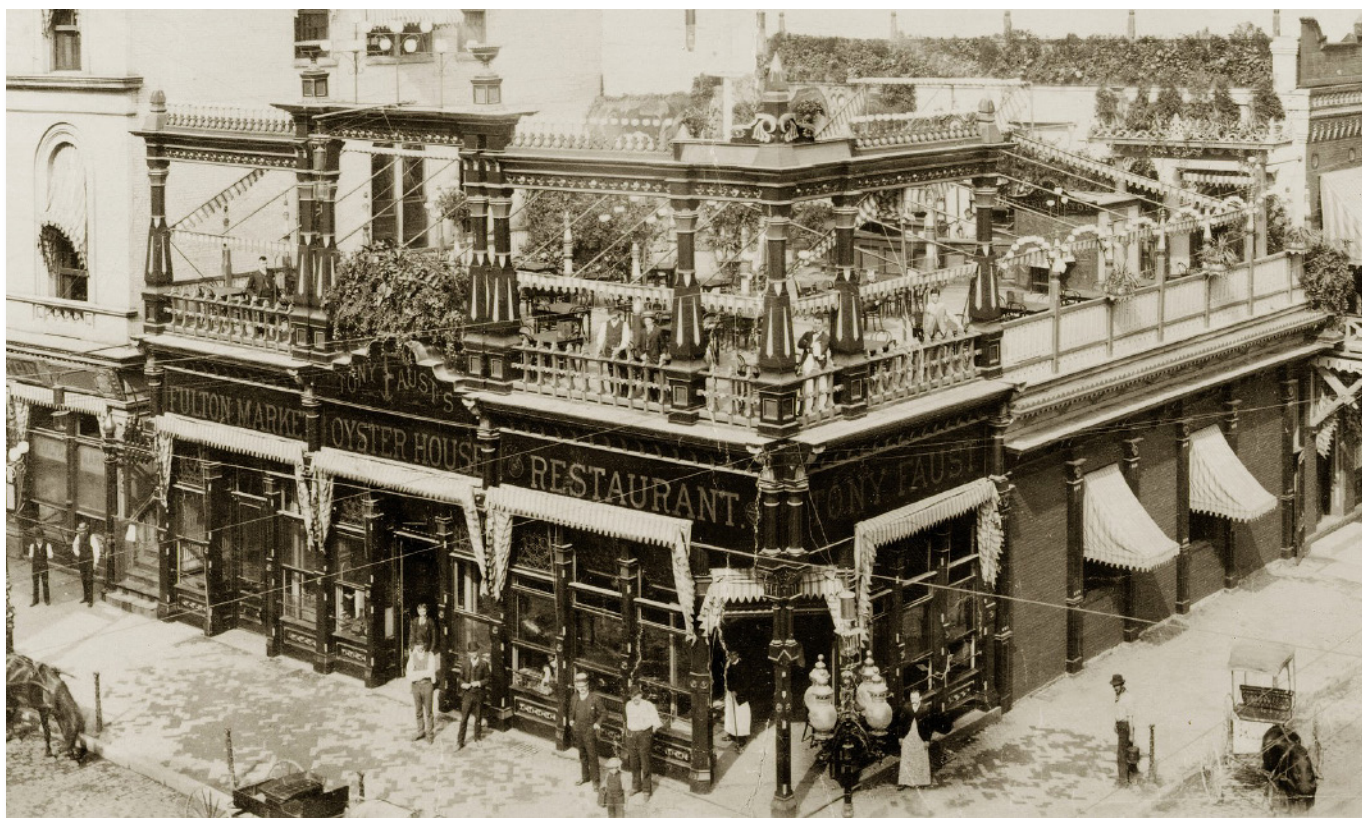


“To Preserve the Historic Lore for Which St. Louis is Famous”: The St. Louis Historic Markers Program and the Construction of Community Historical Memory

by BRYAN JACK



A PERSON WALKING AROUND ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, IN 1944 WOULD HAVE ENCOUNTERED MORE THAN 200 MARKERS DOCUMENTING VARIOUS SITES RELATED TO THE CITY’S HISTORY. Of that number, 126 were erected by the Historic Sites Committee of the Young Men’s Division of the Chamber of Commerce, which for over a decade had been conducting a historic markers program.¹ Depending on the site’s purported importance, and also the marker sponsor’s willingness to pay, four types of markers were used—18” x 24” metal or wood shields with a white background and black text were the most common, 24” x 36” bronze markers were a step above, and, after 1938, many sites were represented by photographic or painted scenes. The sponsors of the markers were either the business occupying the site, a family member of the person being commemorated, or other interested parties.² Generally erected at eye-level for a person walking on

An article about Anthony Faust (1836-1906) in the *Post-Dispatch* in 1876 said “his name is synonymous with shell-fish,” and this restaurant was the reason. German-born Faust came to the United States in 1853 and St. Louis soon thereafter. He was wounded in the spring of 1861 while watching militia march through the streets when a soldier’s gun accidentally discharged. He took up bartending, and opened his upscale restaurant, Faust’s Oyster House and Restaurant, in 1870 at Broadway and Elm next to the tony Southern Hotel. By the 1880s, when these images were taken, it ranked among the most stylish dining establishments in St. Louis, making it an historic site deserving one of Spreen’s signs in the late 1930s. (Images: Missouri Historical Society)



the sidewalk and placed on the building at the historic site (or as close as possible to the original site), the markers were designed to educate the general public about the importance of St. Louis’ past, “proving St. Louis’ outstanding qualifications as a center of historic attraction.”³

The era most represented in the sites was the early national period, and the sites’ historic significance was heavily weighted toward industry and commerce, architectural importance, or individuals of local or national prominence. In “Capitalizing the Rich Traditions of St. Louis,” the committee argued “in the Establishment of the Nation Period St. Louis is the equal to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, St. Augustine, etc. in the Founding of the Nation Period. They have made much of their historic possessions and St. Louis is showing ever increasing indications of doing likewise.”⁴ Examples of what viewers would see include signs marking the sites of the International Fur Exchange; the Alex Bellissime Tavern (described as



Trained as a lawyer, Louis Benoist (1803-1867) made much of his money in St. Louis with a branch office in New Orleans. His home at the northwest corner of 8th and Pine streets in downtown St. Louis. This daguerreotype by Thomas Easterly dates from the 1850s. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)

By the time the *St. Louis Star Times* took this photo in 1933, Chris Von der Ahe's saloon at St. Louis Avenue and Grand was past its prime. But it was owned by Von der Ahe (1851-1913) when he owned the St. Louis Brown Stockings starting in the 1880s. The *Star Times* called it "the cradle of St. Louis baseball." (Image: Missouri Historical Society)



"a favorite with French boatmen ... Bellissime one of Gen. Lafayette's soldiers in Revolutionary War"); the birthplace of Francis Guittar, "the founder of Co. Bluffs, Iowa"; the William C. Carr house, which was the "First exclusive brick dwelling in St. Louis"; the Hawken Gun Shop, producer of the "favorite arms of western frontiersmen"; the marriage place of General Winfield Scott Hancock; and the Glasgow House, where "John J. Audobon, famous artist-naturalist was a guest in 1843."⁵

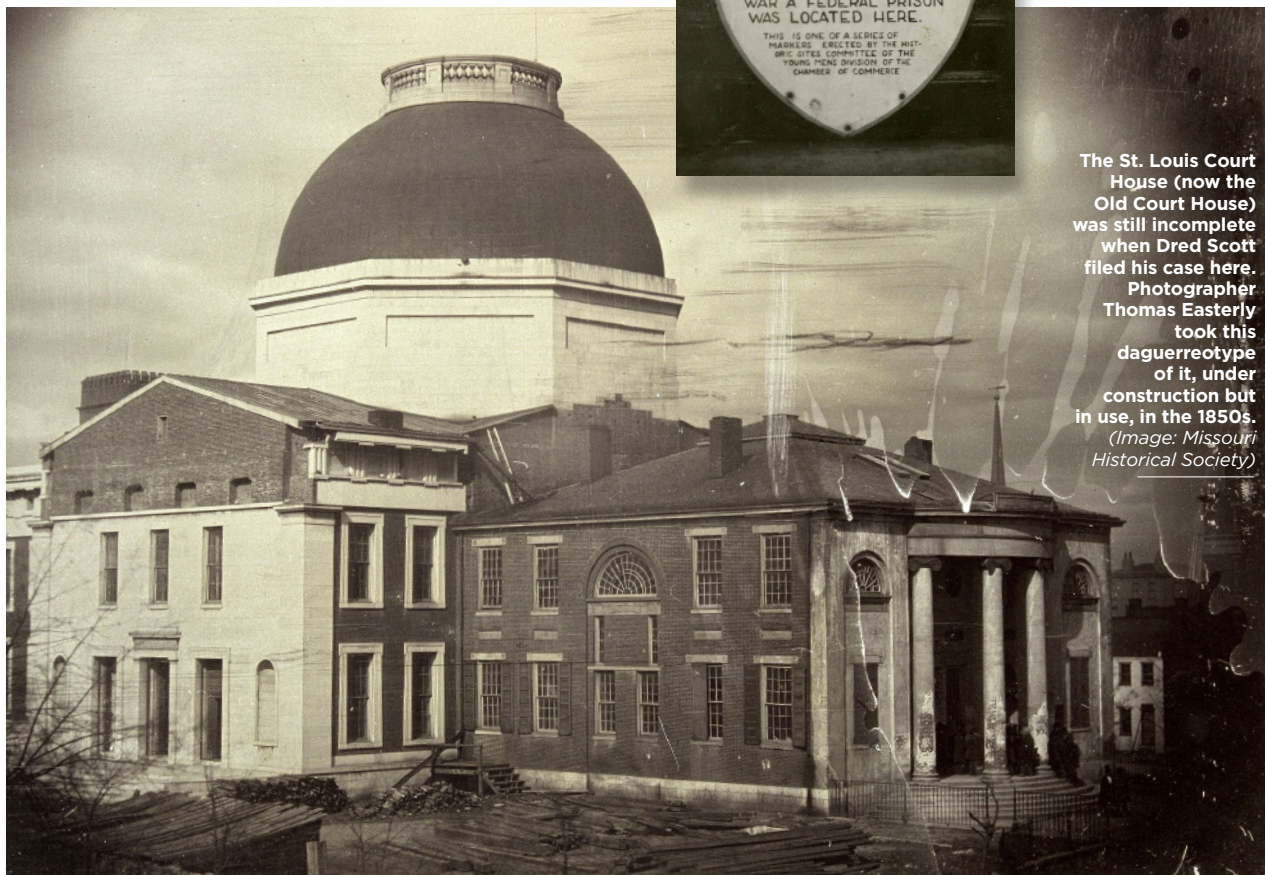
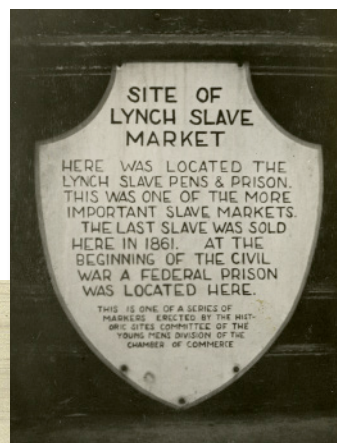
Photographic markers included such scenes as View of Chris Von Der Ahe's Building, the "Cradle of St. Louis Professional Baseball"; a View of Louis A. Benoist Mansion, as "Benoist was a leading banker and financier of the southwest"; and a View of Tony Faust's "World Famous Restaurant Buildings."⁶

The markers placed by the Historic Sites Committee as well as those placed by other organizations were all included in a booklet published by the

Historic Sites Committee, the "List of Historic Sites in and Around St. Louis". This booklet was distributed to 500 civic organizations and individuals in an attempt to raise interest in St. Louis' past. In noting the publicity that they had attained, the committee stated they had "awakened the citizens of St. Louis to an appreciation of its historic importance."⁷ But whose history was deemed important, and whose stories were valuable enough to mark, tell us a great deal about the work of the committee and

Lynch's slave market was the largest of its kind in St. Louis during the 1850s, despite a shrinking population of both free and enslaved African Americans.

(Image: J. Orville Spreen Papers, Collection S0486, State Historical Society of Missouri Collection)



The St. Louis Court House (now the Old Court House) was still incomplete when Dred Scott filed his case here. Photographer Thomas Easterly took this daguerreotype of it, under construction but in use, in the 1850s.
(Image: Missouri Historical Society)

its view of St. Louis history. This article will make extensive use of the annual reports of the Historic Sites Committee to examine its work and how members commemorated St. Louis history.

Of the sites marked by the Historic Sites Committee, only four explicitly reference African American history—the site of Lynch Slave Pens and Prison (which was also a Civil War prison for Confederate prisoners), two sites where Dred Scott trials occurred, and the site of the

Charles Daniel Drake home. The last site describes Drake as “a lawyer and statesman. Active in Missouri State Constitutional Convention of 1865 which passed ordinance of immediate emancipation. Missouri thus first slave state to emancipate her slaves before adoption of 13th Amendment to U.S. Constitution.”⁸ Additionally, a marker commemorated Elijah P. Lovejoy’s newspaper, “Martyr to Freedom of People, Speech, and the Press.” Besides marking sites such as “Indian Traders,” “Indian Agents,” and

“Victim of British-Indian attack,” Native American history is not represented in the markers. Women’s accomplishments and presence are also virtually non-existent, except as they relate to men: the site of Madame Chouteau home, “Mother of Auguste Choteau, co-founder of St. Louis,” and the site of the Grant-Dent House, “Julia T. Dent and U. S. Grant, the great Civil War general and 18th President of the U.S. married here, August 22, 1848.”⁹



J. Orville Spreen (1897-1991), pictured here with the members of the Historic Sites Committee at a sign marking the location of Fort Davidson, was something of a rags-to-riches story, starting as an office boy with the Burlington Railroad and working his way up to an executive position with the Wabash. (Image: J. Orville Spreen Papers, Collection SO486, State Historical Society of Missouri Collection)

.....

ST. LOUIS IS A UNIQUE PLACE; GEOGRAPHICALLY, ITS IDENTITY AS THE “GATEWAY TO THE WEST” MEANS IT IS NOT QUITE THE WEST, THOUGH YOU CAN SEE IT FROM THERE. IT IS ALSO NOT PROTOTYPICALLY SOUTHERN, EASTERN, MIDWESTERN, OR NORTHERN IN ITS CULTURE, BUT IS INSTEAD, for good and for ill, a combination of all of the above.

In 1910, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* noted Spreen as a “Boy Aviator” who had built model airplanes; eight years later, Spreen obtained a patent for a “Shoe fastener.”



Organized, researched, selected, and erected by the Historic Sites Committee, these markers were an effort to boost St. Louis tourism and help St. Louis claim its place as a great American city. The Historic Sites Committee attempted to combine the aspects of “developing St. Louis as a tourist center and bringing about a larger participation in the tourist industry in our community” with educating the public on St. Louis history.¹⁰ The committee hoped to develop “an appreciation of St. Louis as the center from which the nation was established, expanded and rounded out to the Pacific Coast.”¹¹ Studying this program, noting what sites were included, and also what sites were excluded, we can observe one attempt to construct a city’s historical memory, the narrative that those in power wanted to tell about their past. The St. Louis Historic Markers program provides us a real-time example of Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s argument that the “differential exercise of power . . . makes some [historical] narratives possible and silences others.”¹² While it is clear from their records that the men (and they were all men) behind the program had a sincere dedication to history as they understood it and were meticulous when selecting the sites, researching the text for the markers, placing the markers, and

documenting their work, their selections and omissions also reveal their biases, and what and whose history was deemed worthy of commemoration.

St. Louis is a unique place; geographically, its identity as the “Gateway to the West” means it is not quite the West, though you can see it from there. It is also not prototypically southern, eastern, midwestern, or northern in its culture, but is instead, for good and for ill, a combination of all of the above. This hybrid identity is also apparent in how St. Louis understands its past, which echoes its various lives as a French colonial trading post, a Mississippi River steamboat city, and an industrial center fueled by German, Italian, and Irish immigrants as well as an influx of black and white southerners. These factors, combined with racial and economic tensions, and a sometime feeling that St. Louis’ best days are behind it, create an environment where past and present exist in an often-uncomfortable proximity. Part of this discomfort comes from who is creating the history, and for what purpose. Revealing how one leading community organization worked to create a historical narrative intended to boost St. Louis’ image might aid those in the present day to better understand and face St. Louis’ complicated past.

The person most responsible for the work of the Historic Sites Committee historic markers program was J. Orville Spreen, an employee of the Wabash Railroad. Born in 1897 in St. Louis, Spreen began working as an office boy for the railroad at the age of 15, eventually rising in the ranks until 1962, when he retired as an executive after 50 years of service.¹³ In 1940, the point when the Historic Sites Committee was at its most active, Spreen was unmarried and living with his mother in the Tower Grove South neighborhood of south St. Louis.¹⁴ A person of many interests and a true booster of St. Louis, Spreen was particularly interested in history and transportation. In 1910, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* noted Spreen as a “Boy Aviator” who had built model airplanes; eight years later, Spreen obtained a patent for a “Shoe fastener.”¹⁵ As a member of the St. Louis Railway Enthusiasts Club, in 1951 Spreen published the St. Louis Railroad Enthusiasts Tour of St. Louis, and he was also an officer in the Westerners, an organization dedicated to studying the American West.¹⁶ Spreen took his commitment to the Historic Sites Committee very seriously, writing painstaking reports and taking dozens of photographs of the historic markers. Assisting Spreen in his work was Robert J. (Bob) Pieper, who worked as an office

THE WORK OF THE **Historic Sites Committee**
 BEGAN IN EARNEST IN THE EARLY 1930S, BUT IT HIT ITS STRIDE
 IN THE LATE 1930S—IN 1939 ALONE, 58 MARKERS WERE ERECTED
 IN THE JEFFERSON NATIONAL EXPANSION MEMORIAL AREA.

manager with the Automobile Travel Club until World War II and who then served during and after the war as an Air Force officer. Spreen did most of the historical research for the sites, and Pieper, as Spreen wrote, “largely accomplished the difficult task of obtaining the consent of property owners, storekeepers and others having ground floor windows to place or erect markers on their premises.”¹⁷

The Historic Sites Committee members began researching sites in the late 1920s and erected their first markers in 1931. The marker program reached its peak during the creation of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, as discussions of the building of the memorial became more serious and the potential razing of buildings for the memorial area became evident.¹⁸ By 1941, “the Committee completed it[s] comprehensive program of erecting metal shield historic markers in the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial area. Something of significance was proven and a marker erected in all but two city blocks of the thirty-eight city blocks and parts of three other city blocks within the Memorial area.”¹⁹

However, while the impending Jefferson Memorial was the impetus, as Spreen noted in the 1939 report, “The Young Men’s

Division of the Chamber of Commerce have been interested for at least 15 years in making known and obtaining the benefits of St. Louis’ rich historic tradition — as early as 1924 we made an effort to raise sufficient finances to recondition the Grant-Dent House at the S.W. Cor. of Fourth and Cerre where Julia Dent and U.S. Grant were married. Subsequently efforts have been made to further historic marking and research was prepared during that period with a view of intelligently accomplishing a realization of historic St. Louis.”²⁰

In creating markers and marking historic sites, the Historic Sites Committee was continuing work begun by previous organizations. As architectural historian Daniel Bluestone notes, “In 1906 the Civic League’s Historic Sites Committee proposed a program to mark several historic sites in St. Louis. The committee’s first plaque, commemorating the memory of explorer William Clark, was unveiled in September 1906 on the one hundredth anniversary of the Lewis and Clark expedition’s return to St. Louis. The plaque was placed on a bank building that occupied the ground where William Clark had lived for many years. The committee also planned to mark sites associated with the early European settlement of St. Louis, the Louisiana Purchase, and the Civil War.”²¹

Bluestone argues that in the first two decades of the twentieth century, there was a growing interest in local history in St. Louis, and a belief that St. Louis should claim its place in national history.”²²

Spreen and the others on the Historic Sites Committee certainly believed this, but they also noted that they and their project ran into indifference among some St. Louisans. In the 1939 report, Spreen wrote:

As the opportunity presented our findings were publicized and the number of historic markers erected have increased more rapidly as time went on. It was necessary to overcome considerable indifference in furthering our program for it was impossible at the start to obtain the interest of St. Louisans. The attitude was that anything historic was on the Atlantic Seaboard and what St. Louis had to offer was comparatively insignificant. It is a pleasure now to state there has developed a realization of St. Louis’ important part in the expansion and establishment of the U.S. as a nation. Furthermore, the events which centered in St. Louis which brought about the expansion and establishment of the nation are now being considered equally as important in their period to events in the founding of the nation period which centered in recognized historically important eastern communities. The provisions for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial—the creating of a national park area of Old St. Louis is evidence of this. With the recent issuance of surveys by experts of the National Park Service all that we had claimed for St. Louis historically it appears is being confirmed.²³



By the time Martin Stadler created this painting of Joseph Nash McDowell's Medical College at the end of the Civil War, it was being used as the Gratiot Street Prison. McDowell's college was a bit notorious in St. Louis as an early proponent of human dissection. For more on McDowell's practices, see "Anatomy, Grave-Robbing, and Spiritualism in Antebellum St. Louis" by Luke Ritter in *The Confluence*, spring-summer 2012, available at our website. The Union Army took over the building in late 1861 to use as a prison for Confederate prisoners of war, sympathizers, and others. (Image: Missouri Historical Society)

The work of the Historic Sites Committee began in earnest in the early 1930s, but it hit its stride in the late 1930s—in 1939 alone, 58 markers were erected in the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Area.²⁴ While the program continued during World War II, both a lack of metal for signs, and committee members' military service, hindered progress. In 1945, the committee erected seven markers and reported that vandalism, weather, and time had begun to take their toll on existing markers. Thus, the remaining committee members had to spend considerable time repairing markers.²⁵ By 1951, the committee was no longer erecting markers. During its heyday, however, the committee was selecting, researching, and marking dozens of sites a year. The sites they selected are an illustration of a community organization highlighting, in the words of the progress report of the Jefferson Memorial, a history "where the memory of the achievements of our heroes will be enshrined."²⁶

As mentioned above, the committee members attempted to be meticulous in their research of sites and placement of markers. Spreen described how the process worked: "members of the Committee, through reading and through other sources, receive leads on which to work. Research through directories and titles establish locations. Texts are written from local histories, old newspapers, etc. Permission is secured from building or lot owners to place the markers and the text is prepared. The marker is then placed and publicity is released to the newspapers."²⁷ Because the markers were often dependent upon sponsorship from businesses connected with the historic site, sometimes conflicts arose between the Historic Sites Committee and the sponsors. In 1939, Spreen described one such occasion:

During the ceremony of unveiling the Site of the Manual Training School bronze marker an offer was made to provide a bronze marker for the site of the McDowell Medical College—Gratiot Street Civil War Prison. Subsequently research was completed and a proposal made for this marker. However, the building of the sponsor, upon which the marker was to be placed, proved to be about a block south of the site of the McDowell College-Gratiot St. Prison and the suggested text for the marker accordingly states 'a block north of this spot was located' etc. to which objection was made by the sponsor and request made that it state the structure being marked was on the site where the sponsor desired the marker placed. A reply was made to this proposal that this would not be in the interest of historical accuracy. Inasmuch as the McDowell College-Gratiot St. Civil War Prison Building was on the N.W. Cor. of Eight and Gratiot, a site upon which a metal shield marker has been placed but undesirable for a permanent bronze marker, there seems ample justification for placing a bronze marker near the spot and so stating. It is still possible that the sponsor will agree to the text as correctly stated and the idea of there being justification for placing the marker near the site, and so stating, probably should be advanced further with the sponsor.²⁸



When Spreen and the Committee decided to mark this building, the International Fur Exchange was still among the world's largest fur trading auction houses. Constructed in 1919, it was among the last vestiges of the fur trade that dated to Missouri's colonial era. Drury Inns started restoration of the building in 1997. (Image: Jeffrey Smith)

“HISTORIC SITE AND STRUCTURE TOURS HAVE AGAIN BEEN CONDUCTED DURING THE PAST YEAR WITH A TOTAL ATTENDANCE OF APPROXIMATELY 500.”⁹⁹

Despite such conflicts, as its work continued, the Historic Sites Committee received a great amount of support from the community, including publicity in local newspapers and even in a national magazine. In 1944, members noted that the committee's work was featured in “18 ½ columns of newspaper publicity . . . as well as about a page of photographic material published during the year. In one case, certain markers were included in the special picture section of a Sunday newspaper.”²⁹ The Historic Sites Committee expanded its offerings to conduct tours of St. Louis historic sites, reporting in 1939, “Historic site and structure tours have again been conducted during the past year with a total attendance of approximately 500. Now that a comprehensive layout of historic markers has been erected the tours activity offers splendid opportunities for an important field of future work.”³⁰ Members of the Historic Sites Committee also spoke on the radio to talk about St. Louis history and gave speeches to various organizations advocating for acknowledgment of St. Louis' history.³¹ The occasion of one of these speeches indicates that the committee was not outwardly hostile to the history of underrepresented groups, but it was just rather oblivious to the importance of that history in the selection of sites to commemorate. The 1940 committee report states, “The Chairman reviewed

the history of the Old Court House before a gathering of 500 Negroes at the observance of the 77th Anniversary of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in the Old Court House, January 1, 1940 and the daily and Negro press included reference to his part in the program.”³²

Additionally, the Historic Sites Committee formed valuable partnerships to promote its version of St. Louis history, receiving the imprimatur of professional historians. A 1939 issue of the *Missouri Historical Review*, the journal of the State Historical Society of Missouri, included an item describing the work of the Historic Sites Committee, and the Missouri Historical Society featured the work of the Historic Sites Committee in its 1945 *Bulletin*. The Historic Sites Committee members also celebrated that their work was mentioned by Lawrence Vail Coleman, Director of the American Association of Museums, in his book, *Historic House Museums*.³³ Perhaps most importantly, a 1939 textbook, *St. Louis: Child of the River, Parent of the West*, used in St. Louis Public Schools, not only mentioned the markers erected by the Historic Sites Committee, but also made use of the narrative text of the markers themselves. Thus, the Young Men's Chamber of Commerce version of St. Louis history was passed on to the next generation.³⁴

The building of the Jefferson Memorial and the razing of historic buildings to clear the area, were a source of some tension at times between the Historic Sites Committee and the National Park Service, but the two groups also learned to work together. The Historic Sites Committee appreciated the prestige of having its work recognized by the National Park Service. Numerous yearly reports note that “The Historic Sites Committee co-operated and contributed in the preparation of the National Park Service map of the location of historic sites and buildings in the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Area and the Committee was the only group to whom individual acknowledgment was given,” pointing out that the Senior Landscape Architect of the Jefferson Memorial acknowledged that “the Young Men's Division of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce historic sites marking committee has made valuable suggestions.”³⁵

The primary tension between the Historic Sites Committee and the National Park Service was over the razing of buildings and what was deemed historically significant. These were fights that the Historic Sites Committee generally lost, but something of a compromise was reached, with Spreen reporting, “The National Park Service have taken into their custody the Young Men's Division metal shield markers on structures

Robert Campbell (1804-1879) arrived from Ireland in 1822 and came to St. Louis the following year. He became a leading part of the fur trade over the next two decades, constructing this house in 1851. Today, it is operated as a historic house museum. Images: Missouri Historical Society, Jeffrey Smith)



razed, and according to the plan of Mr. Walter Kerlin, Engineer in charge of clearing the area, they are to be replaced on barricades at the various locations as the sites are cleared. In this way they will continue to serve the interpret to the public the significance of various historic sites, and influence more substantial marking, during the development of the Memorial into permanent form.”³⁶

Although the Historic Sites Committee was not able to save the buildings razed to make way for the Jefferson Memorial, it did assert its influence in other parts of downtown St. Louis. When St. Louis created a historic landmarks commission, the Historic Sites Committee offered its extensive research to the commission to facilitate the saving of buildings. One of the sites that benefitted from the Historic Sites Committee’s work was the Campbell House, which now stands as a valuable museum in downtown St. Louis. A marker placed by the Historic Sites

Committee was one of the first steps taken in the house’s preservation. Likewise, the Historic Sites Committee claimed to do the “spade work” that led to the preservation of the Eugene Field House, another popular museum in today’s St. Louis. The Historic Sites Committee reported that through its efforts, “the house was not torn down along with the others in the row that was razed. As it stood alone after clearing away the others the necessary interest was aroused to preserve it. This is an example of the policy of the Young Men’s Division in connection with preservations. To identify that which is available and point the way for specialized interests to complete the job.”³⁷

For well over a decade, J. Orville Spreen and the Historic Sites Committee did a tremendous amount of work researching, marking, and publicizing historic sites in St. Louis. Their work, while admirable in many ways, is also an example of a boosterism

version of history, narratives that are created to build up the esteem of an area, to gloss over difficult questions in the past, and to erase or silence the history of those who do not fit within a certain paradigm. By 1953, because of World War II, difficulty in upkeep of the markers, and waning interest in the program, the Historic Sites Committee of the Young Men’s Association of the Chamber of Commerce had erected its final marker. In a 1971 update to a 1951 report, Spreen noted that most of the markers erected by the group had “disappeared from their locations,” but that other groups were continuing to place markers. One of the markers he listed was a bronze marker erected in 1966 to commemorate “a Spanish Land Grant to Esther, a free mulato [sic], in 1793.” This marker was erected by the St. Louis Association Colored Womens’ Clubs, Inc., a group who were now having their own opportunity to construct a new historical narrative for St. Louis.

ENDNOTES

¹ Earlier reports note the committee had erected as many as 194 markers, but by 1944 only 126 were still in existence.

² Cultural Projects Contest Application, Historic Sites Committee—Young Men's Division of St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, Orrille Spreen papers, Box 8, Folder 73. Available at the State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center at the University of Missouri-St. Louis.

³ Orville Spreen, *Historic Sites Committee, Young Men's Division of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce Report of Activity for the Year 1944 and Recommendations for Future Activity*, Spreen papers, Box 8, Folder 48. Hereinafter, the reports will be referenced as Historic Sites Committee Report, followed by the report year.

⁴ Historic Markers Report (1944), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 48.

⁵ Report, List of Historic Sites Structures and Areas Marked in and Around St. Louis, MO, 1944 (revised to 1951).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Cultural Projects Contest Application, Historic Sites Committee—Young Men's Division of St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 73.

⁸ Report, List of Historic Sites Structures and Areas Marked in and Around St. Louis, MO, 1944 (revised to 1951).

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 43.

¹¹ Historic Sites Report (1943), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 47.

¹² Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Hill Press, 1995), 25.

¹³ J. Orville Spreen papers overview, the State Historical Society of Missouri.

¹⁴ U.S. Census, 1940.

¹⁵ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 30, 1910. Annual Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1918, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1919, 502.

¹⁶ Midcontinent American Studies Association Bulletin, Spring 1965.

¹⁷ *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, October 13, 1952, and letter from J. Orville Spreen, Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 43.

¹⁸ Report, List of Historic Sites Structures and Areas Marked in and Around St. Louis, MO, 1944 (revised to 1951).

¹⁹ Historic Sites Committee Report (1941), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 45.

²⁰ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 43.

²¹ Daniel Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory: Case Studies in Historic Preservation* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 138.

²² Bluestone, *Buildings, Landscape, and Memory*, 138.

²³ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 43.

²⁴ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 43.

²⁵ Historic Sites Committee Report (1945), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 48.

²⁶ Progress Report of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, (1940), Spreen papers, Box 2, F. 7.

²⁷ Cultural Projects Contest Application, Historic Sites Committee—Young Men's Division of St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 73.

²⁸ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 43.

²⁹ Historic Sites Committee Report (1942), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 46. Cultural Projects Contest Application, Historic Sites Committee—Young Men's Division of St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 73.

³⁰ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen papers, Box 8, F. 43.

³¹ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen Papers, Box 8, F. 43.

³² Historic Sites Committee Report (1940), Spreen Papers, Box 8, F. 44.

³³ Cultural Projects Contest Application, Historic Sites Committee—Young Men's Division of St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, Spreen Papers, Box 8, F. 73. Historic Sites Committee Report (1945), Spreen Papers, Box 8, F. 49.

³⁴ Dena Floren Lange and Merlin Ames, *St. Louis: Child of the River, Parent of the West*, Webster, MO: Webster Publishing, Co. 1939.

³⁵ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen Papers, Box 8, F. 43.

³⁶ Historic Sites Committee Report (1939), Spreen Papers, Box 8, F. 43.

³⁷ Historic Sites Committee Report (1943), Spreen Papers, Box 8, F. 47