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*Its Origin, Development,
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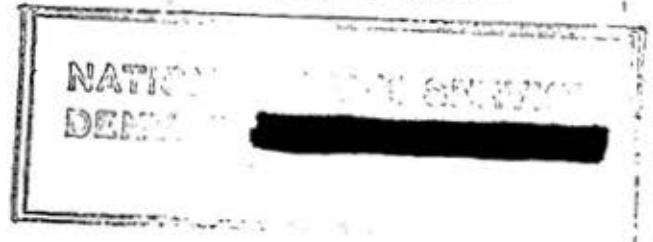
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
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STATUE OF LIBERTY
NATIONAL MONUMENT

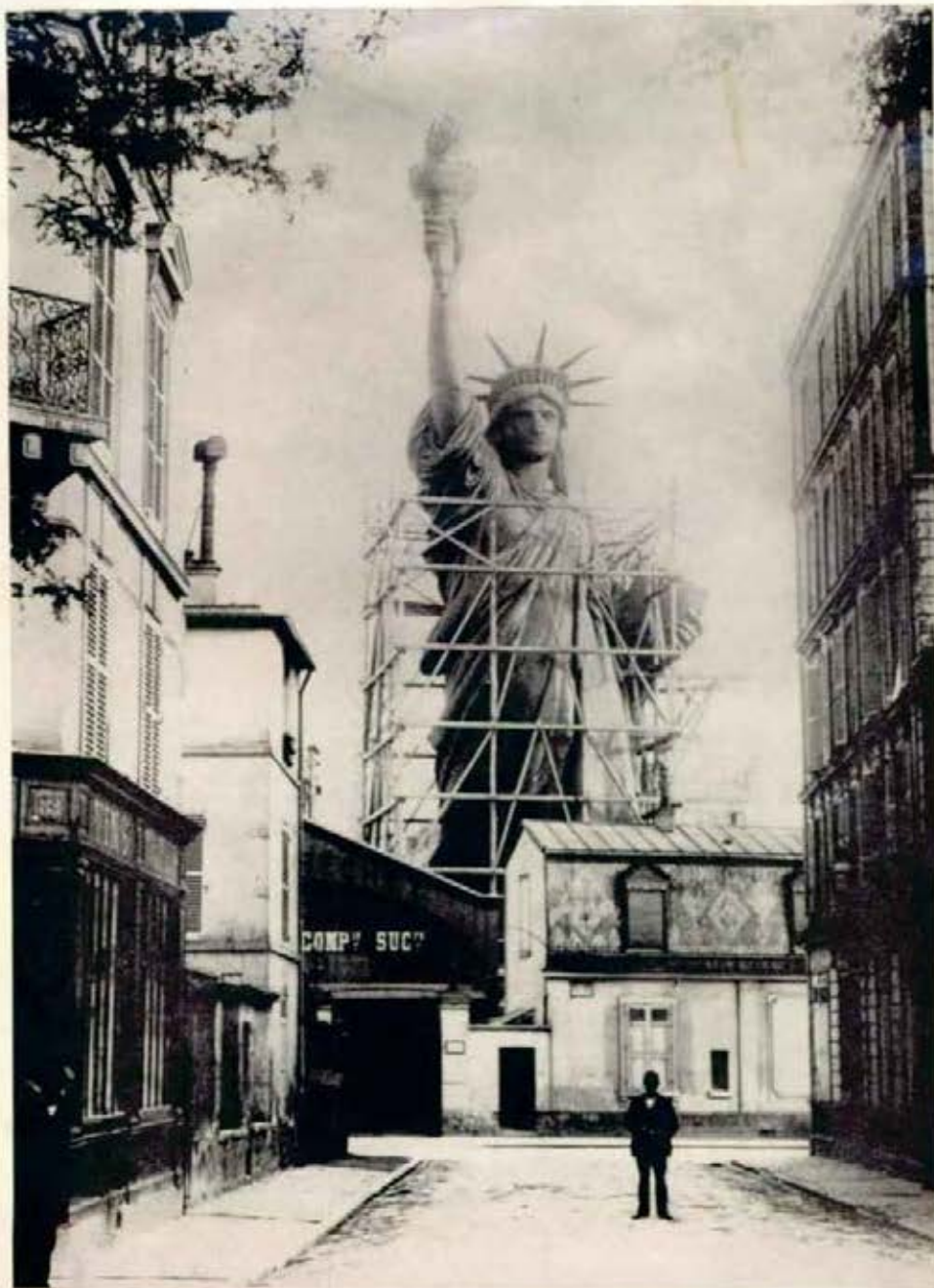
Its Origin, Development
and Administration

by
Walter Hugins

United States
Department of the Interior
National Park Service

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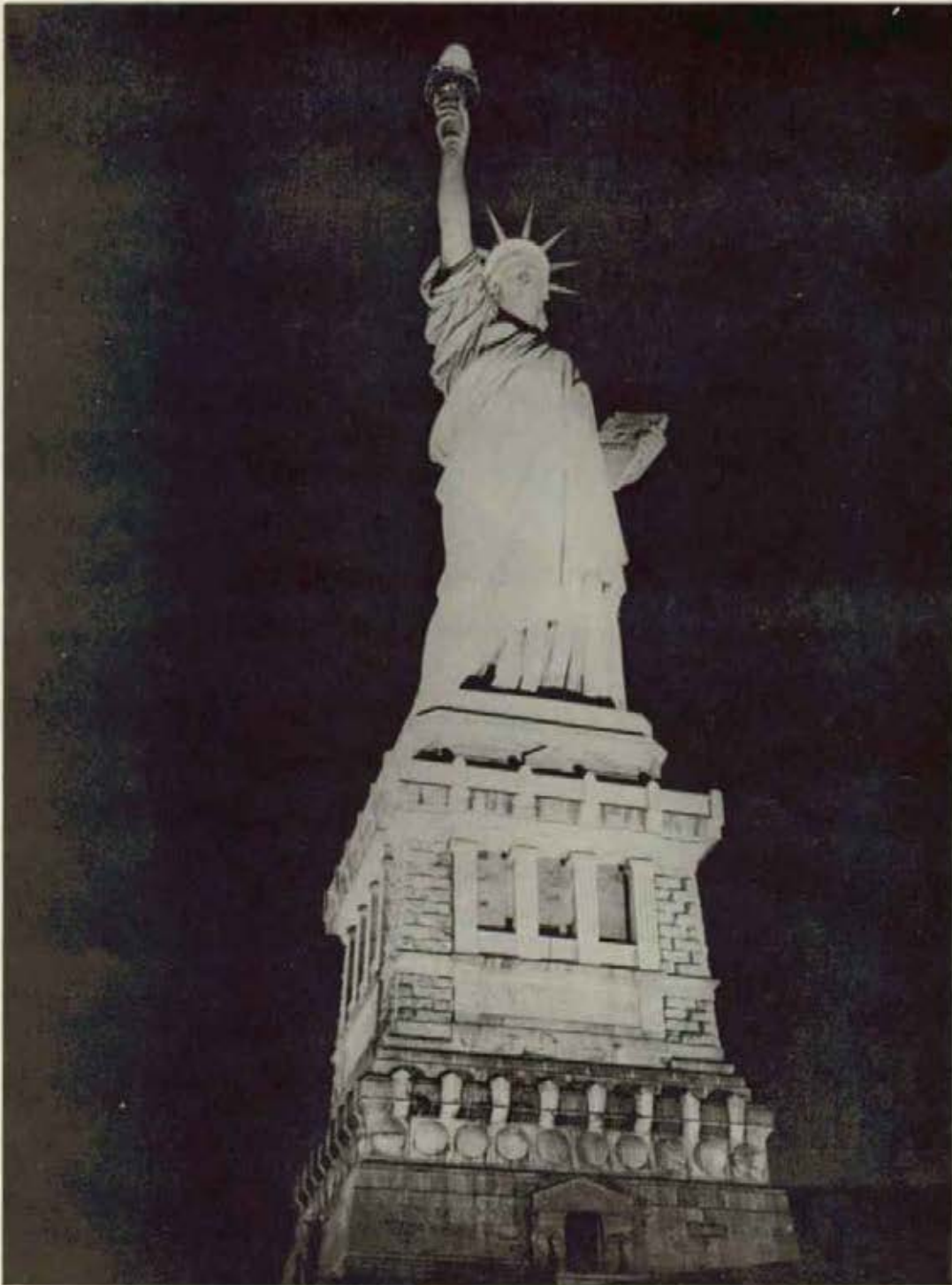


The nearly completed Statue of Liberty stands in the Paris courtyard of sculptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi in 1884, a year before her delivery to the U. S. (picture by SHUT, PARIS.) For more pictures from America's past, see inside.

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Night View of the Statue of Liberty.

INTRODUCTION

The Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World was conceived and designed as a monument to a great international friendship, but with the passage of time its significance has broadened. It has become one of the most symbolic structures in the United States. Not only to Americans, but to the whole world, the Statue is the recognized symbol of those ideals of human liberty upon which our Nation and its Government were founded. Created a National Monument in 1924 and added to the National Park System in 1933, the Statue of Liberty is unique among the historic areas administered by the National Park Service--it neither commemorates a special event nor memorializes an historical personage. It is a monument to an idea.

The Statue of Liberty stands on Liberty Island, in the upper bay of New York harbor. For the greater part of its history this island was called Bedloe's Island after its first owner, Isaack Bedloo. Then, on August 3, 1956, by a joint resolution of the 84th Congress, the name was changed to Liberty Island to assure "that the Statue of Liberty . . . be accorded a setting most appropriate for the great shrine of the American people . . ."¹ Both names are used in this narrative, as determined by the historical context.

Liberty Island is approximately 3/8 land miles east of

the New Jersey shore and $1\frac{1}{2}$ land miles southwest of Manhattan Island. Although geographically in the territorial waters of New Jersey, lying west of the interstate boundary at the middle of the Hudson River channel, this island of 12 acres above the mean low water mark is politically in New York, pursuant to an interstate compact of 1834; by this agreement, New Jersey retains riparian rights to all the submerged land around the island.²

The history of Bedloe's Island before 1886, when the Statue of Liberty was dedicated, was generally uneventful and relatively unimportant, for it acquired significance only with the erection of the symbolic monument. In the immediate prehistoric period, New York Bay and its islands were the territory of a group of the Mohegan Indians called the Monatons or Manhattans.³ This great natural harbor was entered and described in 1524 by Verrazzano, an Italian explorer sailing for the King of France, but the really significant discovery of the bay was made in 1609 by Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing for the Dutch East India Company. Hudson's explorations led to the first Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island in 1626.⁴

Following English seizure of the area in 1664, the small island heretofore known as Oyster Island was granted to Issack Bedloo, a former burgher of New Amsterdam. From that

time until 1956, the island's name was spelled variously Bedlow's, Bedloe, and finally Bedloe's. Bedloo's heirs sold the island in 1732, and it passed through several hands before being purchased by the City of New York in 1759 for a quarantine station and pesthouse.⁵

Early in the War for American Independence, after the British had seized it for use as a refuge for Tories, a group of patriots raided the island and burned its buildings.⁶ A few months later, following Washington's retreat across the Hudson River into New Jersey, New York City and its harbor were occupied by the British, who remained until the war's end in 1783. After the Revolution, Bedloe's Island was once again used by the city as a quarantine station, although leased between epidemics to various New York citizens. From 1793 to 1796 the French Fleet, then in American waters, was given the use of the island for an isolation station and hospital, after which it was conveyed to the State for a lazaretto or pesthouse.⁷

At about the same time, the New York Legislature took steps to improve the defenses of New York harbor by undertaking the construction of fortifications on the islands in the bay. Little was accomplished by the State, so on February 15, 1800, the Legislature ceded Bedloe's Island, along with Ellis and Governors Islands, to the United States

Government for the proposed Federal defense establishment.⁸ Construction of a land battery, in the shape of an 11-point star, was begun in 1806 and completed 5 years later, in conjunction with the building of Fort Columbus (later Fort Jay) and Castle Williams on Governors Island, Fort Gibson on Ellis Island, and Castle Clinton at the Battery on Manhattan Island. These fortifications were manned throughout the War of 1812, the Bedloe's Island battery being named Fort Wood in 1814 to honor a hero of the defense of Fort Erie.⁹ During the next 70 years, Fort Wood served variously as a Corps of Artillery garrison, ordnance depot, quartermaster depot, hospital, and recruiting station; it became increasingly inactive during this long period of international peace.¹⁰

Meanwhile, the idea of the Statue of Liberty was being born. The historian Edouard de Laboulaye and other French liberals in 1865 first suggested the building of a monument in the United States to commemorate the winning of its independence with the aid of France, to be a cooperative undertaking by the two countries. A young Alsatian sculptor, Frederic Auguste Bartholdi, was an enthusiastic member of this group, and a few years later he visited America to discuss the proposal there. Upon entering New York harbor, Bartholdi immediately visualized a majestic statue to represent "Liberty Enlightening the World," emphasizing not only

the friendship but the common heritage of the two Nations. This conception was adopted and committees to implement it were organized in both countries. It was agreed that the French people would finance the building of the Statue and the American people the construction of the pedestal upon which it would stand. After Congressional approval of the proposed Statue, Bedloe's Island was selected, in accordance with Bartholdi's wish, as the site of the monument, which was to be erected in the center of old Fort Wood.¹¹

The response of the people of France was enthusiastic, but apathy characterized the American reaction. Although the completed Statue was presented to the American Ambassador on July 4, 1884, and preparations were made to ship it to the United States, lack of funds brought work on the pedestal to a halt, with only 15 feet of the structure completed. In this emergency, Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World began a crusade for contributions, which in less than 5 months resulted in the collection of \$100,000. The total cost of the Statue and pedestal was more than \$500,000, all of which was contributed by popular subscription without assistance from either Government. On October 28, 1886, the Statue of Liberty was dedicated with impressive ceremonies in which dignitaries of both countries participated. Bartholdi, in the torch some 300 feet above the harbor,

pulled the rope that removed the French Tricolor from Liberty's face. President Grover Cleveland, accepting the monument on behalf of the people of the United States, solemnly promised: "We will not forget that Liberty has here made her home; nor shall her chosen altar be neglected."¹²

The purpose of the following account is to show how America has kept faith with that promise.



Construction of the pedestal, early 1886. From a sketch in Leslie's Weekly.



The Statue and the western end of Bedloe's Island in April 1933, shortly before the National Park Service took over administration from the War Department.

FROM BEACON TO NATIONAL MONUMENT: 1886 TO 1924

The story of the Statue of Liberty from 1886, when it was dedicated, to 1924, when it became a National Monument, is largely a chronicle of confusion. The United States had accepted Bartholdi's brainchild, but there was no agreement as to what was to be done with it. Was it an aid to navigation or a monument of art, a beacon or a shrine? Was it primarily a monument to Franco-American friendship, or did it have a deeper, more symbolic significance? Did Congress have an obligation to protect and maintain it, or was it to be ignored and forgotten like the statue of a local hero in the town square?

Bartholdi's interest in his creation had not ended with its presentation and dedication. He continued to write his American friends, offering suggestions for improving the lighting and expressing the hope that his masterpiece would eventually be gilded, as he had originally planned.¹ Upon visiting New York again before his death in 1904, he made known his disappointment that nothing more had been done with this "ideal National park." He had grandiose plans for the Statue and "Liberty Island," as he called it even then, best stated in an interview in 1890 with the Paris correspondent of the New York World:

I always hoped that Americans would see the splendid use that is to be made of that island as I see it. . . .

. . . the American race has a poetry of its own, which few, the Americans least of all, see--poetry in the cohesion into one mighty mass of elements so widely diverse, poetry in the work they have achieved in the creation of a nation--a work unparalleled in the history of the world.

. . . Liberty Island is obviously destined to be made into a pleasure ground for the soul of the American people, a place of pilgrimage for citizens of the whole nation, a National museum of the glories and memories of the United States. . . .²

Few shared Bartholdi's vision, for during these years Congressmen, like the great majority of the American people, were too deeply concerned with more fundamental problems and events to be greatly interested in a statue in New York harbor, or in its essential significance. These were the years of the Panic of 1893, the Cross of Gold speech, "Remember the Maine," TR and the Big Stick, the New Freedom, and the "war to make the world safe for democracy." Only gradually did the realization come that Liberty Enlightening the World was an appropriate symbol of the spirit that had produced the greatest and most idealistic democracy in the world. Even more slowly and reluctantly was it admitted that Congress and the American people had an obligation to protect and maintain this great shrine for the enjoyment and inspiration of future generations.

Congressional responsibility for the Statue of Liberty

was first accepted in 1877, but throughout the ensuing decades this responsibility was exercised only sporadically and without agreement as to what it entailed. Largely as the result of lobbying by William M. Evarts of New York, chairman of the American Committee for the Statue of Liberty and a prominent Republican politician, a joint resolution was introduced in Congress on February 22, unanimously passed by both Houses, and signed by President Grant on March 3, 1877, the last day of his term of office. The resolution, in accepting the gift from France, authorized the President to "designate and set apart a site" for the Statue upon either Governors or Bedloe's Island, and to "cause suitable regulations to be made for its future maintenance as a beacon, and for the permanent care and preservation thereof as a monument of art and of the continued good will of the great nation which aided us in our struggle for freedom." The resolution contained, of course, no mention of appropriations, present or future; Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania, who introduced it and urged favorable action by the upper House, hastened to assure his colleagues that "it costs no money."³

Seven years later, when the American Committee was about to admit failure in raising the necessary money for the pedestal, Evarts tried to obtain financial help from Con-

gress, persuading President Arthur to suggest an appropriation for the pedestal in his annual message. The Senate included \$100,000 for this purpose in the deficiency bill, but the item was killed in conference by the House conferees.⁴ At this juncture, fortunately, Pulitzer's World entered the picture and ensured the erection of the pedestal.

As the time approached for the dedication of the Statue, another effort was made to obtain Federal funds, not as a gift to a private organization but as an appropriation to carry out the intent and purpose of the 1877 resolution. Evarts, now a United States Senator, directed the strategy and was at least partially successful. On April 27, 1886, a letter from the American Committee was sent to the Secretary of State informing him of the Statue's imminent completion, suggesting a dedication date, and incidentally mentioning certain expenses incurred by the committee in caring for the French gift. The letter was effective, for President Cleveland's message to Congress 2 weeks later contained the following statement:

. . . I recommend the appropriation of such sum of money as in the judgment of Congress shall be deemed adequate and proper to defray the cost of the inauguration of this statue.

I have been informed by the committee that certain expenses have been incurred in the care and custody of the statue since it was deposited on Bedloe's Island, and the phraseology of the joint resolution . . . would seem to include the payment by the United States of the expense so

incurred since the reception of the statue
in this country. . . .⁵

On July 1, when the House was considering the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, an amendment was submitted by the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, Randall of Pennsylvania. It called for the payment of \$47,000 to the American Committee, with this itemization: committee expenses, \$15,000; expenses for the dedication ceremonies, \$4,000; entertainment of official French guests, \$9,000; clearing grounds of the island and removing unsightly structures, \$3,000; repairing wharf, \$2,500; electric-light plant and elevator in pedestal, \$13,500. Representative Hewitt of New York proposed a substitute amendment increasing the appropriation to \$106,100, based upon the estimate submitted by General Stone, engineer of the American Committee. This amendment called for \$5,000 for clearing the island, \$16,000 for building a new concrete and masonry wharf instead of repairing the old one, \$2,500 for refreshments for 500 guests, \$15,000 for an electric-light plant, \$7,200 for the elevator, and \$26,400 for "connecting arches between walls of fort and foundation mass of pedestal." The other items were unchanged.⁶

In the debate that followed, "Silver Dick" Bland of Missouri, a spokesman for Western agrarian interests, led the opposition, protesting that the only authorization in the

1877 resolution was "for its future maintenance as a beacon and not for a celebration." "We have no authority," he insisted, "to waste the public funds to provide for an inauguration and good time for the citizens of New York." Hewitt replied that the ceremonies were "specifically authorized" by the resolution, which "imposed a duty upon the President of the United States," and added that to date there had been no cost to the Federal Government for the Statue. He emphasized further that "it is not a local matter" for "the honor of the United States Government was involved." When the vote was taken, even though Hewitt had removed the \$2,500 item for refreshments, his amendment was defeated by the narrow margin of three votes.⁷

Three weeks later the bill reached the Senate, where the Appropriations Committee inserted a clause to provide \$56,500 for the ceremonies and other expenses. Senator Evarts, in a final attempt to obtain the amount in Stone's estimate, then presented an amendment for the additional \$49,600. Although admitting that the lesser amount was "ample for the purposes asked," he explained that the additional amount "is not connected with any immediate necessity for the inauguration, but is included within what is manifestly a proper duty and necessity . . . to the Government's own care of its own island." He concluded:

. . . the point is that for this inauguration this island should be certainly put in the condition which soon and necessarily it must be put by the Government for the fitness of things and the demands of public opinion and by visitors who shall resort to the island.

Senator Allison of Iowa disagreed, pointing out that this "involves the idea of ornamentation and beautification," and that such an expenditure "can be made at any time in the future." Evarts' amendment was tabled, and the bill, as passed by both Houses and signed on August 5, 1886, by President Cleveland, appropriated \$56,500 for the Statue of Liberty.⁸

The committee made no accounting to Congress on how the money was spent. But it appears that the dedication expenses were higher than expected, for nothing was available for an electric-light plant, an elevator, or "connecting arches" between the fort and the pedestal. Evarts expressed no disappointment with the result of his efforts, writing Richard Butler, treasurer of the American Committee, that "everything asked for by the Committee . . . for the purposes of expenses in care of the Statue and of the Island . . . [is] included in the sum allowed . . . excepting the sum of 2,500 dollars for Refreshments etc." The other eliminated items, he added, were "left for the U. S. either to be attended to or still neglected as the Government may determine."⁹ During the next 20 years the Statue was largely

neglected by Congress. The appropriation of 1886 was not regarded as a precedent; and, with the exception of about \$25,000 for a lighting plant, it was maintained, like most other federally owned structures, from general departmental appropriations.

The Statue of Liberty, after its dedication, was officially under the control and jurisdiction of the United States Government, but it had to be determined what agency would administer it. In the course of the previous summer's congressional debate, a letter had been produced from the Treasury Department, stating that "it has been assumed that eventually this statue . . . would be placed under the control of the light-house establishment," but that the Light-House Board could not take jurisdiction without express authorization.¹⁰ By his order of November 16, 1886, President Cleveland directed that the Statue be placed "under the care and superintendence of the Light-House Board, and that it be from henceforth maintained by said Board as a beacon."¹¹

Congress having failed to provide funds for the installation and maintenance of a lighting system before the dedication, the American Committee fortunately obtained the donation of an electric plant and lighting equipment for the torch and contracted for the operation of the plant until a week after the dedication. Lt. John Millis of the Army

Engineers, electrical expert for the Third Light-House District, was designated to superintend the lighting. Because of lack of funds and confusion regarding jurisdiction, the torch was not lighted from November 7 to November 22, the date on which the Light-House Board officially took charge of the Statue. Early in 1887 about 1 acre in the northwest part of the military reservation, by agreement between the Secretaries of War and the Treasury, was set aside as a lighthouse reserve, and a brick hospital building there was fitted up for the light keeper.¹²

The Statue was lighted with 14 arc lamps, 9 in the torch and 5 in the salient angles of the fort, powered by a steam dynamo, but this system was intended only as a temporary expedient. In addition, considerable work remained to be done to finish the interior of the pedestal and improve the surroundings of the Statue. In the hope of accomplishing some of these objectives, the Light-House Board presented a request to Congress on February 4, 1887, for an appropriation of \$32,500 for a permanent lighting plant, erection of buildings and wharf, and other necessary expenses. A few weeks later the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill was passed, containing an allotment of \$19,500 for the Statue of Liberty, most of which was earmarked for a new lighting plant.¹³ A plan was drawn up by Lieutenant Millis

which, it was declared, would make the torch "one of the most powerful fixed lights in the world . . . but intended more for the purpose of enhancing the grandeur of the statue than as an aid to navigation."¹⁴

In succeeding years minor repairs and improvements were made in the lighting system, and a double spiral staircase was installed in the Statue. Congress in 1890 appropriated \$5,250 for completing the electric plant, but other repairs had to be financed from general Light-House Board funds; the annual expense of maintaining this installation, including salaries, was about \$7,500 during this period.¹⁵ In 1892, Maj. David Heap, Engineer of the Third Light-House District, conducted experiments in an effort to improve the lighting system, largely because of agitation by the New York World. The Statue, as a result, displayed a flaming torch, a red, white, and blue flashing diadem, and an illumined face, but the innovation was discontinued after a short time.¹⁶ In 1898, oil was substituted for coal as fuel for the electric-generating plant, reducing operating costs, and stone was taken from the fort gun platforms to repair the seawall.¹⁷ Meanwhile, a fruitless request had been made annually since 1888 for an appropriation of \$50,000 to complete the Statue pedestal,¹⁸ and in 1894 it was believed for a time that the lighting would have to be discontinued be-

cause Congress had refused to increase the Light-House Board appropriation.¹⁹

The problem of the operation and control of the Statue of Liberty during this period was complicated by the fact that three agencies had an interest in it. The Army controlled the military reservation occupying most of the island and performed guard functions around the Statue; the Light-House Board maintained the light and to some extent the Statue and pedestal; and a Citizens Committee, successor to Evarts' American Committee, kept the Statue open to the public and provided ferry service from New York. According to an advertisement in the New York World in 1887,

. . . Steamers leave Barge office Battery, on the hour, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Sundays, 9 A. M. to 6 P. M., and half hourly after 1 P. M., if it is not rainy. Round trip, 25¢. Children under 9 years free. One-half of the fare is applied to the Statue Fund for beautifying and completing the work on the Island.²⁰

This operation, after losing money at first, was financially successful for a decade after the dedication. Although statistics for this period are meager, 88,000 people visited the Statue in 1890, and the committee reported receipts of \$10,000 in excess of expenses during the previous summer; by 1894 the committee had \$60,000 in its treasury.²¹ Despite this prosperity, no evidence has been found that any money was spent for "beautification" or improvements at the

Statue, possibly because of committee friction with the Army and the Light-House Board, particularly the latter.²² The cost of the committee operation in 1902, probably typical for the whole period, was \$13,604, of which amount steamer costs were \$10,000 and the rest wages of a superintendent at the Statue, a watchman, and two ticket agents; occasional repairs and painting were additional expenses.²³ A city tax was also paid, which in 1898 was protested as excessive; city authorities retaliated with an unsuccessful attempt to force the committee to obtain a franchise as a ferry rather than as an excursion operation.²⁴ From the midnineties on, the committee apparently lost money, due to a combination of increasing costs and decreasing income; in 1902 there were only 44,000 visitors to the Statue and \$40,000 in the treasury, which was being rapidly depleted.²⁵

During the early history of the Statue of Liberty, an effort to add a further complicating factor to Bedloe's Island was forestalled, largely by the agitation of the New York World. Early in 1890 the Federal Government assumed control of the immigrant traffic, formerly regulated by the States. Therefore, a search began for a successor to Castle Garden, the New York immigrant landing depot since 1855, which was scheduled to close April 18. On February 28, Secretary of the Treasury Windom, after making a study of

available sites in the New York area, announced that Bedloe's Island, since it was already Federal property, had been selected by the Government for this purpose. The World, calling this "An Order to Desecrate," protested vigorously that "Liberty Island," as they called it, "was to have been made into a beautiful park as a fit setting for the great statue," but now "it is to be converted instead into a Babel."²⁶

In a series of editorials and articles during the following weeks the newspaper continued its attack, attempting to arouse a popular protest by pointing out that contributions had been made to the pedestal fund 5 years before in the belief that the whole island had been "by act of Congress perpetually and exclusively" set aside for the Statue. The World maintained that

The National Government has been shamefully indifferent to the great monument of Liberty from the first. It has never done anything for it except to light it.

Furthermore, the paper pointed out, there were many other more convenient sites for the immigrant station, some of them, like Governors or Ellis Island, also owned by the Federal Government. Congress was urged to "pass an act putting the beautiful little island out of the reach of political schemers and diverting it perpetually to a pleasure-ground for the people."²⁷

A week after the World's campaign began, Congress took action. Congressman McAdoo of New Jersey, declaring that "'Miss Liberty' is a Jersey girl," called for the appointment of a Special Joint Committee to investigate the whole question of an immigrant station. The Senate, in concurring with the House resolution, went further, for Senator McPherson of New Jersey proposed that the Navy powder magazine on Ellis Island be removed as a hazard to the citizens of his State and the immigrant depot be located there instead.²⁸ The Joint Committee, after hearing testimony from Secretary Windom in Washington, arrived in New York on March 21 to study the situation on the ground. As a result, legislation was passed, and signed by President Harrison on April 11, appropriating funds "to improve Ellis Island for immigration purposes," and Bedloe's Island was saved.²⁹ Attempting to go further in safeguarding the Statue, the Senate considered a resolution which provided:

That the Secretary of War is hereby authorized and directed to control, use, and improve the whole of Bedloe's Island . . . as a free public park, and to allow the access of visitors to said island under such limitations, rules, and regulations as said Secretary may deem expedient and necessary.

This resolution died in committee, however, after several members objected that it would commit Congress to future appropriations and that it would be a "dangerous precedent . . . to furnish to the people of New York a public park and

pleasure ground."³⁰

The complicated administration of the island was partially simplified in 1902, when by Presidential directive "the care and control" of the Statue was transferred from the Light-House Board to the Army. This change was the result of dissatisfaction by all parties, with the War Department taking the initiative. On June 30, 1901, Maj. A. C. Taylor, Post Commander of Fort Wood, reporting on conditions on the island, declared that "inside and out, the statue of Liberty . . . is a distinct disgrace to our country." Condemning both the Light-House Board and the Citizens Committee, he found "no evidence that either money or work have been expended" since the Statue's dedication 15 years before, and saw not only little hope of improvement with a continuation of the joint jurisdiction but the possibility that "this grand work of Art" would steadily deteriorate.

In response to Secretary of War Root's formal request for transfer of jurisdiction, Secretary of the Treasury Gage, admitting that the Statue "has no value as a light to the Light-House Establishment," and that it was a financial burden to his department, agreed to cooperate with the War Department in inducing the President to make the change.³¹ President Theodore Roosevelt signed the order December 30, 1901, and on the following March 1, despite newspaper pro-

tests, the torch light was discontinued; speculation even arose that under the new regime the Statue might be closed to visitors.³² Finally, after some discussion, arrangements were made by the War Department to continue lighting the Statue. The Secretary of the Treasury countermanded his order to remove the electric plant from the island and the Secretary of War ordered the torch to be lighted as part of the lighting of the military post. This was done on the night of April 23, as the New York Tribune headlined, "Liberty's Torch Again Shines."³³

At this time the matter of financial support for the Statue of Liberty again came before Congress. Representative Sulzer of New York offered an amendment to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill to provide \$50,000 for "the proper care and suitable lighting" of the Statue. "The light from Liberty's torch," he declared, "should not be put out. It is essential to commerce, but more than that, it represents a patriotic sentiment that should never be extinguished." But the Statue was not yet the cherished national symbol that it is today. The average citizen, if he thought about it at all, tended to regard it as New York's lighthouse. "Uncle Joe" Cannon, a Midwestern spokesman for the economy bloc and chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, expressed the typical view when he declared in reply to

Sulzer's impassioned plea:

New York Harbor and the great city of New York have enough to ask from the Treasury of the United States for absolutely necessary items, instead of \$50,000 for this light, which would not aid commerce a particle. So, my dear friends, stick to the old flag. It is a good chance to make a speech. Stick to the poetry; but when you get down to cold business, let us keep the \$50,000 to give to some work that needs it. . . .

Sulzer's amendment was defeated by six votes.³⁴

The next few years saw increasing agitation for repair and improvement of the Statue. Some concern was expressed about the green patina that was gradually forming over the copper. The New York Evening Post advocated a thorough cleaning to remove this "unsightly green crust," but Cornelius Bliss of the Citizens Committee replied:

The statue is in good repair. We have not considered cleaning it because it has not been considered necessary. It would cost quite a sum to do the work properly, and the Committee has not the necessary funds. Of course, if this verdigris began to injure the surface of the metal we should find the necessary money before harm was done. . . .³⁵

The question was again raised in 1907, but after letters were published in newspaper columns pointing out the esthetic advantages of the patina over the "crudity and hardness" of the original copper the New York Times announced:

It is not the intention of the engineers of the War Department . . . to remove the patina which has softened the outlines of the statue and made it beautiful.³⁶

A further attempt was made in Congress in 1905 to appropriate funds for more adequate lighting of the Statue, since only \$3,500 per year was available to the Army for this purpose. Congressman Goulden of New York introduced a bill, referred to the Appropriations Committee, to appropriate \$25,000 for equipment to illuminate the entire Statue and increase the intensity of the torch. A month later he submitted another bill calling for \$56,451 to provide for "proper lighting and repairs" of the Statue.³⁷ Secretary of War Taft urged favorable action, declaring that "the condition of the statue is such that it may collapse unless the repairs are made soon." He added that the Quartermaster General's Office had already drafted plans to correct a defect in the pedestal and install an elevator for the use of sightseers. "Unless the statue is repaired," he concluded, "it is not regarded as safe for visitors to explore the interior or climb up to the top."³⁸

Taft's warning was more effective than an oration. While the Goulden bill was not reported out of committee, the General Deficiency Act of 1906 provided \$62,800 for the Statue of Liberty. Despite their plans to repair the Statue and pedestal, build a new electric plant for the torch light, and construct new walks on the island, the War Department found, after contracts had been awarded the following

year, that the funds were sufficient only for what seemed first-priority projects. These included filling and grading inside the fort walls, repair of the wharf, repairs and granite facing of the pedestal and fort terreplein, repairs and painting inside the Statue and pedestal, and installation of stairways in the Statue and an electric elevator in the pedestal.³⁹

Nothing was done to improve the lighting of the Statue of Liberty until 1916, when World War I stimulated renewed interest in this symbol of freedom and democracy. Late in 1915 the New York World, after consulting artists, engineers, and electrical experts, submitted to the War Department detailed plans for improving the torch lighting and installing a permanent floodlighting system; these plans had been formulated by George Williams of the Henry L. Doherty Co., who had first conceived the idea and presented it to the World. The newspaper proposed to raise \$30,000 by popular subscription, as in 1885, to install the lighting plant if the Federal Government would provide an annual appropriation for maintenance. After approval by the War Department, the Rivers and Harbors Bill was amended to authorize this proposal, and on July 27, 1916, it received President Wilson's signature.⁴⁰

Almost before the campaign got underway, a catastrophe

occurred which focused even more attention upon the Statue of Liberty. This was the famous Black Tom munitions explosion of July 30, 1916, which caused two deaths and an estimated \$40,000,000 damage. Early on a Sunday morning, the severe bombardment began at Black Tom wharf, just half a mile from Bedloe's Island on the New Jersey shore. Nearly 100 people, members of an Army Signal Corps Company and their families, were living on the island; because there was great danger from flying glass and falling plaster, the women and children were evacuated to Governors Island. Later a detachment of Army Engineers surveyed the damage, finding that although about \$100,000 damage was done to structures on Bedloe's Island, only one building, a corrugated iron warehouse, had been demolished. The Statue itself suffered little from the explosions--the only damage noted was that about 100 iron bolts in the inner shell of the structure had been ripped off, and the pedestal and the exterior of the Statue had been chipped slightly by shrapnel. The power plant was not affected, and the torch light continued to burn throughout the holocaust. The island was closed to visitors for about 10 days while repairs were made, and thereafter the ladder leading through the arm to the torch has been closed to the public.⁴¹

News of the Black Tom explosion caused an increase in

contributions to the World's fund. A month earlier, through the cooperation of the Navy Department, a dramatic demonstration had been given to show the effect of the proposed floodlighting. The battleship Michigan used its powerful searchlights to illuminate the Statue for 35 minutes, while members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, in New York for a convention, joined the House Military Affairs Subcommittee on a chartered boat and thousands watched the show from the Battery.⁴² As the campaign gained momentum, donations poured in to "Miss Liberty" from every State and several foreign countries. Funds were solicited throughout the Nation by actors and actresses, Boy Scouts, and civic organizations. Girl volunteers wearing Liberty sashes collected money in Liberty banks and, in the words of the World, "school children denied themselves penny luxuries to add their share." In less than 6 months the goal had been reached through the contributions of more than 50,000 people.⁴³

The new lighting system was a great improvement. It included 15 batteries of floodlights, a total of 246 projectors of 250 watts each, mounted on the star points of the old fort, on building roofs, and on the pedestal balcony. The famous sculptor Gutzon Borglum was employed to remodel the torch. To simulate a living flame, he used 600 small

sections of amber cathedral glass mounted in cutaway sheet bronze; with a fifth-order lighthouse lens installed, the torch produced about 20,000 candlepower.⁴⁴

The lights were dedicated on December 2, the opening day of Electrical Week, and similar ceremonies were held at the same time throughout the country. President Wilson officiated from the Presidential yacht Mayflower, while a division of the Atlantic Fleet was anchored in the harbor. At sunset the President gave a wireless signal which turned on the lights as whistles hooted, ships saluted, and aviatrix Ruth Law flew over the Statue in a lighted airplane. The New York World triumphantly described the scene:

Transformed suddenly from a black and shapeless bulk against a rapidly darkening sky into a glorious goddess bathed in golden light, the Statue of Liberty . . . was illuminated in a manner befitting its prominence, its position and the idea it symbolizes. . . . From now on it is the plan to keep Liberty alight between dusk and dawn, always.

A parade from the Battery uptown to the Waldorf Hotel followed the ceremonies, culminating in a dinner attended by dignitaries including President Wilson, French Ambassador Jusserand, Ralph Pulitzer of the World, and Chauncey Depew, the only surviving participant in the 1886 ceremonies.⁴⁵

Wilson's extemporaneous remarks at the dinner reflected his characteristic idealism and foreshadowed the spirit which,

only a few months later, was to lead the American people to join enthusiastically in a democratic crusade--a "war to end war." The lighting of the Statue of Liberty, he emphasized, was "a proper symbol of our life," for the illumination "did not proceed from Liberty, but . . . from the light we were throwing upon Liberty." Similarly,

. . . the only light that we can contribute to the illumination of the world is the light that will shine out of our life as a nation upon that conception and upon that image.

. . . I wonder if we are worthy of that symbol. . . . I wonder if we remember the sacrifices, the mutual concessions, the righteous yielding of selfish right that is signified by the word and the conception of Liberty.

. . . the world is enlightened . . . by ideals, by ideas. The spirit of the world rises with the sacrifices of men, the spirit of the world rises as men forget to be selfish and unite to be great. . . .⁴⁶

During the war years the interest in the Statue of Liberty, stimulated by the World's campaign and the President's dedication of the new lighting system, became even more apparent. "Liberty Bond" posters and rallies made the Statue a familiar figure to all Americans, a symbol of the freedom and democracy for which they were fighting. The 77th Division, stationed at Camp Upton, N. Y., before embarking overseas, chose the Statue for its insignia and won fame in France as the Liberty Division.⁴⁷ By the war's end the Statue of Liberty had become the symbol of home to the re-

turning "doughboys," most of whom sailed past her on their arrival back in the "land of the free."

Visitation during the postwar period reflected this increased interest in the Statue; in 1922, for example, 170,000 people made the trip to Bedloe's Island.⁴⁸ Neither in the press nor in Congress, however, was any concern expressed about the area, its administration, interpretation, or development. The general feeling apparently was that with the installation of the improved lighting system in 1916 nothing remained to be done. The War Department, in this period of peace and Government economy, which was hailed as a return to "normalcy," saw little justification for an increase in appropriations for Fort Wood and the Statue of Liberty. The infantry company of 6 officers and 120 men stationed there seemed adequate to operate the elevator, police the grounds and the interior corridors and stairways, and provide guard functions on the island.⁴⁹

This was the situation, then, when by President Coolidge's proclamation of October 15, 1924, the Statue of Liberty became a National Monument.⁵⁰ This change of status was not, apparently, the result of any organized popular movement, but was the culmination of a series of circumstances which began 18 years before within the executive departments of the Government. One of the milestones of the

conservation movement, the Antiquities Act of June 8, 1906, gave the President discretionary power to reserve as National Monuments, by proclamation, any landmarks, structures, and objects of historic or scientific interest situated on Federal lands. To carry out the provisions of this act, the Secretaries of the Departments of Interior, Agriculture, and War formulated a series of "Uniform Rules and Regulations," among which was the following:

13. The field officer in charge of land owned or controlled by the Government of the United States shall, from time to time, inquire and report as to the existence, on or near such lands, of ruins and archeological sites, historic or prehistoric ruins or monuments, objects of antiquity, historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest.⁵¹

During the succeeding 5 years, the Antiquities Act was invoked to create 15 National Monuments, principally in the Southwest, none of which was on a military reservation.⁵²

Late in 1912, William S. Appleton of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities wrote the Secretary of the Interior to inquire about the Antiquities Act, indicating several old forts in New England owned by the Government that he felt should become National Monuments. His letter was referred to the War Department, and the machinery was set in motion that was to result, 12 years later, in the creation of Statue of Liberty National Monument. The Chief

of the Quartermaster Corps and the Chief of Engineers, after consideration of the matter, concluded that it was the intention of the 1906 law that "the initiative in selecting historic landmarks, structures, etc., should be taken by the various Departments," and recommended that all post commanders should report, as prescribed in Paragraph 13 of the Uniform Rules, on all such features under their jurisdiction.⁵³ Among the reports received was one from Capt. J. B. Douglas, Signal Corps, Commanding Officer of Fort Wood, which stated:

. . . the statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" is erected within the old Star Fort at this post.

It is highly improbable that the land occupied by the . . . statue and fort will ever be used for any other purpose. . . .⁵⁴

Finally, on July 17, 1915, War Department Bulletin No. 27 was issued, declaring some 50 areas under military jurisdiction, including the Statue of Liberty, to be National Monuments by order of the Secretary of War. The bulletin added further:

The respective military authorities that are in control of the landmarks, structures and reservations declared as national monuments . . . will give to them such care and protection as may be possible by the utilization of material and labor at hand, without extra expense to the War Department.⁵⁵

This declaration had no noticeable effect upon the Statue of Liberty or its administration, and apparently received no

notice at the time of the dedication of the new lighting system or during World War I. In fact, as the Quartermaster General was informed in 1923, the monument area had not been "marked, fenced or otherwise distinguished from the remaining area of Fort Wood since the issuance of Bulletin 27."⁵⁶

At the instigation of the National Park Service, this anomalous situation of National Monuments created by Departmental fiat rather than Presidential proclamation was finally clarified and legalized. A letter on March 17, 1923, from Acting Director Cammerer to Capt. P. A. Hodgson of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, acknowledged receipt of a copy of Bulletin 27, which he had requested, adding:

I am a little bit perplexed in reading the bulletin, because I cannot understand under what authority other than the President's a monument can be created under the so-called Antiquities Act of 1906. Can you give me a line on this to enlighten me personally? . . .

Four days later Cammerer's letter had been forwarded to the Adjutant General's Office with a request to "make a study of this matter to determine what action should be taken in regard to the monuments listed in Bulletin No. 27." When it was realized that an error had been made in 1915, the subject was referred to the Quartermaster General and the Judge Advocate General for determination of the definite limits of the monuments and preparation of a proclamation

draft for the signature of the President.⁵⁷

While it was quickly conceded that these areas were not "in fact or in law" National Monuments, there was considerable discussion as to how many of those listed in Bulletin 27 should be included in the Presidential proclamation. Quartermaster General Hart recommended that "no garrisoned post or military reservation having present military use be proclaimed a national monument," for

This would entail an extra guard during the hours when visitors must be admitted to view it. . . . it does not seem quite desirable that this extra burden be put upon the Commanding Officer of the garrisoned post unless the historic value of the site is so great that the interests of the public demand that proper exploitation of the historic portion be made to awaken or to satisfy patriotic sensibility.

His superior, Assistant Chief of Staff Heintzelman, agreed that the original list should be abridged and that no garrisoned posts should be included, but made a specific exception in the case of the Statue of Liberty.⁵⁸

Hart, agreeing, pointed out that the original acceptance and dedication of the Statue by Congress and the President might imply that it had always been regarded as a National Monument in the popular sense, so recommended:

To avoid the possible creation of an impression that the statue has not heretofore been considered a national monument . . . such designation [should] be made a separate Proclamation involving this monument only and . . . the reason for so designating it . . . stated in such terms that it will

imply the wish to express the continued good will of the United States towards France rather than to augment the significance of the statue. . . .

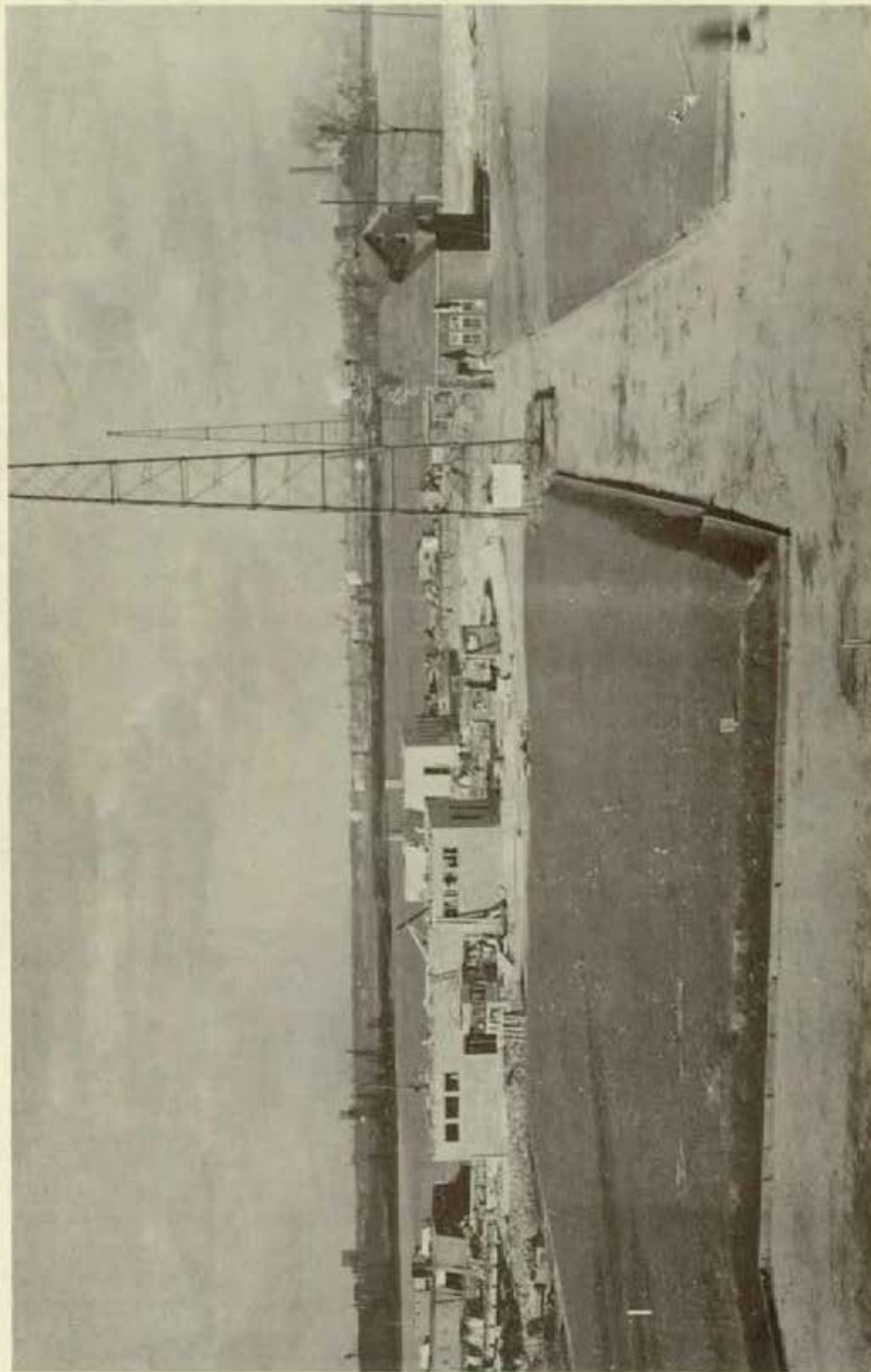
He was overruled on this point, however, and instructed to prepare a final draft of proclamation designating the Statue of Liberty and sites on four other military reservations as National Monuments. The proclamation, signed by the President on October 15, 1924, limited the monument to the area enclosed by the walls of old Fort Wood, since according to the provisions of the Antiquities Act the land reserved "shall be confined to the smallest area compatible with the proper care and management of the objects to be protected."⁵⁹ A few months later the War Department rescinded Bulletin 27, and the other military areas listed therein reverted to their original status.⁶⁰

With its establishment as a National Monument, a new era began for the Statue of Liberty.

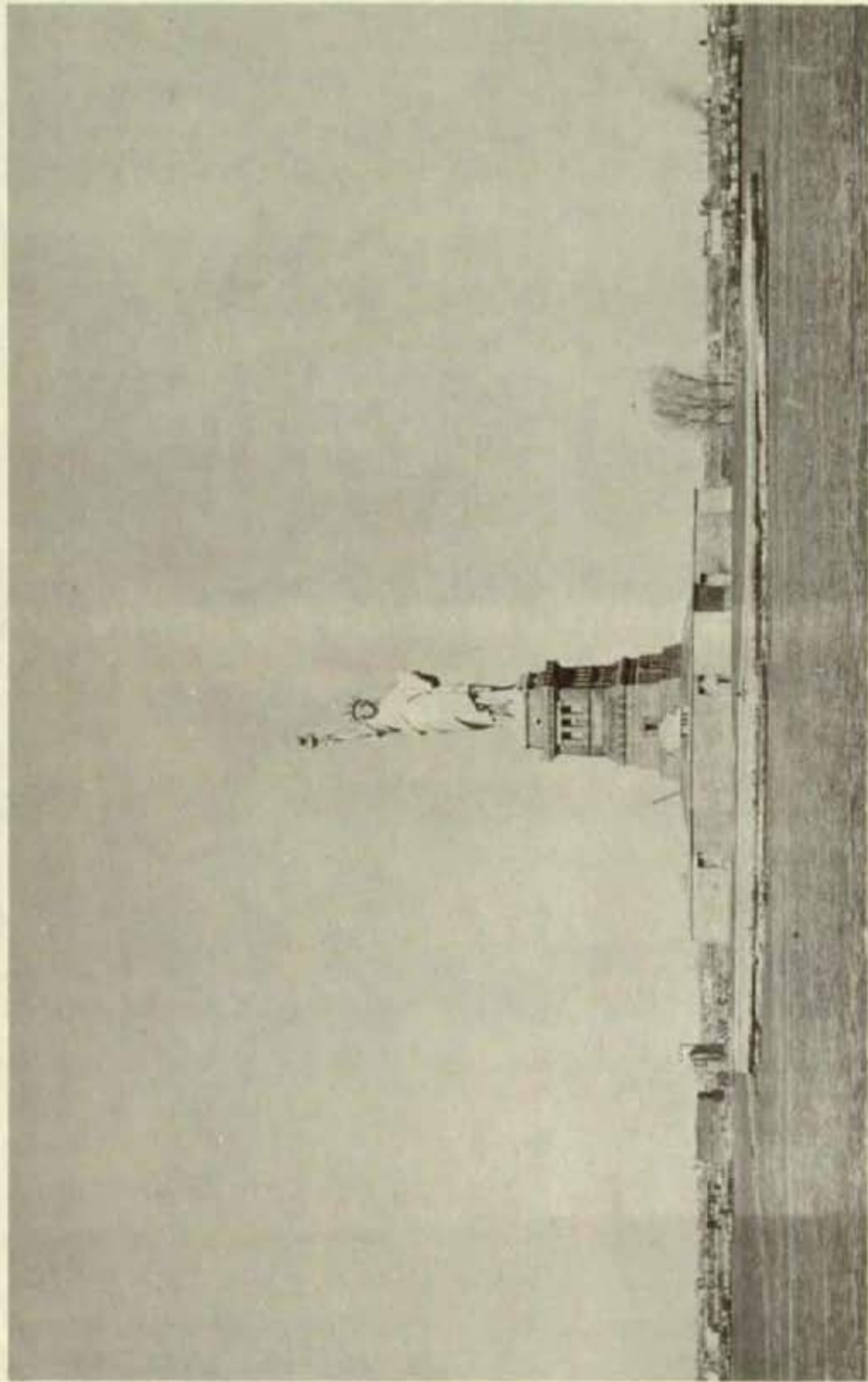
A NATIONAL SHRINE: 1924 TO THE PRESENT

The establishment of Statue of Liberty National Monument did not at first result in any appreciable change in the administration of the area. President Coolidge's proclamation was not publicized for nearly 2 months, then it was published in a War Department Bulletin and announced by the Army Information Service. Even after the proclamation was publicized, there was some misunderstanding of what the changed status implied. According to one newspaper, not only was the Statue now a National Monument but old Fort Wood, its star-shaped base, was a National Park.¹ Another article, referring to the Statue of Liberty as a National Park, called this "a mere bookkeeping arrangement, . . . transferring her affairs from the War Department to the Department of the Interior."²

Actually, of course, the War Department continued to administer the monument as it had previously, as part of the Fort Wood military reservation. To the Army, moreover, probably the most important installation on the island was the Signal Corps radio station, which handled all wireless messages for Second Corps Area headquarters on Governors Island.³ Assistant Secretary of War Davis, in an attempt to make some provision for the newly designated National Monu-



Public Works Administration projects underway in 1940.



The Statue as seen from the New York side.

ments, was unable to be specific in writing the Quartermaster General, under whose supervision these areas were placed. As no definite instructions, to his knowledge, had been issued, Davis directed him

. . . to administer these National Monuments in a manner similar to that heretofore prescribed for the National Military Parks, and to assume the duty of inspection, maintenance and upkeep.

. . .⁴

Because of the Army policy of replacing post commanders at Fort Wood at frequent intervals, it was soon realized, however, that some change was desirable in the administration of the area. A War Department committee, formed expressly to study this problem, recommended that the Statue be administered by a civilian superintendent on indefinite appointment, acting under the supervision of the Fort Wood commander.⁵ On November 16, 1925, William A. Simpson, assisted by three civilian attendants, became the first superintendent of Statue of Liberty National Monument.⁶

One of the first problems facing the new superintendent was a direct result of the Statue's increased popularity. This was the attempt of certain groups and organizations to use this well-known symbol for advertising or publicity purposes. The first such attempt had been made in 1884, during the pedestal fund campaign, when an offer had been made to donate \$25,000 with the proviso that

. . . for the period of one year you permit us to place across the top of the pedestal the word 'CASTORIA'. Thus art and science, the symbol of liberty to man, and of health to his children, would be more closely enshrined in the hearts of our people.⁷

The proposal made early in 1926 was equally incongruous. Lazarus Brothers, a jewelry firm founded by an immigrant, offered as a token of gratitude and appreciation an illuminated wristwatch to be placed upon Miss Liberty's right arm. The official reply declining this offer came from Washington, Assistant Secretary of War MacNider politely questioning the "congruity of so modern an ornament . . . upon the classically robed figure."⁸

Two months later Simpson had to cope with another type of publicity seeker when three members of the War Veterans Light Wines and Beer League visited the Statue. Climbing to the crown, they draped two 60-foot black crepe streamers from the windows, in protest against their "loss of liberty and free speech" in being denied permission to testify at a Senate Committee hearing on prohibition. Simpson and two guards removed the crepe almost immediately, but not before photographers on a nearby tug, hired for this purpose by a press agent, had obtained pictures.⁹ An aftermath of this incident was the announcement by the Army Information Service that 50 men would be added to the Military Police detachment on the island in order to provide better protection

against vandals and publicity seekers.¹⁰

A further justification for augmenting the guard force was the prevention of suicide attempts from the Statue, two instances of this perverted type of publicity seeking occurring during this period. In 1926, a guard frustrated the attempted suicide of a young Russian refugee about to be deported, but 3 years later a 22-year-old Bronx youth plunged to his death after climbing out one of the windows in the crown.¹¹ Fortunately, no other attempts have been made since that time, nor have any accidental falls occurred from either the crown or the pedestal balcony.

Another problem facing the new superintendent was repair and rehabilitation of the monument. The Statue, particularly the granite pedestal, had through the years since its dedication become encrusted with smoke and grime borne on westerly winds from industrial New Jersey. Criticism of this condition, in the New York World and elsewhere, led to discussion of giving the Statue a bath. The World announced that the Army was studying methods of cleaning the structure, among which was a plan to have it "washed with minute beads of soap which will dissolve instantly on contact with water, form super-suds and remove the dirt." The Times, however, after checking the story with the Army, characterized it as "a lot of hokum" and declared that

"the rumor originated as an advertisement for a soap." The discussion of the bath ended with a group of people trying to powder the Statue's nose, providing another headache for Superintendent Simpson.¹²

The lighting system was also receiving criticism. As early as 1922 the War Department had testified at Congressional appropriations committee hearings that improvements were necessary to eliminate unflattering shadows around the face of the Statue. Six years later the Army reported that half the floodlight projectors had defective reflectors and that because of corrosion many had lost their mountings. The cost of repair and replacement was estimated at \$2,500, and it was proposed that the "now obsolete system of lighting" be doubled to eliminate the shadows.¹³

Finally, in 1931, funds were appropriated to make the needed improvements. A modern floodlighting system, designed to eliminate all shadows, which, with other improvements, cost about \$30,000, was installed by the Westinghouse Company.¹⁴ A total of ninety-six 1,000-watt lamps was placed on the terreplein in the 11 star-points of Fort Wood; in addition, twenty-four 200-watt lights were mounted on the balcony and at the base of the Statue. The torch light was improved by the substitution of fourteen 1,000-watt lamps for the existing 250-watt lamps, and 22 flashing lights were

placed in the crown. An automatic clock was installed to control the floodlights, similar to the system installed in 1925 for the torch.¹⁵ Two days before the Statue's 45th anniversary, on October 26, the new 500,000-candlepower system was formally dedicated. In this ceremony, French Premier Laval's daughter turned the new floodlight system on by remote control from the Empire State Building.¹⁶

Along with the improved lighting, the War Department made other needed repairs. The pedestal stairs acquired safety treads and handrails, the exterior of the granite pedestal was repointed, minor rifts in the copper shell of the Statue were welded, and new windows were installed in the crown; in addition, a new Otis elevator replaced the old one, which had seen 25 years' service. With the new floodlights, the grime on the Statue became more visible; so, because of increasing complaints, the Statue and pedestal were steam cleaned. By June 1932, all this work had been finished and the Statue of Liberty seemed to be completely renovated.¹⁷

This was the situation when the National Park Service entered the picture as a result of the reorganization of the executive branch of the Government. By Section 2 of President Roosevelt's Executive Order No. 6166 of June 10, 1933, the administration of all public buildings, reservations,

national parks, national monuments, and national cemeteries was consolidated under the Department of the Interior in the Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations, re-named the National Park Service in the following year.¹⁸ This order was made more explicit by Executive Order No. 6228, dated July 28, 1933, which listed the areas under the War Department to be transferred to the Interior Department, among which was the Statue of Liberty.¹⁹ The administrative change was announced on August 11 in the New York Times, which declared:

The grounds are economy. The Interior Department won't spend the way the army did. It is just part of the President's recovery program. . . .²⁰

This statement was proved false in a matter of months, when it was announced that \$25,000 of public works funds had been allotted to the Statue of Liberty for routine repairs. Among the improvements planned were the construction of granite waterproof kiosks over the stairway entrances on the old fort terreplein or promenade, renovation of the second landing in the pedestal to provide some visitor services, improvement of the interior lighting, and the lining of the fort corridors and the fourth landing of the pedestal to prevent water seepage.²¹

At about the same time, National Park Service officials undertook a study of the area and discussed plans for its

future development. On December 6, 1933, John L. Nagle and C. A. Peters, Jr., of the Branch of Engineering, visited Bedloe's Island to make a preliminary investigation, after which they were interviewed by the press. Mr. Nagle, as quoted in the New York Times, stated that "it was hoped to convert Bedloe's Island into a national park, thus providing a dignified and fitting frame for the celebrated statue," but added that

. . . up to this time the question of cost, the willingness of the War Department to remove the buildings elsewhere and other details have not been discussed.

Public opinion would, of course, have to be taken into consideration . . . We feel that the Statue of Liberty is one of our most imposing and important national monuments, and it would be desirable to build a national park around it.²²

Superintendent Simpson strongly endorsed this objective.

He wrote the Director:

Eventually the entire Island must be under the jurisdiction of The Department of the Interior. The War Department has no common interest in the things for which the National Park Service stands. Dual jurisdiction on the Island greatly retards advancement of those things the service deems essential for the benefit of the public.

He was assured that attempts to enlarge the National Monument to include the whole island were then underway in Washington.²³ In fact, Secretary of Interior Ickes and Secretary of War Dern, according to a press dispatch from the Capital, had already made a tentative agreement to that

end.

"The entire island," Ickes emphasized to Dern, "is none too large for a proper setting for this national and international monument, and the use of any part of the island for utilitarian purposes is contrary to the conception and message of the monument." Dern in his reply expressed approval of the idea and agreed to close the military post on the island "if army housing accommodations could be provided elsewhere."²⁴

Ickes, in his capacity as Public Works Administrator, attempted to solve this problem, suggesting the possibility of allotting public works funds in order to provide the necessary accommodations at other military installations in the New York area, "and also for providing a new dock and generally cleaning up the area after demolition of the old buildings."²⁵ But this attempt proved abortive, for a further problem had arisen in the meantime. On January 31, 1934, the War Department, on the basis of an opinion by the Judge Advocate General, withdrew its concurrence in the proposal to effect the transfer. Because New York's deed of 1800 had conveyed Bedloe's Island to the United States specifically for military purposes, it was believed that the proposed transfer to the Interior Department would result in a forfeiture of title to and jurisdiction over the island by

the Federal Government. Although the Attorney General, whose opinion in the matter was requested by Ickes, disagreed with the War Department interpretation and saw no danger of forfeiture, the attempt to transfer jurisdiction of the island was dropped for the time being, and the National Park Service had to wait nearly 4 more years before acquiring the whole of Bedloe's Island.²⁶

Meanwhile, the 50th anniversary of the dedication of the Statue was approaching and plans were being made to celebrate the occasion. Simpson had retired as superintendent on May 31, 1934, being succeeded by George A. Palmer, the first Park Service career man to hold that position.²⁷ As early as the spring of 1935, Palmer began contacting patriotic organizations and laying the groundwork for the celebration to be held October 28, 1936. In December 1935, at Palmer's suggestion, Secretary Ickes was requested to invite President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the French Ambassador to participate. At this juncture Palmer was transferred to Fort McHenry National Monument and his successor, Oswald E. Camp, continued the planning. Because of the limited size and relative isolation of the island and the Statue, it was realized that comparatively few people could attend a celebration there. Moreover, since it was the symbolic significance of the Statue rather than the

figure itself that was of primary importance, it was agreed that not only the most practical but the most satisfactory observance of the anniversary would be a nationwide celebration throughout the whole year, culminating in a rededication ceremony on October 28 at the Statue. The objective of the program, it was officially stated, was "to recall to the minds of the American people the history and significance of the Statue of Liberty and to give as many of them as possible an opportunity to take part in some activity connected with the Anniversary observance."²⁸

The realization of this objective was more than satisfactory. The Statue of Liberty, its background and meaning in American history, was studied in schools throughout the Nation. Nearly a score of civic, educational, and patriotic organizations carried on various types of commemorative activity, including an essay contest, a poetry contest, a radio script contest, and an oratorical contest, all based on the theme of the meaning of the Statue of Liberty. Nationwide newspaper and magazine publicity was supplemented by radio programs on all networks. Members of the French colony in the United States were enlisted in the cause, while widespread interest and enthusiasm were generated in their homeland. Bastille Day was celebrated at the Statue by a ceremony which included the presentation of an album

containing photographs of Bartholdi's home, studio, and works of art--a gift from the citizens of the Alsatian city of Colmar, the sculptor's birthplace. To organize and direct the ceremony of rededication, and the banquet which was to follow it, a National Statue of Liberty Fiftieth Anniversary Committee with a membership of more than 100 was formed by interested citizens.²⁹

On October 28, about 3,500 people journeyed to Bedloe's Island for the celebration, while thousands more heard the proceedings on the radio. With Mayor LaGuardia of New York officiating as chairman, speeches were made by Joseph H. Choate, head of the National Committee; Secretary of Interior Ickes; French Ambassador de Laboulaye, grandson of the man who first conceived the Statue; French Undersecretary of State DeTessan; and by radio from Paris, French President Lebrun. President Roosevelt, in the principal address of the day, related the anniversary celebration to the threatening international situation, declaring:

It was the hope of those who gave us this statue and the hope of the American people in receiving it that the Goddess of Liberty and the Goddess of Peace were the same. It is fitting, therefore, that this should be a service of rededication to the liberty and the peace which this statue symbolizes. Liberty and peace are living things. In each generation--if they are to be maintained--they must be guarded and vitalized anew.³⁰

The activities of the 50th anniversary year not only succeeded in making the Statue of Liberty more familiar and more meaningful to more Americans, but gave impetus to the movement to enlarge the boundaries of the National Monument. Secretary Ickes renewed his request to the War Department for transfer of the island, suggesting that gradual abandonment of buildings and lands would enable the Army to make substitute provisions for housing personnel at other installations, while at the same time allowing the National Park Service to begin development work on the entire island.³¹ A few months later Ickes, in his capacity as Public Works Administrator, announced an allotment of \$175,000 to the Army Quartermaster Corps for additions to Forts Hamilton and Jay to accommodate the troops to be moved from Fort Wood, and negotiations between the two departments were reopened.³²

On May 4, 1937, the War Department informed Secretary Ickes that the Army planned to evacuate Bedloe's Island by June 30, except for the Second Corps Area radio station, which could not be moved for some time. The Interior Department then prepared a draft of a proclamation to enlarge the National Monument, and assured the Secretary of War that a permit would be issued to give the Army the use of the necessary grounds, buildings, and utilities for the continued functioning of the radio station. But, because the draft of

the proclamation was not transmitted to the President until mid-July, the transfer could not be effected so quickly.³³

Moreover, an additional problem had arisen which had to be resolved by further discussion. This concerned the operation of ferry service to the island, provided by the McAllister Navigation Co. under a contract with the Army. As this contract was to expire on June 30, the Interior Department requested the War Department to renew it for only a short term or, preferably, on a month-to-month basis, thus freeing the National Park Service from any long-term commitments. The Army, after inviting bids for boat service for a 2-year period, finally yielded to the protestations of Acting Secretary of the Interior West and made a 1-year contract with the Sutton Line. Furthermore, the contract contained a provision authorizing the United States to terminate the arrangement at any time or, as was done in January 1938, to assign the contract from the War Department to the Interior Department.³⁴

Finally, on September 7, President Roosevelt issued a proclamation adding the Fort Wood reservation to the National Monument, the enlargement being considered "necessary for the proper care, management, and protection of the colossal statue of 'Liberty Enlightening the World.'"³⁵ Army headquarters on Governors Island had previously ordered

the evacuation by September 25 of all Fort Wood personnel, except the Signal Corps detachment manning the radio station; by September 30 all military equipment had been removed as well and the island was turned over to the National Park Service.³⁶ The only vestige of the Army, the radio station, remained in operation under a special-use permit until December 23, 1941, when it was moved to Governors Island.³⁷

Even before the issuance of the Presidential proclamation the National Park Service had begun planning for the expected enlargement of the National Monument. As early as April 1937, Superintendent Camp and Coordinating Superintendent Elbert Cox of Morristown National Historical Park recommended that preparation of a Master Plan be undertaken as soon as possible. Chief Architect Thomas C. Vint concurred and assigned Resident Landscape Architect Norman T. Newton to "design a comprehensive scheme for the whole of Bedloe's Island."³⁸ Meanwhile, a WPA project had been approved to investigate, measure, and repair the Statue and pedestal. It was decided to await the conclusions of this examination before proceeding with the comprehensive plan in order to base planning on concrete evidence. Moreover, a topographical map of the entire island had to be prepared by Park Service engineers and a study made of the possible use

of existing Army buildings.³⁹

During May 1937, conferences were held, first in Washington and then on Bedloe's Island. Engineer W. A. McDonough, supervising the WPA project, reported the discovery of important structural faults in the Statue and pedestal, due principally to water seepage. To remedy these defects, it was decided to close the structure to the public above the second landing of the pedestal while an extensive painting and repointing job was carried out. The project also included repair or replacement of rusted sections of the Statue framework and the construction of a copper apron around the bottom of the Statue to keep water out of the pedestal. Other work around the exterior of the monument was deferred. As Landscape Architect Newton explained, "The intent is to press forward now those operations which cannot interfere with an eventual Master Plan."⁴⁰

On June 14 and 15 another conference was held at the Statue with Chief Architect Vint and other Washington Office representatives attending. Tentative agreement was reached on a number of objectives to be embodied in the Master Plan. Chief among these, Vint indicated, should be the elimination as soon as feasible of the 20 Army buildings and structures on the island, with those clustered about the base of the Statue scheduled for early demolition. All necessary admin-

istration, utility, museum, and residence buildings were to be built at the northwest end of the island in a landscaped area removed from the Statue; this would entail enlarging that end of the island by adding earth fill and a new seawall. It was also decided that the existing east dock, immediately in front of the Statue, should be abandoned and demolished, and the Army's west dock, or a new facility constructed in its approximate position, should be used as the passenger boat landing. This change, it was emphasized, would give visitors the best view of the Statue from the water approaching the island as well as from the land, for broad walks would lead from the dock to the monument. Providing landing facilities for small private boats was also suggested, preferably at the western end of the island. Entrance to the Statue would be through the former main gate on the west side of old Fort Wood, instead of the sallyport at the front of the Statue.⁴¹

After further study, discussion, and elaboration, Vint recommended these "points of policy and other general principles" to the Director, and on October 15 they were approved by Acting Director Demaray. The General Development Plan was drafted, based on these principles, and on March 24, 1938, was approved by Director Cammerer and the Commission of Fine Arts.⁴²

The principal objective of the proposed development of the area was well summarized in the narrative accompanying the Master Plan, the first edition of which was submitted early in 1938:

. . . the cramped squalor of the present surroundings must be replaced by a setting of appropriately well-ordered dignity. It is clear that ample simplicity, rather than ostentation, will be an essential quality of such an environment. But it is equally clear that a niggardly policy of development would be unwarranted and disastrous.⁴³

With the passage of the years since 1937, this objective has continued to dominate the development program at Statue of Liberty National Monument. The Master Plan approved at that time is gradually, with only minor modifications, becoming a reality. The program has not always progressed at a uniform rate of speed, for its realization has depended, of course, upon available funds. It was estimated at the outset that all proposed improvements could be accomplished for slightly more than \$1,500,000, and this amount was included in the "Six-Year Program of Public Works" submitted in 1937 by the National Park Service to the Public Works Administration. During 1937 and 1938, more than one-third of this amount was allocated to the area for WPA and PWA projects.⁴⁴ Without these emergency funds, the development program for the Statue of Liberty, as in many other areas in the National Park System, would have proceeded much more slowly, if at

all. And when the emergency relief program was discontinued a few years later, development came temporarily to a halt.

In the 5 years from May 1937 to June 1942, much was accomplished, but more remained to be done. Repair of the Statue and pedestal, including construction of a new stairway to the foot of the Statue, was completed by WPA labor in April 1939. More was involved in this project than was at first imagined, for not only did the framework of the arm require strengthening but the crown spikes had to be removed and their rusted supports replaced. During most of this work, the Statue was closed completely to the public, finally being reopened in December 1938. The WPA laborers also demolished most of the old Army buildings, two of which were retained temporarily as quarters for the staff, and repaired the east dock. Before the program was terminated with the coming of World War II, a beginning was made in constructing a new seawall and regrading and seeding the eastern end of the island; the last projects completed were excavation for the new flagpole foundation and construction of granite steps for the new entrance at the rear of the Statue. In addition, contractors using PWA funds laid a new waterline to New Jersey and built new administration and concession buildings, completed by July 1941.

Difficulty was encountered on some proposed projects.

An upper terrace on the promenade, between the top of the fort walls and the second landing of the pedestal, was disallowed by the PWA as too costly, although it had been justified as necessary to complete the original conception of the structure. Similarly, the seawall project had to be suspended after a ruling by the Bureau of the Budget. The outlook appeared dim, moreover, for the planned enlargement of the island and the proposed new west pier and turning basin when the State of New Jersey, which claimed riparian rights around Bedloe's Island, refused to give permission for the improvements.⁴⁵

Problems characterized the general administration as well as the development of the area during these years, although the coordinating superintendents at Morristown National Historical Park provided valuable assistance until May 1942, when this supervisory relationship was terminated. In the first place, adequate maintenance of the enlarged monument was difficult, especially due to the extensive construction and demolition work under the WPA and PWA projects. As Superintendent Camp indicated shortly after the Army had left the island, the two laborers furnished him by the Branch of Buildings Management office in New York could not properly clean up the whole island and maintain the utilities, a job formerly performed by a Military Police

detail. Superintendent Palmer, who succeeded Camp in December 1937, repeated the complaint for several months, until with WPA assistance the maintenance staff was increased to five men.⁴⁶

Administration of the area was further complicated by supervision of concession operations. Under Army administration of the monument, certain services for the public had long been provided by contract arrangements, and the National Park Service believed that their continuation was both necessary and desirable. The most vital concession from an operational standpoint was boat transportation to the island. Ferry service during this period was provided by the Sutton Line, whose contract with the Army had been transferred to the Park Service. By the terms of this exclusive contract, the concessioner not only had to furnish safe and regular transportation at moderate prices for all visitors desiring to come to the Statue of Liberty, but was also required to transport the monument staff, including the families living on the island, and all necessary supplies and equipment for the operation of the area. This included boat service after visiting hours for the guard staff.

Many recurring difficulties were encountered in this operation. Boat breakdowns caused interruptions in service, and replacement vessels were often neither clean nor serv-

iceable. Many visitors during the peak travel season were unable to visit the Statue because the boat line failed to provide the required two-boat service. Moreover, the sales practices and merchandise of the souvenir-refreshment concession on the boat received continual criticism. Finally, in November 1943, after a seemingly endless series of boat breakdowns, the Sutton Line contract was assigned to B. B. Wills, who operated the ferry concession for the next 10 years.⁴⁷

The National Park Service also inherited several concessions on the island from the Army. The most important of these was a souvenir and refreshment stand, which had been operated since 1932 by Aaron Hill, former Army post exchange steward at Fort Wood.⁴⁸ The souvenir counter was originally located on the second landing of the pedestal, but in January 1938, one of the old Army buildings adjacent to the east dock was reconditioned by Hill and his concession operation established there. Three years later, when development of the island was underway, a new concession building was constructed by PWA contractors at the western end of the island near the new administration building, but it could not be occupied for business until that area was opened to the public after the war.

Hill died in 1943; the concession was continued by

Mrs. Evelyn Hill, his widow, who has carried on the operation to the present time.⁴⁹ Army contracts with a souvenir photographer and a partially blind bootblack, who also operated a parcel checking service, were also continued by the Service under a subconcession arrangement with Hill.⁵⁰ Sightseeing binoculars, installed by the Tower Optical Company, were in operation on the Statue promenade until a departmental decision in 1946 resulted in discontinuance of this type of concession operation in areas administered by the National Park Service.⁵¹

Other administrative and operational problems were inherent in the insular situation of the monument. Although located only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from one of the largest cities in the world, and about $\frac{1}{4}$ of that distance from New Jersey, the island is isolated in many ways. Water, electricity, and telephone communication have to be provided by submarine conduits originating in New Jersey. The Army had operated and maintained these utilities and with its extensive establishment in the New York area was better able than the Park Service to cope with such occurrences as water-main breaks and power-cable damage caused by ships' anchors or dredging operations. Interruptions in these services are a hardship not only to the monument staff living and working on the island, but to visitors as well. For example, during the

years of Service operation from 1937 to 1956, the island was without potable water 8 times, telephone service 4 times, and electricity, necessary for providing both light and heat, twice; on most of these occasions service was restored only after a considerable time.⁵²

The telephone cable for a time was more than just a maintenance problem. Containing 11 pairs of conductors, it was owned by the Army and service between the island and the mainland before 1937 had been furnished by the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. under a special contract. When the island was transferred to the National Park Service, it was contemplated that ownership of the cable would also be transferred, but the telephone company stated that it could not provide service in such a situation. Company policy, it was explained, prohibited service through other than company facilities, the only exception being the War Department because of military necessity. In this situation, the area could obtain telephone service only if the company laid another submarine cable at Government expense. For this reason, it was decided that the Army would retain ownership of the cable, providing service to its radio station, and lease five cable pairs to the company which in turn would lease them to the National Park Service. This arrangement continued even after the radio station was moved in 1941, until

finally on October 23, 1950, the Army transferred the cable to the Department of the Interior with no objection by the company. In January 1953, the Service issued a special-use permit to the company to clarify the situation.⁵³

The beginning of war on December 7, 1941, brought other problems. All development work on the island, of course, soon came to a halt. The proposed lighting improvements, planned by the Westinghouse Co. for installation on January 1, 1942, had to be postponed, as the Statue was blacked out for the duration of the war except for a small aerial obstruction light in the torch.⁵⁴ Contrary to rumors, however, the island remained open to visitors every day. The staff, curtailed by military service and reductions in force, received emergency air-raid and first-aid training and continued to serve the public. Visitation decreased during the early years of the war, due primarily to travel restrictions and fuel rationing; a ban on school children traveling to museums and other sites of interest in New York City resulted in a marked decline in school-group visitation. But throughout the war, the number of servicemen and women visiting the Statue of Liberty constantly increased.⁵⁵

Restrictions were placed on visitors in the interests of national defense. No cameras were allowed on the island

by order of Naval Intelligence, and the binoculars on the promenade, operated under a concession contract, were removed for the duration of the war. Furthermore, a Coast Guard observation station was installed on the third landing of the pedestal, remaining there until November 1946.

Governmental restrictions and regulations also affected monument operations. The Office of Price Administration revoked the fuel oil ration for sightseeing craft, including those operated by the Sutton Line; ferry service was still provided to Bedloe's Island, however, by coal-burning boats. Limitations on long-distance telephone calls were a hardship, for the monument had a New Jersey exchange but carried on most of its business in New York City. It was necessary for Superintendent Palmer or one of his staff to spend at least 1 day a week in the city transacting business in person, until arrangements were completed to install a New York City exchange telephone on the island.⁵⁶

Despite all these difficulties, the Statue of Liberty, as it had been during World War I, became to millions of Americans a symbol of the democratic values and institutions they were defending. As a writer in Life magazine wrote a few months before America's entry into World War II:

Never before has the Statue of Liberty seemed so important. Never before have so many tormented millions dreamed of her overseas or so many

Americans . . . traveled to Bedloe's Island somehow to absorb her perishable significance from the folds of her imperishable bronze. . . .

Thousands of New Yorkers watched on the evening of June 6, 1944, as the Statue was relighted for 15 minutes to flash "V for Victory" in observance of the Normandy invasion. The following month a war-bond rally, led by Mayor LaGuardia and Undersecretary of the Navy Bard, was held on the island; 3,000 Americans of 24 different national origins participated. Moreover, a 55-foot replica of the Statue was erected in Times Square the same year to serve as a focal point for war-bond rallies, its torch being lighted by remote control on November 17 by President Roosevelt in Washington; all who purchased bonds there were given free tickets to visit the Statue of Liberty.⁵⁷

As the war drew to an end, the plans for improving the lighting of the Statue were revived. Under the supervision of Westinghouse engineers a battery of 16 mercury-vapor lamps was added to the floodlighting system and 6 vapor lamps were placed in the torch. This improvement, it was predicted, would double the radiance of the floodlights and make the torch visible 10 to 20 miles at sea. On May 7, 1945--V-E Day--the Statue was lighted in all her new brilliance. A month later arrangements were completed, with the cooperation of the military authorities of the New York

Port of Embarkation, to have the Statue illuminated to greet returning military transports, regardless of what hour of the night they entered the harbor.⁵⁸ The probable impact of peacetime visitation to the Statue was noted during this last year of the war, for the annual travel figure surpassed half a million for the first time in the history of the area.⁵⁹

Visitation to the Statue continued to mount during the succeeding years, and with increasing public use came increasing problems. The old east pier where visitors landed was a dilapidated and hazardous eyesore. The western end of the island remained closed to the public, for it was covered with rubble remaining from the unfinished demolition work of the WPA period. The only buildings in use in that area were the recently constructed administration building and the two quarters buildings dating from Army days; the new concession building was used largely for storage. The thousands of visitors arriving daily were therefore restricted to a small area in and around the Statue. Removal of litter, protection of grassed areas, and prevention of vandalism, rather than interpretation, became the major concern of the comparatively small staff.⁶⁰

This situation received much critical newspaper publicity during the summer of 1946. The New York World-Telegram,

successor to Pulitzer's World, began the campaign with an article headlined, "Statue of Liberty in Wretched Condition," which proclaimed:

. . . the unkempt condition of this revered monument borders on a national disgrace.

From the dilapidated, sea-worn east dock . . . to the grassless terrace, littered with partly eaten fruit, sandwiches and soda glasses, Miss Liberty's environs reflect Washington's apathy toward a once-beautiful shrine. . . .

Receiving special condemnation was the lipstick defacement of the structure.⁶¹ This had been a problem during the war. Patch painting of the Statue interior was undertaken in 1945 to cover the lipstick, but the defacement had continued on an increased scale. Superintendent Marshall termed the facts stated in the article "basically true," but added that "the emphasis was somewhat more critical than is justified."⁶²

Similar articles, somewhat more sympathetic in tone, appeared in other New York newspapers, and the story was further circulated by press associations, syndicated columnists, and radio commentators. The Monument Builders of America, a trade association holding its convention in Chicago, also criticized the condition of the famous National Monument, and urged Congress to provide adequate funds for the maintenance of the area.⁶³

Associate Director Demaray, interviewed in Washington, blamed "the war, the shortage of materials and the lack of

help" for the monument's appearance, but promised that improvement of the area would be undertaken as soon as funds for the 1947 fiscal year became available.⁶⁴ The renovation program began a few months later, following the allocation of nearly \$50,000 for rehabilitation. The stairs and interior walls of the Statue were steam-cleaned, and a lipstick-proof enamel, perfected by the Inertol Co., was applied; the advantage of this paint was that, unlike ordinary paint, lipstick would not penetrate it and could be easily cleaned off the surface. Further protection was provided by the installation of woven wire guards surrounding the Statue's spiral stairway, preventing visitors from crawling out onto supporting beams to write their names. An additional accomplishment was the repair of the dilapidated east dock and construction of a new flooring.

While these improvements were being made, the island was closed to visitors for 2 weeks in December, and the Statue was closed or partially closed for the following 3 months. On April 3, 1947, a special inspection was arranged for representatives of press and radio, and after the re-opening of the Statue to the public the following day lipstick defacement soon ceased to be a problem. The Monument Builders held their 1947 convention in New York, presenting a citation of commendation to Superintendent Marshall for

his accomplishment in rehabilitating the Statue. At the same time, a resolution was passed urging Congress to appropriate sufficient funds to complete the Master Plan for the area, thus providing "America's most famous public monument with the setting of dignity and beauty appropriate to this symbol of Liberty that inspires millions throughout the world."⁶⁵

Other organizations and individuals, meanwhile, had also begun to agitate for complete development of the area. Some of these organizations had an interest in the Statue of Liberty dating back to the 50th anniversary celebration in 1936. The Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, for example, had annually observed the October 28 birthday of the Statue by a ceremony on the island; the 1946 celebration had featured an address by Chief Historian Ronald F. Lee on National Park Service plans for development of the monument.

Probably the most significant contribution to the campaign was made by Mrs. Charles C. Marshall, president and founder of the National Life Conservation Society and conservation committee chairman of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs. Long a great friend of the Park Service and interested in the Statue since her organization had sponsored a poetry contest in 1936, Mrs. Marshall became an

indefatigable worker for realization of the Master Plan. Both organizations in which she was active passed resolutions characterizing the island as "unattractive and without proper comforts, and devoid of beautification," and calling upon Congress to provide funds to carry out the planned improvements. A barrage of letters from clubwomen was then directed to Congressmen and Senators, and letters in New York newspapers asked all citizens to join the campaign; Mrs. Marshall and her co-workers, moreover, descended on Washington to discuss the problem with legislators in person.⁶⁶

These activities met an encouraging response. Senators Wagner and Ives of New York and Congressman Buck, whose district included Bedloe's Island, showed an interest in the problem. The latter made an inspection of the area in February 1948, and his comment that "Liberty is disgraced and demeaned by the inexcusable neglect and squalor about her" received wide publicity. A month later in Washington he joined 16 New York and New Jersey representatives who, declaring that the Statue was "standing in a slum," petitioned the House Appropriations Committee for \$1 million for slum clearance on Bedloe's Island. Committee Chairman Jensen agreed that action should be taken, and in the closing days of the session Congress passed a \$500,000 appropriation for

the Statue of Liberty which was signed by President Truman. Newell H. Foster, who had succeeded Marshall as Superintendent the previous December, pointed out that although development of the island in accordance with the Master Plan could not be completed with this appropriation, "it will bring about considerable improvements."⁶⁷

During the succeeding 3 years the development envisaged by the Master Plan was largely realized. The major project was dredging a new channel and turning basin and building a new west pier. In addition, the entire western end of the island was graded and landscaped, paved walks were constructed, an addition was made to the concession building, and a new water main was laid from Jersey City. Among the improvements to the Statue itself were a heating plant to eliminate condensation in the pedestal, new aluminum treads on the spiral stairs, repair of the elevator, rewiring of the torch, and sandblasting of lipstick marks from the outside granite steps. The western end of the island was enlarged by fill from dredging operations and a new seawall was constructed to retain it. New employees' quarters were built in this area (occupied in October 1952) and residence walks and a utility court were constructed.

Operation of the area was inconvenienced on occasion during this construction activity by breaks in water, power,

and telephone lines caused by dredging operations. Moreover, a violent storm in November 1950 washed away some of the new fill, flooded part of the island, leaving it without lights or heat, and almost demolished the old east pier, closing the monument to visitors for 2 weeks. By the end of September 1951, however, the new west pier was in use and the western end of the island, with the exception of the quarters area, was opened to the public.⁶⁸ Other minor improvements in landscaping and walkways were continued in succeeding years, virtually completing the development work originally planned 20 years before.

This period also saw changes in the boat operation. B. B. Wills, who had taken over the concession in 1943, frequently experienced difficulties in maintaining the boat schedule and providing a night boat, principally because of equipment breakdowns. His operating costs, moreover, were continually increasing during the inflationary spiral of the postwar years, although the Government permitted him to increase the boat fare, which between 1944 and 1951 rose from 58 to 75 cents for an adult round-trip ticket.⁶⁹ Another problem attributable to the economic situation was the boat crew's recurring demand for a wage increase. A strike was threatened in 1946, 1947, and 1949, and finally in June 1953 it became a reality. For the greater part of 2 days no

visitors were taken to Bedloe's Island, although service was provided for the staff and the families living there. As a result of negotiations in both New York and Washington, the union won most of its demands and the strike was over.⁷⁰

A month later Secretary of the Interior McKay announced that a new contract had been signed with Circle Line-Statue of Liberty Ferry, Inc., which would go into effect October 1, when Wills' contract would be terminated. The new concessioner, as part of the agreement, would construct a new vessel and also provide a new after-hours boat. During the early part of the winter the Circle Line used the Sightseer from their Around Manhattan tour, but in February 1954, Wills' boat Liberty was acquired and completely overhauled. The following June the new Miss Liberty, with a capacity of 750 persons, was first put into operation, and a 2-boat schedule was continued throughout the remainder of the travel season.⁷¹ Meanwhile, a further operational change had taken place during the summer of 1952, when the Manhattan terminus of the boat line had been moved from the inadequate Pier A on the North River to the seawall along Battery Park, newly developed and landscaped by the City of New York.⁷²

In general, all these changes resulted in improved service to visitors. Probably the most important visitor service, an interpretive program, was also being evolved during

these years. The need for such a program had been recognized ever since the National Park Service took over administration of the area. While the necessary physical development of the island took precedence at first, the increase in visitation during the succeeding two decades, from about 200,000 to nearly 900,000 annually,⁷³ created a greater demand for interpretation at the same time that it made the interpretive problem more difficult. To this situation had been added uncertainty, or even confusion, about the desired objective of the interpretive program and the best means for carrying it out. Although it was realized that the primary significance of the Statue of Liberty does not lie in the story of its erection and dedication, nor in the life of Laboulaye or Bartholdi, the symbolism and ultimate meaning of the monument could not easily be put into words.

What are people seeking when they visit the Statue of Liberty? The confusion in its early history as to whether it was a beacon or a monument of art has taken another form today. Now the question is whether this colossal figure is to most visitors a symbol or a "sight." Do the thousands who on a warm summer day journey to Bedloe's Island to climb the 168 steps to the crown of the Statue broaden or deepen their understanding and appreciation of the meaning of liberty? Do they, in a word, experience more inspiration

than perspiration? This is the problem that the interpretive program has attempted to solve, and the answer depends upon agreement regarding the basic significance of the Statue, an agreement which has been difficult to accomplish.

On a summer Saturday in 1928 the American editor William Rose Benet, pondering the meaning of the Statue of Liberty, commented:

. . . There is one kind of American to whom the statue's principal claim to fame is that it cost a million dollars. Emotionalists have professed themselves thrilled by its significance. The saturnine have insisted upon its tragic irony. . . . the best thing we have discovered about the statue of Liberty is that nigh to her massive sandals . . . you can buy frankfurters with mustard. . . . Meanwhile, you are getting a lot of sunshine and fresh air for 30 cents. Which is the nearest approach to true liberty we have ever discovered on sea-islanded Manhattan.⁷⁴

This view of the significance of the Statue of Liberty is neither representative nor just, but unfortunately, it does reflect the feelings of those who come to the island primarily in search of simple recreation.

The confusion in the conception of the Statue's meaning goes deeper than this. The original idea of the monument, as publicized by its French and American sponsors, is stated on the bronze dedication plaque, now mounted inside the pedestal:

A Gift from the People of the Republic of France
to the People of the United States, this Statue

of Liberty Enlightening the World Commemorates
the Alliance of the two Nations in Achieving
the Independence of the United States of America,
and Attests their Abiding Friendship.

Bartholdi, although this was his basic conception, had a broader view. Not only did the Statue commemorate an international friendship, but in emphasizing "Liberty Enlightening the World" it embodied the common revolutionary heritage of the two nations. With this concept of liberty's international mission was intertwined, to some extent in Bartholdi's mind⁷⁵ and increasingly in the minds of Americans, the view that liberty was something uniquely, or at least characteristically, American. This self-conscious Americanism was probably most prevalent during World War I, when even some European spokesmen appeared to share this view of the symbolism of the Statue. Henry Leach, an Englishman writing in 1917, declared that the Statue of Liberty

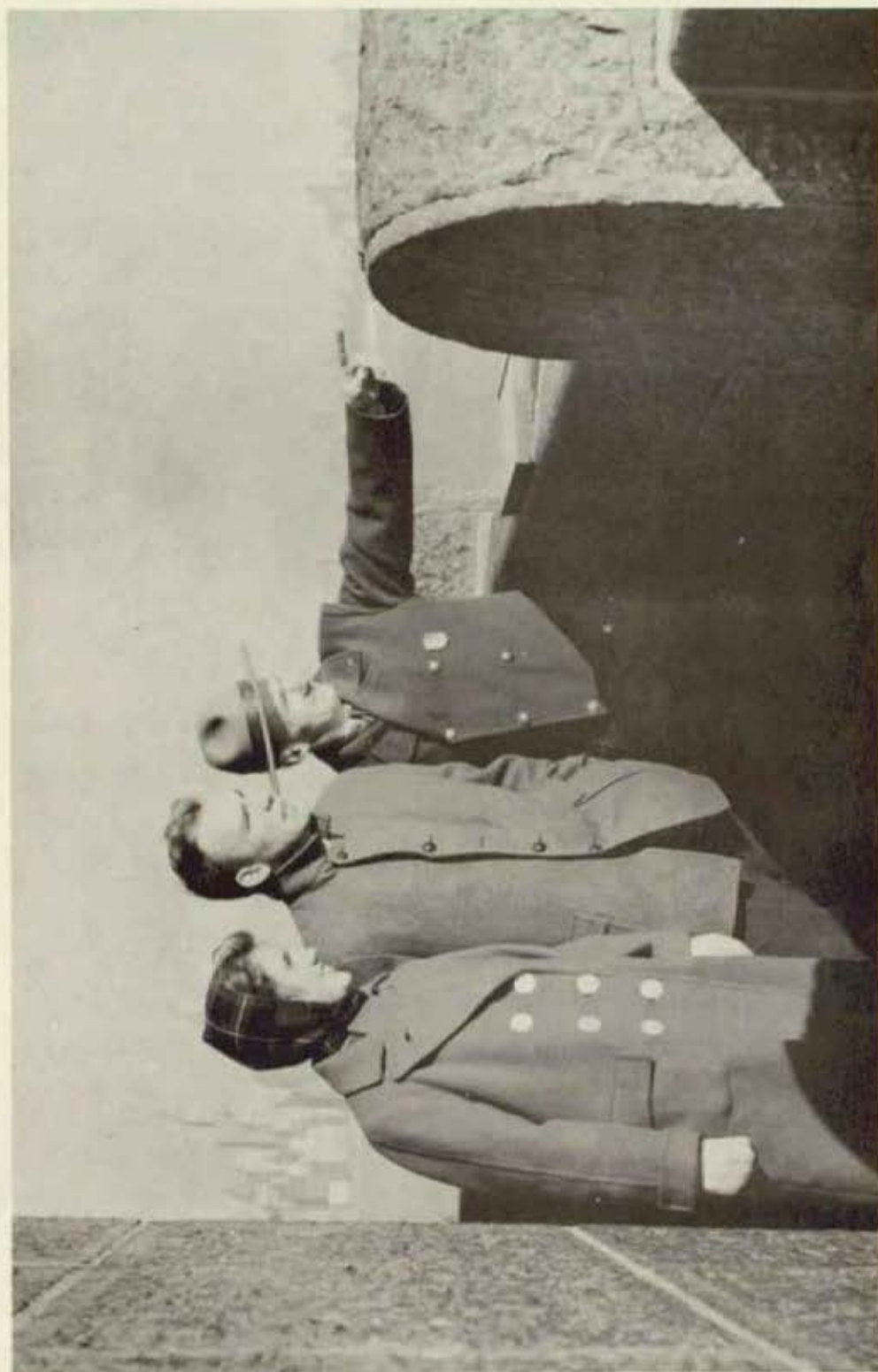
is America as nothing else has ever indicated her; and now it is the new America that leaps from isolation in her own western continent and flings herself afar upon the enemies of the old world from which she rose. . . .⁷⁶

In this view, of course, the relationship with France was subordinated or ignored entirely, and the Statue became simply the symbol of the United States, an example of perfection before the rest of the world.

During the postwar years there was a reaction against this view. The American philosopher Ralph Barton Perry expressed this feeling when he called for the substitution of Uncle Sam for the Statue of Liberty as the popular symbol of America. The Statue, he declared, "embodies our conscious rectitude and inspires our laudatory and exemplary nationalism," while Uncle Sam is "hearty and fraternal, impulsive and generous, and, above all, unself-conscious." But Perry did believe that the Statue had a place in American life, for he recommended that

It should not stand upon the Atlantic seaboard, looking meaningfully at Europe and inviting attention to our national perfection. It should not be compelled to enlighten the world. It should be removed to the interior, there to . . . stir the aspiration of Americans. It should preside over our domestic life and not over our foreign relations. Thus placed, it would symbolize not liberty attained before an envious and admiring world, but that liberty which is our goal. . . .⁷⁷

The original concept of "Liberty Enlightening the World" is seldom applied popularly to the Statue today, for she is generally regarded as a welcoming rather than a propagandizing figure--the "Mother of Exiles" greeting all those arriving on our shores. This feeling was common in years past, as innumerable accounts by immigrants and refugees emphasize, and today it seems to be widely shared by Americans and foreigners alike. Probably the classic ex-



Visitors ask questions.



Emma Lazarus tablet.

pression of this view is found in Emma Lazarus' famous poem "The New Colossus," which is emblazoned on a bronze plaque inside the pedestal. Although written in 1883 as a contribution to the pedestal fund drive, this sonnet received little public recognition until recent years. Now, the concluding lines, often incorrectly referred to as the "inscription" on the Statue, are well known:

. . . Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!⁷⁸

When the poem was written, James Russel Lowell was one of the few who appreciated Miss Lazarus' conception of the Statue's significance, for he wrote her:

. . . I liked your sonnet about the Statue--
much better than I like the Statue itself. But
your sonnet gives its subject a raison d'etre
which it wanted before quite as much as it wants
a pedestal. . . .⁷⁹

The bronze tablet upon which the poem was inscribed was placed inside the Statue entrance in 1903 by a friend to memorialize the poetess, but the ceremony received comparatively little attention at the time.⁸⁰ Somewhat ironically, the poem was generally unknown and unrecognized during the years in which millions of the "huddled masses" of Europe were passing the upraised torch on their way to Ellis Island and thence to their new home in America. It was not until

the period immediately preceding and during World War II, at a time when the door had been virtually closed to "Homeless, tempest-tost" refugees from the misery and tyranny of the Old World, that the poem was revived and widely quoted. Since that time Emma Lazarus' conception of the Statue's significance has been generally adopted by the American people.⁸¹

As the interpretive program has developed at Statue of Liberty National Monument, these differing views of the significance of Bartholdi's creation have all received varying emphasis. Neither the Light-house Board nor the Army attempted interpretation of the Statue, and the Citizens Committee did little more than provide boat service, so little was done until the Park Service entered the picture in the 1930's. Even then, the monument was interpreted primarily as a symbol of Franco-American friendship, with special attention being given to the contributions of Bartholdi and Laboulaye, and to the construction details of the Statue. In addition, some concessions were made to the desires of the sightseeing public, largely non-New Yorkers, by identifying features in the harbor and the metropolitan area. Some of the first exhibits installed, for example, were a relief map of the harbor on the fourth landing of the pedestal and a series of orientation maps and sketches on

the pedestal balcony.⁸²

During 1937 and 1938, when the Statue was closed to the public for repair and renovation, and again in 1941, brief interpretive lectures were given to visitors as they disembarked from the boat. This service was later discontinued, partly due to a shortage of staff, but principally because it was discovered that most visitors were more interested in getting into the Statue than in listening to a talk about its history and meaning. Space limitations inside the structure made any attempt at formal interpretation of this kind virtually impossible there, as was learned a few years later when a slide lecture on the history and construction of the Statue was presented for a time on the third landing of the pedestal. Another interpretive approach used during this period, with considerably more success, was the installation of a few temporary exhibits, featuring the Colmar Collection of Bartholdi material, in the small waiting room in the old concession building near the east dock. In 1944 a series of paintings and sketches portraying the history of Bedloe's Island and the Statue, prepared by Guide Pickering of the area staff, was also mounted there in a swinging display case.⁸³

Preparation of an interpretive plan for the area was first undertaken in 1941, with special attention being given

to possible exhibits in the Statue pedestal. Although it was emphasized that space in the corridors and landings of the structure was inadequate for actual museum development, certain possible exhibits were suggested. These included 4 displays describing the history of the Statue on the second landing and 4 exhibits on the meaning of liberty on the third landing; only a few orientation exhibits were proposed for the fourth or balcony landing at the top of the pedestal, because of the congested traffic conditions at that point.⁸⁴ In succeeding years an attempt was made to carry out some of these recommendations. A few temporary exhibits were placed on the pedestal landings, but removed after a trial period because of the crowded conditions on the stairways and the desire of most visitors to get up into the Statue and then out again as fast as possible; moreover, those who rode the elevator up to the fourth landing were seldom interested in walking down several flights in order to see a few interpretive displays.⁸⁵

As the physical development of the island progressed after the war, the interpretive program received further attention. Early in 1948, Regional Historian Roy Appleman made a study of the area which resulted in a suggested interpretive development program. He recommended, first, that interpretation should begin with a talk on the boat trip

from the Battery to the island either by park personnel or by recording, for this was "an unrivaled opportunity to reach every visitor." Regarding interpretive devices and facilities within the Statue, he made no detailed proposals but emphasized that the structure "should be relatively free from interpretive features . . . because it is cramped and crowded in all of its passageways at times of normal summer visitation." He also advocated a series of markers and orientation exhibits on the grounds around the Statue, relating primarily to the points of interest in and around the harbor, and recommended the construction of a public lounge and interpretive center adjacent to the new west pier. Finally, he emphasized the need for a larger interpretive staff to make this proposed program function properly.⁸⁶ Acting Regional Director Elbert Cox, in commenting on this report, made a worthwhile contribution in emphasizing that

. . . the interpretive program at the Statue of Liberty should be aimed directly at a presentation of the general theme of "Liberty" as a primary objective. The identification and presentation of the New York skyline, points of interest in the harbor, etc. is an incidental purpose and devices used for this purpose should include only those to answer questions which the curious visitor will ask. In other words, there is little significance or relationship between the "conception of liberty" as symbolized by the Statue of Liberty and the New York skyline. I hope we do not lose sight of this.⁸⁷

With the completion of the new west pier and the open-

ing of the entire island to the public 3 years later, a number of changes and improvements were made inside the Statue. Because visitors now entered the structure by a flight of steps at the rear instead of through the old sallyport corridor at the front, the traffic control stanchions that separate elevator and stairway traffic had to be relocated. The Pickering paintings and sketches were transferred from the old waiting room, soon to be demolished, to the corridor beyond the elevator. A series of 12 carved glass plaques, both attractive and durable, which had been completed in 1949, were mounted in this corridor and on the fourth landing of the pedestal; some of these summarize the history of the Statue and Fort Wood, while others contain apt quotations by great Americans on the theme of liberty. The Emma Lazarus tablet was also placed in the lower corridor, along with a glass plaque giving a biographical sketch of the poetess.⁸⁸

Other improvements were added in succeeding years. Exhibits, utilizing the Colmar Collection and old copies of Pulitzer's World, were installed in the lobby of the administration building. A cast aluminum sign, identifying the area as a National Monument administered by the National Park Service, was placed on the pier as a temporary entrance sign. The Statue of Liberty Historical Handbook, written by

Historian Benjamin Levine, was put on sale by the concessioner in May 1952. A year later, a brief recorded talk was installed in the elevator, warning of the difficulty of the climb up the spiral staircase to the crown; while this has proved valuable in orienting the visitor and mitigating the confusion on the fourth landing, it has not served as a deterrent to the great majority of the visiting public.⁸⁹ Other interpretive facilities planned are a monumental entrance feature and a group of 2 or 3 interpretive markers along the island perimeter walk.

Early in 1953 further study of the area interpretive program was made by Rogers Young, of the Washington Office of the Service, and Regional Historian James Holland. Expressing general approval of the existing interpretive and orientation devices in the Statue, Young concluded that "very little other in the way of interpretive marking and exhibits should be undertaken within the structure." He re-emphasized, however, the need for an interpretive boat talk, and reported that progress was being made to prepare a tape-recorded talk.⁹⁰ Nearly a year passed before the major obstacle, lack of equipment, was overcome; then two recorder-reproducers were acquired through the generosity of the Eastern National Park and Monument Association. The recorded talk has been in operation since the summer of 1954. Al-

though revised several times, it has not proved entirely satisfactory from either a maintenance or interpretive standpoint.⁹¹ Efforts are now underway to substitute a "live" talk, at least during the summer when additional seasonal personnel are available.

Probably the most ambitious plan to improve the area interpretive program is the proposed American Museum of Immigration, to be constructed inside the old walls of Fort Wood at the base of the Statue of Liberty. This conception originated in 1952 when the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society first presented the idea to the National Park Service. Since it appeared to be an appropriate and dramatic means of emphasizing the symbolic meaning of the Statue, and since the proposed development could be combined with the accomplishment of the original concept of a two-level promenade atop Fort Wood, the Service was receptive to the plan.

It was eventually decided that a private non-profit corporation should be established to carry out a campaign for public contributions, similar to the earlier campaigns conducted by Pulitzer's World; the funds collected would then be turned over to the Service, which would construct and maintain the Museum as part of the National Monument. The theme of the American Museum of Immigration, as ex-

pressed by Pierre S. duPont III of the National Committee, during a meeting with President Eisenhower on August 10, 1954, is to be the unity of America, whose citizens came from many lands and shared in the building of the Nation.⁹²

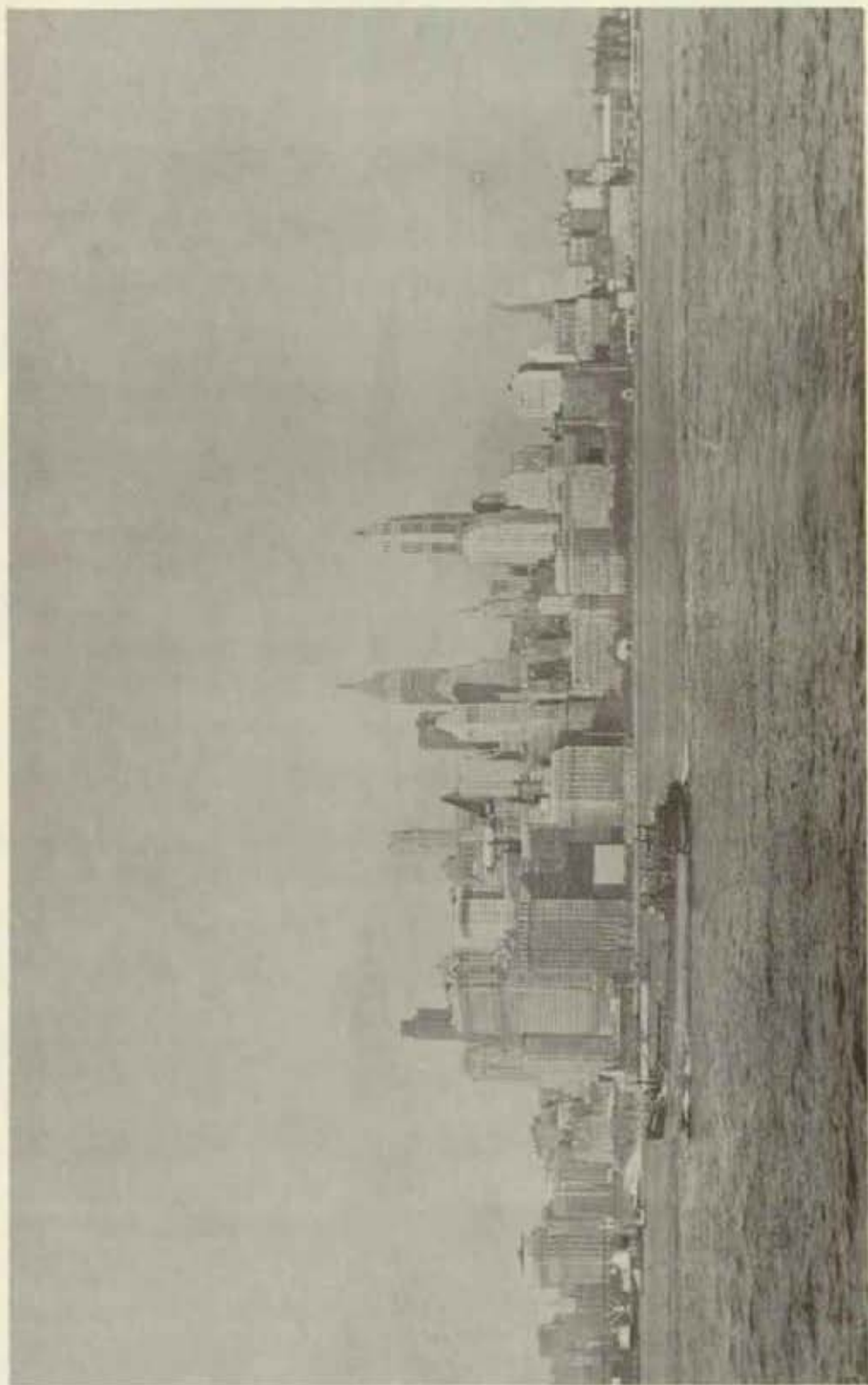
The museum, in conjunction with additional exhibits on the meaning of liberty, will virtually complete the interpretive development program for the area, and is intended to harmonize with the basic symbolism of the Statue, stimulating and enlarging the concept of liberty as sought, found, and developed by generations of Americans of diverse origins. The symbolic significance, yesterday and today, of the Statue of Liberty will then be clarified, and a visit to Liberty Island will become a truly inspirational experience.

In the 70 years since its dedication, and especially in the last 30 years under the National Park Service, the Statue of Liberty has been not only preserved and protected for the American people, but has developed into a shrine of freedom. That the symbolism of this monument has meaning for Americans, and foreign visitors as well, is attested by the increased visitation to Liberty Island, but the concept of liberty has complex connotations. Perhaps the symbolism of the Statue can only be described tentatively, as was recently done in an effort to capture its significance:

The ideal of liberty, both national and

individual, is embodied in this great monument. The liberty achieved by the American people aided by France, in their struggle for national independence, was in the mind of Bartholdi, the French sculptor who created it. The liberty of the individual from arbitrary rule, whether foreign or domestic, was in the minds of the immigrants who, in awe and reverence, passed this noble figure on the way to sanctuary in the free United States. To Americans of today the Statue of Liberty symbolizes both national freedom from foreign domination and freedom for the individual from government by laws other than those of his own making through his chosen representatives.

Far more than any other single feature in the land, whether formed by nature or built by the hand of man, the Statue of Liberty has come to be recognized as the symbol of our Nation and of its highest aspirations. As long as liberty remains a national ideal deemed worthy of the sacrifice, at need, of treasure and of blood, so long will it be worth while for the people of the United States to cherish and maintain this symbol.⁹³



Skyline of New York City from the Statue.



Statue of Liberty National Monument in 1955. Courtesy, Port of
New York Authority.

MISSION 66

Mission 66 is a program designed to be completed by 1966 which will assure the maximum protection of the scenic, scientific, wilderness, and historic resources of the National Park System in such ways and by such means as will make them available for the use and enjoyment of present and future generations.

Under this program, outmoded and inadequate facilities will be replaced with physical improvements adequate to meet the heavy demands of increased visitation. These improvements will be so designed and located as to reduce the impact of public use on valuable and destructible features. The program seeks to provide visitor services of the quality and quantity that the public is entitled to expect. At the same time, it strives for the fullest possible degree of protection for both visitors and resources.

With specific reference to this National Monument, Mission 66 will provide various physical improvements including paving of walks and terraces, interpretive signs and markers, west pier shelter, enlargement of west pier and boat basin, extension of utilities, and additions to the administration building. These added facilities are essential to the achievement of better interpretation and protection of the monument.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. United States Statutes at Large, vol. 70 (January 1956-August 1956), p. 956.
2. Benjamin Levine, History of Bedloe's Island, p. 3.
3. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
4. I. N. P. Stokes, Iconography of Manhattan Island, I, pp. 3-10.
5. Benjamin Levine and Isabelle F. Story, Statue of Liberty, p. 29.
6. Levine, op. cit., pp. 23-25.
7. Ibid., pp. 26-28, 30-34.
8. Ibid., pp. 28-30, 37-43.
9. Stokes, op. cit., V, pp. 1538, 1577.
10. Levine, op. cit., pp. 55-59.
11. Levine and Story, op. cit., pp. 2-5, 13-14.
12. Ibid., pp. 5-11, 17-19.

FROM BEACON TO NATIONAL MONUMENT: 1886 TO 1924

1. See especially his correspondence with Lt. John Millis in the latter's "Report upon the Installation of the Electric-Light Plant of the Statue of Liberty. . .," in Annual Report of the Light-House Board to the Secretary of the Treasury for . . . 1887, p. 126; see also Hertha Pauli and E. B. Ashton, I Lift My Lamp, p. 304.
2. New York World, March 20, 1890 (p. 1).

3. Congressional Record, 44th Cong., 2d sess. (Feb. 22, 27, 1877), pp. 1822, 1824, 1960, (Index) 190; Pauli and Ashton, op. cit., p. 180; Jennie Holliman, The Statue of Liberty. Part II: The American People receive the Statue of Liberty from the French, pp. 8-9.
4. Pauli and Ashton, op. cit., pp. 258-259, 264-267. The Committee first tried to obtain an appropriation from the New York legislature, but was frustrated by Governor Cleveland's veto of the bill.
5. Congressional Record, 49th Cong., 1st sess. (May 11, 1886), p. 4347; see also Pauli and Ashton, op. cit., pp. 293-297.
6. Congressional Record, 49th Cong., 1st sess. (July 1, 1886), p. 6417. Apparently no one noticed a mathematical error in Stone's estimate and Hewitt's amendment; the total should have been \$100,100 rather than \$106,100. See Pauli and Ashton, op. cit., p. 297.
7. Congressional Record, 49th Cong., 1st sess. (July 1, 1886), pp. 6417-6422; no vote was taken on Randall's amendment, since Hewitt's amendment was substituted for it in Committee of the Whole.
8. Ibid., (July 24, Aug. 3, 5, 1886), pp. 7456-7458, 7473, 7939, 8027. Another amendment was included in the final bill, providing in regard to the Statue of Liberty dedication that "no part of the sum . . . shall be used to procure or pay for spirituous or intoxicating liquors or tobacco or stimulants or narcotics in any form. . . ."
9. Pauli and Ashton, op. cit., pp. 297-298.
10. Congressional Record, 49th Cong., 1st sess. (July 1, 1886), p. 6418. This letter was a reply to an inquiry by Congressman Belmont of New York.
11. Annual Report of the Light-House Board (1887), pp. 8, 30; a copy of Cleveland's letter of Nov. 16, 1886, to Secretary of the Treasury Manning, referred to the Board Nov. 17, is in the Lighthouse Site File--Statue of Liberty, Records of the U. S. Coast Guard, Fiscal Section, National Archives.

12. New York World, Nov. 6, 1886 (p. 2); Holliman, op. cit., pp. 61-65, 85-86. The agreement between the War and Treasury Departments, signed Jan. 31, 1887, and other pertinent correspondence is in the Coast Guard Lighthouse Site File, cited above.
13. Report of Lt. John Millis to Chairman of the Light-House Board, Dec. 22, 1886, and Annual Report of the Inspector of the Third Light-House District for the Year Ending June 30, 1887; both in Coast Guard Lighthouse Site File. Congressional Record, 49th Cong., 2d sess. (Feb. 4, 22, 1887), pp. 1360, 2070.
14. New York Times, Mar. 30, 1887 (p. 5).
15. Annual Report of the Inspector of the Third Light-House District (1888, and succeeding years); Annual Report of the Light-House Board (1890), p. 64.
16. "Report of David Porter Heap, . . . Upon Some Recent Improvements in Aids to Navigation, and a Description of the New Method of Lighting the Statue of Liberty," in Annual Report of the Light-House Board (1892), pp. 257-268; see also Pauli and Ashton, op. cit., p. 304; and Holliman, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
17. Annual Report of the Light-House Board (1898), p. 75.
18. See ibid., (1888), p. 56, and succeeding Annual Reports through 1893.
19. New York Times, July 1, 1894 (p. 12); see also Congressional Record, 53d Cong., 2d sess. (Feb. 14, 1894), p. 2181.
20. New York World, June 26, 1887 (p. 7). See also Col. T. L. Casey to Vice Adm. S. C. Rowan, Chairman of the Light-House Board, Jan. 31, 1887, and the Report of Conference, dated Jan. 31, 1887, signed by Colonel Casey on behalf of the Light-House Board and Lt. Col. D. C. Houston on behalf of the War Department, in the Coast Guard Lighthouse Site File.
21. New York World, Mar. 2, 1890 (p. 2); New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 3, 1903 (p. 3); New York Times, Feb. 17, 1894 (p. 1).

22. Such friction was mentioned by Cornelius N. Bliss, Treasurer of the Committee, in New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 16, 1902 (p. 7).
23. Cornelius N. Bliss to Secretary of War Elihu Root, Jan. 27, 1903; copy in area files.
24. New York Daily Tribune, June 25 (p. 6), 26 (p. 14), 1898.
25. Ibid., Feb. 3, 1903 (p. 3); see also letter, Bliss to Root, cited above.
26. New York World, Mar. 1, 1890 (pp. 4, 12); see also ibid., Mar. 7, 1890 (p. 5). The other New York newspapers were largely silent during the campaign, and none supported the World, the only defense of Windom being found in the New York Daily Tribune, Mar. 17, 1890 (p. 6).
27. New York World, Mar. 1 (p. 4), 2 (p. 2), 4 (p. 1), 5 (p. 3), 1890.
28. Ibid., Mar. 8 (p. 1), 11 (p. 1), 12 (p. 1), 13 (p. 1), 1890.
29. Ibid., Mar. 14 (p. 5), 22 (p. 1), 25 (p. 1), 27 (p. 1), 1890; Congressional Record, 51st Cong., 1st sess. (Mar. 26, Apr. 5, 7, 12, 1890), pp. 2639, 3085-3089, 3096, 3331.
30. Ibid., (Apr. 1, May 17, 1890), pp. 2876, 4821-4822; see also ibid., 51st Cong., 2d sess. (Mar. 2, 1891), p. 3628.
31. See the following correspondence in the Coast Guard Lighthouse Site File, previously cited; Secretary of War Elihu Root to Secretary of the Treasury, May 20, 1901; Taylor to Adjutant General, Department of the East, June 30, 1901; Acting Secretary of War Nelson A. Miles to Secretary of the Treasury, July 10, 1901; Secretary of the Treasury L. J. Gage to Secretary of War, Nov. 5, 1901; Secretary of War Root to Secretary of the Treasury, Jan. 4, 1902; Maj. D. W. Lockwood, Engineer Secretary of the Light-House Board, to Secretary of the Treasury, Jan. 23, 1902.
32. Secretary of War Root to the President, Dec. 28, 1901,

approved by T. Roosevelt, Dec. 30, 1901, in the Coast Guard Light-House Site File; New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 15 (p. 6), 19 (p. 4), Mar. 2 (p. 11), 1902; Annual Report of the Light-House Board (1902), p. 78.

33. New York Daily Tribune, Feb. 16 (p. 7), Mar. 4 (p. 2), Apr. 4 (p. 2), 5 (p. 4), 17 (p. 2), 24 (p. 4), 1902.
34. Congressional Record, 57th Cong., 1st sess. (Apr. 1, 1902), pp. 3521-3523.
35. New York Evening Post, May 16, 1903 (p. 10).
36. New York Times, Aug. 13 (p. 6), 16 (p. 5), 1907.
37. New York Daily Tribune, Dec. 30, 1905 (p. 7); Congressional Record, 59th Cong., 1st sess. (Dec. 18, 1905, Jan. 24, 1906), pp. 569, 1520.
38. New York Daily Tribune, May 23, 1906 (p. 3).
39. Ibid., July 17, 1906 (p. 11), June 13, 1907 (p. 2).
See also letter from Otis Elevator Company to Historian Benjamin Levine, Apr. 6, 1950, in area files.
40. New York World, May 24, 1916 (p. 1); Congressional Record, 64th Cong., 1st sess. (May 23, 1916), pp. 8490-8492. See also Holliman, op. cit., pp. 95-97.
41. New York Times, July 31 (p. 4), Aug. 1 (p. 3), 1916.
There is no direct evidence that the arm of the Statue was damaged or weakened by the explosion, or that it was closed on the advice of the Army Engineers, but all available information dates the closing of the arm in 1916 and it seems likely that the explosion served as a justifiable excuse for refusing visitor access to a potentially dangerous and congested section of the Statue.
42. New York World, May 31, 1916 (p. 1).
43. Ibid., Nov. 27, 1916 (p. 1); Holliman, op. cit., pp. 98-101.
44. New York Times, Dec. 3, 1916 (p. 2); Holliman, op. cit., pp. 104-107.

45. New York World, Dec. 3 (p. 1), 4 (p. 9), 1916.
46. Ibid., Dec. 3, 1916 (p. 1).
47. New York Times, Mar. 14, 1918 (p. 8); see also "Living Up to Liberty," Outing, vol. 69 (February 1917), pp. 576-577.
48. New York Times, Mar. 4, 1923 (Sec. 7 p. 16). No other visitation figures have been found for this period.
49. Idem.
50. United States Statutes at Large, vol. 43, part 2 (December 1923-March 1925), pp. 1968-1969. The other military reservations which became National Monuments by this proclamation were Castle Pinckney (S. C.), Fort Pulaski (Ga.), and Forts Marion and Matanzas (Fla.).
51. Circular 14, War Department, Feb. 28, 1907, in General Orders and Circulars, War Department, 1907.
52. Hillory Tolson, Roster of National Park Service Officials, passim.
53. Appleton's letter of Dec. 9, 1912, and subsequent War Department correspondence is in A. G. O. Document File 1988693P (filed with 1203017), War Records Branch, Old Army Section, National Archives.
54. Douglas to Commanding General, Eastern Department, July 16, 1913, in A. G. O. Document File 1988693P.
55. Bulletin No. 27, War Department, July 17, 1915, in General Orders and Bulletins, War Department, 1915. Most of the areas included were National Cemeteries.
56. Col. H. J. Gallagher, Quartermaster Supply Officer, Brooklyn, N. Y., to Quartermaster General, Oct. 11, 1923, in A. G. O. Document File 000.45 (3-17-23), War Records Branch, Modern Army Section, National Archives.
57. See A. G. O. Document File 000.45 (3-17-23), cited above, for Cammerer's letter to Hodgson, Mar. 17, 1923; J. P. McAdams, Office of Assistant Secretary of War, to Adjutant General, Mar. 21, 1923; Adj. Gen. Robert C. Davis to Assistant Secretary of War, Mar. 27, 1923.

58. H. M. Morrow, Acting Judge Advocate General, to Adjutant General, May 25, 1923; W. H. Hart, Quartermaster General, to Assistant Secretary of War, May 11, 1923; S. Heintzelman, Assistant Chief of Staff (G-4), to Chief of Staff, Aug. 15, 1923; in A. G. O. Document File 000.45 (3-17-23).
59. Hart to Adjutant General, Apr. 7, 1924; Col. J. R. Lindsey, Acting Assistant Chief of Staff (G-4), to Chief of Staff, Aug. 6, 1924; Hart to Adjutant General, Oct. 4, 1924, transmitting draft of proclamation, in A. G. O. Document File 000.45 (3-17-23).
60. Bulletin No. 2, War Department, Mar. 20, 1925, Sec. I, in General Orders and Bulletins, War Department, 1925.

A NATIONAL SHRINE: 1924 TO THE PRESENT

1. New York Times, Dec. 10, 1924 (p. 1); Bulletin No. 24, Dec. 27, 1924, Sec. III, in General Orders and Bulletins, War Department, 1924.
2. New York Times, June 21, 1925 (sec. 4, p. 6).
3. Ibid., Dec. 10, 1924 (p. 1), Apr. 21, 1929 (sec. 10, p. 11); see also Georgia S. Means, Bedloe's Island and Fort Wood, pp. 47-48.
4. Dwight F. Davis, Assistant Secretary of War, to Quartermaster General, Jan. 23, 1925, in A. G. O. Document File 000.45 (3-17-23), War Records Branch, Modern Army Section, National Archives.
5. Holliman, op. cit., p. 108, citing a personal interview with Simpson.
6. Ibid., pp. 108-109; although Holliman states that Simpson officially became Superintendent on Jan. 18, 1926, we are using the date cited in Tolson, op. cit., p. 52.
7. Letter, dated Mar. 25, 1884, from the Centaur Company to William M. Evarts, Chairman of the Pedestal Fund Committee, published in a Castoria advertisement in Continent Weekly Magazine, vol. 5, no. 115 (Apr. 23, 1884), following p. 544.

8. New York Times, Mar. 2 (p. 27), 3 (p. 2), 1926.
9. Ibid., May 9, 1926 (p. 19).
10. Ibid., May 11, 1926 (p. 18).
11. Ibid., May 14, 1929 (p. 1).
12. New York World, Feb. 6, 1928 (p. 13); New York Times, Feb. 6, 1928 (p. 6); see also Holliman, op. cit., pp. 112-113.
13. New York Times, July 31, 1930 (p. 18), July 6, 1931 (p. 19); Holliman, op. cit., pp. 109-110, citing Hearings Before the Sub-Committee of the House Committee on Appropriations, War Department Appropriation Bill for 1923, p. 80, and ibid., for 1929, p. 53.
14. New York Times, July 6, 1931 (p. 19), stated that installation of the new floodlighting system would cost \$14,386. But articles in ibid., Feb. 14 (p. 2) and 15 (p. 43), 1933, quoted Joseph Schoenbach, a New York electrical contractor, who declared that he had been trying for over a year to collect \$30,382.09 from the Government in payment for his work installing the floodlights; Schoenbach was arrested by the Secret Service when he attempted to bring his story to the attention of President Hoover in New York, but was released when the facts were known. According to ibid., Aug. 11, 1933 (p. 17), "the army spent about \$40,000" on the Statue in 1931.
15. "Beauty Treatment for Miss Liberty," Literary Digest, vol. 111 (Dec. 5, 1931), p. 25.
16. New York Times, Oct. 27, 1931 (p. 21). The ceremony was originally scheduled for Oct. 28, but had to be changed because of the sailing plans of the Lavals.
17. Ibid., July 6, 1931 (p. 19), May 29, 1932 (p. 5); see also Holliman, op. cit., p. 113.
18. Thomas A. Sullivan, compiler, Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service, pp. 4-6; see also 5 U. S. C., secs. 124-132.
19. Ibid., pp. 6-8; in all, 36 National Parks, Monuments, Battlefield Sites, and Memorial were included.

20. New York Times, Aug. 11, 1933 (p. 17).
21. Ibid., Nov. 12, 1933 (sec. 2, p. 3).
22. Ibid., Dec. 7, 1933 (p. 23).
23. Simpson to Acting Director A. E. Demaray, Feb. 22, 1934;
Director Arno B. Cammerer to Simpson, Feb. 28, 1934.
24. New York Times, Dec. 29, 1933 (p. 23).
25. Ibid., Jan. 28, 1934 (sec. 8, p. 11).
26. The War Department letter of Jan. 31, 1934, is summarized in the letter from Ickes to the Acting Secretary of War, dated Sept. 25, 1936. The Attorney General's opinion was dated July 18, 1934. See also Simpson to Demaray, Feb. 22, 1934.
27. Tolson, op. cit., p. 52, Palmer served as Acting Superintendent from June 1, 1934, to Feb. 15, 1935, being named Superintendent as of Feb. 16, 1935; on Dec. 16, 1935, he was transferred to Fort McHenry National Monument as Acting Superintendent, and Oswald E. Camp became Superintendent of the Statue of Liberty.
28. Oswald E. Camp, "Report on Fiftieth Anniversary Year, Statue of Liberty National Monument," Jan. 31, 1937, pp. 1-2, 11, 20; see also memorandum from Director Cammerer to Secretary Ickes, Dec. 30, 1935.
29. Camp, "Report on Fiftieth Anniversary Year," pp. 2-19, 21-22; memorandum, Acting Director Demaray to Ickes, Sept. 18, 1936. See also New York Times, Feb. 9 (sec. 2, p. 7), July 2 (p. 23), 14 (p. 21), 15 (p. 8), Oct. 25 (sec. 2, p. 5), 1936.
30. Statue of Liberty Golden Jubilee Yearbook, p. 20; New York Times, Oct. 29, 1936 (p. 21). President Roosevelt's address was also published in B. D. Zevin, ed., Nothing to Fear, pp. 69-72.
31. Secretary Ickes to the Acting Secretary of War, Sept. 25, 1936. Secretary of War Woodring replied on Oct. 1 and promised consideration of the request. At some time during 1936 the National Park Service drafted a bill to authorize the transfer, but it was apparently not introduced in Congress.

32. New York Herald-Tribune, Mar. 6, 1937; see also letter from Acting Secretary of the Interior Charles West to Secretary of War, Apr. 5, 1937.
33. Reference was made to the War Department letter of May 4, 1937, in Acting Secretary of the Interior West's letter of May 28, 1937, to the Secretary of War. See also West's letter of July 10, 1937, to the Secretary of War.
34. Acting Secretary of Interior Charles West to Secretary of War, Apr. 20, May 28, July 10, 1937; Camp, Superintendent's Monthly Report for July 1937; Acting Director Tolson to Camp, Sept. 16, 1937; Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Report for January 1938.
35. Proclamation No. 2250, dated Sept. 7, 1937, published in Federal Register, vol. 2, no. 174 (Sept. 9, 1937), p. 1812.
36. Letter, Headquarters II Corps Area to Commanding Officer, 16th Infantry, Fort Jay, Aug. 26, 1937, with indorsement to Sergeant Rowan, Fort Wood, dated Aug. 30, 1937; Acting Secretary of the Interior T. A. Walters to Secretary of War, Sept. 22, 1937; Camp, Superintendent's Monthly Report for September 1937.
37. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Report for December 1941.
38. Camp to the Director, Apr. 21, 1937; Cox to the Director, Apr. 26, 1937; Newton, Monthly Report to Chief Architect, Apr. 20, 1937, p. 7. Newton was directed by the Regional Office on Mar. 18 to proceed with the Master Plan, but recommended in a letter to Chief Architect Vint on Mar. 22 that it be postponed until the 1938 edition. By letter of Mar. 25, Vint concurred, suggesting that studies for the plan be started immediately.
39. Newton to Cox, May 3, 1937; Newton, Monthly Report to Chief Architect, May 20, 1937, p. 6. Superintendent Camp, in a letter to the Director dated June 6, 1937, made recommendations for demolition or retention of the various Army buildings.

40. Acting Assistant Director Ralston B. Lattimore to Camp, May 5, 1937; Newton, Monthly Report to Chief Architect, May 20, 1937, p. 6. See also New York Times, May 25, 1937 (p. 8).
41. Newton, Monthly Report to Chief Architect, June 20, 1937, pp. 5-6.
42. Vint to Director, Oct. 15, 1937; Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Report for March 1938.
43. Master Plan, Statue of Liberty National Monument, n. d. [1939 ed.?], p. 10.
44. Director Arno B. Cammerer to H. P. Caemmerer, Secretary, Commission of Fine Arts, July 1, 1938; Master Plan [1939 ed.?], pp. 12-13. See also New York Times, Dec. 17, 1937 (p. 22), July 21, 1938 (p. 23).
45. These developments are detailed in the Monthly Narrative Reports of the area Superintendents, Oswald E. Camp, until Nov. 30, 1937, when he left for Kings Mountain NMP, and George A. Palmer. See especially the reports for January, April, July, and November, 1938; January and September 1939; May 1940; April, July, and September, 1941; June 1942. See also New York Times, July 21 (p. 23), Sept. 4 (sec. 11, p. 1), Dec. 7 (p. 22), 14 (p. 29), 1938.
46. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Report for May 1942; from 1937 to 1942 the Coordinating Superintendents were Elbert Cox, Herbert E. Kahler, and Francis Ronalds. For maintenance problems see Camp, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for September and October 1937; Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for June 1938 and May 1941.
47. For boat operations under the Army, see New York Times, May 30, 1927 (p. 32); Dec. 28 (p. 35), 29 (p. 23), 1931. For operations under the National Park Service, see Camp, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for July and August 1937; Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for January, June, and November, 1938; July 1939; July and December 1940; January and March 1941; January, July, August, September, November, and December, 1942; February, May, August, and November, 1943.

48. Interview with Mrs. Evelyn Hill, widow of Aaron Hill and present concessioner on the island.
49. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for December 1937; July and September 1940; April 1941; October 1943. Contract 14-10-0100-70, dated Aug. 22, 1952, is now in effect with Evelyn Hill, Inc.
50. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for February and May 1938; March 1939. Agreements between Evelyn Hill, Inc., and the two sub-concessioners were signed Sept. 25, 1953.
51. Camp, Superintendent's Monthly Report for August 1937; Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Report for December 1946.
52. These utility failures and their effect are detailed in the Superintendent's Monthly Reports for the following dates: August 1938; May 1943; July 1944; September 1945; February 1946; June and July 1949; April, May, August, and November, 1950; December 1951; September and December 1955. See also New York Times, May 31, June 2, 1950.
53. Engineer John S. Cross to Acting Director Tolson, Sept. 17, 1937; Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring to Secretary of the Interior, Nov. 19, 1937; Acting Secretary of the Interior West to Secretary of War, Dec. 20, 1937; license by War Department to New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, Oct. 13, 1948 (in area files); E. J. Fitzgerald, manager, General Accounts for New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, to Supt. Newell H. Foster, Nov. 10, 1952; Superintendent Foster to New Jersey Bell Telephone Company, Jan. 26, 1953.
54. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for November and December 1941; June 1942. New York Times, Dec. 1, 1941 (p. 21), Feb. 8, 1942 (sec. 10, p. 1).
55. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for April, July, and December, 1942; April 1943; January 1944. New York Times, Aug. 30, 1942 (sec. 2, p. 7); Dec. 4, 1944 (p. 23).
56. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for May and November 1942; May and August 1943; August 1944; November 1946. New York Times, June 19, 1943 (p. 15).

57. "LIFE Visits the Statue of Liberty," Life, vol. 10 (June 2, 1941), p. 94; Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for June and July 1944; New York Times, July 3, (p. 1), Nov. 15 (p. 29), 16 (p. 7), 17 (p. 1), 1944.
58. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for May, June, and July, 1945. New York Times, Dec. 10, 1944 (p. 31); Apr. 29 (sec. 4, p. 9), May 9 (p. 25), June 8 (p. 7), 1945.
59. Charles S. Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Report for August-September 1945. Marshall replaced Palmer as superintendent on Sept. 23, 1945, when Palmer was transferred to Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Sites.
60. Interviews with several senior members of the monument staff. See also Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for July and August 1946.
61. New York World-Telegram, June 20, 1946 (p. 14).
62. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for September 1944; February and March-April 1945; Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Report for June 1946; Marshall to Regional Director, Region One, June 22, 1946.
63. See, for example, New York Times, June 21, 1946 (p. 25); New York Herald-Tribune, June 30, 1946 (sec. 8, p. 15). This publicity was summarized in Superintendent Marshall's memorandums to the Regional Director, Region One, dated July 24, 30, Aug. 12, 1946, and in his Monthly Reports for June, July, and August, 1946. For the Monument Builders' criticism, see New York Times, July 23, 1946 (p. 23).
64. New York World-Telegram, June 21, 1946 (p. 1); see also editorial in ibid., June 24, 1946 (p. 18).
65. Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for November and December 1946; January, February, and April, 1947; Marshall to Regional Director, Region One, Apr. 14, 1947. See also New York World-Telegram, Feb. 12, 1947 (p. 1); New York Times, Apr. 4 (p. 25), Aug. 19 (p. 17), 21 (p. 25), 1947.

66. Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for October 1946; April, May, June, July, and September, 1947; Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for February and May 1948. See also New York Times, May 3 (p. 15), 29 (p. 20), 1947; June 16, 1949 (p. 28); Sept. 28, 1951 (p. 26).
67. Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Report for June 1947; Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Report for February 1948. See also New York Times, Feb. 13 (p. 23), 14 (p. 12), Mar. 5 (p. 10), May 27 (p. 27), June 8 (p. 27), 10 (p. 24), July 4 (sec. 6, p. 12), 1948.
68. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports from October 1948 to December 1953; New York Times, June 13 (p. 18), July 6 (p. 26), Aug. 3 (p. 25), 1949; Oct. 4, 1951 (p. 35). See also New York Herald-Tribune, Aug. 14, 1953; New York Sunday News, Sept. 13, 1953.
69. Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for January and August 1944; March-April 1945; Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for February, April, and June, 1946; April 1947; Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for February, July, and August, 1948; January and June 1949; November 1950; June 1951. See also New York Times, Sept. 27, 1947 (p. 14).
70. Marshall, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for May and June 1946; June and July 1947; Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for May 1949; June 1953. New York Times, June 18 (p. 44), 19 (p. 45), 20 (p. 31), 1953.
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73. Comparative Travel Figures, in area files. Since 1933, when the National Park Service began administering the monument, travel figures have been an actual count of all visitors coming to the island by boat.
74. William R. Benet, "Liberty--and Hot Dogs," Saturday Review of Literature, vol. 4 (June 30, 1928), pp. 997, 1000.

75. See Bartholdi's statement quoted on pp. 6-7 above.
76. Henry Leach, "America and Liberty," Living Age, vol. 294 (July 7, 1917), p. 48, reprinted from Chamber's Journal, an English publication.
77. Ralph Barton Perry, "Uncle Sam and the Statue of Liberty," Century Magazine, vol. 107 (February 1924), pp. 608-614.
78. Melvin J. Lasky, On Emma Lazarus: Notes on Her Life and Work, pp. 2, 23, and passim.
79. Ibid., p. 24, quoting from Ralph Rusk, ed., Letters to Emma Lazarus (Columbia University Press, 1939).
80. New York Times, May 6, 1903.
81. Lasky, op. cit., p. 37. A landmark in the popularity of the poem, as Lasky indicates, was the 1941 motion picture on the refugee problem, "Hold Back the Dawn," in which it received a dramatic reading. Another element in its recent popularity is the growth of the Zionist movement, which has portrayed Miss Lazarus, not wholly accurately, as an early advocate of Zionism.
82. New York Times, Oct. 28, 1935 (p. 21); Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Report, November 1940.
83. Interviews with senior members of the area staff. See also Palmer, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for January and December 1938; Historian's Monthly Narrative Reports for January-July 1942; April 1944.
84. Memorandum of Interpretational Plan, Jan. 17, 1941.
85. Interviews with staff members.
86. Roy E. Appleman, Interpretive Development Program for Statue of Liberty National Monument, Apr. 28, 1948.
87. Cox to the Director, May 5, 1948.
88. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for July 1949; September 1951. Some of the carved glass plaques were donated to the area by the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars; see Historian's Monthly

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89. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for December 1951; March and May 1952; September 1953.
90. Acting Regional Director E. M. Lisle to Superintendent, Statue of Liberty NM, Apr. 24, 1953, transmitting undated copy of memorandum from Young to Assistant Director Lee.
91. Foster, Superintendent's Monthly Reports for March and December 1954; March, July, and August, 1955; Historian's Monthly Narrative Reports for May and June 1954.
92. Regional Director Elbert Cox to the Director, Apr. 30, 1952; Assistant Director Ronald F. Lee to the Director, Sept. 22, 1953. See also Thomas M. Pitkin, Preliminary Draft Prospectus for the American Museum of Immigration (1955); Pitkin, American Museum of Immigration Museum Prospectus, 1956; New York Times, Jan. 29, 1955 (p. 13).
93. Draft of Statement of Significance for Introduction Section, Master Plan Development Outline, Statue of Liberty National Monument, May 1956.

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APPENDIX A

List of Superintendents since establishment of the National Monument

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Period of Service</u>
William A. Simpson	Superintendent	11-16-25 to 5-31-34
George A. Palmer	Act. Superintendent	6- 1-34 to 2-15-35
George A. Palmer	Superintendent	2-16-35 to 12-15-35
Oswald E. Camp	Superintendent	12-16-35 to 11-30-37
George A. Palmer	Superintendent	12- 1-37 to 9-22-45
Charles S. Marshall	Superintendent	9-23-45 to 11-16-47
Newell H. Foster*	Superintendent	12- 5-47 to date

* Also designated as Superintendent of Federal Hall National Memorial and Castle Clinton National Monument on January 12, 1953.

List of Principal Interpretive Personnel under the National Park Service

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Period of Service</u>
William C. Weber	Attendant	1933-35
William C. Weber	Guide	1935 to Oct. 1939
S. H. Pickering	Guide*	Feb. 1939 to date
Clarence Schultz	Hist. Technician	Dec. 1937 to Mar. 1940
J. Fred Roush	Hist. Technician	May 1942 to Mar. 1943
Paul H. Younger	Hist. Technician	July 1943 to Nov. 1945
J. Fred Roush	Hist. Technician	Dec. 1945 to June 1947
Louis J. Hafner	Chief Guide**	Sept. 1947 to date
Frank Barnes	Historian***	Sept. 1950 to Feb. 1952
Albert Dillahunt	Historian***	Dec. 1952 to Aug. 1954
Walter E. Hugins	Historian***	Oct. 1954 to Sept. 1956
Louis Torres	Historian	Apr. 1958 to date
Thomas M. Pitkin	Supervising Park Historian	July 1955 to date

* Became Tour Leader, January 1952.

** Became Tour Leader Supervisor, January 1952.

*** Although these historians were assigned to Castle Clinton National Monument, they also had the responsibility for the interpretive program at Statue of Liberty.

APPENDIX B

Annual Visitation to the Statue of Liberty*

1890 - 88,000	1943 - 321,761
1902 - 44,000	1944 - 401,143
1922 - 170,000	1945 - 501,040
1928 - 450,000	1946 - 549,200
1929 - 360,000	1947 - 565,927
1931 - 280,000	1948 - 529,741
1932 - 206,393	1949 - 504,023
1933 - 155,715	1950 - 518,211
1934 - 190,627	1951 - 591,587
1935 - 252,556	1952 - 625,045
1936 - 281,249	1953 - 714,345
1937 - 319,042	1954 - 797,412
1938 - 248,999	1955 - 739,364
1939 - 428,081	1956 - 796,101
1940 - 395,633	1957 - 850,270
1941 - 446,334	1958 - 886,000**
1942 - 303,739	

* The visitation figures before 1932 are estimates taken from newspapers and other similar accounts; the figures from 1932 to 1951 are an actual count of visitors for the travel year (October 1 to September 30), and since 1952 for the calendar year.

** Estimated.