

A Tale of Two Removals

Public Monuments and Civil War Memory in Saint Louis

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Figure 1. George Julian Zolnay and William Trueblood, *Confederate Memorial*, 1914, Forest Park, Saint Louis (removed June 2017). Photo by author.

In the summer of 2017, amidst heated national debate regarding the fate of our country's Confederate monuments and following numerous protests and repeated instances of vandalism, a memorial to the soldiers and sailors of the Confederacy was removed from Forest Park, one of the most prominent public spaces in Saint Louis. Erected in 1914, during the spike in Confederate monument construction that accompanied the

nascent era of Jim Crow, the thirty-two-foot-high granite obelisk featured the "Angel of the Spirit of the Confederacy" carved into its upper portion, hovering over a bronze relief panel of a Southern family sending its son off to war (fig. 1).¹

Commissioned by the Saint Louis branch of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and designed by George Julian Zolnay and William Trueblood, the monument's indebtedness

to the tenets of the Lost Cause was revealed through its iconography as well as through its inscriptions.² By highlighting the sacrifices made by women and children and their defense of the homestead and the Southern way of life, the monument projected a romantic vision of the war, reframed to emphasize Northern aggression, with the heroic and victimized South positioned as the great defender of states' rights and the Constitution, with nary a mention of slavery.³

The *Confederate Memorial* had largely escaped popular notice for just over a century, until in April 2015 then Mayor of Saint Louis, Francis Slay, announced the need to “reappraise” the monument.⁴ The mayor’s announcement was met with mixed reactions. Many were enthusiastic about the prospect of ridding the city of what they viewed as a racist monument, but others argued that any removal effort would be an attempt to whitewash history, the first stop on a slippery slope leading to large-scale historical revisionism and the erasure of other historical figures, potentially even the censure of founding fathers owing to their slaveholding pasts. Some of the more enthusiastic protestors labeled the prospect of removal Orwellian, fascist, and Taliban-esque.⁵

In early June 2017, the city of Saint Louis initiated a plan for the monument’s removal. The UDC then introduced a new wrinkle into the proceedings, first by publicly claiming full, legal ownership of the monument, and second by transferring that ownership to the Missouri Civil War Museum. The city initially appeared ready to fight the museum for ownership; however, an agreement with the museum for removal and eventual resiting was ultimately reached.⁶

The *Confederate Memorial* was not the first Civil War-themed monument to be

removed from its prominent position in the Saint Louis landscape. As Eddie Roth, assistant to Mayor Slay, quipped in response to the outrage some professed over the calls for its removal, “We have a tradition of moving monuments [in Saint Louis], and nobody should know that better than sympathizers of the Confederate cause.”⁷ In 1960, a statue honoring Union General Nathaniel Lyon (fig. 2) was relocated from its prime spot on a well-traveled thoroughfare bordering the Saint Louis University (SLU) campus to the remote Lyon Park, a parcel of land south of downtown that had been part of the US Arsenal grounds and thus under Lyon’s command during his time in Saint Louis. Unlike the *Confederate Memorial*, the removal of the *Lyon Monument* received comparatively little attention, and the statue—today standing in the shadow of the Anheuser-Busch brewery—is largely forgotten.⁸



Figure 2. Erhardt Siebert, *General Nathaniel Lyon Monument*, 1929, Lyon Park, Saint Louis. Photo by author.

The recently energized national debate surrounding public monuments underscores their enduring potency and how memory and history continue to be shaped—and reshaped—by these objects. It thus behooves us to revisit the *Lyon Monument* to examine more thoroughly the politics of removal, what we let stand, and where we allow it to stand, especially as the future display of Saint Louis' *Confederate Memorial* is yet to be decided.⁹

Saint Louis, the most populous city of a fiercely divided border state claimed by both the Union and the Confederacy, complete with two competing state governments, was uniquely positioned at the crossroads of the Civil War conflict. While Saint Louis would remain a pro-Union and Republican stronghold for the duration of the war, many of the city's elites had Southern roots. The legacy of these internal conflicts would influence the public spaces of Saint Louis for decades after the last shot was fired.¹⁰

Prior to his arrival in Missouri, Nathaniel Lyon (1818–1861; fig. 3), a Connecticut-born West Point graduate and veteran of both the Second Seminole War and the Mexican-American War, had been stationed in Kansas. There he witnessed firsthand the rising tensions and increasing violence between the pro-slavery and free-soil advocates. Lyon was committed to the preservation of the Union above all else, which aligned him with prominent Saint Louisans like Edward Bates, Lincoln's Secretary of State, and Frank Blair Jr., the political firebrand who would become a close friend of Lyon's and served under his command.¹¹

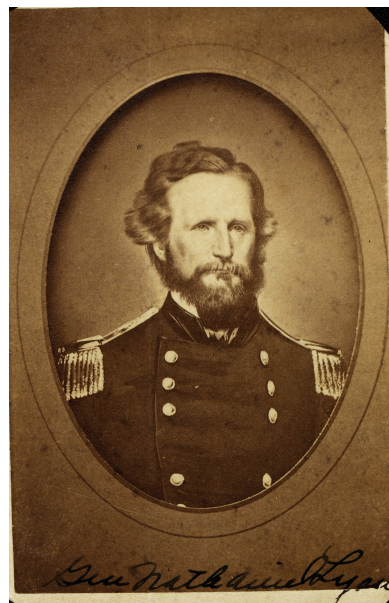


Figure 3. J. A. Scholten, Portrait of Nathaniel Lyon, 1861–1865. Photo courtesy of Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis, IDENTIFIER: P0084-0265, <http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/155583/>.

On May 10, 1861, a month after the fall of Fort Sumter and the subsequent refusal by Claiborne Fox Jackson, Missouri's pro-secessionist governor, to provide President Lincoln with volunteer troops from Missouri, a violent confrontation between State and Federal forces, known as the Camp Jackson Affair, brought the Civil War to Missouri. Jackson, in secret contact with Confederate President Jefferson Davis, had schemed to use the Missouri Volunteer Militia to capture the US Arsenal at Saint Louis, one of the largest military storehouses in the nation, which was considered of strategic importance in this volatile border state. To preempt this action, the commander of the arsenal, one Captain Nathaniel Lyon, moved the majority of the weapons to Illinois. He and his troops then marched on the militia's training encampment, known as Camp Jackson, located in Lindell Grove at the western edge of the

city in what is today the campus of SLU. Realizing he was outmanned, the head of the militia, General Daniel M. Frost, surrendered without a fight. However, as Lyon's troops led the captured militiamen through the city back to the arsenal, violence and chaos erupted (fig. 4). Shots were fired, and the subsequent riot left more than thirty people dead (mostly civilians) and many others wounded. The Camp Jackson Affair marked a turning point for Saint Louis and for Missouri overall. It aroused fierce defenders of the Union who saw Lyon as justified in his actions but also awakened secessionist sympathies for many who believed that Lyon had overreacted. It was time to choose sides.¹²



Figure 4. *Terrible Tragedy at St. Louis, 1861*. Photo courtesy of Missouri Historical Society, Saint Louis, IDENTIFIER: P0084-1274, <http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/158580/>. Wood engraving of Union soldiers fighting back against a civilian mob in the aftermath of the taking of Camp Jackson by General Lyon, originally published in the *New York Illustrated News*, May 25, 1861, p. 41.

Only three months later, in August 1861, Lyon was killed at the Battle of Wilson Creek, near Springfield, Missouri, during a clash between Union forces and the Missouri State Guard, which was loyal to now-Governor-in-exile Jackson.¹³ As

the first Union general to be killed in action, Lyon initially was celebrated widely as a hero and a patriot, with his coffin publicly displayed in Saint Louis, Cincinnati, New York, and Hartford. However, as Joan Stack has illustrated in her analysis of the shifting commemoration of Lyon at the Missouri Capitol building, by the end of the nineteenth century, Lyon had fallen out of favor as a Missouri Civil War hero.¹⁴ Stack argues that this reversal in opinion vis-à-vis the Union general was owed not only to the fact that former Confederates now occupied statewide office in significant numbers, but even more crucially, revisionist histories of Missouri's involvement in the Civil War had begun to proliferate, notably *The Fight for Missouri: From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon* published in 1886 by Thomas Snead, Governor Jackson's former aide-de-camp. According to Stack, Snead, a "partisan spinmeister," was extraordinarily effective in recasting Lyon, the man who had long been praised as saving Missouri for the Union, as a "war-mongering zealot."¹⁵ Given Lyon's evolving reputation in Missouri in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, it now seems somewhat remarkable that a monument dedicated to the Union general was ever erected in Saint Louis at all.

In 1924 the creation of a triangular plaza at the intersection of Grand Avenue and West Pine Boulevard, on the westernmost border of the former Camp Jackson site, offered the opportunity to mark the historic spot (fig. 5).¹⁶ Shortly after the plaza's completion, members of the Camp Jackson Union Soldiers Monument Association, a group organized and incorporated by the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), the most prominent Union veterans group, began raising

money to erect a statue to Lyon. The GAR annual proceedings of 1927 proclaimed that “every loyal Missourian will feel a pride of state he has never felt before, when he sees it. The capture of Camp Jackson was a master stroke and saved, not only St. Louis, but the state of Missouri for the Union.”¹⁷

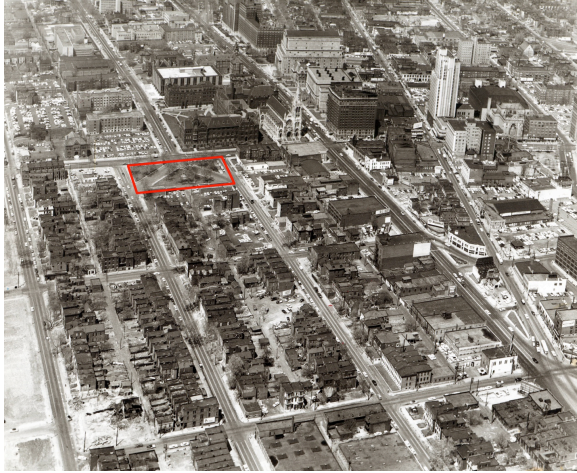


Figure 5. Aerial photograph of Saint Louis University's Frost Campus from the southeast, 1959. Photo courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Archives, Saint Louis Public Relations Office Photograph Collection, PHO 7.0.47, <http://cdm.slu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/photos/id/6/rec/7/>. The author's highlighting indicates the original location of the *Lyon Monument*.

The equestrian monument to Lyon, completed by sculptor Erhardt Siebert, a Saint Louis native and graduate of Washington University, was unveiled in December 1929. The \$15,000 raised by the Camp Jackson Union Soldiers Monument Association fell well short of its \$50,000 goal. As a result, Siebert's original design of two walls topped with classical balustrades framing a freestanding equestrian monument on a granite base had to be scrapped.

The final version of the sculpture depicts the crudely modeled figure of Lyon, accompanied by another standing

soldier, awkwardly perched atop an elongated horse in possession of hindquarters aligned with an axis distinct from that of the rest of its body (figs. 6, 7). George McCue, longtime art critic for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, likened the composition to the familiar comedy routine where two men occupy different ends of a horse and move in opposing directions. The massive base, framed by Roman fasces, was meant to symbolize the solidity of American history, while the bronze outcropping on which the horse seems to balance precariously suggests the country at the brink of an abyss as it faces the Confederate threat. A narrative relief on the back of the base depicts Marsh's surrender to Lyon, and a bronze commemorative plaque, now missing, originally adorned the front.¹⁸

Upon installation, the statue was met with significant criticism. Some of the harshest rhetoric came from Edmund H. Wuerpel, director of the Washington University School of Fine Arts, who labeled it “a desecration of a public place.” His colleague, Victor S. Holm, professor of sculpture, agreed, declaring it a work of “absolute incompetence.”¹⁹ Although noting that he was “sorry to wound the feelings of a fellow craftsman, sorry to hurt anyone who has honestly tried,” Wuerpel concluded that “the monument is unpardonably inadequate; it is bad” and “it would be a kindness to the city and its inhabitants if the creation should be withdrawn permanently from the public gaze.”²⁰

A city ordinance did require that projects for civic sites undergo review by the advisory Municipal Art Commission. However, since Mayor Victor Miller (1925–33) had allowed several members' terms to expire, the design was effectively approved by default through a vote by the Saint Louis Board of Aldermen, which



Figure 6. Side view of *Lyon Monument*. Photo by author.

replaced the official evaluation. The mayor had, in the words of one witty reporter, allowed the horse “to not only get out of the stable but also achieved permanent display in a public place.”²¹ Many, including Wuerpel and Holm, were of the opinion that a functioning art commission would have halted the erection of the monument.

In response to the criticism leveled at the monument, Miller retorted that the “GAR and affiliated organizations paid for the statue and obtained permission of the Board of Aldermen to put it up in the Plaza. So far as I’m concerned it’s going to stay there. If people don’t like it, they don’t have to look at it.”²² President of the Camp Jackson Union Soldiers Monument Association, Rev. Frank G. Beardsley, also appeared unmoved, suggesting that the criticism was not entirely motivated by aesthetics and alluded to what Joan Stack



Figure 7. Detail of figural portion of *Lyon Monument*. Photo by author.

made plain with regard to the commemoration of Lyon at the Missouri Capitol: “We knew that there was opposition to the erection of any sort of monument or memorial to the taking of Camp Jackson. In view of the opposition, whatever the design of the monument, it was to be expected that there would be criticism.”²³ It appears that even a skillfully sculpted Nathaniel Lyon would not have been entirely welcomed in the Saint Louis landscape.²⁴

General Lyon successfully weathered this initial onslaught of criticism, standing his ground at Camp Jackson for over thirty years. However in 1959, Harriet Frost Fordyce, a significant benefactor of the Jesuit-run SLU, but more importantly the daughter of General Daniel M. Frost, commander of the rebel forces at Camp Jackson, donated just over \$1 million to enable the university to purchase twenty-two acres of land to expand the campus

east of its Grand Avenue border.²⁵ These twenty-two acres included the former site of Camp Jackson and therefore the equestrian monument dedicated to Lyon.²⁶

As a condition of Fordyce's gift, the entirety of SLU's North campus was to be renamed for General Frost. Frost had his own ties to the university via his longtime friendship with Father Jean-Pierre De Smet, dean and professor of English, who had helped the former Confederate obtain a presidential pardon from Andrew Johnson.²⁷ The university thus found itself in a bind. Although there is no explicit written record of Fordyce demanding the removal of the sculpture, it is clear that the continued presence of a monument dedicated to her father's old adversary and celebrating his most well-known defeat in the middle of a campus now named for him was at the very least an embarrassment for SLU.²⁸

The Camp Jackson Union Soldiers Monument Association had no money to relocate the sculpture, and both the City Parks Department and Land Clearance Redevelopment Authority, while fearful of ruffling the feathers of the patriotic organizations that initially had sponsored the monument, had little interest in appropriating funds from their budgets.²⁹ In his history of the Frost and Fordyce families in Saint Louis, Joseph Knapp, a Jesuit priest and SLU professor, records how the crisis was resolved. At the behest of Father Paul Reinert, SLU's president and a close friend of Harriet Frost Fordyce's, a former mayor bar-hopped his way around the city bearing a petition for the removal of the monument to its current location in Lyon Park. Offering drinks on the house in return for signatures, it cost him just \$1,600 to achieve his goal (fig. 8).³⁰



Figure 8. Two Lyon "coeds" waving farewell to the *Lyon Monument* prior to its removal from the SLU campus, January 5, 1960. Photo courtesy of Saint Louis University Libraries Archives, Saint Louis, Boleslaus T. Lukaszewski S.J. (Father Luke) Photographs, PHO 1.552.6, <http://cdm.slu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/photos/id/23190/rec/6/>.

The January 1960 removal of the *Lyon Monument* was cause for great celebration by George McCue: "Let no tears be shed when the bronze thing is hauled away. Let there be no misgivings General Lyon will be more honored by the absence of the statue than by its continued existence. This is an unfortunate piece of sculpture. It was bad when it was put up in 1929 . . . and time has only confirmed its lack of merit." McCue continued, "the whole thing is as ugly a lump as ever defaced a city landscape," and advocated melting it down to "make a clean end to it."³¹ And

while many likely shared McCue's aesthetic judgment of the *Lyon Monument*, it also provided convenient cover to ignore the political circumstances of the removal. Ultimately, the transfer of the *Lyon Monument* from its conspicuous location on a main thoroughfare to an out-of-the-way park fits the larger, collective history of the Civil War offered by the public monuments of Saint Louis, as it is one that privileges reunion and reconciliation, something that Nathaniel Lyon and his actions at Camp Jackson represent the antithesis of.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, the national rhetoric began to focus on the necessary reunion of North and South. Monuments played a key role in this push for unity, and as time went on, more and more (white) Americans perceived monument building to be a part of a "healthy process of sectional reconciliation."³² In Forest Park, the site of the most significant public statement of Civil War memory in Saint Louis, the moderate tone of the three Union monuments coupled with the inclusion of a Confederate memorial alongside them, illustrated not only the national desire for reunion during these years but also that the majority of Missourians preferred a path toward healing rather than one filled with divisive action and rhetoric. Anxiety about appropriate commemoration of Civil War history is evident from the earliest days of the *Confederate Memorial's* conception, as it was the only monument in Forest Park to require the passage of a city ordinance before approval was given, and then with additional stipulations concerning the design.³³ The terms of the original competition explicitly stated there could be "no figure of a Confederate soldier, or object of modern warfare" displayed.³⁴

Many in Saint Louis did not support a Confederate monument of any kind, and yet even the most strident Unionists eventually acquiesced, paving the way for the forces of reconciliation and unity to rule the day.³⁵

The Lost Cause narrative, visually promulgated by countless monuments including the *Confederate Memorial* in Forest Park, would be accepted as authoritative by the South and go largely unchallenged by much of the North in the interest of national reconciliation and healing. Thus, while it may have lost the war, ultimately the Confederacy was extraordinarily successful in its struggle to control Civil War memory—able to rewrite the past on its own terms in numerous public spaces throughout the United States.³⁶ The Saint Louis *Confederate Memorial* was approved by the city council only once it was framed as a monument commissioned in the spirit of reunion and reconciliation, its message couched in allegory and abstract military service and valor. Ironically, it was the restrictions imposed during the commissioning process, especially with regard to iconographic choices, that not only allowed the monument to be constructed in the first place but also helped to obfuscate its true message for years to follow.³⁷ While ostensibly a monument celebrating and honoring the Confederate dead, the Forest Park memorial, like the majority of Confederate monuments, instead commemorates the overwhelming success of the Lost Cause. However, its removal in 2017, along with the many other removals of similar monuments, suggests that this revisionist history will no longer go unchallenged.

The fate of the *Lyon Monument* has often been framed as a victory, with General Frost, aided by his devoted

daughter, finally triumphing over General Lyon in “the second battle of Camp Jackson,”³⁸ a conflict now waged over public memory and civic space. While obviously the circumstances of the two removals are quite different—one the result of a large, public outcry and the other a more pointed, personal campaign—both have helped to obscure, in part, the true history of the Civil War in Saint Louis, one with its presence, the other by its absence.

The speech given by New Orleans mayor Mitch Landrieu in May 2017 about his city’s Confederate monuments was a turning point for many, including myself, regarding the continued presence of these monuments in our public spaces.³⁹ That we can’t and shouldn’t rely on monuments to teach us history is an argument I do not dispute, and yet does there not remain great value in public monuments, given their ability to illuminate the broader values, aspirations, and ideals of a time and place, and of an individual, of a community, of a nation?

The future of the *Confederate Memorial* post-removal remains uncertain. How and where will it be displayed? What context will be offered, both for its original conception and the events that led to its removal? And what of the empty space left behind by the removal? Will anything mark the spot upon which the memorial once stood in the park? Will future generations be aware that a *Confederate Memorial* was part of the monumental history of Forest Park, or will it follow the trajectory of the *Lyon Monument*, effectively forgotten, with the man, his victory at Camp Jackson, and the circumstances surrounding the removal of his monument unknown to the majority of Saint Louisans?

While the recently renewed focus on the fate of Confederate memorials has

energized debate in this country about the presence of these public monuments in our civic landscape and the highly edited version of the past that these objects impose on our national landscape, my research into the *Lyon Monument* has convinced me that it is also crucial to grapple with the implications of removal and the monumental absences left behind. As Kirk Savage has argued, public monuments allow history to be shaped “into its rightful pattern,”⁴⁰ and while most often achieved through monumental presence, it is also occasionally achieved through monumental absence.

¹ For the most recent and comprehensive analysis of the *Confederate Memorial* and its commission, see Patrick Burkhardt, “The Lost Cause Ideology and Civil War Memory at the Semicentennial: A Look at the Confederate Monument in St. Louis,” *Confluence* (Spring/Summer 2011): 16–25. See also the “Confederate Monument in St. Louis,” *Confederate Veteran* 23, no. 1 (January 1915): 16, 35–36. The magazine, considered the official mouthpiece of the Lost Cause in the New South, offers a detailed contemporary account of the commission, including the dedication ceremony.

² On the genesis and evolution of this revisionist history of the Civil War, see David W. Blight, “The Lost Cause and Causes Not Lost,” in *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 255–99. Burkhardt, “Lost Cause Ideology,” 18, provides the full text of both inscriptions on the back of the obelisk.

³ The Hungarian-born Zolnay was already well known in Confederate circles owing to his sculptures for the Jefferson Davis family plot at Hollywood Cemetery in Richmond, Virginia. Zolnay’s choice of iconography for the Forest Park monument mirrors that of a number of other UDC-commissioned monuments, including the *Confederate Memorial* at Arlington National Cemetery, viewed by the UDC and other Lost Cause advocates as one of their greatest successes; see Karen L. Cox, “The Confederate Monument at

Arlington National Cemetery: A Token of Reconciliation,” in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, ed. Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 148–62. On the UDC more generally, see Karen L. Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

⁴ Francis G. Slay, “The Confederate Monument in Forest Park: It’s Time for a Reappraisal” (blog), April 21, 2015, <https://archive.mayorslay.com/from-fgs/confederate-monument-forest-park>; the then mayor’s decision to revisit the monument occurred amidst the growing racial tension and outrage resulting from the fatal police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, in August 2014 and the subsequent birth of the Black Lives Matter movement.

⁵ A succinct overview of the Confederate Memorial’s history and the recent protests and vandalism (including images) can be found here: Tim O’Neil, “Everything You Need to Know About the Confederate Monument in Forest Park,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 30, 2017, http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-confederate-monument-in/article_bf090beb-965c-5f8b-bef1-e84fcc8646a6.html/. For footage of the removal, see “Confederate Monument in Forest Park Comes Down,” filmed June 2017 in Forest Park, Saint Louis, MO, for *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, video, 2:34, accessed August 20, 2018. <http://launch.newsinc.com/share.html?trackingGroup=69017&siteSection=ndn&videoId=32607332>.

⁶ Following the joint acceptance of a June 23, 2017, agreement by the city of Saint Louis and the Missouri Civil War Museum, the removal of the monument from the park was completed on June 28. The monument is to remain in an undisclosed storage location (to avoid further vandalism) until the museum finds a suitable place to display it; Kim Bell and Celeste Bott, “Confederate Monument Will Be Gone from Forest Park by Friday Under New Agreement,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 27, 2017, <http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/confederate-monument-will-be-gone->

from-forest-park-by-friday/article_f5ffd027-64fe-5483-8f71-871c517b4f9f.html/; Celeste Bott, “Remaining Pieces of Confederate Monument Removed from Forest Park,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 28, 2017, https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/remaining-pieces-of-confederate-monument-removed-from-forest-park/article_84765940-97bf-5e2c-ac18-8038c224a38a.html/.

⁷ Tim O’Neil, “National Debate Over Confederate Symbols Comes to St. Louis with Vandalism of Memorial in Forest Park,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 24, 2015, http://www.stltoday.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/national-debate-over-confederate-symbols-comes-to-st-louis-with/article_3fa42a8b-761a-5641-8250-df0c3d00b3d0.html/.

⁸ Lyon Park also is home to an earlier monument dedicated to the general, a thirty-foot, red-granite obelisk sculpted by Aldophus Druiding and erected in 1874. On both monuments, see William C. Winter, *The Civil War in St. Louis: A Guided Tour* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1994), 36–37; George McCue, *Sculpture City St. Louis* (St. Louis: Hudson Hills Press in association with Laumier Sculpture Park, 1988), 38–39. I am grateful to my Historical Studies colleague at SIUE, Professor Bryan Jack, for jogging my memory with regard to the *Lyon Monument*’s removal from SLU and thus helping to set this comparative study in motion.

⁹ The agreement between the city and the museum stipulates that the monument cannot be displayed publicly in either Saint Louis City or County, and in addition, when it is resited it must be located in one of the three following types of locations: Civil War museum, Civil War battlefield, Civil War cemetery; “Agreement Between City and Civil War Museum over Confederate Monument,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 26, 2017, https://www.stltoday.com/online/agreement-between-civil-war-museum-and-city-over-confederate-monument/pdf_f42df59f-e4ea-5c3b-ac2f-4fe8807d4e76.html/.

¹⁰ In addition to Winter, other key sources for Saint Louis history during this period include: Louis S. Gerteis, *Civil War St. Louis* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001); James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764–1980*, 3rd ed.

(St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), esp. 227–71 (“For the Union”).

¹¹ The most comprehensive source on Lyon is Christopher Phillips, *Damned Yankee: The Life of General Nathaniel Lyon* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990).

¹² Winter, *Civil War*, 34–55, offers a concise overview of the so-called Camp Jackson Affair. See also Gerteis, *Civil War*, 97–125; Phillips, *Damned Yankee*, 175–214. For a visual of the camp location, see *Map of Camp Jackson, May 6, 1861* (edited, after Edward Brydges Sayers), from Thomas J. Scharf, *History of St. Louis City and County*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1883), 492; also available at Missouri Historical Society (website), June 21, 2018, <http://collections.mohistory.org/resource/146724/>.

¹³ An emergency session of the Missouri State Convention had been called in July 1861, and on August 1, Hamilton R. Gamble, a staunchly pro-Unionist lawyer and former chief justice of the Missouri Supreme Court, become the provisional Union governor. However, reflective of the deep divisions plaguing Missouri during this period, governor-in-exile Jackson and his provisional government would then act to make Missouri the twelfth state admitted to the Confederacy several months later, in November 1861; Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 240.

¹⁴ In 1911, the Missouri Capitol building burned, and along with it a large portrait of General Lyon by George Caleb Bingham. A decade later, when the capitol was rebuilt and redecorated, the new murals by N. C. Wyeth not only no longer featured Lyon but also shifted the focus to include the Confederate triumphs achieved in Missouri; see Joan Stack, “The Rise and Fall of General Nathaniel Lyon in the Missouri State Capital,” *Gateway* 33 (November 2013): 61–67.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁶ “\$50,000 is needed for Camp Jackson Memorial,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 31, 1925, <http://www.newspapers.com/image/142598445/>. SLU had purchased a large plot of land in the former Lindell Grove in 1867. In 1888 the university opened DuBourg Hall, at the time the site of all campus operations and directly across

Grand Avenue from this new plaza; “Timeline of Saint Louis University,” Saint Louis University (website), accessed June 21, 2018, <https://www.slu.edu/timeline/index.php#>.

¹⁷ *Proceedings of the 46th Annual Encampment of the Department of Missouri Grand Army of the Republic*, vol. 46 (St. Louis: Albrecht Printing Company, 1927), 53, <https://books.google.com/books?id=4XM0AQAAMAAJ&pg=RA15-PA53#v=onepage&q&f=false/>.

¹⁸ George McCue, “The Lyon Monument and Its Lessons,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 11, 1959, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/140455766/>. It is unclear how long the front inscription panel has been missing from the monument; for an image of the plaque (and other views of the Lyon Monument and Lyon Park), see Chris Naffziger, “Lyon Park,” *St. Louis Patina* (blog), April 8, 2014, <http://stlouispatina.com/lyon-park/>.

¹⁹ “Artists Here at Odds Over Lyon Statue,” *St. Louis Star-Times*, December 15, 1929, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/204533704/>.

²⁰ Wuerpel’s critique was largely couched in terms of the public good and the “grave responsibility” that comes with placing sculpture in such a prominent public place. Holm agreed and was equally vehement in his objections, stating, “It made me sick to look at it. That plaza is the finest monument plaza in St. Louis. It is a crime to put a thing like that up there.” See “‘If People Don’t Like Lyon Statue, They Needn’t Look at it,’ Mayor Says,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 17, 1929, www.newspapers.com/image/139012479/; and “Prof. Wuerpel Again Attacks Lyon Statue,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 21, 1929, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/139016592/>.

²¹ “Art Commission Revived but Mustn’t Meddle with Lyon Statue, Mayor Says,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 18, 1929, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/139013730/>.

²² “They Needn’t Look at it,” www.newspapers.com/image/139012479/, and www.newspapers.com/image/139012508/; Siebert suggested the criticism was born of that fact that he was attempting “a departure from the

old school style,” an aesthetic defense emphatically dismissed by both Wuerpel and Holm. It is notable that Siebert’s design was selected from among several and had been unanimously approved by the Camp Jackson Union Soldiers Monument Association with no criticisms voiced.

²³ “Gen. Lyon Statue Unveiled, Sponsor Raps Its Critics,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 23, 1929, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/139018925/>. My thanks to Jim Merkel for his help in tracking down the source of the Beardsley quote. The *Post-Dispatch* article also contains an image of the December 22 unveiling of the statue, attended by around 150 people, including Union veterans who had assisted General Lyon in the capture of Camp Jackson.

²⁴ An April 1927 letter written to Nettie H. Beauregard, archivist and curator at the Missouri Historical Society, by Perry S. Rader, longtime Reporter of the State Court of Missouri gives a clear sense of the level of enmity and contempt many Missourians felt for Lyon during the commissioning period: see Missouri Historical Society (website), June 21, 2018, <http://mohistory.org/collections/item/resource:196534/>.

²⁵ Fordyce was born of Frost’s second marriage to Harriet Chenie in 1872. Her 128-acre home and estate in Hazelwood, Missouri, served as a retreat for the SLU community for many years, until it was sold and the money used to build a new university conference center. On the Frost family, specifically Harriet (or Hatty as she was more commonly known), see Joseph C. Knapp, SJ, *The Presence of the Past: The Beginnings of the Civil War in St. Louis: The History of Hazelwood-Fordyce House from Camp Jackson and General Frost to St. Louis University and Harriet Frost Fordyce* (St. Louis: St. Louis University Press, 1979). Regarding her monetary gift to SLU, see Mrs. Fordyce Gives Million to St. Louis U,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 16, 1959, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/140468009/>; and “St. Louis U. Honors Benefactor, Names Campus for Frost Family,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 4, 1965, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/142274039/>.

²⁶ The twenty-two acres became available for purchase owing to a pet project of Mayor Raymond Tucker (1953–1965), who, taking advantage of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, authorized the redevelopment of 454 acres of the city known as Mill Creek Valley. Mill Creek Valley would end up being one of the largest urban renewal projects ever sponsored by the federal government, resulting in the leveling and clearing of a historic neighborhood that was 95 percent African American, and home to almost twenty thousand residents and over eight hundred businesses, hardly the blighted slum Tucker and others made it out to be. Although SLU and a few other buyers took advantage of the available land, ultimately the project failed to revitalize the area by attracting the investment and redevelopment promised by Tucker. See Colin Gordon, *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) on the consequences of this and other similar urban “renewal” projects in St. Louis, the negative repercussions of which the city still grapples with today.

²⁷ Daniel Frost, in exile in Canada following the war, owed his return to Saint Louis to De Smet. In the 1830s and ’40s, De Smet’s main missionary focus had involved working as a conduit for the US government to the Native American population, most prominently Sitting Bull; Knapp, *Presence of the Past*, 9–11.

²⁸ According to a SLU spokesman, the Frost Campus designation is no longer used formally, and it is simply referred to as “North Campus.” See Rachel Lippman, “Aldermen Launch Effort to Rename Forest Park’s Confederate Drive,” *St. Louis Public Radio*, July 13, 2015, <http://news.stlpublicradio.org/post/aldermen-launch-effort-rename-forest-parks-confederate-drive#stream/0>.

²⁹ “It Must Go in Land Clearance—No One Wants Work Called \$15,000 ‘Mistake,’” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 29, 1958, www.newspapers.com/image/140454248/; “So It’s Not Art,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 30, 1958, www.newspapers.com/image/140454668/.

³⁰ Knapp, *Presence of the Past*, 14.

³¹ George McCue, “The Lyon Monument and Its Lessons,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 11, 1959,

www.newspapers.com/image/140455766/.

³² Kirk Savage, "Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 132. This national "healing" would come at a great cost to the African-American population, as in the words of David Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2, "the forces of reconciliation overwhelmed the emancipationist vision," paving the way for the segregation, discrimination, and disenfranchisement of the Jim Crow era.

³³ Caroline Loughlin and Catherine Anderson, *Forest Park* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 133–34.

³⁴ "Zolnay Design for Confederate Memorial Wins," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 14, 1912, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/139472451/>.

³⁵ "No G.A.R. Protest to Park Monument to Confederacy," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 2, 1912, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/138927922/>.

³⁶ Blight's influential study of Civil War memory, *Race and Reunion*, focuses specifically on the fifty years following the conflict, tracing how what he labels the "reconciliationist vision" and the "white supremacist vision" ultimately merged and in doing so overwhelmed the "emancipationist vision." He bookends his analysis with an examination of the celebration marking the fiftieth anniversary of Gettysburg in 1913, an event that is emblematic of how white Americans from both North and South united to recast the war in terms of American brotherhood and nation building, perpetuating a romanticized vision of reunion reliant on forgetting and/or denial. Kirk Savage explores how this reconciliationist impulse played out with regard to monument building in *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), focusing on not only the proliferation of the anonymous standing soldier monument—in both North and South—but also on monuments to more celebrated figures such as the equestrian monument to Robert E. Lee in Richmond.

³⁷ When Mayor Slay announced the need to "reappraise" the *Confederate Memorial* in April 2015, many were surprised to learn that such a monument existed in the city. Even some who viewed it on a regular basis when passing through the park expressed surprise upon learning what it actually commemorated. See Julie Bosman, "Few in St. Louis Knew Confederate Memorial Existed. Now, Many Want It Gone," *New York Times*, May 26, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/26/us/st-louis-confederate-monuments-south.html/>.

³⁸ Richard Roberts, "How General Frost Won the High Ground at Grand and Lindell," *Universitas: The Alumni Magazine of St. Louis University* 13, no. 4 (Spring 1988), 24.

³⁹ "Mitch Landrieu's Speech on the Removal of the Confederate Monuments in New Orleans," *New York Times*, May 23, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieus-speech-transcript.html/>.

⁴⁰ Savage, *Standing Soldiers*, 4.