

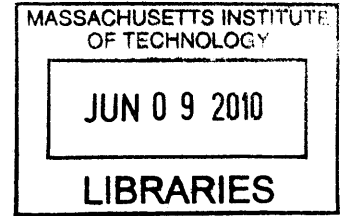
The Prospect

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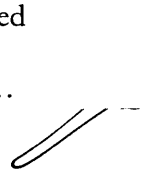
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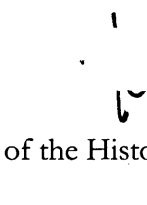
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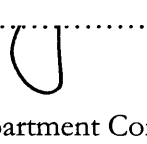
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The Prospect
By
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 20, 2010 in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Architecture Studies

ABSTRACT

The Gateway Arch in St. Louis was meant to commemorate the “opening” of the west and the possibilities of the frontier. Instead, the Arch marks its closure. Sited on the west bank of the Mississippi River, this conspicuous monument has occupied a peripheral, if any, position within architectural discourse. However, by the fact that this object provides a view towards the surrounding landscape, it serves as a central component for considering how conceptualization of the land in the United States has changed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or simply said, a vision of the landscape from a productive frontier to the consumptive domain.

This thesis investigates the cognitive shifts in landscape visualization first as demonstrated by the national land survey, overland travel journals and pictorial depictions of the nineteenth century. These frontier images are then considered alongside those twentieth century representations that exhibited the completion of a systematized territory of an ideal future. The later representations found resonance in the regulation of actual views from the Gateway Arch. The analysis of these distinct forms of landscape visualization registers the larger changes in the characterization of capital in the United States.

The Arch needs to be reconsidered in architectural discourse at large and more specifically through this thesis, as a productive insertion into the study of landscape to capital as it is manifest through visualization by the individual - be it the yeoman farmer or a major corporation. The intangibilities of history, landscape and capital are productively complicated when viewed from the Arch's observation deck. The view exhibited from the Gateway Arch exposes the closure of the landscape as a means to visualize potential and, as a result, closes the space of the frontier more successfully than prior attempts.

Thesis Supervisor: Mark Jarzombek

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The work of a thesis is by no means an individual effort. I would like to thank my committee, Advisor Mark Jarzombek and reader Arindam Dutta for their continued insight and productive feedback throughout the research and writing of this thesis. Our conversations always moved the work to new heights and in interesting directions. Their time and effort in the process is most appreciated. I would also like to thank Caroline Jones for her thoughts on the work at a crucial point in the writing as well providing the opportunity to begin the investigation of the *prospect* during her class in the fall of 2008. Heléne Lipstadt offered a series of productive questions during the writing with respect to the prospect, Saarinen and Thomas Jefferson. Bruno Latour, who's Lecture at HTC Forum in the Spring of 2010, while I was writing this piece, also offered insight to the direction of the work. I would also like to thank Marilyn Levine at the MIT Writing Center, our weekly meetings moved the work along and your outside ears to the project were indispensable.

I would also like to thank Laura Tatum and the staff at the Yale University Manuscripts and Archives and the Saarinen Collection for their guidance in navigating the collection and pointing me in the right direction through the archive. Jennifer Clark, Archivist and Thomas Dewey, Librarian and the staff at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Archives for their help in uncovering a few of the productive first-source frontier travel publications and for offering full access to that collection, in spite of the ever-impending January snowstorms that plagued my visit to St. Louis in early 2010.

All my colleagues in HTC your support, thoughts and the overall experience of MIT HTC these last two years has been incredible. The faculty, staff and students who make HTC the best program in the country, not only through sheer scholarship but also by its environment of loyal friendship and curious enthusiasm. Nori for our dialogues at Miracle, Azra and Laura for having the patience to share an office with my antics and all my other friends in the SMArchS and the PhD programs, I cannot imagine the last two years without you all.

My family has always been a source of strength, joy and love; I needed all in good measure while undertaking this project. My Parents, Jim and Joy Lettow who offered me my first and probably most valuable education while growing up on a farm in rural north-central Iowa. To my siblings Karla and Brandon Ruffridge, Tye and Teresa Lettow, Angel and Luke MacMenamin, Molly and Dusty Rhodes and all their children, who have always provided support throughout my studies and through all my endeavors, especially during the summer of the Great Recession of 2009, I offer my eternal gratitude.

And finally, to my dear Mamie, your love, generosity, counsel and support through this process has been unwavering and complete. If I were to pen the thanks you deserve, the pages would exceed enumeration.

Ash Lettow

Cambridge, MA
May 20, 2010

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¹ This work emerged out of my initial investigation of the *prospect* as a condition of site, sight and cite in Caroline Jones' Fall 2008 4.670 Advanced Studies in History, Theory Criticism of Architecture and Art class entitled, "Nationalism, Internationalism and Globalism in Modern Art" at MIT. The early research focused more heavily on the Hudson River School and its incarnations in *The Simpson's Movie* of 2007. Another subtext to this work was the consideration of "second creation" as theorized by David Nye and extended by my own consideration of its manifestation in the extremes of atomic testing and the tourism of the Sedan Crater, a result of an underground atomic test, under the code name "Operation Plowshare." This operation investigated the viability of using nuclear weapons to move massive amounts of earth for peaceful purposes. The work has come a long way from these initial seeds but a return to reap the harvest from them is just over the horizon.



**Introduction:
Looking Back Arcross Westward Expansion**

“Democracy leads men to make not only many minor works but also erect a small number of very considerable monuments.”¹

- Alexis de Tocqueville

When the Gateway Arch in St. Louis was completed in 1965, it intended to commemorate the open frontier, westward expansion, the Louisiana Purchase, historic St. Louis and Thomas Jefferson. This is a rather extensive and difficult tabulation to manifest in a physical form, for it encompasses the indefinite edges of expansion to a specific transaction by a president. However, beyond these claims, the Arch manifests a more fundamental condition of the territory it seeks to memorialize. The Arch was meant to symbolize the opening of the frontier, a vast territory laden with opportunities for individual advance and secured settlement. Instead, the Arch marks its closure.

Even though the Arch was charged with evoking the period of westward expansion, it was not compatible with those nineteenth century landscapes of production where the land was a crucial component in settlement but has since become conceived as mere real estate. Visitors who ascend to the summit of the Arch are afforded a view towards the west, across the great plains whose frontier trails have long been overrun by the railroad that was later bypassed with the interstate. Viewing this landscape from the climate controlled observation deck the mythically luxuriant landscape of the west has been refashioned and consolidated into a regulated aesthetic image, readily marketable and compatible to interests of local redevelopment.

The characterization of capital has changed in the United States from the period under the Articles of Confederation (1781 -1787) to the consummation of the Gateway Arch. One means to investigate this change is through a study of the landscape. More specifically this change is registered by the shifts in how landscape was conceptualized over these two centuries. The differing conceptions of the land are demonstrated through how the physical territory was visualized over the course of this period. Visions of landscape pass from notions of physically working on the land to the manifestations of financial investment in a market system. Or said another way, essentially the progression from the productive landscapes of westward expansion to the consumptive domain of the postwar United States.

¹ De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America and Two Essays on America*. Translated by Gerald E. Bevan. London and New York: Penguin Books, 2003. p. 542.

“Through the windows you see a beautiful sight. The whole city is glittering and glistening below. You see the great plains beyond the city, and you can see in your mind the great droves of people who landed here and passed under your very feet on their way to open up the West.”²

The architect of the Gateway Arch, Eero Saarinen concluded an imaginary tour through his winning design of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial with this artificially illuminated scene of frontier recollection. Saarinen’s polished image of the city presented modern St. Louis as the outcome of a seemingly unbroken sequence of success from the period of the frontier. This conceit of his Gateway Arch concealed the very reason for instigating the memorial project in the first place but that was a minor detail. This presentation during and Saarinen’s presence at, the annual meeting of the Associated Retailers of St. Louis on April 29, 1948 for example, is evidence of the central position the Arch played in the larger aspirations for a domestic financial revival.

Saarinen, however, does not end on a flourish for the future of St. Louis but on the historical role the city played as a point of passage to the frontier. A role that would lead to the inevitable decline of the city as the west rapidly settled, technologies of transportation and communication – the railroad and the telegraph - shrunk the conceptual space of the country and as the national market concentrated major capital decisions into a handful of cities. The image described by the immigrant architect seemed easily validated, for the slum blight that manifested the decline of downtown had been conveniently removed, as per the plan. This tacit acknowledgement of the fluid workings of westward expansion would come to have real effects on how the Arch fared in the gamble by the city to generate an economic recovery through an historical monument.

Saarinen’s overlooking the future in his sales pitch seems innocuous, as the intent of the memorial was to recall the intangible “spirit of the pioneers.” A spirit that was very much imbued within this mythic mass by its very close relation to the land its future potential. However this is a rather strange absence, as the potentials of the future and their integral relationship with landscape were almost blindingly present in the history the Arch intends to commemorate. These potentials or *prospects*, while rarely, clearly defined in an ultimate physical form, were a crucial and productive force in the conception of the years that lay beyond the horizon. The central position of landscape and its visualization during westward expansion is exhibited by an account of Franklin Langworthy, a

² “An Imaginary Tour of the Proposed Jefferson National Expansion Memorial on the Mississippi River at St. Louis.” By Eero Saarinen. Box 92, Folder 193, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library

Universalist minister, heading back from the California Gold Rush in 1853 to his hometown on the Illinois side of the Mississippi River.

“No prospect can be more rich and beautiful, than that which may be seen from the windows of the cars, as you roll through oceans of verdure, dotted over as far as your sight can reach, with rural dwellings, embowered among ornamental trees, and surrounded by rich fields, blooming orchards and flowery gardens. Such is the appearance of Northern Illinois, even now, and it is scarcely a score of years since the wolf, and the timid deer, were the undisputed possessors of the whole region. How will this country appear when a century shall have rolled away?”³

Langworthy presents the vastness and implied opportunity of the plains. The punctuations of improvement he charts only serve to expose the open, and thereby available, space that remains. The presence of ornament and blossoms alongside the fertile fields that frame the image of ordered farmsteads connote a realized advance through settlement and active production. His cultivated view is no less positive than Saarinen’s of almost a century later, as they seem to deploy a similar method of recall; what is different is that for Langworthy, the change is quite tangible as evident through the actions of individuals upon the landscape. Langworthy as a self-proclaimed participant in the various Rushes and, as a passenger on a train within a changing landscape, offers the vantage of being one small voice in a larger, yet uncertain space.

Saarinen by contrast, is the creator of systematic master plan that unified city, suburbs and plains into a cohesive and total landscape. This cohesive image extended to his congregating a disparate and diverse litany of agents into the singular action of “opening” a territory. Saarinen’s elevated and constructed view evened out the landscape by concealing it in darkness, with the only illumination being offered through the network of electricity. The workings of this landscape obscured the surface of the ground so crucial to the period of westward expansion and presented the limits of available space, with the only viable points being those rendered visible through the light of a bulb. Light that drew those spaces into the regularized economy of consumption.

This thesis will demonstrate that the closure presented by the Gateway Arch marks the consummation of a series of shifts in relation to landscape visualization as it registers changes in the constitution of capitalization in the United States.⁴ The following five shifts exhibit various aspects

³ Langworthy, Franklin. *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines*. Edited by Paul C. Philips. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1932. *Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier*. p 275.

⁴ It should be noted that throughout this thesis, I will be using the term United States or its abbreviation, (U.S.), in reference to this country. I will not be using the more common term *America*, and if this term appears anywhere in the text it is through direct quotes from cited sources. The capitalization of the West or the East as signifiers of these

of how visions of the land indicate the move from a constructive conception to a consumptive demonstration.⁵ The first shift lies within how the land was described within the vision. In a host of nineteenth century emigrant guides, the landscape was described in a compositional manner. Meaning that the various components present, such as geology, climate, flora and fauna were illustrated to, not only catalogue them as they were but what potentials they could offer. These natural elements were often augmented by the possibilities of human contrivance, such as a railroad, harbor or new kind of plow, for an improvement approach to the land. This earlier method was decidedly different than the later twentieth century imposition of an aesthetic destination in which the landscape was conceived as the result of a total consolidation process. A consolidation of production, infrastructure and consumption through which everything contained within the image was brought within the system of market capital. Visions of this later period present a territory heavily regulated through state policies and corporate practices and highly organized by interdependent networks of infrastructure such as roads and electricity.

The second shift occurs in how the concept of looking changes in relation to the land. Early in U.S. settlement practice, looking over the land was conceived as a means to locate a place to settle within it. This in turn, engendered a process of looking across and within the land for opportunity. As planning and modernizing efforts gained ground in the twentieth century, this integral relation to looking through the land was replaced with the notion of overlooking the land. The images conceived by looking through the media of paint or text alongside those tableau formulated through methods of quantifying and calculation produced a distinct position in relation to the land. Simply said, the artist rendering a broad vista, the yeoman farmer or solitary prospector working the ground were replaced by the professional or middle manager viewing the land from an office window or a balance sheet.

With these distinct figures in mind, the third shift implicates the individual in relation to the vision of land and their potential as an active participant or a passive recipient with respect to obtaining the vision. The engaged contribution lies not only in realizing the vision but in also

regions, real or mythic, will also not be utilized in the main body of the text and if found are likewise to be located in quoted sources. The term *frontier* will appear as a means to locate the space and time of nineteenth century westward expansion with the full acknowledgement that this term also carries a problematic generalization but it is a generalization attuned to expediently situating the discussion. The term carries great resonance in its conceptions of space.

⁵ It must be understood that these shifts are not absolute, nor are they all encompassing. Residues from prior conceptions inevitably remain, and must remain in order to expose the differentials. Also this thesis does not seek to establish, or further, an unproductive dichotomy by positing the landscape visions of nineteenth century against those of the twentieth century. It is crucial to be fully aware of the complex, indefinite edges that exist in both and how they manifest themselves within images of the landscape.

conceiving it, whereas the receipt of an advertised, complete image connotes the slippage into that of the visual spectator. The position of the individual in this regard is predicated upon relation to the land itself. Either by having a location within the landscape, through which the land is the means to profitably advance, or by securing a location within a space above the ground that offers a seemingly comprehensive view of a total vision that in turn obscures their connection to the land. Basically, it is a vision of working with the land or that of seeking a position within a system.

The fourth shift lies within the conception of capital itself. This notion is displaced from the idea of money as a small component added to an abundance of physical labor for improvement of the land, to the presence of a large capital expense in order to formulate and publicize a distinct and total vision of the landscape. These changes in the conceptions of capital are also indicative of the scale of the vision, the move from a small, individual parcel of farmland, or a mining claim to complete refashioning of the country that impacts everything from national infrastructure projects to the fundamentals of daily life. The shift in the prominence of capital reveals the change in visualizing agents, from the individual to that of a corporation.

This change brings about the fifth shift, which is located within the realm of language. Visual terms such as the *survey*, parceling land, and the *prospect*, viewing landscape, widen their meanings beyond specific views of and operations on physical territory. The *survey* expands to mean a complete and comprehensive view of any subject matter; while the *prospect* extends to application of any potential that may be present within any space, field, discipline or enterprise. More importantly, the *prospect* broadens its meaning from the earlier, formal aesthetic language of landscape representation and conception to that of a productive expression in physically working the land and ultimately to that of an abstract application within capitalism.

What these shifts illuminate is the pronounced and progressional distancing from the land. This distancing occurred conceptually through description, operatively by the methods of looking, subjectively by changes of who held the vision, circumstantially by the position and privilege of capital and cognitively through language. The fact that these changes are registered visually is the very reason they are often overlooked as the means investigate capitalism in the U.S. The Gateway Arch, in closing the landscape, reveals these shifts for further inquiry.

The above shifts occur contemporaneously, are often interdependent upon one another and do not render the differentials of their transformations in a clear-cut manner. Rather than structure the thesis along the lines of the five shifts, the work has been structured in a more or less chronological manner in order expose where some shifts carry more weight in a given period than

others; to be sure they are all present in any given time under consideration. Chronology is a clear structure for the sequence of the argument and to that end the thesis is organized in three parts.

Part one begins with the national survey implemented by the Land Ordinance of 1785 that charted the vast territory of the public domain and its crucial role in establishing an early relation of the land to the market. The method of the square mile grid system provided a means to expediently parcel the land and displayed its availability for purchase. Thomas Jefferson's intent through the federal survey was to provide a state tool for the individual to access the potentials of private property ownership. His later 1803 Louisiana Purchase sought to ensure more open land for survey and subsequent settlement of the growing population. With an abstract, yet easily comprehensible, process of land measure in hand, the ground became a tangible asset that could now circulate in the emerging national economy. The government's charting of section lines and procuring of more western land could only provide the space of settlement not inform the possibilities. These state schemes were effective in providing a framework through which to obtain and divide the land; however they could not evocatively describe the land in order to render its potential for profitable settlement.

The land survey would require the conceptual approach of an adjacent visual term, the *prospect*, in order to visualize the opportunities of the ground within its boundaries. The meaning of a *prospect* broadens from the formal aesthetic language in painting and literature to a position of productive expression – through tilling, mining and trading - within the physical landscape of nineteenth century westward expansion. The *prospect* was an approach through which distinct elements, natural and human, were arranged in order to inform the best location for settlement. The *prospect* became an active process of looking across the land or digging within the ground that was also embodied through the mythic figures of the solitary prospector and the yeoman farmer. Their legend carried more weight in validating the system of capital that ensured distancing from the very land they opened up. Analysis of settlement guides from various moments of the frontier period demonstrates how the *prospect* was operative on the ground, identified a particular agent on the landscape, the *prospecter*, whose process of looking extended the conception of the *prospect* beyond the land to space of capital.

With the closure of the frontier in 1890 by the U.S. Census and the elimination of a distinct frontier line, the western lands were considered, conceptually at least, fully settled. The concentration of the population into urban centers across the country and further consolidation of the national market, through continental infrastructures and private corporations set the stage for

the second and third parts of the thesis. Part two opens with the sanctioning of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial through the enacting of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. This act served to validate the seemingly contrary action of brutally erasing the over forty blocks of St. Louis riverfront urban fabric in the name of preservation. The position of the site within a larger urban and economic renewal strategy - the cause for the demolition - ensured a tipping of the project scale to symbolic memorialization over that of architectural preservation. The eviscerating of the riverfront, the intangibility of what was actually to be commemorated and the multifarious notion of westward expansion cleared the site for visions that centered large scale infrastructural projects or local institutions. As the pickaxes removed the mid-nineteenth century urban fabric of downtown St. Louis, a modern vision for country at large was exhibited at the 1939 New York World's Fair, "The World of Tomorrow." General Motors "Futurama" was a comprehensive vision of the nation to be realized in a little over a score of years. This corporate landscape vision illuminates another shift in the character of U.S. capitalization. Visualization was no longer conceived by individuals from within the landscape through looking or working within it but from above, literally off the ground. This new vision was the complete image of a final, future destination only possible through extensive capital expense beyond the reach of the earlier, legendary pioneers. The projective experience exhibited by the "Futurama" situates the episteme from which the design and conception of the Gateway Arch emerged and as such framed the view of landscape offered by the Arch.

Part three begins with the 1947 open, national architectural competition for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial and the attempts to fulfill the economic recovery aspect of the project through the incorporation of a "living" memorial. Winning architect Eero Saarinen's proposal, to dedicate a portion of the memorial for housing a proposed U.N. agency, thereby affording St. Louis a presence in the post-war international order, was not taken up. In fact as the second-stage and subsequent construction ensued, the active components of the project were removed in favor of a tree-shaded park and non-functioning monument. The removal of the active, programmatic components of the project ensured the failure of the memorial to cohere to its tribute but also reinforced the position of the Arch to serve as a mere overlook to the landscape, as opposed to fostering an integral engagement with the land. Saarinen's scripting of an imaginary tour through the JNEM centers on the aesthetic cohesion of the project and the visitors continual overlook of the landscape while consuming at the project's included restaurants and shops. This tour that ends at the top of the Arch, surveying an electrically illuminated landscape, coheres quite

well with the landscape image presented by the “Futurama” but conceals the vision of the land as conceived in the period of westward expansion.

The tempered space of the Arch observation platform looked over a space no less controlled. For the views of St. Louis, the great plains and the Mississippi River from the Arch were not left to chance, as the regulation of views, limitation of building heights, restrictions of river traffic, and codification of compatible commercial activity around the JNEM register the later, consolidated landscape of consumptive real estate capital. This stands in contradistinction to the earlier, compositional landscape of productive prospect capital. The view from within the Arch’s air-conditioned observation deck, accessible only through a transportation monopoly was conceived as offering a point from which to access a recollected frontier landscape. A territory, that due to its unpopulated vastness and potential, promised through little money and abundant bodily effort, a space in which to settle and a location through which to advance. The sightlines resulting from the Arch, instead, chart the larger twentieth century proclivity for regulating the territory in the interest of holding to a singular aesthetic of an ideal, but unattainable, destination.

Study of the Gateway Arch touches on numerous fields of inquiry, such as frontier history, the history of technology and urbanism; however, from the standpoint of architectural scholarship little has been written on the Arch itself. Helène Lipstadt has worked to recover the architecture of Saarinen’s Arch through thoughtful and sophisticated studies of the competition and design project as the outcome of modern “co-making.” The concept of “co-making” as defined by Lipstadt occurs in the discipline of architecture as a matter of course, given the discipline’s inherent collaborative quality. The Gateway Arch establishes a distinct kind of “co-making” with its inception during a competition, function as a memorial and the circumstances of its urban context. The competition aspect of “co-making” presents four components; the official presence of competition, the sociological impact of the process, products of this process and finally the impact of jurors judgment on the competitors proposals.⁶ “The Gateway Arch is also a particular case in the kind of co-making that monuments require. Not only must money be raised and antagonism overcome, but someone must have faith in the seemingly quixotic project of making a form that can sustain connections with a past event or, at least, forestall forgetting and instill that faith in others.”⁷

⁶ Lipstadt, Helène. “Co-Making the Modern Monument: The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Competition and Eero Saarinen’s Gateway Arch.” In *Modern Architecture in St. Louis: Washington University and Postwar American Architecture, 1948-1973*. Edited by Eric Mumford. School of Architecture: Washington University. 2004. p. 5

⁷ Ibid. p. 5.

Another aspect Lipstadt investigates is the Arch in relation to the received canon of architecture as opposed to its presence as an icon for the city of St. Louis. The Arch is reconsidered by Lipstadt due to its “emanicipatory potential” to question the process of canonization by its very presence as only an icon for this Midwestern city and not the nation, as per its intent. “Unlike the Statue of Liberty...the Arch has never been an icon of the nation, still less of the power of the state.” Siting the Arch within the distinction of the canon to the icon speaks to the larger issue and problematic of categorization in the first place.⁸ Lipstadt rightly claims that there is a lack of critical architectural scholarship on the Arch itself.⁹ Similarly, and to this end this thesis also seeks to provide a productive reposition of the Arch by inserting it within a larger study of landscape visualization. The Arch is a product of and reveals a distinct vision of land as it relates to capital and the individual.

Recently Eero Saarinen, the architect¹⁰ has also come under renewed interest. His brief but prolific career is currently being revisited through the exhibition and attached publication, *Eero Saarinen, Shaping the Future*, in which the scope of projects from airports, college campuses to corporate offices for GM and John Deere demonstrate his efforts to produce a distinct, and at the time present, modernity in the United States.¹¹ The JNEM was the first project Saarinen undertook

⁸ Lipstadt, Hélène. “Learning from St. Louis: the Arch, the Canon, and Bourdieu.” In *Harvard Design Magazine*. 14. Summer 2001: 4-15.

⁹ In a recent email conversation she informed me she is working on a book about the Arch, she did not go into specifics but based upon her previous texts considering the “co-making” of the Arch and its lack of consideration in the canon of architecture I feel it safe to say that she is working to reposition the Arch as a piece of modern architecture. The Arch has been the topic of a few histories, one being a narrative of its conception and construction as a project in a PhD dissertation by Sharon Brown and the other comprising more of a symbolic/cultural history by Arthur Mehrhoff.

¹⁰ Eero Saarinen, (1910 – 1961), born in Kirkkonummi, Finland and emigrated to the U.S. with his family at the age of thirteen in 1923. Immersed in the design environment of Cranbrook Academy of Art where his father, Eliel Saarinen, also a noted architect, instructed courses. Saarinen attended courses taught by his father at Cranbrook, with fellow students Charles and Ray Eames and completed his architecture studies at Yale School of Architecture in 1934. After Saarinen became a naturalized citizen of the U.S. in 1940 he joined the military and was assigned to Office of Strategic Services, where he served until 1944. After his fathers death, with whom he had an office, in 1950, he opened his own firm, “Eero Saarinen and Associates.” Saarinen married twice, first to sculptor Lilian Swann Saarinen, with whom he had two children, Eric and Susan. He divorced Lilian and subsequently married *New York Times* art critic Aline Bernstein Louchheim in 1954, with her he had a son named Eames. Saarinen’s architectural career was brief but prolific, from his winning the 1947 Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Competition to the completion of its Gateway Arch in 1965, the last project completed after his death, he designed projects for the General Motors Technical Center, headquarters for John Deere, IBM and CBS; in addition to airports, such as the TWA terminal at New York JFK and Dulles in Washington D.C. and a host of college campuses. After Saarinen’s death from a brain tumor at the age of 51 his partners Kevin Roche and John Dinkeloo completed the remaining projects in construction and changed the firm name to “Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo and Associates.”

¹¹ Over Thanksgiving weekend of 2009 I visited the exhibition “Eero Saarinen, Shaping the Future” at the City Museum of New York, upon entry into the first room of the exhibition, which featured his childhood, furniture designs and interiors, a video on a loop documented the interiors of some of his seminal projects, the Arch was not featured in this video sequence as it does not have an interior perse, a capsule train to a viewing platform may not be considered a

on his own after having worked with his father Eliel and was the last project completed after Eero's death in 1961. Saarinen's built oeuvre is bracketed through the Gateway Arch, a symbolic object that, through its sheer scale and physical presence, intended to evoke the rather complex period of U.S. history that has since been enclosed within the overly simplistic and singular notion of the frontier.

Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his "Frontier Thesis" in Chicago at the World Columbian Exposition of 1893. These twenty odd pages of text were considered "the most vital interpretation of the United States for at least the next fifty years."¹² Turner opens his paper with the closure of the frontier as a physical landscape by the U.S. Census Bureau. "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports.' This brief official statement marks the closing of a great historic movement."¹³ The absence of a clear line from which to discern frontier, or open territory, to that of settled and occupied land is the point at which the history of the frontier can be said to begin.

The frontier could only be categorized as such after the closure of its space, which in turn generated a new space within which this history could be written. The frontier had passed away, it

spatial experience. Later in the exhibition, the second room, the Arch opens up the sequence of works featured in this space. The Arch experienced a lag in its construction from the time of winning the competition in 1948 to the time of design and contract documents in 1958 - the date from the office job number - until the job's completion in the late 1960's. The range of projects done by Saarinen in his brief career cover broadcasting, automobile research and development, agribusiness, computing, airline travel and foreign presence of the United States; essentially the formulation of a modern landscape and way of life in the U.S. The projects present an enticing promise of modernity but the realities are far more telling to the affect of modernity. There is an absence of housing in Saarinen's corpus, save for college residence halls, which imply a level of transiency of inhabitants. Urban renewal efforts were predicated on housing and maybe the absence of such projects in Saarinen's work is a result of his approach to architecture, a specific material, form and solution to each problem. Housing in the guise of urban renewal required a standardized plan and approach to completing the work. Saarinen was more concerned with making the larger landscape of modernity as opposed to the individual sheltering within in it. Was Saarinen's approach incongruent and incompatible with modern capital; his process utilized models in abundance and the direction of architecture has been towards the opposite, deploying the standardized detail or building wherever possible. Time is money and unfortunately, especially in the U.S design is thought to be an excess and unnecessary cost. Imagining the modern landscape versus the tools of actually realizing it are two very different things.

¹² Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. American Century Series. Eric Foner. Consulting Editor. New York: Hill and Wang. 1982. p 14. Trachtenburg cites the irony of Turner presenting his work in Chicago to the recently founded American Historical Association. The Association established in 1884 was working in what he viewed as an eastern intellectual mode, while he instead sought to direct their attention towards the western "experience." The closure of the frontier was almost simultaneous with the emergence of the historical profession in the U.S. The closure of the frontier in 1890 was also viewed as the culmination of the first period of U.S. history which began with Columbus' exploration of a western trade route; trade yet again, providing a cohesive through line.

¹³ Turner, Fredrick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." p 1. 1893.

was temporally contained, no longer spatially extent and as such could only be drawn from conceptually. Turner extends the frontier to the period before the 1803 Louisiana Purchase in the effort to further his case that the frontier character is unique to the U.S. as it encompasses the totality U.S. history up to his writing. Twentieth century efforts to commemorate the frontier and St. Louis' pivotal position within it would likewise broaden from the seemingly clear image of the frontier to the more abstract and malleable notion of westward expansion.

The conception of expansion in the nineteenth century U.S. is augmented by the presence of the accumulating force of capitalism contemporaneous with this period of settlement. William G Robbins in *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* demonstrates the need to consider the west in relation to "historic shifts in investment capital," which he claims affords more insight to this territory, "then idyllic notions about frontier exceptionalism or the habit in recent years of describing the region as a pacesetter for the modern age."¹⁴ Robbins states that, "Without a feudal past, the history of the American West is at one with the great transformations associated with modern capitalism."¹⁵ Robbins may be accurate in taking the feudal absence wholesale but in so doing overlooks the more proximal relation and status of landscape vision, from England especially, that did carry resonance in how the land was surveyed and conceptualized in the U.S.

The frame of vision may have been influenced by European import but conception of land its contents are where the distinct and productive shifts lie. While it is true, to a certain degree, that the U.S. did not have the trappings of a gentry past,¹⁶ and its confrontation with indigenous people could be described in a more colonial, imperial manner, this very confrontation reified the developing, linear narrative of progress and civilizing advance. If, as Robbins states, the "American

¹⁴ Robbins, William G. *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. p 17

¹⁵ Ibid. p 19.

¹⁶ This of course depends on how the term "gentry" is defined. In choosing to maintain the deplorable and unprofitable condition of slavery, as the result of a constitutional compromise, and qualifying it as an institution, the U.S. did have a form of landed class in the guise of the "gentlemen farmer." The various political compromises in of the course of the first half of the nineteenth century, such as the 1820 Missouri Compromise, which prohibited slavery in much of the Great Plains states, allowed Missouri to enter the Union as a slave state and carved the state of Maine out of Massachusetts in order to maintain the balance of power in the Senate between slave and free states. The Missouri Compromise was repealed in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which under the banner of "popular sovereignty" allowed the voting population of these two respective states to vote on the legality of slavery within their borders. The issues of slavery, states rights and the resulting Civil War have often been construed as "eastern" concerns; however they did have great effect as to how and under what circumstances the western states were politically formed. On the agricultural side, the depletion of the soil due to concentrated cotton production also held a conceptual sway in the need for southern states to expand west.

West as a prototype for modern capitalism,”¹⁷ should be taken seriously, than representations, both pictorial and literary, produced during this period should register this condition in its various guises through visualization of the landscape.

“Capitalism is the common factor essential to understanding power, influence, and change in the American West from the onset of the fur trade to the present.”¹⁸ Echoing Frederick Jackson Turner’s use of trade as a means string along his series of U.S. frontiers, Robbins identifies what Turner chose to latently acknowledge. Turner is aware of the market forces and through the more established notion of trade, attempts to consider its potential as a through line, like that of the frontier, of U.S. history. Turner relied quite heavily on the idea of the individual settler, even if they moved en masse. However Robbins counters this as, “it was the world of eastern (and European) capital – not the sturdy work of the solitary prospector or the sodbuster – that provided the major impetus to change in the West.”¹⁹ The obligation of this thesis is not to track the capital relations themselves, for they were present to a large scale in the west, but how those relations informed landscape visions that rendered within space the potentials of capital.

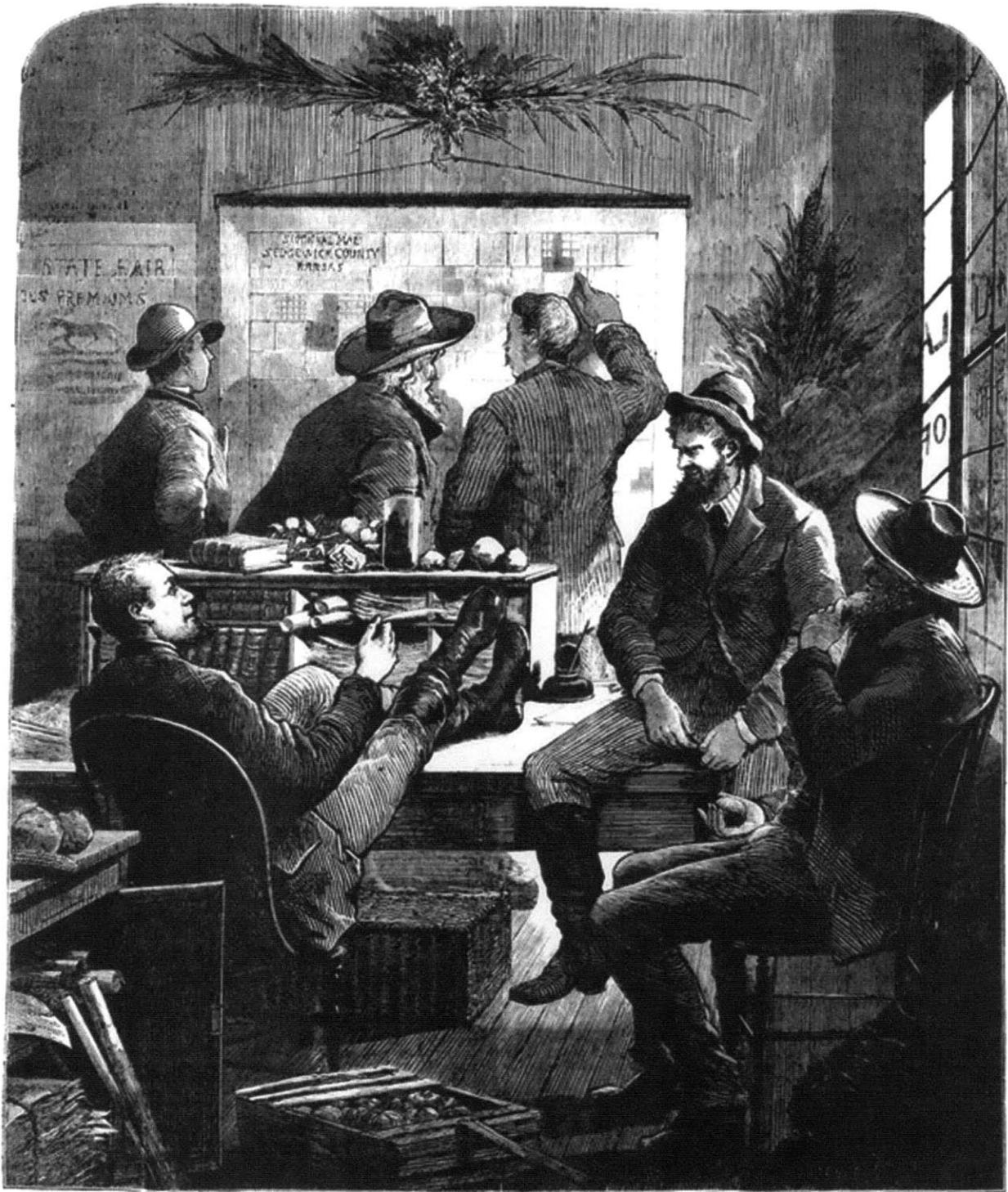
“The history of the United States reveals the evolution of a market society, a society representing a particularly complex social-cultural construct, the ‘money market system.’”²⁰ Seen another way, through visualization of land, this history also charts the naturalization from the fecund expanse as imagined by the frontier to the heavily expended space of the *Pax Americana*. The Gateway Arch, through its offering a view towards the landscape is a productive means to reinsert the conceptions of the land and its visualization within the larger study of U.S. capitalism. More to the point, the Arch, as integral to the local real estate market and economic revival of St. Louis and the attempted aesthetic regulation of views from the Arch undertaken in service of those ends, exhibits the removal of the land as an operative visual component to its position as an object in the abstract space of exchange.

¹⁷ Robbins. p 19.

¹⁸ Ibid. p 7

¹⁹ Ibid. p 62-63.

²⁰ Ibid. p 8



Part I
Conceptions of Productive Landscapes

1.1 Placing the Land within Capital, The Land Ordinance of 1785

“We have now lands enough to employ an infinite number of people in their cultivation. Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous & they are tied to their country & wedded to its liberty & interests by the most lasting bonds. ... I should then perhaps wish to turn them to the sea in preference to manufactures, because comparing the characters of the two classes I find the former the most valuable citizens. I consider the class of artificers as the panders of vice & the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned.”¹

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson’s conviction that the young republic of the United States had acquired enough cultivating acreage for an unlimited population was rooted in a twofold aspiration that such space would provide, not only a moral grounding for settlers but ensure a vested stake from them in defending their lot within the new nation. The Virginia planter’s belief that every citizen could secure within the vast territory a “little mountain” with attached prospect, of his own was clear. The view from Monticello may have been projecting towards a democratic republic composed of grounded, yet illusionary, yeoman farmers but the frame was composed within a distinct form of landed gentry and a perceived institution of societal relations (fig. 1.1). The position of Jefferson as an extensive landholder, albeit heavily in debt, which in turn translated to a claim of governance carries a resonance from the contemporaneous English approach to land and government. However, Jefferson’s vision of the land to governance relation goes beyond the title and propriety of the old world and situates the land - in the hands of the small scale farmer - as a foundational principle in establishing and promoting a stable republic. For a productive landscape produced virtuous citizens.

The Land Ordinance of May 20th, 1785 established a uniform system of survey, which delineated the land upon a grid of 1-mile square, with townships being designated at six miles by six miles, comprising 36 square miles more or less (fig 1.2). Townships were considered the smallest political unit and were intended to work in a similar capacity as townships in New England. The land survey was to perform an essential function in formulating the republican ideal by demarcating space for an accessible scale of government through the township, which provided the settler a voice within the body politic. Jefferson’s intention of selling land for settlement was to counter the condition he feared most, the undermining of democracy through the production of manufacture in

¹Jefferson, Thomas. *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*. Federal Edition, Edited by Paul Leicester Ford. New York and London: G.P. Putnam and Son’s. New York: Knickerbocker Press. 1904. Volume IV. P 449-450.

order to make money. The value of land was to transcend the market. However, through its sale, the land became the dominant mode of instilling a capitalizing process in the United States.

The infrastructure of lines generated by the national survey was literally just lines on the map, provisions for roads and other internal improvements rested with individuals, the emerging counties and the states. The survey system that passed into law emerged as a compromise between regional attitudes towards land and the numerical means of its division. While Jefferson – who was also a surveyor - did lead the legislative committee that investigated the most effective means to parcel out the territory, his stamp on the end product, or the “Jeffersonian Grid” is a misnomer. Over the course of the next quarter century from the passage of the ordinance, government corrections mainly dealt with how the land was disposed, mostly by concerns that the position of speculative middlemen – who bought low from the state and sold high to the farmer – were keeping the land out of reach from the average citizen. To combat this issue, the size of the minimal parcel available for sale shrink from 320 acres to 40.²

“Surveying was a kind of writing on the land, turning it into a free-market landscape. Before the surveyor measured land according to a repeatable and verifiable system, legal ownership was impossible. By dividing their land into units, Americans articulated an egalitarian sense of space that had no center and no past.”³

The absence of a distinct center was in keeping with the attitude of diffuse national governance as legislated under the Articles of Confederation, a system by which each state retained most of its sovereign powers except in foreign relations and declaring war. One of the powers granted to the national government under this confederation was to establish a unified system of weights and measures. The Articles were replaced by current U.S. Constitution in 1787 and besides

² Stilgoe, John R. *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1982. p 102 -104.

³ Nye, David E. *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003. P 25. The repeatable survey was crucial to parceling vast amounts of land in a relatively short amount of time but the reduction of survey to a “kind of writing” subsumes the tracing, or tracting, done in the field; the writing, for the purposes of verification and ownership took place in a sequence of books, which carry the parcel forward through time as ownership changes. A change of ownership is the only way the land moves through the records in a host of county offices. This system is still utilized to a large extent, with the records still being documented by hand. Another aspect is that of burial, as during the initial survey, before the use standardized iron stakes for the corner markers, or when such markers ran short, the points were often described as being located by “broken pieces of glass under a hard edged stone.” This use of elements, rocks, of the extent landscape and the burial of transported containers, or fragments, to demarcate the parcel also work within the compositional approach towards the landscape. The survey from the federal level abstracted the line located by a found piece singled out through its displacement and burial of something yet again brought along the way in the process of surveying. The infrastructure of lines traced across the land only worked in relation to the lines across the ledger.

creating the name of the country - the United States of America – established the unified survey of land measure through which almost two-thirds of nation was delineated. Seemingly equal parcels of land set within a standardized system was a not only crucial component in positioning an individual's grounding but ensured the potential for a circulation of ownership.⁴ With the perception that land was ahistorical until it came under a title, through a specific instrument of transfer and corresponding date, the federal survey also provided the means through which to determine a legally temporal origin. Land without a documented past could not be visualized into an improved future form.

“By 1820 the grid concept was permanently established in the national imagination, and westward-moving adventurers understood its characteristics.”⁵ Even if the lines of sight from the national survey were not as yet staked across the terrain, the conceptions of moving within a system bounded by the squared contours of government policy was evident. The survey, although having a Point of Beginning in eastern Ohio, was not staked in a uniform progression across the country but taken up and expanded from the series of isolated points of earlier settlement found throughout the west.⁶

The projection of an intermittent grid across a territory with indigenous peoples, foreign settlers - with squatter or legal title - burgeoning settlements and emerging trade routes was just one of the systems appearing on the continental maps from this period. The overlay of emerging settlements, transport networks and political boundaries render the continent into a composition, whose edges and contents are only just being defined and brought into a visual relation through the

⁴ Nye, David E. *America as Second Creation: Technology and Narratives of New Beginnings*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003. p. 21 Nye considers the foundation narrative and counter-narratives of the axe, the mill, the railroad and canal followed by irrigation. Nye states the railroad and canal technology narratives achieved a national foundation level, and while it can be argued that the railroad and canal had just as much of an effect on extent states from the colonies. He misses the opportunity to consider another national foundation narrative, along with its survey devices, in the laying out of the national grid. The abstract grid is considered by historian David Nye to be the most important of the “four shifts in perception,” required for his technological narratives of national foundation, the other three being the free market, the natural abundance of resources and Newtonian cause and effect. This thesis has no interest in rereading Nye's technology narratives but his four shifts are also productive in considering how the visualization of the land changed over the course of this period as well. The image of the land is, I believe, more of a factor in the foundation narratives of the U.S. than that of technology. Technology and its presence in U.S. narratives is probably due more to a condition of circumstance than a generating component.

⁵Ibid. p. 104.

⁶ The Point of Beginning National Historic Landmark is located on the borders of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia. The original monument was established in 1881 and the actual point is now under water as a result of a dam constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers on the Ohio River in East Liverpool Ohio. This information came from a conversation with Robert Disch of the East Liverpool Public Works. Bill Hubbard Jr. published a text, *American Boundaries: The Nation, the States and the Rectangular Survey*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Hubbard uses a progression map of Montana to explicate this point. As points of settlement across Montana extended grid lines from each other, they surveyed the space in between and filled in the blanks.

composing of the map. Two maps that exhibit this condition are Fielding Lewis's 1823 map of the U.S. (fig. 1.3) and *Reynolds's Political Map of the United States* of 1854 (fig. 1.4). The abstract conception of the grid began to register visually through the territorial lines of the west appearing on these maps. These lines demonstrate the parceling of space at a continental scale. The single line, followed by a series of parallels, extending from the bounded spaces of the eastern states render the perceptual extremes of how the ground and its fullness was conceived. States to the east appear as full and ordered sheets through sheer volume and presence of identifying text - cities and counties - while the west is signified through, possibly exaggerated, topographic features. The dark, thick lines of western mountain ranges and rivers, rising from or slicing through the page are sublimated as the map heads back east, as these states appear stretched over the surface, carved out from, or built up to their respective borders. The act of mapping and naming corresponds to the practice of settling, in that both appear to even out the territory, draw it into a larger system of production and regulation. Maps, such as these, reify the notion of the west as the space of opportunity and potential. The blank portions not revealing absences but concealing possibilities for those willing to assume the risk.

These maps at the scale of the country or even at the scale of a city, like Cheyenne, Wyoming⁷, are evidence of the conflicting, yet dependent systems moving west across the country at the time, and after the 1849 California gold rush working back towards the east to a certain degree. The federal survey, the establishment of territorial borders, treaties with native Americans, overland trails, rail lines, trading posts and points of river portage while operating quite differently and with varying degrees of permanence were all providing distinct points, components and boundaries in which individual, collective or corporate prospects were situated. The map of Cheyenne is an interesting example in that it depicts the city as staked out in 1867 at a skewed angle to the federal survey (fig. 1.5). River courses and rail lines offer insight to the lay of the land, as water and investment both seek the path of least resistance. Such a compilation reveals earlier claims and their points of spatial conflict with later, possibly more systematized and better funded overlays, but residues of what came before adjusted the larger composition of the city, the state and region exposes the temporal slippage between them and how this encounter was negotiated. Such maps are attuned to the variable conditions of known western contents, such as represented geology, charted surveys or absent Native Americans, but have yet to present a unified or totalized visual condition.

⁷ Reps, John W.. *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West Before 1890*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1981. p. 83

These maps acknowledge the inevitable build-up that was occurring across the country during westward expansion and exhibit one form of compositional assemblage that typified this period. The compositional maps of the nineteenth century stand in stark contrast to those produced in the middle of the twentieth century, such as the Bulkley Plan for Superhighways of 1938, which did return to the blankness of space, depicted state lines and major cities but only as they related to the overlay of the proposed national road system (fig. 1.6). Maps such as Bulkley's are indicative of the episteme that produced the Gateway Arch in that the landscape, no matter at what scale, was to be represented and visualized within a complete and ordered structure.

The only certainty in the land survey rested within the regular establishment of the boundaries but profit and success was predicated on chance, both through the soil those lines contained and the weather that moved across them. While the national land survey was an expedient tool for land allocation and its associated figure of individual governance, the yeoman farmer, are more readily attached with settlement; the necessity of the survey was also evident in the seemingly more solitary and rugged landscape of the prospector. Franklin Langworthy cites the chance that can lie between the lines of a survey, while traveling through the California Gold country, he recalls the story of two companies of miners who began prospecting towards one another from opposite sides of adjoining claims. Uncertain of where the division line stood, they enlisted the help of a passing "Yankee" who, acting as a third party, was to locate this line. After completing this task, a small swathe of land, due to topography, was left from the measurements and it was decided by the parties of the first part to give the surveyor this thick border of about five feet. He immediately set upon this claim and within the span of two weeks extracted some nine thousand dollars of gold from the site, while those adjoining him worked towards their respective edges and found nothing.⁸ The form, content and intent of the survey as charted by the national system and the specific example cited by Langworthy may be different but the basic premise of luck inside the lines holds for both cases.

The images of the farmer, the prospector and even the frontier photographer⁹ are to a large extent romantic, persistent and mythic representations of a kind of individual agent; an agent of change as opposed to an actor in a larger systemic script (fig. 1.7 and 1.8). There is ease to casting

⁸ Langworthy, p 197.

⁹ Sandweiss, Martha A.. *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2002. p. 170. The photographer may have labored in isolation for weeks and forced to carry the means of image production, such as water, over extensive distances in order to capture the landscape as a base from which to render it fit for hospitable development.

these prototypical “pioneers” whose raw muscle, lifeblood and spirit of sweat conquered the land. These ubiquitous heroes constitute a very deliberate and nameless plurality from which most towns in the western U.S. could lay a particular claim. These generic settlers along with the federal survey’s mechanism of land demarcation and topographic overlook conceal the very real “lies” of the land.

These fictions emerge from, and very much rely upon, the efforts to claim an accuracy, a certainty of equally measured parcels, commencing from regularized points of beginning and enclosing an equivalent territory, more or less. The equality, as manifest by the gridded landscape, was instilled through the representational subjects so attached in varying ways to the ground. The farmer tilling the field, and the prospector panning the stream or tunneling the mine relied on the techniques of looking and digging, the varying tropes of the prospect, embedded within the relation to the land.

Fredrick Jackson Turner traces the presence of a distinct frontier ‘line’ in its various guises by means of geography throughout U.S. territory and history and considers the “far-reaching effects of the government’s land policy upon political, economic and social aspects of American life.”¹⁰ The sale of public lands and the varying approaches to their disposal and the composition of recipients are also considered by Turner. However there is no specific mention of the national survey, which worked within a distributive system of lines across the landscape. The abstraction of the grid and this infrastructure of lines situated a position no longer in unbounded space but within the bounds of the state and its approach to land as source of revenue.

1.2 Looking Over the Land, The Prospect’s Point of Beginning

The charting of the landscape by the national survey, or any survey, could only do that, chart. Arranging the grid of blank squares through a numeric system provided an expedient means to demarcate individual parcels and efficiently locate them within a national framework. Description of the contours and quality of the parcel’s terrestrial contents were beyond the scope of the survey. However, the rectilinear lines were occasionally interrupted by those significant geographic formations, such as wide rivers or the curvature of the earth, and as such, these variations in the grid seemed to be the only registers of the specific conditions on the ground. In order to operate more effectively as a mechanism of settlement, the land survey was supplemented by a productive, visual

¹⁰ Turner. p. 27.

conception through which to render and describe the possibilities contained by the land within the empty spaces of the grid.

The adjacent visual term, *prospect*, with a similar conception of looking over the landscape would serve as a fertile companion to the abstract lines of the survey. The *prospect* in its earliest conception is dependent upon a landscape view from a promontory. However, a prospect is not just a view of the land “as it is” but predicated upon a vision towards what it could be. These visions of landscape through pictorial and literary representations emerge out of British aesthetics, which did produce a physical space called a prospect in the noble gardens of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In contradistinction to its English antecedents, the prospect, both physical and conceptual, in the U.S. did not overlook the already acquired territory of the lord, cleared of its farming peasants and enclosed from common intrusion but towards the west, to the open lands where perceived spaces of individual opportunity lie. Similarities between the English and U.S. definitions in visual representations of the prospect existed but the addition of intense, expansionist-nationalist political rhetoric, the aesthetic inventory of natural resources, the description of accumulated progress and the exuberance of the future are what set the U.S. prospect apart.¹¹ Serving as a conceptual method to locate the individual within the potential of profitable land possession and improvement, the prospect, as demarcated by the land survey and described through visual and literary representation in the U.S. was a view towards capitalization of the land.

The extremes of landscape perception – full to empty - as documented through nineteenth century maps of the United States have a compliment in the pictorial representations of the period as well. Artist Thomas Cole, considered the founder of Hudson River School,¹² formulated the pictorial language of landscape representation in the U.S. His seminal work *The Oxbow, View from Mount Holyoke* of 1836, staked the visual territory of how the landscape was not only utilized to

¹¹ Wallach, Alan. “Some Further Thoughts on the Panoramic Mode in Hudson River School Landscape Painting.” In *Within the Landscape: Essays on Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*. Edited by Phillip Earenfight and Nancy Siegel. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. p. 105.

¹² Thomas Cole (1801 – 1848) is considered the founding father of the Hudson River School, an art movement that enjoyed considerable success in the decades before the Civil War, but one that would not survive as a viable modality as a result of that test of the Union. Cole deployed allegorical techniques that posed a critique towards the emerging populism headed by President Andrew Jackson whose 1829 to 1837 administration was construed as embodying the proximity of democracy to a demagogue. Cole’s critique of “Old Hickory” and the potential of imperial visions were famously encapsulated in his 1836 *Course of Empire* series painted for New York millionaire Luman Reed, who exhibited the works in his home. The series documents the rise and fall of a great empire of the course of a day and situates, by utilizing the same mountain in the background, a similar field of vision from differing vantage points. The second generation of the Hudson School would not take up Cole’s critical or allegorical approach towards depicting the landscape of the U.S. Most of the artists of this time were funded by or engaged in land speculation themselves, in order to undertake their work.

represent the vastness and wilderness of the country but its potential in being fashioned into productive space of settlement (fig. 1.9). The foreground was the frame of the conquered past while the extensive middle ground was the space of realized improvement, demonstrating a ground rendered fit for civilized habitation. The horizon was the direction of advance; the line to traverse in order to reach that place beyond upon which each individual may settle and through which he may succeed. Cole was critical of the certain progress and profit as expressed in the contemporaneous political rhetoric and social milieu. A stance informed by his past, for as an English immigrant to the United States his father found himself recovering from one speculative business failure after another. Cole was reared in the environment of the broken promises of manufactured progress. The canvases of Cole depict not the benefits of development but the results of unmitigated speculation and uncritical advance. The later generations of the Hudson River School, such as Frederic Edwin Church¹³ take up his aesthetic formalism but were more compliant to the larger efforts to sell the west.

Artists in the United States, such as the Hudson River School, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century worked within four basic compositional forms, “the pastoral, the prospect, what can be called ‘the sublime prospect,’ and the view.”¹⁴ The first three have roots in literature and pictorial representation but present differing relations between the viewer, subject matter, time and space. The pastoral has origins in the works of seventeenth century French painter Claude Lorrain, with depictions of a rural ideal and a reflecting gaze towards the past comprising the bulk of this type (fig. 1.10). The pastoral did not gain much ground in the U.S., as this recovery of a past bucolic was not an issue in North America, which was reckoning with an encounter of wilderness. Wilderness, the frontier and the “Wild West” and its dichotomy with paradise; a constructed or created space, also played a major role in the nineteenth century conceptions of landscape. The

¹³ Frederic Edwin Church (1826 – 1900)

¹⁴ It should also be noted that another form of art more accessible art to the masses, the panorama, especially those of the moving variety, was very popular over the course of the nineteenth century. This art form took on many guises from stand-alone buildings, to transportable scroll forms and children’s toys. This art form also actively utilized the early forms of photography in order to produce numerous images of the west in promotion of settlement. The panorama, as a term, emerges out of a technology predicated on creating a total experience of the artwork. While it may seem as though the Arch, which offers distinct “panoramic” views of the landscape and by extension being a large contraption of seeing could be situated into a genealogy of vision and technology, such an exercise would only fall back into the trap of privileging the object as frame as opposed to the more productive consideration of the landscape as viewed from that object and that object’s effect on the surrounding landscape.

savagery, implied solitude and vast desert of this mental space cohere well with the figural imagery of those who are celebrated as conquering it.¹⁵

The prospect genre appeared in essentially two forms: the prospect proper, which set a projective vision from a privileged promontory across space and time towards a potential future and the sublime prospect as a “representation of the terrible and the awesome in nature and human history (fig. 1.9 and 1.11).” Those artists working in the exhibition and gallery market in the first half of the nineteenth century would have represented landscape by means of the pastoral, prospect or the sublime. The view genre was of another origin, emerging in the eighteenth century through the view painters or (Veduta) and a side effect through military training of topographic drafters (fig. 1.12). The view was considered more of a pragmatic device of representing landscapes as they were, lacking the reflection of the pastoral, the teleology of the prospect or the power of the sublime.¹⁶ Aesthetic meanings of the prospect held dominant currency until the early nineteenth century when other forms of vision, as framed through technological devices, like the panorama, emerge. As a result, the term *prospect* gains further meaning as a process of not only looking out from a point towards a landscape but an individual or collective practice of searching for something within a landscape.

“Landscape as a form of symbolic action, however, was not simply a rear-guard performance directed at containing the forces of cultural disruption or testing national possibilities. The myth of nature’s nation also served a forward-looking economic program. Images of the land gave a natural mooring to an emergent national market. By grounding national identity in a shared nature and by enhancing this identity through the creation of certain common associations, landscape art worked to deflect the forces of localism that threatened the establishment of that market.”¹⁷

Representations of the solitary homestead and attendant farmer proliferate during this period, some emerging before and others as a result of the federal survey. Either way, the image of

¹⁵ Nash, Roderick Frazier. *Wilderness and the American Mind*. Fourth Edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. p. 3. Nash provides an extensive history relating the conception of wilderness to that of conservation and the rise of environmentalism in the United States. An exhaustive study of wilderness aesthetics is beyond the scope of the work here but such conceptions were also a part of how the prospect viewed what was extent in the landscape and what was perceived as in the way to civilization. Paradise was construed as something that could be fashioned from the raw material that was wilderness; it was no accident that the solitary figures of the trapper, prospector and farmer were accompanied by communal efforts, religious and secular, to carve a new way of life out of this “wild” territory. Not unlike the first Eden, the necessity of creation was present in the second iterations, as they were predicated not on discovery of an extent condition but the fashioning, or breathing into the chthonic material, a spiritual life.

¹⁶ Wallach. p. 109.

¹⁷ Miller, Angela. *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. p. 14

the land worked as a two-fold, opposing strategy, on the one hand the isolated cabin and later clapboard farmhouse evoked an image of independence, the chance at individual advance and future profit. However such farms were usually purchased through a land speculator or on credit that inevitably tied the farmer more to the system of capital than to the land itself.¹⁸

This emerging relation of capital to the landscape stood in distinction to older conceptions of how the land operated in society. In European countries and in the more established portions of the U.S. – Atlantic and Southern states – the agrarian systems were predicated on a noble title to land or an inheritance structure to obtain ownership. In these systems, the land was a basis for the “framework of life,” while capitalism was considered a newer, outside force from those older forms of title.¹⁹ However in the western U.S., in those lands over the Appalachian Mountains, capitalism – through the national survey - became the formwork that concretized a new relationship to land. This new relation marshaled the older ideas of land as the basis for a way of life, albeit a tentative and contractual one, in the service of advancing the nascent market of real estate. There is a distinct shift in the U.S. during the nineteenth century from the land as visualized through views towards individual capitalization, a way of life, to that of the land circulated as real estate within an overlaid system of capital.

1.3 Describing the Opportunities within the Land, The Malleable Text of Manuals

The *prospect* as it operated in westward expansion was informed by imagery such as Cole’s and other artists, and while influenced by such representations of landscape improvement it was more predicated upon the vast array of textual descriptions of the land. These publications cover the range from personal travel diaries to gazetteers that compiled statistics of population and

¹⁸ The romantic image of the family farm still resonates through political rhetoric and national imagery as efforts by parties to appeal to the grassroots, “heartland” mentality recur throughout the perpetual election campaign. Growing up in Iowa, I came to understand the temporally political importance of my state, with its first in the nation presidential caucus, and the “down home” constituency that composed it, once we had given our even-keeled approval of the candidate they, along with press, moved on to New Hampshire. Running through the hog barn as a kid, helping my family show Hampshire, Spotted and Berkshire hogs, a tradition my grandfather started in 1919, at the annual August Iowa State Fair, I ran into my fair share of presidential candidates who had no more comfort in that space than I, but for different reasons; they, more than likely, could not tell a boar from a gilt, whereas I, with the knowledge that due to their policies and vested interests, could not hope to maintain my family’s way of life, knew my years were numbered in such a place. The image is becoming more concrete than the reality, as the family farm is ostensibly a thing of the past and has been on a precipitous decline since the end of World War II. Raised during the droughts and Farm Crisis of the 1980’s and witnessing the dependency of farmers on so many variables beyond their control, the weather seemed the least of them. With farms increasing in size, even the 640-acre, square mile sections are proving too small for some of the operations and in some areas this structure is being removed as well.

¹⁹ Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875*. New York: Vintage Books. 1975. P. 182

production. These texts chronicled spaces of opportunity along an overland trail or places within a state from which to locate a place of enterprise.

Not unlike the maps mentioned before, the prospect as it visualized land during westward expansion operated through what can be defined as a compositional approach. In that, through the malleability of text, the prospects were composed of various elemental descriptions such as, geology, climate, types of flora and fauna, qualities of soil and water, emerging trade and transport routes and confluences, appearing devices of technology and manifestations of the state, military and private enterprise. These elements, or components, were arranged by the various agents in order to render the viability of a position and extrapolate a potential. The diverse authors described the landscape inclined to their interests, as the prospect - being held by the individual - was looking at the same thing but seeing its possibilities in multiple ways.

This compositional approach was predicated on progress but the with one major exception from later, twentieth century, conceptions of progress. The prospect acknowledged the presence of numerous variables in the landscape, therefore a final image – or destination - of that progress was impossible. The impossibility of generating an aesthetic finality was due in part to the perceived openness of the land and the continual discovery of new spaces and natural elements within the land.

The period of westward expansion is when the *prospect* broadens its meaning from the earlier, formal aesthetic language of landscape representation and conception to that of a productive expression in physically working the land and ultimately to that of an abstract application within capitalism. Description and study of land characteristics favorable for the presence of agricultural and mineral wealth through which to generate capital expand the term to encompass not only the heights but also the depths of the ground, which renders the term fit for the generalities of capitalism. Not only is it the content of the prospect that changes but its accessibility beyond a particular location and social standing. This democratization of the prospect also signifies the widening of its definition from solely the realm of aesthetic language in representation to its productive expression as operative in physically improving the landscape.

The proliferation of pictorial imagery - the paintings of the Hudson River School to the lithographs of Currier and Ives – alongside the booster advertisements from railroads and land speculators over the course of this period would seem an obvious method to consider how visualization of the landscape registers a view of changing conceptions of capital through such terms as the prospect (fig. 1.13). The evocative depictions by the canvas and the exuberance of the ads in

selling the potentials of the landscape are quite productive in their enticement of westward migration. However, a more interesting, and telling approach of how the prospect productively manifested itself in rendering this landscape of potential is to consider where more seemingly objective texts that claim to offer only descriptions slide into framing spaces for individual possibilities. Read closely, such books sketch the blank places of the map.

Selecting a series of publications from the period of westward expansion, the operative role of the prospect becomes evident as it visualizes the productive capacity of the landscape.²⁰ Travel journals as represented by *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California* (1845), *Scenery of the Plains Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines* (1855) and *The Prairie Traveler: A Handbook for Overland Expeditions* (1859) presented the continuity of space, isolated points along the journey, points that may or may not prove productive in the minds of their readers but with their rendition of space were informative of where advantageous individual settlement and profitable connections may occur, not to mention the potentials presented within the extent of distance. Distance implied still ample room available within which to settle. Publications such as *A Guide for Emigrants* (1831), *Fanning's Illustrated Gazetteer of the United States* (1855) and *Where to Emigrate and Why* (1869) described the particularities of a state and territory through their political boundaries, which provided a frame from which to consider the possibilities of that locale. The itemization by state provided a seemingly objective frame for the information within. Information through which potential settlers

²⁰Texts from this era comprise two main organizational forms, which frame how they described the territory. The first type are those structured along a journey from the east towards the west and the second form are those arranged in the categorical listing of states that describe the specific contents of each. The first major publication of the overland travel genre was Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California*, which appeared in 1845. Hastings was an opportunist hoping a travel guide would propel a political career in an independent California. Less than a decade later, Franklin Langworthy, a Universalist minister from Illinois set out for the California Gold Rush, returning with no gold but the residue of experience dutifully recorded as *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains and Mines* of 1855. Seeing a need for a comprehensive and unbiased guide for the overland journey west, Randolph B. Marcy, a U.S. Army captain produced *The Prairie Traveler: A Handbook for Overland Expeditions* in 1859 under the approval of the war department. These texts are but a few of the volumes within the range of potential advertising to official oversight publication but what they do share is an approach to visualizing the land as a sequence of prospective spaces along a continuum of travel.

Texts that itemized descriptions through the political boundaries of the state will be represented through three publications. The first being John Mason Peck's *A Guide for Emigrants* published in 1831 in support of the American Sunday School Union's efforts to establish Sunday schools throughout the Mississippi Valley. Two later texts, *Fanning's Illustrated Gazetteer of the United States* of 1855 and Frederick B. Goddard's *Where to Emigrate and Why* of 1869 were publishing ventures by these respective houses. The apparent arbitrary delineation of state lines places an objective frame around the information contained within. And while some of the guidebooks that utilized this method were no less exaggerated than first hand travel accounts, the overlay of state itemization situates the descriptive field within a political space that appears to offer a datum by which to compare the attributes or absences of each considered state. The two main forms are a categorical placement by the author in order to provide an expedient means through which to access the texts. They all rely on both methods to a certain extent to exhibit their evidence of the west but for the purposes of this thesis such a separation does not place an obstacle to the explication of the larger argument.

may “estimate and compare the resources and relative advantages of the various sections of the United States.”²¹ These texts operated as prospectuses in outlining, through varying modalities, the capabilities of movement and qualities of habitation to potential settlers or investors as well as offering information for possible forecasts beyond the pages.

“The plan is simple; indeed, the design of such a work suggests the plan be pursued in its compilation. It is not a work of biography, nor of history, nor of science, nor of art but one descriptive of the country as it is, especially of its geographical and statistical facts; also, with such reference to the commercial and political relations of the principal places named, as may be desirable or practically useful.”²²

Describing the country “as it is” proves rather difficult when the facts of expansion were predicated on development through time. The “as it is” could not be fixed to one place or time. Just before making the statement above, the publishers of *Fanning’s* declare that within the span of a mere ten years – from the 1840 census to that of the 1850 - the form of the U.S. has changed by “such extensive and essential changes” and that one would scarcely recognize the present, by the most faithful picture of that ten years ago.”²³ With the addition of the territories of Oregon, through treaty and California, through war, a new conception of the boundaries and the potentials within them was needed. Not only was a vast new geography, along with extent states in the east, un-illustrated, but prior representations of the U.S. had been too local, inaccurate or too expensive for the “masses.”²⁴ The utilization of relations – commercial and political – seemed to provide a more certain position from which to consider the “as it is,” of the land because in those relations the temporal and spatial mobility is built in to the system.

The bounds presented by overland travel in the nineteenth century U.S. present a productive limit from which to consider how the prospect visualized the capital potentials of the landscape. Modes of conveyance, the path taken, the duration of the trip, the length of pauses along the way and the means through which such journeys are recorded, if they have such fortune of transcription

²¹ Goddard, Frederick B. *Where to Emigrate and Why, Describes the Climate, Soil. Productions, Minerals, and General Resources, Amount of Public Lands, The Quality and Price of Farmlands in nearly all sections of the United States; and Contains a Description of the Pacific Railroad, the Homestead and other Laws, Rates of Wages throughout the Country, etc.etc.* New York: Frederick B. Goddard, Publishers. 1869. p. iii.

²² *Fannings.* p. 3

²³ *Fanning’s Illustrated Gazetteer of the United States Giving the Location, Physical Aspect, Mountains, Rivers, Lakes, Climate, Productive and Manufacturing Resources, Commerce, Government, Education, General History Etc. of the States, Territories, Counties, Cities, Towns, and Post Offices in the American Union, with the Population and the Other Statistics from the Census of 1850.* New York: Ensign, Bridgman and Fanning. 1854 p 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 3

revealed points along the trail that harbored spaces of enterprise. A trading post, river portage or even a spring to water horses are often described in their vitality to the migration. Such narratives are not confined to the nineteenth century frontier condition but resonate through the twentieth century as well.²⁵ Spaces, whose description spoke to the potential of settlement within some, the need to traverse others and means to connect beyond the horizon were deliberately framed within how the spaces may be accessed, what elements were extent and what external means could be drawn in. The travel journal exposed geographic paths of least resistance, which in keeping with the idea of improvement upon nature were considered prime areas for transportation infrastructure. The path of least resistance would logically cost less.

“It is through this valley, that the route from the United States to Oregon and California, is destined forever to pass. Being the most eligible, and in fact, the only practical wagon route, that has, as yet, been discovered by which, the emigrant may travel with ease and comfort; it is destined, beyond any doubt, to become the great thoroughfare to all the western country.” Citing the amount of potential settlers passing through the valley, Hastings in *The Emigrants’ Guide to Oregon and California* claimed that at some point, a prime place for a few days encampment and resupply will be located; a spot through which “to acquire that relaxation and repose” in order to complete the balance of the journey.²⁶ Considering another valley on the Walla Walla River, he projects its carrying capacity at about 40 to 50 farms and in another valley, elements for its adaptation to agriculture could be “readily seen.”²⁷

Fluid or fixed capacities as outlined by Hastings are both rooted in geography, which also offered insight to improved traversal through it. In one breath, certain and seemingly eternal conditions, thereby stable and suitable points of potential enterprise are countered by the realities of continual discovery ever present in westward expansion. Perpetually charting geographies conducive to transport routes and farm fields or uncovering geologies containing mineral wealth was coupled with the need for early settlers to operate in a contingent manner; a manner that was predicated on mobility, temporary positions and ephemeral constructions.

²⁵ John Steinbeck’s *Grapes of Wrath* of 1939, while a fictional, family centered narrative emerging from the Dust Bowl, deployed similar tactics of trip preparation, punctuation of points along the way, the promise of the approach and the realities at the end of the line. Throughout Steinbeck’s seminal Depression era text, moments of booster propaganda are cited as means to incite a migration to, or away from certain areas of the country.

²⁶ Hastings, Lansford W. *The Emigrants’ Guide to Oregon and California*. Facsimile reproduction of 1845 publication with historical note and bibliography by Charles Henry Carey. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1932. Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier p 36.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 39 -40.

Hastings asserted that all the major and profitable forts, such as Vancouver, have been secured, “cheaply constructed,” yet all contain comfortable lodgings and a courteous host, by the Hudson’s Bay Company. The small investment in cheap building stock points to an awareness of the west as being in continual flux and a business approach attuned to this context. The burden of grand, or even permanent building would limit the ability for commerce to move. Sites that have been abandoned, due to unprofitability for the company could be purchased for individuals wishing to make an attempt at trade. Despite the presence of an obvious monopoly, room for the small stakeholder was still available, as an “extensive and lucrative trade” has sprung up. Not everyone had succeeded, as Hastings commented on the ruins of Astoria, an “enterprise” of John Jacob Astor.²⁸

“The market, trade and commerce, of this infant country, are even now, much more extensive than the most prophetic, could have possibly have foreseen. An ample market is now afforded, in the country, and at the very door of the farmers, for all their surplus produce,”²⁹ declared Hastings of the potential in Oregon. The Hudson’s Bay Company, while monopolizing a diminishing, yet still profitable fur trade, had secured the trading markets for grain and lumber from which they undersold U.S. traders. The region boasted high wages and affordable living due to the wide market access. The increasing settlement of the area promises an expanding “home market” in the necessities of life. Due to coastal positioning, Oregon afforded greater access to the markets of the Pacific, a more expansive and international market than the one located in the western States.³⁰ The extremes of perpetual certainty, as evident through geology, were adjacent to continual exposure of new innovations or recently discovered locales that afforded a more advantageous position.

That nature would provide such tells to its development was taken as a given. The journals also described productive limits that would ensure a stable and secure position from which to participate in the commercial market. Writing of his first view of California, Hastings states:

“We find it almost entirely walled in, by stupendous natural walls, which are perfectly impregnable and impassable, everywhere except at those natural gateways or gaps. These gaps appear to have been designed, by nature, to enhance the importance of this, otherwise important and valuable country, by affording easy intercommunication, and facilitating trade and commerce, with all the surrounding

²⁸ Ibid. p. 49-52.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 62.

³⁰ Ibid. p 62-63.

country.”³¹ Of the San Francisco Bay Hastings declares, “This bay alone, would answer all the commercial purpose of California, in all time to come.”³²

Points along the trail were often selected by the earliest emigrants do to the natural advantage of funneling traffic, assessing a fee for a service, providing a space for resupply or equipment for the journey. Langworthy recounts skirmishes for fees on river ferries and cites specifically the operators of a ferry on the Platte River, who made a “cool fifty thousand,” off those heading to California (fig 1. 14).³³ Others found positions at the jumping off points, some by providing full service transport for a handsome fare and others who provided “necessary” equipment for the trek, such as a group of Mormons who sold goggles and frontier guide books in western Iowa.³⁴

Points such as these were temporary, ending when new trails opened or new transport methods emerged. Their positions were predicated on mobility. With the advent of the railroads, such ephemeral points of commerce grounded in natural formations or conditions became less of a certain means to make money. Overland guides were replaced by the train schedule, which altered the whole tenor of the journey, for it now became a trip. The necessity of attuning to the mileage of landscape, distance between water holes and locating ample grazing for horses was sublimated in favor of a mechanical timing.

Langworthy’s account is peppered with examples of nature’s fitness for a railroad, he was a tenacious proponent of a transcontinental line and during his traversal overland he recorded topographies naturally graded for rails, mountains suited for tunneling, sites for tourism and even the location for a bathing resort.³⁵ His urgency in locating this line “before the current of trade becomes fixed in some other direction,”³⁶ was also cloaked in the guise of the railroad as a national monument. However more important - and pragmatic - according to him, are the commercial advantages in extracting and harnessing the resources of California, and securing access to the commerce of the international Pacific, which “will be deluged upon this shore.”³⁷ The labors and expense of the interior will equalize with those of the east and the return will far outweigh the investment.³⁸ Langworthy was not just extolling the benefits of a new technology but promoting the

³¹ Ibid. p. 72.

³² Ibid. p. 79

³³ Langworthy, p. 56.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 62 and 12.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 36, 145, 40 and 133 respectively.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 36

³⁷ Ibid. p. 172

³⁸ Ibid. p. 276

potentials of commerce that this device would provide within the landscape. Similar to the abstract grid, the rail would level the playing field of production potential.

The natural advantages that dictated site selection and framed initial commercial opportunities were soon outweighed by mechanical improvements, such as the railroad, even the survey of land or a service technology, such as a printing press or telegraph promoted a spurt of attraction. In the winter of 1843, Hastings surveyed the new settlement of Oregon City and he stated that in just over eight months, lots that had been given away by the Hudson's Bay Company were selling at 1000 dollars and the number of buildings had almost doubled (fig. 1.15). The city is "destined to become a place of very considerable manufacturing and commercial importance," due to the presence of abundant, "scarcely ever surpassed" water power. This return to improving upon a natural force was crucial but was augmented by the foresight of emigrants, who have also sent to the east for a steam engine and printing press. Value of land was continually increasing with the pace of improvements and its position of being the only major settlement for quite a distance would assure that "emigrants will, in a great measure, concentrate at this place, especially merchants, mechanics and those of the learned professions."³⁹

The arrival of these professional opportunities, which operated in methods indirectly related to the land signify a certain destination, end of the line and closure of the frontier in that region. However in spite of that local circumstance, the visualization of landscape was still very much in effect as usually such professional appearances were contemporaneous with the efforts to obtain statehood. A condition that enclosed an official political space from the blank surface of the continent but also opened the place of the state to comparison through measures of production to that of its neighbors. The prospects of space in the frontier were transferred to the prospective fields of the economy.

Journals categorically arranged by state often began by defining the political jurisdiction by recounting the lay of the land through the boundaries of latitude and longitude, or a stretch of water. In such texts numbers do more than just stake out the boundaries; as they were more inclined to a market reading. The position of the state in relation to national and global markets was also determined through numbers; census figures described the health, composition and professions of the population, harvest bushels of corn and wheat, head counts of livestock herds and tonnage of cotton bales revealed the fertility - or lack thereof - of the land while manufactures and mining were

³⁹ Ibid. p. 56-57.

quantified as productive exports. The number of cities over or under a specific threshold revealed the urbanity and composition of the population with their possible relation to agriculture or industry. Upon completion of such census, the information was already becoming obsolete, but in the context of nineteenth century emigration and expansion such obsolescences were further amplified, as acknowledged by the preface in *Fanning's*. Boosters, speculators and state promoters operated in such lags of information. The guide may not have been the rule on the ground but the purpose of the guide was to frame the potential within that space, even if it no longer existed or never did in the first place.

Information, as provided by such guides and journals, was crucial in supplementing, if not forming, the individual, visual conceptions of settlers heading west. Lags, or delays, in information were also operative in forming the prospects, for even inaccurate and outdated news was productive in maintaining a flow of people to a section of territory; even if that land was only populated by already exhausted mines or fully claimed homesteads. Peck's *Guide* gave a privileged position to the role of cities on the frontier in providing a staging area for settlement. Cities, such as Cincinnati and St. Louis are described as "posts of observation" for those who are uncertain as to the location of their future. Peck gave four reasons for such urban utilization, the first being an economic, or reasonable, cost of living, a fairly sanitary condition, a place of industry – which could mean access to employment in order to save money for future land purchase – and finally a point from which to gather information.⁴⁰

"Upon emigrating to this country, the first thing for an eastern farmer is, to throw off and forget many of his former habits and practices, and be prepared to accommodate himself to the nature of our soil, and the circumstances of the country, else he will throw away much labor uselessly, and expend money and unprofitably. The first object was to find a suitable situation; or, in the language of the country, to locate himself."⁴¹ This location is not only in space but also in time; the settler must be attuned to how the land may change in time, whether they arrive in the dry season or the wet. The appearance of the land may deceive its potential; the prospect may conceal the prospects.

Peck advises the new farmer to first buy a small portion of land along the edge of a prairie in order to draw resources – at no cost but physical labor - from adjacent unclaimed lands in order to expand as he profits. Location was not only to be established in physical space but within a social

⁴⁰ Ibid. 221. Such advice offers evidence of the symbiotic role of urbanity in relation to rural settlement on the frontier.

⁴¹ Ibid. 175 - 177

condition as Peck advises modesty in dealing with new neighbors. The emigrant must have the right *look* (Peck's emphasis). Settlers and bourgeoning communities were just another element in the overall composition of the prospect. The emphasis on a productive individual image was perceived as a means to establish relations with neighbors in order to facilitate a communal working environment. Peck goes above and beyond the mere statistical survey that ends at the state line, as he offers insight on how emigrants may position themselves within this new territory. Having the right look translated from the visualization of landscape and its embedded future to the outward appearance and inward comportment of those individuals and families that inhabited those visions.

Peck is promoting a settled, almost Jeffersonian approach to the land, as opposed to a temporary, extractive presence within the land but even towards the settling end he outlines an approach to land and improvement valuation based in capitalization. He itemizes the required materials and expense for a series of hypothetical farms, based on current prices, the reason for such lists are two-fold; to provide to the new emigrant a basis from which to consider his expense and secondly as means to gauge the level of improvements present on extent farms, even to account for depreciation, by using an example of fence rails that have been in use for five years, these being estimated at half their value. Among the tables of outlining the expense, Peck places the anecdote, or fable, of two farmers: one who, with the assistance of his sons, broke ground on the prairie and raised a fair crop of corn, while another arrived and rented an exposed cabin. The second farmer would not expend the effort to properly weatherize the dwelling, thus rendering his family sick. The maladies notwithstanding, the second farmer also refused to enroll his children in the local school for a series of reasons. After a while, he sold his unharvested crop and moved to a new location to repeat the process.⁴²

The fable by Peck works from the scale of not bothering to render a house fit for permanent habitation to this effect of exhibiting a temporary presence in the community to the larger concerns of a fluid populace. Peck falls on the side of the first farmer, but states that most emigrants follow the line of the second. The commentary on vested interest and therefore moral standing of farming versus tenant speculation continues, as he outlines the benefit, through economics, of families

⁴² Peck cites the four reasons for the father not sending the children to school as follows: "1. It was too far; 2. He did not like the teacher, though he knew nothing about school-teaching, not being able to read himself; 3. He could not afford to pay; 4. He thought they would learn best when they were older." The importance Peck is placing on the education of children and the larger population is aligned with his desire to establish Sunday Schools throughout the new territories as church and public education where in close adjacency during westward expansion.

working together to enclose the prairie. The bigger the fields, the less expense in fencing.⁴³ The enclosing of private property in communally built fences furthered Peck's intent to counter the tide of individualistic profit motives through an economic argument. Peck's arguments for the communal through its advantage in expense speak to a condition, or milieu as he saw it, of seeking expedient individual profit.

Alphabetical listing of the states and major cities structure the reference form of *Fanning's Illustrated Gazetteer* and under this rubric, the language of description reveals specific economic absences. These absences appeared within subheadings such as manufacturing, which could be considered as openings or the blank spaces on the map. Possible areas of commercial decline or saturation, potentials of the present situation and projects being planned in relation to what exists are also revealed through the pages of this text. Within state descriptions lie levels of market engagement, wither at a subsistence level within the boundaries or the burgeoning export to those beyond. Word choice is crucial in this document and, as it relates to this thesis is important to how the potentials of space are visualized. An exhaustive state-by-state, or city-by-city breakdown is not productive here but sampling of a few state descriptions illuminate how the text provided a frame from which inform opportunity. Currents of connection and contingency as described in the headings, were predicated by enumerated 'natural' conditions on the ground through which the numerous prospects operated and rendered a descriptive spectrum of land visualization.

Wisconsin for example is described in the following manner "Of the mineral wealth lead, copper and iron are found in considerable abundance, but have not, as yet, been extensively wrought." With respect to the states manufactures, "This state is yet too young in years to have made much progress in manufactures,"⁴⁴ within these few lines vast potentials are outlined. The brief for Iowa under the heading of manufactures claims that with its abundant resources and waterpower "it undoubtedly will not remain long as now almost entirely an agricultural state." The next heading of commerce posits that Iowa, with a host of navigable rivers, "possesses commercial advantages equal to those of any other western state."⁴⁵ Evidence as to the benefit of improvement is offered by such states as Ohio, which "has an extensive system of railroads and canals, communicating with every important point." A condition that directly affects commerce – foreign

⁴³ Ibid. p. 183 -187. The two farmers who emigrated to Illinois, according to Peck, came from Ohio and Tennessee respectively.

⁴⁴ Fanning's p 396.

⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 167.

(with Canada) is “trifling” but interstate trade is “immense.”⁴⁶ Planning efforts are also sketched in some of the state descriptions, as in Kentucky, “several important railroads are projected, which, when completed, will render easily accessible all the important parts of this state.”⁴⁷ The importance of opening up the landscape to investment and markets by rail appears in the brief of Louisiana as, “The public mind, however, has recently been awakened to the subject, and we may confidently predict that this state will ere long be traversed by iron bands connecting New Orleans with important points.”⁴⁸

States already saturated with manufacture or the casualties of competition are also defined, as Massachusetts “appears to already be a heavily manufactured state and bound with ample railroads,”⁴⁹ and in Rhode Island the commerce is small considering its adjacency to other states with larger trade facilities. However “A greater proportion of the people of Rhode Island are employed in manufacturing than in any other state in the Union. The state abounds in excellent water-power, affording sites for manufactories, which are extensively improved.”⁵⁰ The contingencies of a national market are evident in these descriptions on the east coast but connections were also emerging on the west coast. The brief for California contains an absence for manufactures as a subheading, as focus is mainly on the productive resources and commerce due to the gold rush. A subsistence condition of agriculture and metallic wealth is the basis of economy for the state.⁵¹ The Oregon Territory however has benefited from the boom to its south as “since the discovery of gold in California, a great demand has arisen for the agricultural productions and lumber (which can be furnished to an almost unlimited extent) of Oregon and, as a consequence, a commercial trade has sprung up.”⁵² The textual description, with some maps, provided by *Fanning’s* relied on the user to visualize between the lines spaces that were still open and more importantly potentially closed in order locate the place of their settlement or investment efforts.

Goddard’s publication *Where to Emigrate and Why* appeared in a post Civil War context of a national government consolidating federal power over that of the states. Alongside the litany of western states, the text considers the Homestead and other government acts and the means by which to take advantage of them. The publication also speculates the effects of the nearly

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 272-274.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 179

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 197

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 213.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 309.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 61 – 64.

⁵² Ibid. p. 276-277.

completed transcontinental rail line on its adjacent territories and nation. The consideration of the transcontinental railroad exhibits the growing interconnection and interdependence of regions in the country. With the devastation of the war and the early years of reconstruction,⁵³ the book considers the war ravaged south as new territory of settlement. A place “where the pioneer’s privations and hardships may be avoided, where social institutions and advantages are already established, and the surroundings are in keeping with their early habits and experience.”⁵⁴

The frontispiece to Goddard’s text operates as a diptych, showing at first the pioneer, with his children alongside clearing a space for a homestead (fig. 1.16). Beyond the newly arrived settler is a lush river valley yet to be claimed. In the image below a railroad bridge has been slung across the river, a burgeoning town has grown along the bank, a two-story farm house has replaced the pioneer’s covered wagon and his clearing is a field full of wheat. This image is similar to others of the period that showed comparative representations in order to further the case for the opportunities that lie within expansion.

Goddard’s text similarly deploys the language of favor in describing the attributes of the various states and their unique conditions to various settlement approaches. Events such the California Gold Rush, which opened up a newer territory for initial settlement by emigrants from the U.S., or the Civil War that rendered an older, more established region fit for resettlement generated the impetus to migrate and seek opportunities beyond the horizon. The pragmatics and mechanics of settlement as outlined throughout these texts were productively augmented through visualization of the landscape as conceived by the prospect. These publications, while not providing a full and total image, were crucial for considering the place from which to begin. What all these texts provided was not a cohesive, total image of the country at large, even such exhaustive publications of *Fanning’s* or *Where to Emigrate* that cover a wide swath of the country, but operated as a sketch of the terrain with visualization of the landscape still residing within the conceptions of the reader.

⁵³ Reconstruction is a period in U.S. history that spans 1865 – 1877. Many of the federal policies were directed towards the southern states in the aftermath of the Civil War but the effects were across the nation as a whole.

⁵⁴ Goddard, Frederick B.. *Where to Emigrate and Why, Describes the Climate, Soil, Productions, Minerals, and General Resources, Amount of Public Lands, The Quality and Price of Farmlands in nearly all sections of the United States; and Contains a Description of the Pacific Railroad, the Homestead and other Laws, Rates of Wages throughout the Country, etc.etc.* New York: Frederick B. Goddard, Publishers. 1869. p. 331. Goddard sketches the antebellum south in an almost idyllic mode while drawing attention to the “discord” of slavery that was nurtured through its fields. After charting a brief history of slavery, the ravages of the war through this territory are summed up as being a temporary condition for under foot “lay the fertile fields of the South, patiently awaiting their accustomed care,” but there was a lack of labor to facilitate their tending.

1.4 Extending the Prospect Beyond the Land, The Pioneer Profession

“I was utterly unable at first, to arrange the outlines of this immense future in anything like a systematic order.”⁵⁵

Langworthy’s thoughts on seeing California in 1850

“The sight is wearied in gazing at so vast, so varied a picture, and the mind is bewildered and lost in attempting to grasp and comprehend at once so boundless a scene.”⁵⁶

Langworthy’s view of New York in 1852

Reading these lines alongside one another appears to invert the conception of boundaries, both temporal and spatial, as at first Langworthy is incapable of defining the limits, however with the aid of a telescope is able to establish a footing from which to “order” not only space but time as well. The emptiness of the space so laden with prospects at first overwhelms but over the course of his tenure in California, he fills the space through his travel experiences of territorial extent and projected development. His return to the east presents another problem entirely; as the eye is fatigued, incapable of focus and the bounds seem obscured entirely by the contents. Such utterances return to the issue of scale and how the limits are defined. The prospect, by its very definition, is bound up within a subject perception, which presents many difficulties in trying to isolate its representative forms outside this perception and within spatial conception.

Langworthy uses the *prospect* throughout his book in all its definitive guises, from a visual standpoint, a suitability aspect, a temporal projection and a physical action. The prospect operates as a space of delight, intrigue, return and satisfaction. The prospect is not confined to the west, or to materials, as Langworthy deploys the term within the span of fifteen pages to describe views of the Jersey shore, New York from the harbor and the promenade of the Croton Reservoir.⁵⁷ His culmination of the term ends with a view from a train in Illinois. These prospects are all viewed

⁵⁵ Langworthy. p. 143.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 260.

⁵⁷ Langworthy describes the Croton Reservoir as follows: “Of all the structures which I visited in this vast city, none appeared more worthy of attention than the immense reservoir of the Croton water-works. It stands near the Crystal Palace, towards the upper end of the city. The form of the reservoir is square. I do not know its size, but would judge it to be as large as a ten-acre lot. The walls are fifty feet high, constructed of massive blocks of hewn granite. They are twenty or thirty feet in thickness, and laid in cement, rendering them perfectly water-tight. The walls slope down upon the inside like a basin, and when I was there, was about two-thirds full of water. It was an elevated artificial lake, on which a shop of the line might be floated. Flights of stairs led to the top of the wall, which is about twenty feet in width, with a strong iron railing on each side. Here may be seen crowds of people promenading upon the top of the lofty wall, from which we have a very fine prospect of the Crystal Palace, and a large portion of the city and harbor.” Langworthy. p. 263. The reservoir was located on the current site of the New York Public Library and Bryant Park at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue. The structure was erected in 1842 and demolished in 1899.

from constructions, mobile or fixed, and look upon an already settled scene of fluid commercial activity.

“It is now eight o’clock in the morning, and we catch a distant glimpse of the City of New York, with its boundless forests of masts, steeples and towers. All the passengers are now upon the upper deck, gazing with rapture upon the bewildering enchanting prospect around. No description can do justice to the scene. There is a perfect wilderness of beauty.”⁵⁸

Langworthy describes a new territory of seemingly unclaimed opportunity in an urban landscape conflated with nature. This conflation condition is in keeping with the approach to the period and its prospects; for just as many opportunities were contained within this fabricated landscape, as on the frontier, both were open for continual, descriptive discovery. The potentials of wilderness were even found in crowded New York. This scene was not generated by encounter with natural sublimity but that of civilizing power and the outcome of national expansion. A few lines later he remarks on the size and surround of houses along the water, which he claims are owned by “lords of the soil” not “titled nobility.”⁵⁹ The image of a detached house with its outbuildings held sway but productively did not exhibit the working relations of the land to larger systems.⁶⁰

Depictions of self-sufficiency was key to claiming an independence; however Langworthy still seems burdened by the rhetoric of propriety even if he asserts the perception of equal access. His return to an image of the land and an individual’s relation to it speak to the selling of sovereign territory and later recognition of private property by the U.S. Constitution. As the “desire to acquire land, involved all social classes,” but the position of large capital to sweep aside smaller attempts to gain a foothold is a rather simplistic over generalization. However the irony of a yeoman ideal and myth confronting the reality of landscape incorporation cannot be denied in this process.⁶¹

The individual efforts – farms - in relation to the major infrastructural investments for internal improvements – railroads - are both essential for the expanse of westward economy.⁶² The prospect and its varying scales also work through this relation during this period of national expansion. Farmers or prospectors usually worked as wage labor for varying interests until they

⁵⁸ Langworthy, p. 259.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p 259.

⁶⁰ It could be said that the structure of pre Civil War plantations in the U.S. south offered a clear representation of how the social relations were manifest through architecture and landscape. *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* by John Michael Vlach is one source that investigates this condition.

⁶¹ Robbins. p. 65.

⁶² Ibid. p. 64

could save the money for a claim or head to the mines. The individual and the infrastructural worked in tandem for development of the mythic, productive landscape image of the nineteenth century and laid the foundations for the systemic consolidation into the consumptive market during the twentieth.

Building off of Cronon's consideration of the relations presented in the urban and rural construct, the prospect too shifts in relation to pre and post railroad landscape. Contrasting the approach of merchants Cronon illustrates how markets were affected by the emergence of accessible rail. Merchants in the pre-rail condition worked in limited, localized markets whose cycles were linked directly to the seasons. In winter, frozen rivers locked up capital, which required the construction of large storage facilities until such time commodities could be transported. The large spaces for accumulation were coupled with short supplies of cash and an overreliance on credit. With the railroad, a market collection shift occurred as well as a reorientation of potential from the south at St. Louis to that of the east in Chicago. Capital and the subtle shifts of its relation to the land as manifest by such devices as the railroad had dislodged the prospect from a strictly visual frame, as it was embedded within as well as carried upon these elements. The railroad quickened the pace, reduced the need for large, local and expansive fixed spaces of storage, distanced capital from weather and seemed to present ideal conditions due to mitigated obstacles. Diminishing the space and time between origin and destination and the concentration of scale were two effects yet the condition seemed to open up space for those wishing to enter a merchant field with less capital.⁶³ The ability for an individual to enter the merchant field with less money echoes the earlier conception of a small financial outlay in order to gain access to the fruits of the landscape. This represents a distancing from the ground through creation of a trading class, or middleman, that seeks a viable and profitable position within the market.

“If there are monuments to capitalist expansion in the nineteenth century, the great railroad systems that increasingly criss-crossed the land masses of the earth would be the most representative example.”⁶⁴ Rails may be construed as monuments, but the national grid was the framework for this expansion. Both systems were drivers of expansion; however the grid is often overlooked as evidence of, or major contributor in the capitalization of the landscape. The grid is so ubiquitous it is no longer seen. The overlook of the land worked to view its potentials only as they related and

⁶³ Cronon, William. *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1991. p. 325-327.

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 31

could be subsumed into urbanity and the larger market. “For many, if not most Americans, the ‘discovery, cultivation, and capitalization’ of the land meant bringing it into the marketplace and attaching it to the metropolis.”⁶⁵ In order to bring the land into this relation with a metropole, it first had to be allocated, through the survey and visualized by means of the prospect.

Attaching rural land and production to the city was implied to offer access to markets and conceal the growing dependency on them. Access and dependency could be construed as diverging adjacencies: the former as providing a means for the individual to profit and advance with the ability of choosing the extent of their engagement while the latter brought the individual into the constellation of manufactured products marketed as necessary to maintain profitable access to those markets. These early moments of consolidation, as exemplified by the railroad, and interdependency, as expressed by the market, would gain steam into the twentieth century, as the conglomeration, through the diversified corporation, became more of a totalizing presence on the landscape.

As the frontier and the nineteenth century drew to a close the representative and legendary figure of the prospector gained potency. The 1872 publication of Mark Twain’s *Roughing It* recorded his seven-year excursion and failed attempts to find wealth beyond words in the silver mines of Nevada. While the title somewhat exaggerates Twain’s true circumstance out west, his text does present the colorful figure of the prospector as a unique and independent individual. Twain is of course not the first to write about these individuals, as Langworthy also devotes pages of his volume to their habits and perceived vices as well, but what Twain does do is present the legend of the prospector. *The Western United States: A Geographical Reader* of 1904, authored by Harold Wellman Fairbanks, was one of a sequence of educational readers for the classroom and correspondence schools which sought to position the prospector as one the true and physical aspects of westward expansion. In 1900 the “*New Land*” *Series for Prospectors* was a series of texts, edited by geologist Grenville A. J. Cole, which from their production in London, positioned the prospector as crucial player in the promotion of international speculation. Through this spectrum of texts, the prospector emerges from a solitary figure panning a stream in a far-flung mountain range to that of an educated professional equipped to situate himself within an emerging global market place.

The Western United States: A Geographical Reader was intended for use in upper level education courses. In a section entitled “The Life of the Prospector,” Fairbanks placed this character among

⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 54

the contents of other “physical features” of the western U.S. such as, “An Oregon Glacier, The Pony Express and Something About Irrigation.”⁶⁶ Situating this fabled figure among geologic features, modes transcontinental communication and methods of landscape manipulation was an effort to heighten the role of this certain individual in national history. This use of the prospector also furthers his belief that their solitary nature instilled within them a “hospitality” or a certain humanity that has been lost in the progress of society. Fairbanks claimed that farmers and prospectors were positioned in a close proximity to nature and thereby readily experience the benefits of freedom. Contrasting the demise of trappers with the ample room still left in the field of prospecting, the reason for placing this section within the text, Fairbanks asserted that the hard, but ideal, life of the prospector is worth more to the character of an individual than the “work in the town or city.”⁶⁷

“The prospector needs little capital except health and strength, but he must be willing to lead a rough life.”⁶⁸ Privileging an individual’s constitution and stamina alongside a slight monetary outlay is countered later when Fairbanks asserted that most prospectors engage in a partnership with a financial backer in order to provide the requisite provisions.⁶⁹ While the prospector may have relied on a system of external investment, it was the absence of transportation infrastructure, such as a road or even a trail, in order to access their claim and the isolated way of life that conveniently concealed the minor matter of where the money originated to finance this solitude. The work of the prospector went beyond mere mining, for if he failed to strike it rich by physically digging, he would devote his effort to claiming and promoting a series of mines throughout the territory in attempts to sell them to newcomers. Evidence for the concealed wealth of the mine was offered by shifting through tons of pebbles and rocks, taking viable samples for further investigation, or *assaying*, and using the best one to sell the claim. Mark Twain, after failing in his initial efforts at actual prospecting began trading in “feet” in a host of undeveloped mines yet even this attempt brought

⁶⁶ Fairbanks, Harold Wellman. *The Western United States: A Geographical Reader*. Boston, New York and Chicago: D. C. Heath and Company. 1904. The opening paragraph of Fairbank’s text begins: “In the preparation of this book the author has had in mind the needs of the upper grammar grades. The subject matter has not been selected with the object of covering the field of Western geography in a systematic manner, but instead the attempt has been made to picture as graphically as may be some of its more striking and interesting physical features, and the influence which these features have exerted upon its discovery and settlement. Those subjects have been presented which have more than local interest and are illustrative of world-wide principles. Clear conceptions of the earth and man’s relation to it are not gained by general statements as readily as by the comprehensive study of concrete examples.” p. iii.

⁶⁷ Fairbanks. p. 216.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 216.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 220. Such a claim would be called “grub-staked,” An underground organism that derives its nourishment from eating roots is an interesting analogy to an unseen investor that would draw profit from the work of others.

more expense than return.⁷⁰ According to Fairbanks, discovery and subsequent working of the mines may not have carried as much weight for generating momentum as that of the “lost mine.” This occurred when a prospector made a profitable discovery yet was unable to relocate the claim and as a result it “grows in importance in people’s minds as the story of its riches spreads from one to another.”⁷¹ Such rumors of the hidden, or more importantly lost riches, in spite of the perceived hordes looking and digging proved to be one of the impetuses for promoting the continuing migration of people to the mining territory, even in educational literature of the early twentieth century, when the frontier was considered closed.

Beyond texts directed to the schoolbook market in the U.S., a series with international scope and possibly under the auspices of the British imperial project appeared in the early twentieth century. The “*New Land*” *Series for Prospectors* was a series of texts, edited by geologist Grenville A. J. Cole that covered land settlement, mining, food and building construction. The book series opens with the title text *New Lands: Their Resources and Prospective Advantages* written by Hugh Robert Mill. Mill stated in the preface the “desire of the author to present a short, simple, and practical account of the conditions of life in those parts of the world where there is still an opening for the energies of English-speaking people desiring to make their home or invest their capital in a new country.”⁷² Following the preface, the table of contents lists chapters that begin with the distinction and development of new lands from old and the scope of surveys from climate to patriotism. After such explication, regions of the globe, from Canada, the U.S., Latin America, portions of Africa and Asia are outlined. Each chapter, itself offers an outline of the prospects, this term is used in multiple guises throughout the text and as the title clearly states the explicit intent of bundling material resources to privilege a future position.

More crucial to the conception of the prospector is its seemingly synonymic use in this text to that of the more generic term pioneer, as Mill states: “If one profession more than another will fit a man to be a good pioneer in a new country, it is that of an engineer – mining, mechanical, or civil.”⁷³ The professionalization of mining and by extension that of the prospector and the pioneer

⁷⁰ Twain, Mark. *Roughing It*. Edited by Harriet Elinor Smith and Edgar Marquess Branch. Mark Twain Project of the Bancroft Library. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1995. p. 189 – 200.

⁷¹ Fairbanks. p. 220.

⁷² Mill, Hugh Robert. *New Lands: Their Resources and Prospective Advantages*. Introductory volume to *Griffin’s “New Land” Series* Edited by Grenville A. J. Cole. London: Charles Griffin and Company. 1900. p. v.

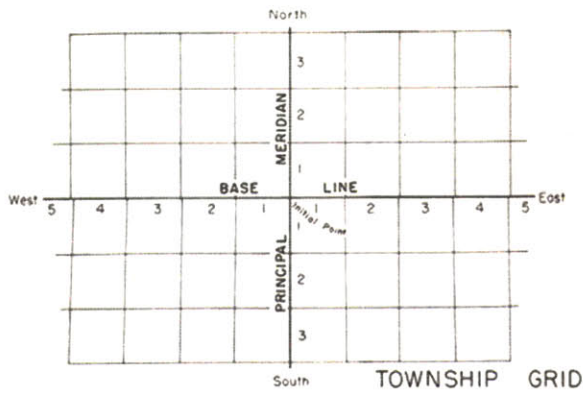
⁷³ Mill, Hugh Robert. *New Lands: Their Resources and Prospective Advantages*. Introductory volume to *Griffin’s “New Land” Series* Edited by Grenville A. J. Cole. London: Charles Griffin and Company. 1900. p. 4.

exhibits the displacement from this subjects relationship to the land. This is further indication of the shift from the productive definition of the multiple prospects contained within the landscape to that of the abstract application of the term. The conflation of the distinct strata of initial pioneers and settlers with the second wave of professionals, as exhibited by Hastings, Langworthy and others, places a certain expectation of how to equip oneself to envision the landscape and in turn productively describe it. Education through a text supplanted the experience from the field. The prospector as a mythic figure autobiographically situated within the pages of Twain, still resonated through the schoolbooks of Fairbanks and took on an international currency through the *New Land* series but through this distinct subject shift in relation to the land the larger characterization change of capital becomes more pronounced.

The progression from overland guide books, purchased in the service of mitigating the risks of a trip and alongside the other crucial components of travel - such as horses and hardtack - to manuals of a more technical and professional nature exhibit the increasing specializing and professionalizing of how to look at the landscape. The ability of the individual to describe the territory and visualize the potentials within had been displaced with the overlaying strata of institutions, technologies, and capitalism. The pioneer had been professionalized and instead of attuning his efforts towards working the landscape his attention was directed to locating a position within a market system. The pioneer was no longer that figure who struck out into terrestrial space but advanced a discipline or a technological innovation.



1.1
View from Monticello Looking Toward Charlottesville
Jane Pitford Braddick Petcolas,
1827

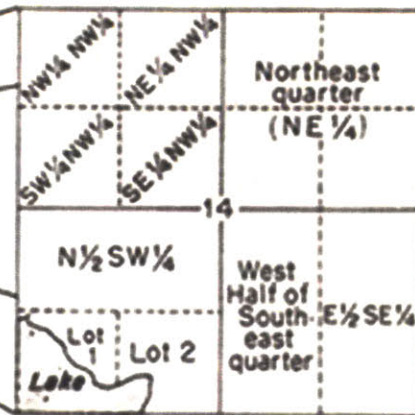


1.2
Grid established by the Land Ordinance of 1785
Township system, each township was comprised of
thirty-six sections of one-mile square with each section
enclosing 640 acres more or less.

TOWNSHIP 2 SOUTH, RANGE 3 WEST

6	5	4	3	2	1
7	8	9	10	11	12
18	17	16	15	Section 14	13
19	20	21	22	23	24
30	29	28	27	26	25
31	32	33	34	35	36

SECTION 14

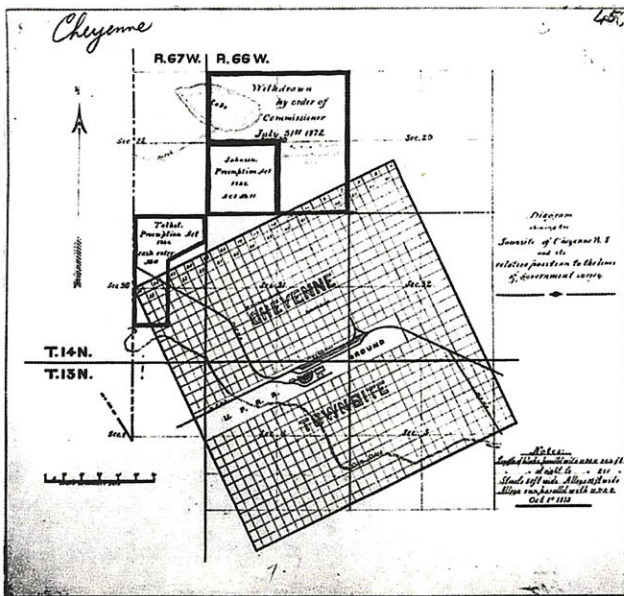




1.3
Fielding Lewis's Map of the United States
1823



1.4
Reynolds's Political Map of the United States
1854



1.5
Map of Cheyenne 1873
Showing the city as staked 1867 in relation to the land survey.
Reproduced from:
Reps, John W. *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West Before 1890*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1981.



1.6
Bulkeley Plan for Superhighways
1938



1.7
Nebraska homesteaders in 1887, such images densely populate the rural histories and myths of the United States and further deepen claims of individual “independence” while conditions on the ground moved to the opposite extreme of agribusiness dependency.



1.8
Panning Gold along Cripple Creek, Colorado. Not unlike the sodbuster, the prospector was mythologized as an independent figure of westward expansion but he was also becoming dependent upon the emerging market.



1.9
The Oxbow, View from Mount Holyoke
Thomas Cole
1836



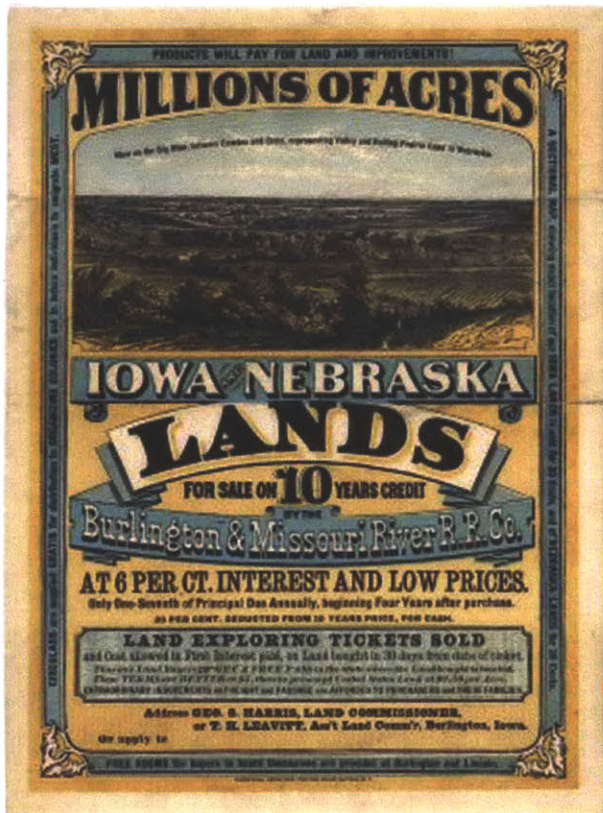
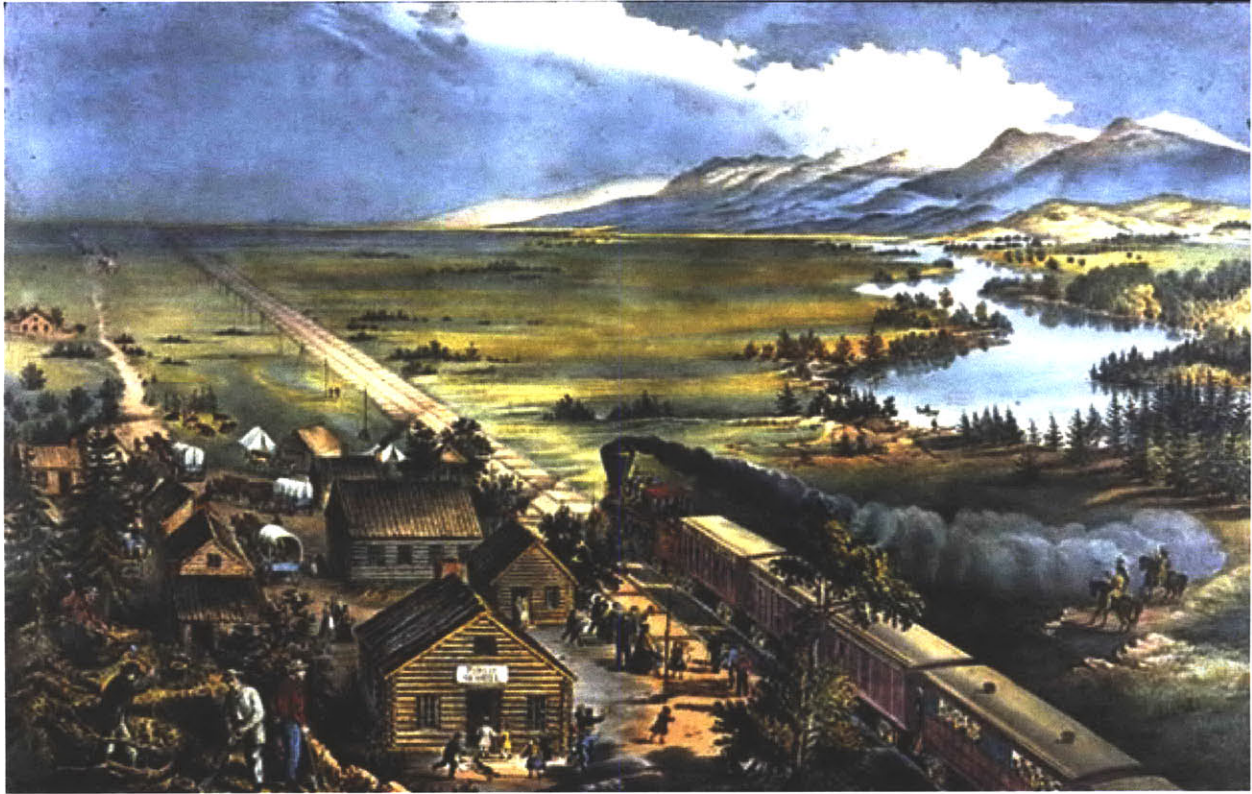
1.10
The Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah
Claude Lorrain
1648



1.11
Cotopoxi
Frederic Edwin Church
1862



1.12
Palisades
John W. Hill
after 1821



1.13
Across the Continent: "Westward the Course of Empire Takes it Way"
 Fanny Palmer
 1868
 Lithograph distributed by Currier and Ives

Land Advertisement
 Burlington & Missouri River Railroad
 1850's

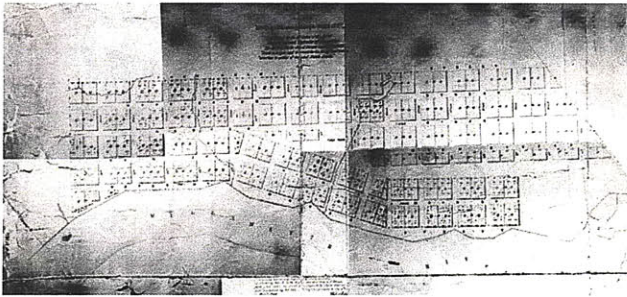


1.14

California Crossing, South Platte River

Thomas Gilcrease

1867



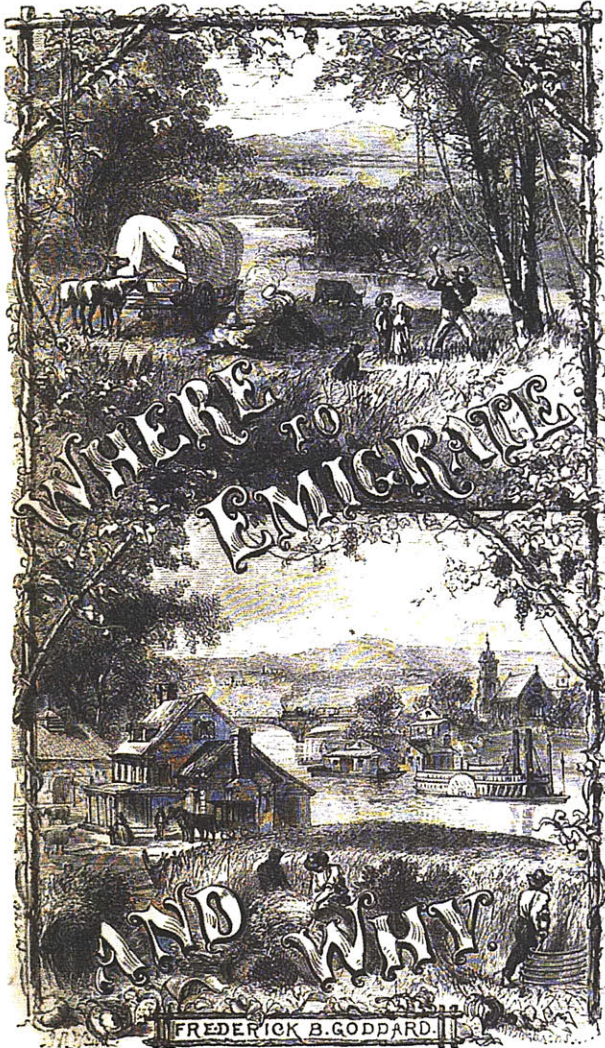
1.15

Oregon City, Oregon as it appeared in 1849

Surveyed by Lansford Hastings in 1843

Reproduced from:

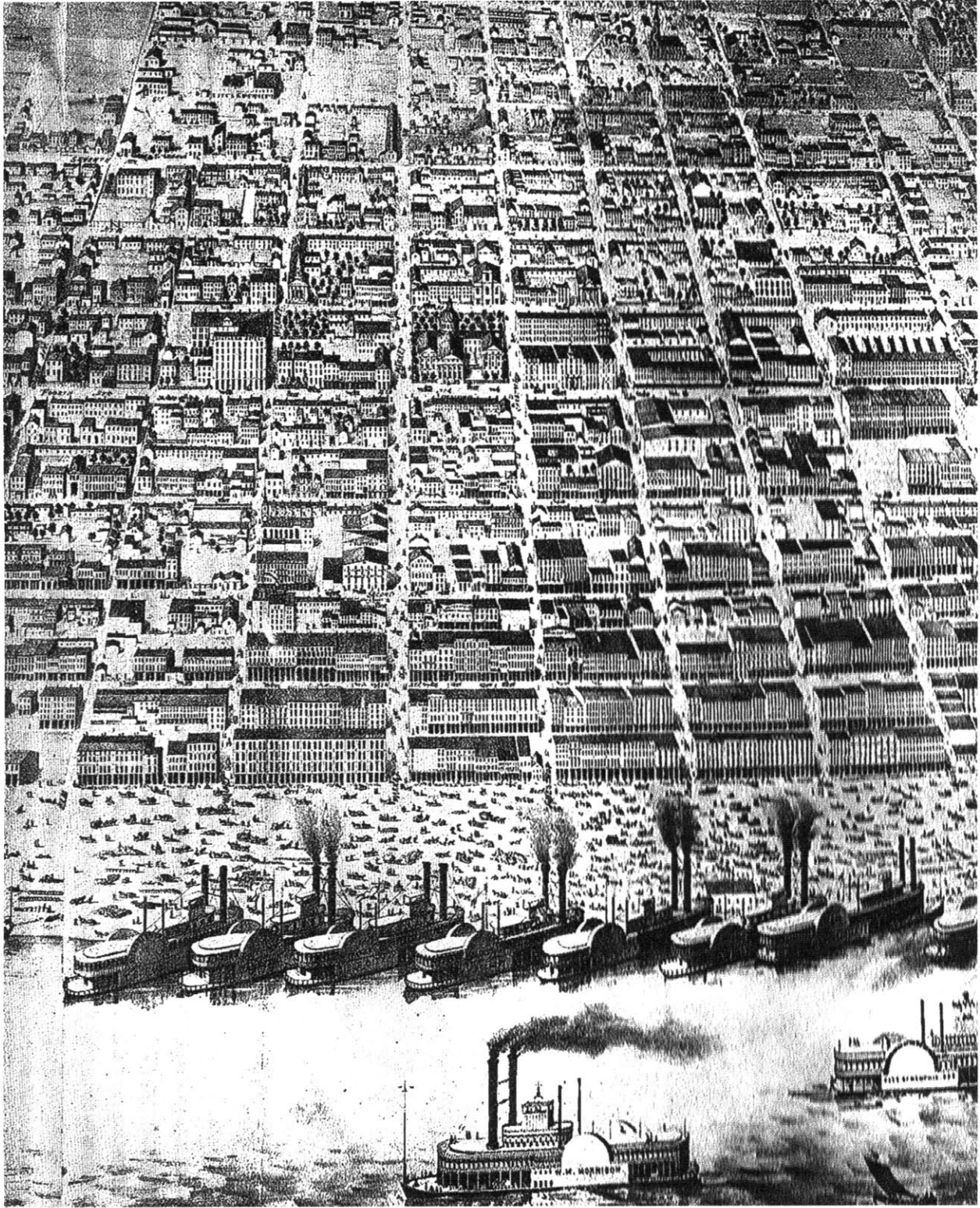
Reps, John W. *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the American West Before 1890*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1981.



1.16

Frontispiece to *Where to Emigrate and Why*

Goddard, Frederick B. *Where to Emigrate and Why, Describes the Climate, Soil, Productions, Minerals, and General Resources, Amount of Public Lands, The Quality and Price of Farmlands in nearly all sections of the United States; and Contains a Description of the Pacific Railroad, the Homestead and other Laws, Rates of Wages throughout the Country, etc.etc.* New York: Frederick B. Goddard, Publishers. 1869.



Part II
Rendering the Landscape for “the Future”

2.1 The Sanction of a “Stunt”

“And what ya do is build a big, fucking thing. I don’t care what it is, as long as it’s big and it’s a fucking thing! And then the economy will explode because people will say...I gatta see the big fucking thing! And then there’ll be a big fucking thing restaurant, and a big fucking thing hotel and casino... a big fucking thing spa!”¹

Lewis Black, comedian

On the surface, Lewis Black’s observation on how to stimulate the economy may appear only to amuse but beyond the satyr is a rather concise portrayal of how this effort is undertaken. His accurate perception implicates architecture in the service of tourism, exposes consumption through vision and recalls the ever-present promise of modernity for greater recreation space and leisure time. The practice of towns, cities and states pinning their hopes on an object or event, be it an Arch, a World’s Fair or whatever is a common approach in the attempts to generate an economic recovery. These efforts are often a gamble, or a “stunt” as in 1944 NPS Superintendent for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, Julian C. Spotts dubbed memorials “hardly more than stunts,” but over time they come to occupy a significant part in the national landscape.² Black calls attention to the perceived principle of financial attraction by placing a big, “fucking” thing in the landscape and the 630-foot tall Gateway Arch on the vast plains of the Midwest could qualify as an example. Not only by its sheer size but also through the circumstances of its creation.

On October 10, 1939 St. Louis Mayor Bernard Dickmann pried three bricks from a load bearing masonry wall of a warehouse at number 7 Market Street (fig 2.1). This structure located along the aging riverfront of the former frontier city was the ceremonial first shot in what would become a seemingly endless, decades long battle against urban decay in this Midwestern city. The first brick was retained by the city for a museum; the second was sent to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the third was offered to an ordinary everyman in the assembled crowd.³ In the coming years, especially after the cessation of global hostilities in 1945, this scene would play out in cities across the United States. Desires to keep war-time industry at capacity production by retrofitting to a peace time consumption economy, returning soldiers positioning themselves within the fields of the sprawling and distributive potentials of the “American Dream” – a phrase coined in 1931 - and government incentives for home-ownership placed cities in the paradoxical position of

¹ Comedian Lewis Black espoused this observation during his Broadway Show in around 2002.

² Memorandum to the National Park Service Director dated February 9, 1945. JNEM Archives, Box 30, Folder 12.

³ Brown, Sharon Alice. *Making a Memorial: Developing the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial National Historic Site, 1933-1980*. Ph.D Dissertation, Saint Louis University. 1984, p. 95-96.

being centers for capital accumulation while steadily becoming spaces of diminishing residencies and associated revenue. Efforts to mitigate the migration to newer settlements outside the taxable city limits and improve the image and perceived livability of city centers were positioned under the meta-narrative of modernist urban renewal and the rubric of speculative development.

The demolition begun by Mayor Dickmann – former head of the local real estate exchange⁴ - was a culmination of the initial stage of work on the memorial project instigated by St. Louis lawyer Luther Ely Smith. As Smith gazed from the train window on a return trip to St. Louis from the new George Rogers Clark Monument in Vincennes, Indiana, he looked upon the riverfront and its “wealth of history.” This wealth lay buried under the evident commercial decline and informed his vision to “restore the district” so absent of productive space through a national monument.⁵ Such constructs of legend, as to how, when, by whom and to what end, grand schemes emerge are interesting narratives in and of themselves and Smith’s desire to restore the district could be taken in any number of guises. However, given the proximity to capital concerns, both literal and metaphorical, in his recounting, the recovery of commercial primacy as the intent of the project is clearly evident.

Over the next half decade from Smith’s initial vision to Dickmann’s preliminary prying, a series of national and local events worked, sometimes in opposition, to clear the way for obtaining and opening the site. In March 1934 a joint resolution in Congress authorized the creation of a Federal Memorial Commission to construct a permanent memorial in St. Louis. President Roosevelt signed it into law on June 15, 1934 under the heading of the United States Territorial Expansion Memorial Commission.⁶ Alongside these national efforts, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association, a civic organization obtained a state charter and non-profit status in April 1934.⁷ Louis La Beaume wrote a competition program in anticipation of an expedient response to these policy efforts in January 1935; most of this program would be used twelve years later in the competition won by Saarinen.⁸

On August 21, 1935 Roosevelt signed the Historic Sites Act. This policy opened up the country to the visions of various groups, civic and private, hoping to lay claim to numerous sites of historic significance. This national policy would be augmented at the local level in St Louis as the

⁴ Peterson, Merrill D. *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. p 423.

⁵ Brown. p. 1.

⁶ Ibid. p. 5-6 H.J. Res. 302 and S.J. Res. 93.

⁷ Ibid. p. 2

⁸ Brown, p. 7.

President signed Executive order 7253 ordering the Secretary of the Interior to obtain the site of the Jefferson Memorial on December 21, 1935.⁹ Policy initiatives and architectural programs were one thing but funding was another matter, as the project failed to receive funding through the WPA. However, on April 15, 1935 Missouri Governor Guy B. Park signed into law the ability to issue bonds to aid the federal project. Touting the economic effects of the memorial, a public relations campaign to support a “yes” vote for the bond issue was supported by the Chamber of Commerce, however the Taxpayers Defense Association was against it.¹⁰ On Election Day, September 10, 1935, the bond issue passed but questions about fraud loomed over the results.¹¹ With a bit of financing in place, processes of purchasing lands, or condemning, for the sake of the memorial could begin; along with the court battles contesting legitimacy of the government’s actions.¹²

Thomas Jefferson’s interest and practice of architecture over the course of his life nourished ideas of a museum to U.S. architecture.¹³ As a part of the competition for his memorial, suggestions for such a museum appeared in a November 1936 Journal of the AIA. Up until 1939, the selected site held an in situ repository of buildings from the “cast-iron age” in the U.S. Most of the St Louis structures built in this fashion were erected during a two decade construction boom between the fire of 1849 and the close of the Civil War (fig 2.2). Steamboat travel was the main means of transport during this period but this mode was to be eclipsed by the expanding national rail network; a network that would seem to bypass St. Louis in 1874 with completion of the Eads bridge across the Mississippi. This bridge, along with the transcontinental rail line connected just five years prior, would elevate the status of Chicago as the prime city of the Midwest. The skeletal residue left from this commercial bonanza quickly became a reminder of this loss, as opposed to the advance of a

⁹ Ibid. p. 25 - 26.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 9.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 14-17. The story of the fraud broke in a story by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on September 8, 1936, Brown p 46. “Down on the riverfront reaction to the fraud expose was one of joy, the Post-Dispatch reported. Business was more brisk than ever in the area, with many businesses making improvements in buildings and equipment. New companies had moved into the area and remodeled buildings for use. ‘No stone has been turned for the memorial,’ despite the fact that a year before campaigners for the project predicted dirt would fly within ten days.” Brown 48 – 49.

¹² Ibid. p. 37 An injunction by 36 property owners in the affected area was filed in U.S. District Court in Washington D.C. under August Balter et al. v. Harold L. Iokes et al. Iokes was the Secretary of the Interior charged with obtaining the land. Brown. 41. Property owners who supported the project were opposed to any more stays of mandate as “every delay meant more monetary losses through lack of rents and property decay.” Brown p 61. “Previously, the Park Service placed all land in park projects un condemnation proceedings in a policy which did not interfere with the private sale of property. In August 1938, however, the Park Service wanted to acquire a determination of the property’s value. To obtain a ‘yardstick’ measure the Park Service first proceeded with a typical block to establish a standard of value. It would then acquire land by condemnation.” Brown p. 71 – 72.

¹³ The works of Palladio heavily influenced Jefferson, and his projects included his plantation Monticello, the University of Virginia and the Virginia State House, collaboration with the French architect Charles-Louis Clérseau.

distinct form of U.S. architecture. Before the wholesale demolition of this some forty square blocks of urban fabric, it was hoped to save some of the best specimens for the architecture museum; to that end, a precise mapping, dating and photographing of the buildings was undertaken.¹⁴

The Historic Sites Act of 1935 declared the series blocks as an historic site; the first in the nation, this status was established before the removal of the urban fabric (fig. 2.3). This act, which sought obtain and retain sites for national posterity and in the process possibly return them to a past image cohering with a history that may or may not have existed, also sanctioned the erection of the memorial to Thomas Jefferson. Preservation, the main tenant of the policy, was overlooked in the service of a brutal and totalizing erasure of the site in order to stimulate the local economy by providing employment and to justify the erection of a large monument worthy of symbolizing the abstract notion of expansion. The position of the site in St. Louis within a larger, emerging urban renewal strategy also complicated the monument and readily validated the eradication of this neighborhood.

The case of riverfront St. Louis is unique in that as an effort to reverse the economic decline of the surrounding downtown; a perceived obsolete and derelict portion of the city – ironically the oldest settled area – was razed to constitute a memorial to Thomas Jefferson and the city’s role in frontier settlement; of which that decaying neighborhood was an integral part in facilitating. The official status conferred by the government set the stage for the reconstitution of a mythic national history by removing the existing reality in order to produce a cohesive vision of that history. As the site for a future presidential memorial and state expansionist efforts, it needed to be cleansed and dislocated from past constraints and connotations of how the frontier was settled in practice and not perception. What was crucial to the monument project was the recovery of the visualization capacities of the frontier and not its multifarious and problematic history. Preservation gave way to memorialization and in order to recall history the past had to be removed.

¹⁴Giedion, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1967. 200-204. More interesting than Giedion’s critique of the U.S. approach to architecture is an observation from his footnotes in which he states, “All of them could be fitted out as they were when the riverfront was at its peak – complete with Pony Express office, stock in the warehouses, and the typical stuffed animals under glass domes that stood in the windows of the old fur-trading establishments.” He situates this conception within the larger plan of tearing a majority of the district down and reconstituting the best examples on a single or set of designated city blocks.

2.2 The Recuperation of a Clear Space for Vision.

The legal clarity of obtaining the site in order to physically clear it speaks to the accumulated stratification of systems, inhabitants, titles, policies and jurisdictions that had been built up across the landscape since the time of the frontier. All these obstacles stood in the way of not only claiming and clearing the occupied site but also blocked visions of how a new memorial could take shape. The desire to have an open and empty parcel of land in order to facilitate economic growth and expedite construction was not new to U.S. urban settlement and development strategies. Alexis de Tocqueville, upon his visit to Washington D.C. in 1831 remarks on the practice of removing all the trees in the District to ensure they would not be a hindrance to the building plans of potential inhabitants.¹⁵

A few years later while delivering a lecture entitled “The Young American” in 1844, Ralph Waldo Emerson extolled the “prospective look” of the U.S. Declaring: “America is the country of the Future. From Washington, its capital city, proverbially ‘the city of magnificent distances,’ through all its cities, states, states and territories, it is a country of beginnings, of projects, of vast designs and expectations. It has no past: all has an onward and prospective look. And herein is it fitted to receive more readily every generous feature which the wisdom or the fortune of man has yet to impress.”¹⁶ Emerson, although just as critical of commerce as Jefferson, focuses his attention to the burgeoning federal capitol on the Potomac through the political demarcations and larger projects occurring throughout the nation, as the country motioned west. Having no perceived history, Emerson takes the “all” in a seemingly singular fashion of landscape, all its elements, inhabitants, buildings, emerging infrastructure and growing markets, embodying a view towards approaching expectations.

The anticipation of certain advance was still present almost four decades later when British traveler James Bryce attended the cornerstone ceremony for the new Capitol building of the Dakota Territory in Bismarck (fig. 2.4). Bryce commented on the location of the structure, it being a mile

¹⁵ De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America and Two Essays on America*. Translated by Gerald E. Bevan. London and New York: Penguin Books, 2003. p. 542. “The Americans have marked out the boundaries of a huge city on the place where they wished to make their capital and even today it has a smaller population than Pontoise. According to them it is to contain one day a million inhabitants. They have already uprooted trees for ten miles around lest they should inconvenience future citizens of this imaginary metropolis. In the center of the city, they have erected a magnificent palace to serve as a seat for the Congress and given it the name of the Capitol.” From this early process, clearing has been a part of Washington D.C. urban history, as removal for the National Mall and the refashioning of Pennsylvania Avenue in the 1960’s are also done in the service of national image.

¹⁶ Emerson, Ralph Waldo. “The Young American” in *The Dial: A Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion*. Volume IV. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1844. p. 484-506. p. 492.

distant from the prairie settlement, to which the civic leaders responded by declaring that shortly the Capitol will be in the center of “the metropolitan hearth of the world’s civilization.”¹⁷ The belief that anywhere within the space of the frontier could rapidly become a center of urbanity was prevalent illusion for any young town. Settlements would vie for prestige and population attraction by gaining status as a territorial capital or even the seat of the county court. It would seem that all cities had a chance, not unlike the equal opportunities presented by the squared parcels of the national survey.

The predication of having a physically open, or clear, space from which to conceive visions for urban growth were not confined to the nascent communities of the frontier but came to bear on the established cities of the twentieth century as well. In order to realize or even conceive of the possibilities of a site, it had to recover this perceived original state or be in the process of doing so. These physical and conceptual clearings were undertaken to make room for the future. Over the course of the 1930’s, a host of ideas for the soon to be clear site dedicated to Thomas Jefferson were coming into view. One such plan was the Howard Plan of 1933, which proposed a hydroelectric dam integrated with a railroad and expressway. The dam would tie into the emerging national electric network begun in full force during the interwar period. This system moved along the lines of the initial land survey and gradually brought the rural territory into a more consumptive relation to the urban markets. At the local level, the dam would stabilize and regulate river levels, in order to open up the site dedicated to Jefferson for development, yet again citing the need to remediate urban decay.¹⁸ On the more fundamental level of infrastructure and national network consolidation, the conflation of a dam, rail line, highway and power plant into a single construction speaks to the overlay of various systems that occurred through the history of westward expansion.

Another proposal called for the site to be utilized as “A Permanent World’s Fair, one use which will satisfy all ideas, historic, aesthetic, inspirational and practical, as to the highest and best use to which this eighty acre tract might be put.”¹⁹ Seemingly counter to this perpetual exhibition

¹⁷ “However, the feature of the ceremonial which struck us Europeans most was the spot chosen for the Capitol. It was not in the city, nor even on the skirts of the city; it was nearly a mile off, on the top of a hill in the brown and dusty prairie. ‘Why here?’ we asked. ‘Is it because you mean to enclose the building in a public park?’ ‘By no means; the Capitol is intended to be in the centre of the city; it is in this direction that the city is intended to grow.’ It is the same everywhere from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Men seem to live in the future rather than in the present: not that they fail to work while it is called to-day, but they see the country not merely as it is, but as it will be, twenty, fifty, a hundred years hence, when the seedlings shall have grown to forest trees.” Bryce, James. *The American Commonwealth*. New York and London: Macmillan and Company. 1895. p. 835 - 837.

¹⁸ Statement by “The Association of Citizens for River-Front Development.” JNEM Archives, Box 30, Folder 11.

¹⁹ Letter by McCune Gill, Vice President Title Insurance Corporation of St. Louis. JNEM Archives, Box 30, Folder 12.

strategy was an idea for the establishment of a school on the site, the trope of pioneers equipping themselves for the journey of the frontier, juxtaposed with the education of youth for the “spirit of our modern times.” The school was to function as an institution of “American history and development” in political, economic and cultural aspects. Boasting a library and a facility for town hall meetings, the school would select for admittance a group of students wishing to do public service or become elected officials while holding a series of night classes for the “average citizen.”²⁰

With a vast urban site, JNEM was not all that different from other projects in planning big. Ideas for infrastructure, exhibition and instruction would have either rendered the site fit for development, served as a showcase for global exchange or a space from which to indoctrinate coming generations of leaders. These functions, while having a displaced relation to commercial activity, were an attempt to reconcile with the tenuous obligation the site – future memorial – would have to the city in which it was embedded, the figure after whom it was called and the period it conjured. Such circumstances of uncertain function posed heady programmatic difficulties and, more urgently, raised questions as to the physical form for the memorial.

One challenge to the aesthetics was the very vagueness of the historical borders to be commemorated. In a statement dated November 27, 1944, Superintendent Julian C. Spotts believed that if the area to be commemorated were confined to the Louisiana Purchase, than the Old Court House would suffice as a memorial (fig. 2.5 and 2.6). However, with the acquisition of eighty acres, “through which passed possibly more history than any other one point in the United States,”²¹ a problem of monumental scale and historic delineation arose. A stand-alone structure seemed to suffice as monument to a singular moment of international exchange but with the circumstance of having a tract of newly cleared real estate in Park Service possession, the limits of what to commemorate expanded beyond this one transaction. The walls of the courthouse afforded the ease of a perceived one-to-one relation with the limits of the Purchase. Or said another way; a building to land parcel affiliation. It appears that the circumstance of having just acquired and subsequently cleared a vast tract of urban territory informed the parameters of historic commemoration more than having a vision as to what the frontier or western expansion was in relation to the city spawned by that history.

Alongside this was the concern of the intangible aspects of the memorial and the dependence on interpretation, as many of the urban artifacts – buildings - were no longer extant.

²⁰ JNEM Archives, Box 30, Folder 12.

²¹ JNEM Archives, Box 30, Folder 12.

Spotts' concerns about the empty site in St. Louis were compounded by the complicated settlement process that occurred across a vast territory as orchestrated through a nascent capitalism. This process was predicated on ephemerality - boomtowns - in its initial stages and erasure - urban renewal - in the latter phases. In addition to this was the synchronic condition of diverse circulation modalities and scales of effort, from individual, collective to corporate. This condition lent the site to be viewed as prime location for a "living memorial," a popular response to commemoration at that time. Such currents of opinion were not lost on the JNEM competition framers.

Correspondence in late 1944 between Superintendent Spotts, and Louis Sartor, Assistant Superintendent begin to sketch an outline of how the memorial was to take shape. Sartor, in a list of personal, itemized ideas envisions a central building, with "a very high and large tower for viewing the city and the surrounding country." Such a building was to draw crowds of locals and visitors alike and recalling the AIA brief of 1936, would house an exhibit of "American Architecture."²² In a memorandum for the NPS Director dated February 9, 1945 Spotts prefaced his enclosed idea by calling memorials "hardly more than stunts" but if such gambles are profitable over time they "become landmarks which ripen into traditions." Spotts, claiming his proposal was also no more than a stunt, sketched the idea of an Arch spanning 1200 feet and rising to a height of 240 feet, buttressed by a structure at each end. Acting as a large corridor with views to the outside interspersed with pictorial representations, such as maps, murals, dioramas and exhibitions, which culminates in "semi-circular projections at the crown to permit views in all directions." The path of the Arch would be free to the public but for "an appropriate charge" a guided tour could be made available.²³

The stunt of a memorial seemed to fall in line with the tenacious speculations and gambles of the legendary explorers and pioneers. The space of the west conjured visions of grander but also elicited attempts to refashion society. Aspirations to form, out of the wilderness, a new societal order took the shape of communal efforts that have been attempted since the colonization of North America. The drive towards utopia, striking a balance between agriculture and industry can be found from the Harmonists and Shakers to the Amana Colonies; all sought to achieve a model way of life. Such communal attempts are in part response to the march of the industrial revolution and

²² JNEM Archives, Box 30, Folder 12.

²³ JNEM Archives, Box 30, Folder 12.

in the U.S. context were part of a larger condition of westward expansion.²⁴ The scale of these earlier communities is distinctly different and more intimate than the later, seemingly more totalized visions as espoused by corporations such as General Motors. Saving souls, breaking fields and experimenting with industry were one thing, refashioning the entirety of the country in order to market one mode of transport, and its necessary dependencies, was another matter entirely. Images of progress, modernizing and development orchestrated in the interwar years, including Frank Lloyd Wright's "Broadacre City" of 1932,²⁵ culminated in 1939 with the opening of the New York World's Fair themed "The World of Tomorrow."

2.3 "The Future" or The Imposition of the Aesthetic Destination.

The full title to the fair was "Building the World of Tomorrow with the Tools of Today." Such a title implies a certain relationship to extent implements of the day to construct the future, not a series of innovations specific to a future. Everything was already extent in the present in order to build the future, a condition not altogether different from that of the nineteenth century. However, in this instance the future was presented as a final and totalized representation that had to be marketed in order to fuel the desire for those innovations and its ultimate realization. Utilizing the implements of the current day to craft the hereafter is not antithetical to either westward expansion or the twentieth century, but what is divergent is how those tools were positioned in relation to representations of tomorrow. In the nineteenth century U.S., the devices were a part of a process in which the past was used as a benchmark to measure advance whereas images from the "modern" future conceal the tools of their making. The "tools of today" were in the hands of professionals and scientists whose outcomes were concealed and literally cool to the touch; operating a steam engine was vastly different than opening an electric refrigerator.

The focal points of this fair were the two large projective vision dioramas of "Democracity" and "Futurama," both envisioned and publicized a new landscape of modernity. "Democracity" was

²⁴ Hayden, Dolores. *Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism, 1790-1975*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. 1976. Discusses at length, through specific examples of Communal living in the U.S. from the late seventeenth century up to and into the twentieth. The Harmony Society emerged in Germany and emigrated to the U.S. in 1803 and established a community in Pennsylvania. The Shakers (United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing) organized in England in late eighteenth century and also moved to the U.S. in order to establish a series of communities in New England and New York. The Amana Colonies, (Community of True Inspiration) was a German sect that founded a series of seven villages in Iowa that operated from 1854 – 1932. As communism and socialism emerged in the nineteenth century as ideological forces and eventually gained political credence, such older communal bodies came under closer scrutiny in the U.S.

²⁵ Wright, Frank Lloyd. *The Disappearing City*. New York: W. F. Payson. 1932.

designed by Henry Dreyfuss²⁶ - a student of Norman Bel Geddes²⁷ - and presented a distant future from a privileged vantage point at a singular, but distant scale (fig. 2.7). “Futurama,” designed by Bel Geddes himself; however projected a future to be achieved within a generation (fig. 2.8). Sponsored by GM, “Futurama” claimed to show the world of 1960, a tangible landscape of superhighways and access for all to mass consumption. Both “Democracy” and “Futurama” used a centralized diorama, which visitors looked down upon from a peripheral position, although the “Futurama” placed visitors in moving chairs, or “carry-go-round,” and transported them over the landscape with varying scalar relations to the view (fig. 2.9).

Operating within another infrastructure of lines, that of a multilane, divided highway system, which opened up the landscape to various, but regulated speeds of travel, the “Futurama” presented a space fully accessible by car, either physically or visually. However to fully comprehend this new territory, it was necessary to view it from above, as if from a plane, another means of transit becoming more readily offered to the masses. Such a position of the viewer implies that the capacity for landscape visualization itself lies within a mode of transport and through a sheet of glass (fig. 2.10).

Presenting an historic continuity to the frontier and westward expansion GM asserts, “The history of American roads is the history of civilization as it marched westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific – roadways forging ever onward through mountain, desert and forest barriers, leaving in their wake thriving cities, industrial centers and prosperous farms.”²⁸ Deploying tropes of the natural divide and surmounting progress echo representations of westward expansion, including Turner, whose autonomous treatment of trade has resonance in the sovereign approach to roads. The primacy of roads in the settlement of the U.S. is proclaimed in order to validate the next point of the display. With a map showing current (1939), to projected traffic volume, GM asserted the need to improve and expand road construction in policy and practice based upon the requirements of the car, and of course their bottom line.

²⁶ Henry Dreyfus, (1904 – 1972) an industrial designer responsible for aesthetizing many of the appliances of the 1930’s and 1940’s; products included Bell desktop phone, Hoover “150” vacuum cleaners, New York Central Railroad Mercury locomotives and passenger cars, John Deere Model A and B tractors and the Honeywell circular thermostat. He and his wife, Doris Marks committed suicide by carbon monoxide poisoning in 1972.

²⁷ Norman Bel Geddes, (1893 – 1958) a theatrical and industrial designer that begin by designing restaurant interiors and gained notoriety in 1924 for changing the entirety of the Century Theater into a contrived Gothic Theater for a play called *The Miracle*. In 1929 he designed a three-tiered aerial restaurant for the 1933 Chicago World’s Fair “A Century of Progress.” Each tier would revolve at different speeds and afford a panoramic view of the Fair and city. Some of his products included Frigidare refrigerators, Electrolux vacuum cleaners, Coca Cola vending machines and strategies for advertising.

²⁸ *Futurama*. General Motors Corporation. 1940. p. 3

Posing the hypothetical that should road improvement remain “at a standstill,” the map projected the congestion and blockage that would occur.²⁹ If these shadows casting over the future remained unchanged, it may be a period of halted progress, but such a vision could be prevented should the visitors press local, state and federal officials of the need to advance the highway agenda. For a brief moment as you entered the “Futurama” the power of a vision, was not in its positive realization of progress but was presented as something to guard against. Illusion to the darkness and confinement of crowded roads and stalled national progress was offered just before entry into GM’s proactive projection to ensure avoidance of this clogged potential.

A certain distancing of the individual’s place within the future was implied, as their only ability to realize this imposed and projected vision was through government policy and corporate innovation not to mention presenting and reifying their position as spectator and consumer. The future looked bright, efficient and within reach, still existing as something beyond and towards which to move. However, this is a condition far more complex than simply stating, that as corporate prospects widened, individual’s narrowed. What was critical to maintain, for both parties, was the perception that both expanded and were dependant on each other and to retain the conception of individual ownership of that future even if they did not generate the vision.

“‘See America First’ has taken on a new meaning and importance. The thrilling scenic features of a great and beautiful country may now be explored, even on limited vacation schedules.”³⁰ The ease by which the country could be traversed was couched within a tourist agenda but such claims also opened up considerations of a distributed population - not unlike the Jeffersonian vision - settled within, not an abstract land survey but a more concrete system of transport (fig. 2.11). The aerial windows of the “Futurama” were already being translated into the curvilinear, unobstructed apertures of the automobile.³¹ As the enclosures of cars conceptually and physically contracted to reveal of the traversed landscape, it can be said that the car become a mobile position of the *prospect* in all guises of the term. The car, similar to a land claim, was marketed as a means to achieve independence. The inherent contradiction to this ideal was more overt in the automobile. However, the view from the single-family car, not unlike an ancestral homestead, no

²⁹ Ibid. p. 3

³⁰ Ibid. p. 12

³¹ For consideration on the concept of “aeriality” refer to Morshed, Adnan. *The Aviator’s (Re)Vision of the World: An Aesthetics of Ascension in Norman Bel Gedde’s Futurama*. Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2001.

matter how recently obtained, was a view towards landscape, its access and the means through which to achieve personal advance.

“Whenever possible the rights of way of these express city thoroughfares have been so routed as to displace outmoded business sections and undesirable slum areas.”³² This effort to cleanse obsolescence and aesthetically mitigate the effects of prior modernizations while presenting a wholly new, yet totalizing potential of an automobile future may have sought to provide “more and more conveniences and more and more jobs for more and more people,”³³ but brought realities on the ground into conflict (fig 2.12). In the past it was Native Americans that proved a perceived obstacle in a vast and empty space but for the world of 1960, it was the urban poor and heavy, outdated industry which occupied prime real estate that encumbered the realization of the future. Basically, it was the building undertaken since the frontier that stood in the way. After the closure of the fair in 1940 the model city featured in the “Futurama” was shipped to the St. Louis Art Museum for a 1941 exhibit on urban planning.³⁴ That the model from a corporate exhibition, which projected the totality and aesthetic vision of the future, found a privileged position within an exhibition that sought to actualize urban renewal plans on the ground demonstrates the desire to promote a singular landscape vision.

The “Futurama” and other projective representations can be considered utopic in that they operated through generating breaks and creating islands from the present world. Ensnaring spectators in mobile chairs and hovering them above a totalized landscape; the darkness of the surround ensured a thickened edge from which the viewers emerged, removed from their context and focus directed to the ideal image. The containment of the image within the fuzzy but fully enclosed boundaries ensured an ordered and complete picture of a future reality. The absence of the pass-through, a geographical condition and descriptive trope, completed the perceived break, the break from present to future. The prospect, however, operated in a markedly different manner as it worked across distance and required at least two points positioned across this span in order to render both. Continuity, no matter the calibrating pace, foot, horseback or rail, was the means through which the prospect worked, as a relation to the situation of the present, its contents and their informing of a future potential.

³² Futurama p. 18.

³³ Ibid. p. 19.

³⁴ Innes, Christopher. *Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. p 146.

The cover image for the “Futurama” exhibition pamphlet depicted a jam of people marching through a cut, or pass, in the monolithic façade of the pavilion (fig. 2.13). This image too is taken from an aerial vantage and a glimpse of what lies beyond the ridge is presented as the impetus to make the journey, a glimpse that motivates this migration of visitors. Through Saarinen’s Yale connections, an opportunity to work on the “Futurama” pavilion was presented to Saarinen. Saarinen, working as a draftsman, had a hand in developing the façade of the structure.³⁵ The visual ease and seduction of seeing a face of rock, through which all paths of travel are directed, as in the GM pavilion, is productive only in so far as it attempts a formal recall and processional recovery of prior representations of conceptual prospects. The sheer cliff face of the “Futurama’s” façade and the converging trails to its singular cleft represented not a portal to the multiple potentials of individual prospects in a landscape beyond but was entry into a single, total and corporate image of the future.

In recalling his later process for designing the JNEM he, over a weekend dialogue with St. Louis native Charles Eames, toyed with a similar gesture, “In our minds we played with some great mass of stone pointing west.”³⁶ This pile of stone could have referred to any number of points that served as landmarks along the various trails on which emigrants scratched their names. Saarinen was very much attuned to big ideas of the west and the aesthetic reverberations from geologic formation into contemporaneous architectural moves is evident by these recuperative references. However, these simulacra of landscape conditions differ not only in their real versus evoked form but also in their role as the reference point to vague, numerous composed potentials beyond the horizon versus a clear and specific landscape vision contained within an exhibition pavilion. Converging all paths to a single pass or point of entry reinforces the singularity of the future.

The land survey, as an abstract grid and the “Futurama” being the all too tangible image of the future demonstrate their own forms of totality. The GM diorama consolidates specific regions and cities of the U.S into a conglomerate whole,³⁷ the edges of the distinct territories blurring for the

³⁵ Isenstadt, Sandy. “Eero Saarinen’s Theater of Form.” In *Eero Saarinen, Shaping the Future*. Edited by Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen and Donald Albrecht. New Haven. Yale University Press. 2006. P 99-115. P 103. Worthen Paxton who was a partner in the design office of Norman Bel Geddes, landed him an opportunity to work on the GM Futurama or “Highways and Horizons” exhibit for the 1939-40 New York Worlds Fair.

³⁶ Saarinen, design statement for JNEM. p 2. Box 92, Folder 194, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library

³⁷ Geddes, Norman Bel. *Magic Motorways*. New York: Random House. 1940. The model reproduced terrains from the states of “Wyoming, Pennsylvania, California, Missouri, New York, Idaho, Virginia – combining them into a continuous terrain. We used actual American cities – St. Louis, Council Bluffs, Reading, New Bedford, Concord, Rutland, Omaha, Colorado Springs – projecting them twenty years ahead.” P. 9.

sake of the unified image (fig 2.14). The grid of the 1785 survey appears to be quite absent in this totalizing representation of the U.S. it would seem that the refashioning that was to occur over the score of years hence was to be just as seemingly absolute as the prior grid. These two landscape views bracket the continuum of state and private involvement. The presence of both agents in these respective circumstances is distinguished by who was charting the representations, the tracing of physical territory or the tour of the future. The state in its survey of the landscape, which in turn passed for the most part through the hands of speculators, is contrasted with a produced corporate view of how to model the landscape through government policy to the major benefit of Detroit. The federal survey clarified the land through an abstract, permeable enclosure while "Futurama" and "Democracity" deployed the trope of the "clearing," creating a constructed expanse within closed, hard and darkened edges. The site for the JNEM, although obtained a few years prior by the Department of the Interior would undergo a clearing on the order of the latter and would be a vacant site primed for an urban plan by the time the "Futurama" model made its St. Louis debut.

The trope of the "clearing" or the middle ground from earlier, nineteenth century visions was predicated on a physical glade in order to generate a conceptual process of perceiving the prospects of and from a site. The clearing found a modernist echo in the produced vacant lot along the river in St. Louis. The encumbrance of a crowded and built-up series of blocks obscured the recovery of this capitalizing process so crucial in composing the necessary elements to ensure the chance of a profitable return. The only problem resided with the fact that in order to obtain that clarity, the organs of potential commercial revival were removed. The other larger problem of an appropriate physical, yet symbolic, form to the memorial was compounded by the eviscerated site, which presented another layer of intangibility. The site was caught in the double bind of being both, the result of an inaccessible history and abstract capital process as well as the consequence of an active removal under the heading of a contemporary urban redevelopment approach in the service of the market. Negotiation with and response to extent conditions were contained within the clean slate approach, as even those buildings deemed worthy of "preserving" had to be destroyed and reassembled within a larger plan attached to larger infrastructural needs or institutional systems. The city was literally overlooked. The site along the Mississippi was not a romantic, accumulated ruination in need of rehabilitation but a modern, produced desolation.



2.1

St. Louis Mayor Bernard Dickmann

Prying Three Bricks from Warehouse at 7 Market Street
October 10, 1939

Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale
University Library.



2.2

St. Louis River Front

Gantt Building, Cast Iron Facade dated to 1877.

219 -221 Chestnut Street

From: Giedion, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture: The
Growth of a New Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard Univer-
sity Press. 1967



2.3

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Site
 Pre-Demolition – Early 1930's
 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale
 University Library.



2.3a

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Site
 Post Demolition - 1940's

Reproduced from:

Lipstadt, Helene. "Co-Making the Modern Monument:
 The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial
 Competition and Eero Saarinen's Gateway Arch." In
*Modern Architecture in St. Louis: Washington University
 and Postwar American Architecture, 1948-1973*. Edited by
 Eric Mumford. School of Architecture: Washington
 University. 2004.

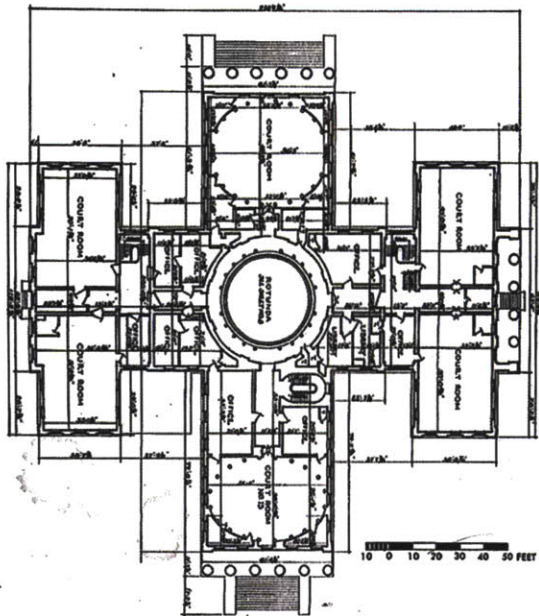


2.4

Lithograph of Bismarck, Dakota Territory - 1883

Reproduced from:

Reps, John W. *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in
 the American West Before 1890*. Columbia: University of
 Missouri Press. 1981.



4. The Old Courthouse Completed in 1862

2.5

Elevation and Plan of the Old Courthouse in St. Louis
 Reproduced from the official program for the 1947
 national open competition for the Jefferson National
 Expansion Memorial.

Saarinens Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale
 University Library.



2.6

Boundary of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, which en-
 closed – wholly or in part - the territory of fifteen
 states.

Now the visitor is seated in a revolving sound-chair. The FUTURAMA tour begins. One slides silently into the FUTURAMA—world of 1960—as the unseen voice—now coming from the chair—speaks again:

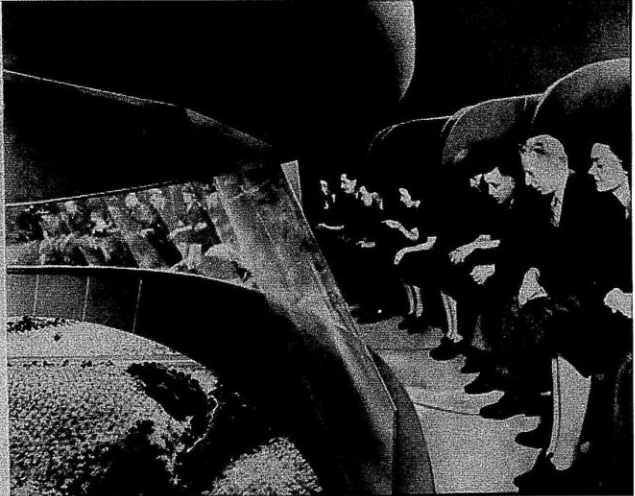
“COME TOUR THE FUTURE . . .

with General Motors! A transcontinental flight over America in 1960. What will we see? What changes will transpire? This magic Aladdin-like flight through time and space is Norman Bel Geddes' conception of the many wonders that may develop in the not-too-distant future. Now we have arrived in this wonder world of 1960! Sunshine, trees, farms, hills and valleys, flowers and flowing streams . . . this world of tomorrow is a world of beauty. These eternal things wrought by God are lovely and unchanging.

"But Man has forged ahead since 1940. New and better things have sprung from his industry and genius. Since the beginning of civilization transportation and communication have been keys to Man's progress,—his prosperity,—his happiness. Twenty years have passed since 1940. What wondrous changes and improvements have developed in our national highways! Here are the farm roads of the community. Most of these fine farm roads existed in 1940. But since then they have been improved and made to flow into great Motorways.

"Here we see one of our 1960 express Motorways. By means of Motorways of this type, conveniences and necessities are brought to the farmer's door and he in turn has access to broad, outlying markets. This superb one-direction highway, with its seven lanes accommodating traffic at designated speeds of 50, 75 and 100 miles an hour, is engineered for easy grades and for curves that require no reduction in speed. Cars from the farm roads and feeder lanes join the Motorway traffic at the same speed as cars traveling in the lane they enter. To insure safety, the various lanes are safeguarded by border separators and grass stripings.

"The bridge-like structure on the Motorway is a traffic control tower, from which efficiently trained experts advise

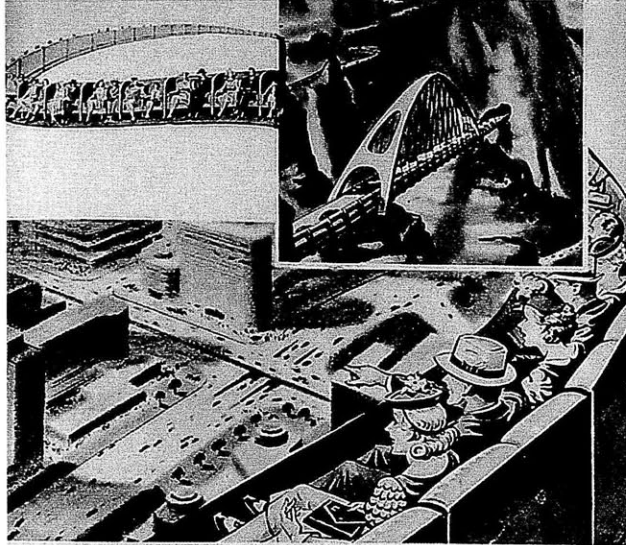


2.7

Futurama. General Motors Corporation. 1940.
Norman Bel Geddes
1939 New York Worlds Fair "The World of Tomorrow"

2.8

"Democracy"
Henry Dreyfuss
1939 New York Worlds Fair "The World of Tomorrow"



YOU RIDE IN SOUND-CHAIRS, viewing a world in miniature—a vast world of future cities and countryside—industrial and mountainous sections—airports, lakes, rivers and waterfalls—streamlined trains, tunnels and boats—ten thousand moving cars on the superhighways of tomorrow. A spectacular and life-like "Futurama" covering more than 35,000 square feet and extending for a third of a mile in and about this exhibit building of wonders.

2.9

Advertisement for General Motors "Futurama"
Reproduced from:
Innes, Christopher. *Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005.



2.10

View of city in 1960, General Motors 'Futurama'

Reproduced from:

Innes, Christopher. *Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005.



2.11

"See America First"

Futurama. General Motors Corporation. 1940.



2.12

Highways were to be routed so as to remove outmoded industry and slum areas.

Futurama. General Motors Corporation. 1940.



2.13

Cover of "Futurama" Visitors Pamphlet
 The cut through the "cliff face," the point of entry to the "future."
Futurama. General Motors Corporation. 1940.



2.14

A planned city of the Midwest in 1960, possibly modeled off of St. Louis, Missouri. The course of the Mississippi River does make this distinctive bend along the downtown.
 Geddes, Norman Bel. *Magic Motorways*. New York: Random House. 1940.



Part III
Demonstrations of the Consumptive Domain

3.1 Clearing Space within the Vision, The JNEM Competition

“The purpose of the Memorial is not only to commemorate the past but also, and especially, to keep alive in the present and in the future the daring and untrammelled spirit that inspired Thomas Jefferson and his aides to offer men of all nations new opportunities under democracy by consummation the Louisiana Purchase; the spirit that moved pioneers and heroes of thought and action from all the world to press westward with a constructive energy and courage scarcely equaled in history; the spirit that conceived and made possible the territorial integrity and national greatness of the United States of America.”¹

Program for JNEM Competition 1947

The opening paragraph of the official program for the 1947 open, nation-wide architecture competition for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial repositions Jefferson’s intent in the more abstract realm of opportunity and the notion of national consolidation. What was of more concern to the memorial was the “spirit” or force of the movement west. No mention of settlement or the virtuous cultivator but the daring pioneer who seemed never satisfied with what he held in the middle ground and was motivated towards what advance he could obtain beyond the horizon. Jefferson was more assertive in how the land and its tilling were crucial in the production of valuable citizens. The lofty ideals of this founding father landed in quite a different fashion, as the coupling of opportunity to land purchase under the banner of democracy is quite telling of the shift from how Jefferson himself understood the role of the Purchase, to how the Purchase was to be understood in twentieth century historical renditions of westward expansion.

The first lines of the competition brief are tempered towards not the land itself but the “opportunities” within the emerging system this initial transaction claims to have promoted. Recuperating the exuberance of westward expansion and recalling the monumentality of what that spirit wrought in the construction of a country seemed far more impressive and readily applicable to the efforts of the middle twentieth century than a return to Jefferson’s more pragmatic approach of buying land for distributive population settlement. However, the realities of local real estate, its value and the expectation of economic return would weigh quite heavily on the fruition of this monument and how this monument set a view towards the landscape. Not only the landscape it sought to commemorate but also how the monument manifested the contemporaneous view of landscape.

¹ JNEM Competition Program p 1. Box 92, Folder 180, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library

“Competitors may assume that the present state of the Historic Site is its original state for the purposes of this Competition. Since, however the Site has actually lost all its original topographical and nearly all its later urban characteristics Competitors may, at their option, either disregard its topography or remodel it.”² This indifference towards topography may appear similar to the abstract lines of the national survey that were charted regularly across the landscape and the conception of refashioning the ground by and within those lines in the service of improvement is not altogether different in both instances. However the attunement towards a loss, the cause of which goes unnamed here, is what distances the specific memorial site along the Mississippi to the ubiquitous parcels staked out across the country over the century prior.

The recent loss of urban fabric by the bulldozer produced a distinct desolation. This was a new kind of space; one stripped and scoured, a perceived blank slate that was ready for fulfillment of the plan. The description of the site as a void and full of lack with the assumption of an authentic, or pristine, condition is in contradiction to its position as an historic place. Taken quite literally as an open territory, with little built history in extent, not due to an absence of building but from the removal of building, the site itself was presented as a lacuna, a space where anything could go, a veritable wilderness – however drained and vacuous - to be refashioned into a productive and hospitable landscape, or so it seemed. The competition program further solidifies this condition, as the historic site was shown in perspective devoid of the urban surround, showing only a grid of streets beyond the confines of the parcel marked by a bridge to the south, the Eads Bridge to the north and the proposed interstate to the west (fig. 3.1). The old cathedral, old courthouse and the Manual Lisa warehouse³ were to be restored and were shown as the only objects on this open territory.

Refashioning the site to meet the needs of development would appear to echo the milieu of westward expansion but diverges from the frontier descriptions of land so productive on imparting what was there in order instigate that development. The JNEM site sketch contained that which was not there. Opportunity had an inverted relationship to landscape, not positing potential as

² JNEM Competition Program p 16. Box 92, Folder 180, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library

³ The eighteenth century Manual Lisa warehouse is an interesting case in that it was documented and dismantled during the larger demolition project. The structure was reassembled and restored to a prior state, before later nineteenth century additions had been imposed upon it, on the site. With the sinking of a series of rail lines that crossed the site the restored structure was ultimately taken down, permanently. In Saarinen’s original scheme that won the 1947 competition, he planned this structure to serve as the entry point to the Arch, the underground museum and ultimately the observation deck.

emerging from renderings of the territory but an outline of what was absent and a reliance on an external projection of what could be.

One program aspect of the 1947 JNEM competition included, “Those (functional groups) having to do with the projected, though as yet unauthorized, creation of a LIVING MEMORIAL to Thomas Jefferson’s vision of ever greater opportunities for men of all races and creeds to improve themselves and their lot under democracy; the vision which moved him to consummate the Louisiana Purchase when the opportunity to do so unexpectedly presented itself.”⁴ This programmatic stipulation echoes the first paragraph of the brief and yet again bundles equal potential in development, individual and collective, under the heading of representative republicanism with the ever-present condition of luck. The tentative position of a living memorial in the first stage of the competition was in part a response to proposals to utilize the site for a stadium, freeway, housing development and an airport. These ideas all speak to pragmatic intentions for the monument to not only memorialize something but fulfill an urban function as well (fig. 3.2).⁵

Even after the Arch had succeeded in garnering selection by the competition jury, the director of the Brooklyn Art Museum, Charles Nagel in a letter to his friend Saarinen raised concerns about the functionality of the monument. Nagel inquired as to the feasibility of inserting television tower within or on the Arch. His suspicion was that if the Arch only offered a view it would be a tough sell beyond an informed design jury and not be enough to justify the expense of its erection.⁶ The disregard of the view of landscape from the Arch as being functional overlooks the very crucial and operative role that the overlook, or the prospect, played in the nineteenth century and if this view was not enough to validate the expenditure than the attachment to another emerging network infrastructure, the television, would have given the monument a practical application. If the Jefferson memorial would not serve as a source of power generation – as in the Howard Plan - it

⁴ JNEM Competition Program p 15. Box 92, Folder 180, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library

⁵ Pragmatism pervades the attitude of the U.S. citizenry towards the city and even monuments, for the matter of an attendant function is always present in justifying the need for a monument. Alexis de Tocqueville even comments on the grand works and efforts of insignificance in the public realm of the early U.S. Commercial groups in the city were fractured as to the potential of the Arch to reverse the larger trend of urban decline. One group against the Arch called it the “Gateway to Waste.”

⁶ This brings to mind the controversy of advertising on national monuments. The steel subcontractor Pittsburgh Des Moines Steel had placed their acronym on the support strut of the Arch. The PDM letters were the center of a lawsuit contending that private companies could not advertise on public monuments, even if they were building them. It was cited that removing the letters posed a safety risk and as such could not be taken down. The letters were finally removed after orders from a federal judge.

could at least transmit live and recorded views into the homes of millions, indirectly penetrating the landscape on a daily basis and ensuring another form consumption.

The local economic decline seemed a peripheral concern to Saarinen's design team but one, he thought, could be mitigated through situating the project on an international level. Correspondence during competition design exhibit that Saarinen's aspirations for the UNESCO headquarters or the ITO (International Trade Organization) to be an integral part of the site's development, the former was promised to France while the latter failed to materialize outside the halls of Congress. That Saarinen would place so much emphasis on an aspect of the program that was as yet unsanctioned is understandable. His knowledge of U.S. history was possibly not as extensive as other competitors as he did ask friends to provide a primer on the particular aspects requiring commemoration. What Saarinen could provide is a repositioning of the memorial to Jefferson's more idealistic tendencies of education, yeoman agriculture and republicanism.

"The United Nations more than any other force in the world today embodies within its concepts the democratic ideals of Thomas Jefferson. In its Charter he would see great hope for expanding the social, economic and cultural frontiers of the world. If he were alive today, he undoubtedly would be employing his energy and genius in leading the United Nations through its present problems to man's last and greatest frontier – freedom and education for the whole world...we suggest therefore that St. Louis, central city of the Louisiana purchase and contemporary center of a tremendous agricultural region might become the site of one of the special organizations now developing within the social and economic council of the United Nations. An appropriate one might be the food and agricultural organization. This should be envisioned as a future directing force of the world's agrarian science. From it would flow information displays and exhibitions to all parts of the world...The first unit of such a building would contain the major part of the administrative space as well as lecture halls large areas for the display of exhibitions and places for meetings and conventions."⁷

This description by Saarinen entitled "The Living Memorial" appeared on the first board of his two-board submission for the first stage of the competition (fig. 3.3). His posing, as a major aspect of his competition submission, an agricultural agency within the United Nations reflects the overlay of nascent international organizations that emerged from the embers of World War II; more importantly, as it related to the Midwest, to ongoing the professionalization of farming as a precise science and the global institutionalization of agriculture through food policy. This approach is far removed from the farms envisioned by Thomas Jefferson and the homesteads described by

⁷ Series 13 Box 28 Folder 51. JNEM Archives

Langworthy.⁸ The specificity of an international agricultural education organization under the rubric of the United Nations based in St. Louis would establish a center from which information would flow and in turn become a draw to the nations of the world. If Chicago had become the center of the farm market, St. Louis could be the generator of agriculture policy.

The surrounding park and its featured Gateway Arch would be elevated to international presence. Saarinen's idea, if executed, would have been an effort to situate the project outside the parameters of normal commercial relations, yet portend to have a real effect on how those systems operate. The small scale landholder may not have been able to sustain a profitable position in the U.S. due to the shift from agriculture to agribusiness but development was still being couched in teleological and positive. The Green Revolution⁹ was on the march. The extra-territoriality of this proposal would carry the Jeffersonian ideas to a foreign audience.

The competition hoped to "counter" the popular movements towards the concept of a functioning living memorial,¹⁰ however the first stage did attempt to appease this aspect by accommodating it to a certain extent. This acknowledgement of forces in play at the time resulted in the efforts to attune the competition towards containing this potential within an architectural solution as opposed to leaving such things to chance and implementation by a civic imperative or private incentive beyond the oversight of an expert jury. The early attempts of the competition to strike a balance between the meanings of the memorial and the larger demands of economic development was a result of an awareness towards the uniqueness of this memorial over prior monuments.

Not only was the JNEM an anomaly in the monument sense but was also a divergent approach in the sense of urban renewal. "The notion of dedicating the site to commemoration and to commemoration only was thus tantamount to accepting riverfront economic decline as irreversible, therefore constituting a clear break with the earlier models."¹¹ The earlier models of urban renewal, which sought a more comprehensive approach of combining commercial and

⁸ Jefferson did keep copious notes on the workings of his plantation and the seasonal indicators of shifting weather patterns which translated to the planting and harvest cycle but this empirical cataloging is distinct from the later privileging of technology and research that would supplant this digging in the dirt approach.

⁹ The Green Revolution emerged during World War II and trailed off in the 1970's. Begun in Mexico by Norman Borlaug, the intent was to elevate the agricultural production of developing countries. The successes and failures of this revolution is a whole series of histories in and of itself.

¹⁰ Merkel, Jayne. *Eero Saarinen*. New York. Phaidon. 2005. P 195.

¹¹ Lipstadt. P. 7

residential areas towards the river front were decidedly different from the approved approach of extracting solely the memorial function, as exhibited by the JNEM.

The “Living Memorial” component of the project was eliminated from the program in the addenda for the second stage and as such was absent in Saarinen’s resubmission, he lead one of five design teams selected to submit for the final round of the competition (fig. 3.4).¹² With the removal of this aspect, Saarinen shifted his approach and claimed the living memorial as being able to view extent commercial activity on the river. Writing in 1957 he thought, “the more life and commerce on the river, the livelier the view from the observation decks and restaurant above, in the words of the great Luther Ely Smith: This should be a living monument.”¹³ The appropriation of extent activity on the river in the service of fulfilling a component of the program demonstrates that as the active elements were drained from the project scope, a greater reliance on the surrounding – but perceived declining – urban fabric to generate the economic recovery was expected, even if only in perception.

In the addenda for the Second Stage, much of the historic site was to be treated as a “tree-shaded park...leaving a clear view from the Old Courthouse to the Levee.” In reference to the Architectural Memorial this “is to be considered as a striking element, not only to be seen form a distance in the landscape but also as a notable structure to be remembered and commented on as one of the conspicuous monuments of the country. Its purpose should be to attract the interest of the multitude as well as that of the connoisseur of art. The development of a suitable symbolic form is left to the Competitor. It is to be essentially non-functional, though its interior, if any may of

¹² Box 92, Folder 180, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library, Second Stage Addenda p 3. The list of the five design teams that were chosen as finalists were as follows: First Prize: Entry no. 144, Saarinen, Saarinen and Associates, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. Eero Saarinen, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., Designer; J. Henderson Barr, Birmingham, Mich., Associate Designer; Dan Kiley, Franconia, New Hampshire, Landscape Architect; Alexander Hayden Girard, Gross Pointe, Mich., Painter; and Lily Swann Saarinen, Bloomfield Hills, Mich., Sculptress. Second Prize: Entry no. 124, Gordon A. Phillips, Urbana, Illinois, Architect; William Eng, Urbana, Illinois, Architect; and George N. Foster, Champaign, Illinois, Painter. Third Prize: Entry no. 64, William n. Breger, Woodstock, N.Y Architect; Caleb Hornbostel, New York City, Architect; and George S. Lewis, New York City, Architect. Collaborators: Allen Gould, Woodstock, N.Y., Painter; Andre Schwob, New York City, Painter; Donald L. Kline, New York City, Landscape Architect; Ralph J. Menconi, New York City, Sculptor; and Christopher Tunnard, New Haven, Conn., Landscape Architect. Runners'-up Awards (Two, in alphabetical order), Entry no. 41, Harris Armstrong, Kirkwood, Missouri, Architect; Entry no. 8, T. Marshall Rainey, Cleveland, Ohio, Architect; John F. Kirkpatrick, Cincinnati, Ohio, Landscape Architect; Robert A. Deshon, Cincinnati, Ohio, Planner; John B. Sheblessay, Cincinnati, Ohio, Engineer-Planner; John F. Bechtold, Ft. Thomas, Kentucky, Sculptor; and Robert S. Robison, Cincinnati, Ohio, Painter. Box 29, Folder 20, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library, List from “Minutes of the Jury of Award in the Second and Final Stage Judgment of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Competition. February 17 and 18, 1948.”

¹³ Statement by Eero Saarinen, October 2, 1957. Box 55, Folder 107 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

course be accessible.”¹⁴ The obvious high to low, elite to mass appreciation present a similar demand for the memorial to accommodate extreme and unattainable ends. The Arch was expected to include the masses but appeal to the elite, generate economic growth yet not participate within it.

The addenda was published after Saarinen and host of other competitors had depicted the site in this forested manner and the accessible interior, although non-functional, could offer nothing more than a view towards a Jeffersonian likeness or serve as an overlook to the landscape. The Jeffersonian vision of the landscape had been subsumed not only by the actualities of frontier settlement but also distanced through the intent of the memorial. These constraints were added to the more present concerns voiced by the jury comments regarding obstructions interrupting or limiting the view and interfering with the lines of sight to and from the memorial.

From the first stage of the competition through the design and jury process up until the final site plan, the site as depicted through the project underwent a series of clearings, seemingly similar to that which removed actual structures from the site (fig. 3.5). Removing programmatic elements and their attendant buildings in order to focus more attention towards the memorial and provide an open view, the site remained vacant, no matter how heavily planted with trees. The void of the Arch interior as placed within the clearing of the site was a means to reposition an actual view, thus seen as the only impetus to go, to traverse the vacant approach, within a larger regulated and cohesive image. This secondary clearing of the site in the design vision reflects the first actual site clearing, for it was believed that too many things - buildings with functioning programs - would get in the way of viewing the memorial and obscure the views from the Arch. If a view was the only thing offered by a visit to the Arch than it should provide a clear one.

3.2 Asserting the Certainty of Speculation, The Response to the Gateway Arch

Eero Saarinen's success in the competition did provide a publicity image and a certain closure as to the form of the memorial. Some were not convinced, as other ideas were still being pitched to civic leaders; however for the most part city officials, business elites and the architects of St. Louis were behind Saarinen's scheme. In this period, for the most part, forms of description and conceptions of vision were directed not to the historical frontier but towards its monument. Saarinen became a presence in St. Louis society in an effort to stoke and solidify public support for the construction of his design consisting of a museum, park and memorial arch. One of his stops –

¹⁴ Second Stage Addenda p 2. Box 92, Folder 180, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library

mentioned before - consisted of staging an evocative, descriptive tour of this new national monument at the annual meeting of St. Louis retailers in April of 1948 (fig. 3.6).¹⁵ Utilizing a model of the project as a prop, Saarinen spun a narrative depicting, over the course of a day's journey, a visit by a cast of characters who consisted of local residents guiding out-of-town friends through the various museums, parks, and eateries sprinkled throughout the eighty acres along the Mississippi River. The tour began with an approach to the arch by car from the newly constructed interstate highway system and concluded by leaving the visitors at the top of the arch at the close of a long day of excursion and reflection.

Throughout the course of this "journey," he paused at key points in order to provide a view towards the commemorated frontier. Parking on an "observation plaza" and stepping out of the car "a fine view unfolds," a view bracketed by a screen of trees to the right and the Mississippi River on the left, in the front "a huge, simple lawn with the arch soaring skyward." Enjoying a lunch along the river, the visitors are offered a view towards the present trade on the river and to consider this contemporary activity in relation to "the tremendous river traffic that once was here (fig. 3.7)." After hearing a narrative of early St. Louis from a knowledgeable Ranger, visitors are presented with the still life of a contrived Pioneer Village. Afternoon refreshments look upon the "beautiful view of the Mississippi and Eads Bridge with the arch in the foreground." The final view, through which Saarinen closes his tour, is afforded from the "observation corridor at the top of the arch (fig. 3.8)."¹⁶

Saarinen essentially strands his hypothetical players at the top in nothing more than a hallway. Such an elevated position recalls the elevated point from which to view space, a condition demonstrated by the tower or mountaintop, yet the Arch, in its exhibition of an almost train coach or plane fuselage complicates this vision of landscape with the means of its traversal. These closed systems and enclosed vehicles of travel; the train, plane and even the car, all provide distinct views of the landscape through the mechanisms which claim to provide access to the land but only serve to distance the occupant from grounding within it. These modes are not altogether different than the closed tour of the JNEM as scripted by Saarinen, for it too was predicated on situating the

¹⁵ This presentation was given at the 36th annual dinner meeting of the Associated Retailers of St. Louis on April 29, 1948. The dinner was held on the starlight roof of the Hotel Chase; the interior page of the program depicted a dotted line itinerary of the tour so each dinner guest could follow along.

¹⁶ "An Imaginary Tour of the Proposed Jefferson National Expansion Memorial on the Mississippi River at St. Louis." By Eero Saarinen. Box 92, Folder 193, Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library

visitor within a distinct sequence of spaces, with specific arrangement of views that are, not unlike the food at one of the restaurants, to be consumed.

Saarinen's fictive tour begins and ends with two systems of interconnection, the highway and the power grid. The interstate highway system began construction in full force after WWII and this system of roads allowed a traversal of landscape without particular engagement with it. The final view afforded the visitors from the summit of the Arch is across the artificially illuminated urban expanse of St. Louis towards the west, towards the darkened plains and towards the past of the pioneers' frontier. The image of the frontier and of self-reliance runs counter to what Saarinen has envisioned, yet the notion of independence is a mere illusion as the automobile and appliances are limited by the range of a gas tank or an extension cord. The landscape was now a space of flows dictated by the distance to power sources and generation and the subsequent conveyance across this surface.¹⁷

The location of the horizon line in Saarinen's view is predicated on the presence of electricity that registers the plain of the earth in relation to the vault of sky above, a condition, which conceals the stars and to a certain extent flattens the sky as well. This illuminated view exhibits more acutely the closure of landscape visualization, vastly different than the darkness of the frontier, which limited travel to daylight hours for the most part and cloaked the ground for limited description beyond the light of a campfire. While seeming to open up space through illumination, the ground as exposed by these electric lights is only that which has been brought into the cycle of consumption; and through its use of energy, is presented quite literally as a landscape that only consumes.

In 1948, shortly after the completion of JNEM competition, a limited run publication authored by businessman W. C. D'Arcy was delivered to select business and civic leaders. Entitled *The American West: an Inventory of Greatness*, D'Arcy claims his study "is offered as a plain document of fact to contribute to the realization of a great vision – a memorial that shall be built."¹⁸ In D'Arcy's forward he states that what follows is a "factual and concise account" of western expansion and development. "The story of what man has done with the opportunity of a continent has been told before in the language of the historian, the novelist, the poet and the dramatist. It is told here in the

¹⁷ Norman Bel Geddes in his text *Magic Motorways*. New York: Random House. 1940, proposes a road system that integrates an electric lighting system from a center curb that would evenly illuminate the surface and eliminate extensive use of headlights. p 130 – 139. He closes his chapter "Daylight Standards for Night Driving." By stating, "There is no reason for drivers to go on being slaves at when they could so easily be masters."

¹⁸ *The American West: an Inventory of Greatness*. W. C. D'Arcy. 1948 p. 3. JNEM Archives

language of the businessman. The story loses nothing of its drama for being expressed in terms of wealth, production, dollars and cents. In these cold terms, indeed it may be all the more impressive as a structure of unembellished fact.”¹⁹ Operating in a quantitative, delineating fashion of a vast and diverse territory, this document is produced in service of, not enticing further development of this landscape but in promotion of the object to commemorate it. The west is considered in relation to present, numerical qualifications, as an object in the here and now. D’Arcy recuperates the mode of describing the potentials of landscape but it is not by travel through the physical territory but with the indirect means of compiled monetary figures.

“Thomas Jefferson made an investment. American men and women have made the investment pay dividends beyond all expectation for the benefit of all mankind. To Jefferson and to the pioneers, who built even beyond spacious ranges of his vision, this nation owes an everlasting debt of recognition.”²⁰ The “debt” notwithstanding, the west was settled and developed through means antithetical to signatory of the deal. The text sets up a relation of east to west along the Mississippi River and is evocative of descriptions from a century prior; as *Inventory* begins with the land itself, natural resources and population followed by their income capacity. The income presents a case of western growth and individual potential through diagrams charting the percentage of increase over the course of almost two decades, the average per person increase being 128 percent in the west as opposed to 94 percent in the east.²¹ Citing great growth of industrial production in the west, D’Arcy still claims a deficiency in relation to the east.

“The West, of course, had few tangible assets in early years. As late as 1850, only 7 percent of wealth was west of the Mississippi. The discovery of gold in California, the Homestead Act and the expansion of railroads in the last half of the Nineteenth Century...were instrumental in causing assets of the West to increase to 31 percent of the total national wealth by 1930.”²² Citing the west’s increase of population by a mere two percent and the conversion of wartime factories to peacetime use D’Arcy claims that an inevitable shift of wealth westwards was just over the horizon.²³ This attunement to the fluidities of the past and contemporaneous condition opens the possibility, which is latent in the publication that the west was still open for business and the place to expand. The utilization of trends to project beyond the 1940’s attempts to isolate moments of potential wealth

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 7

²⁰ Ibid. p. 8

²¹ Ibid. p. 19

²² Ibid. p. 24

²³ Ibid. p. 26

through agriculture, minerals, and electric power but more importantly the profit lost to waste. Making an economic and conservation argument and quantifying the potential wealth that lies in waste, D'Arcy closes by stating the need to "exploit new opportunities, but also the essential obligation to conserve established values."²⁴ D'Arcy's conservation and resource management argued under the guise of business could have been applied to any of the competition submissions, as his main intention was to advocate for the memorial, any memorial (fig. 3.9).

The slippage between capitalist justifications for a possibly outmoded production of the hero memorial reveals a very real tension and inherent contradiction present in the monument to expansion, to the events of that expansion. Through a promotion of the memorial, D'Arcy is describing a space of potential outside the memorial, the space of waste that still exists, ready to be exploited, in the west. Waste was presented as a form of production, or a raw material that had yet to be extracted, either way; waste was drawn within an already established system. The key, according to D'Arcy, was to find the opportunities within this produced space. This indirect position is precisely where capital works as opposed to the tangible objects that serve as the outcome. Such an instance could possibly validate a certain success of the memorial, perhaps not in the direct manner through tangible growth readily visible on the streets to the citizens of St. Louis as hoped by the civic and business establishment but through a presence throughout the west as investment.²⁵ The limited run of two hundred and fifty editions of *The American West: an Inventory of Greatness* was targeted to the local business audience of St. Louis in order to promote the construction of a national monument. However more importantly this publication, in echoing the prior publications of the nineteenth century on the natural bounty of the west demonstrates the subtle, but crucial, shift of landscape visualization as it appeared in the twentieth century; the move of finding potential as revealed through describing the land to that of identifying opportunities within the inefficiencies of a consumptive system.

In the decade prior to the project's groundbreaking, critics and proponents of the Saarinen design boasted their ideas or validated the selected architect. On such antagonist was Dick Lemen, a local author, who in a letter in the spring of 1948 to Mayor Kaufmann pitches his idea while rebuking Saarinen's. Lemen states, "Consider the dynamic ideas for the riverfront, on the following

²⁴ Ibid. p. 47

²⁵ In order to deepen this aspect of the research and broaden the scope of the topic would be analyze what businesses received this document, their areas of commercial interest and investigate whether this document resonated through or affected their practices.

pages. I feel that this American Spirit fountain is far superior to the proposed arch, and would do everything for the city that the arch cannot do. The people will love the fountain and receive inspiration. Thousands, millions of them will come to St. Louis to see it. New business, new industry will be attracted. Fine buildings will rise, and revitalize the downtown area. The arch looks like a big costly mistake, and a very stupid one. You couldn't expect people to love that cold, naked piece of steel. They're already ridiculing it. And if the people don't like it, what good is it?"²⁶

A 1957 AIA report in favor of the Arch encapsulated in monthly newsletter begins, "The current status of the site is an infectious blight on the entire community and until removed will not give impetus to major metropolitan improvement."²⁷ Decrying even the vacant site as "blight" is quite telling of the contemporaneous status of this revered parcel. Since the removal of the buildings, which were also considered blight, the site had been relegated to massive parking lot. The need to remove the absence created by demolishing buildings reveals the insurmountability of any memorial project for this site to satisfy the imperatives placed upon it. Further down the report states the project "will assist in the determination of future downtown development and will materially add to its economic stability." An entire neighborhood had been systematically erased in the service of a plan, or at best a strategy, and revealed that a crowded site proved no more of an obstacle to economic generation than a cleared one.

Such absolutes as "will" and certainties as "stability," while sounding quite similar to their nineteenth century counterparts to describe teleological progression were instead placed in the service of predicating future progress and success based on the recovery of past standing and development. In this instance the past economic growth was something to look towards. The piles of brick and cast iron facades only served to remind of a prior, prominent position and as benchmark of how deep St. Louis had fallen, not how far St. Louis had advanced. The waste left in the wake of the demolition was a new kind of space, no longer a frontier space, with its form of productive, prospective limitations, but something rather different. This produced desolation was a

²⁶ Letter to St. Louis Mayor Aloys P. Kaufmann from Dick Lemen, self-described author and businessman. Dated March 3, 1948. Lemen, also enclosed pages from his unpublished book, entitled *Story of Today*. By Tیره (Dick Lemen). Lemen is also critical of efforts for the 1953 World's Fair. Lemen declares, "I have no mercenary motives in suggesting the fountain idea. All my ideas are absolutely free to the public. The only profit that interests me is from the sale of my book." The book's main characters of "Salty and Peppy" are describing the fountain as conceived by Lemen. JNEM Archives. Box 30, Folder 2.

²⁷ AIA Newsletter, St Louis April 1957. p 2 Box 423, Folder 1225 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library. The projects committee made this statement as part of a report.

desolation that afforded little, if any, elements to facilitate a generative description through which to inform a potential position.

“The design of the memorial project will give vision to developers of adjacent private properties and will not spawn construction of poorly designed taxpayer type structures as at present,” or so said the AIA.²⁸ Asserting the avoidance of aesthetic pitfalls and mitigating the visual risk, the position of the Arch as the sole generator of a larger, renewed landscape is vastly different from that of the frontier it aspires to commemorate. The distinction lies in the twentieth century production of a landscape through a singular design as opposed to a nineteenth century composing of landscape through a series of elements. Or rather, what it, the object, will do versus what it, the site, is.

Both Lemen and the AIA claim the certainties of success. Certainties, not predicated on a set of natural advantages, proximity to raw materials, resources, transportation collection and transfer, or the gathering of specific forms of commerce but on aesthetics, on the form of an object in the landscape and the relation of individuals to it. A spectacle, that seemed to court once in a lifetime visits as opposed to a continual return. The draw was not based upon the memorial as an institution perpetually generating policies, innovation or housing annual congresses as say, in the service of agriculture, but was literally a one shot deal, a stunt.

All four of these efforts either in support or derision of Saarinen’s proposal work from the local, or the effect on the city outward, something overlooked in prior renditions. These documents operate from the opposite extreme as that of the survey and the prospect present in the nineteenth century; as these later visions focus on a fixed, property-bordered site burdened with a perceived certain outcome. The twentieth century advance in the name of recovery had a specific and ultimate visual form in mind, while the nineteenth century notion of progress was informed through visionary description. Simply said, the former was predicated on an aesthetic destination and the latter was concerned with an aesthetic approach.

3.3 Conceiving the Aesthetic Destination in History, The Image of the “West”

The aesthetic destination as projected by the “Futurama” and manifest through the Arch not only applied to urban planning but also informed how the Arch was to symbolize the frontier. In other words how the Arch looked back to a specific image of westward expansion. The nineteenth

²⁸ AIA Newsletter, St Louis April 1957. p 2 Box 423, Folder 1225 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library. This statement was made as part of a report by the projects committee.

century not only visually represented a productive landscape but also produced the visual image of itself. The proliferation of images and texts from this period, texts running the gamut of documentary surveys to the tall tale assured a fertile territory of rhetoric to perpetuate the frontier myth and the heroes associated with it. This is another form of “closing” that visually obscures the landscape of westward expansion but a closing that could only prove more successful with the presentation of the view from the Arch.

In 1959 The National Park Service²⁹ released the “Guidelines for the Master Plan, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.” Item 3 of this list refers to the Arch. “The dominant physical and inspirational feature of the Memorial will be a parabolic stainless steel arch of colossal dimensions, with elevator facilities, which will symbolize St. Louis as:

- a) “The Gateway to the West,”
- b) The great frontier traditions of the “westward course of empire,”³⁰
- c) The new technological frontiers, which challenge us today.”³¹

The literal quotation of the “westward course of empire” refers to any number pictorial representations of the west, such as; *Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way (Westward Ho!)* (fig. 3.10) by Emanuel Leutze of 1862, which was installed at the U.S. Capitol during the course of that building’s expansion in the mid nineteenth century; *Westward the Star of Empire- near Council Bluffs, Iowa* (fig. 3.11) painted by Andrew Melrose in 1867 or *Across the Continent: “Westward the Course of Empire Takes it Way”* (fig. 3.12) a lithograph by Fanny Palmer for the firm of Currier and Ives³² in 1868

²⁹ The national park service, established in 1916 was defining space within a larger federal system of recreation and conservation and had recently obtained management of the monuments in Washington D.C.²⁹ These memorials, also beginning to accumulate, were within a Capitol fabric meant to represent the U.S. to a domestic and foreign audience. The Park Service in obtaining an urban site, outside the national capital was confronted with the very condition of connectedness, of the site working within an urban fabric. The connections to capital can be more easily obscured in a series of seemingly isolated, far-flung parks, where the boundaries are not as apparent, such as streets, zoning or planning ordinances.

³⁰ This line originates in 1752 in George Berkeley’s “Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America” published in *Miscellany*. There is a debate as to if they were written a little over twenty years earlier in 1726 in response to an education plan in Bermuda. *The Works of George Berkeley D.D.; Formerly Bishop of Cloyne Including his Posthumous Works*. In Four Volumes with preface by Alexander Campbell Fraser. Volume IV: Miscellaneous Works, 1707 – 1750. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p 365 – 366.

³¹ “Guidelines for the Master Plan Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.” United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. March 10, 1959. P 2. An interesting oversight here, as the elevator facilities are mentioned but the observation deck is absent in the description. The overlook of the overlook, the only public space in the Arch, is telling, although probably unintentional, omission. JNEM Archives. Box 32, Folder 3.

³²Fanny Palmer never visited the west in person but produced a prolific amount of western images for the firm of Currier and Ives. Currier and Ives was a printmaking firm based out of New York and was active in the years from 1834 to 1907. The economics of lithographic production allowed images to be produced for the mass market. This was also another crucial method to sell the west.

which received wide dissemination in the popular press at the time. The above pictorial representations depict crowds of settlers, modes of transport or a combination of both, as in Palmer's and work within the break from a natural horsepower to that of a mechanical, with the only cohering element to the natural order being that of an advancing, civilizing human measure.

The three symbolic points outlined by the National Park Service collapse history from initial entry through urbanity, to the boiling penetration the nineteenth-century landscape that culminates in the cool, conditioned climes of the mid-twentieth century. That a cohesive image of national expansion is furthered by these variations on a theme is registered against the dependence on representations, no matter how fabricated, produced in the time to validate the history commemorated in the twentieth century. Descriptions offered by paintings and official journals are augmented by the presence of a formed "popular" culture image through dime novels and "Buffalo Bill" also emerging from and shortly after this period. The concerns of intangibility, as voiced by Julian Spotts and others, of western expansion seem countered by how representations themselves became the history to be recounted. This condition of an engrained historical presence may have provided the latitude in attempting an aesthetically modern monument. The work of visualizing the future or the past was already complete and ready for consumption. Not only was the memorial working against a temporal disconnect but an entrenched image as well. As such, it is no wonder that the NPS would deploy a direct quote to "westward course of empire" and defer to representations made in the time of the expansion. The complexity presented by bundling explicit frontier depictions to cold war conflicts, such as the arms and space race, seems to validate projects of twentieth century consolidation more than recalling the history of westward expansion. The National Park Service's literal citation of visual representations of the frontier in validating the symbolism of the Arch rendered this history as much of an aesthetic destination as the future was depicted through the experience of "the Futurama."

Point twenty-one of the NPS guidelines places "national expansion" in synonymic relation to "westward expansion" and brackets the time of growth from 1803 to 1890."³³ The ease of equating national growth, which comprised the consolidation of the Federal system, the emergence of the national economy and the enclosure of the country's geographic form to that of a specific and singular cardinal direction consolidates the complex compositional approach that rendered such conceptions as the prospect operational in visualizing the landscape, into unified, clear and totalizing

³³ "Guidelines for the Master Plan Jefferson National Expansion Memorial." United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. March 10, 1959. p 5. JNEM Archives. Box 32, Folder 3.

vision. Westward expansion was a continental circumstance, for growth was occurring throughout the country, as pointed out by Langworthy and others. There is also a certain neatness to the timeline, which focuses on continental growth and conveniently excludes the later, more overt, imperial expansion as displayed through the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the obtaining of territories overseas. This presents another kind of closure, another form of overlook. This synonymic circumstance also equates the multiplicity presented by the prospect to the unified concept of the future. A singular direction and by extension certain destination, cohered more to spatial conceptions of the twentieth century, as “the west” appears more crucial as a conception in this later period than during the episteme of westward expansion.

“To the east one sees the barren wasteland of the East St. Louis riverfront; its abandoned railroad yards, its billowing chemical factories; its crumbling neighborhoods; the people whom Progress has left behind. The visitor quickly abandons this view in favor of the more pleasant prospect. The disparity depicted from atop our largest national monument constitutes the root problem of American culture. We have lost sight of Eero Saarinen’s holistic vision of American society in which all elements participate in the transformation of nature.”³⁴

The view from the Arch often elicits such laments as these expressed by W. Arthur Mehrhoff in *The Gateway Arch: Fact and Symbol*. The disparities of the landscape as observed by Mehrhoff are all too visually evident and that is precisely where visualization in an attempt to recover Jefferson’s or Saarinen’s, unrealized or lost holistic ideals obscure how those visions affected the landscape in a very concrete way. The “barren wasteland” full of evocative illuminative terms, or the consequences of successful progress to a certain degree, only serves to define – through contrast - the edges of an abstract site of perceived certainty. Prospect = West = Future. Calling attention to a cultural, social, economic and political disparity, as viewed from the Arch, and claiming that a solution is yet again found within another return to a perceived cohesive past is the point at which such claims, like the Arch itself, fail to satisfy in remediating those inconsistencies. These descriptive laments for those left behind or rolled over by progress, especially in its capitalized and seemingly unified form coupled with the specific vagueness of the “more pleasant prospect,” still conceive a unified whole across the horizon that can be recovered as opposed to investigating how visualization of the landscape itself registers the change in capitalization that produced the provided

³⁴ Mehrhoff, W. Arthur. *The Gateway Arch: Fact and Symbol*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press. 1992. p. 99.

view in the first place. It is one thing to portray (and weep) for what is viewed from the Arch it is quite another to delineate how that view came to be.

3.4 Tempering the Prospect, The View from the Gateway Arch

“Fifty-seven feet at the triangular bases, it tapers to 17 feet at the apex, from which the visitor will see out across the great plains and will, as William Wurster ... put it, ‘face the monumental importance of the greatest of rivers.’”³⁵ The seemingly balanced importance of the plains and the river subsumes the more weighted focus of views towards the west. The confrontation with the river to the east is taken at face value, the channel and its impact left to the devices of the observer. Not so with the western side, as since the opening of the observation deck in the 1960’s, a composed panorama has been placed above one of the observation windows. The wide-angle image documents, from a 1965 baseline photograph, the development of downtown St. Louis (fig. 3.13). Listing a series of projects – a stadium, interstate, hotels and apartments - under construction contemporaneously with the Arch’s completion seem to validate the claim that due to the Arch, a downtown revival was in full swing.

This list is supplemented by a selection of projects completed in the decades hence, including those that replaced projects in the works in 1965, such as the New Busch Stadium. Along the bottom, towards the right of the picture, the shadow of the Arch, still under construction is visible. Given the position of the shadow and the line of sight, this image was more than likely taken from one of the erection cranes as the Arch neared completion. The presence of such an image on the western wall and the absence of one on the eastern wall would imply that growth was still towards the west, and St. Louis did grow westward, hence the need for the Arch in the first place to counter this movement. The lie of land, as rendered by these respective views, appears to reify the success of the Arch, even when incomplete, in reviving the downtown. This image is one of many that offered similar views towards the west as in late December of 1959; the St Louis Globe Democrat heralded the headline “Good by Fifties! Hello Sixties!” Under this masthead, a perspective of the city towards the west caricatured the prospective urban projects slated for completion in the coming decade (fig. 3.14).³⁶ The Gateway Arch takes center stage, with adjacent

³⁵ Statement by Eero Saarinen, October 2, 1957. Box 55, Folder 107 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library. William Wurster at the time was Dean of the School of Architecture at the University of California.

³⁶ The perspective presented in the newspaper is reminiscent of the perspective from the competition program, however the newspaper perspective places the Arch on an equal footing with other private and civic projects being planned at the same time, even to the point of being rendered in a similar form.

high-end, high-rise housing, a new baseball stadium, new commercial and office buildings and the requisite freeways leading off the page and over the horizon. The sequence of visions did inform one another as they progressed, and also provide a chronicle of how these separate projects were manifest and in some cases removed from the overall view. There is one important characteristic that these contrived panoramas do share, a full and complete image as conceived from the Arch, or through the Arch without the constraints on the view as dictated by the Arch.

The view corridor of the Gateway Arch dutifully follows the form of the Arch, as the triangular section is clearly evident, for in order to fully see the available view one must lean out from the floor, rest their body upon the carpeted surfaces that taper towards the horizontal arrow-loop slits and subsequently tip their head to gain access to the view before them (fig. 3.15). The early renderings presented by Saarinen depicted an observation deck protruding from the summit of the Arch, which offered full 360-degree views of the surrounding landscape (fig. 3.8). Similar to a contemporaneous fighter airplane cockpit or a Vistadome³⁷ train car this panoramic platform was subsumed into the structure of the Arch in later iterations; possibly do to cost, constructability and overall integrity of the form. With the focusing of the views towards the east and west by confining the deck within the bounds of the section, Leroy R. Brown, superintendent of JNEM in 1965 stated that plans were not yet complete for the observation deck but “expects some arrangement will be made for step-up viewing stands at some of the windows for small children.” He was also studying proposals for some type of electronic equipment that would have permitted views to north and south from inside the Arch.”³⁸

The deployment of a device to supplement the view provided through the windows and fill in the gaps, so to speak, was itself an attempt to bridge the literal gap in the view that is created by the Arch. These desires to compose a larger view by rendering what lies outside the window frame acknowledged that the view the Arch provided was not quite there, not quite complete as the Arch also needed to provide the means through which to see other views. The distinction of a view provided by a window and an image produced by some type of a device, possibly a periscope

³⁷ Cyrus Osborn, vice president of General Motors, while traveling through Glenwood Canyon, conceptualized this train car in 1944. The Budd Company, Pullman-Standard and America Car and Foundry built iterations of this car. The Burlington Railroad first used them in order to exploit the scenery of its route along the Mississippi River. Depictions of this car appeared in the same stainless steel product catalog as the Gateway Arch. The Vistadome was essentially a curvilinear bubble on the top of a passenger train car that allowed passengers to view the sky and surrounding scenery.

³⁸ “First Window Section In Place on Arch.” St. Louis Globe Democrat. Tuesday, October 5, 1965. Box 55, Folder 105 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

through the roof or floor is not expanded as nothing more is mentioned about this component in the press or other design correspondence.

The significance of desiring a complete view as opposed to relying on the fractured view provided solely from the apertures of the Arch falls within the larger concerns of the obstruction. In this instance, the Arch was an obstruction to fulfilling its own visual intent. These concerns, present in the memorial project from the beginning, speak more to ensuring the presentation of a perceived unhindered and complete image of the landscape that would in turn obscure the heavily regulated and sealed territory extent on the ground. Leaving the view, in a fractured state, to the mere window would only present the realities of both the confined space of viewing and the closed landscape beyond.

With windows only 7”x 35” and a projected capacity of 240 people, concerns about a crowded observation deck and thereby an even more obstructed view at the top of the Arch is all that would await visitors were allayed in the press as “the senior partner (John Dinkeloo) of the architectural firm which designed the Arch said that it has been found that persons at the top of the Washington Monument spend an average of 10 seconds enjoying the view.” Belief in the self-regulation of the visitor capacity was due to the fact that “people seem more interested in traveling to the top of monuments than enjoying the view once they have arrived.” This practice would ensure a “reasonably good view to the north and the south as well as to the east and the west (fig. 3.16).”³⁹

Crowds preventing access to the view was not the only concern as, in the early years of construction, tight budgets had eliminated air conditioning from the observation deck. Editorials decried the absence of this necessary creature comfort, as it was thought by engineers that visitors to the observation deck would face 115-degree, heat even in winter. The need for mechanical ventilation in this sealed environment of modernity is not unique but the arguments for its necessity were made on the basis of a civic image. As the following editorial submission from September 1963 indicates, “Millions of dollars and much of the future of St. Louis are invested in the riverfront redevelopment centering about the Arch. It seems a shame that for a lack of a paltry \$157,000 for air conditioning visitors may walk away from our modern wonder sweaty and dissatisfied.”⁴⁰ To be

³⁹ “Observation Platform of Arch Expected to Hold 240 Persons.” St. Louis Post Dispatch. Friday, March 30, 1962. Box 55, Folder 104 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

⁴⁰ “For Lack of a Few Thousand.” St. Louis Globe Democrat. Thursday, September 23, 1963. Box 55, Folder 105 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

sure, vaulting people 630 feet in the air within a stainless steel tube presents a unique set of problems and comforts such as air conditioning can be construed as necessities. Concerns about the heat visitors would confront upon ascent to the Arch had less to do with the actual climate control than with the image of the city. For how could visitors look upon the regulated environment modern metropolis and sweat like a pig while doing it.⁴¹ It was important for the visitor to mentally recall the struggle of westward expansion not suffer through an experience similar to it.

The tempering of the climate in the observation deck is just the continuation of environmental and access control present upon entry to the Arch's subterranean ingress. "All persons going to the observation deck at the top of the Gateway Arch will have to buy a ticket and ride on the transportation system operated by the Bi-State Development Agency..." It is our plan that all visitors to the top of the Arch will go on our passenger transporter, which is a really unique transportation system." stated R.E. Smyser Jr. executive director of Bi-State Development Agency (fig. 3.17).⁴² Elevators and stairs were standby systems and "simply were not designed for use by the public," and "the facts are that the stairs are not fully enclosed." The public was critical of this measure instituted by the Bi-State Development Agency but Smyser again stated that the "use of the stairs posed a possible danger."⁴³ The concerns of safety and by extension liability, of using the stairs and the public's inaccessibility to this mode of ascent are justified by the sheer innovation and experience of the capsuled transporter. Even the park rangers need a valid and approved reason to enter these spaces. The physical confines of the observation gallery, the form of the windows, the number of visitors, the temperature and humidity of the air and even the means of ascent were bounded within and dictated by the form of the Arch itself but limits of surrounding urban functions, lines of sight and aesthetic precepts were also informed through the outline of the structure.

As the legs of the Arch rose to meet one another above St. Louis, apprehensions about what visitors would see from the summit of the Arch began to appear in the press and within the minutes of civic meetings (fig. 3.18). In the late 1950's Saarinen, as the architect of the Arch, raised concerns as to the height of proposed buildings surrounding the memorial. Stating that the historic site and the Arch were "the possession of all Americans," he asserted that buildings should be limited to a

⁴¹ Pigs do not have sweat glands and therefore cannot sweat.

⁴² "Ticket Needed for Top of Arch." St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Friday, November 19, 1965. Box 55, Folder 106 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

⁴³ "Stairs in Arch Not Designed For General Use, Symser Says." St. Louis Post Dispatch. Wednesday, December 1, 1965. Box 55, Folder 106 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

height of 200 feet. The height of extent urban fabric for the most part ceased at this elevation and Saarinen believe this was productive for two reasons; first, it provided a pleasing height proportion of one to three between the Arch and surrounding buildings. More importantly established a “quiet background” for the Arch to stand against.

Saarinen ratcheted up his rhetoric on this issue as a result of a June 1960 St. Louis city council decision to approve a proposal by redeveloper Lewis Kitchen to erect three 275-foot tall apartment towers adjacent to the JNEM. Worrying that these excessively tall structures would “hurt” the memorial, the 200 feet recommended restriction was cited as a valid from an “architecturally esthetic standpoint,” and that the city, in the service of economic development had overlooked its responsibility to improve the area around the ascending Arch in a “complementary manner.” Harris Armstrong, who was the president elect of the St. Louis A.I.A. chapter, implored the Board of Alderman to not render a “hasty decision” on the aesthetics of redevelopment. He asked that a design jury be selected and ground rules be established for future construction.⁴⁴

A form of Kitchen’s project did materialize along the site but the height debate seemed closed as the 275 feet elevation was approved in the zone surrounding the JNEM, economics did trump aesthetics (fig. 3.19). However, recommendations of “compatible” development and enterprise along the river adjacent to the Memorial between the Eads Bridge to the north and the anticipated interstate bridge to the south were proposed by the City Plan Commission shortly thereafter in order to ensure a pleasing view. Beyond buildings these guidelines were to provide a system for judging “esthetic merits” of moored craft and fixed functions. The provisions recommended by the City Plan Commission were that “all stationary facilities” externally adhere to an image of “riverboats built before 1899.”

The contrivance of enclosing modern programs within the image of the past is nothing new to this memorial or other historic districts. In other instances of this construction strategy, extent remains have been used to justify such codifications, the emergence of historic districts in the 1960’s is in part a result of the proclivity for urban clearing, but the JNEM being within the rubric of modernist urban development, even to the point of clearing out the built fabric, such an attempt to render a past image is all the more problematic. Such a disjuncture from the monument constructed

⁴⁴ *The Architectural Forum*. “Saarinen feels buildings near St. Louis national arch should not exceed 200 feet – but city rejects idea. July 1960, p 7. Volume 113 Number 1. Currently the zoning ordinance for the heights of buildings or other structures, such as cell phone towers cannot exceed a total of 751 feet above the ground. Section 26.64.040 of the St. Louis City Ordinance. The JNEM is designated as district L and the Central Business District is designated as district I. Both are to comply with the 751-foot elevation limits.

in the lexicon of the mid-twentieth century to its intended commemorative subject is all the more heightened by the presence of adjacent structures meant to evoke images of the frontier. Saarinen's original plan did include a frontier village and a reconstituted urban square proximal to the cathedral but such constructions were eliminated from the final project.

The very absence of the ambient nineteenth century fabric makes such a stipulation rather absurd, a preserved or restored state of surrounding buildings would have justified, to some extent, the presence of such things as a "reconstructed" riverboat. This is another attempt to fall on the side of making a history cohere to the monument that decidedly resists it due to the history surrounding its own making. Yet the appeal by civic commissions to adhere to a fixed and prior time is itself another example of how where the surface read of an historic site seemed to demand such a response. If in the construction of the Arch, the built history of the frontier waterfront was overlooked, the history of the Arch was sometimes a convenient oversight when planning the view from the Arch.

The proposed mandate by the City Plan Commission also addressed those objects that would move on the river, it was stipulated that they be required to be moved for "a minimum of two daylight hours," this may have been an effort to ensure an image of mobility and activity along the waters edge. Boats moving up and down the river in regulated travel and the performance of commerce would lend an air of growth. Little is said with regard to existing barge traffic and trade that still rely quite heavily on the Mississippi. With such limited space in front of the Arch "the city should be extremely selective in uses permitted," according to City Planning Director Robert Jones.⁴⁵

The National Park Service also weighed in on the view debate and suggested that a "clear view" space shall be maintained 335 feet north and 335 feet south of center line of the Arch in which no activity on the wharf of mooring shall be permitted." The City Plan Commission also wished to assure "visitors to the Gateway Arch will have a pleasing uninterrupted view of the riverfront."⁴⁶ The concern as to "on what" visitors were expected to look appears to be overlooked in the framing of this view by aesthetics dictated through a planning agency. (fig. 3.20)

⁴⁵ "Controls Urged For Riverfront Near the Arch." St. Louis Post Dispatch. Friday, January 25, 1963. Box 55, Folder 104 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

⁴⁶ "Gateway Arch View Safeguards Urged." St. Louis Globe-Democrat. Friday, January 25, 1963. Box 55, Folder 104 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

These attempts to ensure an appropriate image from not only the deck of the Arch but the surrounding park as well not only worked as abstract guidelines but served to actively limit opportunities along the river. For example, the City Plan Commission rejected plans for a “boatel” along the river roughly three months after these recommendations were approved. According to a reader submitted editorial to the Post-Dispatch in support of this decision stated, “The novelty of a floating hotel might be attractive but a strict guard should be maintained against anything, which would detract from the planned appearance of the area.” The editorial continues by declaring the Arch is “bound to be a strong magnet for other construction.” citing the contemporaneous construction of the new sports stadium designed within these sound rules for the riverfront.⁴⁷

Agreement with such schemes, such as a novelty hotel, is not the concern but that such ideas were considered outside the acceptable aesthetic limits and not in accordance to acceptable functions adjacent to a memorial predicated upon tribute to westward expansion is evidence of the cognitive shift in how the land was visualized. Certainly the nineteenth century was not a period solely consumed with rampant speculation, any more than the twentieth was a period strictly regulated through design. However, in the former, position and opportunity were rarely perceived to work within such regulation. This is not a validation of free market interest or an ascent to authoritarian aesthetic imposition. Evidence of both extremes already litters the landscape.

Both the “Futurama” and the Arch work towards the similar end of capturing in total, the contents of their landscape image. They do however invert the position of the spectators. The “Futurama” situates them along the edge, looking towards a centralized, controlled representation, while the Arch positions observers within an elongated point looking out to a circumscribed view with attempts at aesthetic regulation. The clarity of vision presented by the “Futurama” leaves no doubt as to what the visitor should see, a fully consolidated, well ordered and maintained country in which all aspects of life – production and consumption – have been brought into a seamless, unified space. The view regulations of the Arch by contrast only present two vagaries in relation to one another through such terms as “compatible” and “pleasing” with no indication of concrete functions that would conform to those qualifiers. What the visitor was supposed to see from the

⁴⁷ “Respect for the Riverfront.” St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Tuesday April 2, 1963. Box 55, Folder 104 Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library. Appears to be an editorial submission. This stadium was known as Busch Memorial Stadium, the second stadium to carry this name. This structure was in service from 1966 to 2005, to be then replaced by the third Busch Stadium. Busch Memorial was design by Sverdrup and Parcel. The most notable feature was the upper most ring of 96 arches in response to the just completed Gateway Arch. Edward Durrell Stone was the architect responsible for the “Crown of Arches.”

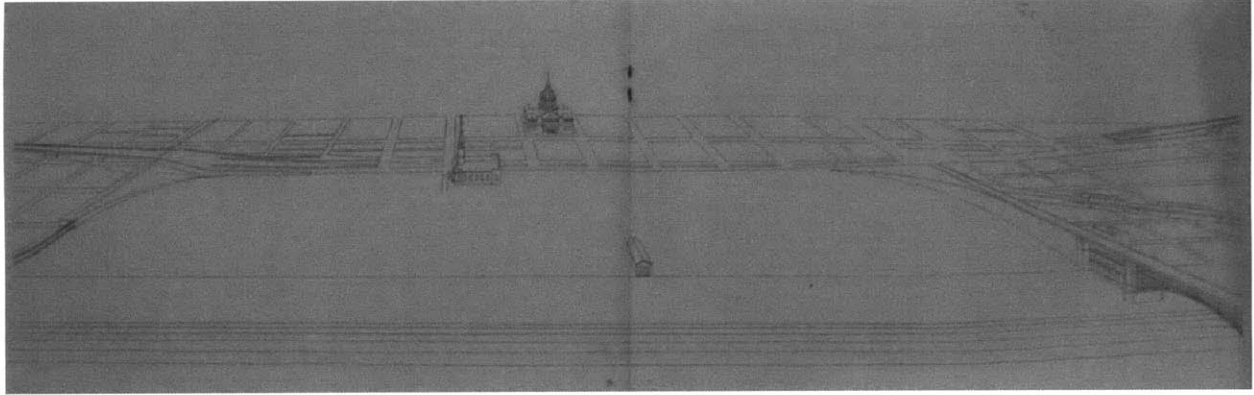
Arch was never clarified, only that it should cohere with the Arch and its intent. The Arch sought, by working with the horizon, to put those necessary production functions of the landscape out of sight, to in effect provide the vision of the realized future as projected by such authors as General Motors.

These debates on the view from the Arch that began in the 1960's still carry weight, as there is a current push to remove a very profitable grain elevator across the Mississippi from the memorial due to the concerns of seeing the messy activity of grain transport and handling. The presence of a grain elevator within the lines of sight from a modern monument to westward expansion would fit, with some appreciation, within the narratives of Gropius and Banham and even Saarinen acknowledged the limitations of controlling what lies outside the bounds of his site. This was one of the reasons he sought to turn this variable into a productive aspect of the memorial's intent. Yet to that end, the actual view from the Arch is held to an unrealizable standard of ideal aesthetic unity predicated on the invisibility and cool to the touch mechanisms of an ever-modern projection. The crux of the productive problem of the Arch lies, not in a loss and subsequent lament of some fanciful, unattainable holistic vision, but in where the Arch falls short of its realization of contemporary future visions and its incompatibility with the prospects under the westward expansion it intends to symbolize.

The coupling of aesthetics to real estate is not unique to riverfront St. Louis and the desire to increase the value of adjacent land through its proximity to a notable urban space or crucial institutional function is nothing radical. However in only serving as a point of commemoration, the Arch fails to be a destination of return, an agency or institution that provides a space of perpetual and potential encounter with new ideas, policies, networks or visions of the landscape. This aloof position ensures its failure to operate as an integral approach economic circulation. The visions of post-war conglomerates and international organizations may be no less open to the individual than the view of the land presented by the realized Arch and JNEM - stripped of its functional urban contents. However, the mere fact that such spaces are created to promote the fashioning of these visions does speak to the activity of the very real residues, which often have more impact than the gathering itself, to propel the larger system, a system that claims to run on the vision. Agriculture as a result of the California Gold Rush is a prime example of this.

The Arch is closed to the potential of landscape visualization. The landscape, all too evident, is completely obscured. This has nothing to do with the buildings and roads as objects in and of themselves but in their consolidation into a cohesive image. The differential of the view produced by

the Arch exposes the shift from the vision of landscape to that of its view. This shift also registers the change in the character of capital from the productive landscape as envisioned through the prospect in the nineteenth century to the consumptive domain as manifest in the twentieth. Concurrently, the preoccupation to attain a “cleared” view, which necessitated removal of all interstitial obstacles and incompatible activity in the service of a regulated aesthetic, overlooked the approach to a “clear” view. The clear view afforded an opportunity to precisely and productively describe the potentials or the prospects that lie within and in-between those extent elements in the landscape in order to produce an individual means to envision potential. The work was in the description, the place where the potentials were found and translated. Conceptual work was not necessary on the part of the individual to conceive of the possibilities contained within the landscape of the “Futurama,” or the view presented by the Arch. The difference was between making a place in the landscape as opposed to locating a position within a system.



3.1

Site Perspective from the Official Competition Brief for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, 1947
Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.



3.2

Proposed airport for the St. Louis riverfront in 1944 by architect Harris Armstrong; an idea that would carry over to his proposal for the 1947 JNEM competition, as he designated part of the site as a landing strip.

Reproduced from:

Lipstadt, Helene. "Co-Making the Modern Monument: The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Competition and Eero Saarinen's Gateway Arch." In *Modern Architecture in St. Louis: Washington University and Postwar American Architecture, 1948-1973*. Edited by Eric Mumford. School of Architecture: Washington University. 2004.

3.3

page 114

First Stage Submission by Eero Saarinen Design Team

Reproduced from:

Merkel, Jayne. *Eero Saarinen*. New York. Phaidon. 2005.

3.4

page 115

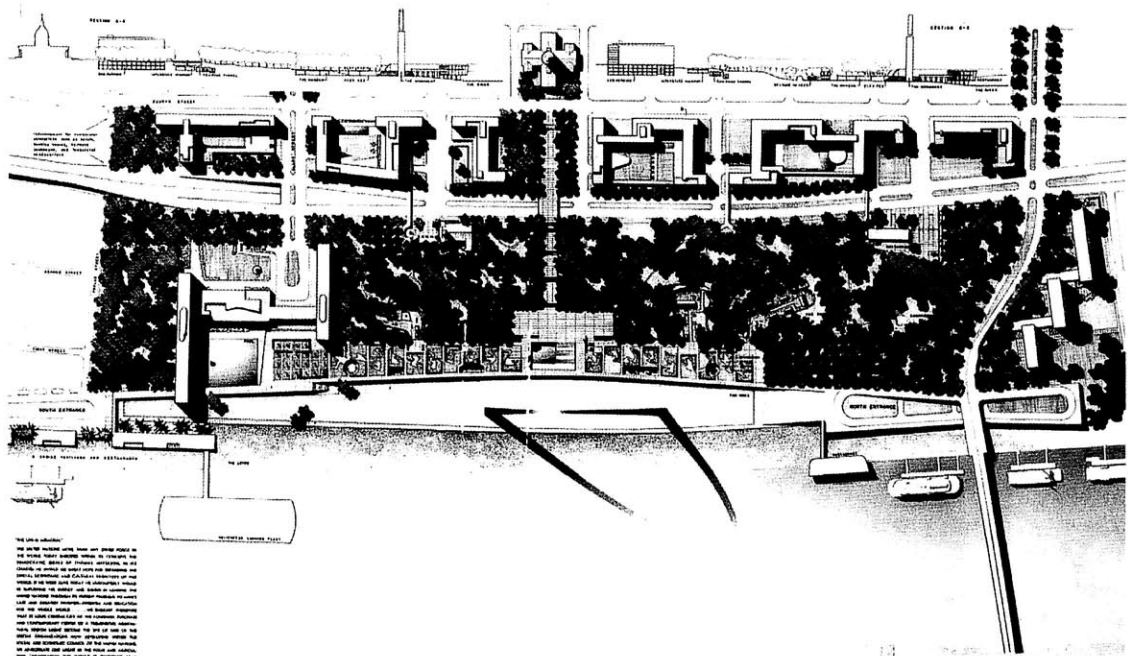
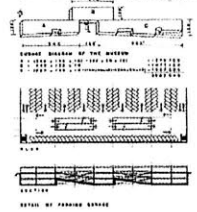
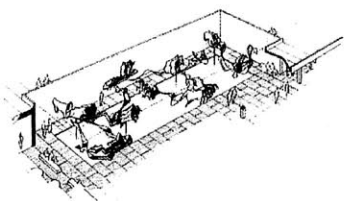
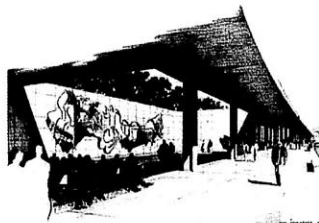
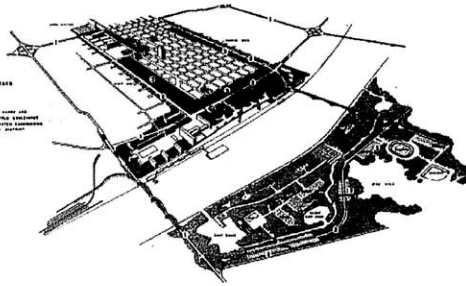
Second Stage Submission by Eero Saarinen Design Team

Reproduced from:

Lipstadt, Helene. "Co-Making the Modern Monument: The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Competition and Eero Saarinen's Gateway Arch." In *Modern Architecture in St. Louis: Washington University and Postwar American Architecture, 1948-1973*. Edited by Eric Mumford. School of Architecture: Washington University. 2004.

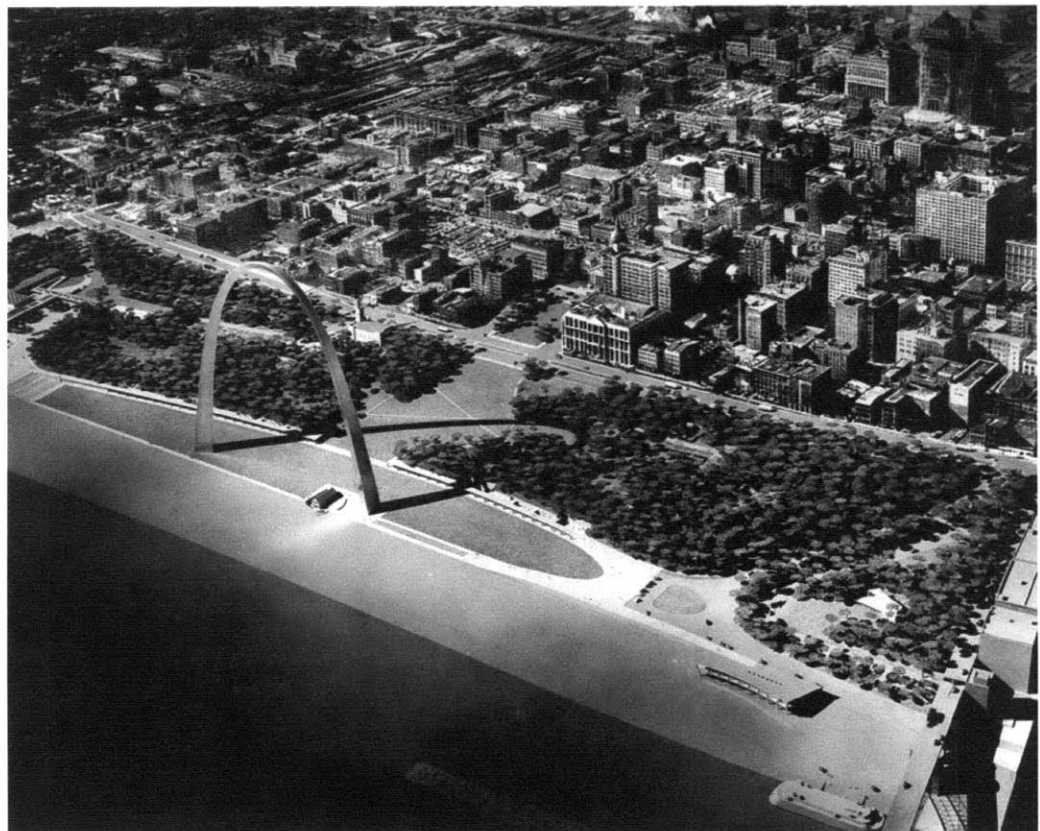
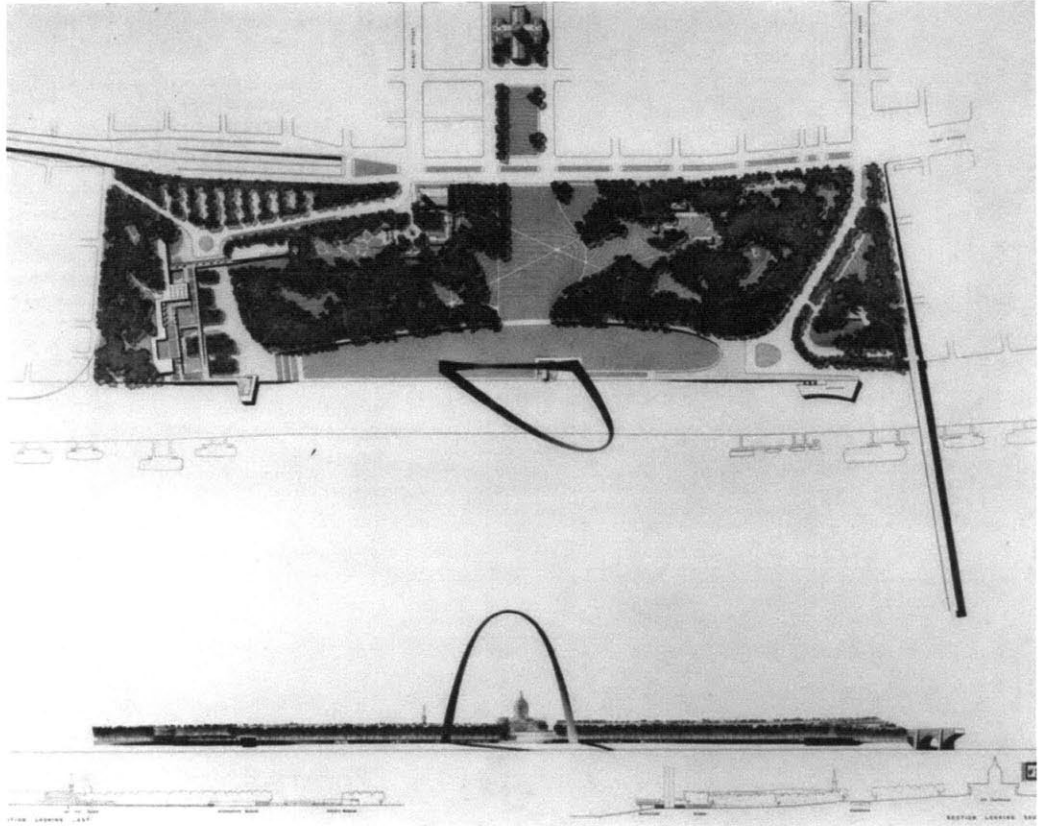
- ① HIGHWAY-EXPRESS WAY
- ② TRAFFIC DISPERSED WAY
- ③ PARKING FACILITIES

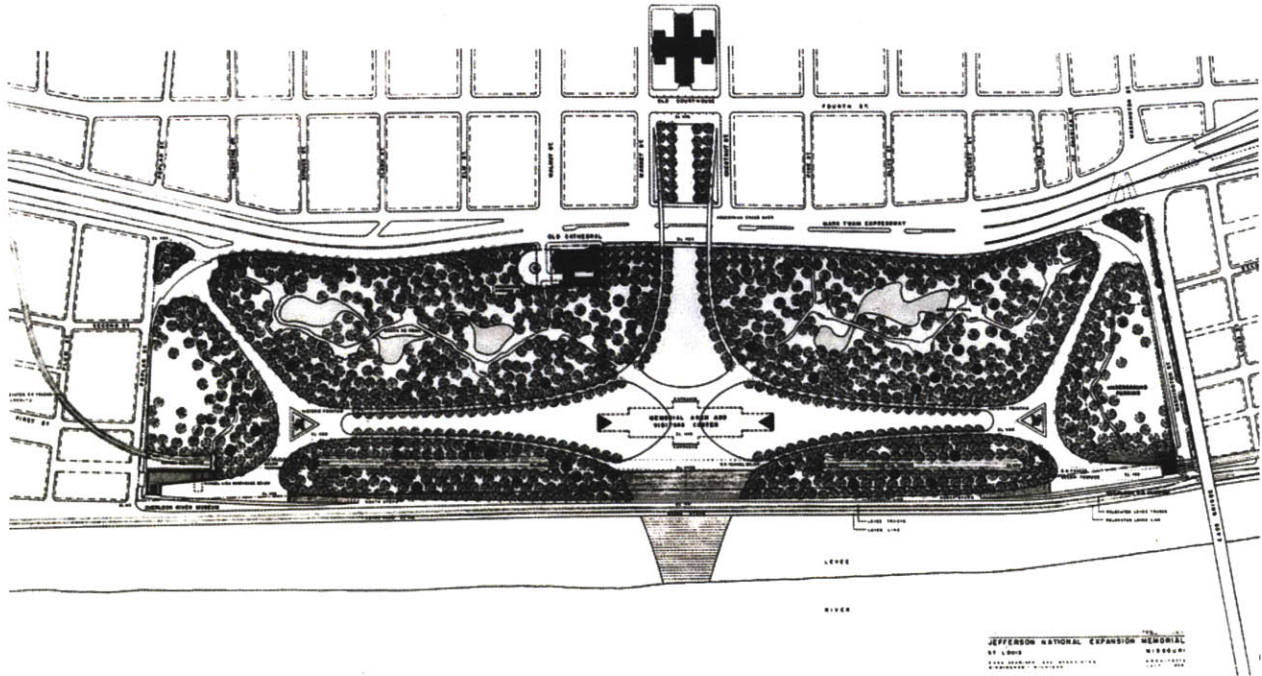
IN AN EFFORT TO MAKE THE
 MARKET CENTER A MORE
 ATTRACTIVE AND FUNCTIONAL
 AREA, THE FOLLOWING
 ARE THE PROPOSED
 IMPROVEMENTS:



THE LAYOUT
 OF THE MARKET CENTER
 IS DESIGNED TO BE
 A FUNCTIONAL AND
 ATTRACTIVE AREA
 WHICH WILL BE
 A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION
 TO THE CITY OF
 ST. LOUIS.





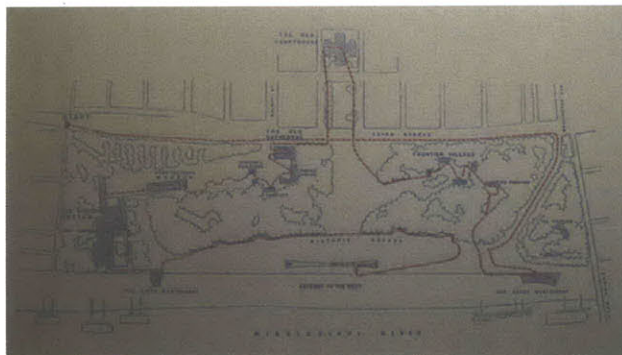


3.5

Final Site Plan, JNEM

Reproduced from:

Merkel, Jayne. *Eero Saarinen*. New York. Phaidon. 2005.

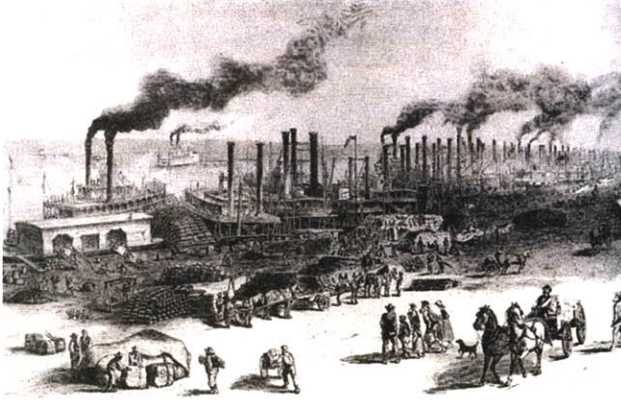


3.6

“An Imaginary Tour of the Proposed Jefferson National Expansion Memorial on the Mississippi River at St. Louis.” By Eero Saarinen.

1948

Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.



3.7

“The St. Louis Levee in the heyday of water transportation”

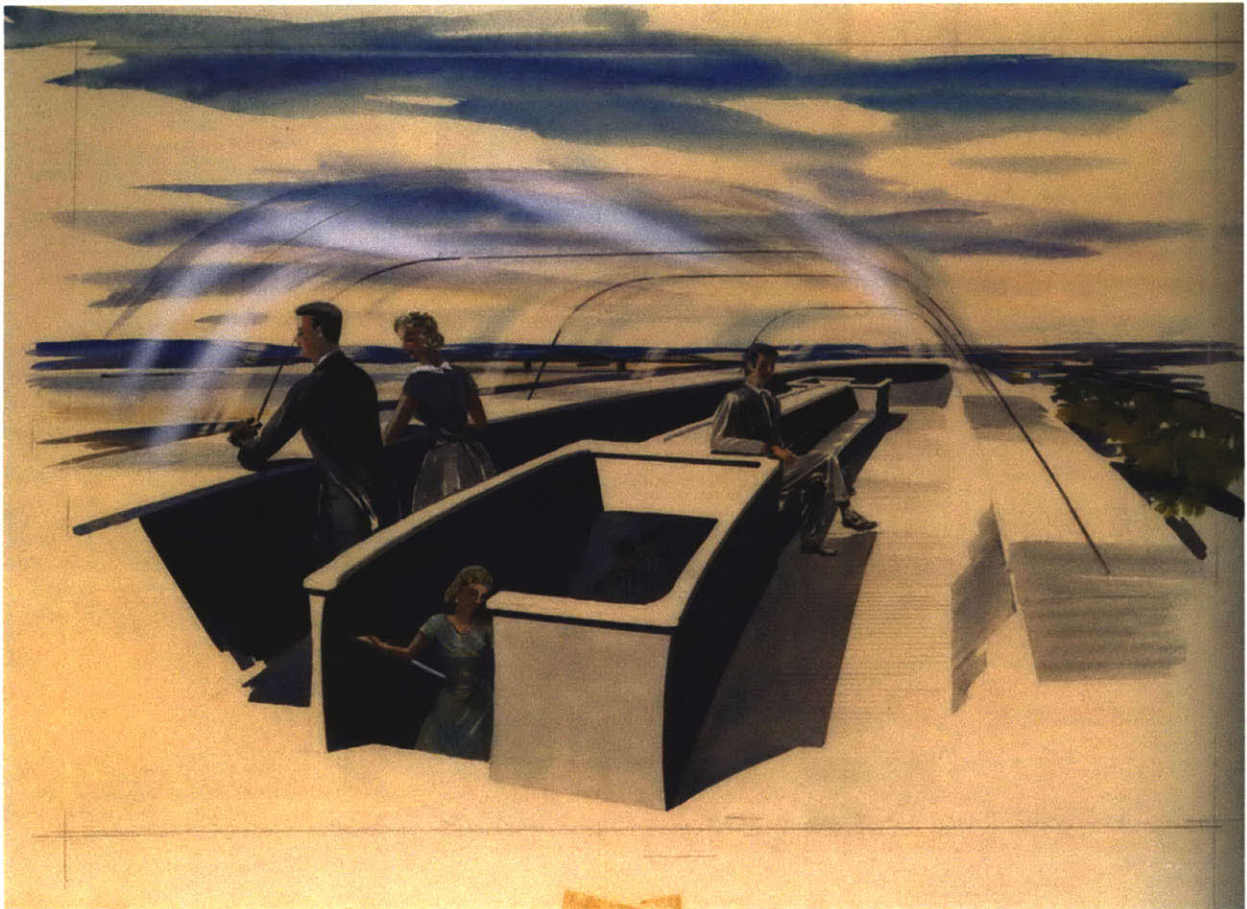
Harper's Weekly

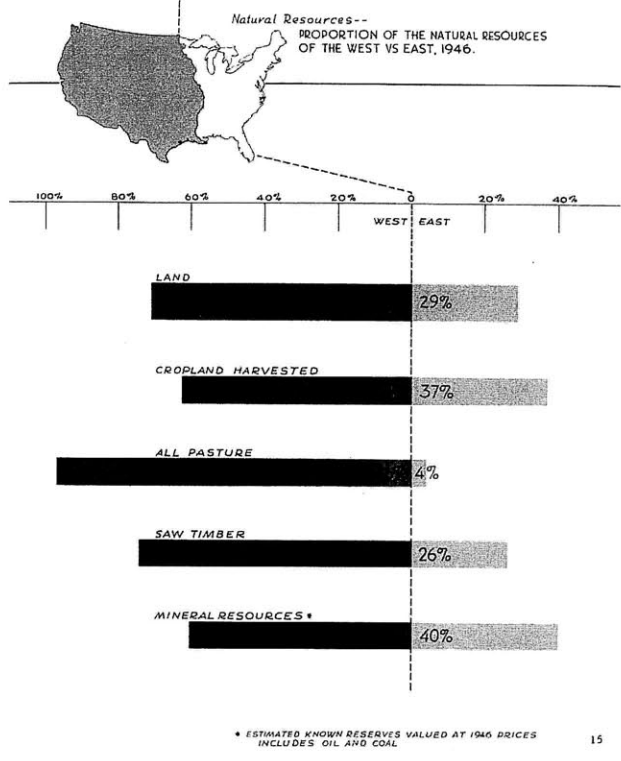
October 14, 1871

3.8

Rendering of Saarinen's unrealized scheme for a 360-degree panoramic observation deck at the summit of the Gateway Arch.

Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.

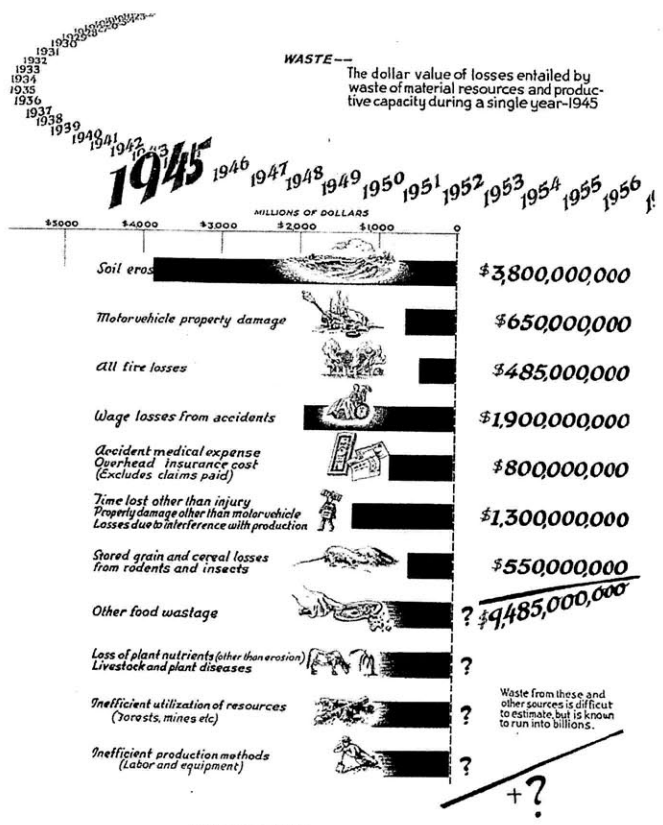




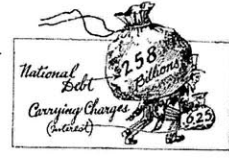
3.9
The American West: an Inventory of Greatness
W. C. D'Arcy
1948

This limited run publication for St. Louis business leaders in the service of promoting the Memorial utilized graphs of this sort to state the case, not for overt settlement of the west, but for justify the need to memorialize it, even though it still held vast untapped potential. It can be argued that this document also served to promote further investment in the west.

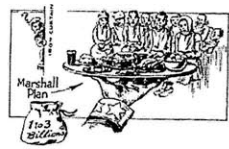
JNEM Archives



POSSIBLE GAINS--
Memorial advantages that could be realized if an annual waste of 9.5 billion dollars were saved and applied to the national economy.



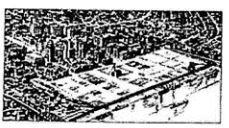
9.5 BILLION DOLLARS--applied annually toward payment of interest and reduction of principal, would wipe out our present national debt of 258 billion dollars in fifty years.



9.5 BILLION DOLLARS--- saved annually, would pay the six to eight billion dollar estimated cost of the proposed Marshall Plan (or what Congress, in its wisdom, deems necessary) and provide a surplus of from one to three billion dollars.



9.5 BILLION DOLLARS---represents \$67 for every man, woman, and child in the United States--or over \$265 per family of four.



9.5 BILLION DOLLARS---is an annual rate of waste which if saved at a uniform hourly rate would produce enough to pay for the entire Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in just 29 hours.



3.10

Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way
(*Westward Ho!*)

Emanuel Leutze

1862

installed at the U.S. Capitol



3.11

Westward the Star of Empire- near Council Bluffs, Iowa

Andrew Melrose

1867



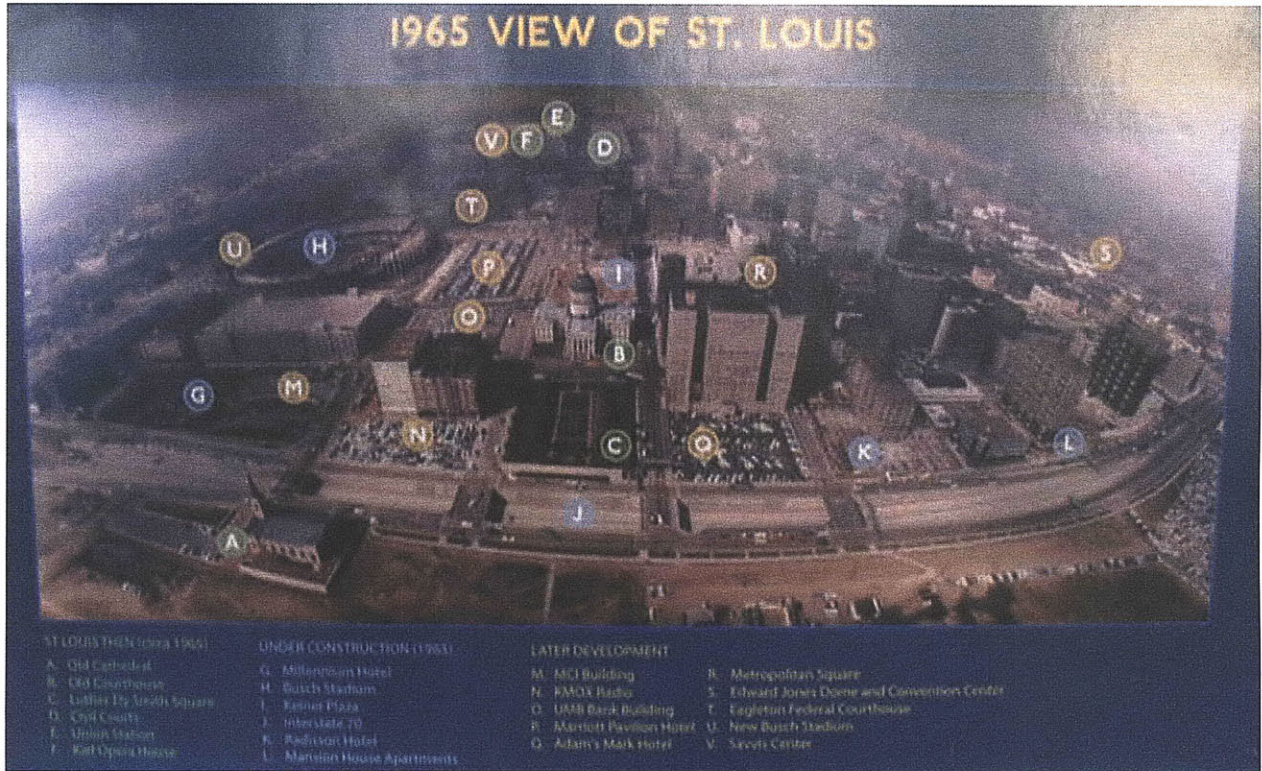
3.12

Across the Continent: "Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way"

Fanny Palmer

1868

Lithograph distributed by Currier and Ives



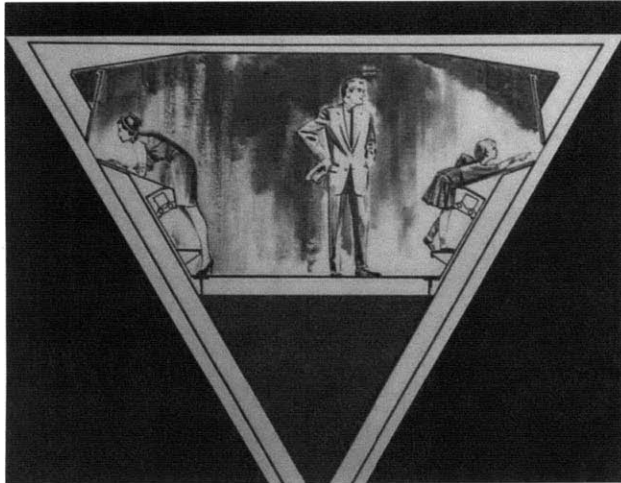
3.13

This palimpsest of the St. Louis skyline is displayed on the western side of the Arch's observation deck. From it, the construction of the famous "donut" of the second Busch Stadium is visible; this stadium was replaced with the third, more nostalgic looking, Busch Stadium. The Interstate has just been completed along the western edge of the Memorial. The remainder of the parking lot that dominated the site since the removal of the warehouses is visible at the right edge of the image.



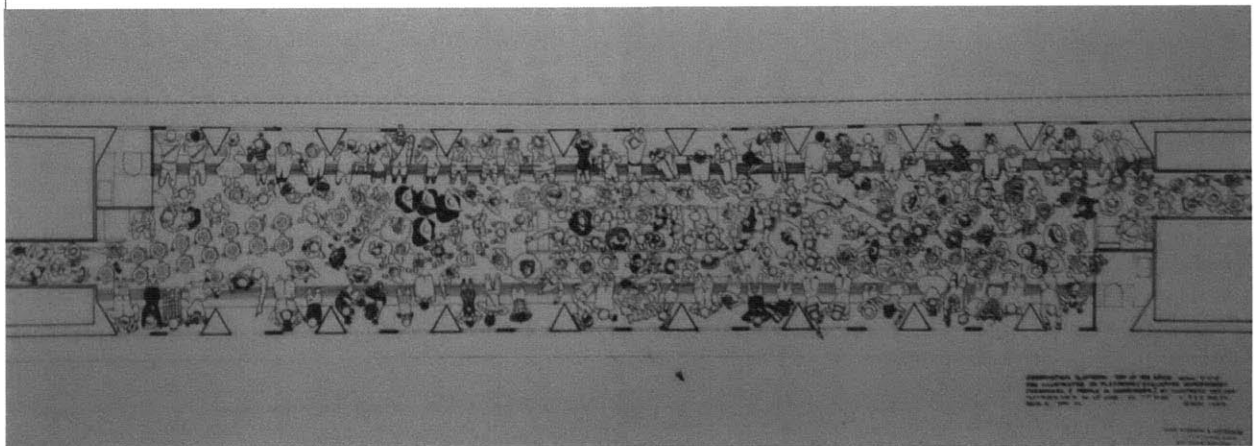
3.14

"Good by Fifties! Hello, Sixties!"
 St. Louis Globe Democrat
 December 20, 1959



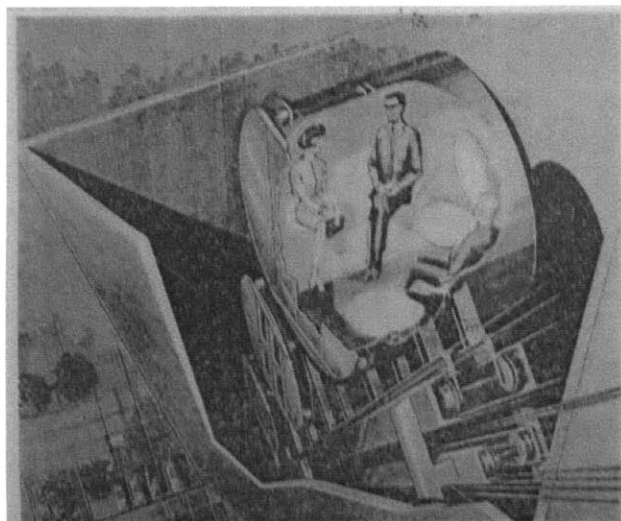
3.15

The triangular section of the Arch reveals how the visitor's body contorted in order to obtain a view through the narrow, horizontal windows also the step-up benches for children are also visible.



3.16

Plan section of the Arch Observation Deck that depicts a crowded viewing platform. A group of Boy Scouts and nuns are visible among the other tourists. The drawing seems to contradict Dinkeloo's assertion that a "reasonably good view" would be available.



How Visitors Will Ride to Top of Arch

Artist's drawing of the capsule cars in which passengers will ride to the top of the Gateway Arch when the transportation system, financed and operated by the Bi-State Development Agency, is completed about the end of the year. The cars, each seating five persons, will travel in eight-car trains. There will be one train in each leg of the arch. The cars are swiveled, like those in a Ferris wheel, so that passengers main upright despite the changes in direction. The cars are being made by St. Louis Car Division, General Steel Industries, Inc.

3.17

"How Visitors Will Ride to Top of Arch"

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

July 23, 1965



3.18

Completing the Arch in 1965

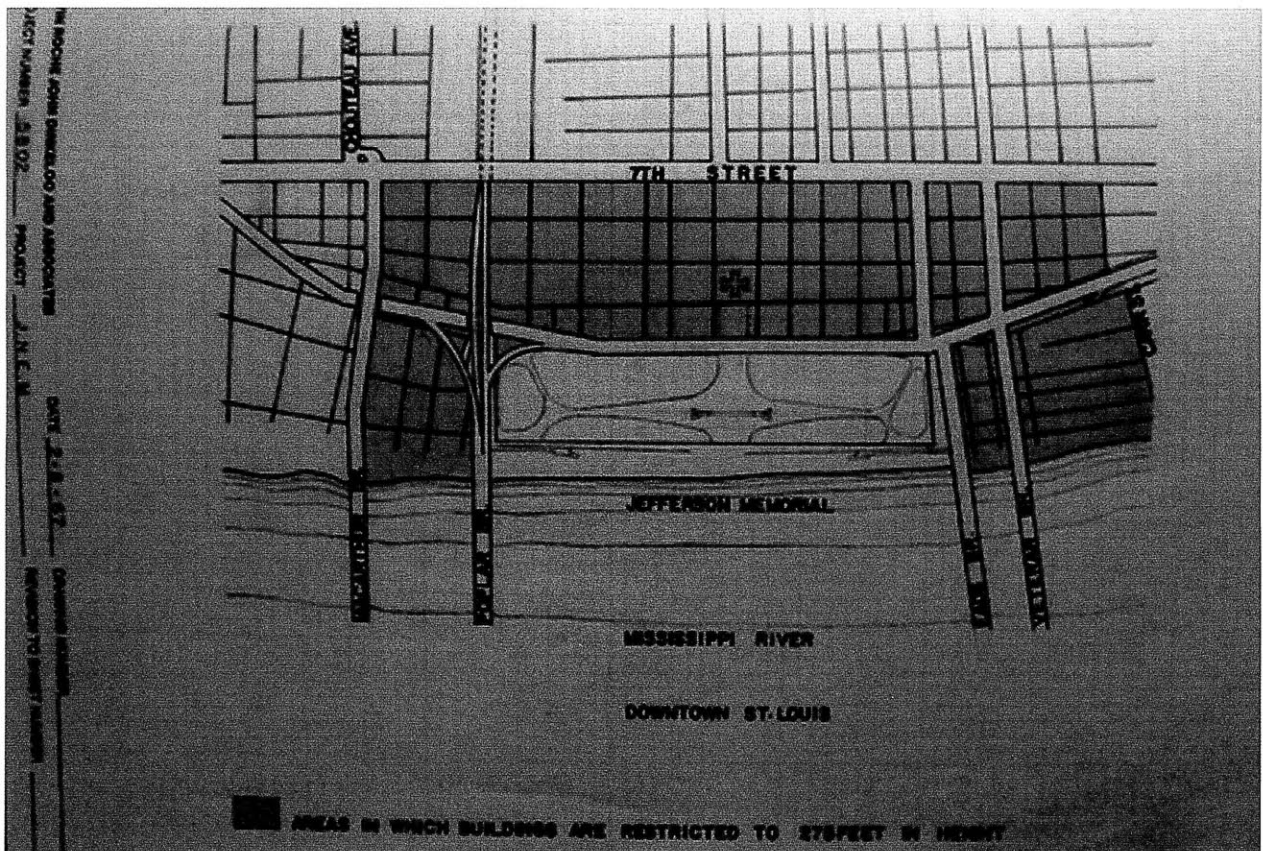
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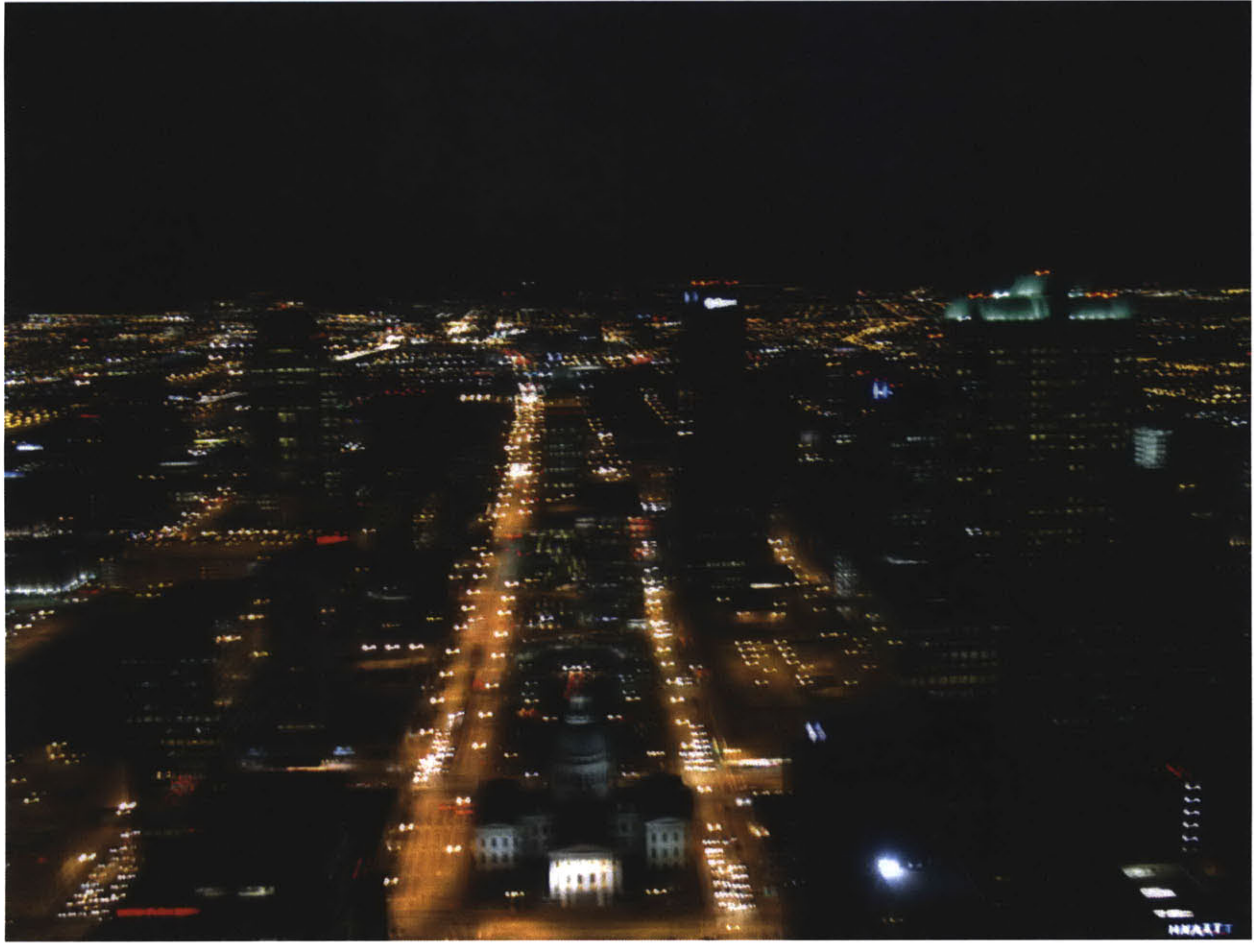
Eero Saarinen, Shaping the Future. Edited by Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen and Donald Albrecht. New Haven. Yale University Press. 2006.

3.19

Zone of building height limits at 275 feet, after the city government's approval of the residential project adjacent to the JNEM by developer Lewis Kitchen.

Saarinen Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Yale University Library.





Conclusion:
Grid to Grid, Productive Land to Consumptive Power

There are two movie theaters in the subterranean JNEM welcome center planted between the legs of the Arch: one shows a film on the Lewis and Clark expedition, while the other documents the construction of the Arch. This positioning of the Arch as equal in monumentality and significance to the exploration of Lewis and Clark, and by extension the frontier, is a striking attempt to validate one as directly connected to the other. Such a juxtaposition provides a strange even-hand to both. The mere fact of having film “footage” from the Arch construction, as opposed to the cinematic “staging” for a Lewis and Clark documentary, sets the Arch squarely in its own time, as an object that manifests a post-war “pioneering spirit.” The Arch was realized as a single design project but due to its sheer scale, ambition and innovation, this architectural scheme was conceived as being on par with westward expansion. This blueprinted undertaking was not unlike the contemporaneous process of reconceiving the west as a cohesive and unified consummation that formulated a unified nation and offered a way of life distinct to the United States. The casting of the Arch itself as pivotal and commensurate in monumentalizing westward expansion is precisely the moment where the Arch fails to cohere; for in rendering the history of the frontier as equal to that of the history of its memorial is the point where the irreconcilable differential occurs.

What these two distinct periods reveal, even though they stand some seventy years apart, is the important shift in how individuals related to the landscape through its visualization. It is by the position of the Arch, within an urban redevelopment plan, while commemorating the frontier - a period of extensive land settlement - where the shifts in visualization become heightened. The visualization of land during westward expansion was formed through the mechanism of the national land survey and the conception of the prospect. The survey was an expedient means to parcel the territory while the prospect served to visualize future potentials that were latent within the present features of the land.

In the twentieth century, frontier history became a mine of raw materials to validate plans, both state and corporate, for the future. Drawing from this history was quite distinct from being informed by it. It is one thing to deploy frontier imagery and evocation for the sake of these futuristic plans, for in so doing there is a reliance on the already abstract notion of the frontier, westward expansion and progress; it is quite another to actively symbolize this history in built form. While those projecting images of the future had to construe the past in relation to their visionary constructions, they could focus their aesthetics towards representing the future and let individual recollections, no less constructed, serve to reflect the past. Such exhibitions as “Futurama” had the ease in just saying the words - pioneer, west and the like - JNEM and Gateway Arch had to perform

in an entirely different manner. The Arch had to make the spatial and temporal expanse of generic application as manifest in the small, concrete tactics and large, intangible events of westward expansion cohere to one another.

Similarly the Arch was caught in its own history, its own episteme. In its efforts to commemorate it failed to make the past or the future cohere. It did not establish a continuum; instead it further solidified the break, placing even greater distance to the past. This distance was exacerbated by the demolition of the urban surround of the frontier period and exemplified by the position within the rhetoric of local economic renewal and the practices of real estate development. Also the problem lies within the mandate of the Arch to function outside a certain pragmatism. For the project to be conceived as a success, through the form, was in its ability to embody an intangible circumstance while in turn generating a physical financial recovery of the city. However, the Arch was expected to generate capital without being given the means to do so.

Modernist architecture in its most reductive and overly simplistic notion was predicated on a functionalist capacity. However the Arch was caught within another “closed” system of modernist rhetoric, the conceptual and aesthetic singularity of the “future.” Saarinen’s scripting of a tour through this modernist monument on a vacated site is evident of its location within an aesthetic ideological present. Caught up within modernist urban strategies, mid-twentieth century planners and architects did not want the “bewildering beauty” of Langworthy’s 1853 New York. The layered, haptic, assemblage of ships and buildings that confronted him upon entry into New York harbor was captured from a level vantage point with the presented scene, a scene that appeared boundless. Such a motley mix of elements, the conflation with natural allegories and taking ones view from an equal footing with the image, situated the individual as a potential participant in the furthering of this construction, as expansion was occurring spatially in the west but also accumulating in the east. Under the banner of aesthetics, the claims of beauty in the twentieth century were posited as a unified ideal and not an individual description, a market imposition as opposed to a cultivated composition.

The aesthetic, or look of progress is telling of the rupture from nineteenth-century expansion to its mid-twentieth century calibration. The ordered and comprehensible view presented by the aerial aspect of twentieth century representations, like “Futurama,” positions the viewer as a spectator and witness to this new structure. Langworthy’s seeming lament of being unable to conceive the limits of his view, at multiple locations were answered by his literal inability to leave the earth, or get off the ground. In the twentieth century such a possibility was an all too real and

accessible vantage; the off the ground relationship to a view does not even have to occur from a plane, for it is enough that the plane exists somewhere in order to provide it. The Arch gets captured in this condition, as the efforts to codify the view from the observation deck attempted to eliminate, or at least conceal the realities of commercial confusion.

As an object that produces a view, the Arch is distinct from observation decks at the Empire State Building or the Sears Tower; the former is burdened by a position within a memorial, within the limits of evoking a past while the latter can merely present the world “as it is.” Views from the Gateway Arch were intended to mean something, whereas views from any generic high-rise have no such obligation. The position of observation decks as a programmatic part of many skyscrapers is not a stretch from the revenue generation other floors provide as office or residential space. Visitors to these decks pay rent, in a certain way, for time and space on the floor and for access to an expansive view; as such they operate quite comfortably and are attuned to the market system within which they work. The Arch in contradistinction has no such rental support in relation to its observation deck, as the deck is the only occupiable space within the Arch. The deck is the only reason for entering the Arch. Hovering above the space of symbolic frontier passage, the Arch provides a view dislocated from the economic system.

If the west is to be considered as the formation and later maturing space of U.S. capitalism than the Arch and its attached memorial could be considered the first attempt to commemorate that condition. This marking of capital is quite different than a skyscraper – the “cathedral of commerce” – in that the Arch was meant to serve another function beyond generating mere capital. A productive means by which to begin this new view towards the Arch is consideration of its production of a specific visual field and that field in relation to visual descriptions and conceptions of the frontier. The Arch productively forgot the frontier in its efforts to memorialize it.

Were the crafters of the JNEM program, the selection jury and the competing design teams commemorating, without really intending to, capitalist formation with outmoded tools? The rhetoric of innovations in technology, ambition of advance and spirit of pioneering settle quite well within both epistemes of westward expansion and post-war modernizing, and such notions, on the surface, perpetuate one another with very little effort. Celebrating the market was not the obvious intent behind the project and using Jefferson as the ready-made vehicle of a national hero cloaks such efforts to render the project in relation to capital.

A monument to westward expansion, or national expansion seems rather strange when set against the similar tendencies of imperialism, colonialism or even capitalism. As a term, expansion is

more abstract, seemingly innocuous, possibly benign and unencumbered, as opposed to its semantic adjacencies, like the ones just listed. Commemorations to the battles and figures of colonial exploits or imperial advance are nothing new but the absence of a physical manifestation of a memorial to colonialism or imperialism itself is telling and such a proposal would be a ludicrous or an ironic design studio exercise. The expansion period and its methods the Arch memorialized brought about the larger reason for a memorial in the first place in the effort to counter those very forces it honors.

This memorial moves beyond the traditional event or figure base of tribute in that by claiming expansion as a condition worthy of remembrance attempts to commemorate, a composition of movements, modalities and migrations. The Arch, in recalling expansion, claims to commemorate something that cannot be closed, for there is no death or treaty by which or through which to close it. For if capital expansion operates in the abstract and only the effects of capital are rendered visible in present growth or stagnations or in past relocations than an equally difficult problem arises in trying to not only consider its role in history but how that history is reduced to a physical and visual form.

One could argue that the arch, as a form, provides an insightful response to the fluidities of capital and market circulation. The inherent problem of trying to commemorate expansion is what sets this monument apart from prior memorials and to a large extent those that came after. A conception as vague as expansion, even if it is bundled with physical territory, does not lend itself well to memorializing; a condition predicated on a certain fixity and stasis. Early in the JNEM Competition, the need for the site to function beyond the symbolic was evident. Efforts in the competition, to placate public and private calls for a “living memorial,” are interesting and possibly more attuned to how the monument could have been more viable from an economic recovery standpoint. While the competition and the architectural response were decidedly forward in their approach and the U.S. government and National Park Service support of a clearly modernist aesthetic is also an intriguing part of the circumstance. However the return to a strict memorialization was not enough to regain an urban primacy for St. Louis in the west, the nation or the world. The larger indirect relations of the market as manifest by cities such as New York, London or Tokyo or policy institutions, such as the United Nations, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank had already established themselves and their centers of power.

The opposed ends of deploying permanence in order to commemorate a process that operates through ephemera or concretizing a movement that is inherently fluid is an irreconcilable condition that is certainly testing the limits of architecture. The Arch in serving as a contained,

symbolic outline attempts to place the condition of expansion within one moment and to one place on the map. The Arch tried to memorialize not a figure or event but a process. Expansion by its very act of expanding cannot be fixed to a single point.

The Arch being a product of its time is situated on the opposite bank of the cognitive shift of landscape vision, not only aesthetically but conceptually as well. With its circumstance in the post-war United States, the Arch fell within a projection of the future not dependent on the prospect in a visual sense or bound within that productive frontier relation to the landscape. Instead the Arch was established as a prospect as it was objectively defined in the abstract space of capital in the twentieth century with the burden of increasing local real estate value and adhering to the aesthetic destination of certain progress.

The visualization of the land and its relation to the conception, design and realization of the Arch reveal larger questions for the conception of history as well. The position of the Arch within an historic site that contains little extent historic fabric shifted the premise from a preservation of physical structures to memorialization of an intangible process. In a strange turn, and as a justification for wholesale eradication of decaying nineteenth century buildings, it was thought that to evoke history was to remove the past. Or said another way, it was a clean slate upon which a compatible and cohesive history could be projected.

The performance of an historical composition would seem a more productive means to consider the condition of the nineteenth century west and post-war urban renewal. As opposed to the clean slate approach, the composition is a more accurate description of such sites, due to its capacity in bringing disparate elements into relation. History can also be understood from the process of the composition and the cognition of the prospect. Composition and prospect have roots and relations to the visual realm and both serve to explicate the period of westward expansion and its attendant epilogetic object; composition as a form of history and prospect as that specific visual description of the capitalist forces within that history and which extend beyond it.

The market, even in its nascent form, and not unlike the federal land survey was one of the first set of bounded relations to operate across the landscape and as harder systems of circulation, such as railroads, interstates and electricity, carried capital; the landscape composition as understood through representations of the frontier became an image of consolidation. The Arch, as a product of mitigating both the local economic decline caused by the successes of westward expansion and the desolation produced by initial efforts to remediate this decline, attempted to fill in and settle the disparate shards and bind the elements together.

The prospect is not the same as the “future,” this condition too is a result of the cognitive shift of visualization. Even though the terms exist in synonymic fashion, presenting another problem of interchangeability that conceals a precise distinction between the two terms. It would be productive to remove – and if this is not possible maybe hold in suspense - the notion of “the future,” which serves as a totalized, closed and imagined representation that is perceived and produced from the outside, from beyond attainable reach without some visual product of a destination and reconsider the forms of description and composition as conceived through the prospect. The prospect took stock of the surroundings, describing them beyond the level of mere surface, which allowed the “as it is” of the landscape to provide a multiplicity of what “it could be,” as opposed to imposing from an aesthetic preconception of what it “will be.”

The land was so crucial in the settlement of the U.S. but has become so absent in later visualizations of space. This absence has limited the capacity to visualize beyond the singular conception of the “future.” Visualization of the land was what set capital in motion in the first place. The expansive views recorded in the nineteenth century were predicated upon the participation of the viewer to render the potentials of what could be, based upon their reading of landscape. The view as exhibited from the Gateway Arch is presented to the observer as a complete image with no need for description, as it had been adequately regulated to conform to a set of aesthetic norms. This image is not altogether different from the projected landscape of the “Futurama,” which required no process of description, a process so crucial in rendering the land as productive.

The approach, the process had been taken out of the image. The work was concealed, not unlike the machines or landscapes represented by these visualizations. The compatible activities surrounding the Arch desired for the landscape to work but not reveal how it worked. These visualizations concealed the work of rendering the prospect. The productivity of the prospect had shifted into an abstract, indirect relation to land, into the clean, cool and comfortable spaces of modernity as opposed to the soiled, sweaty and survival spaces of the frontier. With this shift comes the distinction between those who were thought to possess the skills necessary to undertake the process of visualization, from the sights of the farmer and the prospector to those of the qualified professional. There is a return to aesthetics but not as the process of looking but as the “look of progress.”

We are twice removed from the frontier, from its productive landscape. The bureaucracy of the U.S. Census closed the physical space of the frontier in 1890 and the Arch closed the landscape

as a tool of visualization upon its completion in 1965. However, in so doing the Arch reveals this crucial closure. In Saarinen's script, and even now, the view was a piecemeal and problematic attempt to attain an idealized and impossible future image that drew from the recollective rhetoric of expansion but was not informed through that expansion's descriptive operations of the productive landscape. The Arch in offering a view is where it closes the landscape, as a result, the prospects that were conceived as everywhere within the conception of the land were displaced and set to wander into the spaces of abstraction, not unlike nature, capital and the individual. The Arch courts abstraction, in fact it ensures it, as it has no front, no back; no Janus face. It cannot look to the past or the future. The Arch in its commemoration of westward expansion offers more insight as to how the land was visualized in the twentieth century more than it ever could recuperate the vision of landscape as it operated in the frontier. Saarinen's view from the Arch conceals, through overexposure, the first grid of the national land survey by means of the latest grid, that of the electric network. This later grid ran, for the most part, along the lines of the first, but instead of furthering the multiple, individual potentials perceived through parceling the land, it solidified a singular source from which to draw a vision.

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