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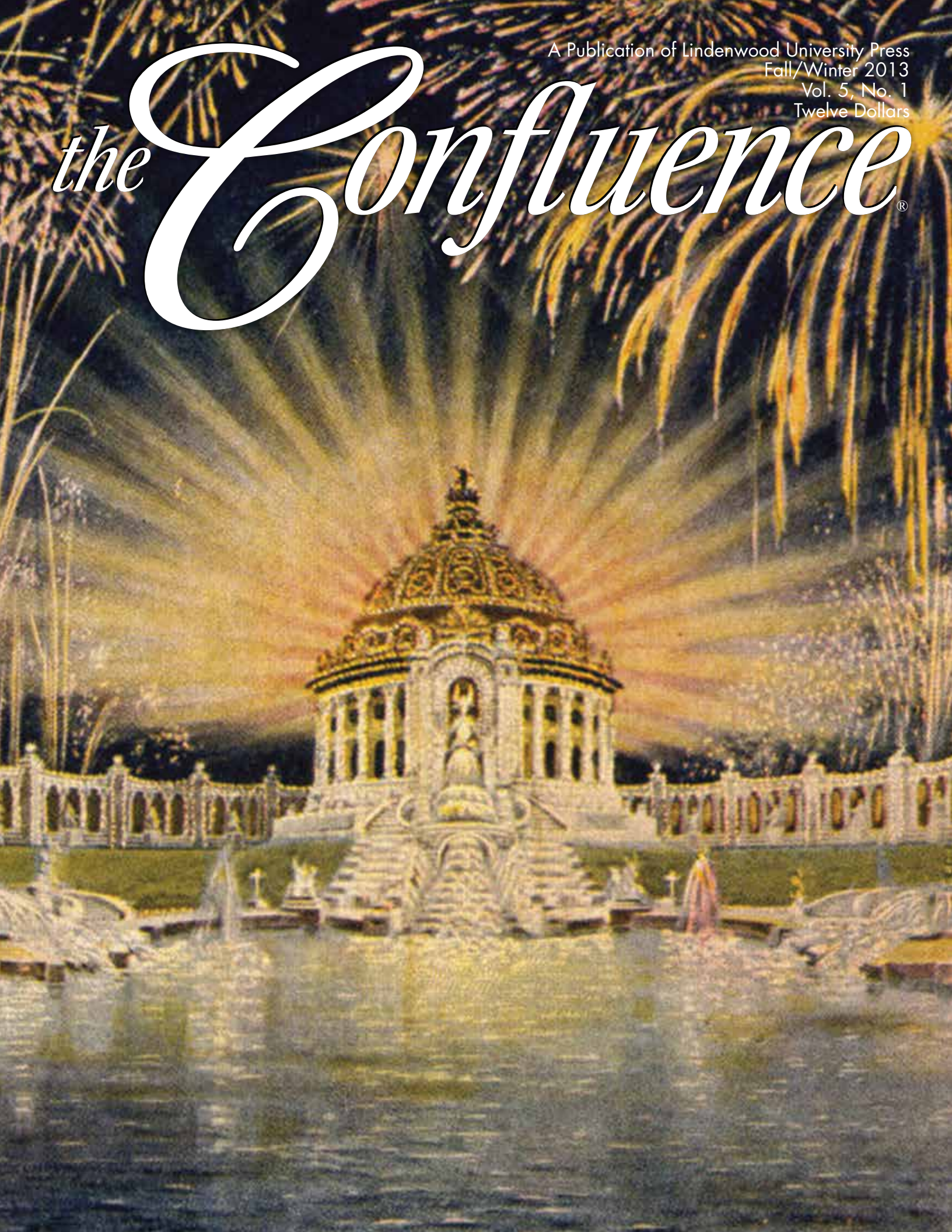

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CONTENTS

COVER IMAGE

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition—the "world's fair" in St. Louis—was immensely popular, as seen by the purchase of postcards such as this one. Behind the scenes, though, there was political intrigue that spanned from St. Louis to Washington to Beijing. For more on China at the fair, see see Brian Arendt's "China's Participation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," starting on page 20. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

INSIDE COVER

Chinese workers such as this one constructed the Chinese Pavilion at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. The treatment of such workers and others, as well as the Chinese exhibit itself, were embroiled in international intrigue between China and the United States. For more, see Brian Arendt's "China's Participation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," starting on page 20. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

The Confluence is a regional studies journal published by Lindenwood University and dedicated to the diversity of ideas and disciplines of a liberal arts university. It is committed to the intersection of history, art and architecture, design, science, social science, and public policy. Its articles are diverse by design.

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FROM THE EDITOR

In many ways, this issue is about how St. Louis relates to other places. It's easy to lose track of the fact that St. Louis is part many larger contexts, since we're situated in the middle of the country. When the City of St. Louis and the State of Missouri proposed the region as a home for the new United Nations, the proposal noted how secure it was since "there is so much of America around it." But surrounded by lots of America or not, both our past and our present are informed by our interactions with other places.

John Posey and Mary Ricchio seek to place St. Louis into the context of American cities with their data from the Where We Stand report, published by the East-West Gateway Council of Governments. In it, they seek to identify some of the factors that make us who we are in terms of not just our own statistical descriptors, but how we stand in relation to other cities. Similarly, Mark Neels' work on Edward Bates in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War looks at our relationship to other parts of the country as well. How do St. Louis politicians and political factions relate not only to one another, but to Radical Republicans, moderates, and Democrats elsewhere—both in the union and the former Confederacy?

But there is an international flavor to this issue as well. As a specialist in Chinese history—and especially Sino-European relations—Brian Arendt takes a different perspective on the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and China's participation in it. For Arendt, it's not about the world coming to see St. Louis and the Fair, but rather about the Chinese displays and pavilion as a culmination of policies and tensions between China and the United States. Chinese relations with the US were different than with the European powers, to an extent, and China's very participation spoke to its efforts to forge a different relationship with its neighbors across the Pacific.

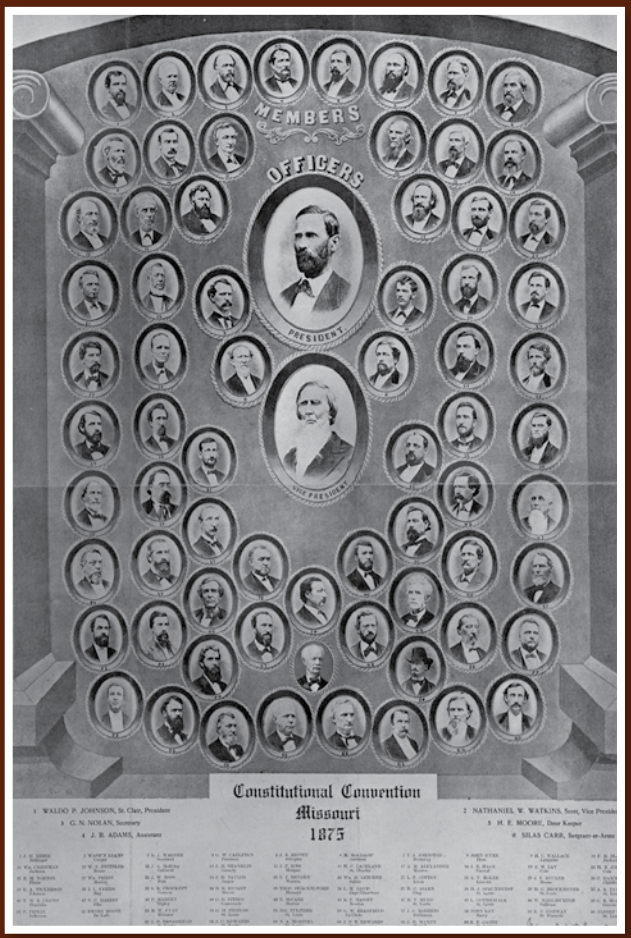
Victor Gilbertson's letters offer a very different role of St. Louis on the world stage—that of observer. Gilbertson won a fellowship at Washington University to study church architecture in Europe . . . in the summer of 1939. While officials from the School of Architecture were wringing their hands in St. Louis as events unfolded in Europe, Gilbertson seemed remarkably focused on seeing the great architecture. The correspondence between the two, excerpted here along with his marvelous sketches, show an interesting juxtaposition between art and politics.

Jeffrey Smith, PhD
Editor

"I Will Continue to Make the Best Defense I Can":

Edward Bates and the Battle over the Missouri Constitution of 1865

BY MARK ALAN NEELS



The Missouri Constitutional Convention convened first in Jefferson City in early 1861, then in March in St. Louis. The Convention voted overwhelmingly—98 to1—against seceding from the union, despite the leanings of newly elected governor Claiborne Fox Jackson. When Jackson and other state officials fled the state, the convention declared the offices vacant and appointed provisional officers who governed the state until almost the end of the war. *(Image: Missouri State Archives)*

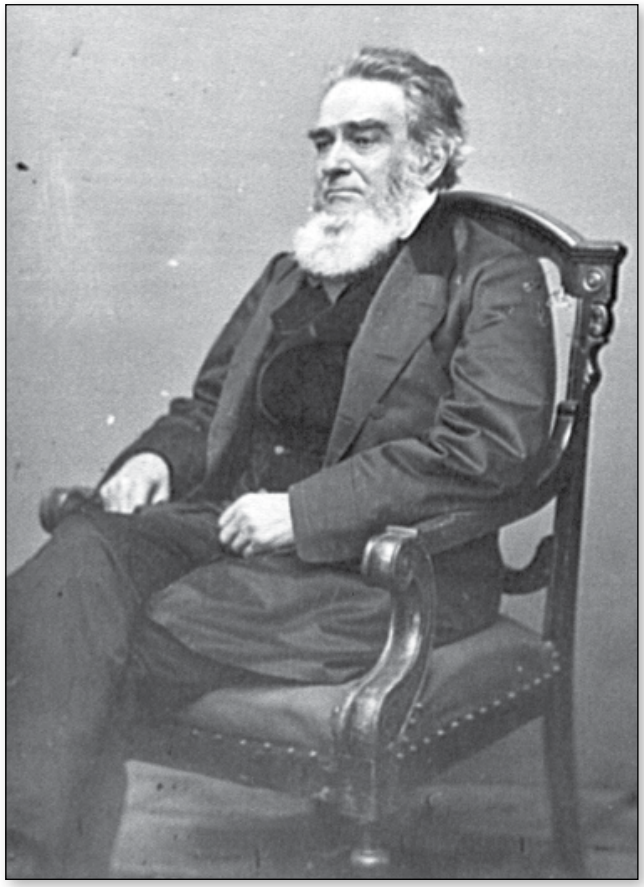
In December 1864, as the Civil War neared its conclusion, radical members of the Missouri state Republican Party capitalized on their high regard with the electorate to pass a referendum for the reconvening of the state constitutional convention. While the stated purpose of this meeting was to pass an amendment mirroring the proposed federal Thirteenth Amendment then being debated in the United States House of Representatives, radical members of the Republican Party also proposed a less-celebrated cause than emancipation—changing the constitution to disenfranchise and punish all persons suspected of sympathizing with the ongoing rebellion. In the midst of this politically charged atmosphere stepped Edward Bates, recently returned to St. Louis after resigning his post as attorney general in the cabinet of President Abraham Lincoln. Having defended the administration's most controversial policies (from the president's suspension of Habeas Corpus in 1861 to the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863), and having watched the other conservative members of Lincoln's cabinet such as Postmaster General Montgomery Blair leave only to be replaced by (as Bates called them) "extreme Radicals,"[1] the 71-year-old Bates now decided that he should address his family's concerns regarding his fragile health and forsake public life for good and all. After all, he reassured himself, with Lincoln re-elected, the Union was undoubtedly secure, and Bates could retire knowing that he had done all in his power to save the nation he so loved. It was time to let a younger generation take the reins of power. Events in Missouri, however, would not allow him to rest just yet.

Bates found his hometown absorbed by chatter surrounding the imminent convening of the convention at the Mercantile Library. Over the next few months, as it became clear that the radicals intended to overstep their mandate from the public and instead write an entirely new constitution, conservative-leaning citizens expressed their skepticism at the legality of the convention. While he intended to simply watch these proceedings from the sidelines, Bates privately expressed the same reservations as his conservative neighbors, fearing the possible radical alteration of the governing institutions of his home state—a government he had personally helped to frame in 1820. Ultimately, these events compelled him to re-enter the public arena, and in what may have been a greater political battle than any he had fought while attorney general, in a newspaper editorial war with Charles Daniel Drake—the leading radical Republican in the state—Bates worked tirelessly to articulate the values of conservative opponents to the maneuverings of the radicals. Curiously, although Missouri was never "reconstructed," since it had not officially seceded from the Union in 1861, in many ways the debate between Bates and Drake mirrored that occurring at the national level over the course of Reconstruction.[2]

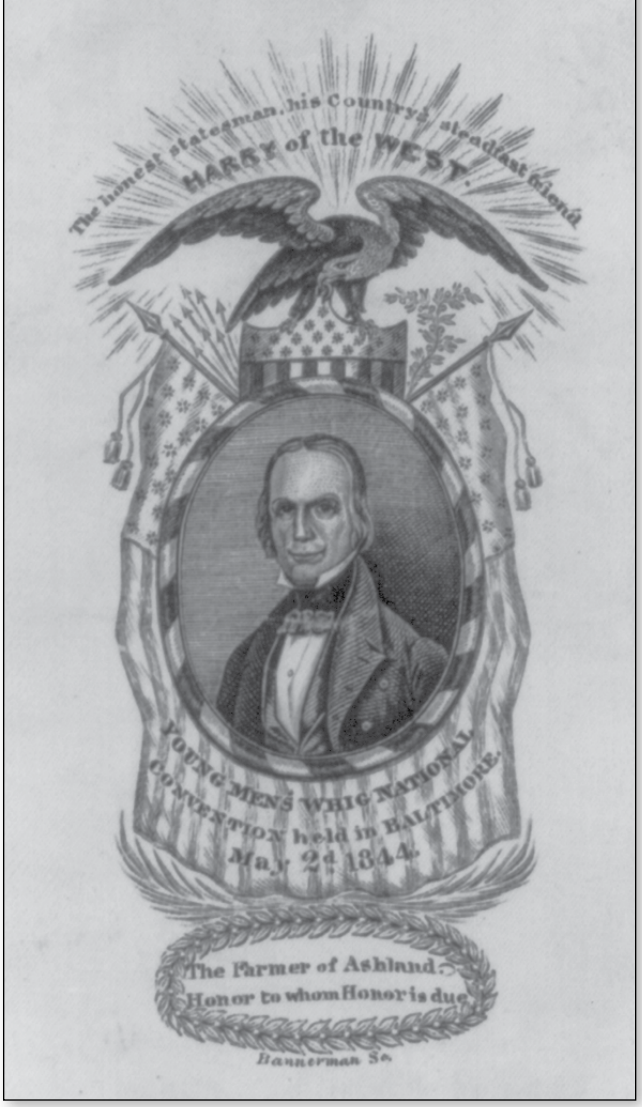
During the war, issues such as emancipation and federal-over-state control of the military electrified Missouri politics. In the state legislature, the ideological divide over these issues manifested in three clearly identifiable factions. Radical Republicans, for one, advocated immediate emancipation of all slaves and supported the control by federal officials (generally military commanders) of the court system as well as all military aspects of the war. Conservative Republicans alternatively supported a more gradual process of emancipation, the maintenance of a divide between civilian and military affairs, and the management of military affairs by the state militia under the command of the governor. And lastly, the Democrats opposed both emancipation and the war on almost equal terms. Of these three, the two factions of the Republican Party vied for superiority in the state legislature, and their inability to compromise largely accounted for Missouri's sluggishness in tackling the issues of slavery and the guerilla war in the west.

Out of the stalemate between these two factions stepped St. Louis attorney Charles Daniel Drake. As one biographer described him, "seldom, if ever, has a Missouri politician been hated so intensely by so many

Edward Bates (1793-1869) was an early member of a long line of political leaders in Missouri. When he arrived in Missouri Territory in 1814, his older brother James had already been in St. Louis for a decade, serving as secretary to territorial governor Meriwether Lewis. When Abraham Lincoln appointed him Attorney General, he became the first cabinet member from west of the Mississippi. *(Image: Library of Congress)*



As an experienced lawyer, Charles Daniel Drake (1811-1892) was a Radical Republican by the end of the Civil War. The Missouri constitution crafted at its convention in early 1865 reflected the future Radical agenda nationally—an immediate end to slavery, restricted rights for Confederate sympathizers, a ban on compensating slave owners for their losses on human "property," and an "Ironclad" oath of allegiance to the union. It also created free public schools state-wide. The so-called "Drake Constitution" was replaced by a new one in 1875. *(Image: Library of Congress)*



Henry Clay's American System advocating a limited executive coupled with a more activist role of government in advancing the national economy was central to Whig ideology from the 1820s until the death of the Whig Party after the 1852 presidential election. Edward Bates—like Abraham Lincoln—carried those Whig notions about the role of government, as well as its limitations, into his involvement in the newly formed Republican Party. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

Missourians."[3] Yet this assessment reflects the hindsight of Missourians years after Drake's political career had ended. Fifty-four years old in 1865, he was in his prime. Originally from Ohio, Drake had piloted a life of twists and turns in economic and political fortunes. Nearly bankrupted during the Panic of 1837, he rose by the 1850s to great prominence as the founder of the St. Louis Law Library and as an advocate for the implementation of a citywide public school system. A supporter of Henry Clay and Zachary Taylor in the presidential contests of 1844 and 1848 respectively, by 1859 he had moved to the Democratic Party, which elected him to the Missouri state assembly later that year. In the assembly, Drake's belief in his own self-importance won him few friends among his colleagues. Furthermore, his support of such initiatives as Sunday Blue Laws and his castigation of German voters as Sabbath-breakers for their opposition to said laws, earned him few converts among St. Louis voters. Consequently, he did not stand for reelection in 1860.[4]

Drake did not stay out of politics for very long. Decidedly pro-slavery during the first year of the war, once he sensed that the political atmosphere in Missouri was fast turning against the institution Drake defected to the radical Republicans in the winter of 1862. With the success of anti-slavery pro-Union men in the state elections that year and having been elected as a replacement delegate to the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1863, he subsequently began advocating for immediate emancipation. When that convention eventually implemented a gradual process of emancipation, he rose to the rank of leader of the radical element of the Republicans by organizing a separate meeting in Jefferson City in September calling for immediate emancipation.[5]

By November 1863, Missouri's "loyal citizens"—

Abraham Lincoln's cabinet, seen here, included three of his adversaries for the Republican presidential nomination in 1860: Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Chase of Ohio (second from left), Secretary of State William Seward of New York (seated in profile facing Lincoln), and Attorney General Edward Bates of Missouri (far right). *(Image: Library of Congress)*

those on record as having taken an oath of loyalty to the Union—overwhelmingly favored the radical persuasion, giving them a three-thousand-vote lead in the state elections. By the time the legislature convened in early 1864, then, they had enough votes to successfully call a referendum for a new state convention with the intention of amending the state constitution, and thus immediately ending slavery and disenfranchising any and all disloyal persons. To that end, the following November—a full year after the radicals first won control of the legislature—Missouri voters overwhelmingly approved the referendum, and three-fourths of their chosen delegates to the new convention were of the radical persuasion. Nonetheless, as William Parrish noted, their election was a hollow victory in that they owed it to both Abraham Lincoln's landslide victory in the presidential contest as well as the disfranchisement of Missouri Democrats who failed to prove their allegiance to the Union. Still, the radicals insisted on interpreting their victory as yet another triumph for the advocates of emancipation, as well as union over rebellion.[6]

Having returned to St. Louis on the eve of the convention's assembly, Bates initially confined his observations of the radicals' maneuvers solely to the pages of his diary. Although he had sometimes compromised his political affiliation—he had started public life as a National Republican, then became a Whig, and even flirted with the Know-Nothing Party of the mid-1850s before reluctantly joining the Republican coalition in 1860—all of his life, he had been a principled statesman. Unlike Drake, Bates's deep-rooted political values hardly, if ever, changed. It was, instead, the parties that moved away from *him.* And these uncompromising principles now led him to read chicanery in the actions of the radicals.

Born in Virginia in 1793, Bates took the advice of his older brother Frederick—the secretary and recorder of deeds for the Louisiana Territory, and later second governor of Missouri—and came to the village of St. Louis following a short military service in the War of 1812. From 1814 to 1860, he—like Drake—developed a lucrative public career in his new hometown. However, in contrast to his younger adversary, Bates fostered his political values early and maintained them with little variation throughout his entire life. Furthermore, his particular values and public service were instrumental during the first days of the Missouri state government.

Taking advantage of Frederick's high status and his contact with prominent citizens like the Chouteaus, Edward developed his *own* professional connections and eventually convinced prominent St. Louis lawyer Rufus Easton to let him study law in his office. A few years later—through the course of his work prosecuting land cases for prominent French creole St. Louisans—he caught the attention of Territorial Governor William Clark, who nominated him as circuit attorney for St. Charles, St. Louis, and Washington counties. The prominence of that position, along with his connections to high society, made him a natural choice for public office, and he thus entered the arena during the crusade for Missouri statehood.

Publicly opposing the maneuverings of New York Congressman James Talmadge to mandate the emancipation of all Missouri slaves over the age of

21, and similarly opposed to Illinois Senator Jesse B. Thomas's amendment banning slavery in all of the Louisiana Territory north of the 36th parallel, Bates instead believed that the only provision that must be adhered to in the formation of a state was the requirement, in Article IV, section 4 of the United States Constitution, that the state establish a republican government. He thus became a candidate to represent his home district as a strict constructionist and anti-restrictionist in the state constitutional convention of 1820, where he made his most lasting contribution by serving on the Judiciary Committee and drafting the preamble to the constitution. When the convention adjourned on July 19, 1820, his accomplishments had so enhanced his reputation that Missouri's first governor, Alexander McNair, named him to be the state's first attorney general.[7]

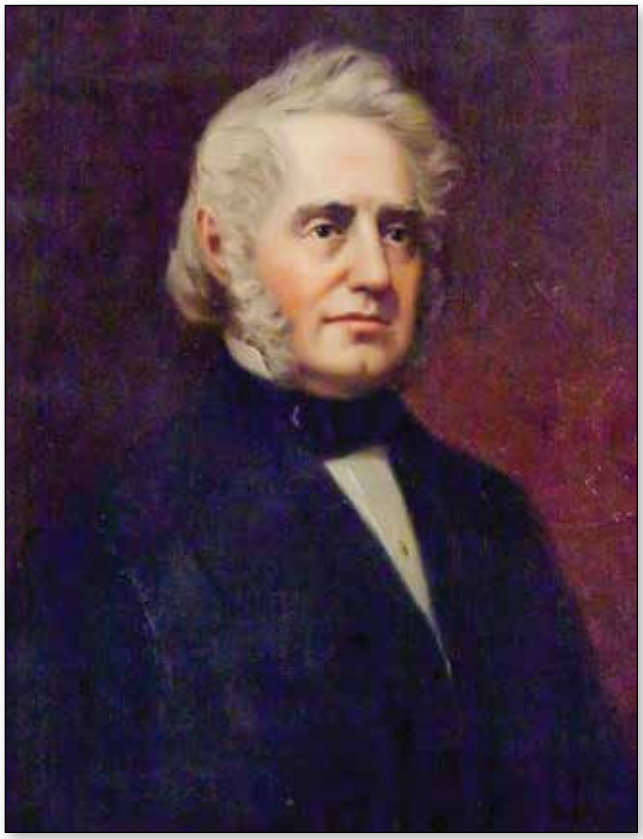
From the 1820s through the 1840s, Bates served in both the Missouri assembly and U.S. congress, and he became an influential figure in the national Whig Party. Indeed, by the time of his retirement from the Missouri Senate in 1835, his friends had come to see him as a potential leader against Democratic ideals. Another Whig candidate, though, was always chosen by the national party in Bates' stead. Likewise, Bates turned down several offers for patronage offices by Whig presidents, putting the needs of his ever-expanding family before his own political ambitions. Still, his editorials in the St. Louis newspapers and his position as president of the River and Harbor Convention in 1847, indicate his importance in articulating the Whig message to American voters.[8]

As the Whig party collapsed from sectional divisions in the mid-1850s, Bates refused to compromise his principles in order to court the new northern political coalitions. Instead, he hoped those coalitions (mainly comprising anti-slavery, pro-union men) could be convinced to adopt his personal views on the numerous issues facing the nation. This hope ultimately led to his failed attempt to win the Republican nomination for president in 1860 and fueled his efforts to advocate a conservative agenda on public policies from within the Lincoln Administration. However, as the president and his closest advisers more and more supported a moderate-to-radical stance on emancipation, black citizenship, central banking, and reconstruction, Bates's unfailing conservatism led him to conclude that he had become irrelevant to the administration. This realization, more than his stated health concerns, may have been the real reason behind his resignation in 1864. At any rate, unlike his younger adversary Drake, Bates did not conform to the times, and was thus increasingly left behind by younger generations of politicians.[9]

On December 20, 1864, Bates ruminated on terms such as "radical," "loyalty," and "convention"—all being tossed around in private conversations. "*Radical,*" he observed, was defined as "adhesion to my clique." But he fashioned his own definition of a "radical *politician,*" suggesting facetiously that, "the good of the people is the *Supreme Law*, and *he* is the only judge of what is good for the People!" Comparing them to the secessionists of 1860, Bates saw the radicals as a small band of fanatics who had managed to assume control of the government by professing their love of personal liberty while, in actuality, suppressing any and all political dissent. As for their call for a new state convention, Bates further commented that a "convention" was defined as "a gathering of Demagogues, designed to throw society into anarchy, and then to gamble for a better system." The late referendum, he believed, was simply a method by which radicals worked to solidify their power. This examination later became central to his public crusade against them.[10]

For the time being, these ruminations were his *only* mention of the imminent convention. However, it is evident from this short passage that Bates viewed the radicals with some measure of disdain. This is partially explained by that faction's treatment of his late brother-in-law, Hamilton R. Gamble (the earlier wartime governor of Missouri). Angered by the governor's slow approach to emancipation and his reluctance to centralize power in the hands of the military, several radical Missouri Republicans (including Drake) began publicly haranguing Gamble and

Hamilton Rowan Gamble (1798-1864) was provisional governor of Missouri under the pro-Union government. Gamble came from a legal background, and was chief justice of the Missouri Supreme Court in 1852—he was the dissenter when the court overturned the "once free always free" doctrine in the Dred Scott case. *(Image: Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library)*

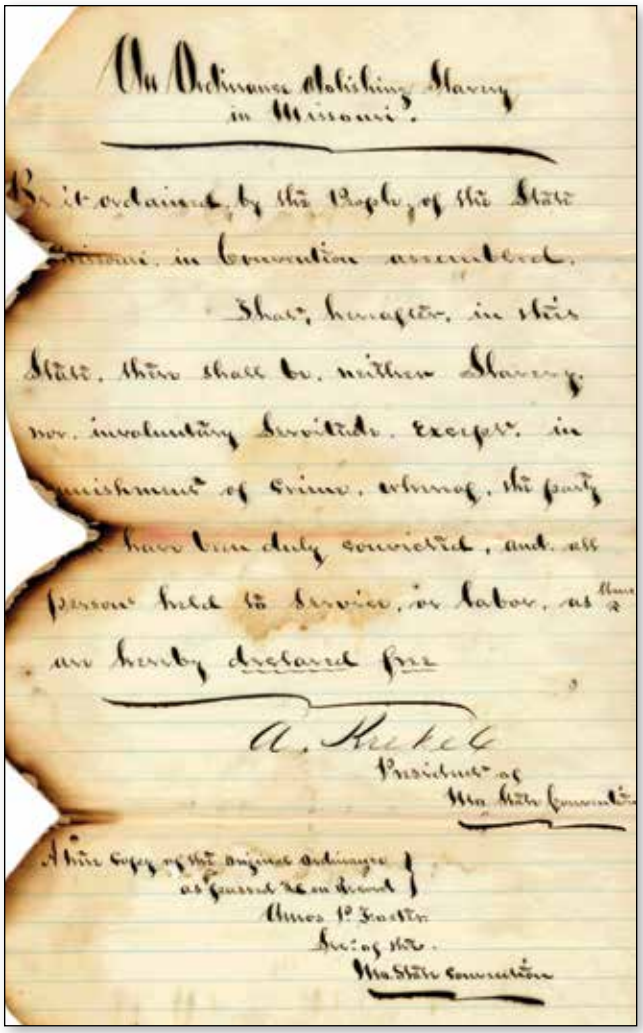


actively lobbied the president for his removal from office.[11] At one moment in December 1863 Bates wrote in his diary of a particularly vile speech given by Missouri legislator Sempronius H. Boyd against the governor at a meeting of the Union League (a political interest group devoted to radical causes and now active in 18 northern states), stating that Boyd's comments were laced with "vulgar ignorance, for which, if I had time, I would trounce them soundly."[12] And when, in February 1864, Bates learned of Gamble's unexpected death, he wasted no time in placing the blame for his brother-in-law's demise squarely on the shoulders of the radicals. For instance, while reviewing the report of the *Missouri Republican* on the expressions of grief made at the February 4 meeting of the Missouri Bar Association, Bates noted the absence of Drake's name from any part of the proceedings. "I am a little curious about the motive of his absence," wrote Bates. "Whether he [stayed] away, because he could not, *conscientiously* join in honoring to so *bad a man as Gamble;* or was he frowned away, by those who thought him unworthy to mingle, on a solemn occasion, with Gamble's friends!"[13]

Clearly, then, Bates had no respect for the radicals. But he nonetheless remained relatively silent—publicly—about their maneuvers regarding the convention, because of a decision on his part to wait and see whether his suspicions about their motives would prove true. He did not have to wait long. Once the convention set about the work for which it had been called, Bates became more vocal in the debate over the future of civil rights and minority representation in Missouri.

January, 7 1865, marked the convention's first full day, and its members wasted no time in addressing the issues for which they had assembled. In a mere four days, for instance, the delegates passed an ordinance immediately abolishing slavery in Missouri. Arnold Krekel and Charles Drake signed the ordinance in their respective capacities as president and vice president of the convention. Sixty-two other delegates also lent their names to the measure and, the following day, Governor Thomas Fletcher gave his endorsement by declaring the ordinance the law of the land.[14]

The emancipation ordinance prompted Bates's first entry in his diary for the year, and also provided his first major criticism of the convention. On January 12, he confessed that he found the emancipation ordinance wholly unnecessary. The convention of 1863, he remarked, had already adopted a sufficient plan for gradual emancipation over a period of seven years. Only wait another five years and slavery would cease to be a problem. Since the only difference between the two plans was the immediacy of the 1865 ordinance, Bates again surmised that emancipation was merely the means of calling the convention into being, and not its true goal. If, alternately, emancipation *was* the true goal of the convention, he observed, there would have been no need for its assembling in the first place. Furthermore, having passed the 1865 ordinance, the convention had no further business to attend to, and should thus adjourn. Instead, he surmised, the radicals would surely use the emancipation ordinance as a springboard for embarking on their true course to secure "the ascendancy and permanency" of their faction.[15]


An Ordinance abolishing Slavery in Missouri.

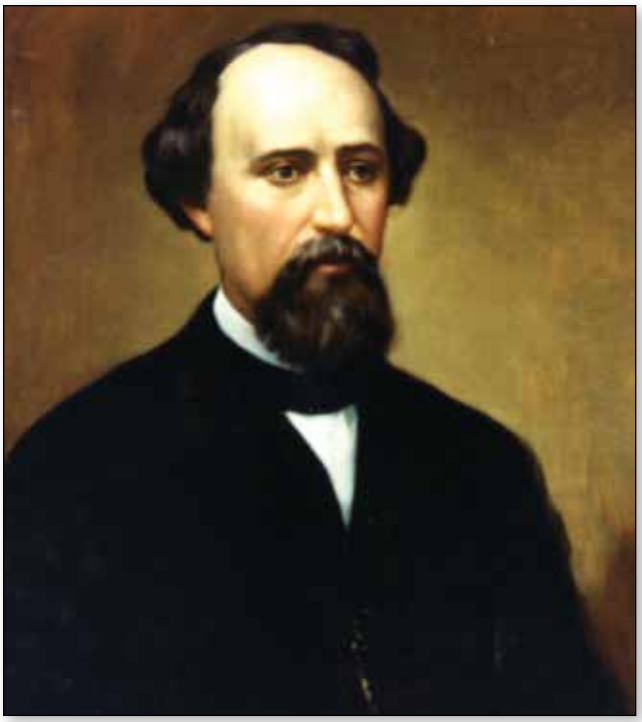
Be it ordained by the People of the State of Missouri, in Convention assembled, That hereafter, in this State, there shall be, neither Slavery nor involuntary Servitude, except in punishment of Crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and all persons held to Service, or Labor, as aforesaid are hereby declared free

A. Krekel
President of the State Convention

Attest: Copy of the original ordinance as passed & enrolled
Amos P. Foster
Secy of State.
Mo. State Convention

Part of the work of the Constitutional Convention was banning slavery in the state in early 1865, almost a year before the Thirteenth Amendment in late 1865, ending slavery nationally. *(Image: Missouri State Archives)*

Indeed, as Bates expected, the radicals soon announced that their next order of business was the nullification of the old constitution and the creation of a new document. Afterward, so the rumors went, they planned to introduce an ordinance removing all non-radicals from public office. Having been called, therefore, "ostensibly to enfranchise the slaves and punish rebels," Bates lamented, the radicals "assume to remodel the State and dispose of all its interests. They do not condescend to *amend* the constitution, but assume to make a new one."[16] The fact that perhaps rankled Bates more than any other was that he had been influential in forging the very document that the radicals now sought to overturn. Along with his criticism of their suppression of all political opposition, replacing the old constitution with a new document thus formed the



Thomas Fletcher (1827-1899) was the governor of Missouri in 1865 who issued the initial proclamation abolishing slavery. Fletcher was part of a number of key events during the Civil War. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1860, and supported Abraham Lincoln's nomination. In the Union army he was at the fall of Vicksburg July 4, 1863, and commanded units at both William Sherman's campaign against Atlanta and at Pilot Knob in Missouri where Gen. Sterling Price's advances were stopped in 1864. *(Image: Missouri State Archives)*

second pillar of Bates's battle against the radicals.

By January, several of Bates' friends, realizing that he had lived through some of the most interesting years in American history, began to urge him to make some contribution to history by writing a memoir of his personal experiences in the most pivotal events of the past 70-odd years. For some time, he had actually been considering such a project, but he ultimately dismissed it because he distrusted his ability to recount the past objectively. Instead, he believed himself far more suited "to state a principle, in accurate terms, and maintain it by logical argument, and to pass judgment upon a man or measure, and support it with such power as the facts of the case and the principles involved in it, may warrant."[17] Long ago he had decided upon the occupation of attorney; he now believed himself best suited to contribute to society by using his particular skills as a jurist to prosecute what he believed to be gross disservices to his fellow Missourians. Having thus made the decision to lend his voice publicly to the perceived radical violations to law and order, it was evident from the amount of space allotted in his diary to the happenings in the convention that the new constitution would be the target of his prosecution. The only question remaining then was, what newspaper should provide the vehicle of that prosecution? Only a local newspaper bold enough to oppose the convention's extralegal measures without fear of repercussion would suffice. However, he observed, bold criticism from the press seemed to be lacking these days. Certainly, the newspaper editors would eventually realize the extent of the radicals' wrongdoings, but until then Bates feared that his essays would be shunned by a cowardly press. In the end, Bates concluded that he could not wait for the editors to find their courage for a series of exchanges published in the papers between Governor Thomas Fletcher and Major General John C. Pope, commander of Union forces in St. Louis, over whether or not to continue the use of martial law in the state forced Bates to act sooner than later.[18]

On February 20, President Lincoln wrote to Fletcher with some suggestions for hastening an end to hostilities in Missouri. Despite a few cases of bushwhacking on the western frontier, the intelligence that the president had reviewed suggested that there no longer remained a viable threat to Union forces in the state. As for those unfortunate cases in the west, Lincoln suggested that the cure might be "within easy reach of the people themselves." Even this late in the war, Lincoln continued to put faith in what he described in his first inaugural as the "better angels" of man's nature—that is, the ability of Americans to set aside their differences and uphold their "mystic chords of memory," their common "bonds of affection."[19] This faith had led Lincoln to suggest to Fletcher that the time had come to hand over management of military affairs in Missouri to the militia. If allowed to assemble freely, the president believed, honest Missourians might express their common love of country and community and resolve to defend it against what Lincoln perceived to be a small band of fanatics that had, thus far, succeeded in dividing the community and terrorizing the countryside, but whose powers were obviously waning.[20]

Fletcher completely disagreed. Responding to Lincoln on February 27, he suggested that, of all current theatres of war, the situation in Missouri was the worst. To prove his point, he gave the example of a village in western Missouri that was recently wracked by inhumane acts of butchery. For this unfortunate community, he wrote, the war in Missouri was truly a war of neighbor against neighbor. The survivors would most certainly reject the idea that they make "a covenant with the accessories of the slayers of their kindred." Furthermore, he observed, recent events had proven that promises of peace were easily broken. Some rebels, having been paroled, had broken their vows to no longer take up arms by instead joining General Sterling Price's raid through the southwest. Others had recently fled to the woods "to become banditti." What was more, it was likely that these men would again be taking up arms when they learned that the convention in St. Louis sought to disfranchise them. No, Fletcher told the president, "we want no peace with rebels but the peace which comes of unconditional submission to the authority

General John Pope (1822-1892) served in Missouri and the Mississippi River theatre early in the Civil War, gaining sufficient distinction to be promoted to the army of the Potomac under George B. McClellan. After his defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run, he spent the rest of the war in Minnesota. He returned to Missouri in early 1865 to command the Military Division of the Missouri. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

of the law." And that authority could only be found in the justice meted out against civilian and soldier alike by military tribunals.[21]

In the end, although he personally disagreed with them, Fletcher recognized the importance of a personal request from the President of the United States, and he decided to at least present Lincoln's proposals to General Pope in order to obtain the commander's opinion on whether or not to reinstate the power of the civilian courts. His letter to the general was later published, along with Pope's lengthy reply, in the March 8 edition of the *Missouri Republican*. Surprisingly, Pope sided with the president. The recent elections of Lincoln and Fletcher, he believed, were sufficient evidence that the people of Missouri were "prepared to meet and settle any questions affecting the welfare and prosperity of the State." It was therefore the job of state and federal forces to empower the citizens to now direct their own fate.[22]

Pope's letter was enough to convince Fletcher. On March 7, the same day that the *Republican* printed Pope's response, the governor issued a proclamation reversing his earlier position on this issue. "There no longer exists within the state of Missouri," Fletcher now admitted, "any organized force of the enemies of the Government of the United States." Now acting upon Lincoln's earlier suggestion, he invited all loyal citizens of the state to unite behind the civilian officials and "make common cause against whomever shall persist in making, aiding, or encouraging any description of lawlessness." Finally, Fletcher added, military tribunals would no longer prosecute accused rebels within the state. Judges and justices of the peace would, instead, exercise that authority.[23]

Bates heartily approved Fletcher's decision to reestablish civil law, but his elation was short lived. Radicals in the convention immediately responded to the governor's proclamation with a ringing condemnation. This denunciation of the governor's proclamation, Bates wrote in his diary on March 9, "not only proves the ignorance and folly of the members of that body, but . . . also, to what destructive and wicked measures they resort for the sole purpose of consolidating and continuing their heartless and brainless party!"[24] Still holding out hope that his assessment was premature, he bided his time, waiting to see what effect, if any, the radicals' condemnation would have on state and federal forces. Again, events moved quickly.

While Bates believed that Fletcher's proclamation ordered the complete removal of martial law in Missouri, others certainly disagreed. In the March 9 edition of the *Missouri Democrat,* the editor argued that martial law was "still in force and will remain in force as long as there exists the least necessity for its exercise." Additionally, on March 17 the editor warned his readers to avoid interpreting Pope's response to Fletcher as encouraging immediate withdrawal of federal troops. Instead, the editor claimed to have learned directly from Pope himself that the commander intended only "to transform the military into a police force." Civil courts *would* try criminals, he clarified, but if convicted, the *military* pronounce sentence on those criminals.[25] As if to confirm the claims made by the *Democrat*, on March 20 Pope issued Special Orders No. 15, rescinding his earlier stance in his letter to Governor Fletcher and now declaring that the military, not the civil courts, would both apprehend *and* prosecute criminals. Far from reestablishing the sovereignty of the people, then, Pope's order reversed Fletcher's proclamation and established the superiority of military over civilian government.[26]

Issued by a commander who, mere weeks before, had professed his faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves, and following on the heels of the governor's proclamation to that same effect, Bates judged Pope's new order as wholly absurd. Moreover, he read sinister undertones in Pope's about face. The commander's recently shaken confidence in civil law, Bates concluded, was clearly the work of "the truculence of the Convention!"[27] Bates had stayed his pen these past several

months in order to coolly observe events. He had remained hopeful that Fletcher's proclamation was a step in the right direction, but he was severely disheartened by Pope's sudden abandonment of his earlier faith in Missourians' ability to control their own destiny. For Bates, it was thus clear that the influence of the radicals knew no bounds. If they could infiltrate the highest levels of the military, they might do the same elsewhere in state government, and thus lead the state down a dangerous path. The time had come to intervene. On March 25, he sent a letter to the editor of the *Democrat* requesting space to publish several essays on current events. Then, having notified his closest associates of his intentions, he put his pen to paper.

By April 3, Bates finished the first of six letters addressed to the people of Missouri. Printed in both the *Missouri Democrat* and the *Missouri Republican*, he initially sought to dispel any possible accusations of his own disloyalty in speaking out against the convention. "All that I am," he affirmed, "and all that I have is inseparably connected with the interests and character of the State." That said, he believed it his duty to educate the people of "the danger and utter ruin which now hangs [over them]." Blaming his age and health for not being more physically active in opposing these events, he nonetheless reminded his readers that he had only lately been very active in the Lincoln Administration, where all of his strength was employed toward preserving the Union.[28]

Although the nation was preserved, Bates stated that a new crisis had emerged—civil rights in Missouri were in jeopardy. Bates recalled how he had returned to St. Louis to find civil law "trodden down." To that end, despite the radicals' arguments to the contrary, he urged that martial law be immediately ended throughout the state. Additionally, he contended, the very idea that martial law successfully suppressed violence by bushwhackers was really a radical ploy to mislead the public and weaken civil authority. To further clarify this fact, he revisited the claims made by the *Democrat* that General Pope's letter and Governor Fletcher's proclamation did not immediately suspend martial law. On the contrary, Bates wrote. Pope had admitted in his original letter to Fletcher that the rebel threat equated to perhaps twenty people per county. Suggesting Pope's original letter displayed the general's true feelings, Bates concluded that Pope's later about face was the result of pressure from radical factions. Furthermore, he wrote, the *Democrat's* argument for continuing martial law should be read merely as a nervous and deceitful clique attempting to maintain its own authority.[29]

In his second letter, published ten days later, Bates turned his attention to the subject of martial law as it related to the convention. It was a subject on which he had fairly extensive experience. In the opening days of the war, President Lincoln had felt compelled by the national crisis to assume a broad range of powers previously granted by the constitution to other branches of the federal government. In no case was this truer than in the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the subsequent use of martial law by military commanders as a means of quelling the rebellion. After the Maryland legislature flirted with the idea of secession (which would have surrounded Washington, D.C., with rebel territory), on April 27, 1861, Lincoln took drastic measures and suspended the writ of habeas corpus along a declared military line extending from Washington to Philadelphia. General Winfield Scott was then directed to arrest any person deemed dangerous to the Union war effort within that region. Later, on May 10, the president extended the suspension to the entire state of Florida and, eventually, suspended the writ nationwide. Naturally, this action did not go unnoticed by conservatives. Chief Justice Roger Taney, a holdover from the Jacksonian era, responded with a caustic criticism of Lincoln's supposed abuse of power, and he claimed that the Constitution strictly reserved to the legislative branch *alone* the power to suspend habeas corpus.[30]

As attorney general, it was Bates' responsibility to make the legal case for his chief's actions. Doing so, however, put him in a difficult situation. As a Whig, he had detested the expansion of executive authority. Now he was put to the task of sanctioning such actions. Asked to write an official response to Taney's opinion, he examined both Article I of the Constitution as well the Judiciary Act of 1789, which had first granted to Congress the power to suspend the writ. Since the constitution had created the Congress, Bates argued, the power to suspend the writ was embodied in the former, and not bestowed upon the latter. The act, which gave Congress its power, could be repealed at any time, while the power itself remained. Beyond that, if the branches of the federal government enjoyed separate but equal status under the constitution, then by the understanding that the legislature—a political body—was given the power to suspend the writ, it followed that the executive branch—by its status as the only other political branch of the government—might be understood as having the same power. It was a slippery argument, to be sure, but it meant that the authority to suspend the writ of habeas corpus could essentially be assumed by any branch of the government during a time of crisis.

As to the president's ability to invoke martial law, Bates focused on the president's dual responsibility as both civil magistrate and military chief. Their specific oaths of office separated the executive and legislative branches in ways that Taney could not possibly have unintentionally overlooked. Congressmen and senators swore an oath to "support the Constitution," but the president swore an oath to "preserve, protect and defend" it. The former oath was passive in nature while the second was assertive. Furthermore, observed Bates, the Insurrection Act of 1807 had granted the president the ability to fulfill his oath and suppress insurrection through the use of martial law. Thus, the president was given certain powers for the express purpose of defending the nation against all enemies. By directing his military commanders to invoke martial law, Bates concluded, Lincoln had acted within the limits of his constitutional authority as commander-in-chief.[31]

Drafting an opinion that interpreted executive power so broadly was no easy feat for the conservative Whig. His lifelong philosophy was naturally contradictory to

Oath of Loyalty

I B F Crosswhite do Solemly Swear that I am well acquainted with the terms of the third Section of the second article of the constitution of the State of Missouri adopted in the year eighteen Hundred and Sixty five and have carefully considered the same that I have never directly or indirectly done any of the acts in said Sections Specified that I have always been truly and loyally on the side of the United States against all enemies there of foreign and domestic that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States and will Support the Constitution and laws there of as the Supreme law of the land any law or ordinance of any State to the contrary notwithstanding &c that I will to the best of my ability protect and defend the union of the United States and not allow the same to be broken up and dissolved or the Government there of destroyed or over thrown under any circumstances if in my power to prevent it that I will Support the constitution of the United States of Missouri and that I make this Oath without any mental reservation or evation whatever and hold it to be binding on me So Help me God

B F Crosswhite

State of Missouri
County of Benne

I certify that the foregoing Oath has been Sworn to and Subscribed before me this 26 day of August A D 1865

S. H. Cross
Notary Public

Oath of Loyalty
B F Crosswhite

The Loyalty Oath, like this one, was central to the political conflict in the aftermath of the Civil War, as Radical Republicans sought to keep Confederate sympathizers from having influence in the new government. *(Image: Missouri State Archives)*

such broad interpretation. Still, the drastic state of affairs seemed to have compelled him to temporarily discard his reservations for the sake of national security. Now, four years later, Bates was not so willing to discard his personal opinions—especially when he saw the radicals in the Missouri state convention using martial law not for the purposes of protecting the people against an enemy, but rather as a means of shoring up their political power in the state. "There are some members of [the convention]," he asserted, "who ought to know and do know that martial law [as opposed to civil law] is simply no law at all." Unable to find a description of martial law in any statute book he owned, Bates concluded that the term was merely "a nickname for arbitrary power, assumed against law." Furthermore, the danger in this policy, as he saw it, lay in the opportunity it provided for a military commander to become a Cromwell or a Bonaparte, and thereby assert his authority over both the people and their elected representatives. To prevent such an event, Bates believed, it was crucial that the people understand that "the military is subordinate to the civil power, and can act only as the minister and servant of the law." Given the influence that the convention already exhibited over state and local authorities, it was true that, were the convention to continue to enforce martial law, it would be operating "without any fear of punishment [from a higher authority] for [its] misdeeds." Nonetheless, if a dictator were somehow to assume power through the prolonged use of martial law, then the convention and the people might just become victims of the very monster they had created.[32]

On April 10, three days before the publication of Bates' second letter but too late for him to amend its contents, the convention passed the new state constitution. The following day the local papers immediately published the text and announced that a vote on ratification was set for June 6. This was more than enough time for supporters of the document to educate the public on its provisions. "Let it have a free and fair discussion before the people," exclaimed the *Democrat,* "and this so far as in us lies it shall have—and there is no doubt about its triumphant

adoption." However, Charles Drake—curiously—did not share the *Democrat*'s optimism. In the wake of the growing conservative criticism, he warned in a letter published in the *Democrat*, radicals should prepare to vigorously defend the constitution as the best means of securing the supremacy of loyalty within the state. "Disloyalty in Missouri is in the last ditch," Drake wrote, "and will die hard" only if ratification were successful. "Look forward, then, in the next fifty nine days, to the severest struggle we have yet had to make."[33]

Aside from the role that martial law played in its conception, the conservatives' other primary criticism of the constitution was over both an article of that document that disfranchised former rebels, and an ordinance empowering the governor to remove from office any person whom he personally deemed disloyal. They also argued that the constitution's very creation was extralegal, since a new document was not one of the proposals voted on by the populace in the 1864 referendum that called the convention into session.

Article II, Section 3 of the document expressly forbade the right to vote to any persons who had participated in or aided rebellion against the United States. Examples of disloyalty were numerous—from sheltering or sympathizing with rebel troops, to holding office in the Confederate government, to communicating with or assisting bushwhackers in the west. However, the measure also provided numerous less-clear examples, including taking up arms against the state, which many persons loyal to the Union had done when they opposed the pro-secession administration of Claiborne Fox Jackson in 1861. Any person who had performed one of these acts was barred under the article from serving in government office, holding a position as a trustee, director or manager of any corporation, or from serving in positions such as educators, lawyers, members of school boards, or even as clergymen. In order to regulate the measure, Sections 4 and 5 of the article authorized the legislature to generate lists of qualified and unqualified voters. And finally, franchise rights would be barred from anyone who did not first take an oath of loyalty.[34]

Hand-in-hand with the disfranchisement clause, the convention passed a measure known as the "ousting ordinance." Passed on March 17, it ordered the offices of all court judges (including the state Supreme Court), court clerks, circuit attorneys and their assistants, and sheriffs and county recorders vacated by May 1. The governor was then authorized to appoint seat holders who had professed their allegiance to the state and national governments through the loyalty oath. The new officers would then be elected starting in 1866.[35]

Like the Federalist campaign of 1787-1788, Drake intended to use the next few months to explain to Missourians the constitution's most controversial sections. To that end, he published the first of several letters in its defense on the same day as the document's public debut. In doing so, Drake accurately predicted the intensity of the conservative opposition. While Drake intended to be the leading voice among the constitution's supporters, Bates' first two letters had made him a logical choice to lead the opposition. Bates had originally planned only to criticize the radicals' use of martial law, believing that its removal would rob the radicals of their best ability to out-voice conservatives and result in the creation of a far more moderate constitution. However, sudden publication of the constitution in early April thrust Bates into a new role as leader of both the conservative Republicans and the loyal Democrats. The publication of his next series of essays, then, had the potential to provide a foundation for building an opposition platform.[36]

While conservatives did not argue that the disfranchisement clause was extralegal (the convention was, after all, called for the express purposes of both eradicating slavery and securing franchise rights for loyal citizens), they did express dissatisfaction with the *wording* of the article. Publishing an essay in the local newspapers on April 18, the conservative members of the convention—led by Dr. Moses Linton—publicly expressed their concern. The examples of disloyalty listed in the article, they explained, were so broad that "no conscientious man can take [the loyalty oath], however loyal he now is, if in the beginning of our troubles, he has even said a word or done an act countenancing secession, or even sympathizing with a secessionist in any degree."[37]

Bates naturally supported Dr. Linton and his colleagues, and his third letter, published on April 29, briefly touched upon their concerns. Bates agreed that the examples of disloyalty were too ambiguous to properly differentiate between a loyal and a disloyal person. Furthermore, he considered the forced removal of government personnel whom the constitution deemed "disloyal" as further evidence of a radical scheme to place their colleagues in positions of power otherwise unobtainable by them through lawful means. The radical standard of loyalty, he wrote, was simple to understand: "no man can be loyal who is not a Radical." However, true loyalty, he avowed, was defined as allegiance to the rule of *law*, "not a blind devotion to a clique or faction."[38]

Expanding on his argument against the ousting ordinance, Bates used it to show that the convention, by the means of its creation, was a revolutionary assembly. In his fourth letter, published on May 11, he reminded his readers that the original 1864 referendum was a call for the constitution's amendment, not its nullification. Since both emancipation and disfranchisement were accomplished through *ordinance*, instead of *amendment*, in Bates's opinion, the convention was guilty of fostering a revolution. Furthermore, the ousting ordinance proved that the radicals had convinced General Pope to sustain martial law with the intent of using it to quell any opposition by the legally elected government officials. These acts, he concluded, proved that the radicals were employing "a new and extraordinary power, not belonging to any department of the state government nor to all of them combined." The "radical revolution," then, began when the original constitution was discarded, and it was completed by the forced removal of anyone who stood in the convention's way.[39]

Drake did not sit idly by while Bates sullied the reputation of the convention. Instead, he directly responded to Bates' accusations with all the cunning of an experienced politician. In his response to Linton's charges against the disfranchisement clause, he highlighted Linton's Catholic faith in his explanation of the importance of the clause. Catholics, Drake argued, believed in the Sacrament of Reconciliation (in which a person expressed repentance for sins and followed through with physical acts of penance). Also, he noted, Catholics believed in the existence of Purgatory (a sort of limbo where souls remained in penance for a period of time before entering Heaven). It was curious, then, that Linton opposed the disfranchisement clause, since doing so contradicted both of those doctrines. How, Drake asked, could a person who believed in the connection between repentance and penance, when it applied to religion, not also see the wisdom in disfranchising rebels for a period of time after they had recanted through the loyalty oath? Were not the principles applied to the Sacrament and those applied to disloyalty the same? Loyal citizens, he concluded, subscribed to the principle "once a traitor, always a traitor." For them, the disfranchise clause effectively addressed this concern.[40]

Drake also addressed Bates' assertion that the convention was part of a scheme to consolidate radical power in the state. It was true, Drake conceded, that the convention had acted in error when it accomplished emancipation and disfranchisement through ordinance, rather than amendment. However, he absolved himself of any blame by explaining that the convention had passed these measures during a time when he was personally absent due to illness. The damage done and the ordinances now considered the law of the land, the only way to correct the mistake was to nullify the current operating constitution and replace it with this new document. This rationalization, Drake hoped, would effectively convince Missourians that the 1865 constitution, in actuality, was created through legal means and with the best of intentions. At worst, declaring his innocence in the convention's errors might acquit him of any wrongdoing.[41]

Despite his best efforts, Drake failed to garner much support against conservative critics. In fact, several of the radicals who had earlier supported the convention now turned against it. In a letter published in the *Democrat*, Governor Fletcher himself expressed concern that the rigidity of the constitution's terms would inhibit the ability of future generations to amend it. Considering this flaw, Fletcher wrote, he would personally vote against ratification in June. After reading this announcement, Bates observed gleefully, "'the rats are running from the burning house.' Governor Fletcher [has] waked up, from the drunken dream of radicalism, just in time to smell the smoke of the kindling fires, and save [himself], by timely flight, from the coming conflagration."[42]

In the final days before the vote, Bates managed to publish two more letters. For the most part, they recapped his argument against martial law and continued to press upon the convention's revolutionary conception. He also took this occasion to express his hope that the people would choose wisely in the coming referendum. The state constitution, he avowed, was not the property of the legislators or the lawyers, but of the people. Having begun his crusade to champion civilian rule, he concluded by promising, "I will continue to make the best defense I can of the only valuable inheritance left to us by our fathers—liberty according to law."[43]

After publishing six letters against the convention, Bates earned the title of leader of the conservative opposition. Yet his efforts received mixed reviews. For instance, one writer to the *Democrat* called him a feeble old man—his apparent ravings against the radicals being attributed to "the influence and promptings of accumulating years which strengthen prejudices as they weaken the reason." Another equated him with the former rebels, declaring him the leader of all enemies of the truly loyal populace. Yet another defended Bates, describing him "as honorable and pure a man and patriot as lives in Missouri," and urging its readers to "swear and vote . . . though it is evident [the reader] would do wisely to vote no."[44]

For the most part, however, the citizenry of Missouri appeared to support the conservatives. And this fact was not lost on the radicals. St. Louis citizen Louis Fusz, for instance, noted in his diary a number of rumors that in some regions of the state where radicals held a large majority, conservative citizens were being denied the right to vote, regardless of whether or not they had previously taken the loyalty oath. As well, Fusz noted, just as he had done after receiving Pope's letter against martial law, Governor Fletcher had once again reversed his opinion against ratification and now embraced the power of the ousting ordinance. Fusz, for one, never doubted that radical pressure had influenced Fletcher's reversal. The election judges who barred conservatives from voting, after all, were placed in their positions by the ousting ordinance.[45]

Despite cases of voter fraud, early indications predicted that the conservatives would ultimately be victorious. Bates and Fusz both noted in their diaries that the vote in St. Louis County, for instance, was overwhelmingly against the constitution. "We have carried St. Louis and St. Charles," Bates declared, "and to all appearance, the nuisance will be abated." Drake, he noted, "is plucked bare, and cast down upon his own dunghill, " and "all the prominent members of the Convention are sunk into contempt and the whole party in this state, I think has received its death blow."[46]

Although victory seemed imminent, the actual results took weeks to tally. On July 1, Missouri secretary of state Francis Rodman certified the results as 43,670 votes in favor, 41,808 against. By a narrow 51 percent, the referendum passed. That same day, Governor Fletcher proclaimed the constitution in effect as of July 4.[47] For Bates, the result was bittersweet. On the one hand, his cause was ultimately lost. On the other hand, conservatives had managed to carry St. Louis. Furthermore, the *civilian* population had voted down the constitution by a narrow majority of 965 votes. Only by allowing *soldiers* still

in the field to cast absentee ballots and by empowering partisan judges to reject votes in opposition had the radicals managed to secure a victory. Ultimately, Bates marked his disappointment with silence. He chose not to expound upon it in his diary—a characteristic he often displayed whenever he failed to impact the implementation of a policy he felt passionate about (he had acted similarly during the debate and implantation of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in 1862-63).[48]

In the months following the vote, Bates slipped back into obscurity. The ratification of the constitution along with the radicals' strong majority in the state legislature convinced him that his conservative Whig values were formally out of favor in both state and national politics. Nevertheless, small groups of the opposition continued to advocate the conservative cause. On July 19, for instance, St. Louis Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick ordered his priests to refuse to take the loyalty oath. If Roman Catholics opposed the constitution, Bates hoped, perhaps other "weaker sects" such as teachers and lawyers would follow the Church's example. Bates' own fighting spirit, however, had been severely taxed by his battle with the radicals. As had occurred during his tenure as attorney general, his efforts sapped much of his strength. On the same day that he noted Bishop Kenrick's opposition, he also recorded that his health had become "feeble." Less than a week later, his breathing was increasingly labored, prompting his family to send for a doctor. The pain in his chest was almost unbearable. Fearing the worst, Bates left parting words for his family. But, by slow degrees, his health rallied—although he was confined to bed for several days.[49]

On September 4, just over a month later, he celebrated his seventy-second birthday. On this occasion, he noted, "there remain now, of the 12 children brought up by my parents, only two of us—my sister Margaret M. Wharton . . . now 80 years, and myself." If his recent political defeat had not done so already, his age and health became constant reminders that he was a member of a generation slowly disappearing from the earth. Furthermore, his daughter noted during his last illness that her father had found peace with God and was prepared to leave the world in the hands of a younger generation. The death of his sister on December 11, coinciding with a relapse of his breathing malady, must only have strengthened his belief in his own imminent departure from life.[50]

Political events only further reminded Bates of his frailty. No longer could he affect the course of events. On October 26 a conservative convention met in St. Louis to solidify opposition to the radical majority in the assembly, but in light of their defeats over the past year, Bates was less than enthusiastic about their ability to halt the radical advance. Although the civilian vote had sided with the opposition in the late referendum, his faith in their success through "harmony and unity of purpose" was badly shaken. Still, while Bates no longer led the opposition, he did make an attempt to aid them by writing an article in support of Senator Benjamin Gratz Brown's call for universal suffrage of all Missourians. Without proper guidance, though, it appeared that conservatives lacked strong enough leadership to make any headway.

Instead, on November 25 several radicals called for the universal disfranchisement of all disloyal citizens. The constitution had, until this time, merely disfranchised them for a *period of time* before re-administering their rights. This new measure, Bates believed, confirmed what he had long believed—that the very men who had given birth to the new constitution now saw fit to treat it "not as the Organic law of the State, but a contrivance to consolidate the strength and continue the supremacy of the present dominant faction." These new measures, he lamented, were a final testament to the fact that "Ours is no longer a *Government of the People*—a democracy—but an aristocracy of the good people, the *loyal* people, the *Radicals*!"[51]

Throughout the first half of 1865, believing that Missourians might not otherwise be aware of the disregard for their individual liberties, Bates pursued a pedagogical campaign to inform the citizenry of the extralegal measures of the convention. While it had begun as a criticism against the use of martial law, it eventually blossomed into a full discourse against the suppression of civil rights and minority representation. In taking up this fight, he did only what he had done throughout his entire public career, playing the role of the people's advocate. As attorney general, desperate times had forced him to endorse desperate measures, such as military arrest of civilians in order to preserve the Union. With the war won, however, Bates believed that civil law must be reinstated. When this did not occur, he resolved that another battle must be fought to reinstate republican government. Deciding to fight this battle, he had done all in his power to rally conservatives to his cause, and in this, he succeeded. But the citizen vote had been narrowly defeated. The radicals were victorious in sustaining their measures, and they continued to strengthen their power—both in Missouri as well as nationwide—over the course of the next few years.

Drake himself personally rode the wave of radical popularity. In 1867, having worked tirelessly to support their faction which was now squarely in control of the state assembly, the radicals elected him to the United States Senate. However, Drake's popularity lasted for only a short while. As with the rest of the nation, as business prospects between former rebels and Union men in Missouri began to overshadow other issues directly associated with the late war (such as enfranchisement of blacks), the radical cause declined. The first check on Drake's influence within the state came in 1869 when Carl Schurz challenged Benjamin F. Loan of St. Joseph for election to the U.S. Senate. Drake correctly saw this campaign as an attempt to divide the loyalties of the Republican Party, and he subsequently traveled to Jefferson City to directly confront Schurz in a Republican caucus. Schurz, however, masterfully handled Drake—forcing the radical Senator to lose his temper and launch an ethnic tirade against Germans (a sizable voting bloc in both the state and in the assembly). Leaving Jefferson City shortly after this confrontation, Drake was

not present to witness Schurz's victory. Subsequently, the next November, the radical faction suffered heavily at the polls. And although President Ulysses S. Grant nominated Drake as chief justice of the court of claims—a position that Drake held until his retirement in 1885—his fall from political prominence had been nothing short of meteoric.[52]

Unfortunately, Bates did not survive to see the eventual humiliation of his radical adversary. In the months following the ratification of the constitution of 1865, Bates grew more estranged from those in power, including some of his own friends. He recorded on December 24, 1865, that his health had once again deteriorated and, in light of the fact that visits from his friends had tapered off over the preceding months, he feared himself "forgotten like a dead man." By the last days of 1865, then, he could look back upon the failures and disappointments of the past year and conclude, "Old men like me, sick, it may be, and uninteresting, ought not be surprised that the young do not affect their society."[53] Politics, it seemed, had moved beyond the need for men like Edward Bates.

Instead of going extinct, however, the conservative values by which Bates had so staunchly abided all his life actually saw resurgence during the early 1870s in response to the federal policies of Reconstruction. Beginning in 1866 the movement—ultimately known as the Liberal Republican movement—rooted itself prominently in the agenda of Senator Benjamin Gratz Brown. The factional strife within Missouri led conservative Republicans, so recently cast from power by the radicals, to call for a new policy of universal amnesty and enfranchisement for all citizens (whether or not they had been former rebels) whose rights were subjugated by workings of the late constitutional convention. This movement was not fully organized, however, until 1871 when Missouri became the springboard for launching a national movement to take back the party. In the previous year the Liberals officially broke from the state party and submitted their own ticket in the state elections; the result was the successful election of Brown as governor of Missouri. By 1872, a national conservative movement was under way in both North and South that ultimately nominated Brown as vice president on a ticket with former *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley.[54]

Likewise, this conservative resurgence was ultimately successful in 1875 in overhauling the Missouri constitution. Finally eliminated from that document were the draconian clauses that Bates had fought against so vociferously. Instead, the document specifically defended the principle of states' rights (but not at the expense of the Union), the securing of natural rights for all citizens, and the calling for free and open elections. Particularly important, the constitution defined treason against the state as waging war against the state, but it noted that a person could only be convicted of such a crime upon the testimony of two or more witnesses and in a court of law. Furthermore, all restrictions placed upon office holders and private occupations were omitted along with the disenfranchisement clauses of the earlier document. No longer would a political faction exercise the power to declare traitors and patriots. No longer would that faction likewise control both public and private offices.[55]

Had Bates lived long enough, it is likely that he would have endorsed the Liberal Republicans. Furthermore, if his health had permitted, he might even have partaken in the public support of liberal candidates. However, by December 1868, on the eve of this new wave of conservatism, his was once again wracked by old afflictions in both his lungs and throat, and his health steadily worsened through the New Year. By March 1869, doctors informed his family that this would likely be Bates's final illness. Surrounded by his friends and relatives, Edward Bates died on March 25, 1869. He was 76 years old.[56]

In the days following his death, individuals and organizations that had previously been estranged from Bates' acquaintance by his comments against ratification of the Missouri constitution openly mourned the loss by the city, state, and nation of this public servant. "Such men as Edward Bates have seldom lived," eulogized James O. Broadhead at a meeting of the St. Louis Bar Association just days after Bates' death, "and therefore it is that we are seldom called to mourn the death of such." Throughout Bates' long life, Broadhead noted, the late statesman had always remained a true, upright, charitable, and kind-hearted man. "He had a wonderful equipoise of character, not so much the result of education as of native instinct." Also, though Broadhead recalled that Bates was not above personal difficulties and controversies, he was separated from lesser men by his ability to meet adversity without compromising his own personal integrity. "With all his gentle nature," Broadhead concluded, "he was without exception, the bravest man I ever knew."[57]

Samuel T. Glover likewise mourned Bates' passing. Bates, Glover eulogized, was most remembered as having never compromised his own integrity. "Few men," Glover wrote, "have passed through the turmoil of active public and private life for fifty years and left a name that may so well defy even the tongues of malice." Though agreeing with Broadhead that Bates' moral character would be long remembered in the hearts of his contemporaries, Glover believed it was Bates's strong defense of the U.S. Constitution that would be of lasting significance. "Would to God," Glover prayed, "that among our leading and most influential citizens that have taken 'oaths' to support the Constitution there were found a greater number who employed the care that he did to comprehend its meaning."[58]

Believing that Bates represented a moral fiber and character that would be forever lacking in subsequent generations, Glover recalled the words of a friend who walked with him in the procession that accompanied Bates to his final resting place in Bellefontaine Cemetery. "A friend observed," Glover concluded, "that Mr. Bates belonged to a generation that had passed away. . . . I have pondered upon these words. They conveyed to my mind more than their literal import." It should be the business of all good citizens, Glover therefore proposed, to venerate Bates' name and merits for all time.

Glover's proposal was eventually adopted. Bates' memory has been preserved in the city of St. Louis by the existence of a statute to the elder statesmen, unveiled during the opening of Forest Park in 1876. The statue was originally located at the western entrance to the park, and though the entrance has since been demolished, Bates' likeness remains. Today, the statue stands atop a red granite pedestal displaying medallions depicting St. Louis citizens James Eads, Hamilton Gamble, Charles Gibson, and Henry Geyer. The statue of Bates stands facing east, as if to symbolize that he is a favorite son of the west who never forgot his eastern origins. Such could also be said of his political philosophy. Though western politics had drastically changed during his lifetime, he never forsook those principles that had been engrained in him from his youth. When the opportunity came for him to exert his influence on the Lincoln Administration, radical eastern pressures also failed to change his principles. And when he returned to St. Louis, much the same man that had left four years previous, he fought vehemently to make those earlier principles relevant once more. Although he did not live to see the resurgence of that conservatism, the statue in Forrest Park serves as both a lasting tribute and a testament to this lifelong western conservative.[59]

ENDNOTES

1 Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 412.
2 Ibid., 428-29, 430-32.
3 David D. March, "Charles Daniel Drake," in *Dictionary of Missouri Biography,* edited by Lawrence O. Christensen, William E. Foley, Gary R. Kremer, and Kenneth H. Winn (Columbia: Missouri University Press, 1999), 253.
4 Ibid., 254.
5 William E. Parrish, *Missouri under Radical Rule, 1865-1867* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 2-13.
6 Ibid., 8-14.
7 For an in-depth look at Bates's early political career, as well as his work at the state convention, see Floyd C. Shoemaker, "David Barton, John Rice Jones and Edward Bates: Three Missouri State and Statehood Founders," *Missouri Historical Review* 65, No. 4, 527-43.
8 Marvin R. Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General: Edward Bates of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1965), 61-62.
9 For an excellent treatment of Bates and his fellow cabinet ministers in the Lincoln administration, see Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005).
10 Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 430-32.
11 Numerous letters from Charles Drake, as well as other radical Missourians, to Abraham Lincoln can be found in the Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter "LOC").
12 Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 321.
13 Ibid., 329.
14 "An Ordinance Abolishing Slavery in Missouri," passed in Convention, January 11, 1865, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis (hereafter "MHM").
15 Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 439-41.
16 Ibid., 441.
17 Ibid., 450.
18 Ibid., 452-53.
19 These phrases can be found in the last paragraph of the final version of Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, March, 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln Papers, LOC.
20 Abraham Lincoln to Thomas C. Fletcher, February 20, 1865, Abraham Lincoln Papers, LOC.
21 Thomas C. Fletcher to Abraham Lincoln, February 27, 1865, Abraham Lincoln Papers, LOC.
22 Major General John C. Pope to Thomas C. Fletcher, as printed in the *Missouri Republican,* St. Louis, March 8, 1865 (hereafter "*Republican*").
23 "Proclamation by the Governor of Missouri," March 7,1865, as printed in the *St. Louis Democrat,* March 8, 1865 (hereafter *"Democrat"*).
24 Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates*, 457-58.
25 *Democrat,* March 9, 1865; March 17, 1865.
26 Major General John C. Pope, *Special Orders No. 15,* as printed in the *Democrat,* March 20, 1865.
27 Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 463, 467.
28 *Republican,* April 7, 1865.
29 Ibid.
30 Taney's opinion can be found in the *New York Times,* June 4, 1861; Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution of the United States of America read, "The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it," but—curiously—did not specifically

reference which branch was given this authority. Still, this clause's location, among other grants and limits of power, in Article I, which is clearly concerned with the makeup and powers of Congress, served as justification for Taney's judgment that the legislature was the authorized branch of the government. Constitution of the United States of America, Article I, Section 9, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[31] Edward Bates to Abraham Lincoln, July 5, 1861, Abraham Papers, LOC; Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General*, 13, 143.

[32] *Republican*, April 13, 1865.

[33] *Democrat,* April 10, 1865.

[34] *Missouri State Constitution of 1865*, Article II, Sections 3-6, adopted by Convention, April 10, 1865, ratified by the people of Missouri, June 6, 1865, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.

[35] *"An Ordinance Providing for the Vacating of Certain Civil Offices in the State, Filling the Same Anew, and Protecting the Citizens from Injury and Harassment,"* Passed in Convention, March 17, 1865, MHM.

[36] Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General*, 319-24.

[37] *Democrat,* April 18, 1865.

[38] *Republican,* April 29, 1865.

[39] *Democrat,* May 11, 1865.

[40] Ibid., April 21, 1865.

[41] Ibid., April 18, 1865.

[42] Ibid., April 21, 1865; Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 475.

[43] *Republican,* May 26, 1865; *Democrat,* June 3, 1865.

[44] *Democrat*, June 2-6, 1865.

[45] Louis Fusz, *Diary*, Vol. 3, 92, MHM.

[46] Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 486.

[47] "Proclamation of Governor Thomas Fletcher upon the results of Ratification," *Republican*, July 1, 1865; Parrish, *Missouri under Radical Rule,* 46-48.

[48] Ibid., 48; Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 490-91.

[49] Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates,* 494-95. Editor Howard K. Beale notes that this entry was actually recorded in the handwriting of one of Bates' daughters, her father being too ill to write. There is but one other entry in Bates' diary in another person's handwriting. It is an entry by Bates' son during a period of time in the service of the Lincoln Administration when the strains of office seemed to have become too much for the attorney general, resulting in what biographer Marvin Cain and I believe to have been a small stroke.

[50] Ibid., 504, 521.

[51] Ibid., 512, 519.

[52] March, "Charles Daniel Drake," in Christensen et al., eds., *Dictionary of Missouri Biography,* 256.

[53] Beale, ed., *Diary of Edward Bates*, 527-29.

[54] Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1910), 48, 57, 62.

[55] *Constitution of the State of Missouri of 1875*, Jefferson City: The Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1909.

[56] Cain, *Lincoln's Attorney General*, 332-33.

[57] *"The Late Edward Bates,"* Second Meeting of the Members of the Bar, Resolutions of Respect, March 1869, Bates Family Papers, MHM.

[58] Ibid.

[59] For a discussion of the Bates statue, along with other memorials to St. Louis' Civil War personalities, see Louis S. Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001), 336-37.

China's Participation in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition

BY BRIAN B. ARENDT

The Chinese exhibits featured both modern works as well as more traditional ones, such as this inlaid table. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

Image left — When the Chinese participation in the St. Louis World's Fair was complete, most items were not returned to China but sold in the United States to pay for return passage. This desk is an example of an object in the Missouri History Museum's collection that reflects the influence of Western-style furniture on traditional Chinese design. This is also an example of the numerous objects left behind at the end of the exposition. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

As China approached the beginning of the twentieth century, sentiment was beginning to turn against those nations that were increasingly encroaching on its territory. It was the age of imperial expansion, and China was experiencing the effects. In 1897, Germany established a foothold in the port of Jiazhouwan in the Shantung peninsula. The intrusion into this part of China, where Confucius had been born, sparked vehement opposition. The result was the rise of anti-foreign protest. Leading the opposition in Shantung was a martial-arts organization known as the "Boxers." While the Boxers were marginal at first, the Qing government, which was increasingly under pressure to cede territory and developmental rights to foreign powers, saw this movement as an opportunity for action. Boxer contingents responded by blocking the exit of foreign nationals from Beijing and laying siege to foreign legations. As rumors spread in the world's capitals that the foreign inhabitants of Beijing had been slaughtered, an international military force landed in the port of Tianjin and reoccupied the capital. The Empress Dowager and the emperor fled.

Housed in the Palace of Manufactures on the Fair's grounds were a number of examples of Chinese traditional handicrafts. This aspect of the Chinese exhibit nearly did not take place. Upon entering the United States, a number of Chinese workers and merchants were detained by U.S. immigration officials and nearly deported. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

With the city of Beijing occupied, and with her armies in the south of China unwilling to support the central government, the emperor and the Empress Dowager agreed to sign a treaty, the Boxer Protocol. The Qing dynasty would be forced to pay a severe penalty in the form of a £67 million indemnity, essentially removing any hope of the further economic development of China. For the United States, the indemnity provided an opportunity to build a friendlier relationship with China as part of its "Open Door" policy. The United States agreed to set aside its portion of the Boxer Indemnity as scholarships for Chinese students wishing to study in American colleges and universities. Also as a consequence, the United States sought economic opportunities by agreeing to create a development bank to assist in railroad construction in Manchuria.

Returning in defeat to Beijing, the empress Dowager and the emperor would agree, at last, to serious reform efforts. A number of changes to China's institutions were proposed. China would create a Western-style foreign ministry to replace its traditional approach to diplomacy, the educational system would more closely resemble Western-style education systems, and the imperial government would examine the possibility of creating a constitutional government. This was the situation in China when the St. Louis World's Fair organizers sought it out as a participant.

Fair organizers succeeded in gaining China's participation. The Chinese exhibit at the 1904 World's Fair was perhaps the first time China showed evidence of its traditional culture to the world on such a large scale. To emphasize the exhibit's importance, the Qing government dispatched an imperial prince, Prince Pulun, to St. Louis and the United States as a special commissioner for the Chinese exhibit. While the huge effort China exerted in assembling a vast quantity of its wares greatly impressed fair attendants, poor treatment by immigration officials enforcing a ban on Chinese immigration marred the experience and provided the impetus for a boycott of American goods during 1905, one of the first examples

of protests against a foreign power using an economic boycott.

China Struggles to Reform

After Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, it became clear to scholars, officials, and the monarchy that previous efforts at the "self-strengthening" of the empire had failed. China's primary military and political leader at the time, Li Hongzhang, was overshadowed by Zhang Zhidong and Weng Tonghe, both of whom wanted China to implement limited reforms and adopt only some Western ideas. However, at this time, a group of patriotic young radical officials following the reformer, Kang Youwei, gathered together. Kang convinced the young emperor, Guangxu, that reforms were vital. This, however, alienated Cixi, the Empress Dowager, who was China's most powerful figure.[1]

In 1897, Germany's occupation of Jiaozhou Bay spurred Kang Youwei into action. He suggested that the emperor follow a policy of reform modeled after the Meiji Restoration in Japan, make institutional reforms, and encourage changes in the administration of the provinces. Kang Youwei began the "Hundred-Day Reforms" on the pretext that with the arrival of the Westerners and the Japanese in China, external policy had become more important. Governments had to look anew at foreign relations, industrialization, and administration. To institute these changes, Emperor Guangxu must seize power from the Empress Dowager. Their effort came to naught though, in part because China's most powerful military figure at that time, Yuan Shikai, did not aid the reformers.[2]

Meanwhile the presence of Germany in Jiaozhou Bay stirred outrage in the Shantung Peninsula. In December of 1899, the Empress Dowager gave approval to use the Boxer Movement, a society of anti-foreign martial arts practitioners opposed to foreigners living in China. Things grew more serious when, in May of 1900, China's regular army joined with the Boxers to form a single force. Reactionaries dominated the imperial court, giving foreign diplomats the impression that the Manchu leadership would authorize an assault on the diplomatic compound in Beijing. Apparently, reactionaries were happy with the Empress Dowager's decision to attack the foreign legations because it gave them a way to vent their anger.[3]

The Boxer Rebellion failed. Allied military forces occupied Beijing, and, coupled with the Russian encroachment into Manchuria, American officials believed that it was important that the powers maintain a status quo in China. This is the origin of the United States' policy of the "Open Door" in China. After the Boxer Rebellion and the humiliating "Boxer Protocol" the Allied occupying council imposed, China's sovereignty was virtually gone. The Chinese gained a reputation for barbarism, while the strong Allied responses made China seem weak. With the failure of reform, a number of scholar-officials in China looked toward revolution.[4]

In January of 1901, after the foreign troops had humiliated China, the Empress Dowager finally issued orders to her officials to suggest changes based on Western or Japanese political systems. What they suggested was a modern education system, changes in civil service examinations to include contemporary subjects, an end to outdated military training, and more study and travel abroad.[5] The Empress Dowager's desires for reforms after the Boxer Rebellion were not sincere, though, and she had no intentions of bringing foreign elements into her administration.[6] Not all in China wanted to import Western ideas, despite the humiliating defeat in the Boxer Rebellion and the occupation of Beijing.

Foreign military occupation of Beijing in 1900-1901 showed to what extent non-Chinese interests in China had increased. Railway and mining loans China secured from international investors greatly increased its debt. These blows to China's pride initiated the first movement to recover the nation's sovereignty that it had lost beginning with the First Opium War. Nationalism was behind the call for reforms. The nationalist movement that developed centered on three goals: an end to imperialism; establishment of a modern, centralized state; and an end to the Manchu dynasty.[7] The first, the end to imperialism, was a goal illustrated by China's role in the 1904 World's Fair.

The Open Door Policy and Chinese Diplomacy

Protest against the poor treatment of Chinese arriving for the fair can be traced to a feeling among several Chinese officials, beginning in the 1890s, that China could curry favor with the U.S. to modify harsh elements of the unequal treaties.[8] Wu Tingfang, minister to the United States until 1902 and again from 1907 to 1909, argued with the imperial viceroy Zhang Zhitong that the United States was the only power with sympathy for China. The court should try to enlist America's help against Russian, French, and Japanese encroachment on its frontiers.[9] At the time of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, it was clear that the American image of China was that of a country needing American goods, education, and democracy. This was particularly true after Theodore Roosevelt took office in 1901. Roosevelt's policy in China was to secure a large share of China's international trade for the United States and to use a strong military to block other powers from dominating it.[10]

While the United States sought an "Open Door" in China, a coterie of politicians had secured a "Closed Door" for immigrants from China. After 1898, these labor "exclusionists" and those politicians advocating limited access to United States citizenship gained control of the Bureau of Immigration. All states and local authorities attempted to root out Chinese emigrants. These policies had an impact on the Sino-American relationship as the start of the World's Fair loomed. New administrators in the Bureau of Immigration used intimidation, abuse, and arbitrary decisions to wheedle out Chinese travelers arriving on the West Coast. Agents used continuous, bullying interrogations to trap immigrants into conceding they were laborers and not merchants.[11] What seemed to

have concerned Qing dynasty officials, though, was not so much the exclusion of poor Chinese laborers in the U.S., but the gruff treatment merchants, students, and functionaries were receiving at the American gates.

In this atmosphere of trouble, Wu Tingfang, Minister to the United States, worked against exclusionist tactics by telling the Chinese people at home that their fellow nationals in the U.S. were being treated not as equals but as criminals.[12] Chinese immigrants in the U.S. were pleased with Wu's efforts on their behalf, but they believed nothing would come of negotiating with Washington as long as China was a weak and defeated power.[13] Those Americans supporting the Open Door policy agreed with Wu Tingfang's assertions and believed that better treatment of Chinese travelers to the U.S. would help gain access to the China market.[14]

During the same period, in 1903, the Roosevelt administration turned the Bureau of Immigration over to the Department of Commerce and Labor. A California official, Victor H. Metcalf, headed the Commerce department, and he was ill-disposed toward Chinese immigrants. Metcalf's desire was not only to prevent immigration but to drive out all Chinese living in the U.S. Minister Wu reacted by warning the administration in Washington that China might launch a boycott of American goods if the policy continued.[15]

Tension between Beijing and Washington ultimately led to China's demand to renegotiate the Gresham-Yang Treaty of 1894 with the United States which, negotiated during a period in which China was facing war with Japan, had conceded the right to restrict Chinese immigrants and deport those already residing in the United States. The Roosevelt administration refused to do so. Continued restrictions against the Chinese in the U.S. spurred some merchants in China to boycott American goods, which the Qing government initially supported.[16]

Just as the Chinese exhibit for the fair was being assembled, serious questions in Sino-American relations were emerging. Prince Qing, a high-placed noble and China's foreign minister, wrote the American representative in China that not only would China not continue the Sino-American treaty but would not renew it in its present form. Prince Qing did desire a treaty, though, for, he said, "in lieu of the friendly relations which have always existed between China and the United States, propositions looking to a satisfactory adjustment of the question by a new treaty will be entertained."[17]

The World's Fair and Sino-American Relations

Events such as the Qing dynasty's reform movement, the Open Door policy of the U.S., and the struggle over immigration had a definite impact on Chinese participation at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The fair was an opportunity for China to gain international recognition through participation. The treatment of its delegates and merchants taking part in the exposition, though, dimmed the hopes of a number of prominent government officials that the United States would prove a friend in the international arena. There are some suggestions that the mistreatment during the fair (by American immigration agents and not fair attendants or fair representatives, it must be stated) ignited the boycott of American goods in 1905 in China. While the boycott ultimately failed, it was one of the first examples of a mass demonstration against foreigners in China without an accompanying armed uprising. Out of this boycott, we could say, came the precedent for the demonstrations of the May Fourth Movement of 1919.

Chinese merchants displaying items at the 1904 World's Fair were given severe restrictions, and though President Roosevelt assured them of better treatment, the Chinese at the fair were still badly handled despite their status as "guests."[18] The American administration was aware of the potential problems immigration agents could create. In a letter to Secretary of State John Hay, American Minister to China Edward Conger acknowledged that Prince Pulun would be the commissioner in chief for China to the 1904 World's Fair. Conger was clearly concerned for the Prince's treatment. He said that "since China is just now beginning to send her young princes abroad I apprehend that public or official courtesies extended to no one will be more gratefully appreciated than by Prince Pu Lun [*sic*] and his government."[19]

As it turned out, the prince did not experience rough handling. Histories of the World's Fair recorded that "Prince Pu Lun [*sic*], who upon his several visits to this country and to the Exposition, created a most favorable impression upon all who had the pleasure of seeing and meeting him." This continued when Pulun arrived in St. Louis. On May 6, 1904, the prince made a great impression on local St. Louis figures and their guests at an official reception.[20] Prior to Pulun's arrival, the Chinese imperial vice-commissioner Wang Gaiga had clearly stated a major motivation for China's participation. At the dedication ceremony, Wang said:

> From across the broad Pacific China beholds that civilization, of which she is the parent, assuming the perfect form, and shedding beneficial influence over a prosperous and a contented people. China, filled with wonder and admiration, is desirous of ascertaining the different stages her old civilization has passed through to attain the eminence it has reached today. Notwithstanding her great age, China is anxious to learn; and this Universal Exposition, being a universal educator, China will take her lessons from.[21]

Clearly China's plans for a new relationship with the United States, reflected in Commissioner Wang's speech, implied the need to acquire the benefits of industrialization and technological advances from the United States and the West in general. Though the Manchu government had long envied Western technology, Wang's speech suggested that China was now admitting that elements of Western society

and government could also be of benefit.

The presence of a Chinese delegation at the St. Louis World's Fair showed the willingness of the Chinese to alter their foreign policy.[22] Fair observers concurred regarding the significance of China's exposition at the fair. "China fully realized the importance of being adequately represented at the Exposition; not alone for the purpose of exhibiting her products and manufactures, but from a desire to show her harmonious commercial relations with all other nations," one chronicler of the fair noted.[23]

The fair was an opportunity for China to impress on Americans and the world the quality of its ancient culture. This is evident through the exhibits, which consisted of a variety of treasures collected from China's provinces. The dedication ceremony in May 1904 greatly impressed participants because of the presence of Prince Pulun and China's then-minister to the United States, Liang Cheng. The Chinese placed much hope on the strength of their exhibit, gaining them the support of Americans in their attempt to improve China's position in the world.[24]

In fact, Prince Pulun's trip to the U.S. was an opportunity to convey a message from the emperor, Guangxu, to President Roosevelt. The Emperor's letter described the importance of the 1904 World's Fair to Sino-American relations:

> From the commencement of China's friendly intercourse with the United States the relations between the two countries have been growing closer and closer every day. Now the holding at the city of St. Louis of an international exposition to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the purchase of Louisiana, the object of which is to bring

This photo depicts the Chinese imperial vice-commissioner, Wang Gaiga, standing with David R. Francis, president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and with members of the Fair committee at the entrance to Brookings Hall on the campus of Washington University, not far from the location of the Chinese exhibit. Speaking at the ground breaking for the Chinese pavilion, he stressed China's need for industrial and technological progress. Prior to this, China's interest in Western nations was strictly to obtain technology, but the reform movements after the Boxer Rebellion were compelling the imperial government to look for broader benefits from Western contact. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

> together from every country on the surface of the globe its products and resources of every description for purposes of illustration and exhibition, gives us a fresh opportunity of manifesting our friendship.[25]

It was meant to exhibit the world's vast resources and diversity, but for China it was to signify the growing level of commerce that the United States had with that country, and, most appropriately, celebrated an event, the Louisiana Purchase, that thrust the United States toward the Pacific Ocean and Asia.

The negotiations for China's participation at the fair were the responsibility of John Barrett, previously the U.S. minister to Siam from 1893 to 1898. His trip in 1902 resulted in gaining much interest in Asia for participating in the World's Fair. While visiting China, he discussed the idea of China's participation with a number of prominent officials, including Zhang Zhitong and Yuan Shikai, who pressed the government to allow China to take part. This resulted in an audience for Barrett with the Emperor Guangxu and the Empress Dowager, who agreed to appoint a special commissioner to oversee preparations for China's participation.[26]

Once China agreed to participate in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the Imperial Vice-Commissioner Wang Gaiga arrived in St. Louis in July 1903, shortly after Chinese minister Liang Zheng had dedicated the exhibit. Commissioner Wang promised that China would provide some $500,000 to purchase Chinese silks, porcelains, and teas to display at the fair. Wang's appointment was instrumental to the exhibit's success, given his background as a former student at Yale University who was fluent in English. During his stay he participated in numerous social functions in St. Louis connected to the exposition, and he gave lectures on Chinese philosophy to the St. Louis Ethical Society.[27]

At the heart of China's participation in the World's Fair was the Chinese Pavilion, a building constructed as a replica of one of Prince Pulun's homes. The building

Postcards and other memorabilia of the St. Louis World's Fair depict the Chinese pavilion. At the entrance stands a traditional Chinese arch, built with upswept eaves typical of Chinese temples and pagodas. The pavilion behind the arch was constructed to resemble the palace of Prince Pulun containing a typical Chinese garden. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

China's participation in the St. Louis World's Fair was not restricted to the Chinese pavilion or the Palace of Manufactures. In fact, a small Chinese community grew around the Chinese exhibit that included workers and also actors, who participated in the Chinese theatre in the Pike area of the exposition. Many of these actors also experienced difficulty entering the U.S. to participate in the Fair, and required the intervention of China's minister to the United States to secure their safe entry. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

included a pagoda made of some six thousand crafted pieces of wood that included elements of ebony and ivory. Meanwhile, the items brought from China—some two thousand tons—were placed in fair buildings. These items included scrolls, jade, porcelain, coins, and costumes, as well as models of Chinese temples, houses, and an examination hall.[28]

One of the most remarked on items in the exhibit was a portrait of the Empress Dowager. Kate Carl, an American artist, had executed the painting while living in China. Donated by the wife of American Minister to China Edward Conger, the painting arrived in June of 1904 and was originally displayed in the Art Palace, today's St. Louis Art Museum. At the end of the fair it was officially donated to the United States and was placed in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., where it remains today.[29]

Another feature of the Chinese exhibit was the erection of a Chinese Village by a Chinese merchants' association from Philadelphia. The village consisted of a theater, a temple, a tea house, and a market selling silks, teas, and carvings. Some dozen Chinese children wandered the fair dressed in traditional costumes and urged fairgoers to visit the Chinese village. A group of Chinese acrobats also performed in the village, along with a number of musicians, who performed on traditional instruments. Chinese lanterns lighted the village at night.[30]

The treatment immigration officials dealt to Chinese participants at the fair marred their otherwise positive impression of the United States. John Barrett, special commissioner for Asia at the World's Fair, though he supported restrictive immigration policies, was shocked by the treatment of the Chinese officials and exhibitors and asserted that this almost caused the Chinese to withdraw from the fair. With this and an incident in which the family of Shanghai's mayor was detained in Boston, public

After the initial reception, Prince Pulun and Fair President Francis tour the Chinese contribution to the exposition, including the Chinese pavilion. The latter was constructed to resemble a palace belonging to Pulun in northern China. *(Image: Missouri History Museum)*

opinion in China called for a boycott of American goods.[31] Chroniclers of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition reported that China never objected to the 1880 Exclusion Act, but protested it in order to gain better treatment of those Chinese citizens who traveled to the U.S. with official permission.[32]

The Boycott of 1905

In May of 1905 the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce gathered to consider a request from overseas Chinese residents of San Francisco to begin a boycott of American goods. The Chamber of Commerce agreed to ask the central government in Beijing to express sympathy and to refuse further purchase of American goods if the discrimination against Chinese laborers in America continued. The imperial court sympathized with the treatment of its citizens in the United States, and the Empress Dowager expressed support on their behalf. She urged the cancellation of the Sino-American labor treaty. Working against the government's support for the boycott were acts of violence against American consulates and the imperial court's fear that antigovernment revolutionaries might take advantage of the situation to advance their cause.[33]

Although the government would formally end its support for a boycott in August of 1905, Prince Qing, president of the Chinese foreign ministry and guest at the World's Fair, sympathized with the position of the Chinese in the United States. American minister to China W. W. Rockhill considered the boycott a weapon China would use to force the United States to agree to a new labor treaty. On the other hand, Rockhill was instrumental in establishing the Open Door policy to China, and he promised that at the end of December the treatment of Chinese laborers would come before Congress. He issued a warning to the government in Beijing that the U.S. would not take kindly to threats to Americans and that Congress might insist China pay for damages to American trade. On his part, President Roosevelt was willing to advocate fairer treatment of Chinese residents in the U.S. He called upon Congress to enact laws leading to fair treatment of Chinese merchants and representatives, but not Chinese laborers. However, Congress was more concerned with the economic interests of Americans and did not take heed.[34]

To bring the matter to an end, the United States insisted that the Chinese government arrest those whom it believed were behind the boycott movement. One of those so identified was Wu Tingfang, former minister to the United States and the Chinese representative who had helped organize China's participation in the World's Fair. In fact, in 1900 Wu had advocated the use of boycotts to obtain better treatment for Chinese in the U.S. While serving as minister, Wu had sent letters to American newspapers advocating better treatment for Chinese residents. In 1902, Wu served as deputy minister in the Foreign Ministry and urged that if the United States continued to exclude and discriminate against Chinese people in America, China

would prohibit the presence of missionaries and merchants in China. American minister Edward H. Conger believed that Wu was a troublemaker. In fact, there are serious doubts that Wu was an agitator behind the scenes for the boycott, especially as he was accepted once again to serve as minister to the United States in 1907.[35]

The boycott had not ended due to American pressure, but as a result of other events concerning China's rights to exploit its own resources, which were of greater concern to the Qing government. Overall the damage to Sino-American trade was not significant, but American merchants were concerned for their position in China. Many would correspond with their representatives advocating more lenient treatment of Chinese laborers in order to help maintain their position in China. Whether the boycott succeeded or not, its importance was in the organization of a movement to assert China's national prestige and independence.[36]

The World's Fair of 1904 had a connection to the development of Sino-American relations in the early twentieth century. In the negotiations for China's participation in the fair, China saw a marvelous opportunity to build a positive image for the empire to a world whose most recent impression was that of hordes of "Boxers" besieging the American legation in Beijing. In fact, the Chinese exhibit at the fair appears to have accomplished this objective, for its section of the fair was popular and the presence of an imperial prince impressed an audience at a period in history when royalty was often not highly regarded. All was not well, however, for the grueling interrogations merchants and officials of the fair arriving from China experienced brought home to Beijing the impression that China was still not an equal in the world of diplomacy. Hence, when the suggestion of a boycott against American goods in 1905 reached the Qing government, it seemed an opportunity to peacefully protest the inequality remaining in Sino-American relations.

ENDNOTES

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[3] Ibid., 392-93, 395.
[4] Ibid., 404-5.
[5] Ibid., 408-9.
[6] Ibid., 408-9, 411.
[7] *China in Revolution: The First Phase, 1900-1913*, ed. Mary Clabaugh Wright (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 3-4, 11.
[8] Michael Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 189.
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[10] Jerry Israel, *Progressivism and the Open Door: America and China, 1905-1921* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971), 5-6.
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[13] Shishan Henry Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983), 101-2.
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[17] *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 118.
[18] Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship*, 233.
[19] *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 148.
[20] Mark Bennitt, *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905), 285-91.
[21] "Dedication of China's Building Site," *World's Fair Bulletin* (St. Louis) October 1903, 1899-1904: 2-3, World's Fair Publishing Co.
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[23] Bennitt, *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, 289.
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[26] Irene E. Cortinovis, "China at the St. Louis World's Fair," *Missouri Historical Review* 72 (October 1977): 60-61.
[27] Ibid., 62.
[28] Ibid., 63-64.
[29] Ibid., 64.
[30] Ibid., 66.
[31] Israel, *Progressivism and the Open Door*, 24.
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[33] Wong, Sin Kiong, *China's Anti-American Boycott Movement in 1905: A Study in Urban Protest* (Peter Leung, 2002), 39, and 145-46.
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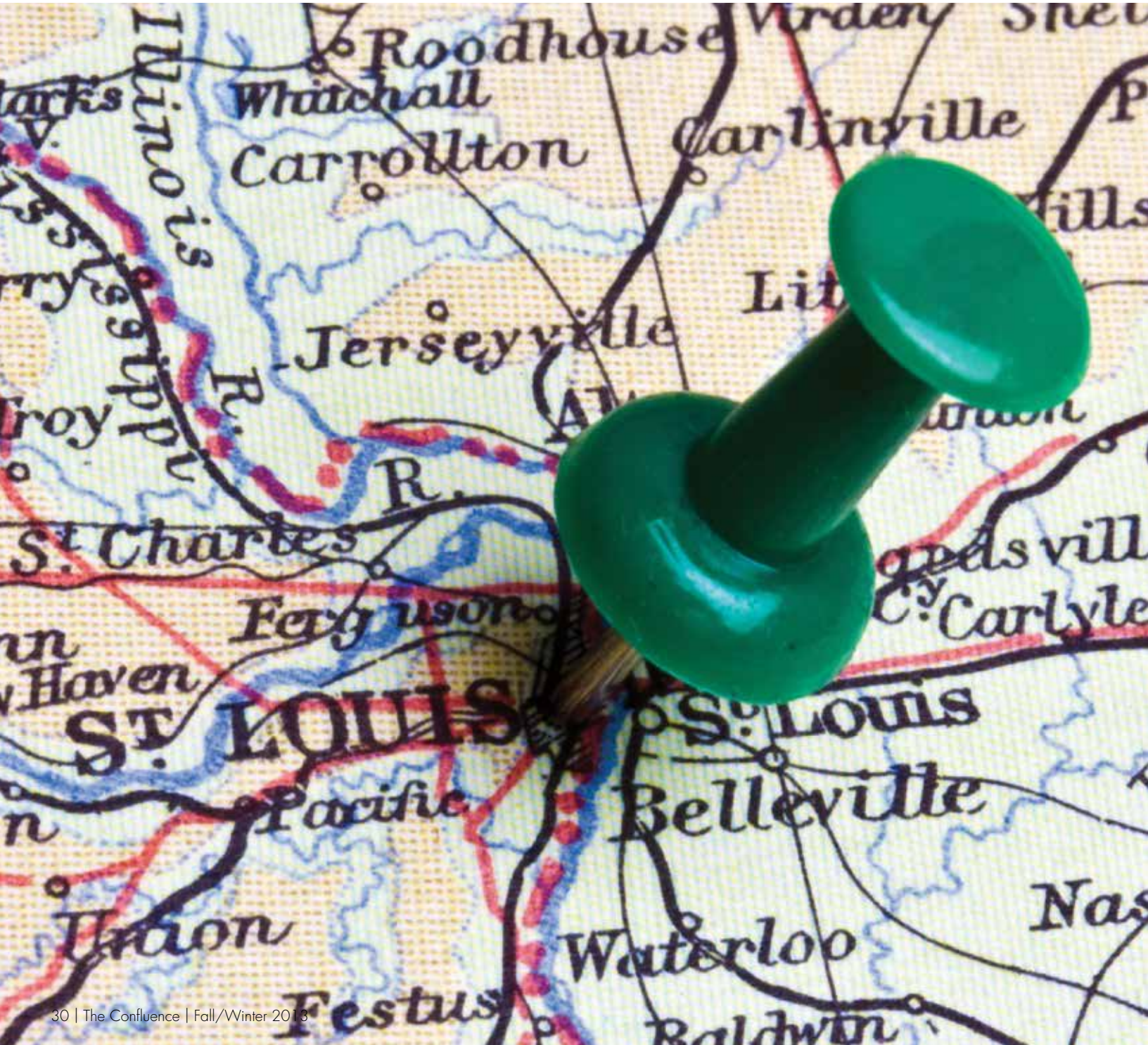
[36] Ibid., 171-172.

WHERE WE STAND:

The Competitiveness of the St. Louis Region

BY JOHN POSEY and MARY RICCHIO



Measuring Regional Competitiveness

Among its peer metropolitan areas, the St. Louis region is the 17th largest in population, 27th in population growth, 7th most affordable for housing, and 12th in high school attainment. What do these rankings mean? Is the St. Louis region less or more competitive than its peers? Do they measure whether or not the region is successful?

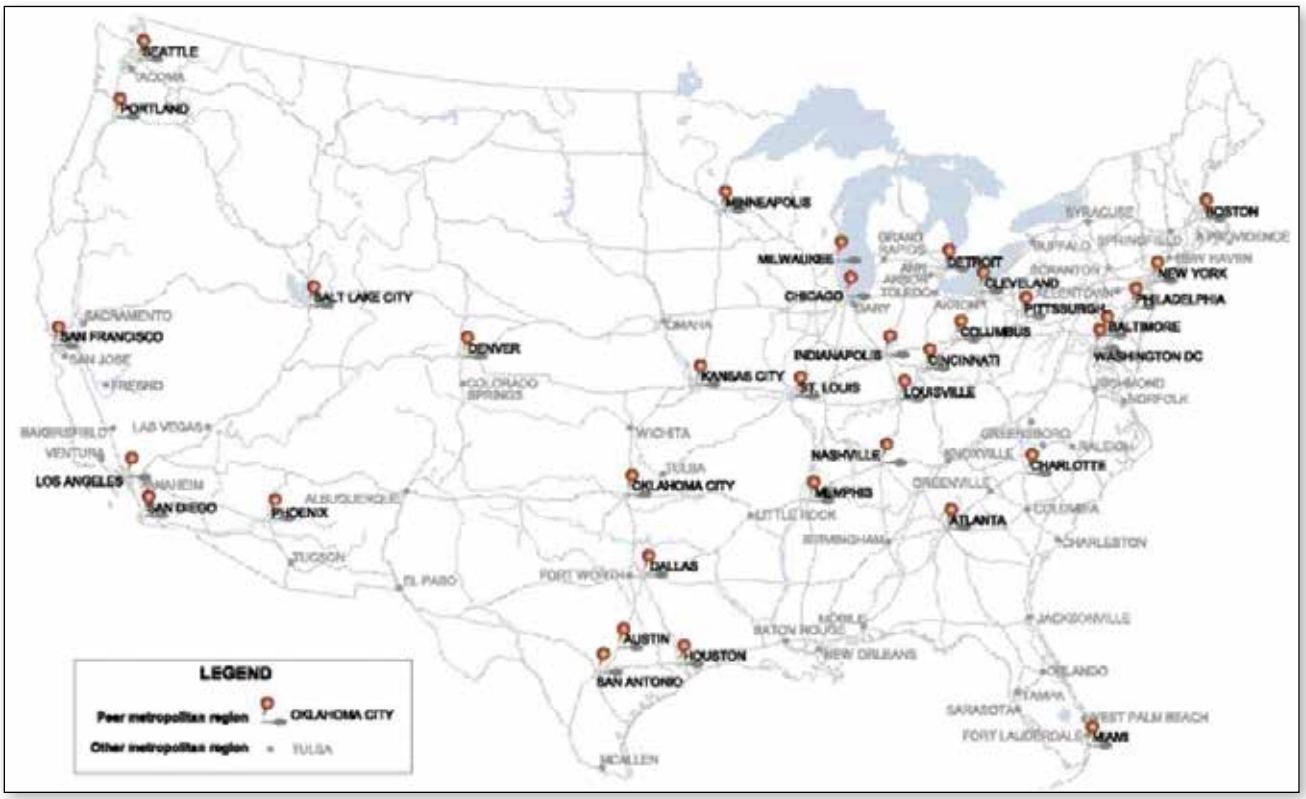
In this essay, we explore two theoretical approaches to answering these questions – regional growth and regional competitiveness. Both of these approaches are "nomothetic explanations" for how regions develop. That is, they seek to generalize factors based on what is learned from multiple cases. They differ in that regional growth theory focuses on specific inputs (i.e., transportation costs, education, and taxes) as explanations for differences in the economic growth of regions while regional competitiveness theory focuses on the need for regions to build a strong economic cluster around a specific industry. There is support for both theories but, of course, criticism of and flaws in both as well.

We use rankings of 35 peer metropolitan regions from the East-West Gateway Council of Governments publication, *Where We Stand,* to discuss these theories and how they apply to the St. Louis region.

WHERE WE STAND

To gauge the competitiveness of the St. Louis region, The East-West Gateway Council of Governments has ranked St. Louis among 34 regions deemed its peers for the past 20 years in six editions of *Where We Stand*. These regions are viewed as those that St. Louis competes with domestically for people and jobs. *Where We Stand* has come to be recognized as an authoritative source of information about the competitive position of the St. Louis region in the national marketplace. East-West Gateway tracks over 100 variables that together tell a story about the health of the St. Louis region compared to 34 peer MSAs. *Where We Stand* is issued about every three years with periodic updates released between publications. Current and past editions of the publication, as well as the periodic updates, can be found at www.ewgateway.org/wws/wws.htm

The *Where We Stand* series of publications compares St. Louis to 34 peer metropolitan areas.



How to Measure Success?

You don't have to look far to find a ranking of metropolitan areas or cities. Every day we are inundated with the latest top ten list of - best cities for casinos, best dressed, worst places to get an education, and on and on. An educated reader will greet these rankings with critical skepticism because there are many challenges associated with compiling comparative metrics. First, different cities or states measure and report information differently, raising the risk of comparing apples and oranges. A second challenge relates to the interpretation of data. Idiosyncratic factors sometimes result in "spikes" in the data that reflect measurement issues rather than real changes. For example, the St. Louis region was rated among the top regions in the country in the growth of agricultural land from 2002 to 2007. However, much of this increase was due to recreational land owners in Illinois reclassifying their properties as forests for tax purposes. This reclassification did not represent an actual growth in open space. A third challenge is that, although some may try, it often is not possible to measure important characteristics in a quantitative manner. Features such as civic pride, quality of parks, and miles of bike trails are examples of variables for which comparative metrics are elusive.

In spite of these challenges, comparative metrics can provide some context for interpreting trends and assessing performance. In a strategic assessment of the St. Louis region, East-West Gateway navigates around these challenges by relying primarily on standardized federal data and on studies that compile comparable statistics for multiple regions.

Before discussion of theories of development, we provide an overview of where the St. Louis region stands

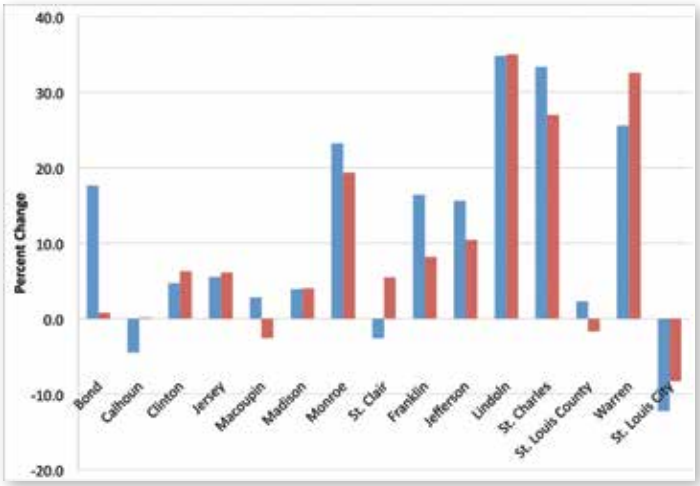
WHAT IS AN MSA?

The federal government designates Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA) based on population density and commuting patterns. The St. Louis MSA boundaries announced in 2003 included the Missouri counties of Franklin, Jefferson, Lincoln, St. Charles, St. Louis, Warren, and Washington, and the city of St. Louis; and the Illinois counties of Bond, Calhoun, Clinton, Macoupin, Jersey, Madison, Monroe, and St. Clair. In 2013, the MSA boundary was revised based on 2010 population data, and Washington County was removed. The comparative metrics used in this paper rely on the 2003 MSA designation (16 counties).

The St. Louis Metropolitan Statistical Area currently includes 14 counties and the city of St. Louis. Before 2013, Washington County, Missouri, was also considered part of the MSA. This report uses the 2003 designation (16 counties).

in comparison to its peers on some of the most common indicators used in analyses of regional growth and competitiveness.

Population Change by County, St. Louis MSA, 1990 to 2010



Population and Migration

Population growth is often used as a stand-alone measure of the health of a region or city. This is shortsighted. Changes in population do not directly shed light on the quality of life in a region. The charts in this essay indicate that many high-growth regions also have low income and high crime. On the other hand, low population growth, particularly when combined with net out-migration, can suggest a relatively modest number of employment opportunities. Population decline and growth each have their own set of challenges and advantages.

St. Louis lags behind most of its peers in terms of population growth, yet it is still holding its place as one of the largest regions in the country. Its four percent population growth over the last decade earns it the ranking of 27. The region has dropped from the 12th most populous to the 17th over the past two decades.[1] Miami, San Francisco, Phoenix, and Seattle all increased population enough to move up and shift the St. Louis region down in the rankings.

The regions that have experienced the highest population gains have also seen the largest gains in net migration, particularly domestic migration. The St. Louis region ranked below average on net migration in five of the six editions of WWS. The 2006 edition is the only one in which the region recorded a positive net migration rate, with 22,000 more people moving into the region than moving out between 2000 and 2005. By the end of the decade, the recorded net migration was again negative. Similar to other slow growing regions with a large population, St. Louis has a higher rate of international migration compared to domestic migration. Yet, the region's international migration is still not enough to make up for the loss in population due to domestic migration.

Employment and Income

Whether jobs follow people or people follow jobs, the regions that have seen the largest increases in population have also seen the largest increases in employment. These high-growth areas are mostly in the Sunbelt region with the three largest employment gainers in Texas. Like most of the peer regions, the St. Louis region saw employment gains in the 1980s and 1990s but saw a decrease in the last decade. St. Louis ranked 19th (of 30) in employment growth from 1980 to 1989, 24th from 1990 to 1996, 34th from 1996 to 2000, and 26th from 2000 to 2010.

Another common measure of the success of regions is income. The earnings per job in the St. Louis region was below the peer region average in 1989 (ranking 15th of 30) and slipped in ranking to 23rd (of 35) in 2009. In real dollars, the average earnings per job in the St. Louis region have increased from $42,486 in 1989 (in 2009 dollars) to $45,553 in 2009, a seven percent increase. The average earnings per job for the peer regions increased 12 percent over the same time period, indicating the St. Louis region is not keeping up with its peers.

The regions that saw an increase in employment over the past decade vary in their rankings on earnings per job. Only two of the top 10 employment gainers rank in the top 10 on the earnings per job variable.

Quality of Life

Economic indicators are not the only measures of a successful region. There are also many quality of life variables that deserve recognition. St. Louis ranks better than average on indicators such as health insurance coverage and crime rates, about in the middle on poverty rates, and worse than average on several health indicators such as asthma.

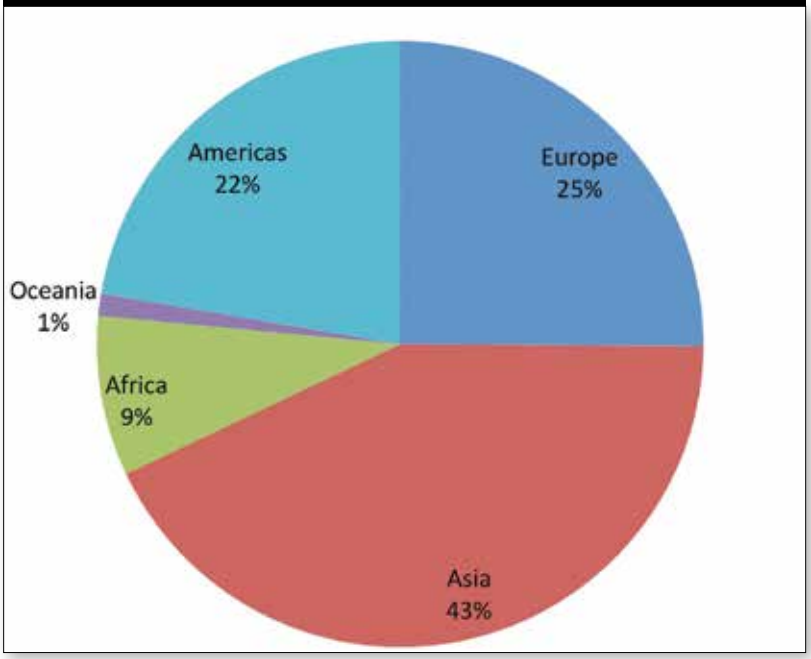
What is the East-West Gateway Council of Governments?

The East-West Gateway Council of Governments (EWG) is the federally designated metropolitan planning organization (MPO) for the St. Louis region. It serves eight counties in the St. Louis region: the Illinois counties of Madison, Monroe, and St. Clair, and the Missouri counties of Franklin, Jefferson, St. Charles, St. Louis, and the city of St. Louis. As the MPO, EWG has legal authority and responsibility for developing and adopting plans for the region's surface transportation system. In addition, through its role as a Council of Governments, EWG acts as a forum in which local governments may work together to achieve common purposes.

On the quality of life indicators, again, there is much variation in where the high growth regions rank. The lack of a correlation is even more apparent than on some of the other variables. More than half of the 10 fastest-growing regions have higher than average rates on all four of these variables.

It is often said that the low cost of housing contributes to quality of life in St. Louis, and there is some truth to this assertion. St. Louis ranks well on the Housing Opportunity Index, with 84 percent of homes affordable to a family earning the median income. But, as metropolitan areas have become more spread out, it has become common to factor transportation costs in with housing costs when measuring affordability. Because St. Louisans drive more, owing to the region's relatively low density and relatively high reliance on cars, the region's ranking drops somewhat when housing and transportation costs are considered together. But even using the housing plus transportation, or "H+T" index, St. Louis is still more affordable than most of its peers.

Place of Birth, Foreign Born Population, St. Louis MSA



The regions with the largest increases in population and employment as well as the most populated regions vary in their ranking on the H+T index with no apparent correlation between this affordability variable and growth.

The top ten population and employment gainers rank in the middle of the peer regions on the Housing Opportunity Index, with 73 to 84 percent of homes affordable to a family earning the median income in their regions. The most populated regions tend to be less affordable, with more of the regions ranking higher and 38 to 80 percent of homes affordable to a family earning the median income.

The quality of life indicators discussed here represent only a small fraction of the indicators that one might want to include in such an analysis. The St. Louis region is often recognized for having high-quality cultural institutions, a strong community spirit surrounding sports, and good access to recreational opportunities. Unfortunately, there is a lack of reliable comparative metrics available for these factors. The quality of life data used for comparison in this section can be viewed only as a proxy for the overall level of happiness or quality of life in a region. Still, they make the point that growth and quality of life do not always go hand in hand.

Explaining Success

It is easier to describe trends than to explain them. Much research has been completed that tries to explain the success of some regions and the failure of others. Wilhelm Windelband (1901) distinguishes between two types of explanations. The ideographic style seeks to explain individual cases, focusing on contingent factors that make an individual example unique. By contrast, the nomothetic style seeks to generalize, seeking factors that generally explain multiple cases. There is room in social thought for both styles of analysis.

An ideographic explanation might, for example, explain Miami's high rate of international migration as a function of the city's geographic proximity to Latin America. Austin's population explosion might be explained by the unique constellation of factors that propelled that region to grow, including a thriving music scene and a combination of a major university and a state capital. Nomothetic explanations look for more general factors that could be applied to any (or almost any) region. While not diminishing the importance of particularistic case studies, this article focuses on two schools of thought that fall into the nomothetic category. These theoretical approaches have been called "regional growth theory" and "regional competitiveness theory." (Capello, 2001)

Theories of Regional Growth

It has long been noted that some regions enjoy more economic growth than others. Early theories explained differences among regions as a function of transportation costs (Capello, 2011). Later explanations focused on factor endowments, such as valuable minerals or agricultural productivity. As theory developed, awareness grew that cities could, to some extent, shape their own endowments of labor and capital.

In the 1990s, economic research on regional growth focused on the importance of factors such as education, infrastructure, and taxes. A related strain emphasized the role of governance.

Education

It is close to self-evident that education and productivity are, to some extent, linked. However, the connection between a given educational policy and subsequent growth is not straightforward. Educational attainment affects economic growth, and economic growth in one time period affects educational spending, and educational attainment, in subsequent periods.

Fisher (1997) and Aghion et al. (2009) find the evidence of the role of education in economic development to be weak. In a meta-analysis of 19 studies that seek to quantify the relationship between regional economic performance and the role of public services, Fisher finds that only six show a significant positive relationship between education spending and economic outcomes. Others actually show negative relationships.

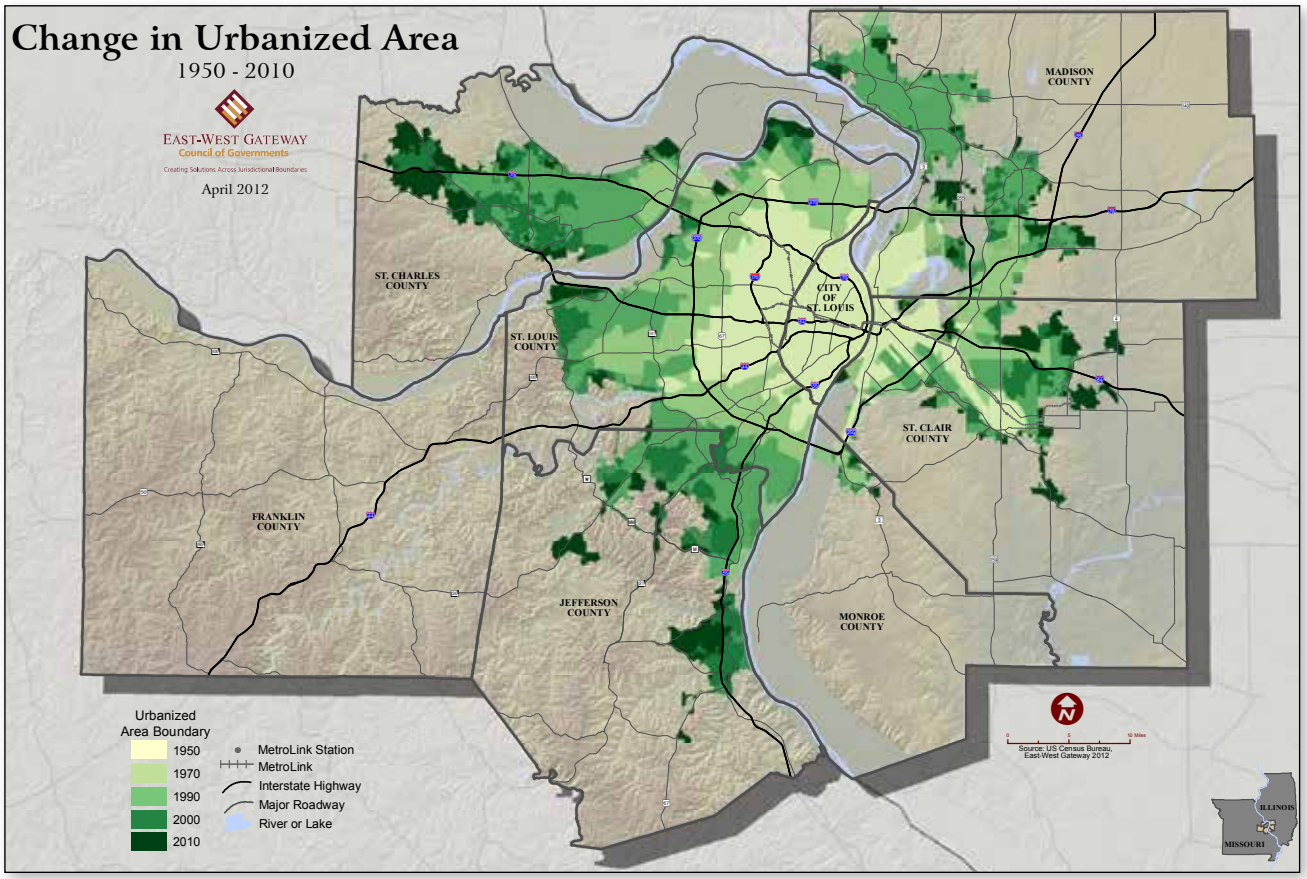
Several of the studies use educational spending as the indicator of regional policy. Fisher notes that this variable is problematic, since spending is not always a good indicator of educational quality. On this variable, the St. Louis region ranks 13th, spending $9,600 per student on curriculum. This is slightly more than the average for the peer regions. Additionally, the 22 percent growth in spending in the St. Louis region is slightly lower than the increase in education spending for the average for the 35 peers (25 percent).[2]

Some studies use educational attainment rather than educational spending. But this too is problematic. As Fisher notes, causality is very difficult to tease out: Education affects income, and income affects education. Reviewing literature more than a decade later, Aghion et al. (2009) conclude that "despite the enormous interest in the relationship between education and growth, the evidence is fragile at best."

The St. Louis region ranks fairly well on variables of education attainment. The St. Louis region ranks 24th on adults without a high school diploma or equivalent with nearly 89 percent of the adult population with at least a high school education. This is a higher rate than some of the regions that are seeing the most growth in employment and population, such as Austin, Charlotte, and Dallas, as well as some of the largest US regions, such as New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Only one of the regions (Columbus) that have a higher high school education attainment percentage than the St. Louis region has a lower median household income. Of the six regions where median household income has increased over the last decade, three (New York, San Diego, and Los Angeles) have less educated population than the average peer region, measured by the percent of adults without a high school diploma.

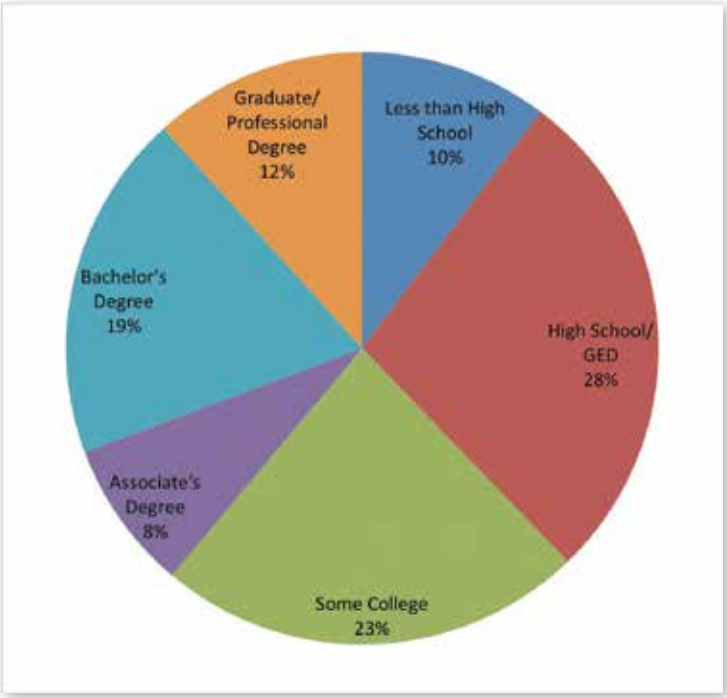
St. Louis ranks 15th on both adults with advanced

Between 1950 and 2010, the St. Louis region's urbanized area more than quadrupled, while the region's population increased by only 50 percent. More dispersed settlement patterns result in more driving.



degrees and change in percent of adults with a bachelor's degree or higher. For adults with advanced degrees, the region is just below average with 11.6 percent of adults having a master's, professional, or doctorate degree. Washington, D.C., Boston, and San Francisco rank the highest on this variable, with over 15 percent of adults having an advanced degree. Seven of the 10 regions with the largest employment gains over the past decade rank in the bottom 10 on this variable, with some of the lowest percent of adults with advanced degrees.

Educational Attainment, Population Over Age 25, St. Louis MSA



On the change in percent of adults with a bachelor's degree or higher, St. Louis is above average with 4.6 percent growth over the last decade. Many of the regions with the fastest growing populations (Dallas, Austin, and Houston) and the largest increases in employment (Austin, San Antonio, and Houston) are experiencing some of the slowest growth in adults with bachelor's degrees. St. Louis is also above average on adults with an Associate's Degree as the highest level of education.

These mixed findings seem to give support to Duncan's (1997) argument against using inconclusive statistical evidence to shape policy, warning that doing so would probably result in underinvestment. On the other hand, Ady (1997), writing from a non-quantitative perspective, reports that educational attainment is a first-cut issue used by site selection consultants in recommending regions for major business expansions or relocations.

In line with Ady's findings, the St. Louis Regional Chamber recently announced a goal of being in the top 10 metros for college attainment. This goal is based on market research that indicates companies will use this cut-off point in helping to determine which regions are options for location or relocation. Currently, the St. Louis region is 14th among the 20 largest metro regions. The Chamber hopes that by aligning the private, public, and education entities in the region toward this goal, the St. Louis region will also see better rankings on measures of regional growth. While there is no guarantee that a given educational policy will result in added growth, the economic development literature provides some evidence that educational attainment can be a useful piece of an economic development strategy.

Infrastructure

Regarding infrastructure, the results are, again, mixed. Fisher (1997) provides a review of literature on the effects of transportation spending on regional economic growth, finding that only eight of the 15 studies reviewed show positive and significant relationships between transportation and economic outcomes. However, Chen and Haynes (2012) point out that most of the positive findings were reported in early work on the topic, while later work tended to refute the connection. Mamuneas and Nadiri (1996) report that as the system has matured, the effect of highway spending has declined.

Ady, writing again from the perspective of a site development consultant, reports that proximity to interstate highways matters for a fairly large percentage of his clients. Ady reports that more than 50 percent of his clients want to be within 25 miles of an Interstate. Access to transportation gives firms flexibility on warehousing and logistics, makes express service pickups more reliable, and allows firms to draw from a greater labor pool.

The WWS tables on transportation variables indicate the St. Louis region has a fairly competitive road network–8th highest number on freeway lane miles per square mile, the 13th lowest average commute time, and 11th lowest daily vehicle miles of travel per square mile. When the size of the region is taken into account, the number of miles driven (i.e., daily travel density) appears fairly low. Since the region is so large, though, actual vehicle miles of travel are fairly high (7th highest in vehicle miles traveled per capita). Although the region has a vast road network that provides access in a competitive time, the expense of transportation for households is higher than in most other regions. The regions where households are spending some of the lowest proportions of their income on transportation are also some of the most densely populated regions in the

country, but not the fastest growing.

Reports such as Ady's offer an important complement to quantitative studies, giving a practitioner's insight into how and why different factors are important to different firms. While they affirm the importance of infrastructure such as highways, these perspectives still offer little in the way of a roadmap for a region seeking to chart an optimal course.

Taxes

Many econometric studies in the 1990s investigated the hypothesis that higher taxes in a region discourage economic activity in that region. Wasylenko (1997) reviews studies of the effect of tax rates on regional economic outcomes, including employment and income. As with Fisher's review of expenditures, Wasylenko finds results on the effect of taxes inconclusive: "In effect, the results are not very reliable and change depending on which variables are included in the estimation equation or which time period is analyzed." Ady (1997) disputes the importance of taxes, reporting that this is rarely a top concern of firms seeking to relocate.

Duncan (1997) reflects on the inconclusiveness of econometric evidence, distinguishing between tax policies he classifies as "the good, the bad, and the ugly." Ugly tax policy consists of inter-jurisdictional bidding wars for specific firms. Bad tax policies, according to Duncan, attempt to use tax incentives to spur investment or job creation, but in reality usually simply subsidize decisions that would have been made anyway. Good tax policy seeks the lowest possible general tax rates consistent with a desired level of service.

The St. Louis region has consistently had some of the lowest per capita government expenditures, ranking 28th (of 30) in 1987 and 33rd in 2006. The region is in the bottom 10 with some of the biggest employment gainers – Austin, Houston, Salt Lake City, Nashville, Oklahoma City, and Dallas. But, on the other end of the spectrum, the five regions with the highest government expenditures per capita in 2006 are often considered some of the most competitive–San Francisco, New York, Los Angeles, Charlotte, and Washington, D.C. The charts shown offer slightly different measures of regional taxing and spending. Local spending per capita reflects total local government spending divided by population. Since areas with higher incomes might be expected to spend more, the chart showing government revenue as a percent of total income normalizes spending data by income. Local government revenue from local sources excludes intergovernmental transfers that might be expected to skew results. By each measure, St. Louis has consistently ranked low on both local taxes and local spending.

Governance

Do smaller governments provide residents with an enhanced level of communication with leaders, or do many small governments split the pie and cause more intra-regional competition at the expense of inter-regional competitiveness? With over 200 local governments and hundreds of additional special purpose local governments, governance is possibly the most debated issue in the St. Louis region. The large number of local governments is due, at least in part, to the divorce of 1876, in which the city of St. Louis split from St. Louis County. As a result of this split, the city of St. Louis was not able to grow through annexation, which is how many other cities expanded their populations throughout the 20th Century.

While research on regional impacts of education, infrastructure, and taxes arose from the economics literature, political science gave rise to a body of literature on the role of governance. In the 1990s, several prominent urban theorists, including David Rusk, Myron Orfield, Anthony Downs, and Neil Peirce, argued forcefully against political fragmentation within regions. These thinkers advocated measures including regional tax base sharing, growth boundaries, and city-county mergers to strengthen urban cores. Theorists in this vein argued that cities and suburbs are inextricably linked. Suburbs, it was argued, could not thrive without strong urban cores, and conversely, a strong urban core benefits the entire region.

Several research efforts attempted to document a negative relationship between fragmentation and economic performance, though Swanstrom (1996) finds these studies unconvincing. Swanstrom maintains that this strain of regionalism arose in response to the reduction of federal aid to cities and to low-income households. Federal retrenchment forced urban advocates to make new arguments for local public policies that favored urban cores. Since "the old arguments about compassion were falling on deaf ears," urban advocates attempted to appeal to the self-interest of suburban residents by persuading them that all would benefit from programs aimed at central cities. Swanstrom argues that this rhetorical turn illustrates the limits of economic thinking, and that policies should be defended through a compelling vision of what a region can be, rather than through attempts to estimate elasticities of output.

In *Where We Stand* rankings, the St. Louis region is consistently at the top of the charts with one of the highest number of local governments per capita. Among its ranks in the top 10 are mostly other Midwest regions –Indianapolis, Kansas City, Columbus, and Cincinnati. The top 10 list also includes a couple of regions with high population growth–Denver and Houston–but most of the regions with high population and employment growth rank below the peer average of 12 governments per 100,000 population.

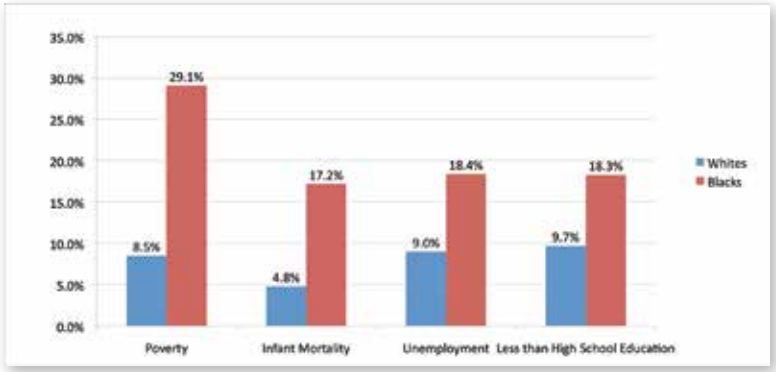
Theories of Regional Competitiveness

Over the last 15 years, theorists of regional competitiveness such as Michael Porter (Porter, 2003; Delgado, Porter and Stern, 2012) and Richard Florida (2008) have achieved near hegemonic status in discussions of regional economic performance. Whereas earlier theories of regional growth emphasized factors of production and costs, the regional competitiveness literature, influenced by the New Economic Geography of Paul Krugman and other theorists, emphasizes the

benefits of economic specialization.

Regional competitiveness theory takes as its point of departure the changes that have occurred in the global economy over the last quarter century. As a result of these changes, regions have become "crucibles" of economic competition. In response, according to these theorists, regions should pursue strategies aimed at developing clusters of interdependent firms in order to take advantage of benefits of agglomeration.

Racial Disparity in the St. Louis Region



Economic change

Analysts such as Ash Amin (1999) emphasize that the importance of regions has been enhanced by changes in the world economy in recent decades. Over the last 40 years, relaxation of controls on capital mobility, in combination with the development of information technology infrastructure enabling command and control over long distances, has produced a dramatic shift in the international division of labor, a change encapsulated by the term "globalization." As a result of globalization, firms face competition from other firms around the world, a development that has led to significant reductions in manufacturing employment in the United States.

Two other factors also enhance the role of regions. The first was a shift from a model of industrial organization known as Fordism to a new model referred to as flexible specification or "flex-spec." Fordism refers to the system of mass production and mass consumption epitomized by Henry Ford's assembly lines. Flex-spec refers to the capacity of goods producers to tailor products to the specifications of individual consumers, producing smaller batches for a wider variety of customers.

The second shift was the retrenchment of the national Keynesian welfare state, which formerly played a more active role in both the management of aggregate demand and in the financing of subsidiary units of government. As a result of these changes, regions are increasingly on their own, even as firms face ever greater pressures from competition around the globe.

A conclusion drawn by proponents of regional competitiveness is that in the increasingly globalized market, regions are the crucible of economic competition. Regions, on their own in the face of national retrenchment, become the key actors in economic policy and job creation. Firms, facing ever more competition, survive only through constant innovation. Innovation, in this line of theorizing, is a byproduct of clustering and agglomeration economies. Regional competitiveness theorists therefore invoke terms such as social capital, institutional thickness, and dense networks to explain the benefits of having similar firms in close geographic proximity. The central conclusion of this line of reasoning is that regions should pursue policies to promote the development of strong economic clusters.

These global trends help explain much of the recent history of the St. Louis economy. Changes in the global economy led to massive decreases in manufacturing employment in the United States, and manufacturing centers such as St. Louis were particularly hard hit. In 1969, manufacturing employed 292,000 workers in the St. Louis region. By 2010, the number had fallen to just 106,000. Between 1992 and 2012, St. Louis lost a larger percentage of its manufacturing jobs than Detroit, Pittsburgh, or Cleveland. These high-paying jobs were replaced by service sector positions that generally paid far lower wages.[3]

These economic dislocations in recent decades have not been spread evenly throughout society. As documented by William Julius Wilson (1996), African American communities have been disproportionately affected by changes in the global economy. In St. Louis, racial disparities can be seen in employment, income, poverty levels, and health.

Benefits of Agglomeration

According to regional competitiveness theorists such as Porter (2001; 2011), regions that have a strong concentration of firms in related economic sectors enjoy several advantages, including:

- Input-output links: Geographic proximity between goods producing firms and their suppliers reduces transportation and transaction costs.
- Labor market pooling: The ability to draw on a large workforce with industry-specific knowledge benefits firms by reducing training costs and increasing the productivity of labor.
- Knowledge spillovers: A physical concentration of individuals in related fields leads to incremental innovation in ways that reduce costs or increase productivity.

In other words, physical proximity and localized knowledge generate positive externalities and increasing

returns to scale that make firms in a specialized region more competitive in the global marketplace.

Richard Florida (2008) has contributed to the regional competitiveness literature by developing the concept of a "creative class." In Florida's view, innovation derives from a dense concentration of highly educated and creative individuals. By placing creative thinkers in close proximity, knowledge spillovers and innovations inevitably result. A key question in regional economic development, then, is how to attract members of the creative class. Florida offers "three t's" of drawing creative thinkers to a region: tolerance, talent, and technology. By offering an image that is tolerant of diverse lifestyles and cultures, that values talent, and that is friendly to technological innovation, a region can draw the kinds of individuals that form the cornerstone of success in the global market.

Two tables show the performance of the St. Louis region through the lens of regional competitiveness theory. The first shows the percentage of workers employed in strong clusters in traded sectors, using data provided by Michael Porter's Institute for Strategy and Competitiveness. A region is deemed to have a strong cluster if the region's share of employment in that cluster is 30 percent greater than the national average.[4] It can be seen that by this measure, St. Louis is about in the middle of the pack, with 9.5 percent of workers employed in strong clusters. The other table shows patent performance, measured by patents per 10,000 employees. By this measure, St. Louis ranks 23rd out of 35.

Criticisms Regional Competitiveness Theory

Although thinkers such as Porter and Florida have dominated recent discourse on regional economic performance, there has been a stout band of dissenters who criticize the rubric of regional competitiveness, charging that it lacks empirical rigor, conceptual clarity, and usefulness.

Critics attack theories of regional competitiveness for promoting an agenda based on inadequate empirical evidence. Lovering (1999) dismisses new regionalism as "a rather vague framework which licenses speculation on possible relationships between hypothetical actors at an imprecisely specified level of ideal-typical abstraction." Martin (2006) also notes that competitiveness is a contentious concept, quoting Robert Reich to the effect that competitiveness "is one of those rare terms of public discourse to have gone directly from obscurity to meaninglessness without any intervening period of coherence." Lovering charges that case studies overstate the economic success of regions that have adopted the new regionalist "paradigm," overlook signs of weakness in these success stories, and play fast and loose with causal connections between "information-age networking" and indicators of success. Moreover, Bristow (2005) charges that competitiveness theorists simply fail to demonstrate that the success of firms is determined by the characteristics of regions in which they happen to be located.

The *Where We Stand* tables provide limited support for both the agglomeration theorists and their critics. Some regions, such as Boston and San Francisco, are close to the top in both cluster specialization and patent performance. These regions also have above average income although their employment growth has been sluggish over the last decade.

However, there are several examples that appear to contradict the cluster hypothesis. St. Louis and Austin have about the same level of cluster specialization, while Austin has several times as many patents as St. Louis and far more robust economic growth. Detroit stands in the middle of the specialization ranking and toward the top of patent performance, but has had one of the worst economic growth rates over any time period in recent decades. Indeed, a list of strong economic clusters could include the auto industry in Detroit or the steel industry in Pittsburgh, circa 1970. Specialization was not enough to help these regions survive in the new global marketplace.

A second line of attack is that regional competitiveness theory ignores the role of national policy, both in the United States and other countries. Ann Markusen and her colleagues (1991) have documented the importance of military spending on postwar development patterns in the United States, coining the term "gunbelt" to refer to the southern states that benefited most from defense spending. Transportation spending in the 1950s and 1960s heavily subsidized development in the South, and federal spending shifts in the 1980s benefited southern and Pacific states, at the expense of the Midwest and the Mid-Atlantic (Florida and Jonas, 1991). The rise of the Sunbelt, then, was not simply the result of pristine market forces; there was a political economy of regional growth. By ignoring national policy, competitiveness theory can be seen as providing a justification for the erosion of the national government. Placing the onus on regions de-emphasizes national social welfare and macroeconomic policies, which can be seen as providing cover for a right-of-center agenda.

In addition, some work in the regional competitiveness literature also suffers from a weakly developed view of international economic forces. While some theorists, such as Amin, offer nuanced appraisals of international political economy, others, including Porter, sometimes border on naïve. For example, Porter's report on the Pittsburgh economy stated that the aluminum and steel industries "fell behind because of international competition that used new innovations to surpass Pittsburgh's productivity" (Porter, 2002).

This explanation is highly simplistic. Seven of the top 11 steel producers in the world today are in China. To state simply that steel producers in other countries were more "innovative" ignores the massive subsidies that China offered its steel manufacturers, the lax safety and environmental regulations, the de facto protectionism created by China's deliberate undervaluation of its currency, and savage wage repression, not to mention state ownership (Haley and Haley, 2013). These success factors have little to do with the sort of incremental improvements that regional competitiveness theorists imagine bubbling

up when engineers chat over happy hour. Nor are these the kinds of "innovations" generally advanced by regional competitiveness theorists.

A sympathetic appraisal of the competitiveness literature could argue that the literature has demonstrated that clusters have been helpful to some regions, some of the time. But there are many other factors at work as well.

Appraisal

What has been learned in the last 20 years of research on regional economic growth?

Regional Development: Studies of regional development in the 1990s identified several factors that can affect regional economies. However, the literature does not offer regions a roadmap on how much to spend on education or infrastructure, or on where to spend money. Moreover, there is an obvious relationship between public services and taxes. Lower taxes mean lower services, *ceteris paribus*. But services and taxes can have opposite effects, with services more likely attracting growth, and taxes more likely discouraging growth. Perhaps it should not be surprising, therefore, that studies of taxes and spending offer inconclusive results. In short, the literature offers no optimal formula, aside from the common sense conclusion that regions should deliver services as efficiently as possible, and tax as little as possible consistent with a desired level of service.

Comparative metrics may be helpful for determining a general direction for a region. Regions with low growth and high taxes relative to peer regions might reasonably look for ways to economize and to reduce the tax burden. Conversely, a region in which people are dissatisfied with growth and in which taxes are much lower than in peer regions might reasonably consider whether enhancement of public services might make the region more attractive. Comparative metrics can also offer a region benchmarks for improving performance in public services, and for envisioning the complex combination of attributes to which a region might aspire. In combination with a compelling vision for a region, comparative metrics can help citizens grapple with a region's complex mix of attributes, and thus provide a guide for experimentation. Even so, quantitative analysis offers no guarantees of success.

Regional Competitiveness: Critics of regional competitiveness theory have scored some palpable hits. Many factors that influence a region's destiny are beyond the control of regional actors. There are empirical problems as well. While case studies of places such as Silicon Valley and Northern Italy have documented some factors related to the success of these regions, it is not clear that this line of theorizing has identified practices that could be transferred to other regions. While networks of trust have had beneficial results in some places, social capital can take many years to develop. At any rate, if the international market for a region's goods collapses in short order, even the thickest of institutions will be of little help.

Despite these weaknesses, studies of regional competitiveness deserve credit for documenting the existence, in some places, of increasing returns to scale, as well as beneficial effects of social capital.

Conclusion

It is easy to conclude that there are no easy answers. Regions are unique. Growth is complex. There is no single magic solution nor any policy that can be uncritically imported from another region. But the literature of the last 20 years points the way to at least some tentative steps.

First, an honest appraisal will concede that much of what happens in the region is beyond our control. National policies and international economic forces affect the region's destiny as much as our own choices. This suggests directing more of our attention to national policy discussions, advocating for fiscal and monetary policies that benefit large regions, and objecting to policies that privilege other regions at our expense. Regions do not have to acquiesce willingly when the federal government undertakes devolution of responsibilities without a proportional devolution of funding. Regions are the logical interest group to challenge the prevailing view that the federal government can do nothing to assist urban areas and their residents.

Second, the literature indicates that good public services promote growth, but that at some level, high taxes can deter growth. Thus, raising taxes to improve public services is not an option for some regions. In St. Louis, however, both local taxation and local government spending are near the bottom in the comparative rankings. This suggests that there is room for St. Louis to enhance public services while remaining a relatively low tax region. The specific types of public investments can be determined only through a vigorous public debate. The public recently passed targeted sales taxes to improve parks, support transit, improve levees, and, in several jurisdictions, improve schools. Not every proposal for public spending will be a good one. But accepting proposals that provide rigorous justification can enhance public services, competitiveness, and quality of life.

Third, it is clear from the comparative rankings that population growth does not always correspond with quality of life. San Antonio, Memphis, and Oklahoma City are examples of regions with population growth rates that are much higher than those in St. Louis. But each of these regions is doing worse than St. Louis with respect to income, poverty, educational attainment, health, and crime. By the same token, several regions, mainly on the coasts, have experienced low growth, while continuing to enjoy high income levels, high levels of educational attainment, and excellent public services. This does not mean that population growth does not have its benefits. Growth can contribute to quality of life through higher wages, increased density, and through corporate support for parks, cultural institutions and local philanthropies. Growth and quality of life are related, but one cannot be reduced to the

other. It is worth discussing how much growth is desired, and how to ensure that growth occurs in a way that enhances quality of life.

Finally, critiques of research in regional competitiveness and growth show how difficult it is to make definitive statements about what a region needs to do. But the lack of easy answers in social science literature should not be a cause for discouragement. Rather, it should be an invitation to grapple with the question of what kind of region we want St. Louis to be. As Swanstrom argues, a compelling vision for what the region can be is needed. Such a vision will address complex interrelationships that shape the quality of life.

As documented in six editions of *Where We Stand*, the St. Louis region has survived a major economic shift. A region once heavily reliant on manufacturing has continued to grow in population and maintain competitive rankings on many variables, despite major losses in this key industry. Yet, there are many variables on which improvement is desired.

The region has many assets on which to build. There are several efforts underway that are developing a vision and goals for the region. To name just three:

- The Regional Chamber is leading an effort to place St. Louis among the top 10 metro areas for the percentage of the population with a bachelor's degree or higher.
- The St. Louis Mosaic Project has set a goal of making St. Louis the fastest growing region for international migration. To this end, the Mosaic Project is advocating for a suite of policy objectives aimed at making St. Louis more welcoming to immigrants.
- The regional sustainability plan known as OneSTL has brought thousands of residents and hundreds of organizations together to create a vision for the future of St. Louis that will better coordinate planning in the areas of transportation, housing, and the environment.

No single policy can be the region's silver bullet. The citizens and leaders of the region are grappling with a diverse set of issues, and in the process, building a multifaceted vision for what the region will be in future decades. The effectiveness of these initiatives will be documented in future editions of *Where We Stand*.

ENDNOTES

[1] After each decennial census the Office of Management and Budget revise the boundaries of Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs). The Metro Area Population tables reflect the population of the MSA based on the defined boundary for that census, while the Population Change tables account for the change in boundaries and reflect the population change based on the boundary for the later time period.

[2] These figures are not adjusted for inflation.

[3] For more information on manufacturing in St. Louis, see the September, 2013, *Where We Stand* Update: http://www.ewgateway.org/pdffiles/newsletters/WWS/WWS6EdNo6.pdf

[4] More formally, cluster k in region i is a strong cluster if the percentage of workers employed in that cluster is at least 1.3 times the percentage of workers employed in cluster k nationally, a metric known as a location quotient.

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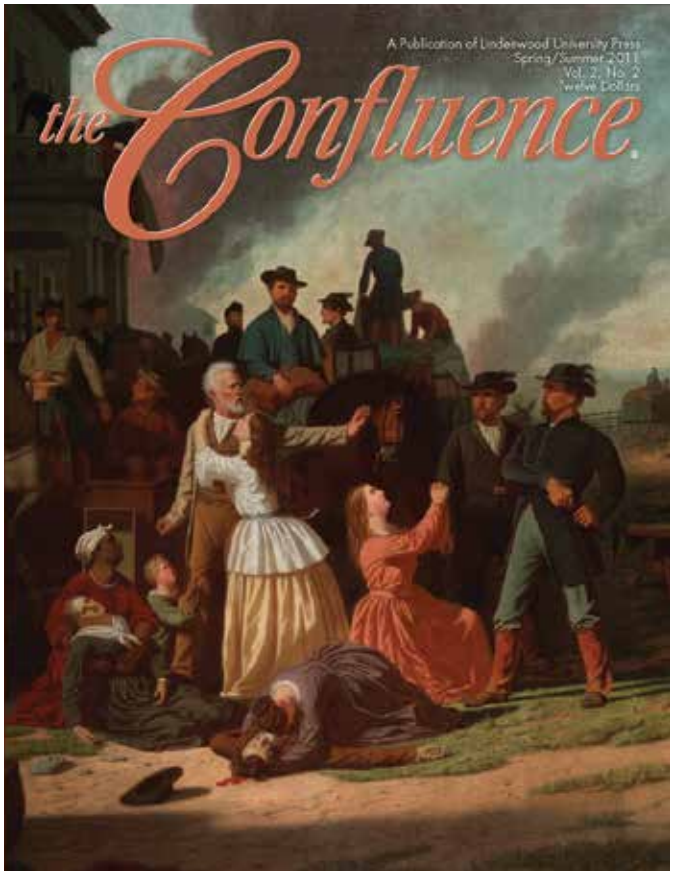

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"EVERYTHING *may yet turn*

out all right":

An Architect's Adventures in 1939-40 Europe

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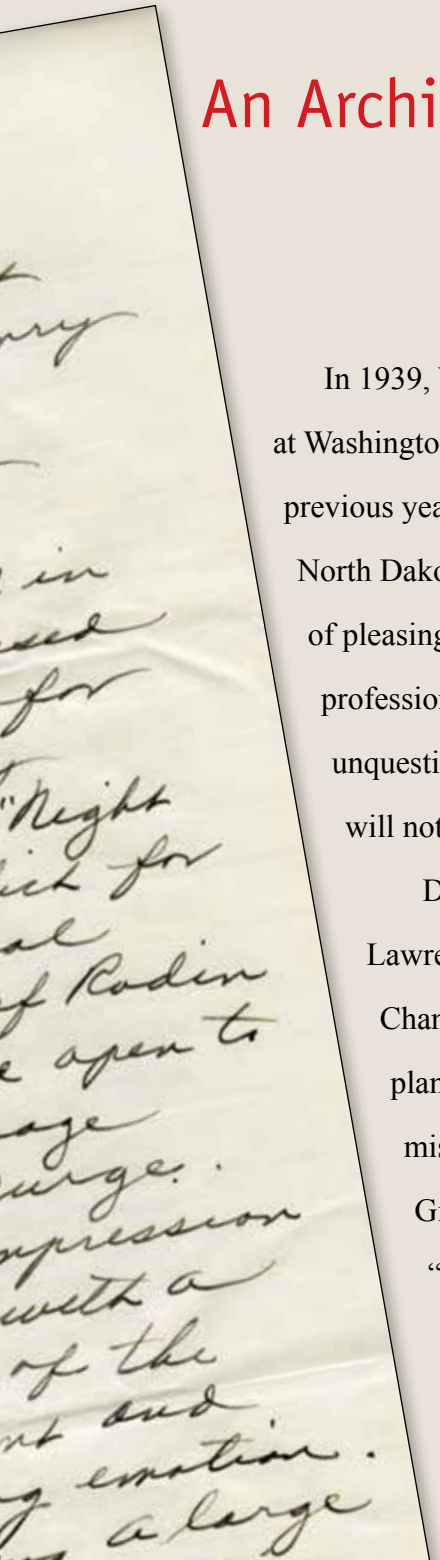


In 1939, Victor Gilbertson won the prestigious Steedmen Fellowship in Architecture at Washington University, granting him $1,500 to study abroad. Having placed second the previous year, by June 1939 this young, accomplished, and determined architect from North Dakota was more than ready to study the great churches of Europe. "A young man of pleasing personality and marked ability," the Steedmen Committee noted, "whose professional experiences in addition to his background of scholarship qualify him unquestionably to profit by a year of travel. . . . Let us hope that the threatened conflict will not break forth to interrupt his studies."

Despite repeated urgings to return home by the fellowship advisor, Professor Lawrence Hill of Washington University in St. Louis, Gilbertson forged ahead. Changing itineraries often and taking advantage of whatever boat, train, or plane he could catch, Gilbertson was somehow able to avoid arrest, injury, or misfortune. Reprinted here are selections from the extensive correspondence of Gilbertson and Hill, offering a unique view of Europe and North Africa as the "threatened conflict"—soon called World War II—unfolded.

July 18, 1939

Dear Professor Hill,

To my great surprise and amazement I have now completed a month of travel in England. What you told me about time going quickly, is if anything, an understatement. . . . To say that it has been a perfect month would be an exaggeration too I suppose, but I do believe that it would apply to everything but English coffee and some of the food. But since I'm not living by bread alone (the English seem to think so with meals about 90% starch) I'll get on to the meat of my journey.

First off, I had an enjoyable trip home, a quick look at the great New York Fair and an ocean voyage that left little to be desired. From what I saw and heard of the rest of the boat, I'm more than satisfied with third class passage. We had a group that was a cross section of American and French people with enough English, German, Hungarians, etc. to give it an international atmosphere. . . .

The trip along the Cornwall Coast was a never to be forgotten sight. The deep blue-green water, white clouds, and rocky coast made a wonderful picture. I disembarked at Plymouth [England] on the 20th [of June, 1939] . . .

The sun shone in Bath for a few minutes while we visited the Roman baths so we drank in ancient history along with the of the water and departed for London, where we didn't mind for a few days whether it rained or not.

There was a thrill a minute at least! I don't think I missed many things: Kew Gardens; Houses of Parliament; British Museum; Fair Galleries; Wallace Collection; Westminster Abbey and Cathedral; the zoo; the ballet; St. Paul's; Wimbledon— . . . there was a wonderful neighborly feeling amongst the peoples there. . . . I visited Canterbury, Peterborough, Lincoln, York and Durham Cathedrals all in four days. It's too much to jamb into so short a time but I hope before long to learn how to hold myself in . . .

I sail tonight for Bergen Norway, from which I leave by train for Oslo. I intend to leave Oslo July 27 and go on to Stockholm to remain until August 8th. From there I go to Copenhagen and Hamburg and arrive in Berlin August 15th or sooner if possible. On about the 22nd I begin a tour again that will take me to Cologne, Amsterdam, Hilversum, etc. . . .

The experts seem to agree that if the Danzig* fireworks starts, it will happen about August 15th. If this is true I will have a ringside seat in Berlin. However, I'm quite confident that nothing will happen and that I will continue to have the same kind of architectural picnic that England has given me.

Sincerely Yours,
Victor Gilbertson

*[editor note: *semi-autonomous city-state between Poland and Germany]*

Gilbertson drew sketches in the margins of his letters, but also preserved them in more than 80 drawings such as this one from England. *(Image: Rolf Gilbertson)*

Berlin, Germany
August 20, 1939.

Dear Professor Hill,

I saw Scandinavia in a blaze of glorious sunshine. Quite a welcome contrast to the inevitable murk of [the] English climate. In fact I found most everything in the North very grand except the little problem of language. . . . I tried to use my very elementary knowledge of Norse on the natives and they invariable came back at me in English! Even a service station attendant in an out of the way place, to whom I addressed a question in Norwegian, looked at me and said "speak English better maybe?" . . .

Incidentally, for some really grand scenery to be had on a limited budget of time and money while in Norway, I can highly recommend the trip from Bergan to Oslo by train—its gorgeous. Instead of seeking passes as do most

Among the churches Gilbertson visited was the Cologne Cathedral—which was the purpose of his trip. Even though a simmering world war seemed to be interrupting all plans, he seemed largely undisturbed by it. *(Image: Washington University in St. Louis Archives)*

mountain railways, the Norwegian trains go over the top. From sea level to 1200 meters up amongst the glaciers and back down to sea level again is accomplished in a 12 hour trip.

My first real glimpse of Germany was Lubeck where from the train I glimpsed a modern church, the open tower of which revealed bells of various sizes. A grand sight from a distance. . . . I got back on the train and headed for Hamburg. . . .

Berlin really, really is doing things—architecturally and in a city planning nature. A far reaching plan is being carried out to establish 25 mile long East–West and North–South axis [roads]. Plans are being carried out in the widening of various other streets and clearances of considerable portions.

The Third Reich and its military nature is adequately represented in architectural achievements and what is more, these buildings reflect exactly the nature of the present regime. The best to date are the Olympic buildings. Truly a fine sports park. In a similar vein are the Exhibition buildings, Duetches Hall and many government buildings.

. . . Intend to spend a few more days in Berlin and then continue on to Cologne, and then Amsterdam,
. . . The Hague, Brussels and Paris. I plan on a month in Paris now and I'm considering a return there next spring in place of trying to see Turkey. I find that my schoolmate who is on an archaeological expedition in Istanbul is to leave . . . and will not return until April 1 or later. . . . It would now prove more expensive and I would certainly see less than if I had my friend there to give me the benefit of his knowledge

I will know exactly and will tell you in my next letter what my plans will be from Paris on.

Sincerely Yours,
Victor C. Gilbertson

Amsterdam
September 4, 1939

Dear Professor Hill:

I am temporarily stranded in Holland while history is speedily ground out! At least I hope my position is temporary! I am quite thankful tho, that I am here rather than in France or Germany. I came from Cologne on the last train—a miraculous piece of luck.

I'm in the company of two other Americans. I've spend the last few days making the rounds of shipping companies and travel agencies. Travel however is practically at a standstill or fully booked far ahead. If the safety of the seas for neutral boats becomes reasonably sure again I have considered going to Greece or if not that, a return to Sweden seems like a good idea. There are a few worthwhile trips in Scandinavia that I can do—Finland alone would furnish considerable of architectural interest.

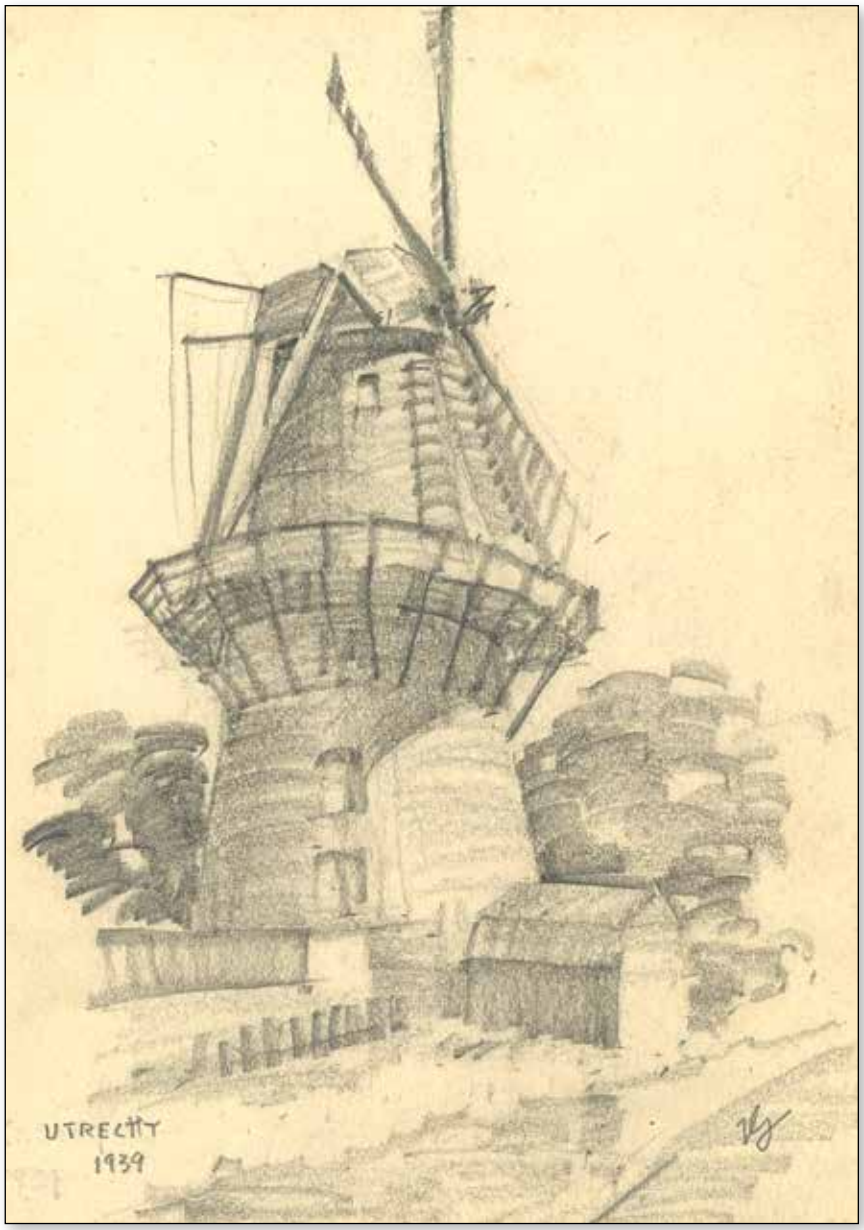
For a week or two, tho [*sic*] I shall sit right here in Holland I guess, and enjoy brick architecture. . . . Then too I can always hope that the war will suddenly cease and I can continue my travels. I don't of course believe that will happen but the hope serves to bolster my resistance to buying a ticket home on the next boat.

You can rest assured that I won't make any move until all the possibilities have been investigated.
Sincerely yours,
Victor C. Gilbertson

[post script] Sept 8.

It is possible that I can get a visa for travel in France within two weeks. If I can get a French visa I can get one for Belgium. The Italian border is open, Italy is neutral and to date no visa is required so it looks like I'll be on my way again.

My enthusiasm for travelling is rapidly returning—if they just keep this war in Poland, I'm all set.
Gilbertson



Although he was in Europe to observe and draw churches, Gilbertson was also taken by this windmill in Utrecht that summer. *(Image: Rolf Gilbertson)*

Amsterdam, Sept 15. [1939]

Dear Professor Hill,

Until today, the only remaining traveling open to me was to get a bicycle and cover the remaining square feet of Holland. I can't go to Germany, France, or Belgium. That precludes the possibility of going anywhere. . . . I could do worse than tour rural Holland but I thirst to see the remaining parts of Europe open to tourists before they all become embroiled in war.

Out of a clear sky a Dutch boat decided to sail for Greece and I'm jumping at the chance. My address for the immediate future will be: American Express Co—Athens.

I will send my future itinerary and the account of my travel in Germany and Holland as soon as I reach Greece.

These times are very trying and up until now, very discouraging but in another sense, the situation is certainly interesting. Most everything may yet turn out all right.

Sincerely yours,
Victor Gilbertson

Sept. 7, 1939
[from St. Louis]

My dear Gilbertson:

Thank you for your two interesting reports on your travels to date and your cablegram announcing their sudden interruption.

I am sending this in care of the American Express Company in Amsterdam by Air Mail trusting that it will reach you and dispel any hesitation you may entertain about coming home.

A speedy return to the U.S.A. on an American ship is now the only safe and sane course to pursue. When you get home we will call a meeting of the Steedman Committee and discuss with you in person the most profitable manner to dispose of the balance of your time and funds.

The U.S.A. is not Europe (may I add "Thank God," without Pharisaical implications?) but over here perhaps a trip to Mexico or South America or even a study of some of our own cities may aptly conclude your interrupted programme [*sic*].

In the time you have had, you certainly covered a good deal of ground and derived a lot of profit from your observations. Let's not cry over the inevitable. Come home as soon as you can secure passage. Perhaps in course of time your contact with the sudden cataclysm will loom up in retrospect as the most interesting moment in your trip.

With sincere regret that it had to come so soon, I am
Very cordially yours,
[Professor Lawrence Hill]

[editor's note: Gilbertson does not receive this letter until November 1, when he is in Athens]

November 2. [1939]
Athens

Dear Professor Hill,

I seem to have taken over the business of crisis where the warring countries left off. I did not receive your very kind letter, suggesting a new world trip, until yesterday.

I imagine it would be wiser to return home and I can think of many trips that would be as interesting as most things in Europe. However, since I am here in Greece and things seem to be going along rather smoothly, I see no reason why I shouldn't see the sights here and possibly Istanbul before thinking of returning. American Export line boats stop at all these Mediterranean ports so I shouldn't have any difficulty securing passage.

In one way I'm getting rather disgusted with Europe and its war but on the other hand I would like to see Italy. There are the ingredients of an embargo Crisis! If you still advise me to return, I will do so readily but by that time I will need my November 15th payment to supplement the steam ship passage that I now hold. Fares have gone up on all lines. I'm sure I would be able to secure additional funds so that the remainder of my travels wouldn't suffer.

So, may I ask for another short note from you? In a way it sounds silly I suppose, but on the other hand I want to be sure that my present situation hasn't altered your advice to me, before I set sail.

Sincerely yours,
Victor C. Gilbertson
American Express, Athens

Among Gilbertson's detours was a visit to Florence, where he saw the Mediterranean influences on Italian architecture. *(Image: Rolf Gilbertson)*

Nov. 7, 1939
[from St. Louis]

Mr. Victor Gilbertson
c/o American Express
Florence, Italy

Dear Gilbertson:

Your letter acknowledging receipt of my cable has come to hand. I am sorry that the instructions were ambiguous. You were no doubt disappointed that $300.00 only was forthcoming in Florence. I had anticipated sending the final ~~$500~~ $400.00 at some later stage in your travels. In view of the swiftly changing conditions, I have decided to forward this balance at once in order to leave you full liberty in adjusting your itinerary to circumstances. I am therefore giving instructions that it be sent to Naples, to arrive not later than Nov. 25.

Meanwhile, you will be seeing Italy and can make up your mind at leisure as to your further progress.

The repeal of the Embargo and the stiffening up of regulations concerning Americans in belligerent countries may interfere with your proposed trip across North Africa, which would of course take you through the French Colonies of Tunis and Algeria. Inasmuch as the Mediterranean is not included in the danger zone, it is possible that those colonies are not included in the proscribed regions. I can get no information on the subject in St. Louis. Writing to Washington [D.C.] involves delay and you can no doubt get the information directly from the U.S. Consular offices in Italy.

Thus far you have proved pretty resourceful in making the best of a bad bargain. All I can say is: use your own judgment, keep is informed of your movements, and when you are ready, come home.

Thank you for your interesting report from Greece. Wishing you continued good luck, I remain
Sincerely yours,
[L. Hill]

Florence Italy
December 1, 1939

Dear Professor Hill,

On October 31st I departed from Salonica on a train bound for Turkey. . . . After many train changes, encounters with Greek officials & Turkish officials (neither of which I would rate very high) and a night sleep on the softest of wooden benches; I awake in the morning to witness the dramatic approach to Istanbul. I chance to call it dramatic because it reminded me of my own home state of North Dakota.

Fortunately, my archeological friend and classmate, Van Nice was on his vacation when I got there so we were free to travel. We went across the Sea of Marmara over to the Asiatic shores and inland to the small city of Brusa—onetime capital of Turkey.

It is a charming little city nestled on the foothills of mountains and overlook a broad and exceedingly fertile valley. I had never thought of Turkey having anything approaching this in luxuriance…

On my return to Istanbul I was treated to the sight of the city as approached by water. It was near sunset and the skyline of the city built as it is on hills and strung along the Bosporus is matchless. The minarets and mosques at intervals pierce the sky in a most majestic and graceful way.

Of course the most important of all is Santa Sofia. I don't believe anyone visiting Turkey would really have to see anything else. Architecture, Art, tradition, history—all of it—at least a big share of it, is there. It rules like a Queen this vast city it seems. Roman, Crusader, Venetian, Turk all had their turn but the building remains pure and simple. . . .

Your very kind and encouraging letter I received when I reached Florence. Thank you very much. I am glad you are not perturbed about my remaining in Europe. Altho [*sic*] there are a few barriers to be surmounted yet, I have hopes that travelling will become less difficult all the time. Passports have to be renewed on the first of January and that I suppose will be the crucial time for us. I cannot get the information here in Florence that I want about travel to North Africa and Spain. However I will be able to get it at Rome and I will inform you when any further plans develop.

I am planning on going to Rome about December 15th. I understand the American Academy is opening to travelling students now since they have so few regular students. I think I shall plan to stay there if possible. It might prove very interesting.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a happy new year.
Sincerely,
Victor Gilbertson

Although they were ostensibly architectural sketches, Gilbertson's drawings were remarkably finished with great attention to composition as well, as this suggests. *(Image: Rolf Gilbertson)*

Workers document Hagia Sophia mosaics. *(Image: Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Washington, DC, Trustees for Harvard University)*

Jan. 19, 1940
[from St. Louis]

[To] Mr. Victor Gilbertson
c/o American Academy in Rome
Rome, Italy

My dear Gilbertson:

You fill me with shame. I have not yet acknowledged your long interesting letter from [Istanbul] and here is another equally long and interesting from Florence.

As far as I can see, you are losing little by the turbulent conditions which have caused you to readjust your plans, except that you will probably be obliged to abandon your original research theme. If so, have you thought of another? Your unforeseen journeying's should have provided material for a travelogue of considerable interest . . . .

The Egyptian tour is a fine idea. Go to it! If you could only take in Crete on the way, it would be still better. Your subsequent plans to visit North Africa and Spain seem to be rather ambitious with your limited budget. . . . You appear to be decidedly able to take care of yourself and this warning may seem to you supererogatory, but please believe I offer it in a friendly spirit, for I am too well aware how easy it is when stimulated by enthusiasm and curiosity to push resources beyond their reasonable limit.

With warmest regards and best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,

[L.Hill], For the Governing Committee
STEEDMAN FELLOWSHIP IN ARCHITECTURE.

Aboard the *S.S. Egeo*
January 26, [1940]

Dear Professor Hill,

I've been spending my time since the first of the year seeing Rome. . . . On the rare sunshiny and beautiful days, I took excursions to the charming surrounding towns and their beautiful Villas Tivoli (torturous bicycle trip) and Villa D'Este . . .

We are just about to disembark at Alexandria on the greatest adventure I hope—Egypt! Five of us from the Academy are together and plan on a comprehensive three week tour touching Cairo and its surroundings, Luxor, . . . We experienced a pretty rough sea from Naples to Rhodes that put two of our number down to the lower decks but otherwise all is under control.

My itinerary remains unchanged from what I reported last to you. I'm praying that I can stick to it. . . . My address henceforth will be:

c/o American Express until Feb 20—Naples.
c/o American Consul Madrid until March 25.
c/o American Consul Lisbon until sailing the first of April.

Sincerely Yours,
Victor Gilbertson

Naples, Italy.
Feb. 23, 1940.

Dear Professor Hill,

If I had to terminate my travels right now I think I would feel quite satisfied. Several spots—interesting of course are still in store for me, yet even so, at the moment I feel the imprint of finality—of the ultimate so to speak. Perhaps Sir Galahad felt like this when he found the Grail—but I challenge him. I've drunk from the cup for three weeks seeing Egypt! It is difficult to see in things of an ancient nature, anything but anticlimax after Gizah [Giza], Saqqara, Thebes, et al. . . .

We were the only American tourists of the season and as a consequence were much sought after since we were supposed to have "plenty of money." A grim trick of fate that the only prospects these miserable mortals got were six poor students—out to get as much as possible for the least. What actually happened was that we were able to bargain donkey boys against camel drivers and hotel men against the other until we reached quite satisfactory prices. It was hard work and really quite frightful . . . to see all the outstretched hands. . . . I'm thinking that it was all good interesting experience, without which this Egyptian tour would lack a lot of spice. I firmly vow to try to get Joe Garavelli down in the price of a cup of coffee when I return to St. Louis . . . .

. . . spent 6 days in Luxor . . . We saw the important things and had time to enjoy them . . . . And what a heaven for sketching! A rock to sit on, one for a table and another for materials, good sharp shadows, simple powerful subjects and last but not least—no natives inside the premises of the monuments. I had to give up sketching in Cairo. By the time I got my pad out, so many natives had gathered that it was no longer possible to see the subject.

. . . Two days more of Cairo—seeing museums (especially the wonderful Egyptian Museum) and socializing with American teachers and Egyptian students and we were ready to take a boat again on the 17th. That briefly, is the summary of an intensive three weeks.

Sincerely Yours,
Victor Gilbertson
By: Atlantic Clipper
March 27, 1940

[To] Mr. Victor Gilbertson
c/o American Consul
Lisbon, Portugal.

Dear Gilbertson:

Your long interesting letter giving me your "happy thoughts and sagacious observations" on the architecture of Egypt arrived with surprising expedition and I hope sincerely that your own homeward voyage will be as rapid.

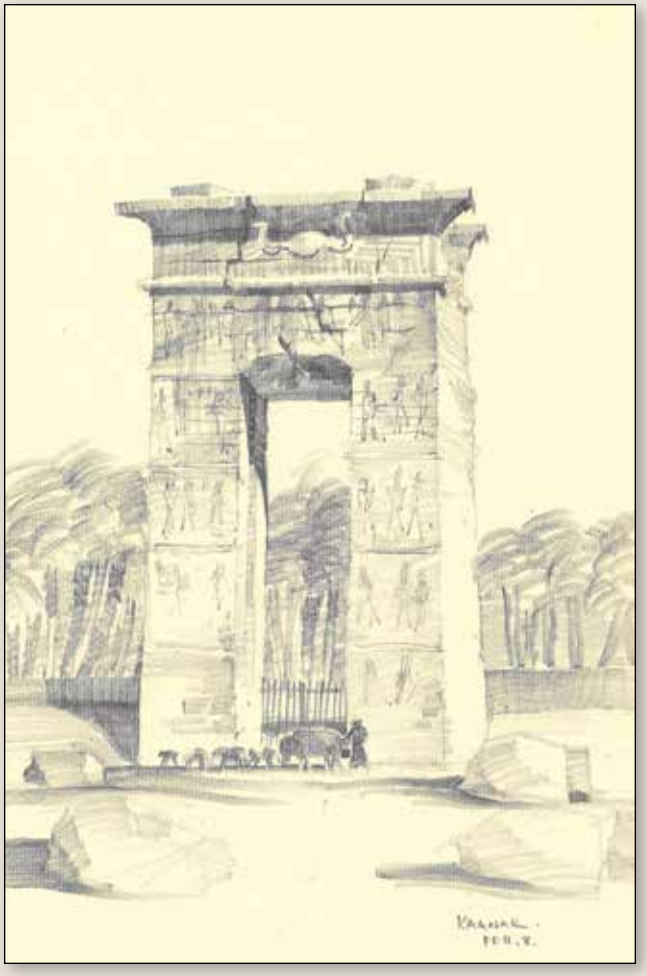
As the days go bye *[sic]* and the European situation becomes more tense I find myself wishing that you would call a halt on your wanderings and beat it for home. You have been pretty lucky so far and if you feel, as you say, quite satisfied that you have seen enough, I am quite ready to concur in immediate plans for your return. . . .

Let me add . . . my urgent recommendation that you will not delay it by a stop-over in Spain. I doubt if you will find conditions favorable for a profitable visit, and best wishes for a Bon Voyage.

Sincerely yours,

[L. Hill]
S.S. Exhibitor

Gilbertson was also struck by the architecture of the ancient world, as seen here in his sketch of Egyptian ruins. *(Image: Rolf Gilbertson)*



April 13, 1940

Dear Professor Hill,

Even now aboard an American ship and still several days out of New York, I feel quite removed from the scene on the other side of the Atlantic, but the business at hand calls for a sort of chronology, at least, of my time from Naples to Lisbon. . . .

My one and only taste of travel luxury occurred between Palermo and Tunis. No boats being available, I flew. One and one half hours as compared to one and one half days by boat! . . . Tánger [Spanish for Tangier], Tetuán [Spanish for Tetouan—Moroccan city] and Ceuta [autonomous city of Spain bordering Morocco] are largely visions of visas and travelling troubles. At the same time I was being advised not to go to Spain. My informist [*sic*] said travel was possible but difficult, prices scandalous and food scarce. If I didn't starve outright, I'd most certainly be hungry at all times. Slightly daunted but none the less determined I set sail for Algeciras [port in Spain]. After such a stormy entre I am myself surprised that I came out with anything favorable to report. I was several days late so I cut my itinerary down to include Seville, Cordova, Madrid and Toledo.

I arrived in Seville right in the middle of the famous Holy Week Festival. Had I known that all pensions and hotels were filled to overflowing I don't suppose I would have gone there and of course should have missed an exciting time and a chance to observe Spaniards at their best. That I had to take a bed at the Red Cross Hospital mattered little—in fact it made my stay even more interesting.

. . . Religious floats, soldiers, sailors, folks in costumes with pointed hats, horses, bands and thousands of candles were thrown together in what seemed to me anything but a religious ceremony. Beer venders did a lively business. . . . Bull fight natives appeared alongside "Semana Santa" [Holy Week] pastries and on the following Sunday, Franco was to go directly from Mass to the Bull ring. The only somber note was the dress of the people. Those that weren't in mourning wore black anyway. . . .

Outwardly, Madrid seems a normal modern city. Most traces of war destruction in the main parts of the city have disappeared and a great deal of reconstruction is in progress. . . . After two visits to the Prado, a general tour around the city besides viewing one victory parade and the preparations for another, I was quite ready to move on. . . . Toledo must have been lovely before the war. Now, the effects of war is all too evident. Desolation and want are rampant, But even so—and it's significant—there is very little begging.

Adding up my Spanish visit I find it amounted mostly to an observation of the people but I feel that it was nevertheless a worthwhile sojourn.

At this point I presume the usual thing is to include a summary with conclusions, deductions and the like. For myself I think it is quite unnecessary to state anything more than that I enjoyed myself immensely everywhere I

went in Europe; I'm thankful to the Steedman Committee for allowing me to complete my travels . . . and to be quite trite but none the less sincere, I am glad to be back home.

I plan to go home for a week or so now and expect to be in St. Louis about the first of May or a few days before. I'm looking forward to that session with you as a chance to partially to relieve some interesting bits filtered thru my loosely knit writings.

Sincerely yours,
Victor Gilbertson

POST-SCRIPT

Once home, Gilbertson returned to work at an architecture firm in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and began to write his Steedman thesis. Again, the war intruded. As an officer in the Coastal Artillery, Lt. Gilbertson's last report to the Steedmen Committee was written from Fort Monroe, Virginia, in July 1942:

"To say that my life has been chaotic during the last year, year and a half, would be something of an understatement . . . .We are at it 10 hours a day, 6 days a week, plus 2 hours on Sunday . . . Since our own harbor and Coast defenses are pretty well manned the most likely spot . . . will be in task forces being organized for oversees duty. Who knows—perhaps I'll see Paris yet!"

Professor Hill's reply, as always, offered encouraging yet tempered advice. "I envy your youth and 'blithe spirit,'" Hill wrote. "May you have your wish and reach Paris in the ranks of a victorious army, but don't stop. This time go on to Berlin!"

Gilbertson's World War II service instead took him across the Pacific Ocean, where he served in the Philippines. Surviving the war, he married, became a father, and a grandfather. He went on to a prosperous life as an architect and artist, and in 2004 received a lifetime achievement award from the Minnesota chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). Victor Gilbertson died at age 93 in 2005.

TIMELINE

April 1939
Civil War ends in Spain with General Franco in control

March 1939
Germany invades Czechoslovakia

June 1939—Gilbertson arrives in England

September 1, 1939
Germany invades Poland

September 3, 1939
Great Britain and France declare war on Germany

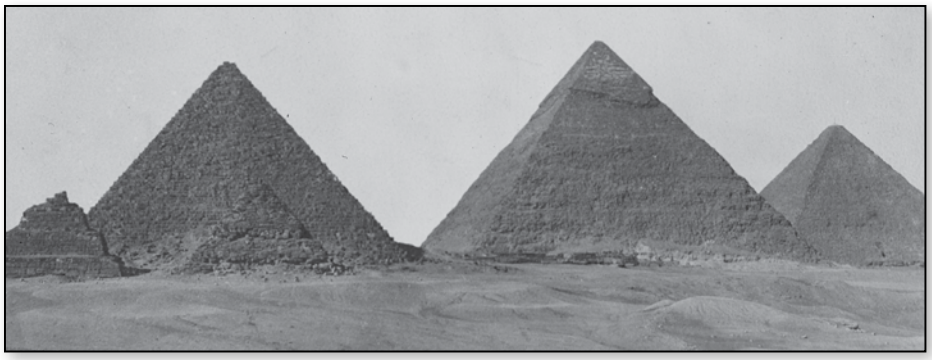
October 1939
Poland is partitioned between Germany and the USSR

November 30, 1939
Soviet troops invade Finland

April 9, 1940
Germany attacks Denmark and Norway

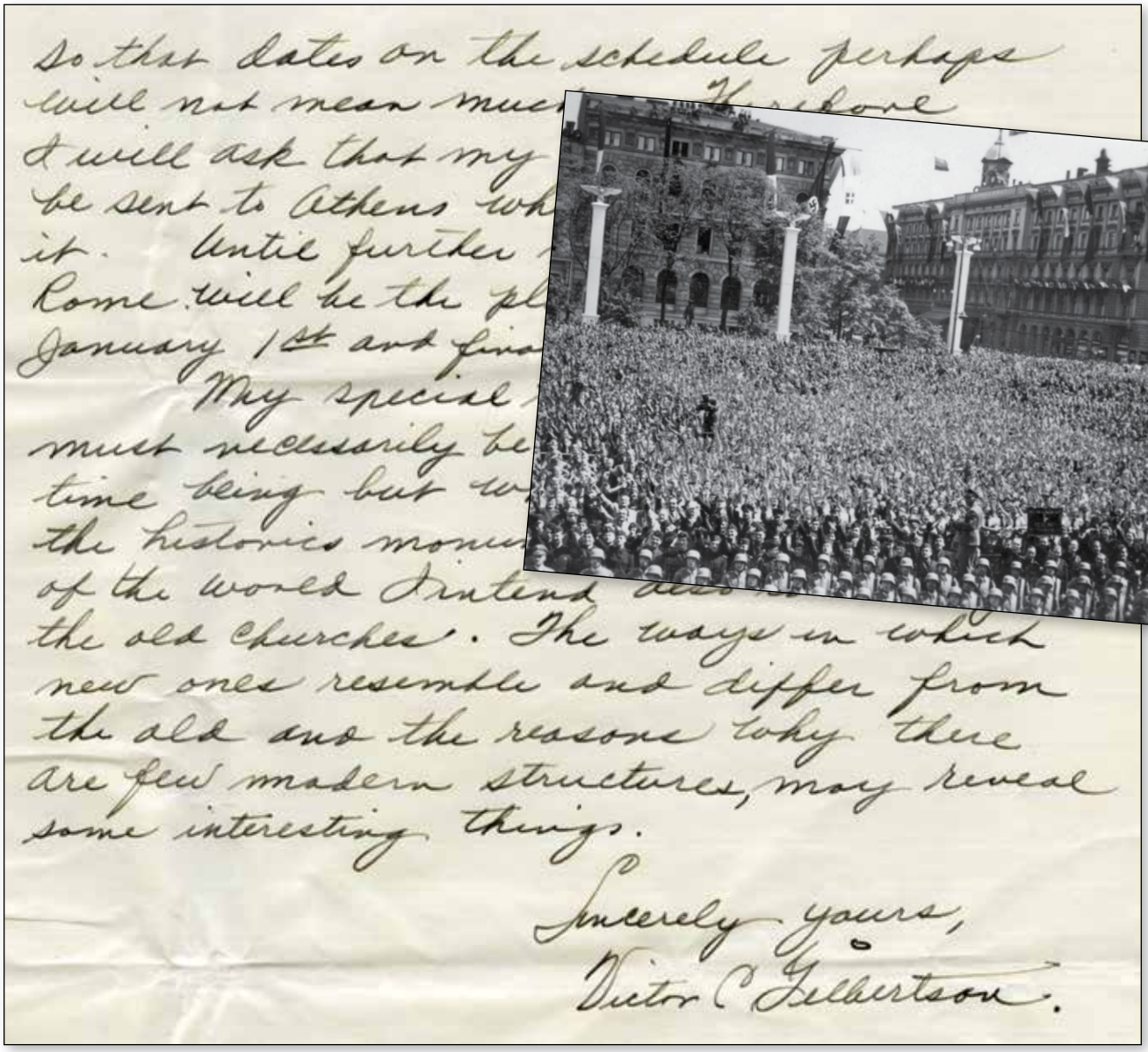
April 1940—Gilbertson returns to USA

December 7, 1941
Japan attacks Pearl Harbor and USA officially enters war



Gilbertson took a circuitous route through eastern Europe and even Egypt, including seeing the pyramids at Giza. *(Image: Library of Congress)*

Additional correspondence by Gilbertson and other awardees are part of the Steedman Fellowship Architectural Competition Records, located at the University Archives, Washington University in St. Louis. Gilbertson's later architectural work is preserved at the Northwest Architectural Archives, University of Minnesota Libraries, Minneapolis. *(Image: Washington University in St. Louis Archives)*



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the old churches. The ways in which
new ones resemble and differ from
the old and the reasons why there
are few modern structures, may reveal
some interesting things.

Sincerely yours,
Victor C Gilbertson.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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Opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of their employers.

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Opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors, and do not necessarily reflect the views of their employers.

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