GEORGE ROGERS CLARK NATIONAL PARK

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK MEMORIAL
GEORGE ROGERS CLARK NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
VINCENNES, INDIANA

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK MEMORIAL
HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT
HISTORICAL DATA

by
Edwin C. Bearss

Office of History and Historic Architecture
Eastern Service Center
Washington, D.C.
June 30, 1970
HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

Historical Data

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK MEMORIAL

George Rogers Clark National Historical Park
Vincennes, Indiana

APPROVAL SHEET

RECOMMENDED

Superintendent

Date

Chief, Office of Archeology
& Historic Preservation

Date

APPROVED

Director, Northeast Region

Date
Foreword

This report has been prepared to satisfy the research needs as enumerated in Historical Research Study Proposal, GERO-H-2, Historic Structures Report, George Rogers Clark Memorial, in so far as it applies to Historical Data. The report, besides providing a structural history of the George Rogers Clark Memorial and grounds, contains information which will be useful to the Service in coping with the serious seepage problems which have plagued the memorial structure since the summer of 1933.

A number of persons have assisted with the preparation of this report. Thanks are due Superintendent Albert Banton and Management Assistant Robert Lagemann for securing photographs, information, and contacting local people interested in the construction of the George Rogers Clark Memorial. Four persons interested in the history of Vincennes were especially helpful. They are: Judge Curtis Shake, who championed the construction of the memorial in the 1920s; Rabb and Tom Emison, local attorneys and sons of Ewing Emison, who permitted me to examine the personal papers of the father; and Miss Maxine Batman, the Librarian at the Vincennes City Library. At Indianapolis, the staffs of the Indiana State Library and the William Henry Smith Memorial Library, especially Mrs. Frances B. MacDonald and Miss Caroline Dunn, were helpful. Bob Starrett, Assistant Director, Division of Museums & Memorials, State of Indiana, Department of Natural Resources, who was intimately associated
with maintenance problems at the Memorial in the period 1946-1966, cheerfully shared his knowledge with me. Mr. George Perros, Legislative Reference Specialist, National Archives, made available to me the records of George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission. My colleague, Frank Sarles, read the manuscript, and his sharp eye and comments have improved the final product, while Architectural Historian Henry Judd shared his knowledge of the memorial's architectural intricacies and answered numerous questions. Finally, I wish to thank Mrs. Judy Sprouse for the many hours she spent typing the manuscript.

Edwin C. Bearss

Washington, D. C.
June 30, 1971
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CHAPTER 1

Administrative Data--George Rogers Clark Memorial

A. Name and Number of Structure

The George Rogers Clark Memorial, Structure No. 1, Vincennes, Indiana. The memorial is classified as a AA Structure.

B. Proposed Use of Structure

The rotunda of the handsome memorial, containing the MacNeil statue of George Rogers Clark and the seven murals by Ezra Winter, is used by Service personnel to interpret the thrilling story of the "Winning of the Old Northwest by Clark and his Big Knives." In the basement are located the men's and women's restrooms, power room, furnace room, custodian's office, and storage facilities.

C. Justification for Such Use as Shown in the Master Plan

Until the Visitor Center is built, the rotunda of the memorial will continue to be used as an interpretive center. After the Visitor Center is erected and opened to the public, the rotunda will serve as a shrine.

D. Provision for Operating the Structure

The rotunda will continue to interpret the story of the winning
of the "Old Northwest" by George Rogers Clark and his men, the Ordi-
nance of 1787, the organization of territorial governments in this
area, and the admission of these territories to the Union as co-equals
with the original 13 states. Because of the unusual acoustics in
the rotunda, visitors are provided with headsets with built-in tran-
sistors which enable them to listen to a recorded interpretive talk
associated with each mural.

E. Cooperative Agreement, if any Executed or Proposed for Operating
the Structure

Cooperative agreements will not be needed to operate this structure.

F. Brief Description of Proposed Construction Activity

There has been a history of serious water seepage through the ter-
race (promenade) of the memorial since it was completed in May 1933.
No positive action has been taken to correct this situation, although
the cause and remedy have been recognized since 1938-39. Attempts to
stop this seepage in 1941, 1943-44, 1952, and 1958 have always been
halfway measures and doomed to failure.

This water seepage into the structure for almost 40 years has
presented the National Park Service with a critical situation which
must be corrected to eliminate a serious safety hazard. Water has
entered the electrical system causing many circuits to short out.
Conduit is rusted through in many places. The main panel is streaked
where water has passed through it. The basement floor is frequently
wet, and water runs across it during and after every rain. An employee
casually turning on a light could be electrocuted.

Both Bob Starrett of the Indiana Department of Natural Resources and Architectural Historian Henry Judd of the National Park Service question the wisdom of continuing the halfway measures of the past 30 years. A new waterproof membrane is required under the terrace. In addition, the steps and much of the granite on the approaches to the memorial need resetting and all need to be repointed. Expansion joints must be reworked and the asphalt paving on the terrace removed and the pebble-concrete re-exposed. Only after this is done, should the electrical system be replaced. Such positive action will be expensive.

The 20-year guarantee for the outer-roof has expired, and the built-up roof can be expected to give the Service problems in the not-too-distant future.

The heating system, along with the pump used to provide water for the Muellermist irrigation system, has given problems. As they have out-lived the period for which they were guaranteed, they should be scheduled for replacement.

Bob Starrett has sought, since 1946, to have the clear glass in the entrance to the memorial replaced with frosted glass. He believes that the morning sunlight coming through the clear glass has had an adverse effect on the Winter murals. The Service should make a study of this problem, and, if restorationists agree with Starrett, the clear glass must be replaced. The murals also need to be cleaned.
The base of, and paving around, the Francis Vigo statue needs resetting and the concrete seawall is spalling badly. With the exposure of the iron reinforcing rods the rate of spalling will accelerate. This situation will have to be corrected.¹

G. Estimated Cost of Proposed Construction

Between $500,000 and $1,000,000.

CHAPTER 2

Congress Acts and a Clark Memorial is Assured

A. Establishment of the Indiana George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission

1. The Organization of a Clark Sesquicentennial Committee

Several citizens of Vincennes, Indiana, in the mid-1920s became interested in commemorating the sesquicentennial of the capture of Fort Sackville by George Rogers Clark and his "big knives." One of these was D. Frank Culbertson. During the 1925 session of the Indiana General Assembly, Culbertson called on Dr. Christopher B. Coleman, director of the State Historical Bureau. He told Coleman of the proposal to construct a new Wabash River bridge at the foot of Vigo Street, and suggested that the Indiana Historical Society erect a statue of Clark near the Indiana approach to the bridge.

At this time the site of Fort Sackville, which was the key to Clark's winning of the Old Northwest, was covered by a warehouse, an old grain elevator, a feed mill, and a number of second- and third-rate boarding houses, interspersed with weed patches. The only indication that this was a site of great historic importance was the little marker erected in 1905 by the Daughters of the American Revolution.¹

¹ Vincennes Sun—Commercial, June 14, 1936.
Dr. Coleman had recently read of plans to re-enact in Massachusetts on April 19, 1925, the rides of Paul Revere and William Dawes to commemorate the sesquicentennial of that event. This suggested to Coleman the possibility of using the 150th anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sackville for the "rescue of its site and of Clark and his associates from the . . . oblivion into which they had fallen."

Mason Niblack of Vincennes now joined Coleman and Culbertson in formulating a plan of action. The Vincennes Historical Society petitioned the Indiana Historical Society to initiate a drive for the commemoration of the capture of Fort Sackville and for the erection of a suitable memorial on its site. The Vincennes group on August 25, 1925, passed a strongly worded resolution endorsing the petition, and the Indiana Historical Society at Indianapolis on December 11, 1925, established a General Clark Sesquicentennial Committee to formulate and initiate plans.2

A plan was matured whereby Knox County and the city of Vincennes would be asked to acquire and donate part of the necessary land, and the State to purchase the remainder of the necessary acreage. The United States Government was to be asked for an appropriation for construction of the memorial. Local newspapers gave the project favorable publicity, and the Vincennes Chamber of Commerce budgeted $23,000 to fund the committee's lobbying activities in Indianapolis and Washington.3

2. Ibid. Among the members of the committee were: William Fortune, chairman; Dr. Coleman, secretary-treasurer; and William H. Book, executive-secretary.

3. Ibid., June 14, 1936, and Dec. 27, 1940.
2. The Republican State Convention Endorses the Proposal

Ewing Emison, a Vincennes lawyer and history buff, had long been interested in the Clark story and the history of the Old Northwest. Fortunately for those pushing the Clark project, Emison was a power in the Indiana Republican Party. When his party held its nominating convention at Indianapolis in the fourth week of May 1926, Emison drafted and succeeded in having adopted a plank in the platform calling for Indiana to "appropriately memorialize and commemorate" the 150th anniversary of the capture of Vincennes by Colonel Clark and his men. The fall of Fort Sackville on February 25, 1779, had "resulted in the addition of seven great states to the Union and made possible its extension across the continent."

3. The Committee Proposes a Program

Meanwhile, the General Clark Sesquicentennial Committee had met at the Grand Hotel in Vincennes to hammer out a plan of action. At noon on Monday, May 24, about 500 persons attended a luncheon in the gymnasium of the Gibault High School. At a business meeting, it

4. Republican Platform Adopted, May 27, 1926, George Rogers Clark Commission, Emison Papers, Emison & Emison, Vincennes, Ind. Ewing R. Emison was the father of Rabb and Tom Emison, Vincennes lawyers, who allowed me to examine his personal papers. Emison had been elected a member of the Republican State Committee in May 1922 from the 2d Congressional District. In 1924 he managed Calvin Coolidge's primary campaign in Indiana, and was a delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio, in that year.
was decided that the committee would: (a) seek the acquisition and dedication to the public as a memorial of all land on which Fort Sackville had been located; (b) push the construction of a boulevard along the bank of the Wabash connecting the Fort Sackville site with Grouseland; (c) reconstruct Fort Sackville; (d) provide for the erection of a George Rogers Clark historical museum near the site of Fort Sackville, "in a style of architecture suitable to the period, the neighboring historical monuments and to the church"; (e) hold a public meeting at Vincennes on February 23-25, 1929, to be addressed by the President of the United States; (f) sponsor a pageant, to be professionally directed, and staged in Vincennes in the summer of 1929; (g) secure photographic coverage of the pageant; (h) secure the minting of a George Rogers Clark commemorative half dollar; (i) secure the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp; (j) support the construction of a plaza in front of the old cathedral and "the completion of the church by a portico in keeping with its architecture and the neighboring historical monuments"; and (k) see that suitable recognition was given to those associates of Clark--Col. Francis Vigo and Father Gibault--who were "most prominently associated in the establishment of the authority of the United States at Vincennes." 

Of equal importance, to setting goals, was the decision by the committee to make it a national commemoration, and to seek Federal support. 


6. Ibid. Among those playing prominent roles in the Vincennes meeting were: D. Frank Culbertson, Thomas Taggart, Evans Wollen, Mayor Claude E. Gregg of Vincennes, and Dr. James A. Woodburn of Indiana University.
The Indiana General Assembly Acts

Nineteen twenty-six was a Republican year in Indiana. When the General Assembly convened in January 1927, legislation was introduced to create a George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission of 15 members, empowered to make and implement plans for commemorating the capture of Fort Sackville. Activities of the commission were to be financed by a State tax levy of one-half a cent on each $100 of taxable property in 1928 and 1929. The commission would be named by the governor and empowered to select an executive secretary. Proceeds from the tax would be earmarked for a "special George Rogers Clark memorial fund."

The commission would be authorized to acquire suitable land in Knox County, to include the site of Fort Sackville, and to erect thereon in accordance with the procedure of the federal government... a structure or structures which will appropriately, adequately, fittingly and permanently commemorate the historic expedition of George Rogers Clark, culminating in the capture of Fort Sackville.

The commission would be authorized to purchase land by eminent domain, and to erect on it buildings to commemorate fittingly the Clark expedition. Provision was made in the legislation for a contest to select an architect for the memorial, in which no fewer than five architects would compete for a $25,000 prize to be judged by a three-man jury of award.7

On January 27 the house ways and means committee approved the legislation unanimously and reported it to the floor, where it was passed. When sent to the senate, the levy, as approved by the house, was reduced from five to four mills. Supporters of the project calculated that this would bring in about $450,000, a sum sufficient for the purpose to which State-raised funds were to be applied. There was no debate when the bill was reported to the senate floor, but Senator Curtis G. Shake of Knox County availed himself of the opportunity to make "a patriotic speech" urging passage of the measure. Cheers interrupted his speech, as he told the senators: "The historical significance of this memorial and the feats and record of General George Rogers Clark are second to none in America, even east of the Alleghenies." Compared to Clark's march with "his handful of patriots ... Napoleon's march on Moscow was nothing. George Washington at Valley Forge is its only parallel in American history."8

After Senator Shake's speech, there was little doubt of what the senate would do. Senator James J. Nejdl, president protem, called for a vote, and the Clark bill passed with a big majority. Persons familiar with legislative processes in Indiana, however, credited the big vote for the measure in the house and senate to vigorous lobbying activities of former State Senator Culbertson of Knox County. Culbertson, a political opponent of Emison, had pressured the proposed memorial

with influential men around the state house.\textsuperscript{9}

Meanwhile, Culbertson and other members of the Clark committee had met three times with Governor Edward Jackson. The question of real estate values in the area was threshed out. The Governor assured the men that if the general assembly enacted the legislation, he would give it his approval.\textsuperscript{10}

Governor Jackson made good his promise and signed the bill on February 23, 1927. On March 14 he announced the membership of the George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission. The commission, as specified in the legislation, consisted of 15 members: three ex officio, two named by the governor, four by the State Historical Society, three by the Society of Indiana Pioneers, and three by the Indiana Library and Historical Board.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid. Senator John W. Cravens of Monroe County, a legislative veteran, told reporters in Indianapolis that he had "watched the progress of the Clark Memorial bill and that Senator Culbertson had handled the campaign with consummate skill."

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid. In addition to Culbertson and Senator Shake, men meeting with Governor Jackson were: J. B. E. LaPlante, chairman of the appraisal committee; B. F. Nesbitt of the Vincennes Chamber of Commerce; and J. N. Dyer, J. B. Bayard, and Perry McCart.

\textsuperscript{11} Announcement by Governor Jackson, March 14, 1927, Emison Papers. Nominated by Governor Jackson were Ewing Emison and William Fortune, president of the Indianapolis Chapter of the American Red Cross; by the State Historical Society were Dr. James A. Woodburn of Bloomington, Lee Burns of Indianapolis, Father Francis H. Cavisk of Indianapolis, and the governor's wife--Mrs. Edward Jackson; by the Society of Indiana Pioneers, Frank C. Ball of Munice, D. Frank Culbertson of Vincennes, and Lew M. O'Bannon of Croydon; by the Indiana Library and Historical Board, Thomas Taggart of French Lick, Mrs. Anne Studebaker Carlisle of South Bend, and Clem J. Richards of Terre Haute; and the three ex officio members were Lieutenant Governor F. Harold Van Ormen, Speaker of the House Harry J. Leslie, and Dr. Christopher Coleman of the Historical Bureau.
At its organizational meeting, the Indiana Commission elected William Fortune president and determined to continue William H. Book in his capacity as executive-secretary. To rally support for the venture in other states with ties to Clark's campaign, the commission in April sent the distinguished Hoosier historian and author, Ross Lockridge, to Virginia. On the 5th he addressed the William & Mary student body in Williamsburg and visited the jail in which Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton and Maj. Jehu Hay had been "confined in durance vile." At the request of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce, he traveled to Richmond on the 7th and gave a talk in support of the sesquicentennial over radio station WRVA. At Charlottesville, Virginia, Lockridge spoke before the student body and visited the site of Clark's birth.\textsuperscript{12}

B. The Establishment of a National Commission

1. Legislation is Introduced and Hearings Held

Indiana sponsors of a Clark Memorial had always planned to seek and receive Federal support, as well as the creation and participation by other State commissions. Concurrent with legislative action in the Indiana General Assembly, Senator James E. Watson and Representative Will R. Wood, both of Indiana, introduced companion resolutions in the short session of the 69th Congress. They called

\textsuperscript{12} Lockridge to Book, April 14, 1927, Emison Papers. Book remained as executive-secretary until 1928, when he was replaced by Martha Allerdic, who was replaced in 1930 by Elizabeth Miller. \textit{Vincennes Sun-Commercial}, June 14, 1936.
for establishment of a George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission and expenditure of Federal funds for a memorial at Vincennes. The legislation was referred to the respective Library Committees of the Senate and House and hearings scheduled.\(^13\)

The Joint Committee of the Library, with Senator Simeon Fess of Ohio presiding, held several meetings to consider the resolutions. At a public hearing, a number of prominent people appeared before Fess' Committee to urge passage of the concurrent Joint Resolutions. Among those appearing were: Senators James E. Watson and Arthur R. Robinson of Indiana; Representative Will Wood; Chairman Fortune of the George Rogers Clark Commission; Historians Ross Lockridge, J. Franklin Jameson, Elbert J. Benton, Christopher B. Coleman, and Milo M. Quaife; Msgr. Francis H. Gavisk; John C. Doolan, chairman of the Kentucky Historical Society on the George Rogers Clark Memorial; Logan Hay, President of the Lincoln Centennial Association; former Governor A. O. Eberhart of Minnesota; and Joseph B. Kealing, Republican National Committeeman from Indiana.\(^14\)

Senator Fess, a powerful member of the Senate hierarchy and former president of Antioch College, opposed the proposal, but he was impressed by the presentation made by Dr. Jameson and others as to the significance of George Rogers Clark's contributions in the winning

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\(^{13}\) Vincennes Commercial, Feb. 20, 1927.

\(^{14}\) Hearings Before the Joint Committee on the Library, Congress of the United States, 69th Congress, 3d Sess., pp. 27-35.
of the Old Northwest. He became an enthusiastic advocate of the proposal.\textsuperscript{15}

Letters from numerous influential people and newspaper editorials endorsing the project were submitted to Chairman Fess, and made a part of the report. Letters came from well-known people such as: Booth Tarkington, Arthur C. Cole, Elmer Davis, Harry S. New, Maj. Gen. Omar Bundy, James J. Davis, Charles A. Beard, Kennesaw M. Landis, Governor Ed Jackson of Indiana, Logan Esarey, and George Ade, along with many others. Such newspapers as the \textit{New York Times} and \textit{Indianapolis News} had editorially endorsed the project.\textsuperscript{16}

H. Van Buren Magonigle, a New York architect, had made a study of the projected memorial for the Clark Committee. When he appeared before Fess' committee, he exhibited a map of Vincennes and a site plan, and advocated the erection of a Hall of History on the site of Fort Sackville and the construction of a Lincoln Memorial bridge across the Wabash. In the Hall of History would be "represented the entire history of the Northwest from its exploration down to the present day." Magonigle told the committee that the cost of a development such as he proposed

\textsuperscript{15} Meeting of the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, July 13, 1931, National Archives, Record Group 148. The minutes for meetings of this group will be cited hereinafter as Meeting GRCSC.

\textsuperscript{16} Hearing Before the Joint Committee on the Library, pp. 27-35.
would be $1,376,858.\textsuperscript{17}

2. **Ewing Emison Calls on President Coolidge**

Despite the favorable testimony, no action was taken on the Clark resolutions at the short session of the 69th Congress. Consequently, it was determined by the Indiana Commission to send Ewing Emison to Washington to press the issue with President Calvin Coolidge. Following Coolidge’s election in 1924, Emison had discussed Clark’s conquest of the Old Northwest with the President. After the establishment of the Indiana Commission, Emison had approached the President about the possibility of securing Federal participation. Coolidge acknowledged that it was a meritorious cause, and should be appropriately commemorated.

Emison and J. B. E. LaPlante, accompanied by their wives, traveled to the nation’s capital at the end of October. On November 1, 1927, Emison visited the President, and discussed with him the proposed Clark Memorial and the question of Federal participation in the sesquicentennial of the capture of Fort Sackville. President Coolidge

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.; Vincennes \textit{Sun-Commercial}, June 14, 1936. Among Magonigle’s recommendations were that a memorial park be established to adjoin the grounds of St. Xavier Cathedral; that a plaza be erected in front of the church; that the memorial be a building, rather than a shaft, arch, or replica of Fort Sackville; that there be no driveways in the park itself except for a boulevard along the Wabash; that there should be "personal monuments to Clark, Vigo, Gibault, Harrison, Tecumseh, Pere Marquette and others; and that in the Hall of History there was to be a great hall its only decoration to consist of a series of murals.
promised to mention the undertaking favorably in his message to the 70th Congress. 18

Emison's trip to Washington was vital, and on December 5, 1927, President Coolidge's message to the 1st Session of the 70th Congress contained the following paragraph:

February 25, 1929, is the 150th Anniversary of the capture of Fort Sackville at Vincennes, in the State of Indiana. This eventually brought into the Union what was known as the Northwest Territory, embracing the region north of the Ohio River between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi River. This expedition was led by George Rogers Clark. His heroic character and the importance of his victory are too little known and understood. They gave us not only the Northwest Territory but by means of that a prospect of reaching the Pacific. The State of Indiana is proposing to dedicate the site of Fort Sackville as a National Shrine. The Federal Government may well make some provision for the erection, under its own management, of a fitting memorial at that point. 19

3. The 70th Congress Acts

Senator Watson of Indiana, taking his cue from the President, in the second week of December reintroduced into the Senate Joint Resolution No. 23. Simultaneously, Representative Wood dropped into

18. Memorandum to Files, undated, Emison Papers. When Emison and LaPlante submitted their vouchers to be reimbursed for expenses incurred on the Washington trip, the Commission objected to paying for the wives' tickets and incidental expenses. Emison countered that the President had asked him to bring his wife along. The cost of the trip was $641.76, which Emison's political enemies on the Commission--Culbertson and Richards--termed shockingly high. Emison to Book, Dec. 12, and Book to Emison, Dec. 22, 1927, Emison Papers.

19. President's Dec. 5, 1927, Message to 1st Session, 70th Congress.
the House hopper a similar resolution authorizing the appropriation of $1,750,000 for a national memorial at Vincennes to George Rogers Clark and the winning of the Old Northwest. With slight modifications these resolutions were similar to those introduced and pigeonholed in the short session of the 69th Congress.\textsuperscript{20}

Dr. Coleman, Culbertson, and Richards of the Indiana Commission went to Washington and told the Joint Committee of the Library of plans for "a great sesquicentennial celebration in Vincennes" in 1929. Steps already taken by Indiana, Knox County, and the City of Vincennes were detailed.

Although there was difference of opinion among Committee members as to the amount of Federal funding necessary, the Senate Committee on the Library on February 9 recommended the passage of the Watson-Wood resolution. In its final form, the resolution authorized an appropriation of $1,750,000, all except $250,000, to be expended on a Clark Memorial. The rest was to be spent on a historical and educational pageant depicting Clark's achievements and other phases of the history of the Old Northwest.\textsuperscript{21}

When the resolution was brought before the Senate, its sponsors, were prepared for the opposition of Senator William H. King of Utah. Under the rule which applied to the Watson-Wood resolution, one objection would cause action to be deferred. When the bill was called up by the clerk,


\textsuperscript{21} Vincennes Commercial, Feb. 10, 1928.
Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas, the minority leader, waited until Senator King had made his objection. He then took the floor and made "a very earnest speech regarding the greatness of Clark's accomplishments and urged King to withdraw his objection."

King replied that he had voted against "the appropriation for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and all others since." Senator William C. Bruce of Maryland, a classmate of former President Woodrow Wilson, rallied to support of the resolution. As a man well-versed in the history of our country, Bruce spoke of Clark's great accomplishments and service to the nation. This brought King back to his feet, and he explained that he was not opposed to money for the memorial, but was inclined to oppose funding the projected commemoration, as he doubted whether "large appropriations for celebrations were wisely and properly expended."

Senator Claude Swanson of Virginia now addressed the Senate. Like Bruce, he was familiar with the history of the Old Northwest and Clark's role. He was followed by Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, who pleaded for immediate action. Senator Watson then spoke of the action taken by the Indiana General Assembly, and told his colleagues "this is a national project." Senator King, seeing that he was bucking a powerful tide, announced, "I withdraw my objection."

Senator King having yielded, the Senate on February 24, 1928, passed by unanimous vote the George Rogers Clark Memorial proposal.22 News of

the Senate's action reached Vincennes at 1:45 p.m. Factory whistles were blown and church bells tolled. Giant firecrackers exploded on Main Street, and more than 100 telephone calls were received by the Vincennes Sun. It was the most excitement the city had seen since word of the Armistice on November 11, 1918. The news was appropriate as the Senate had acted on the 149th anniversary of Clark's meeting with Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton, which preceded and set the stage for the surrender of Fort Sackville.23

When the House took up the resolution, it reduced the Federal appropriation for construction of the memorial and participation in the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial to $1,000,000. On May 7 the measure passed the House by unanimous vote. Because of the differences in the amounts authorized in the Senate and House versions of the Watson-Wood resolution, the measure was sent to conference. Culbertson and floor managers of the legislation were confident that, at the conference, a compromise of the differences might see the appropriation raised to $1,500,000.24

The House conferees, however, refused to yield, and the resolution providing for a $1,000,000 appropriation was sent to the President. On May 23, 1928, President Coolidge signed into law the public resolution establishing the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission, to be composed of 15 members. The appropriation was to be expended by


24. Ibid., May 8, 1928.
the commission in cooperation with the George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission of Indiana . . . for the purpose of designing and constructing at or near the site of Fort Sackville . . . a permanent memorial, commemorating the winning of the Old Northwest and the achievements of George Rogers Clark and his associates.

The appropriation was made contingent on the State of Indiana providing a site for the memorial, and perpetual care and maintenance of the site for the memorial, and the memorial constructed thereon. Before any of the Federal funds authorized could be expended, plans and designs of the memorial would have to be approved by the national Commission of Fine Arts.25

Speaking for the Indiana Commission, Chairman Fortune hailed the President's action, as assuring that "a memorial tribute to Clark and the acquisition of the old northwest will arise on the site of Ft. Sackville." Efforts commenced two years before had achieved great success, but much yet remained to be done. Fortune was satisfied that the projected "memorial will be one of the greatest and most beautiful historic shrines west of the Alleghenies." Indianians would be justified for their expenditures toward the memorial by this congressional action.26


4. **A Palace Revolution**

Lobbyist Culbertson was hailed as a hero on his return to Vincennes by 3,500 of his fellow citizens. While the crowd was assembling in the local coliseum on Sunday afternoon, May 27, the high school band gave a concert and the American Legion drum and bugle corps paraded the streets. After being introduced Culbertson explained that nothing definite, in regard to the sesquicentennial commemoration, would be decided until after the appointment of the Federal Commission. He suggested the Commission might restore the Grouseland grounds; construct a portico in front of St. Xavier Cathedral; span the Wabash with an Abraham Lincoln Memorial Bridge; and lay out a Gibault Plaza, with statues of General Clark and Col. Francis Vigo. The key to this development would be a boulevard connecting the memorials.

Carried away by the occasion and crowd, Culbertson forecast that Vincennes because of the attraction of the sesquicentennial would have a spectacular growth, and should triple its population. Manufacturers would seek Vincennes instead of the city seeking them. He urged the citizens to support the Chamber of Commerce in sponsoring the construction of a first class hotel.

Other speakers followed Culbertson, paying tribute to his efforts on Capitol Hill and extolling the economic advantages they expected to shower on Vincennes because of the sesquicentennial.  

27. Ibid., May 29, 1928.
President Coolidge on June 9 filled the three vacancies on the
15-man Federal Commission that were his prerogative. His appointees
were Ewing Emison of Vincennes, Mrs. Alvin T. Hert of Kentucky, and
Luther E. Smith of Missouri. Earlier, Vice President Charles G. Dawes
had appointed three members of the Senate (James E. Watson of Indiana,
Kenneth I. McKellar of Tennessee, and Simeon D. Fess of Ohio) and
Speaker Nicholas Longworth three members of the House (Will R. Wood
and Albert H. Vestal of Indiana, and Ralph Gilbert of Kentucky). At
its June meeting, the Indiana George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission
appointed the other six members: Clem J. Richards, Thomas Taggart,
D. Frank Culbertson, Lee Burns, Mrs. Studebaker Carlisle, and Lew
O'Bannon.28

The June 4, 1928, meeting of the Indiana Commission had turned
into a bitter power struggle between Emison and Culbertson and their
factions. In a close 6 to 5 vote, Culbertson and his partisans were
victors, and Clem Richards of Terre Haute was elected chairman over
Fortune. When he turned over the chairmanship to Richards, Fortune
observed that there had been forced into the "affairs of the commis­
sion . . . the aggressive antipathies and prejudice of one member
against another in Vincennes."29

Culbertson thus emerged as the strongman on the Indiana Commission,
a position he would soon obtain on the Federal Commission. For the

28. Ibid., June 10, 1928.
29. June 4, 1928, Meeting of Indiana Commission, Emison Papers.
next ten years, he would dominate the activities of the National Com-
mission. Although a beautiful memorial and grounds would be built,
a number of Commission decisions championed by Culbertson, as we shall
see, soured. In retrospect, the decision by the Indiana Commission to
dump Fortune was probably a blunder.
CHAPTER 3

Legislative History of the Memorial, 1929-66

A. Knox County & Vincennes Contribute $200,000

1. Governor Leslie's Veto

Governor Harry G. Leslie, who had succeed Governor Jackson in January 1929, refused to sign into law a bill passed by the 1929 session of the Indiana General Assembly extending for one year the four-mill tax for land acquisition. In a futile effort to get the governor to change his mind, twenty Vincennes civic leaders spent time with him on March 15. To justify his position, Governor Leslie blasted the Indiana Commission for its failure to push land acquisition. This had led to an escalation of land values. Leslie was certain the delay was a scheme to boost prices to be paid for desired property. When asked if he believed any members of the delegation were responsible for the delays, the governor retorted, "Those interested in boosting the real estate prices would not be at this meeting."¹

Governor Leslie also condemned a situation by which the State government had no knowledge of the accounting of funds. He scored

¹. Vincennes Commercial, Mar. 15, 1929.
the absence of harmony that had resulted in the June 1928 vote reorganizing the Commission, "just because somebody didn't like somebody else." He challenged his visitors to tell him what the Commission had "in mind for the construction of the memorial."  

2. Knox County Votes $100,000 for the Memorial

Rebuffed by Governor Leslie, the Indiana Commission in its quest for funds turned to the Knox County Council. On September 4, 1929, Frank Culbertson and a number of Vincennes businessmen appeared before the county council to argue the need for $100,000. Culbertson, as spokesman, told of the great amount of money already expended in Knox County by the State commission and of the one million dollars authorized by Congress for the Clark Memorial. Public duty called for the county to shoulder its share of the cost. Brief statements in support of Culbertson's request were made by those who had accompanied him to the meeting.  

The council, impressed by what it had heard, passed a resolution to appropriate $100,000 to enable the Indiana Commission to complete the necessary land acquisition. The money would be raised in

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., Sept. 5, 1929. Those who spoke in favor of the request were: J.B.E. LaPlante, W.M. Alsop, and Ira D. Schaffer, bankers; F.L. Oliphant, president of the Vincennes Bridge Co.; Curtis G. Shake and Harry Lewis, attorneys; John Klemeyer, president of the Knox County Lumber Co.; B.F. Nesbitt and N.Y. Yates, orchardists; Lawrence A. Ebner, president of Ebner Ice & Cold Storage Co.; and Ed Brocksmith, member of the board of county commissioners.
4. Ibid. This appropriation by the county council had been made possible by the legislation establishing the Indiana George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission.
$10,000 increments, to be contributed annually, and used to retire the bonds issued to provide funds for the Clark appropriation. To underwrite the undertaking, the taxpayers of Knox County would be required to pay a surcharge of 17 cents for every $100 of taxes paid.5

3. The City of Vincennes Appropriates $100,000

The county commissioners on January 28, 1930, met in special session and signed a contract with the Memorial Commission to make available the $100,000 voted by the county council. The contract provided that the money was to be kept in local banks until obligated. Three days later, on Friday evening, the Vincennes City Council voted an appropriation of $100,000 for the Clark Memorial. This action would provide ammunition for Culbertson when he traveled to Washington in the first week of February to open the fight for another $750,000 in Federal funds. He could now report that Knox County and Vincennes had done their part.6

B. Congress Votes Another $500,000 for the Memorial

1. The 1st Session of the 71st Congress Fails to Act

Architect Parsons had complained to the January 18, 1930, meeting of the National Commission about land acquisition delays and told the group that the State commission had not yet secured title to all the land needed for the Clark Memorial. Chairman Fess accordingly drafted a resolution declaring it necessary and essential

5. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1930.
for the development and completion of the project, for the State of Indiana to acquire "all the land indicated on the plat prepared by Parsons." 7

News that the county and city had made available $200,000 for land acquisition was accordingly welcomed by Senator Fess. Already Representative Vestal of Indiana had introduced legislation into the 1st Session of the 71st Congress, calling for the appropriation of an additional $750,000 for the Clark Memorial. The bill had been referred to the Joint Committee of the Library, and public hearings scheduled for February. 8

Although the hearings were held, Congress, with the nation in a depression, was in no mood for haste. It was June 28 before the Senate, spurred on by speeches by Senators Fess and Swanson, passed the Senate bill, which had been introduced by Senator Watson. Besides appropriating an additional $750,000, the Watson measure extended the life of the National Commission to June 30, 1935. Representative Vestal's companion bill, however, was bottled up in committee, and before it could be sent to the floor of the House, the 1st session of the 71st Congress adjourned. 9

9. Ibid., June 28, 1930. Senator Fess, speaking in support of the Watson bill, predicted that the Clark Memorial would be the "most magnificent thing outside the Lincoln Memorial."
2. The 3d Session of the 71st Congress Acts

Although Congress reconvened in December 1930, a number of weeks passed before the House Committee on the Library released Vestal's bill. Once again, the House reduced the appropriation, this time from $750,000 to $500,000. While House members held their ground in conference to adjust differences, the Clark Commission won a victory when it was agreed to let it contract for the full amount. Thus the Commission would not have to wait for an appropriation making the extra $500,000 available. On March 2, 1931, President Herbert Hoover signed the bill authorizing $500,000 to complete construction of the Clark Memorial. Of this sum, $300,000 would be immediately available. The remaining $200,000 would be authorized and paid "upon presentation of a certificate . . . signed by the chairman of the commission" attesting that an equal amount had been contributed by Indiana, Knox County, Vincennes, or other contributors.\(^{10}\)

C. The Indiana General Assembly & Congress Provide Additional Funds

1. Governor Leslie Changes His Position

In 1931 Governor Leslie reversed himself and signed into law a bill passed by the General Assembly levying a one and one-half mill

\(^{10}\) Vincennes Sun-Commercial, March 2, 1931. The $500,000 could be used for "grading, improving, and embellishing the site of and grounds adjacent to Fort Sackville, the erection of a monumental memorial structure and its ornamentation, the ornamentation of a bridge across the Wabash River adjacent thereto . . . , the protection of the grounds by a river wall," and administrative expenses of the Commission.
tax on each $100 of taxable property. Proceeds from this tax, which was to remain in effect for 12 months, were to be used to help underwrite land acquisition costs.\textsuperscript{11}

The Commission, realizing that funds from this source would not become available until 1933, found the $200,000 appropriated by Vincennes and Knox County vital in carrying out its program.

In January 1932 Chairman Fess certified that Vincennes and Knox County had contributed $200,000 for "grading, improving and/or embellishing the site of the grounds adjacent to Fort Sackville, the ornamentation of the memorial structure and/or the ornamentation of the bridge." He had been assured by officials of the General Accounting Office that this certificate "appeared" to meet the conditions of the act of February 28, 1931, as a condition for making $200,000 of the $500,000 authorized by that act available to the Commission.\textsuperscript{12}

With this money in hand, the Executive Committee contracted with the Premier Construction Co. for the embellishment of the Indiana approach to the Lincoln Memorial Bridge.

2. The 1st Session of the 73d Congress Appropriates $96,650

The National Commission, with the memorial structure 85 percent completed and most of the Federal funds obligated, in January 1933 asked the lame duck session of the 72d Congress for $250,000.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., June 14, 1936.

\textsuperscript{12} Meeting GRC Executive Committee, Jan. 14, 1932, NA, RG 148.
This request was incorporated in Senate Bill 5625. Work remaining to be done, it was reported, consisted of an extension of the concrete sea wall, the finishing of the basement as a "Hall of Pioneers," filling, grading, and planting, and completion of certain of the grounds as courts dedicated to Clark's associates. The Joint Committee of the Library endorsed S. 5625.13

The Senate, acting on a favorable report of its Library Committee, added $250,000 for the Clark Memorial to the second deficiency appropriation bill. When the measure was sent to conference with the House, which had not provided any funds for the memorial in its version of the bill, the Senate's grant was stricken by the conferees. The full House approved the conference action, after which the second deficiency bill was passed. The lame duck session adjourned on the night of March 3, 1933, without providing funds to complete the memorial.14

Franklin D. Roosevelt was inaugurated as 32d President of the United States on March 4, 1933, and friends of the memorial introduced identical bills in the House and Senate appropriating $250,000 for completion of their pet project. Emergency measures to combat the depression and implement Roosevelt's New Deal occupied the first weeks of the opening session of the 73d Congress. Nevertheless, Frank Culbertson, who made a trip to Washington to lobby for the appropriation in late April, was hopeful Congress would act once the President's program had been enacted.

Members of the Commission began to fret as the weeks passed and no action was taken. Congress, however, did extend a measure of relief to the Commission, when in May it appropriated $96,650 for the memorial. This was the final increment of the $500,000 authorized by the 71st Congress on February 28, 1931.  

3. The 1st Session of the 73d Congress Authorizes $250,000

On June 10, 1933, the Senate approved a bill introduced by Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana authorizing the appropriation of $250,000 for the completion of the Clark Memorial. Six days later, the House passed the bill and it was signed into law by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

4. The 74th Congress Authorizes $50,000 for the Memorial

In the summer of 1934, several members of the Commission determined to visit Washington to lobby for another Federal appropriation. Senator Fess, Dr. Coleman, and Culbertson spent the second week of August in the East inspecting Ezra Winter's murals and John Angel's model of the projected Vigo statue, and discussing the memorial with interested parties in Washington. Governmental officials were told that more funds were needed to: (a) purchase the property of the Central

15. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, May 4, 1933. The 72d Congress had appropriated this sum and had included it in the Independent Offices Supply Bill, but it had been vetoed by President Hoover, because of excessive amounts earmarked for veterans' benefits.

States Gas Company, an eyesore adjoining the memorial grounds on the west; (b) purchase the Knox County Infirmary at the foot of Willow Street, which would be vacated when the inmates were transferred to the recently re-purchased county farm on Hart Street road; (c) to acquire the right-of-way of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, parallel­ing the Wabash, between the memorial park and the river; and (d) once the right-of-way was secured, to use it to extend the boulevard, con­structed in 1928 and 1929, which now turned into Main Street, along the left bank of the Wabash to Willow Street, where it would turn south and follow Willow out of the city.17

Soon after the 74th Congress convened, Senator Van Nuys introduced legislation authorizing the appropriation of another $50,000 to com­plete work on the memorial and to extend the Commission from June 30, 1935, until June 30, 1937. Representative Arthur H. Greenwood promised Culbertson in May to introduce a companion bill in the House.18

Senator McKellar had replaced Fess as chairman of the Commission following the latter's defeat for re-election in November 1934. The Senate, responding to a speech by McKellar in which he voiced his opin­ion that "the George Rogers Clark Memorial . . . is as attractive . . . as the Lincoln Memorial in Washington," and that this money will be used "to eliminate some eyesores in the vicinity of this beautiful memorial," passed Van Nuys' bill.19 Greenwood's companion bill encountered

18. Ibid., May 27, 1935.
difficulty in the House. On July 16 while the House was considering the legislation, which was included in the second deficiency appropriation, a point of no quorum was raised and an adjournment forced.\(^{20}\) When the measure was again taken up, it won approval, and on August 15, 1935, President Roosevelt signed it into law.\(^{21}\)

In the same week, legislation was enacted to reimburse Culbertson for out-of-pocket expenses incurred by him while on Commission business during the period January 2, 1930, to October 26, 1934. The $1,857.67, for which Culbertson had submitted vouchers, was to be paid out of the unexpended funds available to the Commission.\(^{22}\)

In the autumn of 1935 a deficiency measure was introduced carrying an appropriation of $40,000 of the $50,000 authorized for the Clark Memorial on August 15. The bill was a casualty of one of Senator Huey P. Long's last filibusters. At the 2d session of the 74th Congress, a deficiency bill appropriating a total of $367,000,000, including $50,000 for the Clark Memorial, sailed through Congress on February 11, 1936. Thanks to the late Senator Long, the Commission had an additional $10,000 to spend on landscaping and beautifying the grounds.\(^{23}\)

\(^{20}\) Ibid., July 16, 1935.

\(^{21}\) Ibid., Aug. 16, 1935.


D. Lack of Funds Dooms Several Projects

In May of 1936 Senator McKellar and Culbertson met in Washington with Vice-President C. W. Galloway of the Baltimore & Ohio. They came away with what Culbertson believed to be a promise by the railroad to remove the track paralleling the Wabash, north of the memorial grounds. This "promise" by Galloway was conditioned by an agreement with the Commission to provide the Baltimore & Ohio with another right-of-way for servicing industries southwest of the city presently served by the switch. Removal of the track would pave the way for extension of Culbertson's boulevard through the park. 24

Although Congress in 1937 and again in 1938 refused to appropriate additional funds for the Clark Memorial, Culbertson continued to be obsessed with his plan to extend the boulevard from Main Street, through the memorial grounds, to Willow Street. He also hoped to construct a large parking lot on the land acquired from the gas company. 25

When Congress refused to appropriate additional funds for the memorial, Culbertson turned to the Works Progress Administration. In August 1938 Culbertson prevailed on local WPA authorities to prepare a works program for the expenditure of $250,000 on the Clark Memorial. Two hundred men would be employed to build a 200-250 car parking lot near Willow Street; to remove the B & O tracks and to extend the boulevard; to extend the seawall and build drives through the grounds;


25. Ibid., June 16, 1938.
and to improve and extend the lighting system. Plans for this ambitious program were dashed when WPA authorities in Washington refused to allot necessary funds.\textsuperscript{26} This doomed the plan to relocate the tracks, extend the boulevard, and construct the big parking lot.

E. Congress Twice Extends the Life of the Commission

In August 1937 Congress enacted and President Roosevelt signed legislation extending the life of the Federal Commission until June 30, 1938, and permitting it to disburse any unexpended balances of previous appropriations under its jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{27} This action was repeated in June 1938, when the President signed the deficiency appropriation bill, containing an amendment prolonging the life of the Commission until July 1, 1939. Once again, no additional funds were appropriated.\textsuperscript{28}

F. The Dedication of the Clark Memorial

1. Preliminary Arrangements

Planning for the June 7, 1936, dedication of the memorial by President Franklin D. Roosevelt had started to jell by mid-February 1936. The Commission would be in charge of the ceremonies, along with arrangements for the President's reception, while the city would

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Vincennes Post, Aug. 16, 1939.
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Vincennes Sun-Commercial, June 27, 1937; U.S. Statutes at Large, 75th Congress, 1st Sess., Vol. 50, pt. 1, p. 567.
  \item \textsuperscript{28} U.S. Statutes at Large, 75th Congress, Vol. 52, p. 1128.
\end{itemize}
look after traffic and supervise concessionaires. The Vigo and Father Gibault statues would be dedicated on the same date in separate ceremonies.

Edgar N. Haskins, executive secretary of the State Commission, was charged by Culbertson with overseeing construction of the speakers' rostrum and the platform upon which guests were to be seated. He would also look to the wiring of the grounds for amplifiers and radio.29

2. The President's Plans

Because of other commitments, President Roosevelt had to request that the dedication be rescheduled for Sunday, June 14. He would depart Washington on the 8th for Little Rock, Arkansas, where he planned a speech on the 10th in commemoration of the centennial of Arkansas' entrance into the Union, and then proceed to Dallas to deliver an address at the Texas Centennial Exposition on the morning of June 12. He then planned to motor to Fort Worth, make a brief talk, and spend the night at the home of his son Elliott. The President would leave the next day for Vincennes. With a second speech scheduled for the 14th in Kentucky, Roosevelt would spend only 90 minutes in Vincennes.

On learning of the President's proposed schedule, Clem Richards of the Commission telegraphed the White House:

Dedication Clark Memorial . . . June 14 hope you will reconsider and allot more time to dedication services. Federal government has expended almost $2,000,000 and Indiana almost $1,000,000 on this project. Governors of five neighboring states have tentatively accepted invitations to attend. Many prominent people . . . plan to attend. Due to Convention of Indiana Veterans of Foreign Wars . . . Vincennes that day, all local accommodations engaged by them and impossible for our guests to arrive Vincennes by nine in morning and they will be terribly disappointed.30

When no reply was received, the Commission had Senator Van Nuys, an Indiana Democrat, bring pressure on the White House. Despite this action, the President refused to change his schedule.31

This caused a shuffling of plans. With the President coming in the morning, it was determined to beef up the ceremonies dedicating the Vigo and Gibault statues, now scheduled to take place after Roosevelt's departure. The Italian ambassador would fly in to participate in the program at the Vigo memorial, while services for the dedication of the Gibault statue were to begin at noon in the Old Cathedral Plaza, with the Bishops of Indianapolis and Bellevue, Illinois, taking a prominent part.32

3. The Dedication

The Presidential train chuffed into the Union Depot at 9 a.m., on June 14, 1936. Detraining, the President and First Lady were welcomed by Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana and Governor Henry Horner of Illinois. Roosevelt and his official party were driven to the memorial,

32. Culbertson to Emison, June 6, 1936, Emison Papers.
the President and his wife riding in a seven-passenger Packard.

Despite the early hour, there was a huge crowd of 50,000 on hand to watch the program. Among those in attendance were the six distinguished artists whose talents had shaped the memorial. F. C. Hirons, Albin Polasek, Ezra Winter, and William Parsons had arrived the night before, and meeting at the Grand had discussed the project. Each praised the work of the others, and all joined in declaring the "memorial . . . has no equal in the entire United States, with the possible exception of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C." John Angel and Hermon MacNeil reached Vincennes in time to take their seats on the flag-draped platform, before the band struck up, "Hail to the Chief." 33

Governor McNutt, as master of ceremonies, introduced President Roosevelt as the crowd cheered. Roosevelt pegged his speech on George Rogers Clark's pronouncement at Kaskaskia in 1778 regarding religious toleration in America. He urged a rearming against "new devices of crime and cupidity," and championed the conservation of the nation's resources, which "short-sighted pioneer settlers wasted by denuding forests, failing to stop soil erosion, overgrazing, and failure to rotate crops and provide food production." The latter two themes are as relevant today as in 1936. 34

33. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, June 14, 1936.
34. Ibid., June 15, 1936.
As soon as the President finished speaking and after the applause had subsided, he was escorted back to his train by Governors McNutt and Horner. The train started for Louisville, while the Governors and the First Lady returned to the memorial grounds. After the dedication of the Vigo and Father Gibault statues, Mrs. Roosevelt traveled with Governor Horner to Graysville, Illinois, where she addressed a farmer's picnic.

President Roosevelt was met at Louisville by a group of Kentucky political leaders. He was motored to Hodgenville, where he visited Lincoln's birthplace memorial. The Presidential party then proceeded to Elizabethtown, where it boarded the train for the return to the nation's capital.\textsuperscript{35}

G. The First Effort to Establish a GRC National Memorial Fails

1. The General Assembly Authorizes the Transfer of the Memorial

A number of Indianians questioned the capability of the State to maintain the memorial. Consequently, legislation was introduced in the General Assembly in February 1935 to authorize the State to transfer to the United States the memorial.\textsuperscript{36} Little opposition was encountered. The bill was passed by both branches of the legislature and signed into law by Governor McNutt on March 12.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{36} Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Feb. 24, 1935. This bill was introduced by John N. Dyer. Culbertson, when questioned by the press, admitted, that if the Federal Government took over the memorial, it would provide greater prestige, but, he added, "there is no assurance that the national government will be acquiescent to such an arrangement."

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., March 7, 10, 12 & 13, 1935.
Supporters of the legislation had pointed out that the Federal Government, if it took over maintenance of the memorial, could be expected to convert the unfinished portion of the basement into a hall of pioneers with statues and objects to interpret the historical significance of both the French and American periods.38

2. The National Park Service's Initial Interest in the Memorial

As early as 1933 the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior had had some administrative responsibility for the memorial. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes was notified by Dr. Coleman on July 11, 1933, that under a recent Executive Order of the President, the "expenditures of the Federal Government for the purpose of . . . the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial Commission" were to be administered by his department.39

Prior to the passage of the act authorizing the State to transfer the memorial to the United States, Dr. Coleman forwarded to Secretary Ickes several photographs of the structure. He also informed Ickes that the Commission was looking forward to the day when the memorial would become a unit of the National Park System.40

In the summer of 1938 an official of the National Park Service spent several hours at the memorial. He told the custodian that he

38. Ibid., April 5, 1936.
was studying the area, but he gave the impression that his superiors were not interested in its addition to the Service. He was heard to remark that the memorial was in "bad shape."

To Dr. Coleman this "indicated the desirability of putting the building into nearly as perfect condition as possible." As he did not believe they could have the seepage repaired under the guarantee, they would have to have a contract "drawn up for repairs . . . and put through in the regular manner."

The Park Service man did say, however, that if the Federal Government were to take over administration of the memorial, legislation would be required.\(^{41}\)

3. **FDR Vetoes a Bill Establishing the GRC National Memorial**

To follow through on this suggestion, companion bills were introduced into the Senate and House on May 8, 1939, providing for the transfer of the Clark Memorial to the National Park Service, thereby removing it from the jurisdiction of the Commission.\(^{42}\) Prompt action by the respective library committees paved the way for favorable votes by the Senate and House on the establishment of a George Rogers Clark National Memorial. President Roosevelt on August 5 vetoed the legislation. On doing so, he pointed out that the joint resolution creating the National Commission had provided that the State of Indiana

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\(^{41}\) Coleman to Culbertson, Aug. 23, 1938, NA, RG 148.

\(^{42}\) Vincennes Post, May 9, 1939. The Senate bill was introduced by Senator Sherman Minton and the House bill by Representative Fred Landis.
"shall assume, without expense to the Federal Government, the perpetual care and maintenance" of the memorial. As yet, he had not been advised of any conditions justifying the repeal of this provision of the joint resolution of May 23, 1928.\(^4\)3

H. Indiana Assumes Responsibility for the Memorial

1. Governor Townsend Acts

Midnight on June 30, 1939, marked the end of the National Commission, and the State Commission stepped in and took charge of the Memorial. It would retain administrative responsibility while Congress debated the merit of establishing the area as a National Memorial.\(^4\)4 The President's veto of the National Memorial legislation was a bitter disappointment. The State must now face up to its responsibility.

In February 1940, Governor Francis Townsend wrote Secretary Culbertson that he was anxious to complete negotiations whereby the Conservation Department would take charge of the memorial. Culbertson stalled for time, replying that additional time was needed to complete the abstract of deeds for the property. As fast as recorded, the deeds were turned over to the land division of the State auditor's office. By the end of May all but four deeds had been certified. These deeds had been lost, Culbertson admitted. Valuable time was squandered while new deeds were drawn.\(^4\)5


\(^4\)5. Ibid., May 28 & 29, 1940.
By August 13, 1940, all papers were finally in order, and the Indiana Commission met in Indianapolis to formally turn over title to the memorial to the State, for management by the Conservation Department. When a quorum failed to appear, a new meeting was scheduled for the 20th. This time there was a quorum, and Governor Townsend issued a proclamation dissolving the Commission and turning over "custody, management, and maintenance of the memorial to the Department of Conservation, together with the funds hither to administered by the George Rogers Clark Commission." Townsend pointed out that while title to the memorial and grounds were now vested in the State of Indiana, they because of the national significance of the site, would at some future date become a prized possession of the United States. The Commission turned over to the State $2,000 of unexpended funds appropriated by the United States.46

The only immediate change noted was that now the United States and Indiana State flags were flown from the flagstaff, where formerly only "Old Glory" had been displayed. In addition, the $7,500 budgeted for maintenance by the Conservation Department could now be obligated. Maintenance of the grounds would now be in charge of John Davidson and Leo Boyer, while Charles L. Kuhn was continued as day custodian and John N. Bey as night watchman. Davidson and Boyer encountered considerable difficulty in cleaning up the area. Night loiterers had

46. Gov. Townsend File, undated, Indiana State Library; Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Aug. 13, 1940. All deeds and abstracts had been filed by June 27, but another delay had developed when a proposal to sell some of the land for hotel purposes was entertained and rejected.
littered the grounds with rubbish. Hereafter persons found loafing in the park after dark would be subject to arrest.  

2. **Maintenance Ceases as Commission & State Squabble**

While the State dragged its feet and the Indiana Commission chased down deeds, no money was spent for maintenance of the grounds and structures. No provision was made to mow the grounds, and by the fourth week of May 1940, the once-beautiful area was overgrown with knee-high grass and weeds. When the Dr. C. D. Matthewses and their son of the faculty of Southern College of Birmingham, Alabama, visited the memorial on the 25th and complained of conditions and took photographs, the *Vincennes Sun-Commercial* published a feature article focusing attention on the neglect.  

This adverse publicity brought a promise from Virgil Simmons of the Conservation Department to see that the "front yard" of the memorial was in "best shape" possible for Decoration Day. But he failed to act, and a patriotic citizen of Vincennes, Dexter C. Gardner, employed a crew to cut the grass and weeds and spruce up the grounds for Memorial Day.  

The influential *Indianapolis Star* picked up the story, and on the 30th its lead editorial castigated the State and Commission's conduct

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48. Ibid., May 27, 1940. A vandal, it was observed, had broken one of the fingers off the granite Vigo.

49. Ibid., May 27, 1940.

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as "little short of disgraceful." After ballyhooing the shrine, the State had tried to have it turned over to the Federal Government to avoid cost of maintenance. When this failed, the Department of Conservation dodged its duties, while the Indiana Memorial Commission became mired in technicalities over missing deeds. It was high time, the editor chided,

for the state to take drastic action to slash a mass of red tape, to over ride a policy of nickel-pinching by departments and commissions, ignore petty technicalities, rally some WPA workers or other relievers and to maintain a $2,000,000 shrine in a condition worthy of the hero it commemorates.50

Other editorials followed. The Star flayed a plan by the State to charge a fee for entering the memorial building. To help finance its operations, the Conservation Department hoped to apply its pay-as-you-go policy of the State parks to the memorial. Director Simmons had stated that the Indiana Congressional delegation had been asked to sponsor legislation removing the Federal prohibition against the charge of admission to projects partially financed with United States funds. This, the Star thundered, was yet another example of a penny-pinching policy which was humiliating to Indiana. The editor of the Sun-Commercial hammered away at State and local officials who had failed to secure WPA funds to extend the boulevard through the memorial grounds and construct adequate parking facilities.51


51. Indianapolis Star and Vincennes Sun-Commercial, undated, clipping file, Vincennes Public Library.
I. The Establishment of the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park

1. Denton Introduces H.R. 9599

United States Representative Winfield K. Denton, chairman of the influential House subcommittee on Interior and Related Agencies, Committee on Appropriations, spent several hours in Vincennes during the Easter Congressional recess in 1965. While there several local citizens, distressed by poor maintenance of the structure, approached Denton and suggested that the Clark Memorial be made a National Monument. On his return to Washington, Denton learned of the 1935 act of the Indiana General Assembly giving the governor authority to convey title of the property to the United States. Employing this legislation as a starting point, Denton conferred with Governor Roger Branigin and Director John Mitchell of the Conservation Department. Both agreed that the memorial possessed national significance. Branigin told Denton he would be willing to transfer the memorial to the Federal government.52

Denton accordingly on July 1, 1965, introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to permit the Department of the Interior through its National Park Service to assume the maintenance and control of the Clark Memorial.53 In endorsing the legislation, the editor of the Sun-Commercial observed that a better choice, originally, might have been to have the memorial administered by a local commission. But as


53. Ibid; H. R. 9599, 89th Congress, 1st Sess., files Office of Archeology & Historic Preservation, Natl. Park Service; hereinafter cited as files OAHP.
this had not come to pass, it would be far better to have the shrine
managed by the National Park Service, than to continue to be operated
as a "step-child of the conservation department."\(^{54}\)

2. H. R. 9599 is Amended to Provide for Cooperative Agreements

In the summer of 1965 personnel of the Northeast Region of the
National Park Service made a study of Denton's George Rogers Clark Memo-
rial proposal and recommended that it be expanded to include William
Henry Harrison's Grouseland, and the Territorial Capitol. When this
suggestion was reviewed by the Division of History, it was recommended
that a National Historical Park be established, in which the memorial
would be one feature, and Grouseland and the Territorial Capitol addi-
tional sites.\(^{55}\)

Officials of the National Park Service met with Representative
Denton on August 16 and 17. A plan of action was matured. The service
would obtain data to support H. R. 9599, while Denton was told of the
scheme employed for the Nez Perce National Historical Park. If this
precedent were followed, the National Park Service would acquire the
memorial and negotiate cooperative agreements with owners of other
historic properties for inclusion in a national historical park. Re-
presentative Denton liked this idea.\(^{56}\)

\(^{54}\) Vincennes Sun-Commercial, July 6, 1965.

\(^{55}\) Utley to Chief, National Park Studies, Aug. 12, 1965, files, OAHP.
Robert M. Utley is Chief Historian, National Park Service.

\(^{56}\) Spurgeon to Harrison, Aug. 17, 1965, files OAHP. Officials meeting
with Denton were: Robert Utley, John Spurgeon, Chet Brown, and Clark Stratton.
Frank Harrison was chief, Division of Legislation and Regulations.
Representative Denton, accompanied by National Park Service Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., spent several hours at the New Harmony, Indiana, State Park on August 21. While there they discussed with Rabb Emison, Ewing Emison's son, historical preservation in and around Vincennes.

Four days later, the Assistant Regional Director of the Northeast Region, George Palmer, arrived in Vincennes to discuss with local leaders H. R. 9599. What he saw and heard in Vincennes convinced Palmer that here there was "sufficient historical integrity" to interpret, besides the Clark story, the political history of the Northwest Territory, the Ordinance of 1787, and the admission to statehood of Indiana and her five sister states into which the territory was divided.

On his return to Philadelphia and a review of the situation with Regional Director Ronald F. Lee, Palmer on September 1 recommended to Director Hartzog that H. R. 9599 be amended to permit the Service to cooperate with, enter into cooperative agreements with and to participate in planning with the State of Indiana, . . . quasi-public organizations, historical societies or associations and educational institutions to interpret and preserve the historic sites of Vincennes and adjacent community in respect to its settlement, designation as the Northwest Territory, its creation as the Indiana Territory and its eventual achievement of statehood.

He also urged that the legislation authorize the Service to undertake a historical survey of sites in and around Vincennes. Upon the basis of this study, it would recommend to Congress a boundary and a proposed development that would preserve and interpret the historical events related to "the establishment of the territorial principles
and practices that provided an early procedure" for admission of new states to the Union. 57

The National Park Service accordingly recommended to Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall that the Department support H. R. 9599, subject to several amendments: (a) the site should be designated a "National Historical Park" rather than "National Historic Site"; that sections be added authorizing the Secretary to enter into cooperative agreements with owners of historical properties associated with George Rogers Clark and the Northwest Territory for inclusion in the National Historical Park. When the Secretary had entered into the necessary agreements, he could establish these areas as integral parts of the National Historical Park. 58

This was done. As amended, the legislation was not as sweeping as Palmer had hoped. Instead of authorizing the Secretary to enter into cooperative agreements with property owners in and adjacent to Vincennes, it restricted him to entering into agreements with "the owners of property in Vincennes." 59

3. H. R. 9599 is Enacted

The first session of the 89th Congress, despite endorsement of the legislation by many local civic groups, did not act on Denton's bill. Soon after the 2d session convened, Secretary of the Interior

57. Palmer to Lee, Aug. 31, and Palmer to Director, Sept. 1, 1965, files OAHP.

58. Udall to Aspinall, Jan. 27, 1966, files OAHP. Wayne Aspinall was chairman of the House Committee on Interior & Insular Affairs in the 89th Congress.

Udall gave the measure a boost. He recommended to Congress that the memorial be added to the National Park System as the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. In his letter to Representative Wayne N. Aspinall, chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Udall announced that his Department was prepared to spend about $300,000 on development of the memorial, after it was acquired by the United States. Of this sum, $50,800 would be budgeted for rehabilitation of the memorial building, including caulking to stop seepage; $146,000 for construction of a visitor center in the basement; and $43,000 for building a 50-car parking lot on the grounds. The Service would also program a "comprehensive survey of the historical values in Vincennes and vicinity following establishment of the area." Sites found to possess historical significance to the Old Northwest could, if the owners were agreeable, be included in the National Historical Park or be interpreted by the Service.60

The Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation, House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, held a hearing on H.R. 9599 on April 25, 1966. Witnesses were: Representative Denton; Assistant Secretary of the Interior Stanley Cain; Director Hartzog; Representative William G. Bray of Indiana; Senator Vance Hartke, who with Senator Birch Bayh was co-sponsor of S. 2886, the companion Senate measure; John Mitchell, former Governor Matthew Welch of Indiana, Mayor Earl C. Lawson of Vincennes, Judge Curtis Shake, and Thomas S. Emison. The subcommittee was favorably

disposed toward H. R. 9599 but indicated that an amendment limiting expenditures for development to $300,000 might be added. Chairman Aspinall extracted a promise from Assistant Secretary Cain to return to the Committee for authorization if it were found necessary to expend funds on repairs or for development of non-Federal structures or their addition to the area.\textsuperscript{61}

A hearing before the appropriate Senate subcommittee was held in June; H. R. 9599 having \textit{passed} the House on the 6th. One month later, on July 11, the legislation was considered and enacted by the Senate. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the measure establishing the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park into \textit{law} on July 23, 1966.

\textsuperscript{61} Kessinger to Harrison, April 26, 1966, files OAHP.
CHAPTER 4

A Construction History of the Memorial

A. The Commission Gets Organized

1. The First Meeting of the National Commission

The Federal Commission held its organizational meeting in the nation's capital on December 11, 1928, on call of Chairman Fess of Ohio. Before adjourning, the Commission determined to engage a consulting architect and to proceed with plans for an architectural competition for design of a memorial as contemplated by the Indiana law establishing the State Commission. A resolution was adopted calling on the Indiana legislature to continue the State levy for raising revenue with which to purchase the site. A second resolution was voted directing Chairman Fess to invite Kentucky, Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri to participate in the sesquicentennial and to contribute to the funds which had been appropriated by the United States, Indiana, Knox County, and Vincennes.1

1. Meeting of GRCSC, Dec. 11, 1928, NA, RG 148. Members of the National Commission in attendance besides Senator Fess were: Senator Watson, Representatives Vestal and Gilbert, Mrs. Hert, Mrs. Carlisle, D. Frank Culbertson, and Luther Smith.
The advisory architect was to be selected by the Executive Committee, after consulting the Federal Commission. He was to prepare a competitive program under which designs would be submitted by architects. The jury of award was to pay $25,000 to the architect whose design was selected.

Inasmuch as the Federal legislation prohibited expenditure of any of the $1,000,000 Congress had appropriated for the memorial until the design and plans had been approved by the Commission of Fine Arts, the National Commission asked the State group to advance the money required for the competition. The National Commission would reimburse the State Commission, after Federal funds became available.²

After approving the bylaws, the Commission determined that the Executive Committee of which Culbertson was chairman would be in charge of plans for the memorial, while Executive Secretary Coleman was to be paid $6,000 per year. The Commission also discussed the advisability of asking Congress to authorize the minting of a commemorative half-dollar. This subject was dropped when Representative Vestal reminded the group of Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon's opposition to this practice. Chairman Fess then adjourned the meeting.³

2. Initial Efforts to Secure Additional Funds Fail

In response to the call of the National Commission, legislation

². Ibid.; Vincennes Commercial, Dec. 12, 1928.
³. Ibid.
was introduced into the Indiana General Assembly, extending for another year the four-mill levy for purchase of land for the Clark Memorial. This measure, along with one legalizing the transfer of certain lands from the city of Vincennes to the State for addition to the memorial site, was passed. The revenue measure, however, was pocket-vetoed by Governor Harry G. Leslie. Efforts to secure financial assistance from Virginia and Missouri, as well as states of the Old Northwest, were likewise unsuccessful.

3. Parsons is Hired as Architectural Advisor

Dr. Coleman, as executive secretary, had contacted the Chicago architectural firm of Bennett, Parsons and Frost to ascertain if they would serve as advisors to the commission. William E. Parsons and C. W. Farrier of that firm were in Washington for the April 1929 meeting of the commission. At the request of Senator Fess, Parsons showed the group sketches he had prepared for the memorial grounds. His plan "included an ornamental and memorial treatment of . . . part of the proposed bridge over the Wabash River . . ., a monument to Francis Vigo, northwest of the bridgehead, and a memorial to Father Pierre Gibault adjacent to the memorial park."

The commission waxed enthusiastic over Parsons' drawings and words. When asked for an estimate of the cost of the work outlined,

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4. Vincennes Commercial, March 17, 1929. Leslie had been inaugurated as Indiana's 33d governor in January 1929.

5. Meeting of the GRCSC, April 18, 1929, NA, RG 148.
exclusive of the memorial, Parsons said $450,000. Chairman Charles Moore of the Fine Arts Commission, who was in attendance, liked Parsons' treatment of the memorial grounds.

Representative Vestal moved that the commission contract with Parsons to serve as their architectural advisor in the competition for design of the memorial structure. The commission at the same time would secure the services of Bennett, Parsons & Frost in planning and designing the grounds. Vestal's motion was seconded and adopted.6

B. The Competition

1. The Guidelines

At the meeting of the National Commission in Washington on June 20, Parsons discussed guidelines to govern the artists entering the competition. It was mandatory that the memorial be a building, and it should contain murals and a portrait statue of Clark. Memorials to Francis Vigo and Oliver Pollock should be located near the approach to the bridge, while Father Gibault's was to face the Cathedral.

"Portrait statues of Clark's other associates might be placed in the building or elsewhere on the grounds." The memorial was to be "located within the rectangle bounded by the boulevard along the river, Dubois Street, the church property and a line drawn from the rear of the church of Saint Francis Xavier to the river."7

6. Ibid.; Vincennes Commercial, March 4 and April 19, 1929. For his service as advisor, Parsons was to receive $5,000, while his architectural firm was to be paid ten per cent of the total cost of the grounds.

7. Meeting of GRCSC, June 20, 1929, NA, RG 148.
Six nationally known architects were to be invited to enter the competition and to be paid $2,500, each, for participating. Other architects could enter at their own expense. The Jury of Award was to consist of five members, two of whom would be architects of established reputations. Their decision would be subject to approval by the national Commission of Fine Arts.8

Parsons notified the Executive Committee on July 10 that he would publish the announcement of the competition as soon as he could secure the approval of the American Institute of Architects. Copies of the program were to be forwarded by October 1 to each competitor who had signified an intention to enter by September 15. The deadline for the receipt of plans and designs would be January 10, 1930.9

A public announcement was made at the January 1930 meeting that the Jury of Award would meet in Vincennes the week of February 4 to select a design for the memorial.10

8. Ibid. The Jury of Award, as approved at the January 20, 1930, meeting consisted of Architects William M. Kendall of McKim, Meade & White of New York City; John L. Mauro of Mauran, Russell & Crowell of New York City; and Lee Burns of Indianapolis; D. Frank Culbertson of Vincennes; and Luther E. Smith of St. Louis. A number of alternates were designated. Meeting of GRCSC, Jan. 18, 1930, NA, RG 148. Smith's experiences as a member of the George Rogers Clark Commission led him to push for establishment of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis.


2. **The Winning Design**

The Jury of Award convened at Vincennes on February 3, 1930, at 2 p.m. Before studying the 51 designs submitted, the five-man jury reconnoitered the site and familiarized themselves with the immediate vicinity. They saw that the site was such that the structure could be "clearly seen from many points of view." On the 5th, after two days of study and discussions, the jury selected design no. 28.11

Frank Culbertson then traveled to Washington, where he submitted the winning design to the National Commission of Fine Arts on Monday, the 10th. They quickly gave their approval, and on February 14, Chairman Fess opened a sealed envelope, marked No. 28. It was found to contain the card of F. C. Hirons of Hirons & Mellor, Architects, 40 East 49th Street, New York City. It was then moved and seconded that Chairman Fess execute on behalf of the Commission a contract with Architect Hirons.12

It was understood, however, that the design would have to be scaled down if Congress refused to vote additional funds. Chairman Fess, as he studied a photograph of the proposed memorial, told the press,

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11. Meeting of GRCSC, Feb. 14, 1930, NA, RG 148. One of the alternates, Frederick L. Ackerman, had replaced John L. Maran. The vote for No. 28 had been three to two, with Culbertson voting with the majority.

12. Ibid. The six architects invited to prepare plans and designs for the competition were paid $2,500 each for their efforts. They were: Paul P. Cret of Philadelphia, Dwight Baun of New York City, Le Beaumet & Klein of St. Louis, Delano Aldrich of New York City, H. Van Buren Magonigle of New York City, and John R. Pope of New York City.
"I think it would be a shame to emasculate this plan. The extra money it would cost a great government . . . is nothing compared to what it would add in doing honor to a great man like George Rogers Clark."¹³

Commission members in attendance saw in the design "frontier staunchness in the Doric pillars free from the central circular structure which projects into an attic above the circular cornice which surmounts the pillars." In the center of the rotunda would be a heroic statue of Clark. One of the most praised features of the memorial were the miniature forts with cannon at the four diagonals, representing Forts Sackville, Kaskaskia, Harrod, and Cahokia. The interior of the structure would be enriched by murals depicting scenes from the winning of the Old Northwest. For its back drop, the memorial would have the century old St. Francis Xavier Cathedral, a river boulevard, a massive seawall, and a new interstate bridge spanning the Wabash. Memorial features were to be incorporated into the Indiana approach to the bridge.¹⁴

Frederick Hirons, the winning architect, had been born in Great Britain and had emigrated to the United States with his parents when ten years old. He had studied architecture in Boston and abroad. A master draftsman, he had won a number of prizes and specialized in classical designs for museums and bank buildings. He was active in the American Society of Beaux Arts, and in 1928 had won the competition

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¹⁴. Ibid.; Vincennes Sun, Feb. 14, 1930. Subsequently, the miniature forts were dropped from the design.
for the headquarters building in New York City. 15

C. W. R. Heath Gets the Contract

1. The Executive Committee Makes Decisions

While waiting to learn whether Congress would appropriate additional funds for the memorial structure, Architect Hirons drew up plans and specifications and contracted with a New York artist, Joseph Kiselewski, to build a model of the memorial. By March 1931 the model had been completed, and the Executive Committee met in New York City on March 20. After visiting Kiselewski's studio and inspecting the model, the Committee met with Hirons and several important decisions were made. It was determined to lower the height of the attic to about 14 feet from the edge of the cornice, and to add an inner rim about one foot in height, "making a step-in rim and making the total height of the attic approximately the same as originally shown in the model." 16

Hirons now informed the group that William W. Reynolds of New York would be his project engineer and would examine the ground to stake the foundation. Clem Richards at this time raised the subject

15. Vincennes Sun, Feb. 14, 1930; personal interview, Charles St. George Pope with Bearss, Feb. 27, 1970. Mr. Pope, a member of A.I.A, was an employee of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, until his retirement in March 1970. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, all architectural schools submitted their best drawings to the American Society of Beaux Arts. The depression put the skids to this program, and the architectural schools dropped out of national competitions.

of providing in the basement of the structure rooms for the custodian, storage, and semi-public restrooms. The entrance to the basement was to be "in or near one of the pylons at the bottom of the steps" in front of the structure. The custodian's room, as well as the rotunda, was to be heated by gas or electricity. Hirons was agreeable.  

Advertisements inviting bids for construction of the memorial were to appear on April 13, and the proposals were to be opened four weeks later.  

2. The Plans & Specifications are Released

Architect Hirons showed to the National Commission at its April 15 meeting plans and specifications for the memorial. They were favorably received. It was announced that sealed bids for construction would be opened in the office of the Commission in the Capitol at Indianapolis on May 9.  

The opening of the proposals had to be postponed, because a close examination of plans and specifications by personnel of Bennett, Parsons & Frost turned up a number of inconsistencies. A list of suggested modifications was forwarded on May 14 to Engineer Reynolds. Upon being notified that agreed-upon changes had been incorporated in the plans and specifications, it was determined to release them for bid.  

17. Ibid. It was agreed that there would be no drinking fountains in the building, but there would be a telephone in the custodian's room.  

18. Ibid.  


Even before July 9, the day the bids were now scheduled to be opened, there were protests to the Executive Committee about one of the specifications. This was to have serious implications. Fred E. Schortemeir of the Indiana Limestone Company protested against the exclusion of Indiana limestone from the memorial. It was pointed out by Culbertson to Schortemeir and United States Representative Wood, who had also written that the plans and specifications as drafted would "practically exclude Indiana limestone," that they were mistaken. They were shown that the specifications permitted bidding on Indiana limestone and marble on "two-thirds of the volume of the total aggregate stone."^21

3. The Bids are Opened

The Indiana limestone industry and their powerful supporters were not satisfied by this explanation, but they determined to hold their fire until the contract was awarded. Because of the depression, interest among contractors in the project was keen. Proposals from 16 firms were received, and the chamber of the Indiana House of Representatives was nearly filled on July 9 with interested persons as Culbertson read the bids submitted by 17 contractors. They, in accordance with instructions, had bid on several base materials, and offered additions and deductions from the base bids by use of "Indiana Limestone, marble and granites as alternates in interior construction and other sections of the memorial."

Hegeman-Harris Co. of Chicago was found to have submitted a low bid of $848,500 for constructing the memorial of Mount Airy granite, the material specified as the base for fixing proposals. W. R. Heath Construction Co. of Greencastle, Indiana, had submitted a lower proposal of $830,000 for Stanstead granite, the second base material.22

4. The Contract is Awarded

The National Commission met at French Lick, Indiana, on Monday, July 13, 1931, to determine to whom to award the contract. Battle lines were drawn between Indiana limestone supporters and those who favored Mount Airy or Stanstead granite. Senator Watson and Indiana Congressmen Wood and Vestal argued that besides being cheaper, Indiana limestone would pump money into the State economy. Schortemeir, the lawyer for the limestone interests, threatened to appeal to Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, if it were true that specifications only called for limestone in the interior. Those supporting granite pointed out that it was a national memorial and that granite was not subject to weathering. Culbertson, the power on the Executive Committee, spoke out for the use of Indiana limestone for the interior of the structure and granite for the exterior. Mayor Joseph W. Kimmel of Vincennes

22. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, July 9, 1931. Among other firms submitting bids were: Hunkin-Conkey Construction Co. of Cleveland; H. Platt Co. of Erie, Pennsylvania; James McHugh Sons of Chicago; A. E. Kemmer of Lafayette, Indiana; George A. Fuller Co. of New York City; E. A. Carson, Indianapolis; Aronberg-Fried of New York City; Edward S. Moore & Son, Kokomo, Indiana; Lovering-Longbottom Co. of St. Paul; C. A. Moses Construction Co. of Chicago; J. L. Simmons Co. of Decatur, Illinois; and Nydele Building Construction Co. and Ericsson Company, Illinois organizations.
pointed out that his city and Knox County had "contributed directly $250,000 over and above our proportionate part" of the State's contribution, and urged that the project "not be commercialized in any degree."^23

After arguments were heard, the Executive Committee presented to the Commission three proposals: W. R. Heath's of $773,800 for Stanstead granite for the exterior of the Memorial and Indiana limestone for the interior above the wainscotting; Hegeman-Harris' for $823,000, limestone interior and Mount Airy granite exterior; and A. E. Kemmer's of $627,000 for granite base and limestone superstructure and interior. By a vote of nine to six, the Commission determined to contract with Heath Construction Co.^24

When the contract was signed, it was provided that Stanstead granite be used for the entrance, steps and terrace, columns, parapet and main wall above the band course, and architrave of main entrance. Indiana limestone was to be used for pilasters, capitals, cornices, and ceilings.

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23. Meeting of GRCSC, July 13, 1931, NA, RG 148; Vincennes Sun-Commercial, July 13, 1931. Representative Wood, not being present, had entrusted Senator Watson with a message expressing his preference for limestone.

24. Ibid.; Vincennes Sun-Commercial, July 10, 1931. Those voting with the majority were: Senators Fess and McKellar, U.S. Representative Arthur M. Greenwood, Luther Smith, Monsignor Gavisk, Lee Burns, Lew O'Bannon, Clem Richards, and Culbertson. The next day, the 14th, Senators Fess and McKellar spent several hours in Vincennes. They were given a tour of the memorial area by Culbertson and Hirons, before attending a luncheon in their honor in the Gibault auditorium. Greenwood had replaced Gilbert on the Commission.
of the interior. Materials as specified in the base bid were to be used in other parts of the structure.\textsuperscript{25}

Walter R. Heath, the successful bidder, was well known to Vincennes builders. He had assumed the contract for remodeling the Knox County Courthouse on the death of John A. Keller, and had erected the Sullivan County Courthouse at Sullivan, as well as a number of fraternity and sorority houses at DePauw University.\textsuperscript{26}

5. Protests Cause an Investigation

Several unsuccessful contractors contacted officials of the U.S. Labor Department, and it was learned that the Stanstead Co., which was to supply the granite, was a Canadian corporation. Upon release of this information, the Premier Company of Vincennes and Indianapolis wired Senator Fess, "Your records show our firm is low bidder for Woodbury granite and therefore is entitled to the contract." A. E. Kremmer's message to Fess read, "I direct your attention to my status as low bidder for American materials." Senator Watson called on Fess to call a meeting of the Commission to reconsider the contract as Stanstead granite is Canadian.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{25} Meeting GRCSC, July 13, 1931, NA, RG 148. Hirons had explained to the Commission that Stanstead granite would be satisfactory, and that the advantage of Mount Airy granite over it was slight. He, however, was mistaken. Stanstead granite is not a first class granite, and when it weathers it turns black. The decision to use second class granite was a serious error on the part of the Executive Committee. Telephone conversation, Lagemann with Bearss. Robert Lagemann is Management Assistant at George Rogers Clark NHP.

\textsuperscript{26} Vincennes Sun-Commercial, July 12, 1931.

\textsuperscript{27} Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Sept. 3, 1931.
Senator Fess was understandably distressed by the barrage of telegrams. He told the press that if the Stanstead firm quarried its granite in Canada and shipped on Canadian railroads the contract would be voided. But, he added, the shrine would be built of granite. Before calling a meeting of the commission, Senator Fess sent a two-man team, Richards and Smith, to visit the worksheds of the Woodbury Granite Co. at Hardwick and Woodbury, Vermont.

Richards and Smith found that on June 12, 1931, the Woodbury Co. had leased to the Stanstead Granite Quarries a large quarry at Woodbury. When they called at the quarry, they found sufficient granite "proven and channeled to more than fill the requirement of the Memorial within the time specified in the contract." They learned that an agreement had been effected between the Woodbury Co. and the Stanstead Co. to do one-half the cutting, dressing, and finishing in the Hardwick plant and the remainder by the Stanstead people at the Beebe Plain plant. All work was programmed to be done by United States labor, and the laborers were to receive the same wage scale as paid by other stone companies. All finished stone shipped from Hardwick was to move over railroads entirely within the United States, while unfinished granite shipped from Woodbury to Beebe Plain would pass over about 8,000 feet of track north of the international boundary. The Stanstead plant was on the boundary, but it was a corporation organized under the laws of Vermont.

28. Ibid.

6. The Commission Reaffirms the Contract

Senator Warren Austin of Vermont appeared before the September 28 meeting of the Commission, along with Richards and Smith. He corroborated their statements that the subject building material was "Vermont granite and according to all rules and practices in the granite business, was in full compliance with the label of the sample submitted." 30

Five hours of acrimonious arguments ensued before a vote was taken. On one occasion Congressman Wood became so agitated that he exploded, "this business will be aired in Congress, and if it is, I fear for the memorial." Wood charged fraud on grounds that a sample of granite chosen for fulfillment of the contract came from a Canadian quarry, while Commission members believed they were voting for American granite. S.C. Kivett, an attorney for Heath Construction, testified that the controversy was "in the interest of the Indiana Limestone Co., the most pampered child of industry in Indiana." Shaking his finger at Senator Watson and Representative Wood, Kivett added, "but you've served this child of ours." Senator Watson called for a vote on voiding the contract with W. R. Heath. His motion was defeated nine to six. 31

30. Ibid.
D. W. R. Heath Builds a Memorial

1. The Basement is Excavated and Foundation Poured

The contract having been reaffirmed, W. R. Heath workmen pushed ahead with construction. On August 29, one month before the crucial vote, a crew of surveyors had established the axis lines for the memorial. Stakes were driven, marking the dimensions of the huge structure. Ground was broken on Tuesday, September 1, when a number of city officials and businessmen assembled to watch as Frank Culbertson turned the first shovel of earth. Project Superintendent James Kay then gave the word, and several powerful steam shovels moved in and began excavating for the memorial foundation. The main excavation was completed in eight days, and on September 11, carpenters were turned to building forms for footings. Meanwhile, the asphalt streets in the vicinity were torn up.

Kay moved slowly, because it would be "poor policy" in view of the controversy to bring in more heavy equipment. Speaking with the editor of the Sun-Commercial, Kay expressed regret that "the controversy has slowed down work at a period of the year when weather conditions have been most ideal." Work would be carried on during the cold months, but, he added, "the same degree of headway cannot be made in cold winter weather as at this time of the year."32

As soon as he was notified that the contract had been confirmed, Superintendent Kay pushed the carpenters, and by October 9 the forms

32. Ibid., Sept. 3 & 30, 1931, and June 14, 1936.
had been completed. The pouring of concrete for the footings started. Into the concrete went "many momentoes, including small coins." Large crowds of sidewalk superintendents were attracted to the site to watch "one of the largest pours of concrete ever made in the area."33

As soon as the forms were removed, new ones were built to mould the large concrete piers. These piers, square in shape, were positioned in circles and were designed to support the tremendous weight of the memorial structure. After the concrete had been poured and set, the lumber was removed, salvaged, and workmen turned to erecting forms for the flooring and support beams.34

2. **Last-Minute Changes**

While awaiting the first shipment of granite, the Executive Committee and Architect Hirons met and agreed on some last-minute changes in plans and specifications for the structure. Upon Hirons' recommendation, it was determined to substitute North Star Indian Red Granite from St. Cloud, Minnesota, for the Jonesboro Red Granite in the band course above the dark green wainscot.35

A modification of the "inner side of the entrance around the door" was approved. The bronze entrance and its mountings were to be dropped, because the work by its "nature required not only detail study and col-

33. Ibid., Oct. 13, 1931, and June 14, 1936. The two mixing machines of Lenahan & Konen were employed in making the pour.

34. Ibid., June 14, 1936.

laboration but also unusual artistic skill and rare craftsmanship in both design and execution." In its place would be constructed a bronze entrance, window, and vestibule. Bids for this work would be solicited from six bronze companies. 36

The construction of the dome was discussed. Hirons explained that the plans and specifications called for an air space between the limestone dome and the supporting reinforced concrete dome above it. His consulting engineer, however, preferred pouring the concrete directly on top of the limestone, after it had been waterproofed. It was determined that the inner dome would be constructed by first placing the limestone, then positioning a waterproof membrane, and finally pouring the concrete. 37

The Executive Committee asked Hirons to make a study of the interior of the memorial above the entrance to incorporate a panel depicting an additional scene from Clark's career. Hirons did. He came up with a drawing providing for a bas-relief above the door and eliminating certain carving along the inner side of the door frame. The committee gave its enthusiastic endorsement. 38

Joseph Kiselewski, who had prepared the model of the memorial, was given the contract for the bas-relief. The scene representing Clark receiving his commission as lieutenant colonel and his orders from

36. Ibid., June 28, 1932, NA, RG 148.
37. Ibid.
Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia was executed in marble.

3. The Erection of the Superstructure

In the first week of December 1931, the pouring of concrete for the memorial floors started, while another crew assembled the derrick to be used in hoisting and placing the granite. The derrick would be operated on a circular track laid around the memorial base.39

The first shipment of granite was received from Stanstead on December 22, 1931. On Monday, January 4, 1932, Culbertson visited the site and with trowel and mortar "set the first piece of granite in construction of the memorial." There were no speeches and few spectators. Shortly thereafter, at 10:30 a.m., five slabs of granite colonnade flooring were laid. This was followed by the laying of the first brick on January 13. The first stone for the circular wall was set on January 18. To enable sidewalk superintendents to see how work was progressing, and to keep them at a safe distance, a four-foot woven wire fence was erected around the construction site.

Despite cold winds out of the northwest, workers continued setting the massive slabs of circular granite, and the walls of the structure began to take shape. On February 6 the masons finished setting the green wainscot. The grey granite walls then climbed upward.40

39. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Dec. 9, 1931. The derrick which belonged to the Ferguson Construction Co. had a 90-foot boom. The first section of flooring was poured on December 8, and the forms were stripped on the 9th. Forms for the second and final section of concrete flooring were positioned and concrete poured in the third week of December.

40. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1932, & June 14, 1936; Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Feb. 12, 1932, NA, RG 148.
Following the quarterly meeting of the National Commission in the last week of April, Architect Hirons traveled to Vincennes. He visited the site and found that W. R. Heath workmen had taken advantage of an unusually mild winter to forge rapidly ahead. "The memorial is going to be more magnificent than even the architect's mind could vision in preparing the plans," he told the press. Hirons blamed a recent slowdown caused by a shortage of stone on good weather, which had enabled the contractor to get ahead of schedule, rather than delays on the part of Stanstead in preparing and shipping granite.\(^4\)

It was June 2 before the 148th and last drum for the 16 massive granite columns was unloaded in Vincennes. With this shipment came one of the "artistically carved caps." The rest were scheduled to arrive on or before June 15. Because of their massive size and skill required in milling, an entire day was needed to turn out a single drum.\(^5\)

Timbers to reinforce the ceiling of the memorial dome were placed at the same time, and construction programmed to get under way during the second week of June. The first Bedford limestone in the dome was set June 7, simultaneously with the arrival of three more caps from Vermont.\(^6\)

\(^4\) Ibid., April 29, 1932.

\(^5\) Ibid., June 2, 1932.

\(^6\) Ibid., June 7, 1932. The limestone was anchored to the concrete dome with heavy copper bolts.
On August 17, laborers began pouring concrete for the dome. By the last week of the month, bricklayers had carried the brickwork to the top of the memorial, which was followed by the placing of several more courses of granite. These were raised to a height to hide the dome construction from the outside. A crew of structural steel workers was brought in to position and rivet the massive steel framework for the skylight in the dome.\(^44\)

Work on the memorial superstructure was completed on the evening of October 3, when the last stone was set. The derrick and its circular track were removed. The next project to be undertaken would be the laying of the terraces.\(^45\)

4. The Laying of the Terrace and Steps

On October 12, Columbus Day, workmen began excavating for the terrace and steps to encircle the structure. Taking advantage of a long Indian summer, Superintendent Kay by early November had his men pouring concrete for footings for the supports of the terrace walls, curbing, and steps.\(^46\)

Work was pushed, and on January 16, 1933, the first granite for the octagonal base wall was positioned. The last granite was placed on April 25, and a crew turned to placing the terrace walkway around

\(^44\). Ibid., Aug. 23, 1932, & June 14, 1936.

\(^45\). Ibid., Sept. 25, 1932, & June 14, 1936.

\(^46\). Ibid., Nov. 8, 1932.
the memorial structure. This walkway consisted of concrete, filled with large pebbles shipped in from the coast.47

5. Lesser Projects

a. Additional Band of Alabama Granite

In December 1932 it was determined to put an additional band of granite around the parapet at the top of the memorial at an additional cost to the commission of $3,349. Hirons and Parsons traveled to Alabama to personally select the stone.48

b. The Basement Rooms

Chairman Culbertson of the Executive Committee had been an interested observer as the massive foundations of the memorial took form. As the basement took shape at the end of November 1931, he recalled the Magonigle plan and its "Hall of History." He felt that the huge space under the memorial could be utilized as an impressive Hall of Pioneers.

Dr. Coleman, Burns, and Richards agreed, and Culbertson asked Hirons to "consider the matter of utilizing the basement space." Present plans for the memorial provided for leaving the basement unfinished, to serve as an air chamber. Many local people had questioned the failure to provide for some use for this space, and several had suggested it would make an excellent room in which to exhibit artifacts associated with early history of the area. Culbertson, however, disagreed with

47. Ibid., April 25, 1933.

those favoring a museum, and argued that if it were determined to ex-
pend money on finishing the basement, it should become "a permanent
part of the memorial, depicting with its statues and tablets important
historical events in connection with the conquest of the Northwest
Territory." 49

When Hirons studied the basement, he reported that it would cost
20 to 30 per cent less to convert it into a Hall of Pioneers now than
to wait until after the structure was completed. To do so, he recom-
mended that the interior of the basement be finished in marble or gran-
ite, and ornamented. Influenced by Culbertson, he argued that the hall
"would not be for the collection of historic relics, but rather for
the portrayal of the life of the early pioneers" through the use of
tablets and statues. 50

A failure to get Congress to appropriate additional funds at this
time compelled the commission to drop Culbertson's proposal for the
Hall of Pioneers. The contractor accordingly completed the basement
rooms as planned, the restrooms fixtures and marblework being installed
in March 1933. In 1966 at the time Congress established the George
Rogers Clark National Historical Park, Park Service planners revived
and then dropped a plan to convert the huge space in the basement under
the rotunda into a visitor center.

49. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Nov. 29, 1931.
50. Ibid.
c. The Bronze Entrance Way

In February 1933 metal workers positioned the bronze entrance way. 51

d. The Bronze and Art Glass Skylight

On the evening of May 26, 1933, after the completion of the structure proper, the Executive Committee met to discuss a contract for installation of the "bronze and art glass skylight in the inner ceiling of the memorial." 52 Plans and specifications were approved and proposals invited.

Bids for the bronze and glass ceiling sash for the memorial were examined by the commission on July 13. The bid of General Bronze Corporation of Long Island City, New York, "to furnish and install the art bronze and art glass ceiling sash" for $13,390 was accepted. 53 The contractor by early autumn had completed this project, and plans were made for placing the murals and Clark statue.

E. The Inscriptions

1. For the Memorial Structure and Pylons

The Subcommittee on Inscriptions in December 1931 recommended to the Executive Committee that: (a) the large exterior inscription on the entablature under the cornice give the designation of the memorial and tell what it commemorated; (b) the interior inscriptions on

51. Ibid., June 14, 1936.

52. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, May 26, 1933.

53. Meeting of GRCSC, July 13, 1933, NA, RG 148; Vincennes Post, July 14, 1933.
the entablature above the murals "give effective quotations ... embodying patriotic or heroic sentiments"; (c) the two pylons in front carry inscriptions on their front, one referring to the site and the event, and the other referring to the erection of the memorial and giving the date or dates; and (d) the pylon on the right, as one approaches the memorial, give reference to the erection of the memorial and be considered the cornerstone. Suggested texts were discussed, and referred back to the subcommittee.54

On February 26, 1932, the Subcommittee on Inscriptions reported that it had agreed on the text of the inscriptions for the pylons and for the interior above the mural paintings. No agreement had yet been reached on the inscription for the entablature around the structure's exterior.

The inscription on the left pylon was to read, "Erected by the United States on land provided by the State of Indiana, the County of Knox, the City of Vincennes, MCMXXXI." On the other pylon would be inscribed, "The Site of Fort Sackville captured from the British by George Rogers Clark, February Twenty-fifth, MDCCLXXIX." The interior inscription was to read, "Great Things have been effected by a few men well conducted. Our cause is just. Our country will be grateful." The first sentence was to be centered over the mural of the Fort Sackville surrender.55

54. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Dec. 4, 1931, NA, RG 148. Members of the subcommittee were: Christopher Coleman, chairman, Lee Burns, Msgr. Gavisk, Luther E. Smith, and Ralph Gilbert.

55. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Feb. 26, 1932, NA, RG 148. It was determined to have the grounds architects' names carved on the bridge, and those of the memorial on that structure.
The Executive Committee at its March 12 meeting determined to amend the inscription on the right pylon to insert the phrase "... and his Heroic Comrades" after the words "by George Rogers Clark." On the exterior of the entablature it was determined to inscribe, "The Conquest of the West" over the entrance, and "George Rogers Clark and the Frontiersmen of the American Revolution" around the sides and rear.  

2. Inscriptions for the Bridge Approach

On May 17, 1932, the Executive Committee listened to the report by the subcommittee on the bridge approach inscriptions. It was approved and forwarded to Architect Parsons, subject to such revisions as he might find desirable in the arrangement and spacing of the text.

F. The Executive Committee Accepts the Memorial Structure

W. R. Heath notified the Commission on May 26, 1933, that his firm had completed the memorial structure. Architect Hirons' inspection showed only one or two minor items needing correction, and the Executive Committee voted to accept the building. (For a description of the structure as completed, see Appendix A.)

56. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, March 12, 1932, NA, RG 148.
57. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, May 17, 1932, NA, RG 148.
58. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, May 26, 1933, NA, RG 148. The Vincennes Post, in commenting on the economic benefit to the city of the contract, pointed out that W. R. Heath's weekly payroll during the 18 months the structure was under construction had average nearly $1,000, most of which had been spent locally. Vincennes Post, May 27, 1933.
The Executive Committee, in the opinion of the author, blundered in its precipitant acceptance of the structure. Within weeks, as the readers will discover, serious leakage into the basement was reported. Numerous attempts have been made through the years to stop the seepage, but they have all failed. It can be assumed that the waterproof membrane designed to prevent this leakage was either defective or fractured immediately. In view of this situation, questions are raised regarding other actions of the Executive Committee. There was the decision to use Stanstead granite rather than Mount Airy granite. The former, as previously pointed out, is not a first-class building stone. After the contract was signed with W. R. Heath, and questions were raised regarding whether the Stanstead Company was domiciled in Canada or the United States; the whereabouts of its quarries; and the origin of stone samples shown the full Commission, the Culbertson-dominated Executive Committee forced the issue and the contract was reaffirmed. As will be seen in the section of this study dealing with maintenance of the structure, W. R. Heath Company not only failed to stop the seepage, but, three years after the building had been accepted, subcontractors were dunning the Commission to reimburse them for bills owed to them by the prime contractor.
1. September 1931: This photo shows the foundation pour. The concrete for the foundation was made on site. The mixer can be seen in the upper left corner of the photo.

2. September 1931: Construction begins on the Memorial, by October 16 the foundation was complete.
3 & 3A. December 14, 1931: The supporting pillars near completion.
4. Christmas 1931: Workers have progressed quickly because of the mild fall. As of the day after Christmas, the rotunda floor was nearly complete.

5. February 6, 1932: Over a month has passed before the Minnesota Granite wainscoting was positioned. The cold winter days do not prevent construction from progressing.
6. March 16, 1932: The drums of the Doric columns are transported to Vincennes on railroad flat cars and lifted into place with a steam crane. Each Stanstead Granite drum weighs over ten tons.

7. May 19, 1932: This is a beautiful view of the Memorial from the arches of the newly constructed Lincoln Memorial Bridge.
8. August 4, 1932: The Doric Columns are complete and work begins on the architrave.

9. September 16, 1932: This photo displays a project well on the way to completion. Workers gently position the entablature blocks.
10. Fall 1932: The Memorial exterior is now looking as it will for the ages to come.

Photos numbered 3, 7 and 8 reprinted through the generosity of Harley and Flossie Crowe in honor of their grandchildren: Ashley, Courtney, Wiggins, Shae, Chelsea, Madeline, and Pfister.

Photos numbered 11 and 12 are from the Lewis Library. All other numbered photos are from the National Park Service collection.
11. September 3, 1933: D. Frank Culbertson helped by Thomas Kilfoil, Austin Snyder and Carl Keller places the corner stone in the granite wall. Please see p. 115 for a listing of the items placed in the time capsule.
12. Original architectural drawing of the Memorial made by Frederick Hurons showing exterior statuary, cannons at the bastions, and reflecting pool in the plaza in front.
President Roosevelt and Mrs. Roosevelt are seen in Vincennes on June 14th, 1936. Notice the Oliphant Building in the background. Main Street was a two way street at this time. The Secret Service agent in his white suit makes a formidable presence in the photo.
This is a photo of the full size model completed by John Angel of Frances Vigo for the Memorial grounds. The Vigo statue would not arrive in Vincennes until the spring of 1936.
Ezra Winter Artist and Muralist who completed the seven murals for the George Rogers Clark Memorial. After two years the murals were complete and arrived in Vincennes on November 30, 1934.
Ewing Emison, a local attorney and leader in the Republican party, was instrumental in winning the support of President Coolidge for the construction of the Clark Memorial. Ewing adhered legislation in the Indiana State Legislature to create a Memorial Commission, to appropriate monies for the project, and to find a site suitable location for the Memorial. Later he and his wife would personally visit President Coolidge. Emison would also serve on the National Memorial Commission.
A. Ezra Winter and His Murals

1. Winter Contracts for Seven Murals

The Executive Committee met on August 22, 1930, to discuss the choice of a painter and sculptor to collaborate with Architect Hirons. Hirons brought with him to the Vincennes meeting photographs and drawings illustrative of the work of muralists Eugene Savage and Ezra Winter, and sculptors Charles Keck and Hermon A. MacNeil. Among subjects proposed by those in attendance for murals were: Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and others sending George Rogers Clark to the West; scenes at Harrodsburg, Corn Island, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia; Clark and DeLeyba at St. Louis; Father Gibault administering the oath to the citizens of Vincennes; the attack on Fort Sackville; the surrender of Fort Sackville; the battle of Fallen Timbers; William Henry Harrison and Tecumseh at Vincennes; "Three Flag Day" at St. Louis on the occasion of the United States taking possession of the Louisiana Purchase; a scene from the Lewis and Clark expedition; a panorama representing the development of the Old Northwest; and an ornamental map of the Old Northwest. Because of the divergence of opinion, action on the subject was deferred by the Committee.  

At the September 17 meeting of the Executive Committee, it was determined that the "primary emphasis of the memorial and its paintings and sculpture be upon the winning of the Old Northwest, with individuals as decided upon." Monsignor Gavisk moved that the Committee proceed to the selection of a painter and suggested that Ezra Winter be invited to meet with the group.2

Winter met with the committee on October 2, and the group was impressed with the handsome 45-year-old Michigander. A specialist in life-sized paintings, Winter maintained a studio in New York City, within easy commuting distance of his home in Canaan, Connecticut. Before the day was over, Winter had a contract for preliminary work on seven murals.3

On October 9 the Commission approved the action of its Executive Committee in engaging Winter for the mural paintings for the memorial. He was to be paid $10,000 for his preliminary work to include "first and finished sketches of seven panels, each of them approximately" 15 by 26 feet, the final sketches to be submitted before March 1, 1931. This sum would be deducted from the final fee for the murals, which was not to exceed $100,000.4

2. The Scenes to be Depicted are Determined

The Executive Committee spent 90 minutes in Winter's Grand Central Station Studio on November 19, 1930. Out of their discussions

with the artist came a number of decisions. It was determined that one of the panels would show Clark's march across the drowned lands and another the surrender of Fort Sackville, depicting, if possible, the church, the stockade, and the Wabash. Above the murals there would be large medallions containing bas-reliefs of American leaders in the Revolution—Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Henry, Mason, and John Adams. Between the portrait medallions were to be inscriptions. A frieze of sculpture in relief was to encircle the rotunda under the murals. A map of the Old Northwest was to be on the ceiling. Three media—inscriptions, paintings, and sculpture—were to be employed to impress visitors with the "process by which the Old Northwest was won and occupied during the American Revolution, with the heroism and achievements of George Rogers Clark and his associates, and with the significance and importance of both of the foregoing."^5

When the Executive Committee returned to New York City on March 20, 1931, and visited Winter's studio, Monsignor Gavisk urged that the five remaining murals should depict: (a) Clark receiving his commission from Governor Patrick Henry; (b) Clark negotiating with the Indians at Cahokia; (c) the battle of Piqua; (d) the raising of the United States flag at St. Louis, with members of the Lewis and Clark expedition present; and (e) the westward movement. In the upper part of each mural, there should be a relevant map. At the

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5. Meeting GRC Executive Committee, Nov. 18-19, 1930, NA, RG 148. Members of the Committee making the trip to New York were: Culbertson, Burns, Monsignor Gavisk, and Richards.
request of Chairman Culbertson, Gavisk put his ideas in the form of a motion, and they were adopted. 6

Six months later, on September 21, the Executive Committee met with Winter at his New York City studio to examine and discuss the preliminary sketches. It was decided that the maps be small cartouches at the top of each mural and not backgrounds, occupying the entire upper part of the paintings. The subjects, except the one depicting the battle of Piqua, were approved, and Winter directed to proceed. In place of the Piqua mural, Winter was requested to develop sketches representing the settlement of the Old Northwest, at Marietta, on the basis of the Ordinance of 1787. 7

Ezra Winter was in Vincennes on December 6. He spent the day studying the Fort Sackville site, and took a number of photographs. He paid particular attention to the trees to insure that he would paint them in their "February gauntness." That evening at Culbertson's home, the artist showed a select group the three sets of drawings he had prepared for each of the seven murals. Culbertson and his friends were impressed, and they agreed that selecting the best would be difficult. Culbertson was especially impressed with the ones of the march across the drowned lands, and one could "fairly hear Clark shout to his men to come on, as he sweeps his gun aloft."

Winter told his audience of his intensive research for background materials. On doing so, he had found the coat General Clark wore on his epic campaign in the John Marshall Museum in Richmond. To insure accuracy, Winter had had photographs taken of the coat. Culbertson, on hearing this exclaimed, "Vincennes should have that coat, it belongs to us."  

On April 7, 1932, the Executive Committee again met with Winter, and, after examining his color sketches, determined on the subjects for the murals. They were to be: (a) the Wilderness Road, (b) Clark Treating with the Indians at Cahokia, (c) the March on Vincennes, (d) the Attack on Fort Sackville, (e) the Surrender of Fort Sackville, (f) the Proclamation of the Northwest Ordinance at Marietta, and (g) Taking Possession for the United States of the Louisiana Territory at St. Louis. Culbertson at the April 26 meeting showed Winter's rendered sketches of the seven murals. These sketches were approved, and Winter was directed to proceed with the execution of the contract.

3. Winter Completes the Murals

The Executive Committee on November 20 was in New York City and called at Winter's Grand Central Station Studio and inspected mock-ups of the murals. They were approved subject to certain changes. Among these were: in the Cahokia mural it was suggested that Father Gibault and Francis Vigo "might well be represented in the background"; in the

9. Meeting of the GRC Executive Committee, April 7, 1932, NA, RG 148.
10. Meeting of the GRC Executive Committee, April 26, 1932, NA, RG 148.
march on Fort Sackville mural further study was to be made of some of the figures, especially the drummer boy, "and that an effort be made to bring out the hardships of the march, the exhaustion of the men and their desperate situation"; and in the St. Louis mural "Meriwether Lewis be made more conspicuous and that a trail leading to the Far Northwest be shown with pack horses on it."11

At its meeting on March 31, 1933, the Executive Committee approved titles for six of the seven murals. A number of titles were suggested for Mural No. 6, the one commemorating the Ordinance of 1787, but no agreement was reached.

Architect Hirons argued that he favored making the border at the top of the murals wider than the borders at the sides and bottoms, so as to harmonize with the capitals of the pilasters. It was agreed to have Winter place at the tops of the murals a border corresponding to the height of the capitals of the pilasters, and that the borders of each panel carry the seals of two of the first 13 states, with the seal of the "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio" as the 14th seal. Finally, the seal of the Continental Congress, or of the United States, was to be centered on the skylight.12

The Committee on August 6 traveled to Falls Village, Connecticut, to where Winter had been compelled by the size of the murals to move

11. Meeting of the GRC Executive Committee, Nov. 17, 1932, NA, RG 148. Monsignor Gavisk, who had taken great interest in the murals, had died in October, so the group missed his keen insight when it met with Winter in November.

his studio. The group approved the murals, subject to a few minor corrections needed to insure accuracy. It was determined to have Winter work into the borders a "design of oak leaf, sycamore leaf, pine cone, and pine needle . . . similar to the oak leaf border already done." This border was to alternate with "ears of corn, etc." Winter was urged to position the murals in the memorial as soon as possible.13

4. Mounting the Murals

In the second week of November 1934, Winter notified the committee that he planned to reach Vincennes in two weeks with his works of art. Preparatory for his arrival, Fred Steimel, a local contractor, positioned a high, mobile scaffold in the rotunda of the memorial.14 The murals reached the city on November 30 from the artist's Connecticut studio, but their arrival was kept secret until December 2, when Culbertson returned from Indianapolis and made a public announcement.15

On Monday, the 3d, Winter detrained in Vincennes, and that night he showed his murals to a select group at the memorial. Winter, aided by his assistant Joseph Smith, unrolled each of them on the floor and trimmed each to the proper size to fit the space on the wall where it was to be placed. Each was then re-rolled ready for mounting. The

15. Ibid., Dec. 2, 1934.
murals caused Culbertson and his friends to wax enthusiastic. They were impressed by the more than 150 figures, with those in the foreground standing eight and one-half feet tall.\textsuperscript{16}

Winter and Smith turned a crew to preparing the murals for hanging. The preliminary work saw them coating the wall with a backing consisting of a mixture of white lead and varnish to a depth of one-eighth inch. This was then carefully smoothed, and the first canvas, "The Wilderness Road," carefully rolled onto the prepared surface. The mixture, on drying, sealed the mural to the wall. One ton of white lead was used before the seven canvases were secured.\textsuperscript{17}

Murals two and three were positioned by Thursday evening. Although the structure was temporarily closed to visitors, members of the press given a sneak preview by Culbertson reported that these first murals changed "entirely the atmosphere of the memorial, transforming the coldness of the marble and stone, to a soft richness of beautiful blended colors."\textsuperscript{18}

The last of the seven murals was hung on Thursday, the 13th, one day ahead of schedule. Contractor Steimel left the scaffolding in position until the end of the year to enable Winter and Smith to touch up the murals, to remove smudges that had appeared on them during handling, and to add certain "artistic touches of details intentionally omitted

\textsuperscript{16} Vincennes Post, Dec. 4, 1934.

\textsuperscript{17} Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Dec. 4, 1934; Vincennes Post, Dec. 4, 1934.

\textsuperscript{18} Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Dec. 6, 1934.
until after the paintings" were mounted to insure the best effects from lighting and the surroundings. After the colors had dried, the murals were shellacked. 19

Senator Fess, chairman of the National Commission, reached Vincennes at noon on December 17, 1934, and accompanied by Dr. Coleman and Culbertson, inspected the murals. Fess was delighted with what he saw, and, in accordance with the recommendation of the Executive Committee, Winter received his final payment for the seven murals. 20

B. The Clark, Gibault, and Vigo Statues

1. MacNeil's Statue of George Rogers Clark

The Executive Committee spent several sessions in the late summer and early autumn of 1930 discussing the merits of Charles Keck and Hermon A. MacNeil, the men recommended by Architect Hirons for consideration as sculptor for the memorial statue. Before making a decision as to whom to employ, it was determined by the group to hold a meeting in New York City in Hirons' office to examine their work and to inspect models. 21

Two days, November 18 and 19, were spent by four members of the Executive Committee in New York City. The morning of the 18th was spent at the studio of Lee Lawrie, and the afternoon at Joseph Kiselewski's.

20. Ibid., Dec. 16, 1934.
At the latter, they saw Kiselewski's model of the memorial and grounds. On the 19th the group visited Keck's and MacNeil's studios. They chatted with the two artists and inspected models and studied photographs of their respective work. After returning to Indiana, the four men who had made the New York trip explained to other members of the Executive Committee the respective merits of Keck and MacNeil. It was determined at the December 1, 1930, meeting to employ MacNeil as sculptor for the proposed statuary.\textsuperscript{22}

In September 1931 the Executive Committee visited MacNeil's New York City studio. MacNeil showed them a clay model of a portrait statue of Clark, draped in a military cloak. Liking what they saw, the committee told him to "develop his subject."\textsuperscript{23} Confronted by a shortage of funds, it was July 1933 before the committee was able to meet with MacNeil to decide upon the size of the Clark statue.\textsuperscript{24}

MacNeil on September 3 showed the Executive Committee photographs of the model of the Clark statue he had prepared for the center of the memorial with a base of Formosa marble. The projected statue was discussed and a number of suggestions made, which MacNeil said would be considered. He told the committee that he would execute the statue,

\textsuperscript{22} Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Dec. 1, 1930, NA, RG 148. The four men making the New York trip were: Culbertson, Burns, Monsignor Gavisk, and Richards. At Hirons', suggestion Kiselewski had been employed as architectural sculptor for the memorial structure.

\textsuperscript{23} Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Sept. 26, 1931, NA, RG 148.

\textsuperscript{24} Vincennes Post, July 14, 1933.
the base and subbase, bronze plaque, and marble flooring for $36,711.75. His proposal was accepted, with the provision that the statue be eight feet ten inches in height.  

MacNeil by March 1934 had finished his model. When he inspected it, Culbertson gave his approval. The artist next made arrangements to have his work of art cast by the Roman Bronze Works. This was done in the autumn of 1934.

The statue, pedestal, and sculptor reached Vincennes in the first week of December. With Winter and his men at work hanging the murals, the memorial was closed, which would facilitate positioning the bronze Clark. On Tuesday, December 4, 1934, workmen from the Alabama Marble Company began placing the stone which would surround the bronze plaque to be set in the floor, and on the 6th they positioned the pedestal. The statue was placed on December 7.

A critic who viewed the Clark bronze on the 8th was delighted with what he saw. He was glad that Clark was dressed in the uniform of a Continental officer, with his great cloak thrown carelessly around his shoulders, rather than in the "tattered nondescript uniform of the Indian fighter." Thus garbed, he gave the Midwest "a tone of culture." While their history had color and romance, it enhanced their appreciation to have "a conception" of Clark, above "the Daniel Boones who were great

but not of his greatness. We like to think of him as a man who could sit down to a state dinner with the Washingtons and the Adamses and feel comfortable," the critic wrote.  

2. Polasek's Gibault and Angel's Vigo

The Executive Committee, on learning that Congress had authorized the expenditure of another $250,000 on the memorial, on June 26, 1933, asked Landscape Architect Parsons to submit a list of sculptors from which artists could be selected to do the Francis Vigo and Father Gibault statues. After listening to a report submitted by Parsons, the Committee on January 8, 1934, directed Dr. Coleman to write Albin Polasek of Chicago and John Angel of New York. The former would be asked to make a study for a statue of Father Gibault for the plaza in front of the cathedral, and the latter sketches of a Vigo statue for a setting at the seawall between the memorial and the Wabash.

On January 29, 1934, the two artists met with the Executive Committee. Angel recommended that the Vigo be a full length statue. It was


29. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, June 26, 1933, NA, RG 148. H.P. Pagami and Harry E. Raitano of the Francis Vigo Memorial Association on November 6, 1931, had urged that plans be developed for commemorating Vigo and that a statue of him be erected on the memorial grounds. They had been assured that this was being considered, but no action could be taken until it was known whether any funds would be available for such a project. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Nov. 6, 1931, NA, RG 148.

agreed that it be of granite, face the memorial, that Angel should consult with Hirons and prepare models. In reference to the Gibault statue, there was discussion whether it should be considered "primarily in the scale of the church or the memorial grounds, or whether it should be a full length statue or a bust." It was determined to have Polasek prepare silhouettes of various sizes.  

The artists returned to Vincennes on March 19 with their models and silhouettes. Polasek's conception of Gibault represented him standing with head uplifted, a crucifix in one hand and a scroll in the other, both pressed against the body. The Committee liked what it saw and directed Polasek to proceed with development of his model, with several slight modifications. He was invited to submit estimates for the cost of a bronze statue of the priest, about eight feet in height, upon a pedestal and base totaling five feet. Angel was asked to prepare a model of Vigo seated.

Angel had completed his model of the seated Vigo by June. Parsons, on visiting his New York studio, recommended to the committee that Angel be given a contract to prepare a granite figure of Vigo, both statue and pedestal to be of Mount Airy granite. The statue was to be one piece, eight feet in height, resting on a three-foot six-inch pedestal. For this work the artist was to be paid $30,000. The necessary papers were signed.

32. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, March 14, 1934, NA, RG 148.
Before work was started on the statue, it was decided by mutual agreement to permit Angel to substitute West Chelmsford granite for the North Carolina stone.  

Polasek had completed and had received the approval of the Executive Committee of his model by the first week of February 1935. In mid-June the bronze statue, having been cast, was shipped to Vincennes and positioned on its pedestal in the Old Cathedral Plaza. Within several days, it had to be removed and sent to the Vincennes Foundry & Machine Company for minor alterations. Its removal caused considerable comment when the statue was missed, and the locals were glad to see it back on its pedestal on July 3. The official unveiling, however, was delayed until the dedication of the memorial by President Roosevelt in June 1936.

A strike of stonecutters at the West Chelmsford quarry delayed Angel for six months, and it was February 1936 before he was able to assure the Commission that he would have his statue of Vigo positioned well before June 14, the date President Roosevelt was scheduled to dedicate the memorial.

Angel was as good as his word, and in the last week of April, the statue, on which he had worked for more than two years, was loaded onto a flat car at Lowell, Massachusetts. The seven-foot seated Vigo

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was, for protection, buried in a box of sand. The ten-ton statue reached Vincennes early on April 29, and the anxious artist detrained 12 hours later. After checking in at the Grand, Angel, accompanied by a reporter, dashed off to inspect his work of art. They found the car spotted by the Baltimore & Ohio on the memorial grounds. Although it was dark, the two men climbed up onto the car and by flashlight examined and found the statue had survived its rail trip. 37

The positioning of the Vigo on its site between the memorial and seawall, where it would face the Illinois prairies, was delayed several days, awaiting the arrival of a crew led by Austin Snyder from St. Louis. Snyder and his people specialized in this type of work. On Saturday, the 2d, Snyder's crew employed a large derrick to remove the massive granite figure from the car and place it within a few feet of its base. To protect the head and face during this operation, they were covered. On May 4 the base was positioned, and the statue set. On both days such crowds watched the workmen that they had difficulty getting "elbow room." 38

C. Maintenance of the Murals

1. The Proposal for Replacing the Clear with Frosted Glass

In the late summer of 1940, the State of Indiana had assumed responsibility for maintenance of the memorial. Robert Starrett was


38. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, May 3 & 4, 1936; Angel to Richards, May 18, 1936, NA, RG 148. Angel returned to New York, as soon as the statue was set, on the 4 p.m. train.
employed by the Department of Conservation, the administering agency, as curator in 1946. When he visited Vincennes in August of that year, Starrett took cognizance of the bright "sunlight streaming through the clear glass in the front of the structure onto the murals." He believed that this was causing them to fade. Moreover, the custodian had complained that keeping the windows clean was a major maintenance problem, because temporary scaffolding had to be employed. 39

Following up on Starrett's report that the sunlight coming through the glassed area was causing sections of the murals to fade, Director Robert F. Wirsching wrote Ezra Winter. He wanted the artist's opinion on Starrett's suggestion regarding the substitution of frosted glass for the clear lights. 40

Winter replied that in 25 years he had never had any trouble with fading in his murals, but then none of his paintings were as directly exposed to strong sunlight as those in the Clark Memorial. He pointed out that the colors in "The March Through the Flooded Plains" and the "Battle of Fort Sackville" had never been as strong as the others, because one "scene represents Gray Day and the other Early Morning." He, however, planned to visit Vincennes in the near future to examine his paintings.

39. Starrett to Wirsching, Aug. 10, 1946, files George Rogers Clark National Historical Park, cited hereinafter as, Files GRCNHP; personal interview, Starrett with Bearss, March 3, 1970. Starrett, 24 years later, still believes that the sunlight has not been good for the Winter murals and feels that the National Park Service should install frosted glass in the front of the memorial structure.

40. Wirsching to Winter, Jan. 13, 1947, files GRCNHP.
Winter, however, endorsed Starrett's proposal to employ frosted glass to diffuse the sunlight. Lack of funds in the Department's budget for 1946-47 prevented the installation of the frosted glass, and Starrett's proposal was permitted to die.

2. The Winter Interpretive Exhibit

Starrett in 1948 prepared and installed an exhibit in the memorial to interpret Winter's painting of the murals. As the only objects available at the park were a few well-worn brushes, some flattened paint tubes, and several battered palettes, he wrote the artist in hopes of securing sketches, photographs, armatures, or models. Winter failed to reply, and Starrett had to proceed with his exhibit, employing the few available objects.

3. Proposals to Clean the Murals Fail to Jell

In April 1948 John P. Jones, a Vincennes painter and decorator, contacted the Department and broached the subject of his being given a contract to clean the murals. Jones was informed that no decision on the cleaning and care of the murals would be made until after Winter's scheduled visit to the area.

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41. Winter to Wirsching, Feb. 1, 1947, files GRCNPH.
42. Cougill to Winter, May 7, 1947, files GRCNHP.
43. Starrett to Winter, Dec. 8, 1947, files GRCNHP.
44. Jones to Cougill, April 13, 1948, files GRCNHP.
45. Starrett to Jones, April 19, 1948, files GRCNHP.
Two months later, the Department received a letter from Charles Gulbrandsen, a painter, who had written at Winter's suggestion. If it were convenient with the Department, Gulbrandsen would fly to Vincennes in July and give estimates as to the cost of cleaning and refinishing the murals. As the Department would have to bear the expenses of Gulbrandsen's trip, Starrett told him not to come. While the Department was preparing to make use of Jones' services, a letter arrived from Gulbrandsen, stating that he and Winter planned to be in Vincennes in mid-August to inspect the murals.

Gulbrandsen arrived without Winter and spent one day, August 18, examining the murals. He found them in need of a thorough cleaning. He proposed to clean and refinish them, and apply an air jet to the surface of the limestone piers and capitals to remove all surface dust for $4240. If the Department were to underwrite the project, Director K. R. Cougill would have to seek an appropriation from the 1949 session of the General Assembly.

46. Gulbrandsen to Custodian, June 16, 1948, files GRCNHP. Gulbrandsen's studio was in Port Washington, New York.

47. Starrett to Gulbrandsen, June 23, 1948, files GRCNHP.


49. Gulbrandsen to Cougill, Aug. 22, 1948, files GRCNHP. Winter had agreed to visit Vincennes while the work was in progress.

50. Cougill to Gulbrandsen, Aug. 26, 1948, files GRCNHP. When appraised of the estimate, Starrett commented that $4200 was "a lot of dough--a year's salary."
Before the legislature could act or Winter could forward any objects for the exhibit interpreting the painting of the murals, the artist committed suicide on April 7, 1949. The famed muralist had been in bad health for about a year before he shot himself to death in the woods adjoining his Canaan, Connecticut, estate.\textsuperscript{51}

In January 1950, Jones called on Starrett and urged the Department to contract with him to clean the murals. Starrett replied that no funds were available; that when they were budgeted, the cleaning would be done on a competitive bid; and that he would have to see in writing the treatment Jones proposed.\textsuperscript{52} Jones, in turn, contacted Gulbrandsen and asked for information as to how the murals should be treated. Gulbrandsen refused the information, because he believed the cleaning and refinishing of the murals should not be entrusted to a house painter as the results could be disastrous.\textsuperscript{53}

Although Starrett was cognizant of the problem, the Department of Conservation was never able to allot funds for cleaning the murals. In 1964, two years before the National Historical Park was established, Starrett sought, in vain, to get $5,000 budgeted for restoration of the murals by an expert.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{51} Starrett to Gulbrandsen, March 12, 1949, files GRCNHP; Vincennes Sun-Commercial, April 7, 1949.

\textsuperscript{52} Starrett to Gulbrandsen, March 10, 1950, files GRCNHP.

\textsuperscript{53} Gulbrandsen to Starrett, March 6, 1950, files GRCNHP.

\textsuperscript{54} Starrett to Stout, Oct. 8, 1964, files GRCNHP. In January and February, 1971, Walter Nitkiewiez and a team of student from Oberlin College cleaned the Winter murals.
A. Land Acquisition for the Memorial

1. The Initial Purchase

Among the first tasks faced by the Indiana Clark Memorial Commission was acquisition of land on which the memorial was to be erected. At the August 1927 meeting at Tom Taggart's French Lick Hotel, D. Frank Culbertson and Clem Richards reported on progress of negotiations for the purchase of the three big commercial establishments in the area—the Baltic Mills, the John S. Bierhaus Warehouse, and the Paul Kuhn Elevator.¹

Negotiations proceeded smoothly with Paul Kuhn, and on January 28, 1928, it was announced by Chairman Fortune that Kuhn and the commission had agreed on a price of $35,099 for his property. The Kuhn purchase was hailed as possessing special significance, as it was the first large tract acquired for the memorial site.² Several

1. Minutes of the Aug. 26, 1927, meeting of the Indiana Commission, Emison Papers. At this meeting, a one-man committee was named to ascertain the procedures necessary to secure the minting of a commemorative half-dollar and the issuance of a George Rogers Clark commemorative stamp. Because of the opposition of Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon to the practice, no commemorative half-dollar was minted.

2. Vincennes Commercial, Jan. 29, 1928. The Kuhn tract was 200 feet by 400 feet and was located on the Wabash River to the southwest of the Fort Sackville site.
smaller properties in the area had been previously purchased by the city, and would be turned over to the commission when the time was propitious.

2. The Sesquicentennial Commemoration & the Destruction of the Kuhn Elevator

The commission determined to use the Kuhn purchase to dramatize its activities and to focus national attention on Vincennes and the Clark Sesquicentennial. To commemorate the event, a program was arranged for February 25, 1929. Governor Harry Leslie, who had been inaugurated in January, arrived during the morning by special train from Indianapolis. He was greeted by a parade led by the Purdue band.

After commemorative services at the Old Cathedral under the direction of Father James Gregoire, Governor Leslie, Mayor Claude Gregg, and a large number of citizens took position to watch the demolition of the Kuhn elevator. Arrangements had been made for President Coolidge to press a button at the White House to set off the blast that was to wreck the elevator. The elevator, however, was more solid than expected, and it survived the blast. Mayor Gregg then had cables attached to the structure and tractors were hitched to them. To the embarrassment of the mayor and commission, the powerful tractors were unable to topple the structure.

Mayor Gregg now called for Fire Chief Bud Evans and his firemen, and they drenched the elevator with gasoline and set it on fire. Flames engulfed the structure, and provided a grand spectacle for the crowd and the movie cameras that had been positioned to record the ceremony.
That evening there was a formal dinner at the Gibault gymnasium hosted by the State Commission, followed by a pageant at the Coliseum depicting the capture of Fort Sackville.  

3. Additional Purchases and Demolitions

Negotiations with the Bierhaus estate and the owners of Baltic Mills did not go so smoothly, and the Indiana Commission at its March 13, 1928, meeting voted to institute condemnation proceedings. Much of the land needed for the memorial grounds had been acquired by the spring of 1931. Contracts had to be awarded to have the buildings razed and rubble removed. T. J. Edwards of Vincennes was employed by the Executive Committee in October 1930 to supervise the clearing of the grounds. The largest and most formidable structure to be demolished was the Bierhaus Company Warehouse, a massive three-story brick building with basement. A contract for its removal was awarded in April 1931 to Globe Wrecking Company of Chicago. In the second week of November 1931, workmen began razing the Emison Hardware Building,

3. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Feb. 25, 1954. At the Vincennes Post-office, the George Rogers Clark Sesquicentennial stamp had been placed on sale by the Postmaster-General.

4. Minutes of March 13, 1928, Meeting of Indiana Commission, Emison Papers. The commission at the same time voted to condemn Lot 23, the property of William and Jennie Hutton.


on 2d and Main. Dating to the 1820s, this structure was one of the oldest business houses in the city.7

Workmen in the fall of 1932 razed the brick structures formerly housing the Overland Garage and Vincennes Auto Parts.8 With the date at hand on which proposals for landscaping were to be invited, contracts for razing the three brick buildings opposite the Cathedral on Church Street were awarded in July 1933. The removal of these structures was necessary to provide space for the 100-foot-wide street to extend from Main Street to the Cathedral.9

B. Parsons Submits His Plans and Specifications

1. Parsons and the Executive Committee Review the Plan

Landscape Architect Parsons met with the Executive Committee on May 17, 1932, to discuss his plan for landscaping the grounds. It was determined at this time to eliminate a proposed reflecting pool between the memorial and the bridge approach. Factors causing this change were: (a) with the memorial overlooking the Wabash there was no need for an artificial body of water to enhance the beauty of the grounds; and (b) the space between the memorial and bridge was so restricted that it would give the pool a cramped appearance.

8. Ibid., Nov. 8, 1932. The Overland building had been used as an office by Premier Construction, while their workmen were embellishing the bridge approaches. In the past the home of Vincennes Auto Parts had housed a notorious resort.
9. Ibid., July 7, 1933. The middle building, occupied by the Brothers of the Sacred Heart, was not wrecked at this time. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, July 31, 1933.
In reviewing the projected double street to replace South Street, Parsons pointed out that it would be of sufficient width for two-way traffic, with a flower court in the center. There would be a "graceful curve" where the street intersected U.S. 50, making it possible for traffic to flow through the east side of the park. At the same time, the proposed memorial boulevard would attract motorists desiring to drive along the river side of the park to Willow Street, with a left turn at 2d to Main, and west on Main to the boulevard. Such a drive would enable a visitor to get a "full view of the memorial and the park." 10

2. A Money Shortage Causes a Delay

The Executive Committee met on December 15, 1932, to discuss bids for landscaping the grounds. Eighteen months before, the Committee had given its approval for the purchase of fill not to exceed 20,000 yards. Only a part of this had been used, and now with the excavation of the memorial terraces all but completed, and back filling about to begin, it was expected that work on this contract would be pushed. Contracts for top soil, trees, shrubbery, and watermains would be awarded. 11

A report by the treasurer showed that most of the funds available to the commission had been obligated, so it was determined to wait for Congress to appropriate additional funds before awarding the landscaping


11. Ibid., Nov. 29, 1932.
contracts. The $96,000 appropriated by the 73d Congress became available on July 1, 1933. The previous week, Landscape Architect Parsons had spent several days in Vincennes conferring with Robert W. Schucker, who had been named superintendent of buildings and grounds by the Executive Committee on May 26. Schucker showed Parsons a detailed sketch of the projected landscaping. Two elms, one to the east and the other west of the bridge approach, would be retained, while other trees out of harmony with the grounds plan would be felled. It would also be necessary to remove a section of asphalt pavement from 2d Street, extending to what was formerly lower 1st Street, now included in the memorial grounds. The sidewalk extending west from the Cathedral and the hedgerow enclosing the Cathedral grounds were to be extended to connect with Barnett Street, south of the memorial.

3. The Contracts are Awarded

After the Executive Committee had examined and approved Parsons' plans and specifications for sidewalks and drives, electrical wiring and lights, planting and landscaping, and curbs, gutters and drains, sealed bids were invited.

12. Meeting GRC Executive Committee, May 26, 1933, NA, RG 148; Vincennes Sun-Commercial, May 31, 1933. David H. Bond had been appointed watchman at the same time at a salary of $110 per month. Concrete bases had been poured for 12 granite seats to be positioned in two rows between the bridge approach and the memorial. Each seat was to be eight feet long and 2.5 feet wide.

13. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, June 20, 1933.

The proposals were opened, abstracted, and contracts awarded on July 24. Cooper Bros. Co. of Indianapolis was given the contract for drainage, walks, steps, and retaining wall, to cost $36,000; Muellermist of Oak Park, Illinois, the contract for an underground sprinkling system and pumping plant, to cost $19,986.93; Cooper Bros., the contract for paving the streets, and building curbs and drains for $29,400; and Hubert Hunsucker of Champaign, Illinois, for setting out $9,150 worth of shrubs and trees.  

C. The Landscapers Get Down to Business

1. The Cooper Bros. Projects

By the end of July, Cooper Bros. workmen were demolishing the Hartigan building on the alley between Main and Vigo. Space gained was used for a curve in the realignment of 2d Street. Main Street, between 1st and 2d, was widened, to form a border driveway for the memorial grounds. Second Street, between Main and Church, was changed. From Main to the alley between Main and Vigo, the street was widened to 50 feet; and west of there the drive circled a plaza, 50 feet wide by 140 feet in length. At the west end of the plaza was to be erected the statue of Father Gibault.

Barnett Street, from 2d to Water, was closed as a driveway and converted into a walkway. A curbing wall was erected at the 2d Street terminus, and the street resurfaced with asphalt. At the memorial grade,

15. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, July 24, 1933, NA, RG 148. The Muellermist sprinkling system was to provide for 1,001 heads, with water pumped from a well on the memorial grounds.
a flight of six granite steps was constructed. Both Barnett Street sidewalks were removed and the space used for landscaping. Dubois Street was extended to join the projected boulevard.

All streets and drives in the park were to be surfaced with Trinidad street asphalt. The walkways were to be finished in asphalt with pebbles showing on the surface. One walkway was to extend from the west terrace of the bridge approach, parallel to the old Catholic cemetery, and, after connecting with the Barnett Street walkway, link up with the walkway encircling the memorial. Another walkway, bordered by German lindens, was to extend from the bridge terrace to the memorial steps. 16

Work on the walkways was started on September 11 by Cooper Bros. employees. The first section built was the five-foot-wide walkway paralleling the seawall. Next, they began constructing the walks encircling the memorial and connecting the memorial with the bridge approach. 17

The Cooper Bros. people made rapid progress. By late October the walkways on the memorial grounds had been completed, and the concrete base for relocated Second Street, around the plaza, had been poured. Before 1933 had passed into history, Cooper Bros. had fulfilled both their contracts with the commission.

17. Ibid., Sept. 8 & 11, 1933.
2. The Muellermist Contract

Muellermist had developed a revolutionary method for sprinkling lawns, which had been widely employed at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago. The system to be installed at the park consisted of a maze of pipes of many sizes to bring water from a 12-foot gravel pocket well. This well, capable of pumping 600 gallons of water per minute, was located about 400 feet west of the memorial structure. It was controlled automatically by the custodian from the basement of the memorial. The Muellermist system consisted of 1001 spray heads, about three-fourths of them to be spaced 30 feet apart and the rest 20 feet. The spray heads were supplied by heavy duty copper pipe and brass fittings. 18

While Muellermist employees were excavating trenches for the sprinkler system, they unearthed a human skull and bones. The bones were embedded in gravel about four feet below the ground level. Soon after being exposed, they began to rapidly deteriorate. Local historians speculated that as the bones were deep in the gravel, where the earth had not been disturbed, they were probably those of a soldier or Indian buried in the 18th century. 19

When the system was completed and tested, onlookers compared the extra-fine mist to that seen above Niagara Falls. 20

18. Vincennes Post, July 29, 1940.

19. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, undated, clipping file, Vincennes Public Library. The bones were found near the alley behind the Florence Thuis property on Main Street.

20. Vincennes Post, July 29, 1940.
3. The Hubert Hunsucker Contract

In mid-October 1933, Hubert Hunsucker and his gardeners arrived. Around the memorial building and on the west side of the bridge approach, they set out a large number of horizontal junipers. These plants would lie close to the ground to serve as a covering shrub. On the bridge approach, a background of Japanese yews and some evergreens were set out. At the same time employees of Lenahan & Konen were laying top soil. 21

D. Lighting the Grounds

Upon completion of these landscaping projects, the commission with most of its funds spent or obligated moved ahead cautiously. On September 7, 1934, George S. Schugman was given a contract for lighting the memorial grounds. The contract called for the installation of 61 lantern-type lamps, positioned on bronze standards. The lights, of 2,500 lumens each, were to be controlled by an astronomical dial, motor operated time switches. 22

The electricians had completed their work by mid-January 1935, and on the night of the 15th the memorial and grounds were brilliantly lighted.


22. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Sept. 7, 1934, NA, RG 148. Arrangements had previously been made for lighting the exterior of the memorial from the soffit of the colonnade. Charles Kuhn was employed as day-watchman and Bond became night-watchman in September 1934. Increased visitation was responsible for the decision to provide round-the-clock protection.
It presented a beautiful sight for persons viewing the shrine and grounds under "the artificial illumination." Members of the Vincennes Rotary were taken on a tour of the memorial by Culbertson during the evening to view Winter's recently hung murals.  

E. The Extension of the Grounds to the West

1. Preliminary Work

In November 1935 the commission took advantage of one of the emergency employment measures enacted by the Federal government to turn out a WPA work force of 69 men, armed with picks and shovel, to remove gas pipes from land recently acquired from the Central States Gas Company. After the pipes were removed, the area was filled with top soil to a grade conforming to the remainder of the monument grounds.

The razing of the gas plant and the old infirmary, to be acquired with funds appropriated by the 74th Congress, would be contracted. Prior to the dedication of the memorial, workmen razed several unoccupied gas company buildings.

2. The Demolition of the Gas Plant

Negotiations by the commission for purchase of the property of the Central States Gas Company were tedious. At first, the corporation


24. Ibid., Nov. 13, 1935.

25. Ibid., April 5, 1936.
asked $150,000 for its property. But when it secured access to a supply of natural gas, the plant became obsolete, and the corporation scaled down its price. In December 1936 agreement was reached on a price. The commission would pay the corporation $12,000 for its property, and the company would demolish the building and holder and remove the rubble. 26

Workers began razing the gas plant in February 1937. Its great boilers long silenced, the building, no longer occupied, had long been considered an eyesore. Before demolishing the structures and hauling off the rubble, a crew salvaged such fixtures as had value. The huge black holder, with a capacity of 100,000 cubic feet of gas, was dismantled. After the area had been cleared, the area was covered with top soil, and the ugly scars left by the removal of the maze of gas mains covered. 27 The landscaping was done by WPA labor. 28

F. The Embellishment of the Approach to the Lincoln Memorial Bridge

1. Ferguson Construction Co. Begins Work on the Bridge

John J. Brown, Director of the Indiana State Highway Commission, notified the Executive Committee in late December 1930 that his department had entered into a contract with the State of Illinois

26. Ibid., Dec. 11, 1936.
for construction of a bridge across the Wabash at Vincennes. Bids would be opened on January 20, 1931.

Although plans for this structure, much of which would be located on the memorial grounds, had been discussed with members of the commission, no formal agreement had been reached. It was understood that the two State highway departments would build the bridge, including structural portions (retaining walls) of the Indiana approach, within the monument grounds. These retaining walls would be constructed in the rough to allow for future stone facing, provided they did not exceed in cost the walls previously projected by the highway commission.29

When proposals for the highway bridge were opened and abstracted by the highway commissions, it was found that Ferguson Construction Company of Rockford, Illinois, had submitted the low bid. Awarded the contract, the Ferguson people announced they would begin construction by March 1. Several carloads of equipment and a number of supervisory personnel reached Vincennes from Rockford in the last week of February. A failure to ship some key components delayed start of construction several days.30

2. Parsons' Plans for Embellishing the Indiana Approach

Three weeks later, when the Executive Committee met, Architect Parsons' general plan for the Indiana approach to the bridge, the

30. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, March 2, 1931.
grounds, and retaining wall were examined and approved.  

Architect Parsons by late December had prepared detailed plans and specifications for embellishing the Indiana approach to the bridge. When he visited Vincennes to secure final approval from the Executive Committee, Parsons brought along a model showing the bridge approach with "its beautiful stone faced terraces on each side." Flights of stone steps afforded access to these terraces and to the bridge approach from both the memorial and Main Street sides. From the grade line of the grounds, the approach would be faced in granite harmonizing with the stone used in construction of the memorial. A massive flagpole was to be placed on the west terrace to represent the five states formed from the old Northwest Territory.

At a point directly over number one abutment of the bridge would be erected twin granite pylons. On each of these would be carved an Indian, representative of those present at Fort Sackville in 1779.

3. Premier Construction Gets a Contract

At its January 28, 1932, meeting, the National Commission awarded the contract for the bridge embellishments to Premier Construction Co. of Indianapolis and Vincennes. Their base bid for


32. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, undated, clipping file, Vincennes Public Library.
Mount Airy granite was $116,24\text{1}, about $24,000 below Parsons' estimate. 33

Visiting Vincennes on May 17, Parsons was impressed with the way work was progressing on the bridge approach, and he was satisfied it would be completed by the late summer of 1933. He had with him photographs of the engravings of the Indians, one representing Tecumseh and the other The Prophet, for the pylons. But, he cautioned, it would be several months before the model was completed, and another month or two before they were turned out by the quarry mill. He felt confident, however, that the pylons would be placed before winter. 34

By mid-August, the embellishment of the west terrace, except for positioning of three blocks of Mount Airy granite, bearing the inscription, had been completed. Work on the east terrace would begin as soon as the stone was received. Meanwhile, carpenters were building forms for the sidewalks, and the concrete would be poured. 35

Judge Henry Horner, the Democratic candidate for governor of Illinois and a history buff, was in Vincennes on August 12. He drove across the bridge, which had been opened to traffic in July, and pledged

33. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Oct. 28 & 29, 1931; meeting GRCSC, Jan. 28, 1932, NA, RG 148; Vincennes Sun-Commercial, undated, clipping file, Vincennes Public Library.

34. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, May 17, 1932. Local pressure had resulted in identifying the Indians as The Prophet and Tecumseh, rather than unidentified Indians present at Clark's capture of Fort Sackville.

35. Ibid., Aug. 12, 1933.
himself to attend and participate in its dedication.\textsuperscript{36}

It was early October before additional granite arrived from North Carolina, and Premier Company masons began laying the eastern terrace.\textsuperscript{37} Next they placed the granite for the pylon bases. It was the last week of April 1933, before the pylons, except for the caps, were completed. These were received in May and positioned.\textsuperscript{38}

On June 26, 1933, Parsons made a final inspection of the bridge approach and found the contract completed and the work satisfactory. His recommendation that the bridge approach and pylons be accepted as of June 1, was accepted by the Executive Committee.\textsuperscript{39}

4. The Bridge Dedication

It was determined to dedicate the bridge approach and place the corner stone on September 3, 1933, at a ceremony to be attended by Governors Paul V. McNutt of Indiana and Henry Horner of Illinois, and Senator Simeon D. Fess. The date chosen for the program would mark the sesquicentennial of the signing of the Treaty of Paris, signifying the end of the Revolutionary War and confirming the United States' possession of the old Northwest Territory. A special subcommittee consisting of Drs. Coleman and Woodburn, Richards, Smith, and

\textsuperscript{36.} Ibid. The bridge, on which construction was started in March 1931 had taken 17 months to build.

\textsuperscript{37.} Ibid., Oct. 6 & Nov. 8, 1932.

\textsuperscript{38.} Ibid., April 25, 1933.

\textsuperscript{39.} Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, June 26, 1933, NA, RG 148.
Culbertson was named to perfect arrangements for the ceremony.  

By 11 a.m. on Sunday, September 3, a crowd estimated to number at least 3,000 had assembled at the Indiana approach to the bridge. As cars drove up with the two governors, a salute was fired by Battery D, 139th Field Artillery, Indiana National Guard. Proceeding to the Lincoln Memorial Bridge, the governors addressed the crowd.

Governor Horner paid tribute to George Rogers Clark and his men, while Governor McNutt saluted the statesmen who had negotiated the Treaty of Paris, 150 years before, which concluded the Revolutionary War. Following the bridge dedication, a luncheon for the guests of the commission was held in the Gibault gymnasium. The luncheon was followed by the corner stone sealing services at the Clark Memorial. Senator Fess spoke on the significance of the Peace of Paris and the winning of the Northwest Territory through the bravery of Clark and his men.

After Fess finished his speech, Culbertson read a list of items which were to be sealed in the corner stone. These items, placed in a copper box one-foot long and ten inches deep and wide, were sealed

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40. Vincennes Post, July 14, 1933.
by Thomas Kilfoil, and placed in the corner stone by Culbertson, assisted by Kilfoil, Austin Snyder, and Carl Kellar.  

G. The Seawall

The National Commission met in Washington on January 18, 1930, and approved plans prepared by Architect Parsons for a seawall to be erected along the Wabash River as part of the Clark Memorial. Parsons' wall was to be constructed of reinforced concrete, surmounted by "a substantial metal chain railing hung from precast concrete posts."

Six months passed before the Executive Committee was able to advertise and abstract bids from interested construction companies. On July 8 the contract for the seawall was awarded to Premier Construction Co., whose bid of $84,142.16 was low. The wall was to be 1,000 feet long and 23 feet in height. No difficulty was encountered by

41. Ibid., Sept. 3 & 6, 1933; Indianapolis Star, Sept. 4, 1933. Sealed in the corner stone were: the Bible; copies of the constitutions of the United States and Indiana; photographs of Presidents Coolidge, Hoover and Roosevelt, and Governors Jackson, Leslie, and McNutt; the Indiana law creating the Clark Commission and the U.S. Statutes on the Sesquicentennial Commission; President Coolidge's message to Congress recommending a national memorial to Clark; a report of the hearings before the Joint Committee on the Library; a number of articles bearing on Clark and the memorial; George Rogers Clark commemorative stamps autographed by Postmaster-General Harry S. New; Frederick Yohn's "Surrender of Fort Sackville" postcard invitation to the commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the surrender of Fort Sackville; photographs of the memorial, bridge, the old DAR marker, members of the commission, Architects Hirons and Parsons, Muralist Winter, and Sculptor MacNeil; and the reports by Magonigle and Hirons.

42. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, July 10, 1929, NA, RG 148; Vincennes Commercial, Jan. 19, 1930.

43. Meeting GRC Executive Committee, July 11, 1930, NA, RG 148.
Premier in building the seawall, and it was completed well ahead of schedule.

H. Monument Stones and Plaques

1. The Fort Sackville Memorial Stone

On Thursday, May 14, 1936, the Fort Sackville memorial stone, which had been unceremoniously removed when construction on the Clark Memorial commenced, was reset in the center of a shrubbery plot at the northeast corner of the structure. This monument had been positioned in November 1905 by P. J. Burns, under the sponsorship of the Fort Sackville Chapter of the D. A. R. After the stone's removal, it had been "discarded in a pile of old stones back of the site." There it had remained forgotten until the autumn of 1935, when the commission's attention was called to it. A. P. Snyder & Sons were asked to prepare estimates for re-setting. When the old memorial was repositioned, it was impossible to locate the original base. Snyder & Sons accordingly set a new one, on which was inscribed the date of the re-setting.

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44. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, May 14, 1936. On a brass plate near the top of the stone were the words, "Site of Fort Sackville." Carved in the limestone below the plate was an inscription reading, "Captured by Col. George Rogers Clark from the British, Feb. 25, 1779, resulting in the U.S. acquiring the Great Northwest Territory, embracing the states of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota."

45. Ibid.
2. The Clark Headquarters Plaque

During the last three months of 1953, the Department of Conservation received requests from two organizations to locate monuments on the memorial grounds. On October 9 there came a letter from State Vice-Regent Alice M. Wolf, of the Daughters of the American Revolution. She asked authority to erect "a handsome stone ... with a bronze marker" on the site of Clark's headquarters during the Fort Sackville fight.\(^46\)

After checking with the Indiana Historical Bureau, the Department notified Mrs. Wolf that an appropriate location for the proposed marker would be either north or south of Main Street, at its intersection with 1st Street.\(^47\) It was determined by the DAR to erect the stone and plaque at the northwest corner of the intersection of Main and 1st. The stone was erected early in October 1954 and dedicated on the 26th.\(^48\)

3. The Gold Star War Memorial

A decision by the Corps of Engineers to extend the seawall compelled the Vincennes Chapter of American War Mothers to relocate their Gold Star War Memorial. It was currently positioned on a plot adjoining Culbertson Boulevard.

\(^{46}\) Wolf to Moore, Oct. 9, 1953, files GRCNHP. Doxie Moore was Director of the Department of Conservation.

\(^{47}\) Cougill to Wolf, Nov. 2, 1953, files GRCNHP.

\(^{48}\) Wolf to Cougill, May 30, 1954, files GRCNHP.
The Mothers approached Mayor Eugene Stocker on December 16, 1953, and asked him to intercede with the Department of Conservation to obtain authority for them to relocate their monument on the grounds of the Clark Memorial. The Department, after studying the request, agreed to permit the Mothers to relocate their memorial at the southwest corner of 1st and Main. Although Custodian James Biddle assisted the Mothers in moving the memorial, the cost of its relocation was borne by the citizens of Vincennes.49

I. Culbertson Boulevard

1. Culbertson Presses the County Commissioners

In addition to acquiring land, the Indiana Commission, spearheaded by Culbertson, pushed boldly ahead on a plan to connect Grouseland and the Fort Sackville site by a boulevard paralleling the south bank of the Wabash. On Wednesday, August 13, 1927, the county commissioners of Knox County ordered the publication of a petition signed by more than 300 taxpayers calling for its construction. Prodded by Culbertson, Frank Oliphant, and others, the commissioners promised to review the proposal at their next meeting.

It had been pointed out to the commissioners by Oliphant that the boulevard would serve a two-fold purpose. Besides being vital to the memorial project, it would provide for flood control, as the petition called for the boulevard to be built above highwater mark.

49. Stocker to Cougill, Dec. 16, 1953, & Cougill to Stocker, Jan. 8, 1954, files GRCHP.
He pointed out that during the Wabash flood of 1926, Vincennes would have been inundated had the levee not broken on the Illinois side of the river.  

2. Lenaham & Konen Build a Boulevard

The county commissioners, after studying the petition, referred it to the county engineer for a report on its feasibility. At the meeting at which this decision was made, there was a sharp verbal clash between Culbertson and County Attorney Horace Foncannon. These fireworks were sparked when Culbertson accused Foncannon of stalling.

Drawings and specifications were prepared by the county engineer and approved by the commissioners. On August 8, 1928, bids were opened, and a contract for construction of the George Rogers Clark Memorial Boulevard was awarded to local contractors, Lenaham & Konen. They were to be paid $168,706.97 for construction of an asphalt highway to conform to the city streets with which it would connect Hart and Main Streets.

As completed by the contractors, the boulevard connected Hart with Main Street. But as long as the track of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad occupied the ground between the memorial and the seawall, the boulevard would carry almost no traffic. To save face locally, Culbertson was compelled to devote much time and energy to a campaign designed to get the B & O to relocate its spur crossing the memorial grounds. If he were successful, the boulevard could be extended from Main Street along the former railroad right-of-way to Willow Street.

50. Vincennes Sun, Sept. 7, 1927.
52. Ibid., Aug. 9, 1928.
By the autumn of 1956 the Layne Irrigation Pump at the memorial was causing headaches. Upon being contacted regarding these difficulties, the company checked its files and discovered that the pump had not been pulled for inspection and overhaul since its installation by Muellermist in 1934.\(^{53}\) At the invitation of the Department of Conservation, an employee of Layne Northern visited Vincennes and checked the pump, which he found, "in very poor condition and badly in need of repair." But, he reported, it would be impossible to determine the cost of replacement parts until the pump was pulled.\(^{54}\)

As the pump was used during the summer to provide water for the Muellermist sprinkler system, it was pulled and the necessary repairs made. This action, however, was not a permanent solution.

In 1962, $2,500 was spent by the Department to replace obsolete electrical installations at the memorial. Equipment failures had shorted out the lights surrounding the structure, while the pump servicing the Muellermist lawn irrigation system could not be operated. Until repairs could be effected, interior lighting was held to a minimum.\(^{55}\)

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53. Proos to Chief Engineer, GRCM, undated files GRCNHP. John Proos was an employee of Layne Northern Company, Inc.

54. Calman to Prange, Dec. 13, 1956, files GRCNHP. J. R. Calman was employed by Layne Northern Co., Inc.

55. Foltz to Hatchett, June 29, 1962. John T. Hatchett was Director of the Budget.
The following February the pump broke down. When it was discovered that a new pump cost $3,000, the Department determined to have it overhauled. The 35-year-old Layne Irrigation Pump, which could be classified as a museum piece, is still in use at the memorial, although its idiosyncrasies continue to try the patience of the staff.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{56} Foltz to Schenk, Feb. 22, 1963, files GRCNHP. Charles Schenk was a state senator from Knox County, while Donald E. Foltz had been named to the position of Director, Department of Conservation, by Governor Matthew Welsh.
CHAPTER 7

Maintenance of the Memorial

A. Efforts to Get W. R. Heath to Stop the Seepage Fail

1. The Seepage is Reported and Discussed

Within six weeks of the day the memorial building was accepted by the Executive Committee, two defects were observed. The first, a discoloration of two limestone blocks in the inscription course, was easily corrected by W. R. Heath. But the second fault, serious seepage, has continued to plague the structure until today.

Initially, W. R. Heath, the prime contractor, blamed the seepage on Hartman Co., Inc., of Terre Haute, who had subcontracted to roof the structure. When workmen from Hartman Co., accompanied by Building Superintendent Schucker, inspected the roof, it was seen that the leaks were in the stonework and therefore Heath's responsibility.

W. R. Heath's assurances that the seepage would soon stop were vain. On March 26, 1934, the Executive Committee was informed by

1. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, Sept. 29, 1933, NA, RG 148. It was reported to the committee on January 8, 1934, that the discolorations had been removed.


Schucker that following a rain there were numerous small leaks through the terrace into the finished rooms in the basement, including the electrical apparatus room, that there were very heavy leaks around the downspouts at the corners of the terrace into the unfinished part of the basement, that there were still some leaks from the roof into the peristyle between the columns and exterior wall of the building proper, and that there was a slight leak through the skylight into the center of the building.  

Architect Hirons expressed the opinion that the leaks resulted from "imperfect construction and defective workmanship." Executive Secretary Coleman cited specifications whereby Contractor Heath had guaranteed various features of his workmanship for periods ranging from two to five years. While Dr. Coleman notified the contractor and his bonding company that this situation must be corrected, Superintendent Schucker was directed to take steps to protect the water heater and electrical fixtures.  

To guard the boiler, metal bulwarks were erected. In the electrical room, the water as it dripped from overhead did not strike any of the expensive equipment. This room, however, was unsightly: walls and floors were unpainted and there was dark unfinished cork on the ceiling. The meter room next door, housing a pull box and two meters, was attractively painted. If possible, Schucker recommended that the ceiling of the electric equipment room be plastered and the room painted.  

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5. Ibid.  
2. W. R. Heath's First Attempt to Stop the Seepage

W. R. Heath, in April, arranged to send a crew from Chamberlin Weather Stripping Co. to remove a number of joints in the terrace and recaulk them with oakum and Pecora caulking compound. 7

3. W. R. Heath & Hirons Voice their Opinions

This stopgap measure did no good, and on June 12, 1934, Charles McGaughey of Greencastle, as representative of Contractor Heath, appeared before the Executive Committee. He reported that Heath, although he believed he had faithfully executed his contract, had spent between $2,500 and $3,000 to locate the seepage. What his people found satisfied him that the leaks were "not due to defective workmanship nor in any way his fault, but were due to the material and method of construction called for in the plans and specifications." McGaughey asked the Executive Committee to assume at least part of the responsibility for "the leaks and part of the expense of stopping them." Unless such assurance was forthcoming, W. R. Heath would cease its efforts to stop the seepage.

Hirons countered with a statement that the specifications were in accordance with those employed by the Federal Government for work of this character. An examination of the floor of the "stylobate immediately around the walls of the building, and of the joints in

7. Ibid., April 21, 1934, NA, RG 148.
8. Heath was sick.
the terrace," had proved that the principal leaks were in the

circumferential joints in the floor surrounding the walls of the building and in the joints in the terrace and around the drains; that the specifications prescribed that all top circumferential joints and every third radial joint in stylobate, gutter copings and joints of projecting stones shall be grouted to within 4" of the surface, then caulked with oakum to within 2" of the surface and the remainder of the joint filled with "Vilcatex," or equal to be approved by architect, and left flush and watertight.

It was apparent to Hirons that the circumferential joints in the stylobate had not been treated in this manner. As every third radial joint in the stylobate had apparently been waterproofed, it was desirable to have the others treated in the fashion prescribed for the circumferential joints, and to have all joints around the drain and in the terrace reworked and made waterproof.

The Executive Committee asked W. R. Heath "to complete the proper installation of certain circumferential joints, the top joints of the coping (three courses) and such other joints as he admitted to be his responsibility."9

4. W. R. Heath's Second Attempt to Stop the Seepage

W. R. Heath subcontracted with Keller-Ferguson Construction Co. to waterproof the memorial. The latter's workmen were soon busy removing cement from the mortar joints, and replacing it with a mastic compound, "where by reason of weather or climatic condition it was

9. Meeting of GRC Executive Committee, June 15, 1934, NA, RG 148. The stylobate was the continous flat coping on which the 16 massive columns were supported.
demonstrated that the material used and called for in the original specifications ... was ... inadequate."

Work accomplished consisted of:

**Vertical Joints** 308 feet cement mortar joints cleaned out to a depth of 4" and installed 2" of oakum and 2" of caulking compound. . . . $121.97

**Steps** 2714 feet cleaned out to a depth of 2" and filled with oakum and caulking compound. . . . $1,074.74

**Terrace Wall** 783 feet cement joints cleaned out to a depth of from 1" to 2" and filled with oakum and caulking compound. . . . $310.07

**Top of Monument** 1928 feet cleaned out to a depth from 4" to 6" and cement joint filled with oakum and caulking compound. . . . $763.49

Total . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . $2,270.27

By late July 1934, Keller-Ferguson declared the job completed and turned a crew to removing oil stains from the granite caused by the caulking compound. They began by poulticing the stains with plaster of paris and muriatic acid of three-fourths strength. Schucker put a stop to the use of acid, as he feared it was too strong. Thereafter they employed only a plaster of paris poultice, and while this took longer there was no danger of etching the stone. 11

5. The Seepage Gets Worse

A four-inch rain in late August 1934 demonstrated that the seepage had not been stopped. A major leak was discovered in the

10. McGaughey to Richards, May 20, 1936, NA, RG 148. With Heath seriously ill, McGaughey was managing the firm.

custodian's office. The source of this leak and the one in the boiler room caused considerable headshaking, as all joints in "all directions had been recaulked." A close inspection during the next rain indicated that the water was seeping "in a newly caulked joint in the pebble terrace above these points." When Schucker examined these joints, he saw that they were not "solidly filled," and he speculated that the contractors had used too large a nozzle on their caulking guns. 12

On December 3, 1934, it was reported by Superintendent Schucker that the leak in the electric equipment room remained serious, while a new one had "started coming from around the gutter drain, the downspout of which comes down thru the ceiling." 13

Schucker, on March 20, 1935, notified Heath Construction that a recent three-day rain had caused a number of leaks to develop in the attic space. He had counted 17 major leaks and a number of smaller ones. Water was standing in spots on the granite floor and running down through the floodlight boxes. In six places it was seeping through the granite floor joints and discoloring the granite ceiling back of the columns. There were also leaks in the boiler, meter, and electric equipment rooms. 14

Within two weeks, Schucker had additional grounds for complaint. He saw that a number of mortar joints, on the inside face of the pebble

terrace coping wall, had opened, permitting water to seep through. When this was called to the attention of Keller-Ferguson Construc-

6. The Executive Committee Fails to Press the Issue

W. R. Heath, not wanting to admit that stopping the seepage was their responsibility, billed the commission for the work done by Keller-Ferguson. Before replying to W. R. Heath, Clem Richards, who had replaced Dr. Coleman as executive secretary, checked with local architects Schucker & Bixby. Schucker, on checking the memo-

rial, reported on June 23, 1936, that the "leaks in the Basement and those thru the slate tile roof as a whole are as bad as ever." While two leaks in the locker room had been stopped, others had developed. In the custodian's office there was so much seepage that "almost the entire ceiling and side walls" were affected. Plastering and paint were in bad condition. The leak in the electric equipment room had not improved, while those into the circular attic were "especially bad" in their effect as the water collected on the granite attic floor and, seeping through joints, gradually caused


16. Dr. Coleman had resigned as executive secretary on April 15, 1935, to become full-time director of the Indiana Historical Bureau. He was succeeded by Clem Richards of Terre Haute. Richards, in turn, was re-

placed by ex-Senator Fess, who had been defeated for re-election in the Democratic landslide of November 1934. Fess died in the summer of 1936, and Culbertson was then named to the post.
the granite ceiling of the colonnade to become badly stained.¹⁷

The situation became worse. On January 30, 1937, Schucker reported that previous to this winter the leaks had not caused too much damage to the structure, but now they had become so numerous that "the disastrous results" to the building were "appalling." Seepage through the slate roof was so bad that, after a heavy rain, it stood on the granite floor to a depth of one-half to three-quarters of an inch. This water was saturated with "white matter" it had absorbed in seeping through the structural roof slab. Following a heavy rain, water dripped for weeks as it soaked through the attic floor joints. An unsightly leak had developed in the limestone ceiling on the interior of the memorial just above "The March on Fort Sackville" mural.

In the locker room the situation had deteriorated. Additional leaks had developed and the floor was flooded. Because of the leakage, it was impossible for the custodian to use the electric light in his room. Water was standing in the basement corridor, and it came down the wall near the custodian's door, got behind the marble wainscot, discoloring it and damaging the painted plaster wall above.

In Schucker's opinion, the caulking done in 1934 and 1935 had had no effect.¹⁸

For some unexplained reason, the Executive Committee did not go to the courts. W. R. Heath was allowed to escape its contractual obligation to stop the seepage, and this problem has continued to plague the memorial and those responsible for its upkeep until today. In addition, subcontractors who had done work on the memorial structure for Heath Construction had difficulty collecting their money. Southern Engineering Co., of Kansas City, Missouri, which had installed the plumbing for $28,500, was owed $3,097 on its account. When the prime contractor continued to drag his feet, the subcontractor protested to the commission. All evidence indicates that the Executive Committee made a terrible error in awarding the contract for the structure to W. R. Heath, a firm that had never built anything more complicated than courthouses and fraternity and sorority houses.

B. The Principal Causes of the Seepage are Identified

1. The Nothnagel Study Triggers an Investigation

Frank Culbertson succeeded to the position of executive secretary on the death of Simeon Fess. In December 1938, Culbertson was compelled to take cognizance of complaints regarding seepage in the memorial. He contacted C. W. Nothnagel, a structural consultant of Bedford, Indiana, and had him investigate problems that had developed in the structure, such as falling mortar, moisture penetration, and discoloration of stonework. On doing so, Nothnagel found that the deterioration was caused by "moisture penetration through vertical joints in the granite work that were not . . . filled with mortar," or properly grouted,
and a lack of proper flashing in certain points.  

The commission, when apprised by Culbertson of what Nothnagel had observed, determined to inspect the memorial. In the third week of April 1939, ten weeks before it was scheduled to expire, members of the Federal Commission led by Lew M. O'Bannon spent a day in Vincennes, investigating reports of "deterioration of the stone" shrine. "Decadent conditions at the memorial caused by leakage, which had been allowed to exist," had caused growing concern and increased alarm. Should the situation be allowed to continue, there could be a scandal.

Before going to the memorial, O'Bannon, Dr. Coleman, and Judge Ralph Gilbert met with Culbertson. Although Culbertson accompanied them to the memorial, he, for some unexplained reason, soon returned to his office. The others were allowed to proceed with the field study. They scrutinized the water stains on the interior walls of the rotunda and toured the basement rooms where stalactites, some as much as four feet in length, were found. On the exterior of the structure, they found a huge, five-ton block of granite which had been moved out of line by water penetrating open joints and then freezing. In the basement they saw marks left by water which had recently flooded the rooms.

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19. Nothnagel to Culbertson, Dec. 31, 1938, files George Rogers Clark National Historical Park. These documents, hereinafter cited as files GRCNHP, were transferred to the custody of the National Park Service by the Indiana Department of Conservation in 1968.

20. Vincennes Post, April 20, 1939.
2. The Schucker & Bixby Report

a. The Commission Contracts with Schucker & Bixby

Because of this visit, the Indiana Commission met in Indianapolis in the second week of July to discuss what they had seen and the Nothnagel study. Out of this meeting came a resolution authorizing the architectural firm of Schucker & Bixby of Vincennes to prepare specifications, drawings, and estimates for "certain proposed repairs" to the memorial.

b. The Seepage into the Attic is Pinpointed

During the next two months, the Vincennes architects made "numerous inspections and several tests for water leakage into the Building and defects in the electrical wiring and other equipment."21 Initial examinations of the structure revealed that water was seeping into the attic space, between the wall above the colonnade and the main circular wall, at many points and "in considerable quantity, at times completely covering the attic floor." Water had spread over the area and percolated through the joints in the granite ceiling, and at times had overflowed through openings in the granite ceiling provided for electric lighting units. This seepage had stained the Indiana limestone ceiling inside the structure. A number of joints had opened, the result of mass expansion of the circular wall and the individual contraction of each stone. Measurements demonstrated that the circumference of the circular wall had increased significantly, in the six years since the memorial was constructed.

21. Schucker & Bixby to Commission, Sept. 1939, files GRCNHP.
To pinpoint the leakage and to verify their theory, they played a stream of water from a hose over the roof and flashing surfaces for several hours, being careful to keep the water off the open joints in the wall. No seepage was spotted, and Schucker and Bixby were satisfied that the "entire leakage at the top of the building was thru the open joints of the circular wall." (See drawing accompanying this report, showing distortion of top of circular wall of memorial building.)

Because of the cost factor, it would be impossible to dismantle the wall above the roof lines and rebuild it, to provide expansion joints to prevent a recurrence of the present difficulty. Instead, they recommended that all open joints be caulked and the entire surface of the circular wall, on the inner side, be waterproofed.23

c. The Cause of the Seepage into the Basement is Identified

The Schucker & Bixby study indicated that the leakage into the rooms and spaces below the terrace was caused by: (a) damage to the "waterproof membrane" when W. R. Heath workers positioned the granite slabs and poured the pebble concrete; and (b) the installation of improper terrace drains. If money were no problem, the difficulty could be corrected by removal of all the granite slabs and pebble-concrete terrace pavement, including the stylobates at the steps, and the re-

22. Ibid.

placement of the fractured waterproof membrane. But because of its high cost this alternative was rejected. The suggested answer to this problem was a halfway measure. An effort should be made to seal all joints and cracks in the finish slabs with caulking compound and to apply a colorless, waterproof material to the entire surface, "to seal the pores and minute cracks in the granite and concrete surfaces."

A copper catch basin should be installed on the terrace drain in the finished part of the basement. This would be designed to catch water which "runs to the drain locations on top of the membrane waterproofing and into the Building on the outside of the drain."24

d. Other Repairs Needed

Other repairs proposed included: (a) the joints in the granite work, especially the terrace walls, should be repointed; (b) the plastering ruined by the leakage, as well as the metal lathing and cork insulation on the ceilings, was to be replaced; (c) the basement rooms, with their metal doors and frames, were to be repainted; and (d) stains caused by seepage were to be removed from the Indiana limestone ceiling of the rotunda.25

It was recommended by Schucker & Bixby that a contract for repair of plastering and interior painting be deferred until the leakage problem

24. Ibid. To ascertain the location of breaks in the waterproof membrane over the finished basement rooms, Schucker & Bixby made a number of tests on the terrace by "arranging dams and flooding the surfaces outside the dams."

25. Ibid. A large percentage of the mortar in the terrace wall joints had either fallen or was loose.
was solved. Neither should a contract for repair of the electrical work be awarded until additional tests had been made. They placed the cost of repairs needed to stop the seepage at $2,888.²⁶

C. The 1941 Rehabilitation of the Memorial

1. Director Barnhart's October 1941 Visit to the Memorial

The Indiana Commission did not have sufficient funds to underwrite a contract to stop the seepage, and, because of petty bickering over deeds and an attempt to dispose of part of the park, it was August 1940 before the Indiana Department of Conservation assumed responsibility for the Clark Memorial. When it did, there were no funds budgeted for repairs to the memorial structure. In the late summer of 1941, the Department of Conservation commissioned McGuire & Shook, Indianapolis architects, to make a study of needed repairs. The firm submitted its report to Director Hugh Barnhart on September 22, 1941.²⁷

On October 8 Barnhart and a number of his staff visited Vincennes where, after meeting with Mayor A. B. Taylor and members of the

²⁶. Ibid. A preliminary survey had shown that damage to wiring due to water was slight. The greatest defect in the electrical system was found in the underground wiring of the grounds lighting system. One of the underground cables had shorted, "causing the current to flow into the ground, burning off the insulation from an undetermined length of cable."

²⁷. McGuire to Barnhart, Sept. 22, 1941, files GRCNHP. Barnhart was Director of the Department of Conservation.
Chamber of Commerce, they inspected the memorial. Barnhart told Mayor Taylor that the commission had authorized immediate repairs to the memorial to cost $7,500, and pledged himself to push the next General Assembly for "ample funds to put the shrine . . . in first class condition and maintain it that way."

Barnhart also voiced concern about smoke damage to the memorial bridge and the murals. This smoke came from Baltimore & Ohio switch engines. He said the State would not be satisfied with the memorial until the tracks were removed and the boulevard extended through the grounds.

2. The Proposed Work Program

The $7,500 programmed for repair of the structure was to be expended as follows:

a. Parapet Wall between Inner and Outer Roof-$4,000

This wall, about two feet thick, had a granite exterior face and coping with a glazed brick inside facing and brick back-up masonry. The dowels, which had been positioned between the two courses of coping to cause the wall to contract as a unit, were too weak. Consequently,

28. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Oct. 9, 1941. Accompanying Barnhart were: William Roth, chairman; Ernest Atkins, secretary; Charles De Turk, director, State Park Lands, and Water; Henry Prange, park engineer; William Bailey, maintenance engineer; Marc C. Wagoner, publicity director; William Caudell, custodian; Addison Beavers, deputy attorney general; and Judge Curtis Shake of the Indiana Supreme Court.

29. Ibid. Deputy Attorney General Beavers had been in contact with the B & O in regard to removal of the switch and spur.
the joints had opened, starting at the top, allowing water to seep. Alternate freezing and thawing had caused further spreading. Some of the joints, once one-fourth inch, were now one and one-half inches across. The movement of these stones had caused the horizontal joints to open and water to penetrate in back of masonry under the "copper flashing below the second course of granite blocks." This water seeped through the back-up masonry to the inside of the memorial and had stained the limestone dome. In addition, the movement of the upper courses of granite had cracked the glazed brick forming the surface of the inner wall.

To correct this condition and to keep the parapet walls from further disintegration, it would be necessary to remove the upper three courses of granite and all the surface brick from the inside wall. When it was reconstructed, the wall was to be waterproofed in back and the finishings improved to make the wall solid and impervious to water. The top course was to be doweled, and the two courses immediately below were to be provided with government U-shaped anchors.30

b. Outer Roof-$600

The outer roof of butt-jointed slate tile laid on a sand cushion leaked badly. There was a thin layer of concrete and waterproofing under this and over the structural slab. Efforts to trace the leaks to their source in the slate had been unsuccessful, and the sand, once it was saturated, seeped water for days after a hard rain.

To stop these leaks, it was proposed "to put in a sand filler covered with one and one-half inches to two inches of concrete with a built-up tar and gravel" surface. The edges of this roof would be carried up on the vertical walls at least three inches and then flashed and counter-flashed with copper. All drains were to be reset, and the slope of the roof increased to accelerate run-off. It was estimated that a tar and gravel roof would suffice for at least 15 years.\(^{31}\)

c. **Pointing in Upper Portion--$250**

All vertical and horizontal joints in the granite masonry of the parapet wall were to be checked, and if showing any defects were to be raked out and repointed. This would also be done to the vertical joints in the entablature.\(^{32}\)

d. **Pebble-Concrete Terrace--$400**

An examination had demonstrated that "the excessive amount of leakage" from the pebble-concrete terraces" had resulted from the imperfect construction or "subsequent damage" to the waterproof membrane, and to a faulty design in the floor drains. While it would not be costly to adjust the drains, the correction of the faults in the membrane would be tremendously expensive. It was therefore determined to attempt to waterproof the surface of the terrace, "with the . . . understanding that this may be only partially successful."

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32. Ibid.
To accomplish this, the expansion joints in the concrete terraces would be cleaned of caulking and the joints filled with molten asphalt. All cracks in the slabs would be routed to a depth of one inch and a width of not less than one-fourth inch and pointed with mortar or lead. Finally, the surface of the concrete terrace was to be given a treatment of colorless waterproofing.  

**e. Stylobates and Steps—$850**

All joints in the granite structure from the inside edge of the pebbled terrace up to the wall of the memorial, where there were indications of cracks, were to be cleaned to a depth of one inch and the joints repointed with pointing mortar or lead.  

**f. Outer Terrace Walls—$550**

The outer terrace walls, along with the adjacent granite floor, lower granite steps, and two large buttresses, were to have cracks cleaned and joints repointed.  

**g. Repair of Basement Plastering and Painting—$300**

In the basement the seepage had caused much plastering to fall. Once the leakage had been stopped, the plaster was to be patched, and the cork insulation and metal lath replaced where needed. The walls of the basement rooms were to be repainted.

33. Ibid.; undated report, files GRCNHP.  
34. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Oct. 9, 1941.  
35. Ibid.
h. **Underground Wiring--$400**

The 1939 tests by Schucker & Bixby had shown that approximately 800 feet of the ground lighting circuit had to be replaced.

i. **Interior Wiring--$75**

Although the interior wiring was generally satisfactory in 1939, it was known to have deteriorated. Some light fixtures and switches needed to be replaced. Electrical cabinets were rusted, while the "condition of the wiring in the conduit" was problematical. This work, however, should not be undertaken until the leakage from the terrace was under control.

j. **Mechanical Installations--$75**

The heating plant had been a problem for years. It was believed that this difficulty was rooted in "faulty adjustments and some damage in the . . . automatic controls." As the plant was "an almost completely automatic gas-fired unit furnishing both hot air and steam," it was believed that most of the problems originated because of lack of knowledge on the part of the operator. It was urged that he be given a brief course of instruction in operation and maintenance of the furnace. Moreover, leakage had ruined the insulating wrapping on many of the basement pipes and ducts. The insulation would be checked and replaced where needed. 36

36. Ibid., undated report, files GRCNHP.
The work force was drawn from the Department of Conservation, reinforced by a few skilled craftsmen hired locally on an hourly basis. Schucker & Bixby were employed to oversee the project. The men were turned to before the end of the month. Work on the terrace and adjacent stonework, designed to stop seepage into the basement, was purposely delayed by Schucker to permit the people repairing the parapet wall to finish. By the end of the third week of December, 9,000 bricks and 111 stones had been reset and caulked, and the anchors, dowels, and flashings installed. It was now apparent, however, that the cost of work on the parapet wall was going to exceed its estimate of $4,000, and certain economies were necessary.  

It was accordingly determined to forego the scheduled plastering and repair to the mechanical and electrical installations. Some attention, however, had to be given to the heating plant, which was out of order. Before calling in a representative of American Radiator Corp., it was determined to install a partition with a door to close the tunnel leading into the space under the skylight. As soon as the door had been positioned, the steam was shut off, and the lines heating the outer circular tunnel closed and drained.

37. Bailey to Barnhart, Dec. 22, 1941, files GRCNHP. William Bailey was maintenance engineer with the Department of Conservation.

38. Bailey to Caudell, Dec. 22, 1941, files GRCNHP. A wooden batten door, with a two-by-four foot frame with celotex on both sides, was installed.
The outer roof was rehabilitated and covered with tar and gravel. Next, attention was focused on the pebble-concrete terrace, and finally the joints in the stylobates, steps, and outer terrace walls were cleaned and grouted.

D. The 1943-44 Rehabilitation Program at the Memorial

1. Snyder Construction Contracts for Repair of the Outer Roof

Within a few weeks, it was apparent that the halfway measures attempted had failed to stop the leakage through the pebble-concrete terrace into the basement. In addition, water continued to seep through the outer roof. Director Barnhart and his aides now admitted that it would take thousands of dollars to stop the seepage and to repair the stonework.

In accordance with a request by the Department of Conservation, the Indiana General Assembly in 1943 appropriated $40,000 for repair of the Clark Memorial, of which $25,000 would be made available in Fiscal Year 1944 and the remainder in the following fiscal year. On October 11, 1943, the Department of Conservation contracted with Snyder Construction Co. of Vincennes for repair of the outer roof of the memorial "between the cornice and the parapet walls." This project had been programmed for 1941, but because of the high cost of rebuilding the parapet wall it had been deferred. Snyder would remove all slate covering on the roof over the circular portico, the filler between the slate and concrete slab below, and the lead-coated flashings.

Two coats of waterproofing were to be applied, and the filler replaced with light-weight concrete. After the flashings had been replaced, the joints where the flashings entered the masonry were to be caulked, and metal splash plates under the scuppers positioned. A roof of tar and gravel with a 20-year guarantee was to be applied. (See Appendix B for "Specifications for Repair of Roof of Memorial.")

2. Snyder Contracts to Repair the Masonry Walls

Two days later, on the 13th, Director Barnhart announced that bids would be received and opened in his office in Indianapolis on the 27th for additional repairs to the memorial. This project would provide for: (a) the removal and resetting of approximately 2,300 cubic feet of granite blocks; (b) the removal and relaying of about 1,200 cubic feet of back-up masonry; (c) the cleaning and recaulking of 2,000 lineal feet of expansion joints, type A; (d) the cleaning and repointing of 18,500 lineal feet of mortar joints, type B; (e) the cleaning and recaulking of approximately 9,200 lineal feet of type C mortar joints; and (f) the positioning of new galvanized anchors. Once again, Snyder Construction Co. submitted the low bid and was awarded the contract.

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40. Specifications for Repair to Roof, George Rogers Clark Memorial, Oct. 11, 1943, files GRCNHP.


42. Contractor's Bid, submitted by Snyder Construction Co., Oct. 26, 1943, files GRCNHP.
Snyder's people were to remove, clean, and reset all granite masonry that had been "moved from its original position, pushed out of line or become loose in its setting bed in both walls of the bridge approach, the balustrade wall enclosing the promenade around the memorial proper and a few stones in the vicinity of the Francis Vigo Statue." Whenever any granite masonry was removed, "all brick core walls backing such masonry" were to be removed to the same levels "as the granite and then replaced using new brick." All new brick was to be provided by the contractor. Any anchors found unsatisfactory by the project engineer were to be replaced. After resetting the granite masonry, Snyder was to repoint all joints and clean the walls.

All expansion joints in the terrace floor between the stylobates and the balustrade walls were to be cleaned to the depth of the upper slab and blown out with compressed air. When clean, they were to be primed with Minwax Asphalt Primer and allowed to dry. Minwax Vault Light Cement would be poured into the joints and made flush with the top of the slab. Before this hardened, a coat of clean white sand was to be sprinkled on the surface of the joints to prevent adhesion of the asphalt compound to pedestrian traffic.

Vertical and horizontal stone joints in the balustrade walls, the stylobates, the entablature, the upper parapet wall, the pylons to the bridge, and the walls to the bridge approach were to be cleaned to a depth of one inch and blown out with compressed air. The joints would then be wetted with clean water and pointed with pointing mortar. All joints were to be cut flush with the face of the stone.
Stone joints in the upper surfaces of platforms, stops, curbs, and coping were to be cleaned to a depth of three inches and blown clear with compressed air. When dry, the joints were to be primed with compound to within one inch of the top, and knife grade caulking compound used in the upper inch. All these joints were to be flush with the surface of the stones. \(^{43}\) (See Appendix C for Specifications governing the contract for pointing and sealing of stone work of the Clark Memorial.)

3. **Snyder Executes His Contracts**

Austin Snyder, on being awarded the contract on his low bid of $14,000, told the press that he hoped to begin work by mid-November and have the project completed by June 1, 1944.\(^{44}\) It was the 25th, however, before Snyder workmen had a movable derrick on the grounds. During the day, as Supervising Architect Schucker watched, laborers removed three courses of granite from the dome.\(^{45}\) Snyder pushed his men hard, and by January 1, 1944, they had completed the contract for repair of the outer roof. When spring rains came and no water seeped into the attic space, hopes were high that the tar and gravel roof had been the answer, and that leakage into this section of the structure had been stopped.

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\(^{43}\) Specifications for Repairs to Masonry walls of George Rogers Clark Memorial, files GRCNHP.

\(^{44}\) Vincennes Sun-Commercial, Nov. 4, 1943.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., Nov. 27, 1943.
It was mid-summer before the contractor had finished cleaning and recaulking the joints in the terrace, balustrade, stylobates, entablature, bridge approach, and adjacent to the Vigo statue. While the appearance of the stonework was improved, the Minwax Vault Light Cement did not take the place of the fractured waterproof membrane. Although the seepage into the basement was slowed it was not stopped. As the years passed, the seepage through the pebble-terrace increased, and by the early 1950s had become as serious a problem as it had been prior to the work undertaken by Snyder Construction.

E. Bob Starrett takes Charge

1. The Installation of a New Lighting System

World War II ended in 1945, and the Department of Conservation hired Robert Starrett as curator. Bob Starrett, during the next 19 years, spearheaded efforts to secure funds from a tight-fisted and economy-minded General Assembly to properly maintain the Clark Memorial.

In the summer of 1946, Starrett visited the memorial on two occasions. While in Vincennes in mid-August he saw that Killian Electric Co. had complied with a recent contract and had installed the remaining plaza lights. With these in position, there were now 16 units at the top of the rotunda, one behind each column. Each unit consisted of four 300-watt lamps over a ribbed glass cover and bulb. These had replaced the amber-coated glass. Memorial Custodian Wilcher
was delighted with the new lighting, and in his opinion the memorial no longer resembled a "gray ghost." 46

2. The Installation of Two Drinking Fountains

Plans having been made to install drinking fountains, Starrett, on checking with Custodian Wilcher, found that it would be impractical to draw water from the memorial well, because the pump was operated only seasonally to provide water for the Muellermist lawn sprinklers. It was accordingly determined to connect the bubblers that had been installed on the walls outside the men's and women's restrooms to a city main. 47

3. The Basement Doors & Frames are Repainted

Starrett, during his August visit, saw an item that needed correction. He observed that the metal doors and frames in the basement rooms and halls were rusted and needed to be repainted. In accordance with his recommendation, they were scraped, given a coat of "anti-rust paint, and one or two coats of finish enamel." Efforts were made by Custodian Wilcher to match the greenish enamel which represented a bronze patina. 48

46. Starrett to Wirsching, Aug. 15, 1946, files GRCNHP. Robert F. Wirsching was Director, State Parks, Lands, and Waters. The ribbed glass covers were 11-15/16" x 11-15/16".

47. Starrett to Wirsching, Aug. 15, 1946, files GRCNHP.

48. Ibid.
F. The Outer Roof Again Causes Problems

1. The Wind Storm of March 12, 1948

High winds swept the Vincennes area on March 12, 1948, and great sections of copper flashing were "torn loose on top" of the memorial. Although none of the sheeting was ripped completely off, the Custodian feared that if a heavy rain occurred before repairs were effected, the resultant seepage would ruin the Winter murals. In addition, the loose flashing made a terrible racket whenever the wind blew. Emergency repairs were made by Joice Sheet Metal Works of Vincennes.

2. The 1950 Repairs to the Roof
   a. Robert Joice Agrees to Replace the Copper Flashings

   This was just a stop gap measure, because by the late 1940s it was clear to personnel of the Department of Conservation that the outer roof of the memorial was again leaking badly and needed extensive repairs. Bids for this work were twice received. The first time the proposals were too high and were rejected, while no bids were received on the second occasion. Chief Engineer Henry C. Prange was uncertain how much labor would be required to stop the leakage. Consequently, it was determined that the Department purchase copper for the flashings and hire the work done on a "time and material basis."

49. Vincennes Sun-Commercial, March 17, 1948. The copper flashing surrounded the dome.
The Department in the autumn of 1949 contracted with Joice Sheet Metal Works for repair of the outer roof. But because of previous commitments by the firm no work was done until the following spring. Prange, after discussing the subject with Robert L. Joice, forwarded a requisition for $1,200 to the Department to cover cost of replacing the copper flashings over the granite.

b. Midwest Roofing Renews the Outer Roof

After some of "the work" was uncovered, it was seen that the built-up roof also needed repairs. The Department authorized Joice to do this work. Joice, in turn, employed a subcontractor, the Midwest Roofing and Insulation Company, Inc., of Evansville.

Engineer Prange had all the gravel removed, and as "attempts to patch leaky spots" in the outer roof had heretofore been unsuccessful, he had personnel of Midwest Roofing cover the built-up roof with new felt. Three tons of asphalt were used to retar the roof, and then five tons of gravel applied. This work was completed by the end of June, and Midwest Roofing billed Joice for $1,843.50.50

c. Joice Replaces the Copper Flashings

In July workmen of Joice Sheet Metal installed the copper flashing "in the best manner." (See Appendix D for copy of specifications.) The copper work consisted of lead-coated copper. Where

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50. Prange to Cougill, Aug. 29, 1950, and Midwest Roofing & Insulation Co. to Joice, June 29, 1950, files GRCWHP. The breakdown of the billing was: 30 rolls of felt @ $3 per roll, $90; 3 tons of asphalt @ $52 per ton, $156; 5 tons of gravel @ $5 per ton, $25; and 494 ½ hours of labor at $3 per hour, $1,483.50. K. R. Cougill was Director, State Parks, Land and Water.
the edge of the copper joined the granite, it was leaded into a groove. Expansion joints were provided. Joice billed the State for $1,567 for labor on the flashing. 51

Before the State would make payment, Midwest Roofing was compelled on September 5 to submit a statement guaranteeing the rebuilt roof "to be free from defects in material and workmanship, for a period of Twenty (20) years." 52 Engineer Prange, on inspecting the workmanship, announced that "the leaky condition of this roof has finally been eliminated." 53

3. Joice Seals the Leaks in the Skylight

Engineer Prange within 25 months found that he had been too optimistic. A report was received from the custodian in September 1952 that "water blisters" had formed under the built-up gravel roof. Director Cougill relayed this information, along with a copy of the 20-year guarantee, to Midwest Roofing. The firm was informed that it would be appreciated if it made "an early inspection and correction." 54

This situation was corrected, but there was additional difficulty with the outer roof in 1953. In July, the custodian having reported

51. Prange to Cougill, Aug. 29, 1950, files GRCNHP.
52. Nance to State of Indiana, Sept. 5, 1950, files GRCNHP. S. T. Nance was manager of Midwest Roofing & Insulation Co., Inc.
53. Prange to Cougill, Aug. 29, 1950, files GRCNHP.
54. Cougill to Midwest Roofing, Sept. 29, 1952, files GRCNHP.
leakage, Maintenance Engineer Larue Stout, of the Department of Conservation, and Joice inspected the roof. They saw that the skylight leak could be corrected easily by reshaping the copper strips over the joints between the glass panes and replacing the felt strips.

When they examined the roof between the skylight and parapet wall, they found the flashing on the parapet wall in good condition, but the flat seamed copper, joining the skylight and parapet wall to the standing seam copper roofing, had many open seams. They believed that here was the source of the leakage. Stout and Joice theorized, incorrectly, that water, after penetrating the parapet wall and the pas sageway below, seeped through the wall joints and into the basement rooms.

Joice believed he could seal these leaks by applying a "porous, elastic but firm, membrane" over the seams and then working roofing cement into the membrane and covering it with the same. He was prepared to guarantee such work for five years.55

Chief Engineer Prange was skeptical of the Stout-Joice plan for correcting seepage into the basement and no effort was made to implement it. The leaks in the skylight, however, could not be ignored. Joice was asked for estimates on correcting this situation. The felt having rotted, Joice proposed to replace it with rubber gaskets, while he covered the open seams in the copper roofing with membrane and

55. Stout to Prange, July 3, 1953, files GRCNHP. Stout and Joice at this time estimated that between 25 and 30 per cent of the mortar joints needed recaulking.
rubberoid mastic. He would provide mechanics at $2.75 per hour and laborers at $2 an hour, while the State was to pay for materials.

Chief Engineer Prange, on reviewing Joice's plan, found it satisfactory and recommended that it be adopted as soon as possible, so the labor could be done before the weather turned cold.56 Director Cougill approved Prange's suggestion, and instructions were given for Custodian James Biddle to place Joice's men on the memorial payroll.57

4. Seepage Through the Roof Ceases to be a Problem

a. The 1954 Seepage is Corrected

Within a year of the completion of this project, several minor leaks were pinpointed by Custodian Biddle around the skylight. Joice was hired to position additional rubber gaskets around the copper stripping.58 Director Cougill at the same time notified Joice and Midwest Roofing that the built-up roof which they had repaired in 1950 and guaranteed for 20 years was again seeping water. Joice and several men attended to this problem and installed the additional gaskets in late October 1954.59

b. Joice and Midwest Roofing Seal the 1958 Leaks

Four years passed before the roof gave the custodian any additional trouble. In June 1958 Chief Engineer Prange notified

56. Prange to Starrett, Oct. 16, 1953, files GRCNHP.
57. Cougill to Biddle, Oct. 26, 1953, files GRCNHP.
58. Ibid., Oct. 11, 1954, files GRCNHP.
59. Ibid.
Midwest Roofing and Joice that an inspection of the memorial on May 21 had shown that the built-up roof was again leaking. But as some caulking and repointing had been scheduled for the structure, the Department did not want the roof repaired "until this work had been completed." As the repointing and caulking project was out for bids, it would be late summer before they would be able to repair the roof. The Department would advise them when they could begin. 60

c. The 20-year Guarantee Expires

Repairs effected by Joice and Midwest Roofing in the autumn of 1958 to the built-up roof solved the problem. Since then there has been no leakage through the memorial roof. It must be pointed out, for benefit of management, that the 20-year guarantee given by Joice and Midwest Roofing for the outer roof has now expired. 61

G. The 1952 Effort to Stop the Seepage

1. The Seepage Through the Pebble-Terrace Again Becomes Serious

By the winter of 1951-1952, seepage through the pebble-concrete terrace into the basement was again a serious problem. When he investigated this situation, Chief Engineer Prange reported that the Department, in the years since it had assumed responsibility for the

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60. Prange to Nance and Joice, June 20, 1958, files GRCNHP. The reason for this notification was to make certain that Midwest Roofing and Joice did not place responsibility for leakage in the built-up roof on the caulking contractor.

61. Mitchell to Branigin, Nov. 18, 1965, files GRCNHP. John E. Mitchell had been appointed Director, Department of Natural Resources, by Governor Roger Branigin in 1965.
memorial, had "expended considerable funds in an attempt to stop leaks due to faulty design and construction." Measures heretofore attempted had resulted in only temporary relief. It was estimated that another attempt to seal the pebble-terrace would entail an expenditure of about $9,000.62

An air of urgency was added to the situation when on March 10 a heavy rain, followed by serious leakage into the basement, caused the electrical system to short-circuit. Goaded by fears that the wiring system might be knocked out unless the seepage was checked, the Department budgeted funds to correct this situation.63

2. Midwest Industrial Products Blacktops the Terrace

With the necessary funds in hand, the Department on March 27 invited proposals for waterproofing the pebble-concrete terrace with "Carbo-Tread" over a muslin membrane to be sealed with Jennite J-16 (see Appendix E). Bids were opened and abstracted on May 22, and the contract awarded to Midwest Industrial Products Corporation of Chicago.

After the joints were cleaned and caulked, workmen covered the terrace with two layers of muslin. Next, they covered and sealed the muslin with Jennite J-16 and Carbo-Tread. The job was completed on June 28, and Midwest was paid $6,035.25.64

62. Cougill to Kunkel, March 13, 1952, files GRCNHP. Kenneth Kunkel was Director, Department of Conservation.

63. Ibid.

64. Contract of May 22, 1952, with Midwest Industrial Products, files Indiana State Parks. A copy of Prange's plan for waterproofing & resurfacing the memorial pebble-concrete terrace is found in this report.
When this project was completed, the handsome pebble-concrete terrace had been covered by an ugly, black asphalt. The application of Carbo-Tread and Jennite, while marring the appearance of the terrace, slowed but did not stop seepage into the basement.

H. The 1958 Rehabilitation of the Memorial

1. Western Waterproofing Company Makes a Study & Recommendations.

Prange's efforts to check the seepage failed, and in March 1954 a team of engineers from Western Waterproofing Company of St. Louis was called in to study the memorial and make recommendations. They found that the structure showed signs of "excessive leakage" through the ceiling over the enclosed circular promenade. Evidence of seepage was seen on the "frieze, entablature, cornice, and parapets."

The sheltered wall of the memorial, behind the columns, seemed in "fair condition" as did most of the columns. From the base of the columns to the promenade deck around the building, the graduated base of the structure needed weatherproofing. The retaining walls, balustrade, and coping that formed the base of the structure were in need of extensive work.

To correct the conditions enumerated it was recommended that: (a) all loose mortar in all horizontal and vertical joints be removed; (b) all "horizontal areas, such as the top surface of the cornice, coping stones, horizontal slabs of stone and all other mortar joints indicating any movement or settlement" be stabilized; and (c) all items listed under (b) be packed "full and deep" with Western Pli-A-Gum.

After all the loose mortar had been removed from all other mortar joints,
the cut-out areas should be replaced with Western's Dilato Expanding Mortar. After the mortar had been replaced, the joints would be weather-proofed with a fine grout coat, well scrubbed in with a small bristle brush. The perimeter of all openings was to be recaulked after all old caulking was removed. The estimated cost of this work was $11,500.65

2. The General Assembly Makes an Appropriation

a. The Starrett and Stout Reports

An inspection by Bob Starrett in April resulted in a two-fold conclusion—the expansion damage was bad and the cost to effect repairs would be great. He wondered where the money would come from, and who would "catch Doxie when he comes 'flying off the mezzanine' after he sees the estimate?" 66

Prange in June had Building Engineer Stout investigate the memorial "with respect to . . . repairs to masonry walls as recommended by Western Waterproofing Co. of St. Louis." It was agreed that the work was necessary. If funds were available, Prange would like to schedule the project for the autumn. 67

65. Frank A. Smith to Prange, March 24, 1954, files GRCNHP.

66. Undated Memo to the Files, files GRCNHP. Doxie Moore was Director of the Department of Conservation during the administration of Governor George Craig.

67. Prange to Cougill, June 30, 1954, files GRCNHP.
b. The 1955 Session of the General Assembly Refuses to Act

No money was available, and Director Cougill in July included a request to the State Budget Director for $23,500 for the George Rogers Clark Memorial in Fiscal Years 1955 and 1956. This sum would be used for waterproofing, restoration of the Winter murals, and land acquisition. The General Assembly refused to act on this request in 1955.

c. Joice's Report

While the legislature dragged its feet and refused to face the issue, seepage became worse. In April 1956 when Bob Joice inspected the roof, he saw that the caulking on the outside wall was falling out, permitting water to enter around the entire dome. Water, about 12 hours after a rain, would start seeping down the outside granite facing. No leaks were found in the tunnel under the gravel covered built-up roof, either during or after a rain. The tunnel walls, however, showed evidence of "extreme amounts" of condensation at all times. To illustrate what he had observed, Joice prepared a sketch, a copy of which is found in this report.

d. Budget Director Hardwick Approves the Request for $25,000

In a successful effort to goad the General Assembly into action, Chief Engineer Prange on October 17, 1957, forwarded to Director


69. Biddle to Stout, April 1956, files GRCNHP. About 15 to 20 feet of the tunnel on each side of the opening showed no evidence of condensation.
of the Budget William H. Hardwick a copy of the report made by Western Waterproofing Co. As Hardwick could see, the principal work consisted of "pointing and waterproofing the masonry walls of the memorial which included the large rotunda, the walls around the lower terrace, the walls along the roadway of the east bridge approach and the two pylons on the east side of the bridge."

On his May inspection of the structure, Prange had observed that the deterioration of the masonry had progressed. Many of the large granite blocks were beginning to push apart. Leaks in the terrace floor had become so serious that much of the plaster in the basement rooms had again fallen. Water had entered some of the electric conducts, causing short circuits.

Western Waterproofing had estimated that the work would cost $22,655, so Prange requested $25,000.70

3. The 1958 Program
   a. Proposals are Invited

   When it was learned in April 1958 that $25,000 had been appropriated by the General Assembly for repairs to the memorial, the Conservation Department invited bids, to be opened in Indianapolis on June 27, 1958. Interested contractors were informed that all stone joints on the paved promenade; the walls, curbs, and steps leading to the paved promenade; the walls on the east approach to the memorial bridge, steps,

70. Prange to Hardwick, Oct. 17, 1957, files GRCNHP.
base of the flagpole, and pylons; and stone work near the Vigo statue, as well as the steps and walls and two sets of steps at the railroad tracks, were to be tuck-pointed with "non-staining mortar or filled with mortar and then sealed with a synthetic rubber caulking compound."
The perimeter of all exterior doors and windows, along with other "openings or protrusions of the Memorial," were to be caulked. Expansion joints in the black-topped promenade (which up to 1952 had been the handsome pebble-concrete terrace) around the building were to be re-sealed. 71

b. Western Waterproofing Gets the Contract

When the bids were opened and abstracted at 10 a.m., on the 27th, by the Director of Public Works and Supply, it was found that Western Waterproofing's proposal of $18,926 was low. They were accordingly given the contract.

Work was commenced in mid-July. Thiokol, a pliable plastic, was used by Western Waterproofing in the top courses and some of the vertical joints. It was applied with a caulking gun. Layers of latex rubber, glass fabric, Dex-o-Tex, latex grout, and Jennite J-16 were used to seal the joints on the promenade deck, after they had been caulked with successive layers of oakum and caulking compound, volclay (bentonite), and joint sealer. 72 (Drawings showing the method followed

71. Contract and Specifications for Pointing and Sealing of Stonework of George Rogers Clark State Memorial, files GRCNHP.

72. Drawings by Starrett and Holcomb, Oct. 1958, files GRCNHP. E. J. Holcomb was a project engineer with Western Waterproofing.
by Western Waterproofing in sealing the joints on the promenade deck are found in this report.)

In mid-November 1958, one month after Western Waterproofing had completed the project, Chief Engineer Prange and Bob Starrett chanced to be in Vincennes, when there was a heavy downpour. The next afternoon, the 18th, an inspection was made by the custodian and no leaks found. This was the first time since the memorial had become State property on August 22, 1940, that the structure had not leaked. When he relayed this information to Budget Director Hardwick, Director Cougill wrote, "We hope that you will extend to the members of the Bureau our appreciation for their sympathetic understanding of our problem and their recognition of the needs of the Memorial."73

In addition to the $18,926 paid Western Waterproofing, the Department of Conservation expended out of the $25,000 allotment, $1,423.70 for replastering the basement rooms and $681.39 for repairs to the electrical installations. The unexpended balance, $3,500, was transferred to the New Harmony account to be expended on restoration projects at that State Park.74

I. The Seepage Resumes

The jubilation was premature. Within a few years, water was again seeping through the promenade and approach steps into the basement,

73. Cougill to Hardwick, Nov. 21, 1958, files GRCNHP.

74. Marlin to Conklin, Aug. 19, 1959. E. Kenneth Marlin had replaced Cougill as Director, Department of Conservation.

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flooding the floors, damaging plaster and equipment, and threatening deadly short circuits. Seven years after Western Waterproofing had undertaken to correct the problem and five years after the expiration of the guarantee, Custodian Walter L. Minderman was complaining to Starrett of serious leakage into the men's and women's restrooms.75

When informed of this situation, Director Mitchell notified Governor Roger Branigin that "construction problems . . . have been a constant problem at George Rogers Clark State Memorial." Since 1940 thousands of dollars had been spent on the structure in a futile effort to prevent seepage. Although leaks through the outer roof had been stopped, the seepage through the "construction joints" into the basement continued.76

75. Minderman to Starrett, Nov. 6, 1965, files GRCNHP. Two and one-half years before, in 1963, the Department had asked for $8,000 for repairs to the "roof and plaza."

76. Mitchell to Branigin, Nov. 18, 1965, files GRCNHP. Mitchell was Director, Department of Natural Resources.
Appendix A

A Brief Description of the Memorial Structure

The circular part of the memorial rested on a circular reinforced concrete footing 88-1/2 feet in diameter, 20 feet 3 inches wide, and 42 inches thick. Thirty-three steps led from grade to the entrance of the structure. The height of the building was 82 feet.

There was a circular room surrounded by a circular colonnade of 16 columns, then by three granite terraces, and a wide pebble terrace outlined by an octagonal wall which in turn was surrounded by a curb wall forming a square. This wall measured 730 lineal feet in length.

Two circles of concrete piers of 16 each supported the circular building and colonnade. These piers rested on the circular footing. Each pier, seven feet four inches by eight feet eight inches, of the outer circle supported the weight of a granite column and the portion of the building above a column. The inner circle of piers, each three feet eight inches by six feet, supported the high circular wall of the building. An octagonal pier was under the center of the building and supported the main floor.

There were 16 granite Doric columns, six feet four inches in diameter, 39 feet in height, and weighing about 98 tons, around the structure.
Indiana limestone formed the interior ceiling, cornice, frieze, and pilasters. The massive stone ceiling was hung from a reinforced concrete dome which also supported the entire structure above the ceiling.

The exterior of the building was Stanstead granite, except the red band above the green wainscot, which was Minnesota red granite.

Above the panelled ceiling of the colonnade and extending around the building was an attic roofed over with a reinforced concrete slab covered with a flat roof of square slate tiles one and one-quarter inch thick. This attic space was heated by eight cast iron radiators. The attic space between the ceiling light and structural skylight was heated by eight aluminum radiators. In the center of the stone ceiling was an ornamental ceiling light 30 feet in diameter, made of bronze and carved and colored glass.

The wainscot and seat around the interior of the rotunda was French marble, while the circular black marble step in front of the seat was Italian.

In the finished portion of the basement were restrooms, switch-room, custodian's room, meter room, electric equipment room, and boiler room.
Appendix B

Specification for Repair of Roof of Memorial

The contractor was to provide all materials and labor to install all roofing and sheet metal work including the following items:

(a) Remove all slate covering over the circular portico, that is the roof between the outer cornice and the parapet wall, about 2,100 square feet. Also remove the filler between the slate and the concrete slab below.

(b) Apply 2 coats of waterproofing.

(c) Replace present filler with light weight concrete to line and shape as on drawing.

(d) Remove present lead-covered flashing carefully so it can be replaced.

(e) Apply 20-year guaranteed tar and gravel roof.

(f) Replace flashing and recaulk joints where flashing enters masonry.

(g) Install metal splash plates under scuppers as shown on drawings.

Tar for built-up roof to be best grade roofing pitch weighing not less than 150 pounds per 110 square feet.

Felt shall be five layers tar saturated 15-pound roofing felt.
Gravel shall weigh not less than 400 pounds per 100 square feet.

Concrete Aggregate for the lightweight concrete shall be Haydite, Waylite, or Superrock and concrete sand.

Cement shall be any standard brand Portland Cement.

Sand shall be washed concrete and reasonably free from clay and other deleterious substances.

Metal for Flashing--any new metal which will be needed for flashing shall be lead-coated copper to match present flashing both in weight and appearance.

Cost about $5,138.

Application, Workmanship--all slate slabs to be removed together with the filler below the slate and also the membrane waterproofing down to the concrete slab. The vertical flashing is to be removed carefully by unrolling the crimped seams. When all this has been removed and the roof swept clean, two coats of asphalt waterproofing shall be applied hot over the entire roof surface including the side walls under the present flashing. After this surface has dried, lightweight concrete is to be placed on top of the waterproofing to the exact lines and shape as shown on the drawing and troweled smooth on the surface with a steel trowel. Two weeks after the lightweight concrete has been applied, the built-up roof is to be positioned. Files Indiana State Parks.
Appendix C

Specifications
For
Pointing and Sealing of Stone Work
George Rogers Clark State Memorial

A. General Conditions:

All work shall be done subject to the Instructions to Bidders. Information for Bidders and the General Conditions, and the Contractor is notified to refer thereto and will be held responsible for all requirements made therein that affect his work.

B. Description of the Project:

This project consists of repairs to the exterior stone work and repairs to certain paved surfaces of the George Rogers Clark State Memorial, the east approach to the bridge over the Wabash River located just north of the Memorial and the Francis Vigo Monument located directly west of the Memorial Building, all located in the City of Vincennes, Indiana.

For the convenience of future reference the project is divided into the following areas:

Area 1. All the work hereinafter detailed and located within the paved promenade which encircles and includes the Memorial Building proper.

Area 2. All stone walls, curbs, the paved promenade and the steps which lead up to the promenade. This includes all curbs and walls surrounding the planting areas.

Area 3. The entire east approach to the bridge including all walls, steps, the flagpole base, and the pylons on both sides of the highway.

Area 4. The Francis Vigo Monument, including all stone work in the statue, steps and walls and the two sets of steps at the railroad tracks.
C. Scope of Work:

1. The Contractor shall furnish all labor, material, services and equipment to complete all tuck pointing, filling and sealing of top-surface stone joints, caulking the perimeter of all openings in the stone work, such as doors and windows, repairs to the expansion joints and the paved surface of the promenade as it applies to the areas described above, as shown on the drawing and as hereinafter specified.

2. Storage space, use of power and water must be mutually arranged between the Owner and the Contractor.

3. Weather protection shall be maintained at all times. Damage by freezing, rain or frost shall be just cause for rejection of the work.

4. Protection of Shrubbery: The Contractor shall take precautions to protect all shrubbery and other planting from damage during the course of the work. Shrubbery shall be tied back or otherwise protected as required and no shrubbery may be trimmed or removed without the permission of the Engineer.

D. Tuckpointed and Sealed Joints:

1. All stone joints in all areas shall be either tuck-pointed with non-staining mortar or filled with mortar and then sealed with a synthetic rubber caulking compound as hereinafter described except as follows:

   No work shall be done to the stone work of the main building from the top of the polished granite base up to a height equal to the tops of the granite columns. No work shall be done to the fluted, granite columns.

2. Preparation of Surfaces:

   All mortar in the masonry shall be removed to the depth of 3/4" for joints to be tuck-pointed and 1" for joints to be filled and sealed or as much deeper as may be necessary to reach sound backing. Joints shall be cut with square edges so that the entire width of the joint is cut out to the required depth. Extreme care shall be taken so as not to damage the edges and corners of the stone. All cut joints shall be thoroughly cleaned of loose particles and dust by means of brushes or compressed air, then washed clean with a hose and clean water. Joints shall be damp when mortar is applied.
3. Sealed Joints:

In general, all joints in the exposed top surfaces of stone work (including steps) and the continuation of such joints down to the first horizontal joint shall be filled to within $\frac{1}{4}$" of the face of the stone with mortar and the remainder of the joint filled flush with the stone with a synthetic rubber sealing compound. All joints in stone steps shall be sealed.

4. Tuck-pointed Joints:

All joints in stone work which are not sealed, except as noted above under D-l shall be tuck-pointed.

5. Method and Workmanship:

a. Sealed Joints: Joints to be filled shall be clean and dampened with clean water.

Mortar shall be forced into the cut-out joints with a heavy convex jointer completely sealing the space to within $\frac{1}{4}$" of the face of the stone. After the initial set of the mortar has taken place surplus mortar shall be removed from the edges of the joints by means of a soft brush. When the mortar has set and all surfaces are dry, free of oil, grease, dirt and loose particles, the joint is ready to be sealed. To protect exposed face of stone against sealing compound, line sides with Scotch Brand #202 Masking Tape to within about 1/16" of edge of joint. Tape to be stripped off after Sealing Compound is in place. Immediately before applying Sealing Compound, wipe down surfaces to be filled with clean rags soaked in either zylol, toluol, high flash naphtha or lacquer solvents. Wipe surface dry with clean rags.

Apply Sealing Compound with proper tools filling the joint flush with the stone. Level as required with a steel pointing tool of desired width.

For Wide Joints: Wide joints may be filled by a bead on each side followed by one in the center and then finished.

Sealing Compound shall be mixed, handled and applied in accordance with the manufacturer's explicit instructions by workmen who are thoroughly familiar with the material and experienced in its application.
b. Tuck-pointing Joints: Joints to be filled shall be clean and dampened with clean water. Where cleaned joint is more than 3/4" deep, fill joint to within 3/4" of the face of the stone with prepared masonry mortar prepared with ordinary clean masonry sand. After this mortar has taken its initial set, fill the remainder of the joint with a prepared, waterproof, non-staining mortar prepared with white silica sand. Color mortar to match existing mortar joints. Mortar shall be applied with a heavy convex "jointer" completely sealing the space between masonry and backup mortar. A convex "jointer" that is slightly wider than the joint to be filled shall be used to force the mortar back into the joint. Enough mortar will be put into these joints so that a slight surplus will be in evidence at the top and bottom of the "jointer." After the initial set of the mortar has taken place, all surfaces are to be brushed down with a soft brush to remove any existing fins. Finished joints shall match existing joints and be of uniform texture and color.

6. Materials:

a. Masonry Cement shall be prepared waterproof non-staining cement such as "Brixment," "Richmortar," "Cosmortar" or any equal approved by the Engineer.

b. Mortar Sand for mortar fill shall be washed sand entirely free from loam, silt, salts, vegetable matter, and all other injurious substances. When dry, sand shall pass a No. 8 sieve and not more than 35% shall pass a No. 50 sieve. It shall be well graded within these maximum and minimum limits.

c. Silica Sand for pointing mortar shall be fine, clean, pure silica sand.

d. Water shall be clean, clear water suitable for drinking.

e. Sealing Compound shall be a synthetic rubber Thiokol based compound, such as "Sonolastic Sealing Compound" as made by L. Sonneborn Sons, Inc., Presstite Sealing Compound No. 1175.2 as made by Presstite-Keystone Co., St. Louis, Mo., "Synthacalk" as made by Pecora Paint Co., Inc., or an equal approved by the Engineer. Color to be gray matching the stone work as closely as possible. Color must be approved by the Engineer before any material is applied to the building.

E. Caulking:

1. This section of the work consists of the caulking of the perimeter of all exterior doors and windows and other openings or protrusions of the Memorial.
2. **Preparation of Surfaces:**

Joints between masonry and opening shall be raked out and brushed clean. Where spaces around openings are of greater depth than 3/4" they shall be packed with untreated oakum to this depth.

3. **Workmanship:**

Openings shall be caulked tight with approved caulking compound, applied by gun and dressed down and free from fins or overlaps. All caulking shall be performed strictly in accordance with the manufacturer's directions and shall be guaranteed for a period of three (3) years.

1. **Material:**

Caulking compound shall be non-staining elastic compound of gun consistency, color to match stone. Caulking compound shall be guaranteed to conform to Federal Specification TT-C-598. Caulking Compound shall be "Vulcatex" as manufactured by A. C. Horn Companies; "Kaukit" as manufactured by L. Sonneborn Sons, Inc., "Caulk-O-Seal" manufactured by Calbar Paint and Varnish Co., Philadelphia, Pa., or an approved equal.

**F. Repairs to Promenade: (Area #2)**

1. This section of the work includes the re-sealing of the expansion joints of the black-topped promenade around the entire circular part of the building. Also included is the sealing of the surface of the promenade. All work to be done as shown on the drawing and as hereinafter specified.

2. **Preparation of Surfaces:**

Cut to a straight line and remove a strip of the surfacing material 6 inches wide on each side of the expansion joint down to the concrete fill slab. Remove old expansion joint material down to a depth of approximately 1 1/2 inches below the top of the fill slab. Thoroughly clean joint opening and walls forming the joint to insure proper seal of new expansion joint material.

3. **Method and Workmanship:**

Pack expansion joints to within 3/4 inch of the top of the fill slab with alternate layers of untreated oakum and caulking compound packed into place. After this is done, fill joint
to top with hot-poured rubberized asphalt joint sealing compound. Over the expansion joint and where the 12 inch wide strip of surfacing was previously removed, place one layer of waterproofing membrane.

Over the membrane fill the 12 inch wide strip flush with the existing black top surface with a trowel applied latex composition waterproof covering.

When all joints have been repaired as outlined above, mop entire promenade with 2 coats of coal tar pitch sealer. Repairs to expansion joints and mopping of the promenade shall be done carefully by workmen experienced in this type of work. All surfaces must be clean and dry before new materials are applied. All work shall be done and all materials shall be applied strictly in accordance with the instructions of the manufacturer of the material used.

4. Materials:

a. Oakum rope shall be free from tar, oil or other foreign materials.

b. Rubberized asphalt expansion joint sealing compound shall be hot-poured "Para-Plastic" as made by Servicised Products Corp., 6051 W. 65th Street, Chicago, Ill., or equal approved by the Engineer. Product must meet Federal Specifications SS-S-164 (1), and ASTM Specifications D-1190-52T.

c. Woven Waterproof Membrane shall be "Glasfab" as made by Twinsburg-Miller Corp., Twinsburg, Ohio, or an equal approved by the Engineer.

d. Latex composition waterproof covering used to level surface over the membrane shall be "Dex-O-Tex" "Neotex" trowel-type composition flooring as made by Crossfield Products Corp., Chicago, Ill., or an equal approved by the Engineer.

e. Coal tar pitch sealer for coating the entire promenade shall be Jennite J-16 as made by Maintenance Inc., Wooster, Ohio, or an equal approved by the Engineer.

G. Guarantee:

The Contractor shall provide a standard guarantee that if at any time within two years from the date of acceptance of the work by the Owner any leaks shall develop in the surfaces treated, due to defective work or the use of improper materials and
workmanship, then the Contractor will, upon request, promptly make repairs at his own expense. Defects in the structure or other caused beyond the control of the Contractor, resulting in fracture, shall not be covered by this guarantee.
Appendix D

Specifications For

Replacement of Copper Flashings on Roof of Memorial

The contractor shall furnish all labor, materials, and equipment to completely install all sheet metal work necessary to replace the sheet metal work damaged and blown off the parapet of the entablature of the George Rogers Clark Memorial in accordance with drawings.

During construction, care will be taken to prevent damage to sheet-copper work in place by walking or placing heavy materials thereon. As soon as soldering is done, the work shall be cleaned. Towards completion, all damaged work shall be repaired, all stains and debris to be removed.

Work to include: (a) removal of all damaged copper flashing sheets and to reset all those which are loose but not torn or otherwise damaged. (b) Fasten securely upturned portion of present roof with new nailing strips which are attached to vertical side of stone parapet. (c) Clean the surface of the stone which is to be covered by copper flashing. (d) Caulk all mortar-joints which will be under the copper with an approved flashing mastic compound. From files Indiana State Parks.
Appendix E

Specifications For
Resurfacing and Waterproofing the Pebble Terrace with
"Carbo-Tread, over Membrane & Sealed with Jennite J-16."

The contractor will furnish all labor and material to waterproof and reinforce the pebble terrace shown on the attached drawings and any other work that may be shown in the specifications. The total area to be covered to be 9,285 square feet.

Materials for waterproofing to be Jennite J-16. Jennite J-16 is distributed by Maintenance, Inc. The waterproofing compound shall be an emulsion compound of heavy closed ring of hydrocarbons dispensed in water by means of concentration of irresolvable clays. The coal tar pitch used in preparation of this emulsion will have a specific gravity of 60 per cent.

For the resurfacing material Carbo-Tread will be used or a material its equal. Carbo-Tread is distributed by Maintenance, Inc.

Installation
(a) Areas to be waterproofed and resurfaced shall be cleaned.
(b) All cracks and expansion joints will be sealed--To be sealed with a coat of waterproofing. A damp unsaturated muslin will be embedded into the waterproofing material before it has set. Each joint and crack to be covered with two layers of waterproofing and muslin.
(c) The entire terrace to be primed with Carbo-Tread primer and allowed to cure at least 20 minutes.

(d) A minimum of one-half inch of Carbo-Tread J-176-M is to be applied over the entire terrace and to be compressed with a hand roller.

(e) Over the pavement prepared as previously described, two uniform coats of Jennite were to be applied, "at a total thickness equivalent to that provided by two gallons of Jennite over 100 square feet." After the first coat had set, a second application was to be applied crossways to the first.
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