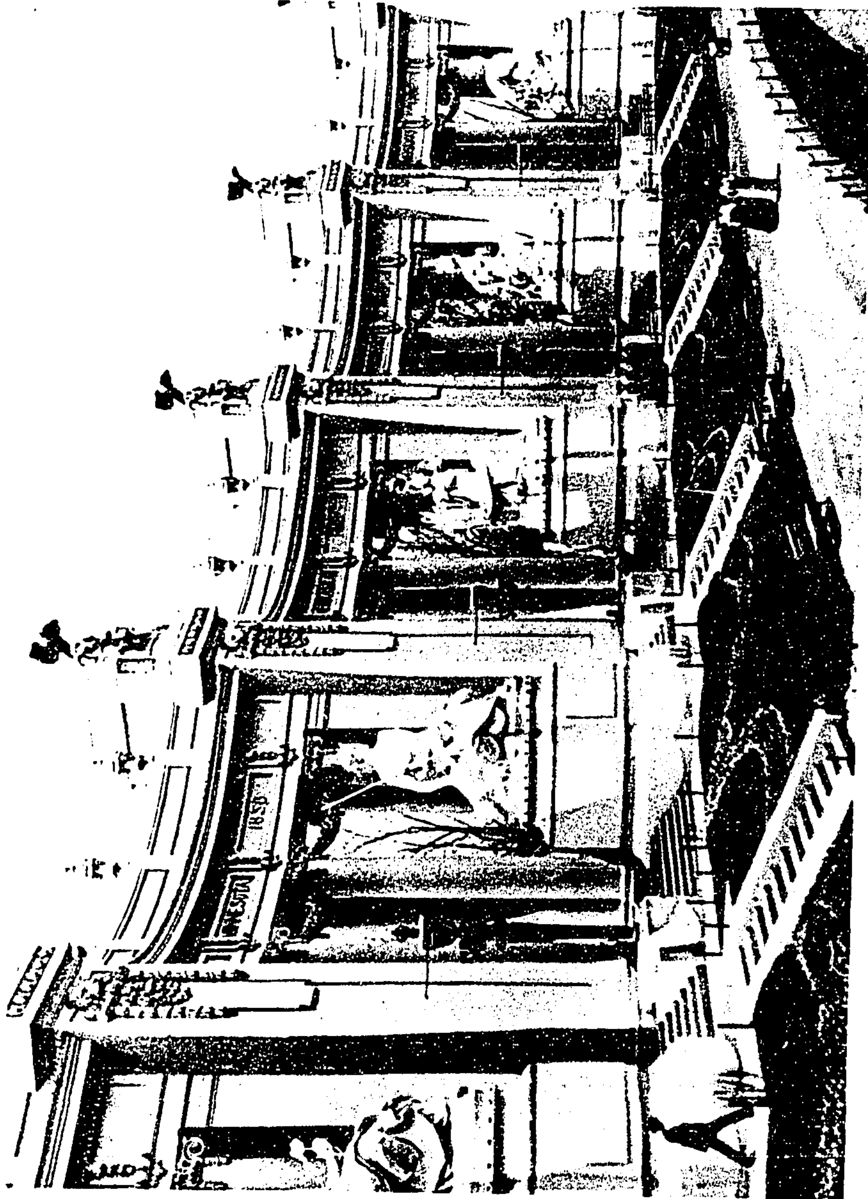

42. Section of the Colonnade of States (Francis)

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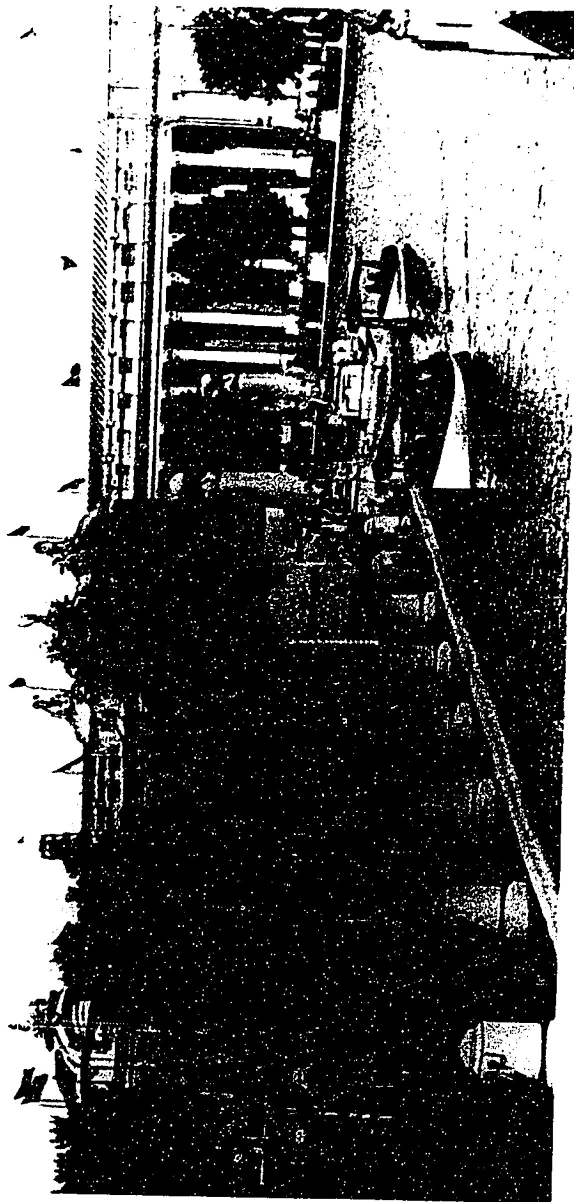

43. Boat landing with Potter's Battle of Bulls and Mountain Lions (Francis)

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44. Edward Potter, Battle of Bulls and Mountain Lions (Bit-
ter)

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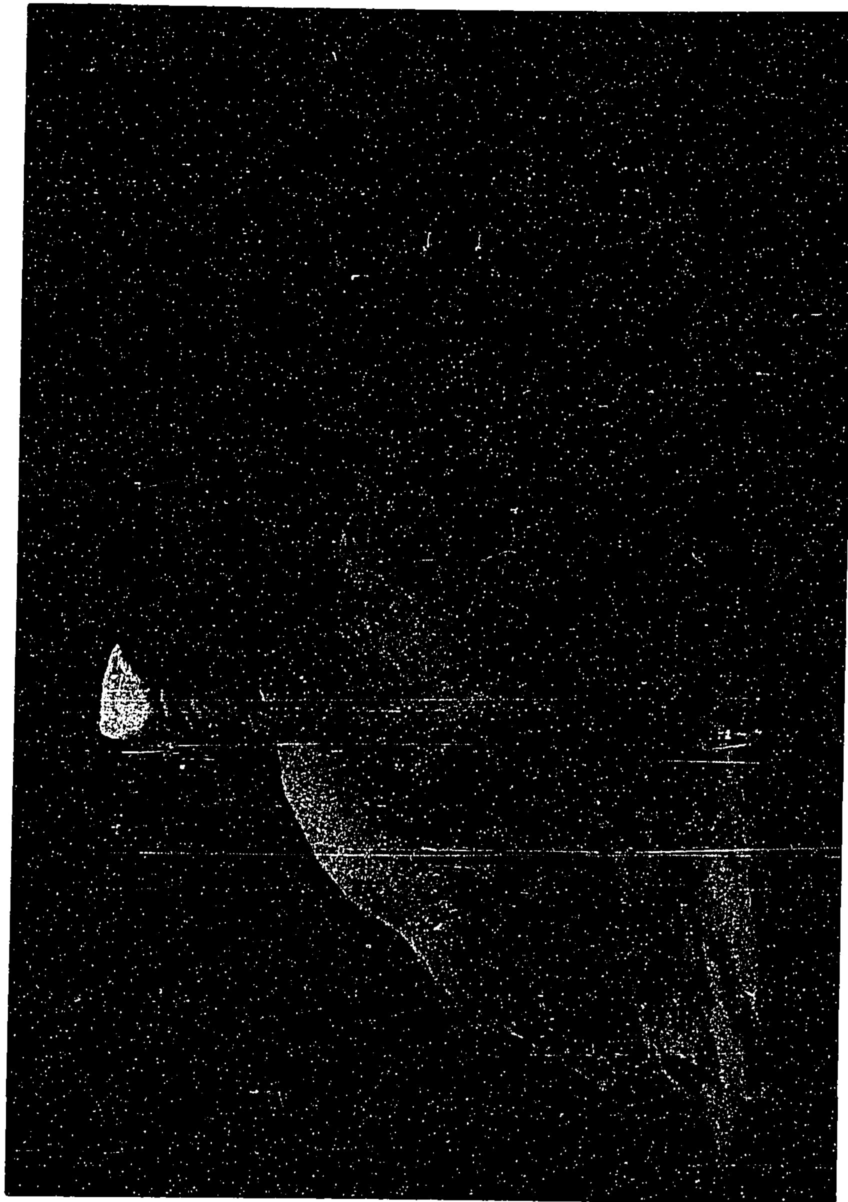

45. Frederick G.R. Roth, Combat of Grizzly Bears and Sea Lions (Bitter)

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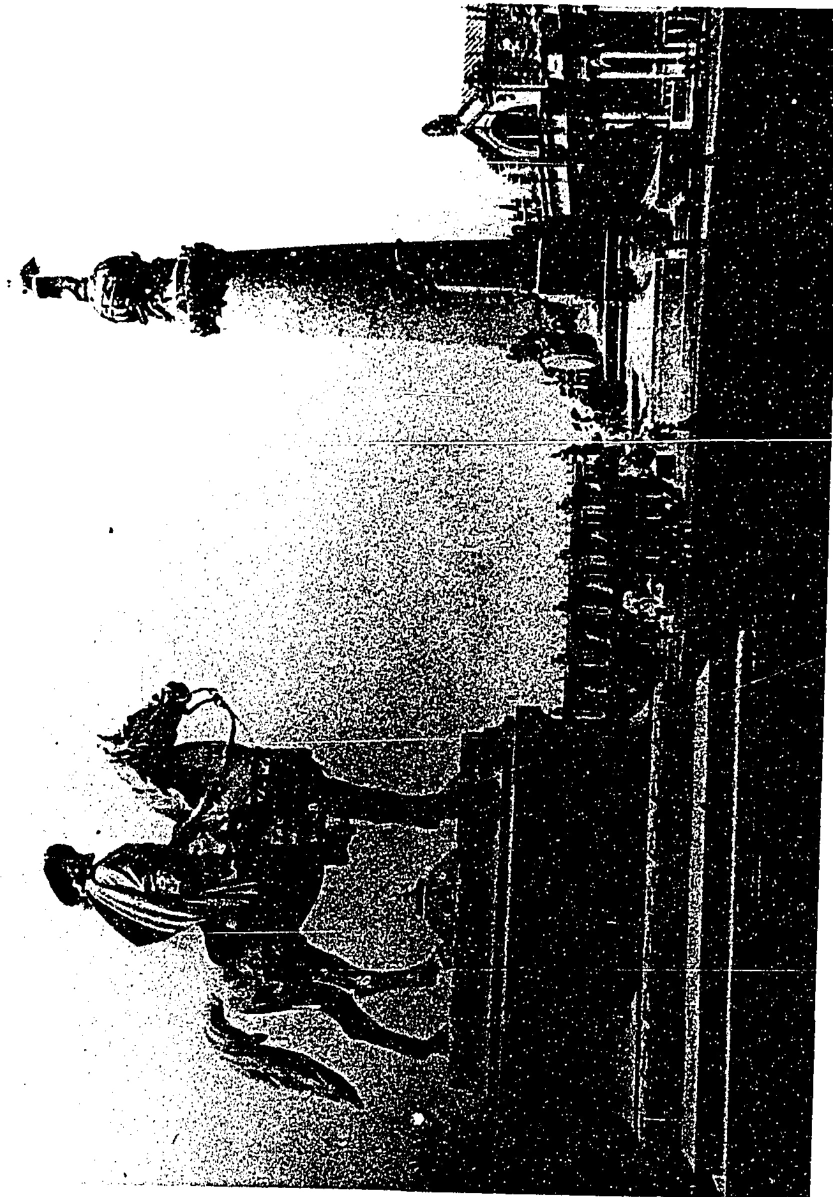

46. Plaza of St. Louis with Bitter and Emanuel Masqueray's Louisiana Purchase Monument and Alexander Phimister Proctor's Louis Joliet (Francis)

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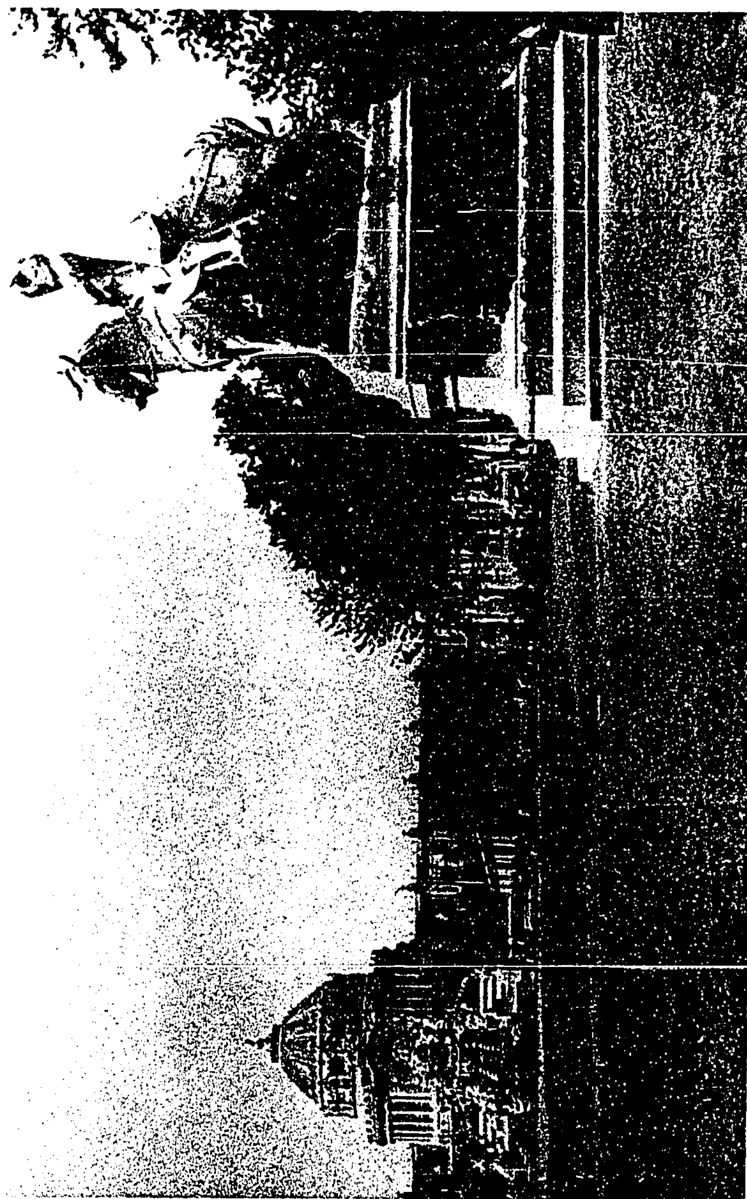

47. Plaza of St. Louis and Edward Potter's <u>Ferdinand De Soto</u> (Francis)

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48. Main boat landing, Grand Basin, with sculptures by Solon Borglum (Francis)

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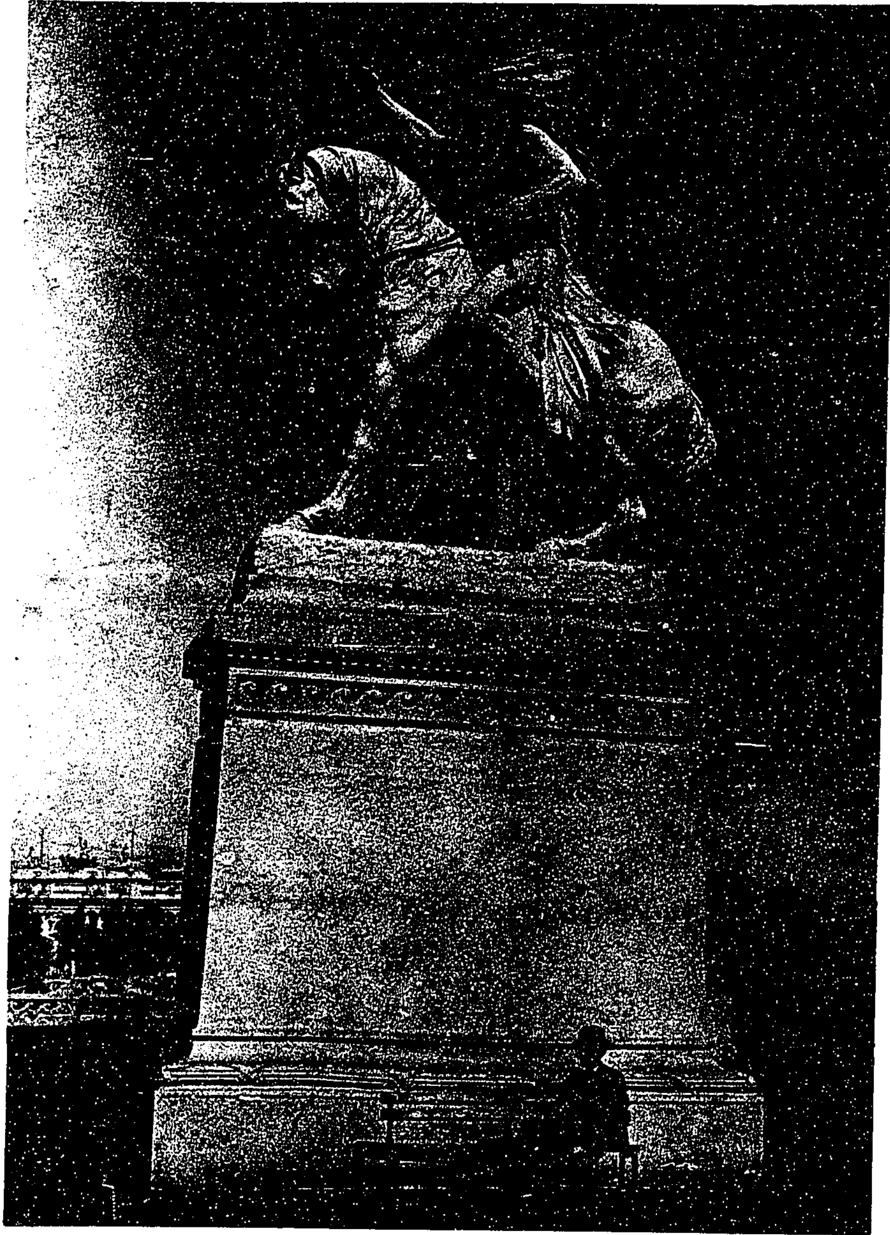

49. Cyrus Dallin, Sioux Chief in situ (MOHS)

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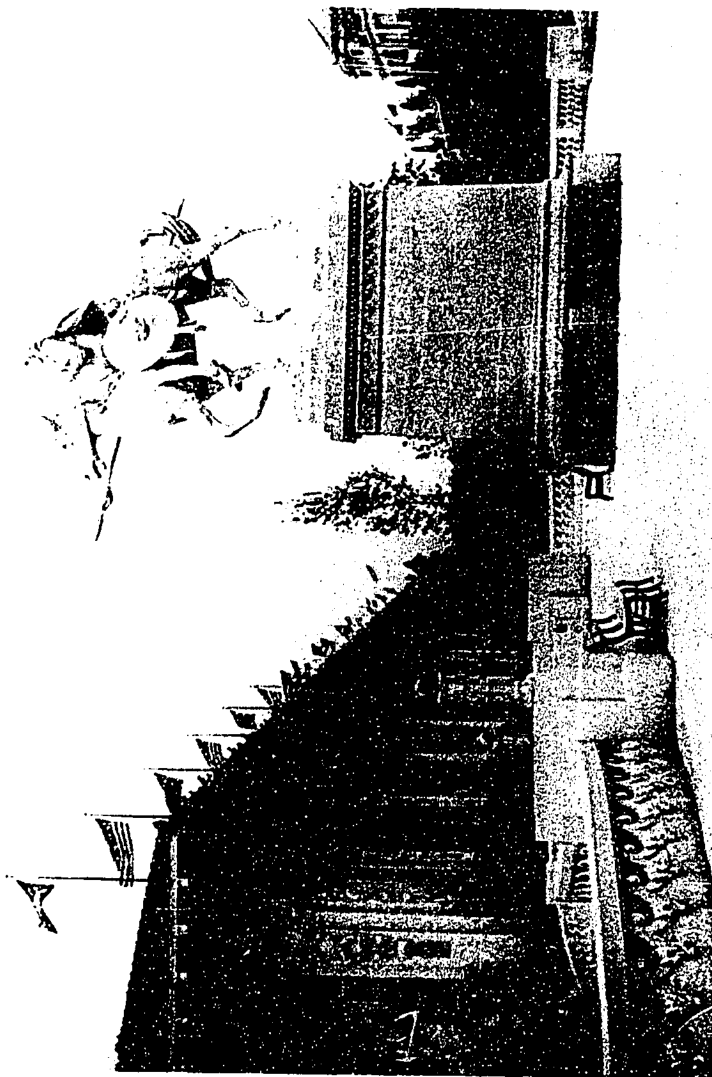

50. James Earle Fraser, Cherokee Chief in situ (Francis)

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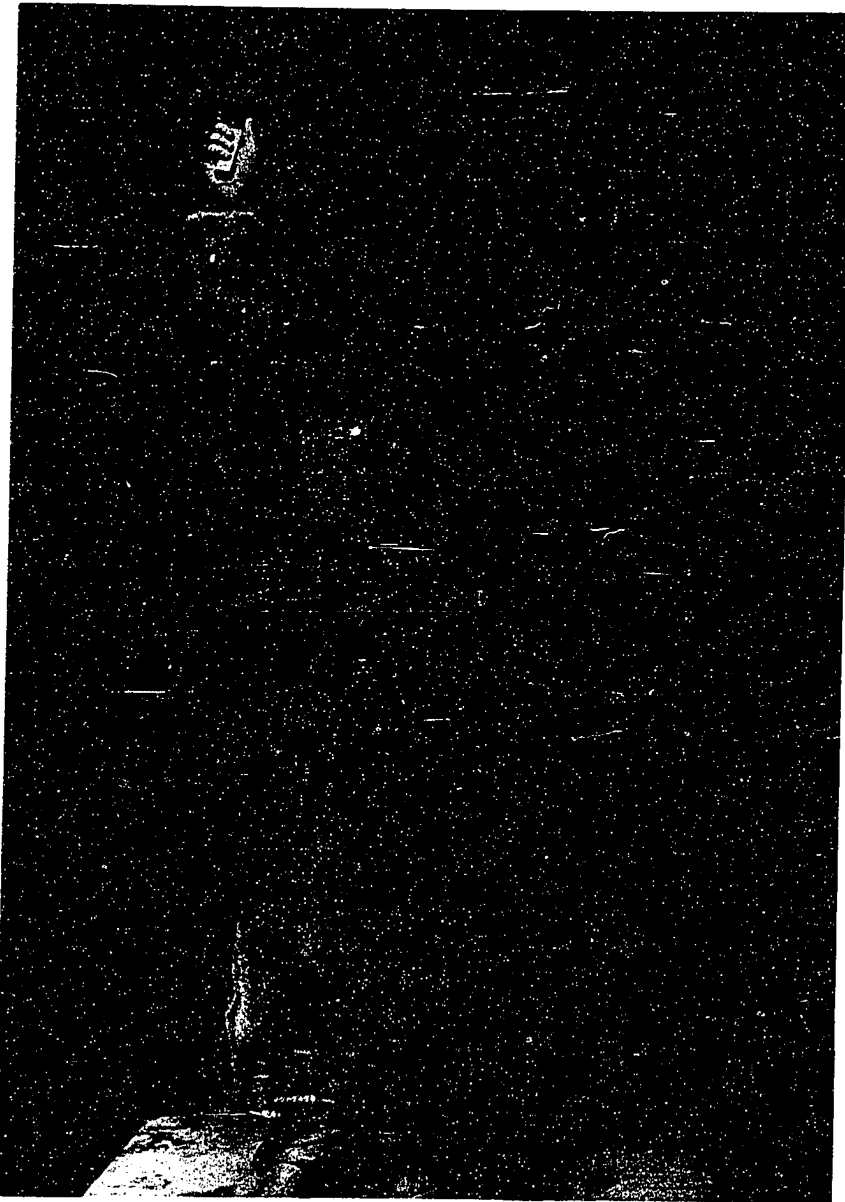

51. Cyrus Dallin, Pére Marquette (Bitter)

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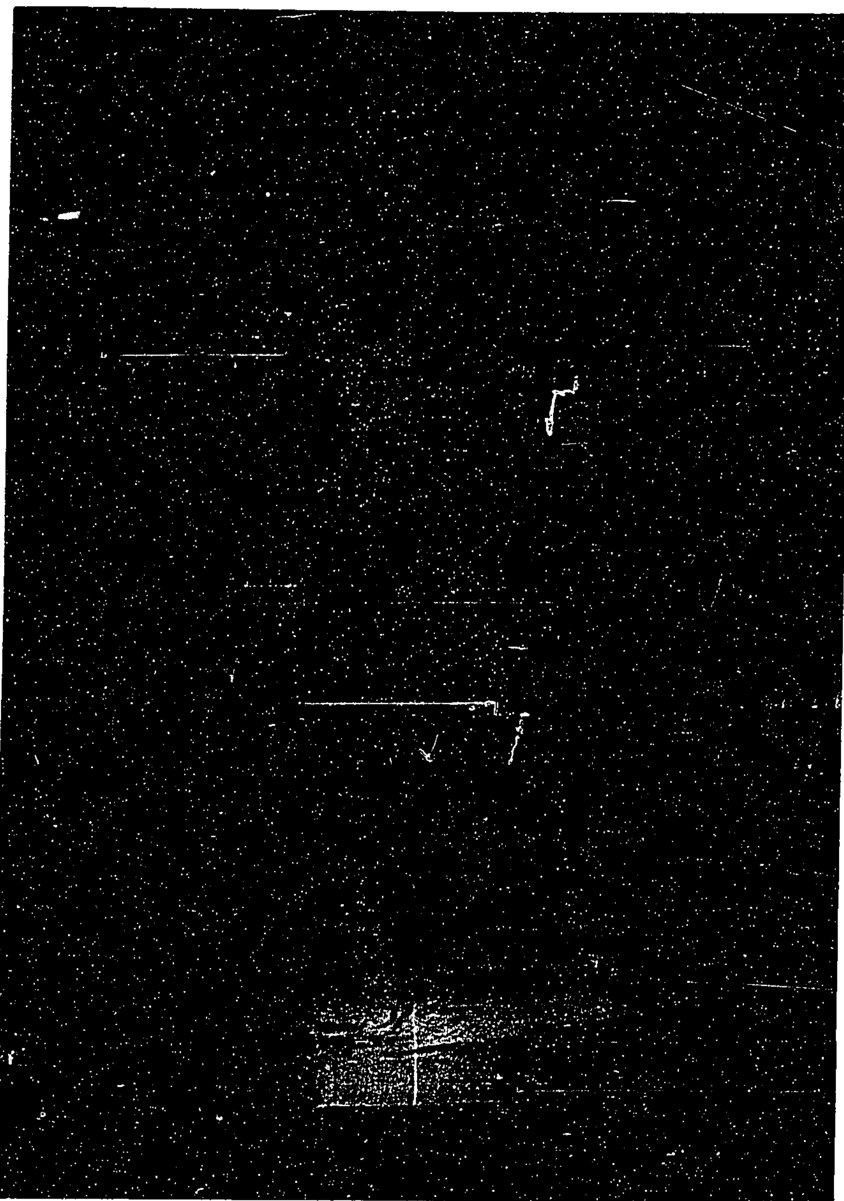

52. Louis Gudebrod, Sieur La Salle (Bitter)

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53. Herbert Adams, Panfilo Narvaez (Bitter)

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54. Model Street (MOHS)

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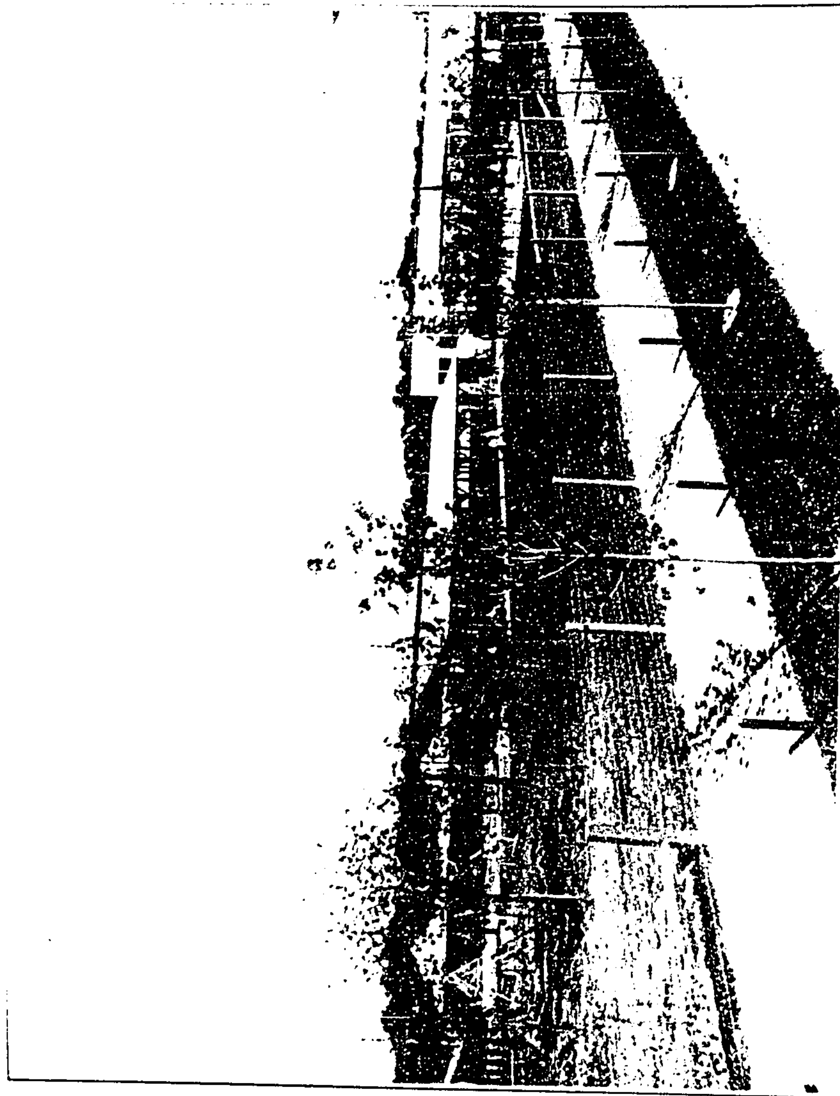

55. Playground, Model Street (Francis)

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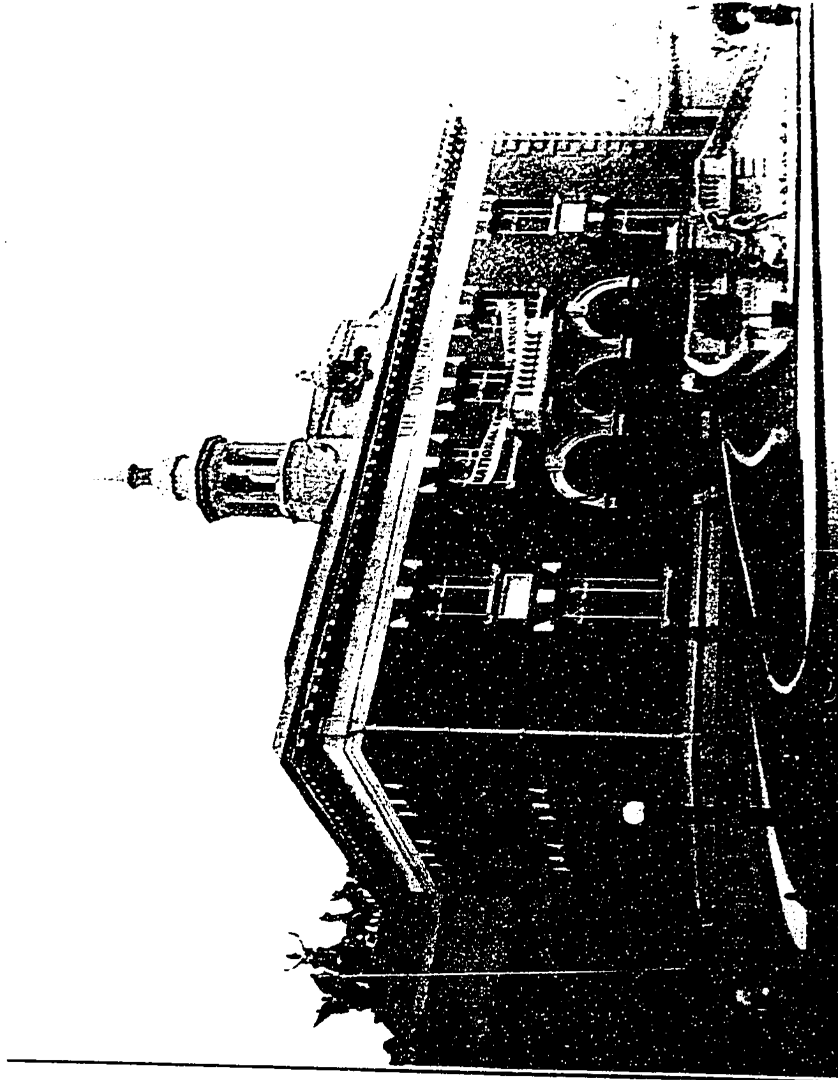

56. Town Hall on the Model Street (Francis)

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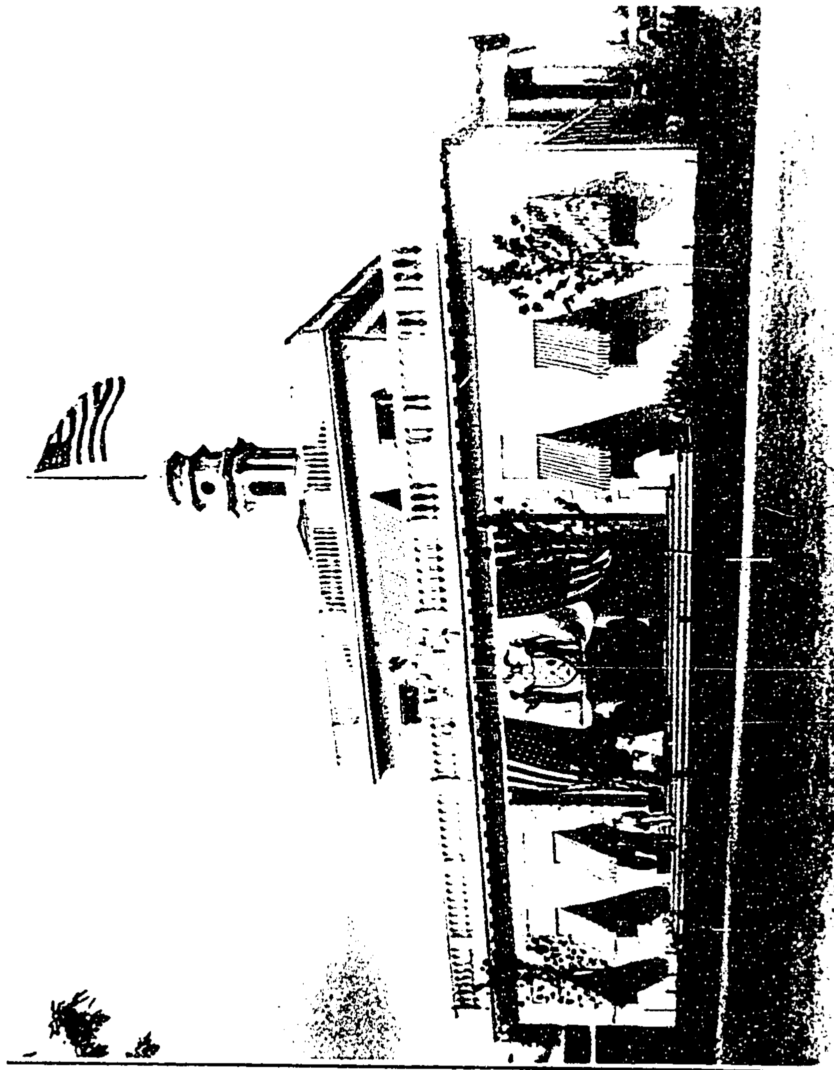

57. New York City Building on the Model Street (Francis)

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58. Solon Borglum, Buffalo Dance (Bitter)

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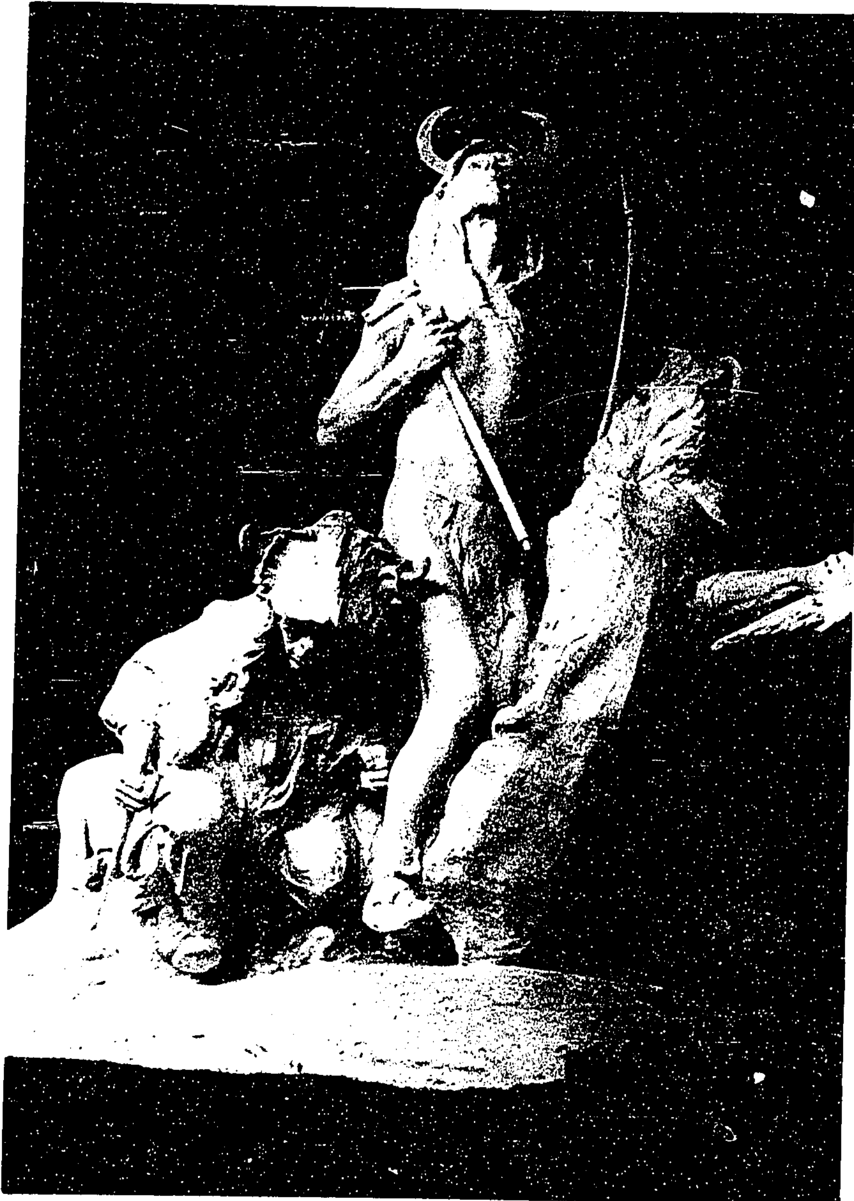

59. Solon Borglum, Buffalo Dance (Bitter)

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60. Solon Borglum, The Peril of the Plains (MOHS; photograph by A.B. Bogart)

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61. Solon Borglum, A Step to Civilization (Bitter)

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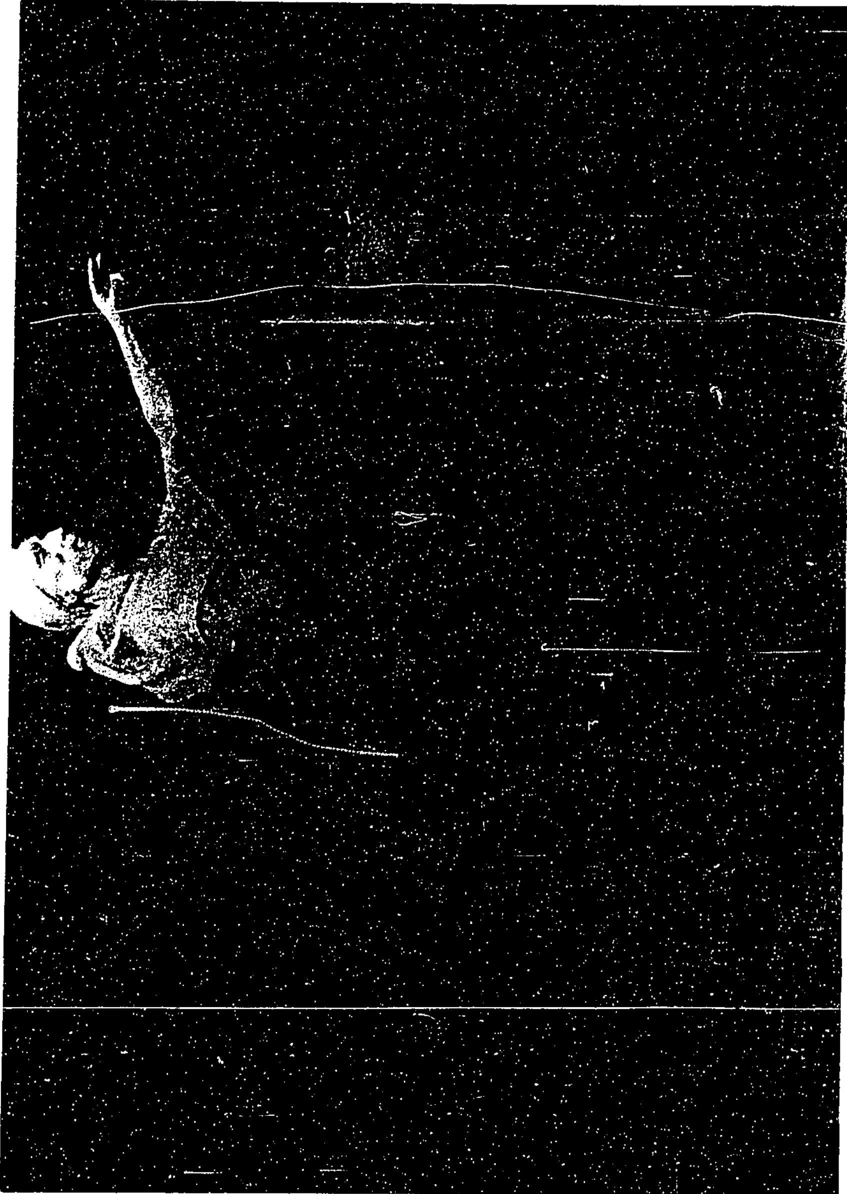

62. Solon Borglum, A Step to Civilization (Bitter)

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63. Solon Borglum, Cowboy at Rest (Bitter)

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64. Adolph Weinman, Destiny of the Red Man (MOHS; photograph by De W.C. Ward)

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65. Adolph Weinman, Destiny of the Red Man (MOHS; photograph by De W.C. Ward)

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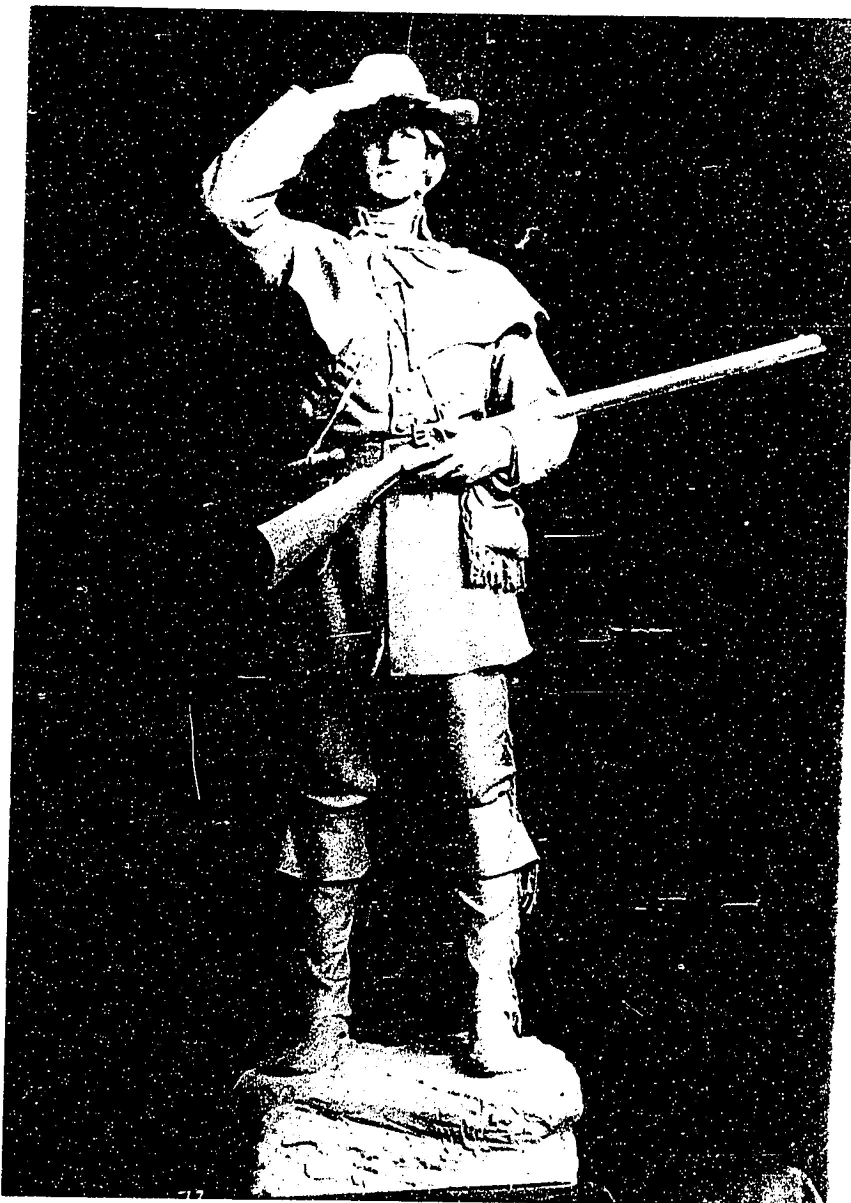

67. Elsie Ward, George Rogers Clark (Bitter)

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68. Elsie Ward, George Rogers Clark in situ (Francis)

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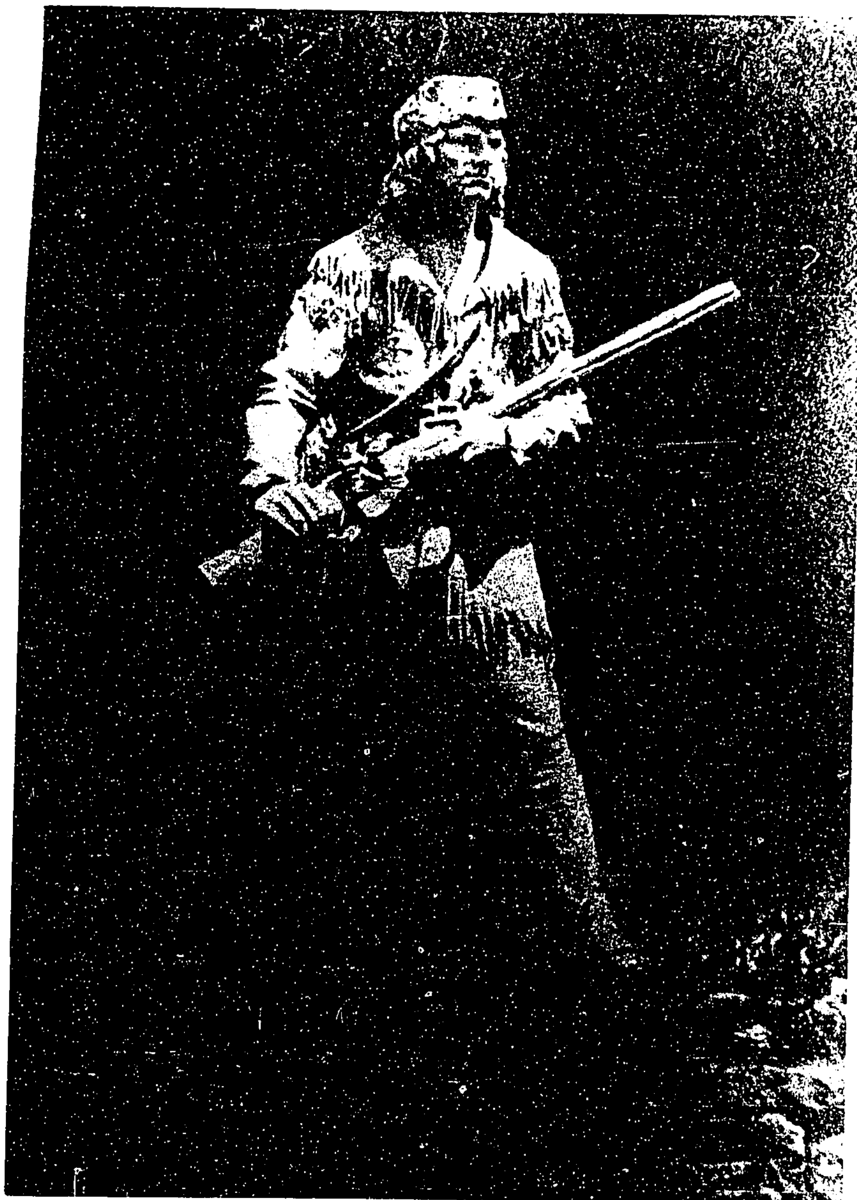

69. Enid Yandell, Daniel Boone (Bitter)

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70. Bruno Zimm, <u>Sacajawea</u> <u>in situ</u> (MOHS)

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71. Carl Heber, Indian Territory (Bitter)

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72. Lee Lawrie, South Dakota (Bitter)

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73. Frederic Remington, Cowboys off the Trail in situ (MOHS; photograph by F.J. Koster)

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