NPS Form 10-900
(Oct. 1990)

OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x' in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters

other name/site number N/A

2. Location

street & town 706 Market Street N/A not for publication

city or town St. Louis N/A vicinity

state Missouri code MO county St. Louis (Independent City) code 510 zip code 63101

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this ☒ nomination ☐ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ☒ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant ☐ nationally ☐ statewide ☒ locally. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Mark A. Miles February 26, 2008

Signature of certifying official/Title Mark A. Miles/Deputy SHPO Date

Missouri Department of Natural Resources
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ☐ meets ☐ does not meet the National Register criteria. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is: Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

☐ entered in the National Register.
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register.
☐ removed from the National Register.
☐ other, (explain:) _____

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(check as many boxes as apply)

- ☒ private
- ☐ public-local
- ☐ public-State
- ☐ public-Federal

Category of Property
(check only one box)

- ☒ building(s)
- ☐ district
- ☐ site
- ☐ structure
- ☐ object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
1	0	buildings
		sites
		structures
		objects
1	0	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Function
(Enter categories from instructions)

Commerce: Business

Current Function
(Enter categories from instructions)

Vacant

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

Modern Movement

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

foundation Concrete
Brick
walls Glass
Steel
Brick
roof Asphalt
other

Narrative Description
(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

☒See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 7

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

☐ **A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

☐ **B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

☒ **C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction

☐ **D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

☐ **A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

☐ **B** removed from its original location

☐ **C** a birthplace or grave.

☐ **D** a cemetery

☐ **E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

☐ **F** a commemorative property.

☒ **G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(enter categories from instructions)

ARCHITECTURE

Period of Significance

1974-1977

Significant Dates

N/A

Significant Persons

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Johnson, Philip

Burgee, John

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

☒ See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 8

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
☐ previously listed in the National Register
☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:

☐ State Historic Preservation Office
☐ Other State agency
☐ Federal agency
☐ Local government
☐ University
☐ Other Name of repository:

☒ See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 9

General American Life Insurance National Headquarters
Name of Property

St. Louis (Independent City), MO
County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property less than an acre

UTM References
(Place additional boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	15	743738	4277898
2	/	/ / / / /	/ / / / / /
3	/	/ / / / /	/ / / / / /
4	/	/ / / / /	/ / / / / /

Verbal Boundary Description
(Describe the boundaries of the property.)

Property Tax No

Boundary Justification
(Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

☒See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 10

11. Form Prepared By

name/title see attached

organization _____ date _____

street & number _____ telephone _____

city or town _____ **state** _____ zip code _____

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets
Maps A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.
Photographs: Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.
Additional items: (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

name/title Harlan Burger- Centaur Properties

street & number 551 Madison Ave. 8th Floor telephone 212-308-4443

city or town New York state NY zip code 10022

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

SUMMARY:

The General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters, located at 706 Market Street, St. Louis, Missouri, is a 253' x 253' square six-story building of dark, reflective glass and steel curtain wall construction, criss-crossed by a network of lighter mullions. Constructed in 1974-1977, it stands as an excellent example of one of St. Louis's Modern designs with Post Modern geometric elements, and is a unique representation of the Modern Movement for St. Louis during a period of image revitalization. The Modern design is a groundbreaking example of the unique ingenuity of architects, Philip C. Johnson and John H. Burgee, and is one of their earliest attempts to investigate a diversification of sculptural geometries into their distinctive designs. The building consists of a three-story cube that has been bisected into two triangular pieces with the northwest portion raised forty-five feet above ground level on a grid of ten circular structural columns. A top-lit glass cylindrical rotunda connects the two triangular halves with a portico in the lower portion. The rotunda lobby is faced with red brick, accentuated with sculptural elevator towers, rounded stairs, and brick and steel bridges that link each tower to the upper floors. The General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters is substantially unaltered and retains architectural integrity through its original design, integrity of location, setting, association and feeling.

SETTING:

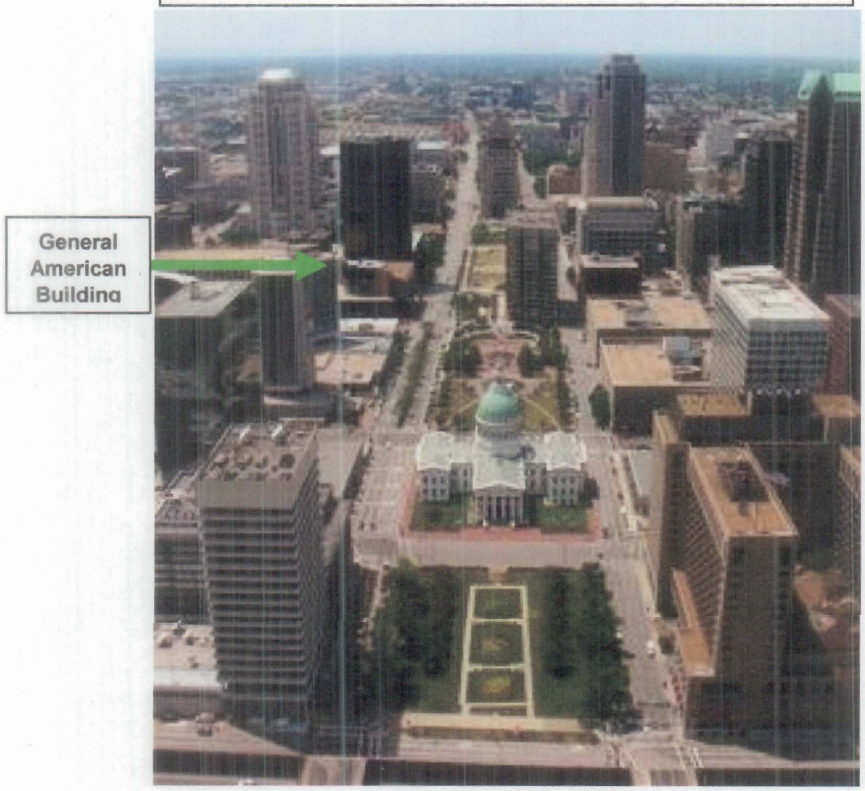
The General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters was among the distinguished group of Modern Movement architectural monuments designed by prominent architects in St. Louis during the city's revitalization efforts in the second half of the 20th century. The surrounding blocks encompassed the Equitable Building constructed in 1971 at Tenth and Broadway, a twenty-story symmetrical glass tower; the Pet, Inc. Headquarters constructed in 1969 at 400 S. Fourth Street which reflects a "New Brutalist" style; and the Boatman's Bank Tower constructed in 1976 at 100 N. Broadway, also a modern rectangular glass skyscraper.[1] With the inclusion of the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters in 1977, St. Louis could boast of a wonderful architecturally diverse downtown environment.

Facing north on Market Street, the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters is located six blocks west of Eero Saarinen's Gateway Arch (NR listed May 28, 1987) and southwest of Louis H. Sullivan's Wainwright Building (NR listed May 23, 1968) located at 101 N. Seventh Street. (Photos 1 & 2) Directly west of the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters is the original site of Busch Memorial Stadium and the Bowling Hall of Fame.(Photos 3 & 4) The building sits on the

southwest corner of N. Seventh Street and Market Street encompassing the entire city block. It is bounded on the west by South Eighth Street and the south by Walnut Street and is bordered by concrete sidewalks and minimal landscaping. (Photos 5, 6 & 7)

The headquarters sits just off the Gateway Mall, a 19 block corridor running west from 4th Street between Market and Chestnut designed for open green space, parks, and fountains. The General American building's main façade faces the Gateway Mall. Its large portico allows the open space of the mall to continue across Market Street, beckoning visitors across the shaded porch and through its glass façade. This gradual progression from exterior to interior space is a sharp contrast to the uninviting tinted glass and concrete fortresses that line most of the mall and halt traffic after a short setback. A portion of the mall across from the headquarters building has been compromised by the Gateway One tower. However, a large section of green space remains and allows the busy flow of the city to continue west from the river and between the pillars of General American's portico (See Photos 29, 30, & 31) .

St. Louis Gateway Mall from the Gateway Arch



EXTERIOR:

Completed in 1977, the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters is one of St. Louis's earliest examples of post-modern design enhancing the city's diverse architecture in downtown. Desiring to have a professional and memorable headquarters, General American commissioned the architectural firm of Johnson/Burgee of New York to design their building. Johnson wanted to give a dramatic visual effect to his design for the new company headquarters in downtown St. Louis. To achieve this goal, he chose a geometric design consisting of a three-story glass cube bisected diagonally into two triangular sections with a six-story cylinder placed between them. The elevations of each triangle are identical, constructed of dark, reflective glass and steel curtain wall construction. Johnson experimented with the design of the glass curtain wall creating a design of distinct dark and light panes, criss-crossed by a network of lighter mullions. (Photo 10)

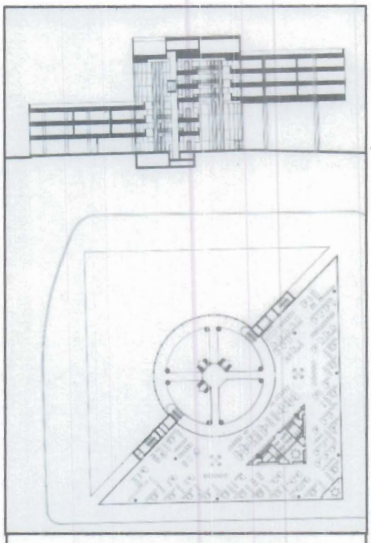


Figure1 – Elevation& Floor Plan
Original Elevation Drawing
By Johnson/Burgee Architects
October 30, 1974

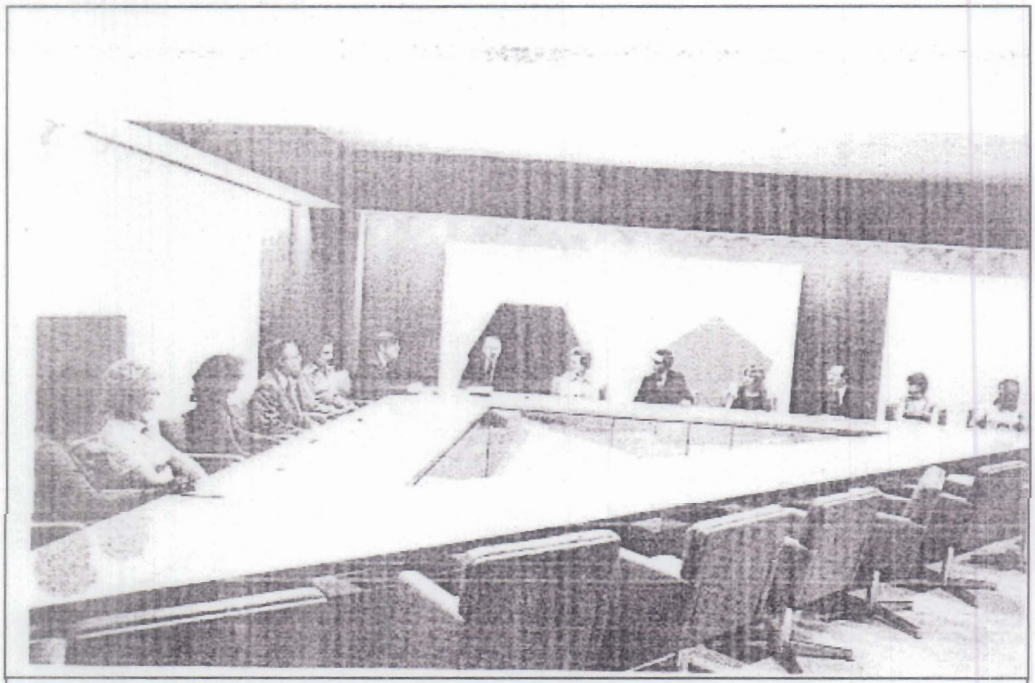
The triangular section on the north-east corner is elevated forty-five feet, supported by ten circular steel columns creating a portico to the primary entrance. (See Floor Plan-Figure 1) A single glass door is found on the east elevation and three recessed garage doors are banded together on the south and a pair of revolving doors that provide access into the rotunda are located on the northwest facade. (Photo 11)The exterior fenestration of the cylinder is identical to the triangular sections, with slender white columns defining the divides in the glass panels with black glass panels capping the top of the cylinder. The cylinder is flanked by narrow red brick columns that contain the fire stairs. The primary entrance is located on the northwest side of the rotunda.

Author Nory Miller describes the sense of the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters as, "creating a series of clear architectural pieces in locked combat with one another." She also comments, "that the tensions of the exterior geometry –parts against whole, cube against cylinder, glass against masonry- are continued inside."[2]

INTERIOR:

The interior of the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters contains a multitude of geometric elements in every aspect of the design including the interior finishes and furnishings. Four pairs of exposed circular steel columns reinforce the lobby in a circular pattern to create an open vertical space. The interior walls are constructed of red brick complemented by two brick enclosed staircases that wind around the walls of the central cylinder with a circular walkway around the perimeter of the rotunda. The floor of the rotunda is constructed of an asymmetrically patterned glazed red brick. (Photos 12,13 and 14)

The focal point of the lobby is the brick elevator shaft centered in the rotunda that displays three projecting triangular glass elevators that are flanked by brick columns from the floor of the lobby to the ceiling of the sixth floor. (Photos 15 & 16) The elevators open into an octagonal lobby on each floor that is connected by aluminum and glass bridges with 6" extruded aluminum cylindrical bridge railings to the offices. (Photos 17 & 18) The first floor portion of the building opposite the portico was primarily used for a cafeteria, lounge, mail receiving area and a personnel training room that contained one of five triangular pink granite slab conference tables. This table is still in its original location in the building. (Photo 19)



Conference Room 1977. General American Life Insurance, Associates Open House at the National Headquarters. (General American Life Insurance Company 5 June 1977).

The second through fifth floors have identical open floor plans measuring approximately 25,000 square feet on each floor of office space. The office areas were also designed in a large triangular shape with a conference room or executive office at each corner of the triangle which offers some breathtaking views of the downtown. Each level consists of rounded walkways lined with glass curtain walls allowing ambient light from the exterior to invade the interior spaces, generating a natural continuity with the outlying environment. (See Photo 20) The office spaces have some removable partitions walls with exposed round columns within a large open office environment. The lighting consists of recessed square boxes complemented by aluminum frames in a stark white ceiling. (Photos 21, 22 & 23) The group sales, advertising and underwriter's departments occupied the second, third and fourth floors.

The sixth floor has a more elaborate design than the lower floors. It was occupied by the law division, executive offices, conference rooms and the board of directors meeting room. Glass partition walls line the corridors of the interior offices and conference rooms while inner wall partitions are brown ultrasuede with brass trim. (Photos 24, 25 & 25a) The Board of Directors meeting room has a mahogany table designed to imitate the Gateway Arch which is still present in its original location. (Photo 26) Some interior updates to the décor have been done in the 1980s but overall the office areas continue to remain as they did at construction.

Integrity:

The General American Headquarters has undergone few changes since its construction. Though in need of some general maintenance and repair, the exterior and interior of the building maintain the original design features with little alteration. The glass and brick exterior is still intact, reflecting the images of the surrounding downtown well known landmarks including the Arch, the Gateway Mall, and Busch Stadium. The interior of the building also retains the design elements incorporated by Johnson and Burgee. The brick interior facings continue to dominate the massive foyer. The carpet and some ceiling tiles have been updated, though the gray, white, and black color schemens have remained. The large pink granite and mahogany conference tables still occupy the rooms, as do many of the granite and wood desks and other furnishings. The glass partition walls continue to divide the executive offices, but the open spaces have remined undivided over the last 30 years. The General American Headquarters is significant for its clear expression of the principles of architectural Modernism and one of the earliest inclusions of Post-Modern geometric forms in St. Louis. With few interior or exterior changes, the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters building retains integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, workmanship, materials and association.

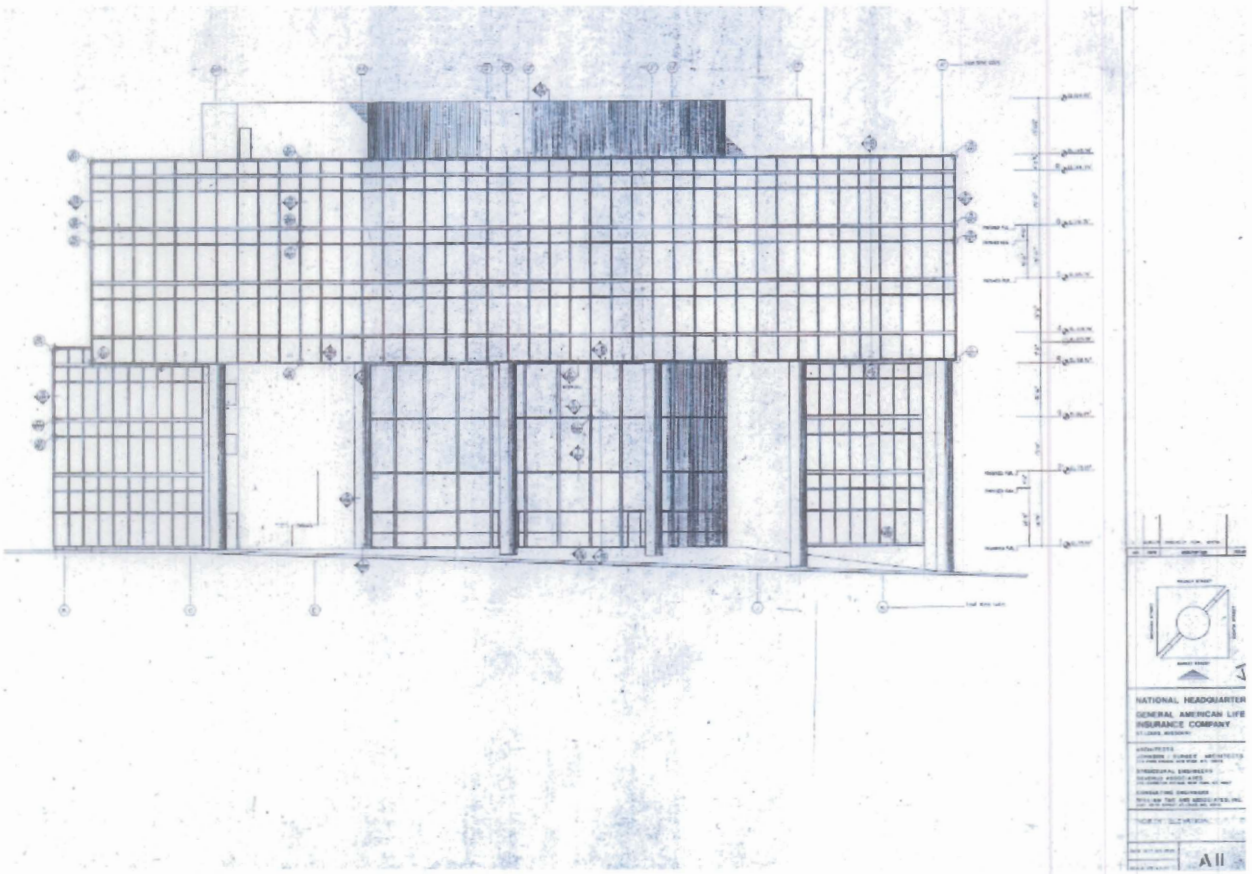


Figure 2- North Elevation

Original Elevation Drawing
By Johnson/Burgee Architects
October 30, 1974

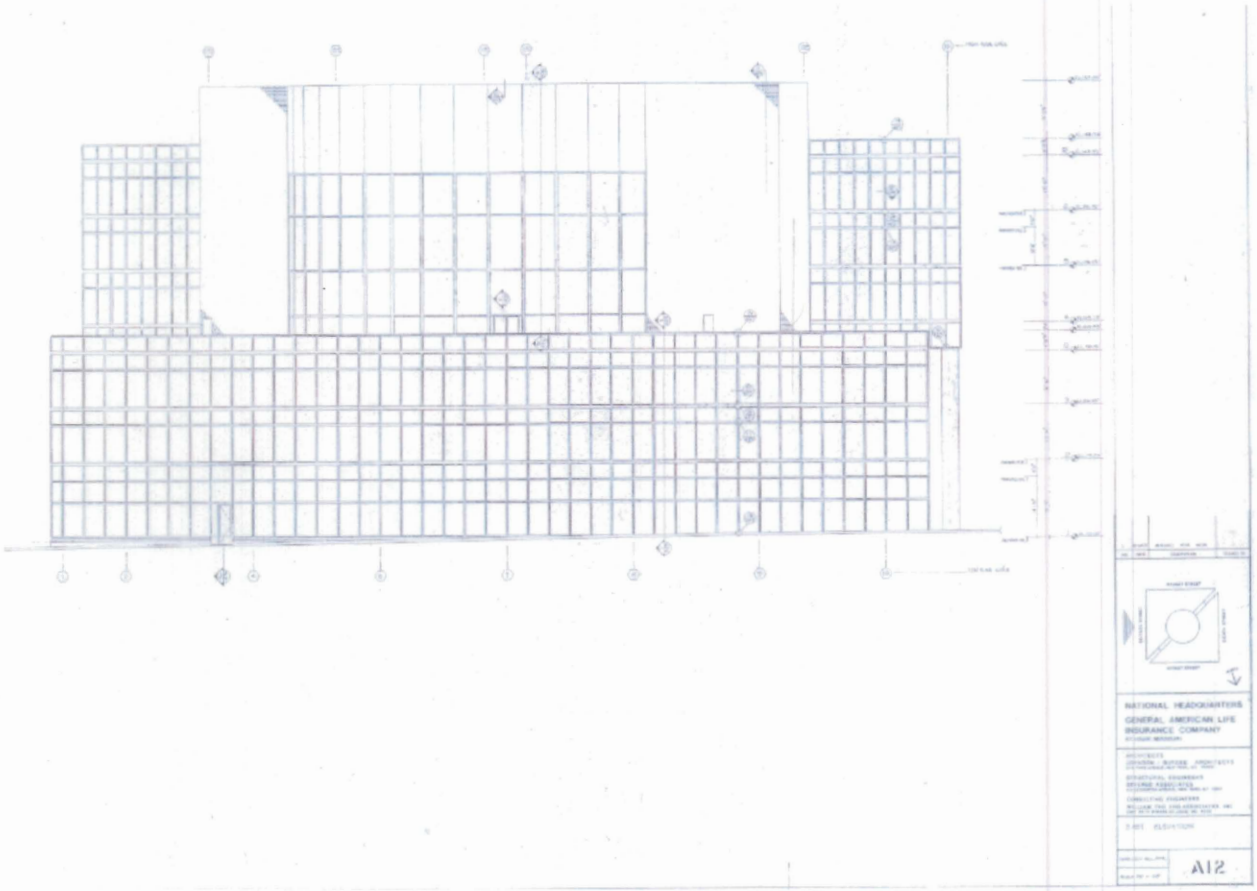


Figure 3- East Elevation

Original Elevation Drawing
By Johnson/Burgee Architects
October 30, 1974

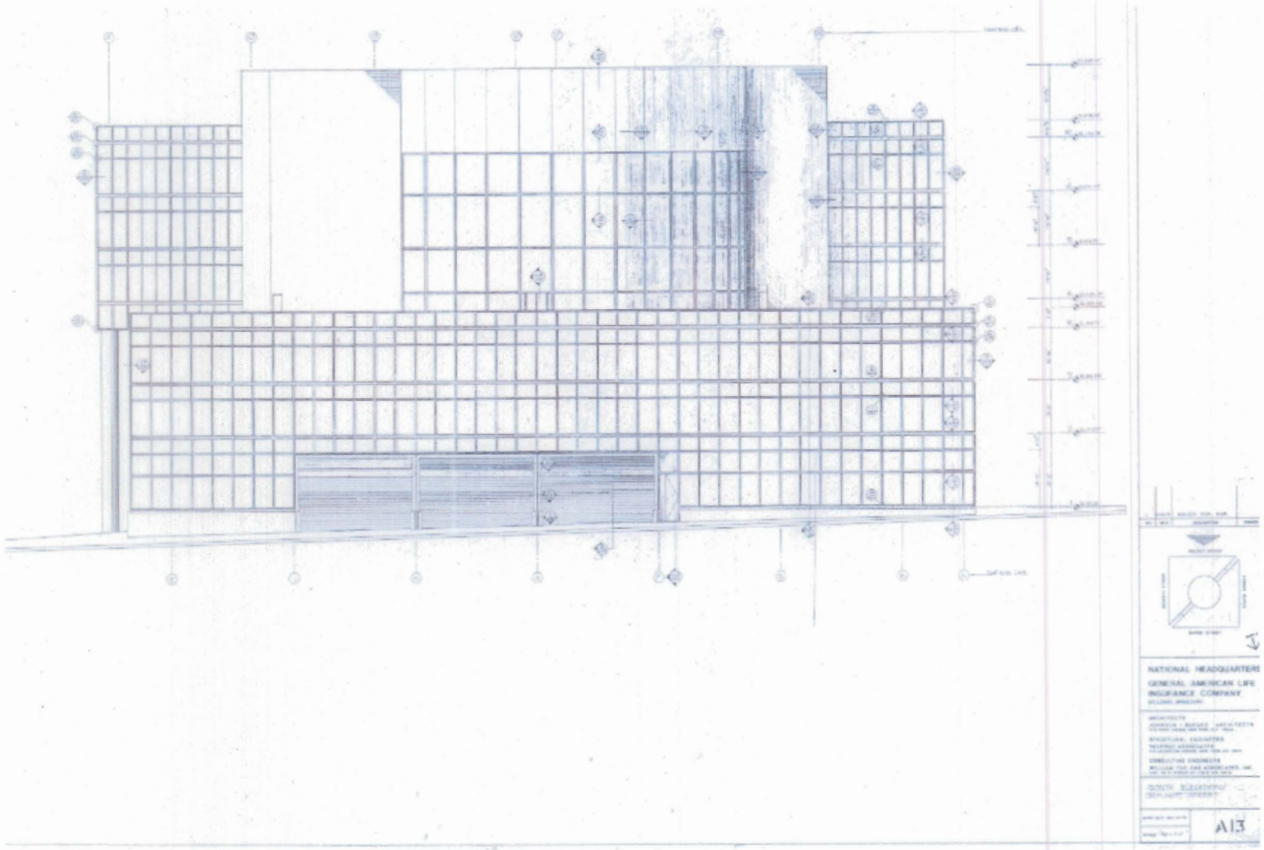


Figure 4- South Elevation

Original Elevation Drawing
By Johnson/Burgee Architects
October 30, 1974

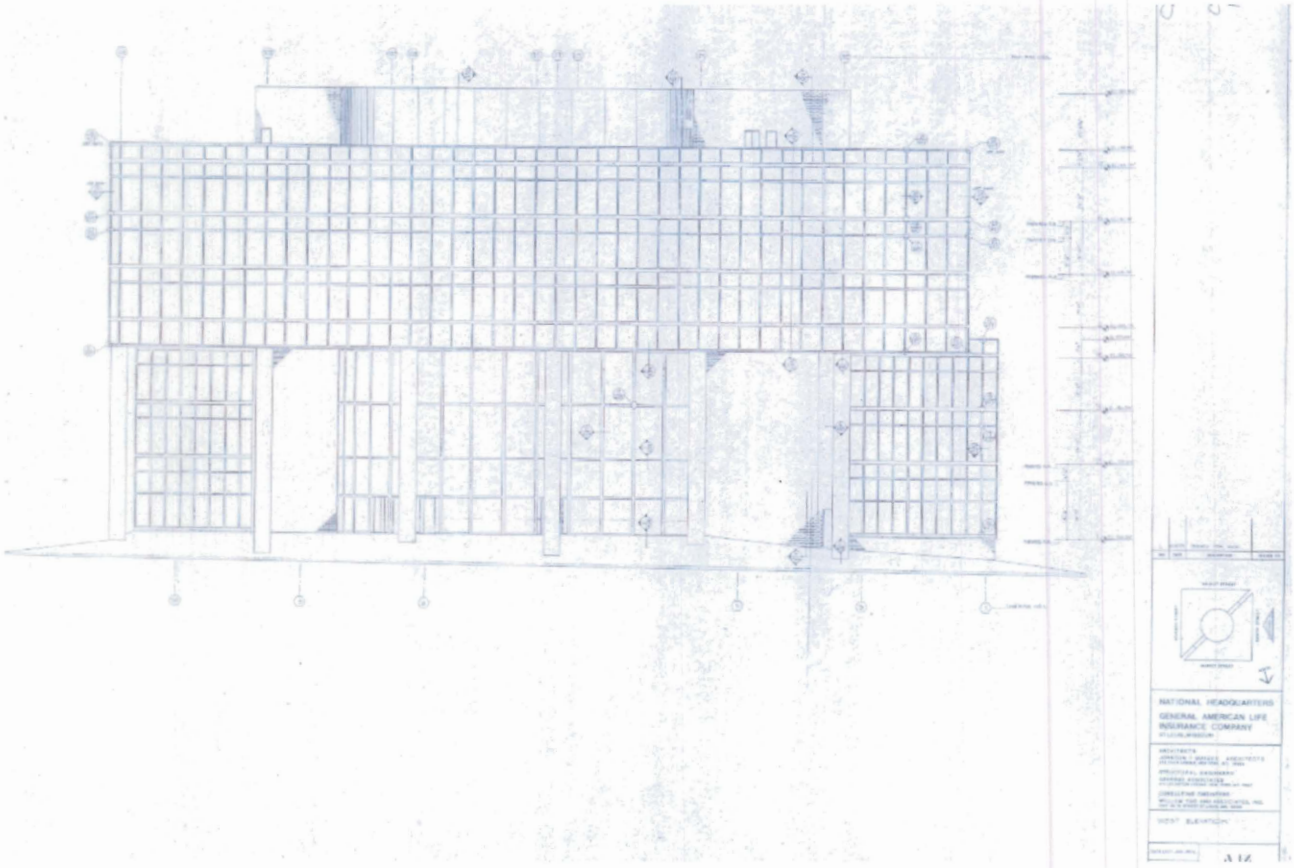


Figure 5- West Elevation

Original Elevation Drawing
By Johnson/Burgee Architects
October 30, 1974

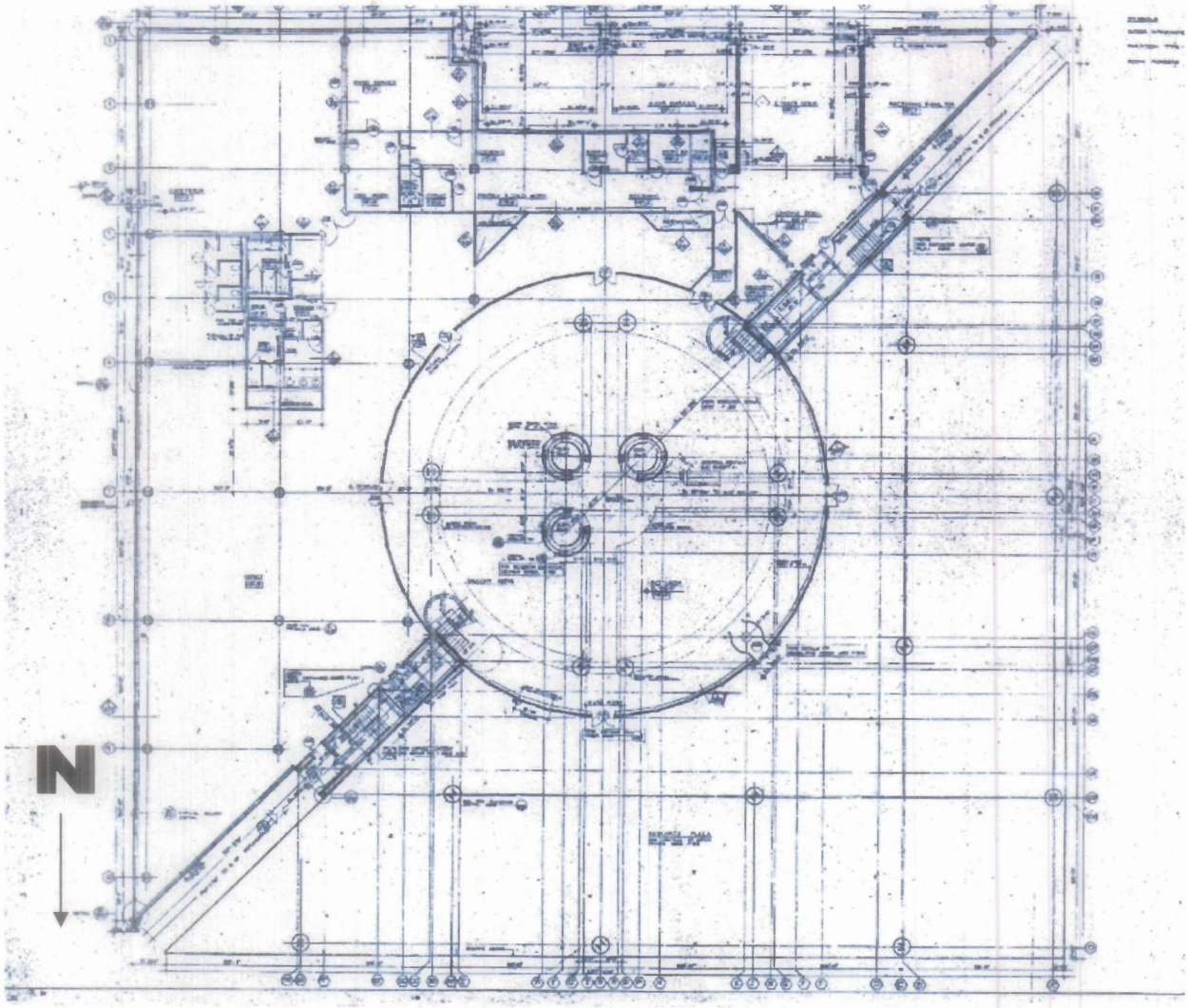


Figure 6- First Floor Detail

Original Elevation Drawing
By Johnson/Burgee Architects
October 30, 1974

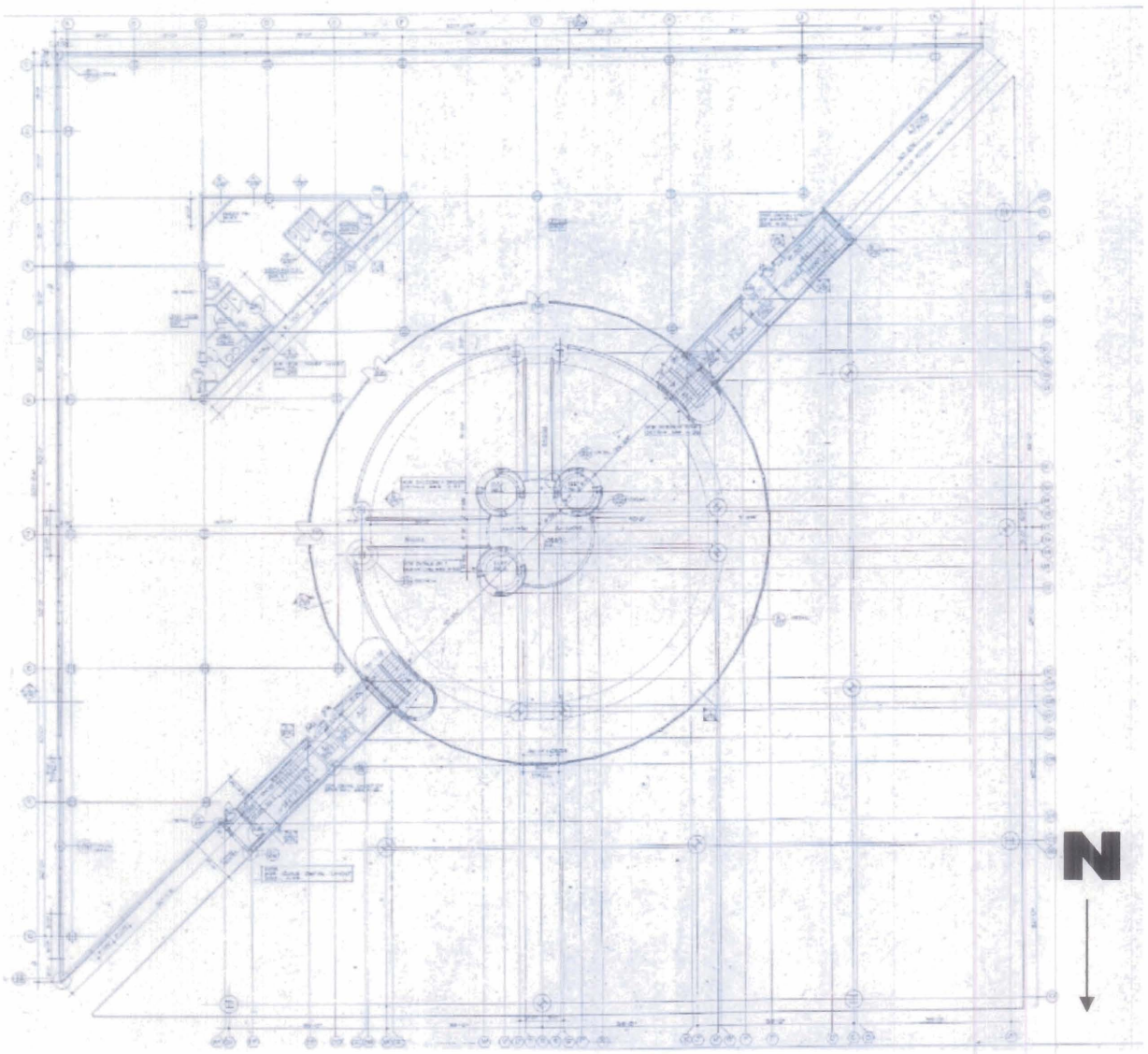


Figure 7- 2nd-4th Floor Typical Floor Plan

Original Elevation Drawing
By Johnson/Burgee Architects
October 30, 1974

End Notes

[1] George McCue and Frank Peters, *The Building Art in St. Louis: Two Centuries* (St. Louis, MO: Knight Publishing Company, 1981), 31-44.
[2] Nory Miller, *Johnson/Burgee: Architecture* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1979), (85).

Summary:

The General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters in downtown St. Louis, Missouri, is locally significant under National Register Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Its 1974-1977 period of significance reflects the period of design and construction. It also complies with Criteria Consideration G for properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years. The General American Life Building, designed by Philip Johnson and John Burgee, was the result of a highly successful collaboration between a prominent architectural firm and a corporation determined to express its distinct identity through a landmark headquarters building. The building's striking design—employing multiple geometries in avoiding both the "glass tower" look and the previously dominant International Style of architecture—represents a time when corporate leaders in St. Louis worked to reinvent the city as a modern metropolis, and which produced such other notable buildings as the Pet Plaza and the American Zinc, Lead and Smelting Company Building (both NR-listed). The requirements for a low building on a large open site gave Johnson/Burgee the opportunity to exploit the potential of architecture as minimalist sculpture. They responded with an unusual construction incorporating a variety of geometric shapes, primarily split-level triangles with a huge cylinder in between. The building also features an outstanding example of modernist interior spaces in downtown St. Louis, reflecting Johnson/Burgee's ideas on the importance of continuing a building's exterior design on the inside. Criticized by some and heralded by others as an imaginative design from the outset, today the General American Life Building remains architecturally unique in downtown St. Louis. It is Missouri's only example of a building designed by Philip Johnson.[3]

Elaboration:

Background-

In St. Louis, as in other American cities, the Great Depression brought a sense of urgency to civic leaders' efforts at economic development. In St. Louis, that sense of urgency was focused by the news that the city that had been the fourth largest in 1900 and 1910, had dropped from its sixth-place finish in 1920 to seventh place in 1930. Far more troubling was the instability of major companies such as Missouri State Life, once the largest insurer west of the Mississippi, and the joblessness evidenced by the 500 ramshackle homes that began appearing along the riverfront south of the Municipal Bridge by 1931.[4] A small insurance company from Carthage, Missouri, General American Life Insurance, moved to St. Louis in 1933, buying a building at 1501 Locust which had previously housed the struggling Missouri State Life Insurance Company. Over the next decade General American Life Insurance maintained steady business,

with a higher investment yield than the national average. By 1943 General American had grown to become the nation's 8th largest underwriter.[5] In 1951 the company began remodeling its building, and became synonymous with the revitalization efforts of the St. Louis downtown area. In 1959 the company purchased a second building at 1511 Locust, anticipating that the growth caused by renewal of the downtown area would produce a primary center of finance and commerce.[6]

Through the 1960s and 1970s the company continued to increase its endeavors and its sales. "Insurance in force increased from about $3.25 billion in 1960 to almost $8 billion in 1970."[7] When General American took on the Medicare- Part B administration in 1965, the company's services were extended to the majority of Missourians. The continuing progress of the company left the building management with limited space for the growing number of employees and lacking capacity to house the increasing facility requirements. After extensive consideration the company decided that the current space would be too expensive to remodel, and they chose to construct two new buildings, a National Service Center and the National Headquarters. [8]

Development of the Civic Center and Downtown Revitalization

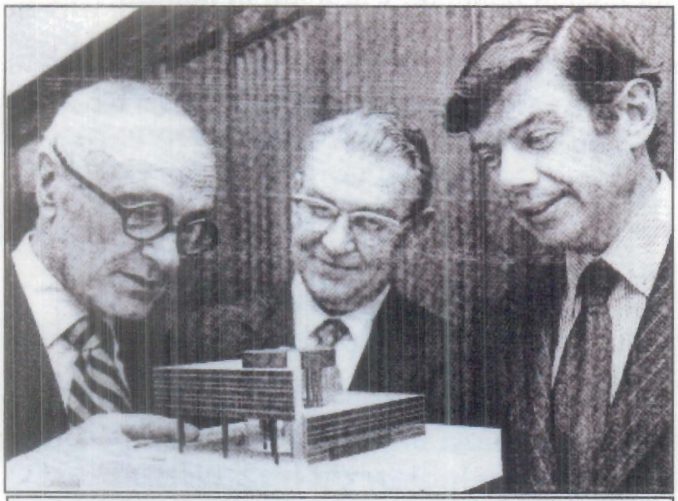
Commenting on the new headquarters in 1977, GAL vice president Stanley Richman noted that the placement of GAL in the Civic Center was a commitment to the city of St. Louis. "General American deals in long term purposes and commitments, and we do have some pride in ourselves and in our community. We wanted a building of high quality...I don't think all buildings need to convey a message but this building does because of its location and because of its purpose."[9] GAL's civic involvement and dedication to St. Louis became evident more than two decades before the decision to build a new headquarters.

Beginning as early as 1953, the movement to rebuild St. Louis became a priority for Mayor Darst, who invited members of the St. Louis Union Trust Company, Union Electric, General American Life Insurance Company, Washington University, Southwestern Bell, Anheuser-Busch, Famous-Barr, and eighteen other major businesses in St. Louis to join "Civic Progress, Incorporated." The group was charged with clearing up traffic problems and revitalizing the Central Business District, eliminating the blighted areas and encouraging new construction. Through an improvement bond passed in 1955, $110.6 million was provided for redevelopment, specifically to build three expressways, fix streets and bridges, clean and establish parks and playgrounds, and develop the riverfront.[10]

The aims of Civic Progress, Incorporated were well accepted throughout the city, and though business leaders saw it as a way to promote commerce, other groups became involved with the projects, including the local chapters of the American Institute of Planners and the Institute of Architects, as well as the Realtors Association and the League of Women Voters.[11] However, the Civic Progress has remained in the hands of large business executives over the past five decades, with the last of GAL's chief executives, Richard Liddy, acting as president of Civic Progress at the turn-of-the-century.[12]

One of the most noteworthy endeavors undertaken by Civic Progress to revitalize St. Louis's image was the Civic Center Redevelopment Project. This was a venture privately funded by businesses, though citizens allowed $6 million in taxes to be spent on lighting, streets, and the controversial Gateway Mall. After nearly two decades without any significant new construction, multiple building projects began in the early 1960s, and included Busch Stadium, the Gateway Arch, the Poplar Street Bridge, Stouffer's Riverfront Tower, Pet Plaza, and the Equitable Life Assurance Society Building. These developments encompassed 42 city blocks (See Figure 8) in an area stretching from the riverfront west as far as Eleventh Street. The price of progress was high, reaching over $300 million for tax abatement projects by 1975. One of the ventures that was just getting under way that year was the new General American Life Insurance Company's National Headquarters [13]

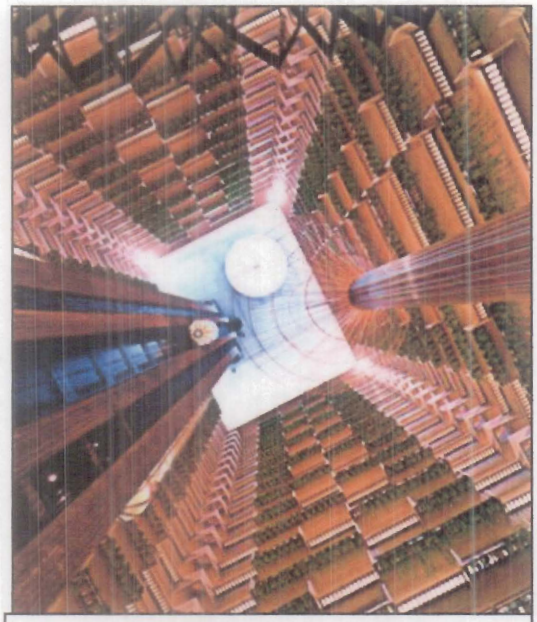
Design and Construction of the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters



P.Johnson, GAL President A.Stalnaker, and J.Burgee - General American Life Insurance, Associates Open House at the National Headquarters. (General American Life Insurance Company 5 June 1977), 4.

Though St. Louis had previously been attached to local designers for important architectural projects, in the late 1960s city firms were fairly limited to the public housing projects. The expensive downtown developments of the civic center were given to "out-of-town architects."[14] In a pamphlet entitled "Associates Open House at the National Headquarters," GAL explained that, "Because General American wanted its National Headquarters to be a statement of faith in St. Louis as well as the symbol of a progressive life insurance company, it sought the advice and expertise of one of the nation's foremost architectural firms, Johnson/Burgee, New York City."[15] The company solicited Johnson/ Burgee for the project, choosing from among 27 firms, many of which requested interviews in order to solicit work in such a "tempting" location, as opposed to waiting for requests from GAL.[16] The company contacted Johnson/ Burgee in 1974 to begin designs, and the architects worked closely with William Tao and Associates Inc. and Severud Associates, structural engineers, to ensure that their unique building could be constructed with ease.[17] "When General American Life Insurance Company displayed, in 1974, the model of a new headquarters building that it proposed to build downtown, it raised elated but puzzled expectations of a stimulating contribution to architectural design in the business core."[18]

On February 15, 1975 Philip Johnson and John Burgee joined St. Louis Mayor John Poelker, Civic Center Redevelopment Corp. President O.O. McCracken, and President and Chairman of GAL Armand C. Stalknaker for the groundbreaking ceremony. That April McCarthy Brothers Company began construction on the six-story glass and brick headquarters as part of Phase II of the Civic Center Redevelopment Corp's program to expand the Civic Center to the west.[19] Over the next eight months the steel frame and concrete floors were put in place, with the topping out ceremony taking place on January 6, 1976. Installation of masonry, aluminum, and glass continued, and soon the exterior of what Johnson referred to as "a square donut with a round hole," was



Portman's Hyatt Regency Atrium. John Protman and Associates. Inc. (n.d.) retrieved 18 September 2006 from http://www.portmanusa.com/hotel/h_atlanta_hyatt.html

business building."[25] Off of this ring are triangular offices and boardrooms, the first floor containing a triangular pink-granite table, adding to the multiple geometries on the inside and outside of the building.[26] Incorporating yet another peripheral element to the internal design, the firm included brick as a facing material on the exterior and the interior finish, a product rarely used on interiors by anyone at that time.[27]

Johnson/Burgee worked with GAL to create open floor plans within the working environment, avoiding the enclosed spaces usually present in offices.[28] The open floor plan created not only a friendly working environment, but also allowed flexibility in office spaces planned for long term use because stationary partition walls are not present during remodeling. Creating acoustical settings within an open office plan requires specific parameters to balance background noise,[29] and for this reason the designers included acoustical tile ceilings, carpeting, and brown ultrasuede fabric covered meeting rooms, which muted the sound of the air-conditioning and heating.[30] The open floor plan was exemplified on the fourth and fifth floor in which only "a small 'core' area containing two conference rooms, file banks, and restrooms" had walls.[31] Though the second through fifth floors were designed with open floor plans, each had specialized elements to cater to the department it housed, including meeting rooms and custom-designed work stations. Johnson/ Burgee also included interior design elements which complemented the architecture of the interior, including white desks and gray carpet offset by bright colors in other furniture and accessories.[32]

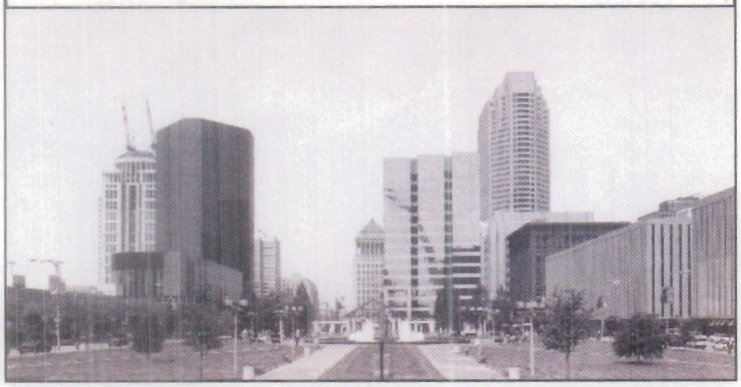
On April 21, 1977, General American employees moved into what Robert Duffy of the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* referred to as "one of the most spectacular buildings to be built in St. Louis in years, and what is regarded as one of the most spectacular buildings to be opened in the United States in 1977."[33] The $9,850,000 building's impact was so prominent that the *Post Dispatch* ran two page spreads in both January and April of 1977, commenting on the architecture of the building and its incorporation in the downtown area. General American was exceedingly pleased with its new building, noting that "the architecture of the National Headquarters will surely be copied. Today it stands alone...the still unique prototype for the look of tomorrow."[34]

Busch Memorial Stadium Busch Stadium Pictorial Tribute. (n.d) Retrieved 18 September 2006 from http://www.portmanusa.com/hotel/h_atlanta_hyatt.html

General American's new headquarters was designed to reflect the architectural elements surrounding it, as well as those features that were proposed but not yet in place, for Johnson/Burgee felt it essential to look to the context for every building they designed.[35] Already present in the immediate vicinity during the design and construction process of the National Headquarters were the building at 620 Market Street across 7th street (constructed 1968), Busch Memorial Stadium (constructed 1966), and the Buder Building (constructed in 1902). The building at 620 Market Street, which is still standing, was located to the east of the building,[36] and Busch Memorial Stadium was located directly to the south.[37] Reflecting the low stature of these buildings, both under four-stories tall, Johnson/Burgee directed the lower half of the National Headquarters toward the southeast.[38] The columns on General American's northwest side were also said to possess a "conversational play of structural forms" when compared to those found on Busch Memorial Stadium.[39] The Buder Building, which was located directly north across Market Street, was a thirteen-story tall commercial building. Constructed of intricate masonry, brick and terracotta,[40] it faced the raised section of the Headquarters building. [41]

Though these architectural features influenced the building's positioning, the General American building was also designed to reflect those pieces not yet completed, including the proposed Gateway Mall. A controversial project from its inception before World War I, the Gateway Mall was to consist of parks, fountains, and green space running from Fourth Street all the way to Twenty Third Street between Market and Chestnut (See Figure 9). Though the project was slow and had much opposition, the decision to implement the Mall between the Old Court House and Union Station became a strong initiative during Mayor Poelker's time in office (1973-77). Hoping to motivate citizens to use the downtown area even when corporate offices were closed, the project proposed the removal of the Buder, Title Guarantee, and the Western Union Buildings from their position between Seventh and Eighth Streets.[42]

The Gateway Mall 1998 Retrieved from Primm's Lion of the Valley p 511



Though many preservationists and architects wanted to save these buildings,[43] Philip Johnson had a much different view. In spite of his belief that city planning had changed since the first plans of the Gateway Mall, and that this kind of project would simply create divisions in the city, Johnson maintained that what had been started should be completed.[44] The final plans were carried out under Mayor Schoemehl's administration and resulted in a compromise, which left only the south half the mall, removing the Buder, Title Guarantee, and Western Union Buildings, three buildings that had been added to Real Estate Row (which included the Wainwright Building as the first skyscrapers to be constructed in St. Louis). In 1985, the glass fifteen-story Gateway One was constructed on the north side of the mall between Seventh and Eight Streets.

Though the new headquarters was inclined to continue pedestrian traffic by opening its large portico toward a block wide public mall, the company offered its building for civic involvement regardless of its surroundings. During construction, high school students were invited to line the fences with an exhibit entitled "Two Hundred Years of Visual Images in St. Louis."[45] The company also planned the use of its first floor by civic and professional groups at the time of construction,[46] as well as allowing the Arts and Education Council to hold lunchtime concerts on the portico.[47]

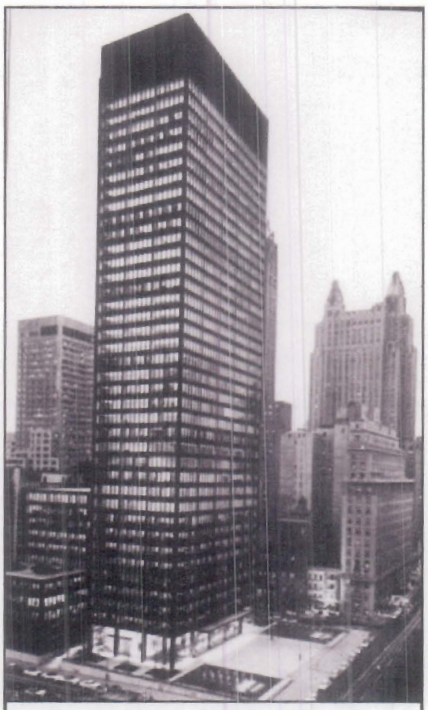
The expertise of architects Philip Johnson and John Burgee was revisited in the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters. Like many buildings constructed during St. Louis' redevelopment, General American's Headquarters expresses Modern popular style, with multiple geometries found in Post-Modern theory.

The Evolution of the Modern Movement

As Ernest Burden explained in the Illustrated Dictionary of Architecture, Modern architecture describes "a movement that combined functionalism with ideals that rejected the historical design concepts and forms." He further states that Modernism "rejected the concept of applied style and the use of any ornament. It used concrete, steel, and glass to help evolve an architecture directly related to construction methods.

Exterior and interior forms were conceived and expressed as a single entity."[48] Modern architecture is expressed in many forms, which evolved over time from Wrightian to Neo-expressionist styles. Architectural writers, such as William Curtis and Mark Gelernter, have noted that tracing the origins of the Modern Movement is an enormous task.[49]

Recent architectural theory asserts that there was not a sudden break separating Modern architecture from its predecessors, but rather that it developed over time, with other contemporary movements, into new forms. Thus, as the end of the nineteenth century produced the Arts and Crafts movement and the Chicago Style, these two forms pushed architecture toward Modern distinction.[50] However, introduction of the International style to the United States had a great impact on the styles to come.



Seagrams Building. Emory University Libraries (23 August 2005) Retrieved 28 December 2006. from http://web.library.emory.edu/subjects/humanities/visual/ARTHIST369.htm

International Style developed most notably in Europe under the inspiration of Walter Gropius, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, widely known as Le Corbusier. These architects shaped their craft in Europe, but found national recognition in the Untied States in 1932 through an exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, and in a book entitled *The International Style,* which was a reflection of the work portrayed in the exhibit. When Gropius accepted a position as chairman of the Department of Architecture at Harvard University in 1937, he brought with him to the United States the "tough minded Germanic approach to the new architecture."[51] Gropius's early American work mostly consisted of houses designed to express their function.

A year later Mies van der Rohe made his way to Chicago and implemented his own form of International Style. Mies continued the structural skeletal form prevelant in the Chicago Style, using steel and reinforced concrete with glass curtain walls and a colonaded, set back first floor. Expressing the structural details with little ornament, Mies took architecture from "one of shades and shadows" to "reflective glass surfaces." Mies designed high-rise apartment buildings for his United States clients until 1954, when he constructed his first commercial project, the Seagrams Building. Following the design details he had used on his apartment buildings, the Seagrams Building used a glass curtain wall over an exposed structure, with an indented plaza off Park Avenue. Meis had many followers, including the firm Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, and Eero

Saaerinen, while others like Philip Johnson re-interpreted his work.[52]

While Mies was experimenting in the glass box, Frank Lloyd Wright was developing a "second career" in architecture. Beginning with "Fallingwater" in 1936, Wright began a new phase in design, moving away from his traditional Prairie Style, a form that aimed to connect man with his environment, and toward simple geometries. Using triangles, rectangles, and circles, Wright challenged the "box" in all his work, including his high-rise office buildings (as seen in Price Tower), and the Guggenheim Museum.[53] Beyond this geometry, Wright also designed in the new Art Moderne style. His Johnson Wax Company Building embodies this form, using horizontal elements, smooth wall finishes, rounded corners, and flat roofs.

Many Modern forms developed and changed shape between 1930 and 1975. Influenced by major social and technological transformations, Modern Architecture has been molded to fit every necessary circumstance for implementation, from mass housing to capital institutions. Some styles most recognized are Neo-Expressionism, with its sweeping curves, and Brutalism, characterized by massiviness and structural expression and multiple concrete setbacks. [54] Modern architecture took on different personalities as architects molded it into innovative and fitting forms.

National Modern Trends in the 1970s.

From the end of the 1960s to the beginning of the 1980s corporate architecture across the country shifted away from the Mesian box and eventually gave way to Post-Modern architecture. A reaction against the International Style, and Modernism in general, Post Modern architecture "reintroduced ornament and decorative motifs to building design, often in garnish colors and illogical juxtaposition... It is an eclectic borrowing of historical details from several periods...a light hearted compilation of esthetic symbols and details, often using arbitraty geometry, with an inconsistancy of scale."[55]

This national architectural evolution can be seen in corporate buildings from the end of the 1960s through the 1970s. Thus the 1980s commenced with a very different definition of what an office building should look like, challenging the International Style's glass box in some ways and manipulating it in others. At the end of the 1960s structural design was just beginning its transformation. Well known constructs, like the Roache-Dinkeloo Ford Foundation Building (1963-1968 See Figure 10), were composed of glass, concrete and steel. But unlike the many glass box scyscrapers on New York's 42nd Avenue, the Ford Foundation Building was an experiment in the work environment. The twelve-story block features a central conservatory that rises to the top floor, with offices arranged in an "L" shape at the rear of the planted space.[56] The overall effect

mimics deep brutalist setbacks and concrete columns, while utilizing the glass shaft associated with modern development.

The conservatory of the Ford Foundation building is an alternative use for the central open space incorporated in several buildings during this period. The Euram Building (1971, See Figure 11) designed by Hartman-Cox "was configured around a triangular, light-filled atrium...a simple program of generic office spaces prompted a design that expresses the building's principal elements--its vertical circulation; its lobby, office, and service spaces." Though still expressing the structural elements, the Euram Building's inclusion of this atrium and the building's geometric shape was a "step toward a contextually-determined commercial architecture" that reflected the surrounding colors, scale and materials in its Dupont Circle location.[57] Contextual elements, as well as the central atrium and geometric forms, were exploited in several of Johnson's buildings and are clearly demonstrated by General American's cylindrical lobby and elevated triangular office spaces.

While artistic design principles were slowly introduced into modern concept, architects were incorporating them with the traditional structural form and increasing building height. A representtive example is the Transamerica Pyramid in San Fransico, California. Constructed between 1969 and 1972, the building rises 853 feet utilizing 48 stories of office space (See Figure 12). The International Style bands of reflective glass and metal build upward on the four-sided pyramid, with wings on the east and west and a 212 foot spire. The pyramidal shape of the building not only represents the trend for geometric forms during this period, but also allowed the building to achieve great height without exceeding office square footage zoning restrictions. The General American Headquarters also used geometric form and elevation to maintain low square footage but reach a desired height.

A year after construction began on the Transamerica Pyramid, another project was getting underway on the other side of the nation. The World Trade Center "Twin Towers" were 110 stories in height, designed by architect Minoru Yamasaki (See Figure 13). The metal box appearence of these mega structures was a frame of closely-spaced columns tied together by deep spandrel beams along the exterior perimeter. The 18 inch windows in each office created small reflective horizontal bands that rose up the steel structure. These metal boxes were praised more for their structural feats than their architectural designs, labled by technical historian Lewis Mumford as, "an example of the purposeless giantism and technological exhibitionism that are now eviscerating the living tissue of every great city." The exterior monotony further lent itself to jokes that the towers looked like the boxes in which the Chrysler Building and Empire State Building were packaged.[58]

When it overtook the Word Trade Center as the largest building in the world in 1974, the Sears Tower (Figure 14) in Chicago was structurally similar but aesthetically more complicated when compared with its colossal contemporary. Consisting of nine tubes that create geometric setbacks, the Sears Building incorporated large office space for its namesake, and its architect Bruce Graham of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill also included smaller space that could be leased until the company grew into it. Once again utlizing bands of glass and metal, the Sears building's recognition was focused more on its height than its artistic detailing.[59]

Though some architects were experimenting with height and structural form, the glass box remained a key element in almost every major city. Hancock Place (1977, See Figure 15) is a representative example of how the basic form was being modified. The 60-story mirrored tower is an imposing block overlooking Boston. Its defining feature is a sharp incision on the short sides of its parallelogram shape. [60] Johnson/ Burgee also experimented with the revision of the glass box through shape and elevation cut outs in their 1972 IDS Center and 1976 Pennzoil Place. The success of Pennzoil Place encouraged other architects to challenge the typical design. The Citicorp Center in New York (See Figure 16) revists Johnson/Burgee's double tower design by slicing the top off a square glass building and adding drama by placing the building on massive seven-story columns and providing a publicly utilized atrium.[61]

The increasing reaction against the International Style and glass cubes culminated in a complete rejection of "Modern" ideals and a return to the structural forms of the past.
Many architects affected the modern movement, and Philip Johnson was one of these prominent and influential architects. But unlike many of his predecessors, Johnson (together with Burgee) continued adaptation beyond the parameters of Modern architecture, contributing to the development of Post-Modern design.

Philip Cartelyou Johnson and the Modern Movement

The selection of Johnson/Burgee as architects for the headquarters was a deliberate statement about the kind of building General American wanted. Philip Johnson and John Burgee had developed a strong architectural presence and were developing a philosophy that proved parts of architectural theory to be contradictory. By the end of the 1970s the firm had "challenged a number of prevailing notions about architecture... In doing so they questioned the core of modernist thought."[62] As historian, curator, and practicing architect he has had a formative effect on generations of architects."[63] Though recognized this way in his obituary, Johnson's contributions to the field were noted throughout his life. His architectural career spanned more than 60 years and was influenced by many other architects and artists. Yet he influenced style, playing an enormous part in the expansion of Modernism in America.[64]

Philip Cartelyou Johnson was born in Cleveland, Ohio on July 8, 1906 to a wealthy lawyer, Homer H. Johnson. His father's financial abundance bought him a place at Harvard University.[65] Though he articulated a keen enthusiasm in philosophy, he struggled with the concepts of metaphysics, and after graduation in 1927 found inspiration in Fredrick Nietzsche's writings, ultimately leading to an infatuation with the arts and in particular architecture. Johnson found his way into an unpaid position at the Museum of Modern Art after a meeting with director Alfred H. Barr, Jr. in 1929.[66] As the first Curator of Architecture and Design at MOMA he established a long-running relationship with the institution, to which he donated both financially and artistically.[67]

Johnson traveled to Berlin in 1930, a journey that influenced him in a number of ways, particularly inclining him toward a new movement: Modern architecture. Together with his colleagues Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Alfred H. Barr, Johnson organized "The International Style," a 1932 exhibit which resulted in a book. Johnson and Hitchcock intended to feature the Modern architecture prevalent in Europe, and also to eliminate the socialist stigma to which the style was attached.[68] Through "The International Style" Johnson and Hitchcock are credited as introducing the works of noted architects Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe to the United States.

Mies van der Rohe was born in Germany in 1886, and began studying architecture under Peter Behrens in 1908. Looking to classical and neoclassical forms for inspiration, Mies' designs were geometric, simplistic, and symmetric. By 1921, his architecture was inclined to express the structure of a building by covering the frame in glass curtain walls.[69] As described by Johnson and Hitchcock, Mies' post World War I designs for "skyscrapers entirely of metal and glass...carried technical innovation even further than Gropius, further indeed than anyone in the practice." [70] Walter Gropius, one of the first architects to design in the International Style, believed that the movement of

architecture which expressed function and structure should not be termed a "style" because he felt the designs were not consistent enough to be so boldly established.[71]

Determined to share in the innovations of architectural significance, Johnson went back to school. He chose to obtain his bachelor of architecture at Harvard's Graduate School of Design instead of the instruction Mies offered at the Illinois Institute of Technology.[72] However, Johnson recognized the genius Mies expressed in design and principle, and developed a strong learning relationship with Mies throughout the 1940s, even writing Mies' biography in 1947.[73] Johnson's 1949 thesis evolved into one of his more recognized works, his own Glass House, which many believe reflects Miesian design, though both Mies and Johnson reject this description. Yet Johnson did admit his idolatry of this master architect. "As far as my own work was concerned, I was a devoted disciple of Mies and of the Style."[74]

Another architectural influence entered Johnson's life in 1931 as he prepared the "Modern Architecture" exhibit for MOMA. Frank Lloyd Wright was quite critical of the exhibit, and gave a scathing review, which Johnson never forgot. But Johnson recognized that Wright was also an important part of the Modern Movement, stating in an article for the *Architectural Review* that his friend was "the greatest living architect, and... the founder of modern architecture as we know it in the West, the originator of so many styles that his emulators are invariably a decade or two behind."[75] The admiration was not one sided, and Wright conceded the excellence of Johnson's work as well. When visiting his 1949 Glass House, Wright noted that the building was so connected to the landscape in which it was contained, that one was not sure whether they were inside or out.[76] The friendship between Wright and Johnson continued until Wright's death in 1959.

By the mid 1950s, Johnson had established himself as an architect,[77] soliciting home designs for wealthy clients as well as the Stumberger Administration Building in Ridgefield, CT and Congregation Kneses Tifereth Israel Synagogue,[78] the last completed for free as an apology for fascist tendencies he boasted during the 1930s.[79] While working at MOMA in the spring of 1954, Johnson was introduced to Phyllis Bronfman Lambert, who was searching for an architect to construct a new office building for the centennial celebration of the Joseph E. Seagram and Sons Corporation in 1958. Johnson and Lambert worked together to select an architect with the skill, personality, and proximity to design a building for downtown New York City. The inevitable choice was Mies van der Rohe. Noting that he was sixty-eight and suffering from severe arthritis, Mies selected Philip Johnson to partner on Mies' first commercial project. Moved and excited to work with such an outstanding architect, Johnson jumped at the chance to design with and learn from a man he had for so long admired. Though Johnson admitted it was Mies who designed the basics of the building, he took full credit

Johnson and Mies Van Der Rohe. Philip Johnson 100. Retrieved 29 December 2006 from http://epiteszforum.hu/?q=node/2509

for his partnership in the project, especially his work on the interior structure.[80]

After working with Mies, Johnson began to design more public buildings, working for universities and in the corporate realm. Commissioned by John D. Rockefeller III, Johnson created the Asia House in New York to act as a meeting space and headquarters for the newly formed Asia Society. By 1967, he had designed 16 institutional buildings, including museums, residence halls, and laboratories.[81] Johnson admited that his fascination with the International Style dwindled after he worked with Mies,[82] and he started a new chapter in his design work, beginning "to enunciate his conception of the importance of monumentality in the architectural expressions of modern America."[83]

Johnson surrounded himself with young architects, whose talent he would foster and whose style he relentlessly adopted.[84] One of these up-and-coming young architects was John Burgee, a man Philip Johnson made partner in 1967, and with whom Johnson would produce larger corporate projects and highly praised skyscrapers.[85]

John Burgee & Johnson/Burgee Architecture

The partnership of Johnson and Burgee was a tremendous success, resulting in what Nory Miller referred to in 1979 as the "best work of their careers, the receipt of every award that is given to architects and some that aren't, and international attention for more than a decade."[86] When he entered the firm in 1967, John Burgee was already a seasoned architect. A Notre Dame graduate, he had worked for his father's architectural firm, Holabird & Root & Burgee, as well as Naess & Murphy. Upon his arrival from Chicago, Burgee had already completed O'Hare International Airport, [87] and found Johnson's company a haven for his architectural and business skills.[88]

One of Burgee's first projects was to see to the completion the Boston Public Library addition, already in progress since 1964. Not long after completion of the library, in 1972, Investor's Diversified Services invited Johnson and Burgee to propose a 51 story building in Minneapolis. Taken aback by the company's suggestion that they put an exterior on a design by local architect Edward F. Baker, Burgee explained that if they wanted the expertise of Johnson/Burgee then they would get it, all or nothing. Thus, a new building was planned by the company, which cut the corners off a bland, glass, rectangular building, adding serrated edges that created thirty-two corner offices on

every floor. The company also enclosed the plaza between the hotel, bank, and retail space that encompassed the block, to create the atrium known today as "Crystal Court."[89]

The success of the IDS building (Figure 17) proved it to be, "one of the most significant redefinitions of the form of the tall building to appear in the post- World War II years."[90] It wasn't long before the company was acquiring additional skyscraper projects from all over the country, specifically Texas. One of the larger projects was Post Oak Central I and II (Figure 18). Post Oak Central was owned by a Russian immigrant who wanted distinctive architecture for his property west of Houston. The result was two streamline moderne skyscrapers of irregular shape, an example of Johnson's attempts to escape the "dead end" of the glass box tower. Using ribbon windows, setbacks, and curved corners, the company completed the project, rejecting the typical form for which Johnson/Burgee was known.

Another Huston project of note is Pennzoil Place (Figure 19), a building also commissioned in 1976, but much different than its Post Oak contemporary. The owner gave the company strict parameters, demanding that the building make a mark, but refrain from challenging someone else to construct something bigger. Burgee created two trapezoidal towers with the tops sliced off, which the firm connected at the bottom by two pyramidal lobbies. The owner was sufficiently impressed with the design, though Johnson/Burgee blatantly disregarded the owner's demand that the building contain no aluminum or glass, and covered the entirety of the building in bronze tinted reflective windows.[91]

Philip Johnson and John Burgee. Retrieved from Knight's Philip Johnson/ John Burgee Architecture 1979-1985. p (2)

In 1973, *Architectural Forum* committed its entire issue to Philip Johnson, with an essay by Paul Goldburger commenting that Johnson's newest work was rejuvenated and had strayed from the Meisian style, making him one of the most unique and distinguished architects of his time.[92] As the 1970s continued Philip surrounded himself with more architects who were interested in changing the shape of architecture. Though the Postmodernist movement was growing, drawing on elements from the past to inspire contemporary construction, Johnson/ Burgee looked to history in a "conceptual rather than mimetic" way.[93] By the end of the decade Johnson/ Burgee had moved to the

postmodern movement, with Thanksgiving Square (1976) noted as incorporating elements almost identical to that of the Samarra mosque constructed in the ninth-century.[94] The company went on to produce more controversial buildings, with one of the most recognized of these being the AT&T (now Sony) building (1984), which was both criticized and acclaimed for the Chippendale top that speaks to the heart of postmodernism.[95]

The partnership of Johnson and Burgee lasted for over 24 years, with Johnson designing and Burgee editing the work, and taking charge of the administration.[96] Sketches drawn by Johnson would be evaluated by Burgee, who admitted that the two could, "edit each other without any feeling of jealousy." The work the company generated was a joint effort, devoted much to the idea that Burgee was a business man and Johnson was an artist. Johnson admitted that he would sketch on yellow paper, and have Burgee review the product, before sending it to other employees for formal blue prints. Johnson also depended on Burgee to smooth over the important clients, which Johnson had a knack for disturbing with his flamboyant behavior.[97]

The aspirations of John Burgee eventually caused tensions with Johnson, who recognized that after his death there could be no successor. In 1991, the two went their separate ways, which left Johnson to rebuild a new company, and Burgee with severe financial problems.[98] Yet their impact on architecture was more than just an advancement of modern ideas. Johnson passed away in January of 2005, but he and Burgee forever changed the environment of design, encouraging interest in the field.[99]

General American as a Johnson/Burgee Design

The General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters is representative of Johnson/Burgee design, as well as an example of the new direction the architects took in the late 1970s that consequently shaped the firm's buildings in the 1980s. As Alan Ritchie, Johnson's partner in his last company, explained, General American was one of Johnson's first experiments in multiple geometries, which became a part of many Johnson/ Burgee buildings to follow.[100] "Geometry is a theme Johnson and Burgee like to exploit, trying out a variety of cylindrical and rectangular forms for International Place (Figure 120, 1987) at Fort Hill Square in Boston, a cross-barrel vault roof for Momentum Place (1987) in Dallas, a stepped oval for 53rd At Third (1985) in New York City, and a faceted circle set on a triangular base for 101 California Street (Figure 21, 1982) in San Francisco."[101] Other elements of the building reflect those found in works fashioned by Johnson/ Burgee prior to the headquarters' completion. The reflective glass curtain walls were used on several of Johnson/ Burgee buildings,

including Post Oak Central, Pennzoil Place, and IDS Center. The interior, as well, evokes traits common in the Johnson/ Burgee vocabulary. "Much of the procession is rendered in details that have become identified with Johnson/ Burgee: rows of recessed lights, corduroy- like metal columns, fat cylindrical bridge railings, and light- colored sash wherever the effect desired is invisibility."[102]

General American's National Headquarters was much different than the corporate architecture Johnson/ Burgee designed in the late 1960s and early 1970s, despite the use of similar materials. By the time General American Life Insurance Company's National Headquarters was constructed, Johnson/ Burgee had seen to completion four office buildings. Each was a tall glass tower (in the case of Pennzoil Place, two glass towers) with multiple set backs including, the IDS Center at 57-stories, the Post Oak Central buildings at 22-stories, and Pennzoil Place at 36-stories. The small size of the General American Building presented challenges that Johnson/ Burgee only addressed in two other Johnson/Burgee office buildings: 80 Field Point Road (Figure 22, 1978), and One Sugarland Office Park (Figure 23, 1981).

Another example of a three-story office building, 80 Field Point Road has been split in half. In this case, the two adjoining sides were removed completely, instead of the elevated stature used at GAL. In addition, the elevator is the main focal point, just as it is at GAL, with a bridge connecting it to the remainder of the building. One Sugarland Office Park is quite different from General American's Headquarters building, constructed as a three-story brick "gable-front central block symmetrically framed by skewed, gable-capped wings."[103] These buildings are comparable in height to GAL, and while one has some similar elements, the other is notably different. Each reinforces the uniqueness of the General American building as Johnson/ Burgee's first small corporate space.

The General American Headquarters building was also the first corporate work to include a cylinder, an element later used in several of Johnson/ Burgee's designs. The IDS center was a trapezoid that connected the smaller buildings on the block though a pyramidal glass space. Pennzoil Place included two large towers with two pyramidal entry ways at connecting the buildings. The Post Oak Central buildings had rounded corners, but neither possessed the cylinder found in General American. The use of the cylinder was not repeated until 1982 when the forty-eight-story office building at 101 California Street in San Francisco was constructed. This building incorporated serrated edges around the cylinder, and also incorporated the triangular portico on a seven-story trapezoidal extension. In 1987 the architects again incorporated the cylinder into their architecture, using two large towers at International Place. [104]

Of all the buildings the firm designed, The Neiman Marcus store (Figure 24) is perhaps the most similar to GAL, with a large glass rotunda entrance situated at the corner of the building, with a triangular overhang. Constructed in 1982, the building incorporates bands of granite tiles turned on a diagonal that run the length of the square building. Yet as it reflects those elements found on General American it does not emit the grandeur that the GAL Headquarters building possesses.

Though the General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters was praised by the City of St. Louis, General American, and its designers, others found it to be less appealing. *Chicago Tribune* columnist Paul Gapp noted that the building possessed "esthetic mediocrity," but perhaps this is in comparison to some of the company's larger works, for he shared the same distaste for the Neiman- Marcus Store (1982) in San Francisco and the façade of 1001 Fifth Ave. (1979) in Manhattan.[105] The editor of *Progressive Architecture,* John Morris Dixon, showed little excitement over the building when presented with a review of General American, but author George McCue argued for it, stating that it was a "work of elegance in its finish and craftsmanship."[106] Joseph Rykwert mentioned the "architectural flightiness" Johnson possessed, but these criticisms did not deter young architects ready to take on Johnson projects, even those the company had discarded. [107] And though it was noted by Barclay F. Gordon of the *Architectural Record* that, "the exteriors (of the GAL Headquarters building) seem to lack some of the imposing character of Pennzoil's," he admits to the fact that, "the interiors of this St. Louis building are a knockout-as strong in the way as anything that Johnson/ Burgee has done."[108]

As a general rule the National Register of Historic Places does not include buildings designed by architects who are still living (such as John Burgee) at the time of the nomination. However, there are exceptions to this rule. The architecture that resulted from the company was exceedingly different from that which Johnson and Burgee had produced previous to the partnership. As stated, the two edited each other's work, attributing the designs to the genius of both men. Because the National Headquarters presents elements that reflect Johnson/Burgee's previous and later work, the building cannot be credited to one partner or the other, but represents the exchange of ideas between two master architects.

General American Life and the Modern Movement in Downtown St. Louis:

St. Louis, like many American cities, experienced a dearth of new construction in its central business district during the economic depression of the 1930s. However, a massive urban redevelopment project under federal sponsorship was under way by the late 1930s. In the name of removing "blight," 37 blocks of amazingly intact historic buildings were demolished on the St. Louis riverfront, an area comprising the city's

former commercial district. The city's long efforts to induce the federal government to fund the project (at the ratio of one city dollar to three federal dollars) sprang in part from a desire for a new community image that would shake off the long-standing image of conservative 'dowager' many believed had shackled the city for decades.[109] Twenty-five years later in 1964 the *New York Times* critic Ada Louise Huxtable observed that the on-going search for a 'new' St. Louis through demolition had developed into "a city that has virtually torn itself apart to rebuild itself in a new image . . . a city that has more shapeless bulldozed open space and more ambitious and debatable plans for renewal than almost any other in the country"[110]

The riverfront clearance project reached completion in the early 1940s, and at the end of the decade, Eero Saarinen (in 1948) won an international competition for a riverfront monument commemorating Thomas Jefferson and the city's role in westward expansion. Saarinen's 630-foot Gateway Arch (Figure 25), clad in gleaming stainless steel, became a powerful symbol of the city's modernity and new identity long before the structure was completed in 1965. The monument also became a pivotal structure in shaping ideas on city planning. A landscaped open space or linear mall sweeping westward from the 'triumphal' Arch along the southern (Market Street) edge of the business district began to gain strong support. The projected "Gateway Mall" as it would be called, was conceived (as early as 1960) as an uninterrupted vista framed on the long sides by office buildings of contemporary design (Figures 26 & 27).[111]

Despite the shortage of materials and labor in the World War II years, 1943 saw the completion of the three-story St. Louis Post Dispatch Printing Building (NR 8/29/1984), significant as the "first consciously designed International Style building in the city's central business district, and the only one constructed there prior to the 1950s,"[112] after which time the style became widely adopted. More typical of downtown's early entry into the modern aesthetic, however, was the "face-lifting" approach that was embraced throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Owners of historic commercial properties invested heavily in new facades displaying the "streamlined" ideal of modernity in hope of reversing the trends of plummeting sales, vacated buildings, deflated property values and flight-to-the-suburbs decentralization.

New construction in the CBD generally remained stalled in the 1950s. An early step toward its reactivation came in 1953 when Mayor Joseph M. Darst called on the corporate elite for help in arousing the city from complacency and getting it moving again. The group selected by the mayor became Civic Progress, Inc., a membership dedicated to insuring that corporate headquarters remain downtown rather than relocating in the suburbs; the group provided the oft-repeated "vote of confidence" believed critical to maintaining downtown as the center of business. CPI's first president was Powell McHaney, who also served as president of General American

Life. McHaney set a high standard for community service in the organization and succeeding executives at the life insurance company followed his example. An off-shoot of Civic Progress founded in 1958—Downtown St. Louis, Inc.—became another strong advocacy group of businessmen working to promote the St. Louis renascence. A third group of powerbrokers of urban renewal, Civic Center Redevelopment Corp., (largely overlapping members of Civic Progress) came into play as a financing vehicle for new construction the city supported through blighting and tax abatement.

Physical evidence of corporate commitment to building downtown began slowly to appear at the close of the 1950s but within a decade momentum surged with construction of office buildings, hotels, apartment towers, and parking garages concentrated in blocks close to the riverfront park and Saarinen's Gateway Arch, not far from the other centerpiece of urban renewal, the baseball park (Busch Stadium, 1966, now razed and rebuilt- Figures 27 & 28 Image #4) The pioneering office buildings were speculative projects cautiously undertaken by securing early lease commitments. A typical early example, the press release for the ten-story Thomas Jefferson Building (1959, Jamieson, Spearl, Hammond & Grolock, St. Louis) assured that the project was "going to be a reality and not just an announcement" because of a lease signed for several floors.

The press trumpeted the project as the first new major office space to be built in downtown St. Louis in more than 25 years, although in fact the building was an addition to the seven-story 1920 International Fur Exchange Building (NR 4/13/1998). The principal tenant, Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., expressed hope its new home would add "weight to the present resurgence of interest toward getting started on the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial" (the Gateway Arch). The modernist design emphasized the horizontal mode of the International Style, expressed here in alternating bands of concrete and tinted glass. Horizontality also served as the motif in a 1960s office building (Figure 28, Image #3), located in the same block as the Thomas Jefferson Building. The twenty-story Gateway Tower (1968, Hellmuth, Obata & Kassabaum, St. Louis), featured stacks of identical concrete floors, cantilevered out on three elevations to form continuous balconies, adding depth to the design.

The twenty-story Executive Office Building (1963) at Sixth and Olive Streets in the heart of the central business district became the first of the local International Style office buildings modeled after Mies van der Rohe's iconic vertically-oriented curtain-wall designs of dark glass, early illustrated in Chicago's Lake Shore Drive Apartments (1952) and New York's Seagram Building (1958).[113] The St. Louis building was a project of New York developers and Chicago architect A. P. Epstein. Though sited some blocks from the Arch grounds, the Executive Office Building promised a view from its sky-top private club for businessmen. Two blocks west on Olive, the Laclede Gas Building

(1969, Emery Roth & Sons, New York) with bronze-tinted aluminum and glass curtain walls evoked Miesian steel cage prototypes and set a new record for height in St. Louis, rising some thirty stories to 400 feet. In the design of another variant (Figure 28, Image #10), 500 North Broadway (1971, Smith & Entzeroth, St. Louis) the horizontal and vertical elements were more evenly weighted, following the grid of the steel frame, faced in dark stone; the wider spans between structural piers offered flexibility in office lay-outs. Six stories of indoor parking reserved in the twenty-two story building answered a strong demand downtown for that amenity.

The continuous surface of mirrored glass on the twenty-one-story Equitable Building (1971, Hellmuth, Obata & Kassabaum) (Figure 28, Image #5) made a striking departure from any treatment of the curtain wall yet seen in St. Louis. Rather than asserting structure, the reflective glass hid the skeletal frame but the strict regularity of Equitable's rectangular shape conformed to the modular steel cage. A 1976 companion to Equitable by the same architects (Figure 29), twenty-two story Boatmen's Tower (flanking the north side of the Old Courthouse) repeated the mirrored glass curtain wall. This time the silvery glass panels were framed by a grid in harmonizing aluminum. A decade later, the firm returned to the mirrored glass curtain wall for a twelve-story building at 100 South Fourth Street. The use of reflective glass in more limited ways also became popular in St. Louis as it did nationwide.

Rising thirty-five stories, Mercantile Tower (1976, Thompson, Ventulett & Stainback), for a decade was Missouri's tallest building (485 feet). The diagonal bracing motif borrowed from Chicago's John Hancock Building (1969, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill) became a functional marker on a sleekly uniform tall tower that was announced as the first of a complex of neighboring high buildings, including a fifty-one story shaft (unbuilt).

The vast majority of modernistic office buildings erected downtown were revenue-producing projects intended for a variety of business and professional tenants although some buildings carried the corporate name of major lessees or owners. The use of 'safe', non-provoking, mainstream design imagery responded to strong local market demand for new construction that asked for little beyond a clean, modern, 'streamlined' look with simple forms—and parking nearby. But the new look of downtown in 1976 earned harsh words from Pulitzer prize-winning critic Ada Louise Huxtable, one of the few outside critics to write on urban change in St. Louis. She found downtown "a lackluster and ordinary place. . . a dull, desolate, computerized commercial landscape" filled in over the years with " set-pieces of standard Chamber of Commerce renewal—high rise commercial construction, a stadium and parking garages." All of this she attributed to the fact that "neither City Hall nor St. Louis businessmen listened. Now they've got what they wanted."[114]

"unmatched exemplar of New Brutalism in Missouri."[116]

Just as Aydelott's Brutalist work broke from local modernist traditions in the 1960s, Philip Johnson and John Burgee's powerful, innovative design for General American Life shattered the mold of corporate imagery in the 1970s and brought something entirely new to St. Louis and the only example of the firm's prestigious work in the state. The dramatic low-rise headquarters composed of strident, abstract geometric forms fragmented the modernist slabs or cubes that were normative in the city's office buildings. Local critics were quick to recognize the building's significance to St. Louis first noted by Ada Louise Huxtable in 1976 when she singled out the still-unfinished project, praising it for "greater design sensitivity" and its promise of "quality and interest" in contrast to all of the high rise "commercial" construction the critic berated.[117]

E. F. Porter, Jr., writing for the *Post-Dispatch* pointed to Johnson/Burgee's "imaginative, original, even playful" transformation of a basic International Style three-story glass box as indicative of a "kind of pivot point in the development of the dominant architectural style of our time." Porter quoted Buford Pickens, professor emeritus of architecture at Washington University (St. Louis), who found Johnson/Burgee's "more expressive" building in a 'Cubist theme of triangular and cylindrical shapes' to be a welcome relief from local imitations of Mies van der Rohe's "non-committal" style of severely rectangular, unbroken wall surfaces.[118] Porter further noted the significance of General American 's corporate decision "to build an exceptional structure," a phenomenon he called "unusual in the area's business community." The decision sprang from both public and private interests: the company's civic commitment to downtown St. Louis, and its desire for strongly expressing a corporate identity.

Unprecedented in local corporate building practice, General American announced its decision in 1973 to divide its needs for more office space between two sites, one in downtown St. Louis—a "prestige-type" headquarters, and the other, a far-suburban national service center.[119] The plan involving two sites became a strong asset to the possibilities for design of the downtown building, permitting a more modest-sized building than was required by corporations housing all operations in one place or needing additional floors for rental purposes. Notwithstanding General American's sensitivity to the concerns of its policy holders regarding unnecessary or extravagant spending, officers vetoed the economical plan of a single consolidated facility on a suburban campus, and approved the most costly approach involving two sites (city and suburban) because they believed the company would gain significant visibility downtown in a showcase building offering "impact" value as "advertising and marketing."[120]

The fact that the business of both General American and Pet, Inc. involved the sale of

retail products to the general public led them to recognize the asset architecture offered as public outreach and publicity without detracting in any way from the aesthetics. The local firms joined a growing number of corporations nationwide that recognized "architecture's potential not just for institutional identity, but for sales."[121] For decades, the headquarters of both General American and Pet, Inc. had fallen far short of reflecting the status they held as progressive blue chip '*Fortune* 50 and *500*' companies, national and local leaders in their fields of business.[122] From the year Pet moved to St. Louis in 1924, the company had never built but continued to lease space in two 1920s skyscrapers downtown. General American, since the year of its founding in 1933, was hidden away on the northwestern fringe of the CBD, formerly a fashionable old residential sector that became commercial in the 20th century. The company occupied a 1915/24 twelve-story building it had inherited from its bankrupt predecessor, Missouri State Life, and in 1961 expanded into an adjoining building the firm improved with a new modernistic façade (NR10/22/2002). When at last deciding to build new headquarters, both Pet and General American sought an architectural expression that clearly set them apart from other corporate architecture that, except for notable height, most often tended to recede into the background.

Unusual for a St. Louis construction project, the competition for the life insurance building attracted 27 firms. Many were not called by the company but solicited interviews for the job. Certainly one of the big attractions for architects was the 'empty canvas' of the site itself (Figure 27), offering a full city block fronting on the south side of Market Street between Seventh and Eighth Streets, with a view southwestwardly along Market that opened to three blocks of almost entirely vacant land in use since 1950 for surface parking. Even more tempting for designers was the prospect offered on the north side of Market where the promised 'civic' open space, the Gateway Mall, invited architecture of unusual presence or even monumental stature to flank its green space. General American also recognized the unusual prominence and significance of the site it chose to build on.[123] In the context of local urban renewal goals, General American's project represented "an important first" or kick-off project in Phase II of Civic Center Redevelopment Corp.'s plan for the blocks between Seventh and Eleventh Streets. [124] Located just a 'mall' block away on North Seventh Street from Louis Sullivan's Wainwright Building (1891), the life insurer's site begged for an extraordinary design of 20th century architecture that measured up to the stature of the celebrated 19th century design.

The selection of Johnson/Burgee turned out to be fortuitous for both client and designers. General American sought a high-profile firm that could guarantee an outstanding building unlike anything ever seen before in St. Louis (and Missouri), a building that would call attention to the city architecturally and join the ranks of established landmarks such as Saarinen's Gateway Arch and Louis Sullivan's

Wainwright Building. The company sought a headquarters of unmistakable identity, a design that was progressive, bold, sophisticated, aggressive and futuristic, in other words reflecting the goals of the company itself. Johnson/Burgee was presumably chosen because the firm's ever-changing, often iconoclastic portfolio was closely identified with highly innovative designs that stepped outside the canon of the orthodox International Style's simple straight lines and boxlike forms so familiar in downtown St. Louis. Without complete abandonment of the basic principles and technology of the International Style, the work of Johnson and Burgee had moved away from main-line modernism and away from what Johnson called the "landmark characteristics of a modern office building . . .buildings that my master – Mies van der Rohe built in the early 50s"[125] to join a wider stream of modern design embracing multiple approaches. Johnson's self-described eclectic approach to design, what he called a "style-to-fit-the job attitude," was in tune with the needs of the firm's St. Louis client.[126]

From the architects' point of view, the General American Life commission was precisely the kind of project that the firm selectively looked for: clients wanting to make strong statements, allowing the architects to create something "beyond what we've made before."[127] Addressing the significance of the St. Louis commission to the firm, Johnson emphasized: "It's a remarkable commission for a remarkable client. Very few cities have what you have to offer an architect . . . where else in the country could we build next to our friends . . . Ed Stone and Eero Saarinen," referring to the designers of Busch Stadium (1966, razed) and the Gateway Arch, respectively. According to Johnson, however, the greatest contextual challenge for the firm was the "frightening responsibility" of building across from Louis Sullivan's Wainwright Building (1891), located on North Seventh Street directly across the projected Gateway Mall from the new General American headquarters[128] (Figure 30). That Johnson welcomed the challenge to create a visual dialogue of high contrast between old and new masters is clear from Johnson's insistence that the Gateway Mall be completed (even if it took twenty years), in order that the firm's design could directly face the Sullivan building; the raised triangular half of the headquarters 'pointed' directionally to the mall and the Wainwright.[129]

The General American project further offered the smaller type of building the partners believed permitted the development of more interesting designs.[130] The requirements for a low building on a large open site in St. Louis gave Johnson/Burgee opportunity to fully exploit the potential of architecture as 'minimalist sculpture,' an experiment with geometric form they were working out in skyscraper size at Pennzoil Place (1971-76, Houston), two tall trapezoidal buildings artfully juxtaposed (Figure 19). Buildings like Pennzoil Place and General American reveal the firm's dissatisfaction with the straitjacket look of conventional buildings defined by a single simple geometric shape and simple straight lines.[131] As Johnson remarked, "a three-story building would have

looked like an army barracks on this site," alluding to General American's unusual use of split-level triangles (one triangle raised on columns to a height of six-stories).

In an interview with a local critic, Johnson expanded on the geometric artistry introduced in the St. Louis headquarters, explaining how "all this geometry" worked together to give the design "its uniqueness":

"With this building," Johnson said, "I think we've made another step—gone one step further we think . . .we have two triangles that play against each other planted to a cylinder which holds the two triangles in place. The triangles don't touch, so although we have a circle and although we have a square, we really have two triangles. So we have triangles, squares, circles, cylinders, all this geometry expressed in this one building. In other words, the play of all those odd geometric shapes, binding but not quite touching—but sort of snarling at each other—gives this building its uniqueness: nobody, I assure you nobody will ever do it again."[132] (Underscoring the sculptural aspect of the St. Louis building with characteristic wit, Johnson proposed the building be set on wheels to rotate so that everyone could enjoy the view at all different levels.)[133] The sculptural theme of angular and curving forms expressed in the exterior design was also carried inside to articulate interior spaces with great artistic effect, especially apparent in the lobby rotunda—clearly one of the most outstanding examples of modernist interior spaces in downtown St. Louis.

In the years following the completion of Johnson/Burgee's avant-garde General American Life headquarters, new construction in downtown St. Louis produced no further evidence of outstanding innovation. The skyline continued to be dominated by high-rise variations of the late modern International Style, designs that continued to satisfy the expectations and meet the needs of local developers and tenants. Paul Goldberger, senior architecture critic for *The New York Times,* on a visit to St. Louis in 1983 summed up the post-Johnson/Burgee construction: "Almost all of the recent architecture in the city's downtown is undistinguished, high-rise buildings that could be anywhere." Illustrating a "typical" example (Figure 31), Goldberger described General American's immediate neighbor to the west, the thirty-one-story Centerre Bank Building (1981, 3D/International Consultants) as "a garish multisided skyscraper of brown glass" that "would be more at home if there were a Houston freeway running beside it." In the critic's eyes, even the "best new building" appeared "rather dull," (Figure 32), referring to Edward Larrabee Barnes' twenty-story granite and glass tower, 1010 Market Street (1981), a block west of the Centerre site;[134] local critics, however, saw the building in a somewhat more positive light, calling it "downtown St. Louis's nearest approach to the classic International Style."[135]

Aftermath:

One of those local critics had earlier commented that for St. Louis, a city with an historic affinity for front porches, the General American Life Insurance Company's National Headquarters provided "the ultimate front porch," a somewhat cryptic statement that was nonetheless true.[136] As had been the case for many previous parades, when the Veiled Prophet parade stepped out for the 122nd time in July 1999, the viewing stand was sheltered by the raised half of Johnson/Burgee's "square donut" and by the civic generosity of General American Life, a company that had seen three of its executives named "Citizen of the Year" in the four decades since that award was created (as "Man of the Year") by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*.[137] Barely a month later, in a move eerily reminiscent of the Great Depression that had given birth to the company, General American found it necessary to impose a 30-day delay on customers who want to cash out of life policies worth more than $100,000. After two tense weeks in August 1999, the company was purchased by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.[138] With different priorities and no local ties, the country's second largest life insurer retained only the National Service Center in St. Louis County. Although vacant since its acquisition by Metropolitan Life, the building is slated for rehabilitation utilizing state and federal historic rehab tax credits. Thirty years after its completion, it remains unique, standing out from the newer glass boxes as it had from the old, a distinctive part of the urban plaza for which it was designed and a unique tribute to the collaboration between a civic-minded corporation and the architectural partnership between John Burgee and Philip Johnson, the still-controversial architect who was the first winner of the AIA's Pritzker Prize.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Notes:

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[5] Stiritz, Mary M. *General American Life Insurance Company Buildings National Register of Historic Places Nomination.* (United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, 6 September 2002), 3-17.
[6] Stiritz, 14-18.
[7] General American Life Insurance, *General American Life's New Buildings to Serve You* (St. Louis: General American Life Insurance Company, 1977).
[8] General, *General American.*
[9] E.P. Porter, Jr. "Intangible Asset: Good Design In Architecture." *St. Louis Post Dispatch.* 9 January 1977, p. 1G.
[10] James Neal Primm. *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980.* 3rd ed. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998.
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[12] Margie Manning, "Civic Progress Cuts Gifts," *St. Louis Business Journal* (19 February 1999).
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[14] Eric Mumford, *Modern Architecture in St. Louis: Washington University and Post War American Architecture, 1948-1973*, (St. Louis: School of Architecture, Washington University St. Louis, MO, 2004), 60-61.
[15] General American Life Insurace Company, *Associates Open House at the National Headquarters.* St. Louis: General American Life Insurance Company, 5 June 1977 (3).
[16] Porter, 1G.
[17] General, *Associates Open House,* (4).
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[19] "General American Building Started." *St. Louis Commerce*, (April 1975).
[20] General, *Associates Open House*, (4).
[21] Charles A. Schneider, *Building System Design: General American Building* (St. Louis: Washington University, 1978):1-5, 70-72.
[22] Robert W. Duffy, "General American Life Insurance Co. Staff Moves into 'Spectacular' Rated Edifice Here," *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (22 September 1976): 3A.
[23] The Associated Press, "Architect Thought Out of the Box," *St. Louis Post- Dispatch* (27 Jan 2005): A5.
[24] Nory Miller, (92).
[25] McCue, "Break in Constancy," 23.
[26] General, *Associates Open House,* (7).
[27] Ritchie.
[28] General, *General American.*
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[30] General, *Associates Open House,* (9).
[31] General, *Associates Open House,* (8).
[32] General, *Associates Open House,*(9).
[33] Duffy, 3A.
[34] General, *Associates Open House,* (8).
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[36] City of St. Louis Planning and Urban Design Agency, *Geo St. Louis* (n.d.) Retrieved 18 September 2006 from http://stlcin.missouri.org/citydata/newdesign/addressparser.cfm?addresssearch=&previouspage=data
[37] Oestreich, IV-65-68.
[38] Miller, 85.
[39] *St. Louis Commerce* Sept 1977.
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[41] Miller, 85.

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[43] Duffy, 3A.
[44] Robert Duffy "Architect Says Mall Should Be Finished," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (22 September 1976): 3A.
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[46] General, *Associates Open House,* (5).
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[65] Paul Goldberger, "Philip Johnson is Dead at 98; Architecture's Restless Intellect," *The New York Times* (27 January 2005).
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[67] Joseph Rykwert, "Review of *Philip Johnson: Life and Work* by Franz Schwartz," *Art in America* (September 1995).
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[72] Rykwert.
[73] Charles Noble, *Philip Johnson* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 11.
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[76] Schulze, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work,* 223-227.
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[90] Schulze, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work,* 324.
[91] Schulze, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work*, 324-327.
[92] Schulze, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work,* 327.
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[97] Knight, 8-11.
[98] Pacelle.
[99] Knight, 11.
[100] Ritchie.
[101] Knight, 7.
[102] Miller, 85.
[103] Lewis, 206
[104] Derived for examination of the photos in Hilary Lewis's *The Architecture of Philip Johnson.*
[105] Gapp.
[106] Letter from George McCue to John Morris Dixon, Editor of Progressive Architecture, written May 17, 1977. On file with the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missorui St. Louis.
[107] Rykwert.
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[109] See Donald Bright Oster, *Community Image In the History of Saint Louis And Kansas City* (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1969), 206-216.
[110] Ada Louis Huxtable, "Architecture: Fitting Site," *New York Times,* 18 June 1964. Huxtable was in St. Louis covering the national convention of the American Institute of Architects (June 14-17, 1964).
[111] A drawing illustrating the mall corridor lined with buildings from the Arch grounds terminating at the Civil Courts Building at Eleventh Street was published in "Plan for Downtown St. Louis" (St. Louis: City Plan Commission, 1960). The projected Gateway Mall connected to an existing mall (executed mid-1920s-1950s) that was first proposed by the City Plan commission in 1912. The new mall differed in the placement of east-west boundaries which in the completed (old) mall stretched between Twelfth Street (now Tucker) to about Twenty-first Street, all outside the primary business sector of downtown.
[112] Lawrence S. Lowic, Ph. D., "St. Louis Post-Dispatch Printing Building," National Register nomination, 1984 (summary paragraph, Section 8).
[113] Philip Johnson was associated with van der Rohe in the design of the Seagram Building.
[114] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Design (Good and Bad) Down by the Levee," *New York Times,* 6 June 1976. In 1970, Huxtable received the Pulitzer award for "distinguished criticism."
[115] Esley Hamilton and Doris Danna, "American Zinc, Lead & Smelting Company Building," National Register nomination, Section 8, 1998. The authors point out that contrary to local folklore that wrongly surmised the choice of exterior stainless steel was a tribute to Saarinen's Gateway Arch, the material in fact was intended to provide a distinct identity for the headquarters of a metals producer.
[116] Stacy Sone and Carolyn Toft, "Pet Plaza," National Register nomination, 2004, Section 8.
[117] Huxtable, *New York Times* 6 June 1976.
[118] E. F. Porter, Jr., "Intangible Asset: Good Design In Architecture," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 9 January 1977.

[119] Under construction at the same time as the downtown headquarters, the suburban service building was designed by the local firm HOK.
[120] Ted Schafers, "General American unveils dual building plan," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* 20 June 1973.
[121] Carter Wiseman, *Twentieth Century American Architecture: The Buildings and Their Makers* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 275.
[122] Since 1955 when Fortune first published its listings of non-industrial categories, General American continuously ranked on the list of '50 Largest' life insurance companies in the country; from 1975 onward it was the only Missouri life company to hold a place. General American dominated the St. Louis market, and had the largest share of state business among the Missouri-domiciled life companies.
[123] Stanley Richman, GenAm vice-president and head of the building committee stated, "We chose a significant location and this reinforced our desire to make a contribution, architecturally . . . I don't think all buildings need to convey a message but this building does because of its location," quoted in E. F. Porter, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 9 January 1977.
[124] Ted Schafers, *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 20 June 1973. Redevelopment of Market Street blocks west of Sixth Street had failed to attract commitment from investors waiting to see if the Gateway Mall would become a reality.
[125] John Brod Peters, "An architect devoted to art," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* 17 September 1976.
[126] Philip Johnson, "Afterword," n.d., in *Philip Johnson Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 271.
[127] The firm selected only a 'mere fraction of the work offered." As one client stated, "We picked Johnson and Burgee and they chose us." Carleton Knight, III, "Introduction," in *Philip Johnson / John Burgee Architecture 1979-1985* (New York: Rizzoli, 1985), 6-9.
[128] John Brod Peters, *St. Louis Globe Democrat* 17 September 1976.
[129] Robert W. Duffy, "Architect Says Mall Should Be Finished," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 22 September 1976. A city block of historic buildings intervened between the GenAm and Wainwright buildings. Though the block was cleared, construction in 1985 of a mid-rise commercial building again obstructed a full view of the Wainwright.
[130] Carleton Knight, III, "Introduction," 6.
[131] Speaking in 1975 about "What Makes Me Tick," Johnson identified the "building as a work of sculpture" one of the key aspects of his design process. He attributed the sculptural trend in recent architecture to his profession's lack of "decorative motifs our forerunners could use" noting as a result, "we have turned to other modes of expression . . . we can warp or curve or tilt our buildings the way we will." Among the abstract 'sculptures' designed by colleagues, Johnson admired Kevin Roches's multiple pyramidal forms (1967-71) designed for a life insurance company in Indianapolis. Philip Johnson, Lecture, Columbia University, September 24, 1975, in Philip Johnson, *Writings* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979), 260-265.
[132] John Brod Peters, "An architect devoted to art," *St. Louis Globe Democrat* 17 September 1976.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Paul Goldberger, "St. Louis Divided by an Unbuilt Mall," *New York Times,* 19 February 1983.
[135] George McCue and Frank Peters, *A Guide to the Architecture of St. Louis* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1989):39.
[136] George McCue, *The Building Art in St. Louis: Two Centuries*, 3rd edition (St. Louis: McKnight, 1981), 44.
[137] The parade's honorary grand marshal was Robert Stanton, director of the National Park Service, an acknowledgment of fact that Park Service had since 1981 allowed the Veiled Prophet organization to host a fair at the Arch grounds over the July 4th weekend, part of the campaign to reform the image of an organization founded by the city's businessmen in 1878 to demonstrate corporate strength *vis-à-vis* the growing union movement. "VP Parade Steps off for the 122nd Time," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 1 July 1999. Frederic M. Peirce, Armand C. Stalnaker and H. Edwin Trusheim were each named "Man of the Year". "Past Citizen of the Year Recipients," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 30 December 2001. For the history of the Veiled Prophet: *Thomas M. Spencer, The St. Louis Veiled Prophet Celebration: Power on Parade, 1877-1995* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000). Despite the "unveiling" that took place in 1972, is not possible to know which businessmen bore the title of "Veiled Prophet" over the years.
[138] "General American Orders Delay In Big Policy Cash-Outs - Mass. Mutual Is Among Suitors," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* 17 August 1999; "Call Turned General American Upside Down: News Of Lowered Rating, Inability To Meet Obligations Will Probably Kill Planned IPO - Company Lacked Cash To Meet Withdrawals," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 15 August 1999; "Insurer Is Said To Seek a Deal," *New York Times*, 26 August 1999.

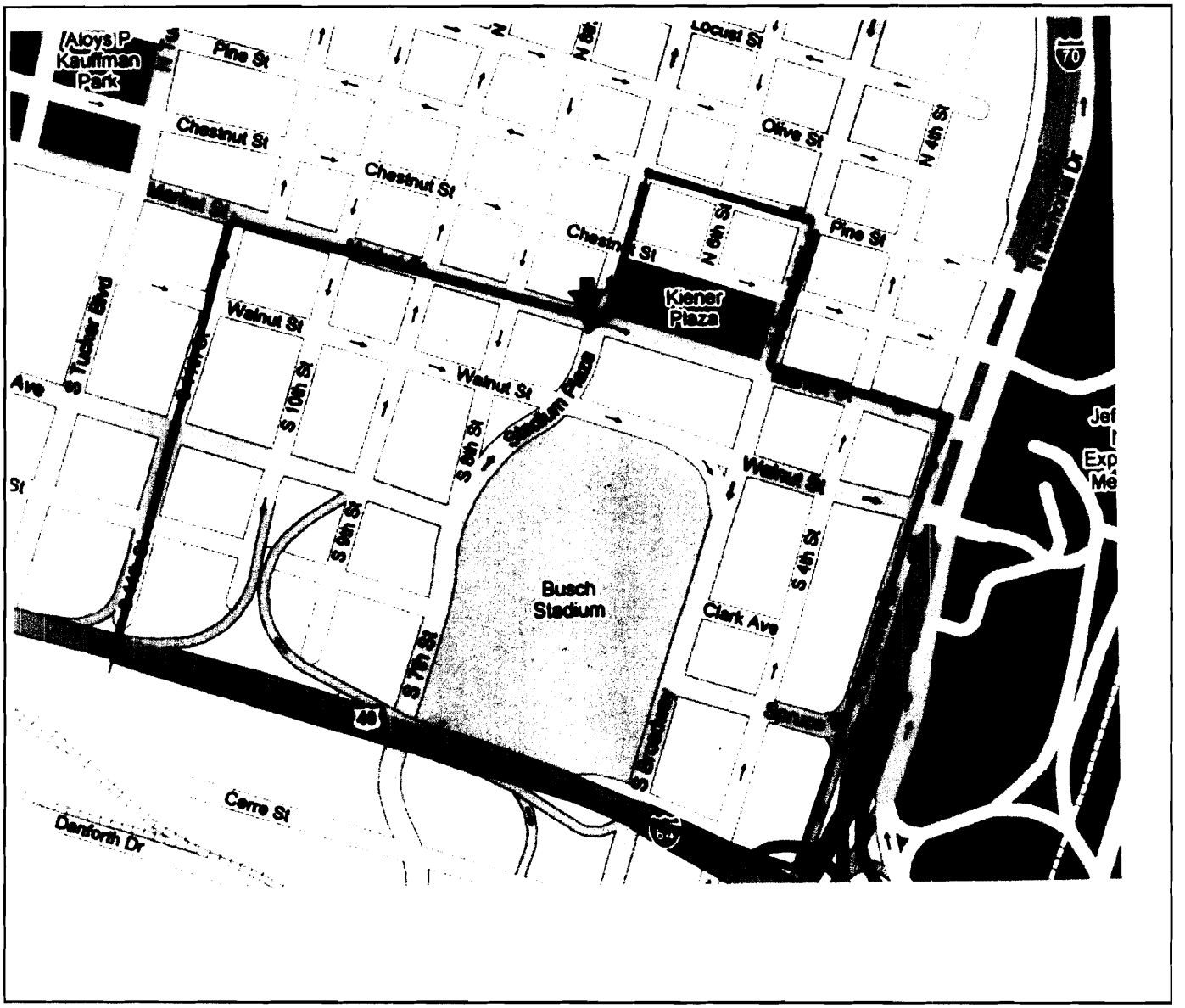


Figure 8- The Civic Center Redevelopment Area

The Civic Center is located between Third and Eleventh Streets, Poplar and Market, plus Market to Pine between Broadway and Seventh. The arrow indicates the General American Life Insurance National Headquarters.
Map retrieved from Google.com

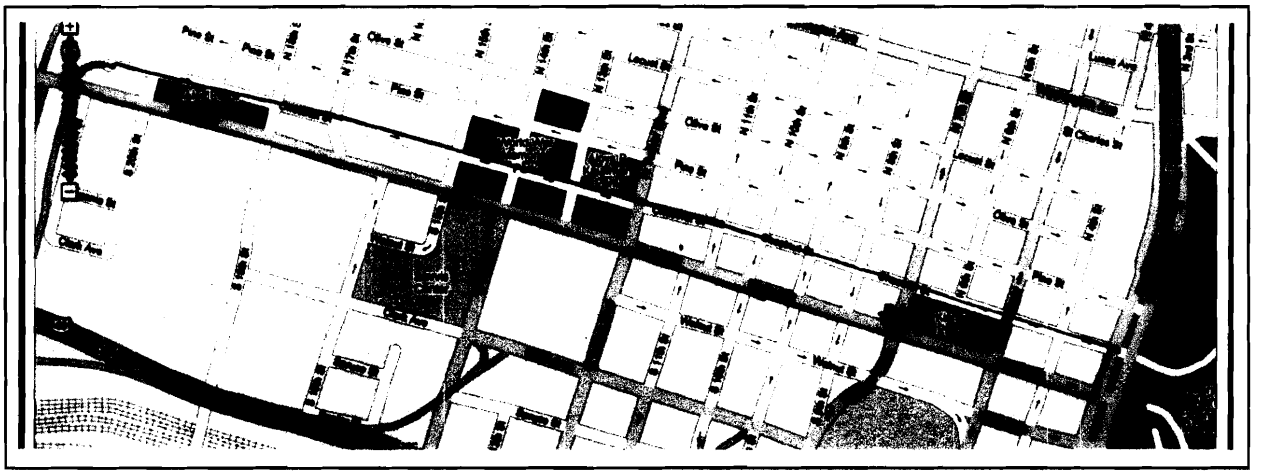


Figure 9- The Gateway Mall

The Gateway Mall is located between Fourth Street and Twenty Third Street, and between Market and Chestnut. Map retrieved from Google.com.

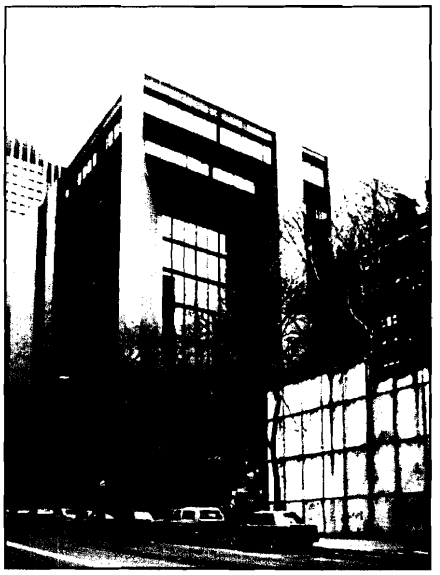


Figure 10: Roache-Dinkeloo Ford Foundation Building New York, NY (1963-1968)

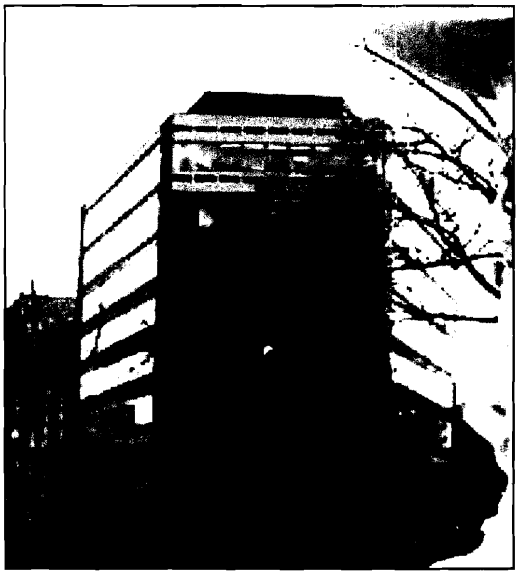


Figure 11: Hartma- Cox Euram Building Washington, DC (1971)

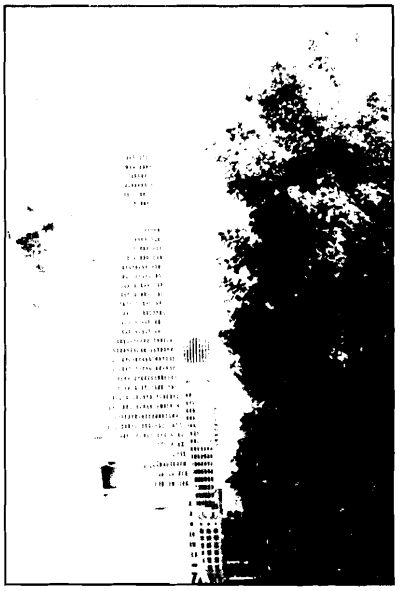


Figure 12: William L Pereira & Assoc.
Transamerica Pyramid
San Francisco, CA (1969-1972)

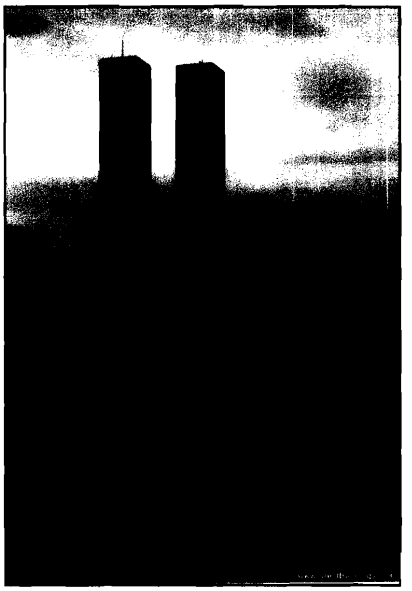


Figure 13: Minoru Yamasaki
Word Trade Center
New York, NY (1970-1973)

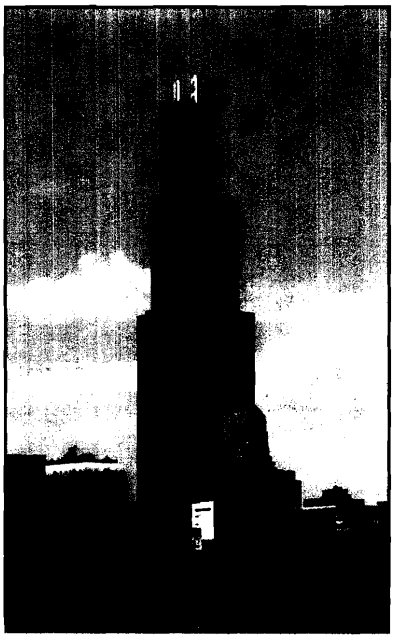


Figure 14: Bruce Graham/ SOM
Sears Tower
Chicago, IL (1974)

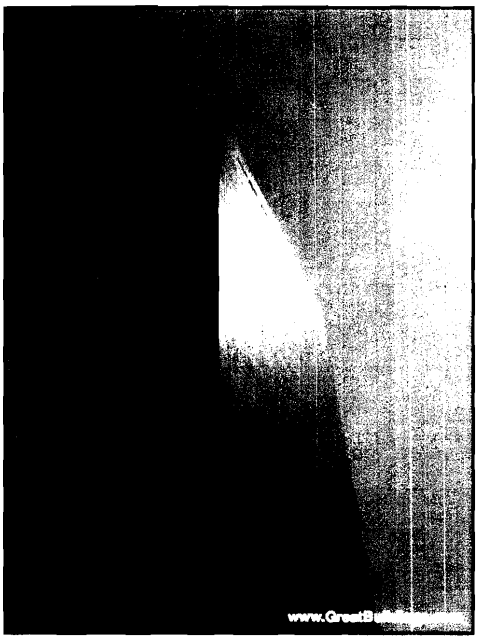


Figure 15:I.M. Pei
Handcock Place
Boston, MA (1977)

Figure 16: Hugh Stubins Citicorp Center New York, NY(1976-1978)

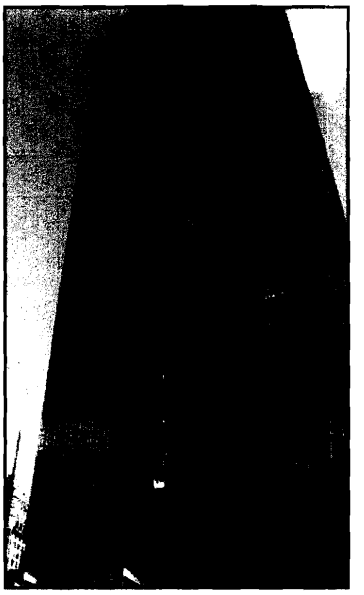


Figure 17: IDS Center- (Minneapolis, MN (1973)

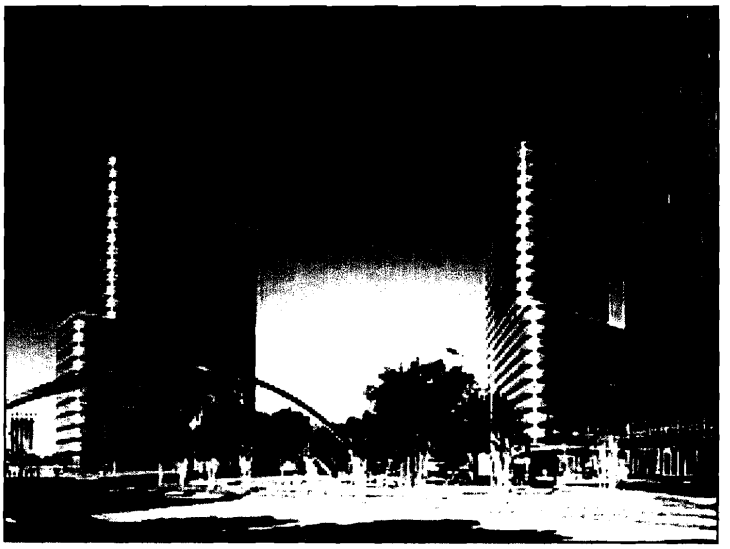


Figure 18: Post Oak Central- Huston, TX (1975)

Figure 19: Pennzoil Place-
Houston, TX (1976)

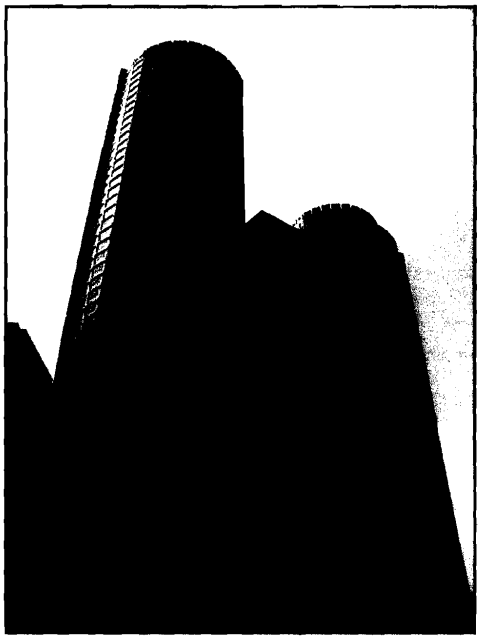


Figure 20: International Place-
Boston, MA (1987)

Figure 21: 101 California-
San Francisco, CA (1982)

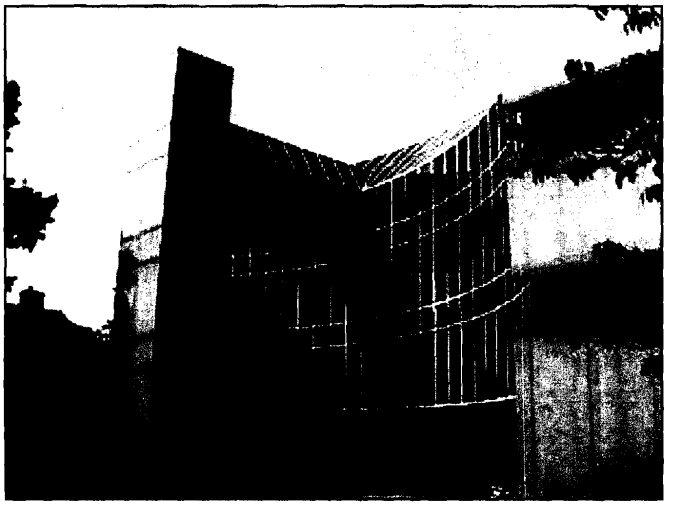


Figure 22: 80 Field Point Road-
Greenwich, CT (1978)

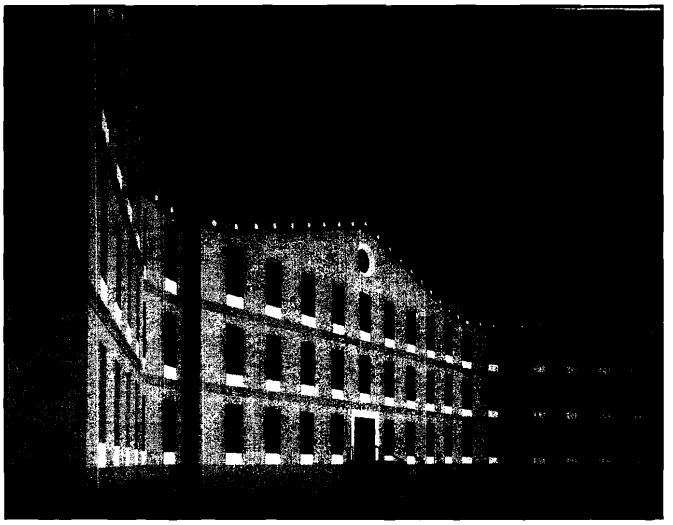


Figure 23: 1 Sugarland Park-
Sugar Land, Texas (1981)

Figure 24: Neiman Marcus-
San Francisco, CA (1982)

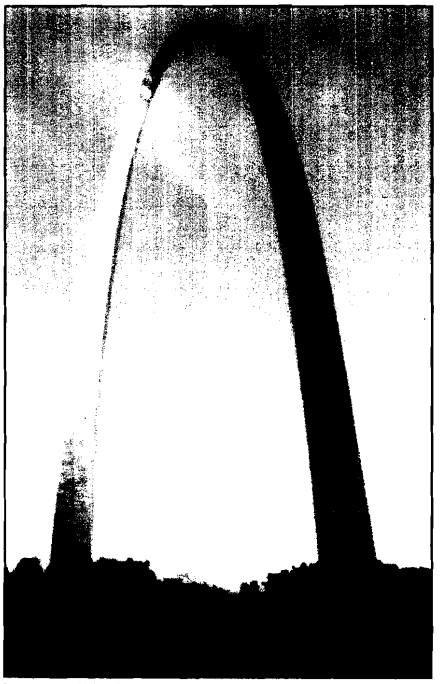


Figure 25:Eero Saarinen Gateway Arch-
St. Louis Riverfront, St. Louis, MO (1963)

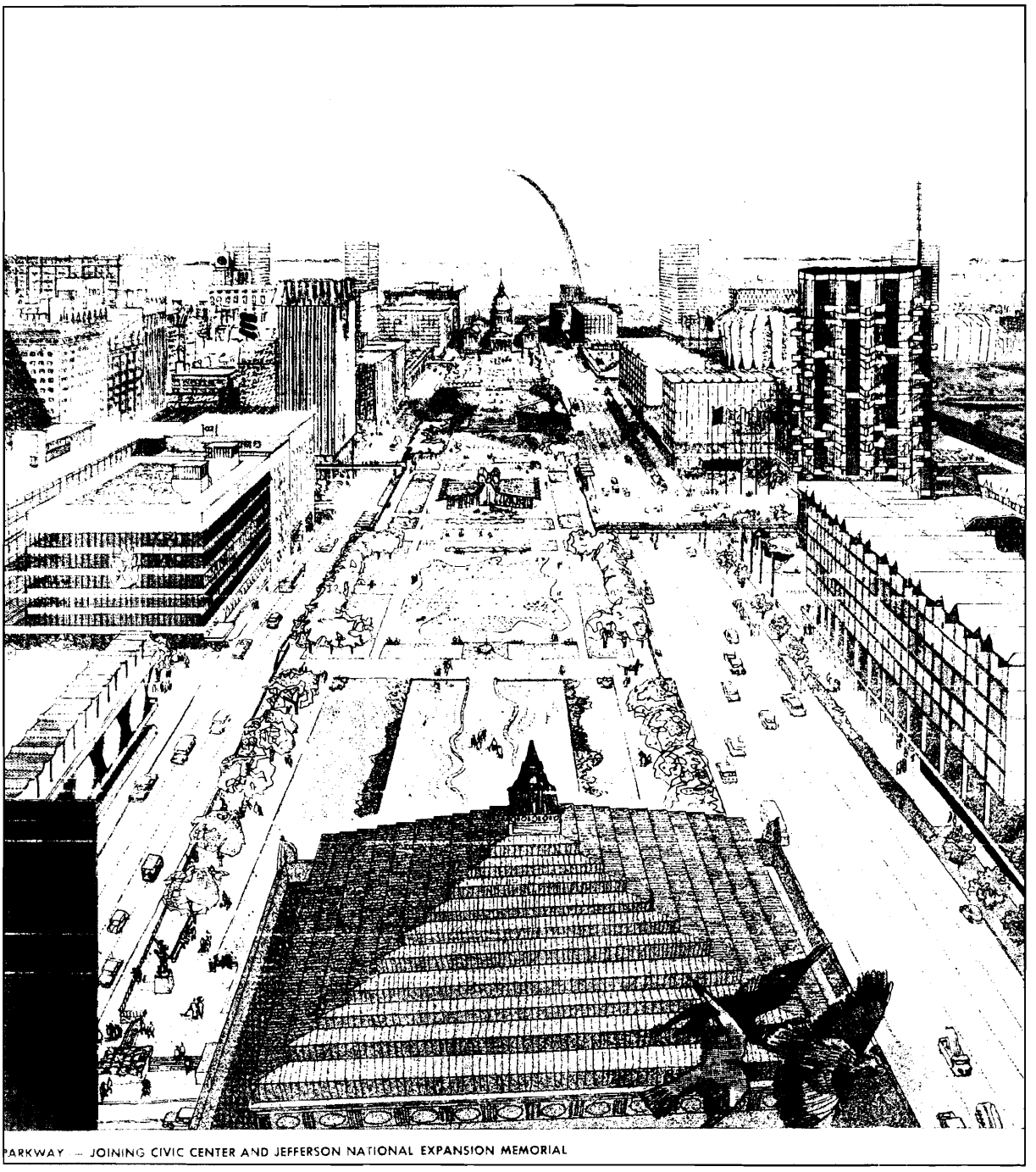


Figure 26: Parkway joining Civic Center and Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. Source: Plan for Downtown St. Louis (St. Louis City Plan Commssion, 1960).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number 8 Page 52 **General American Life Insurance Company National Headquarters**
St. Louis (Independent City), MO

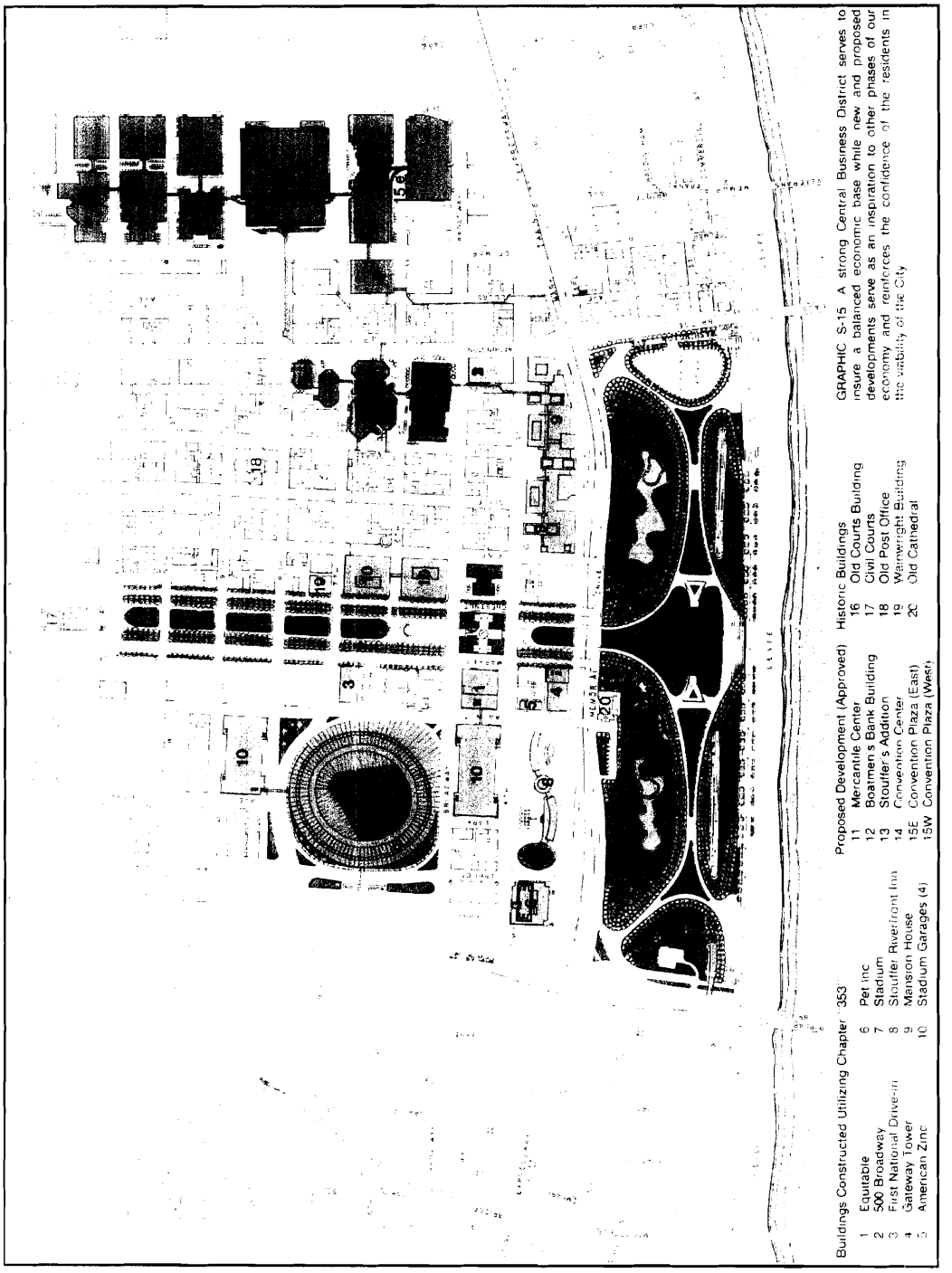
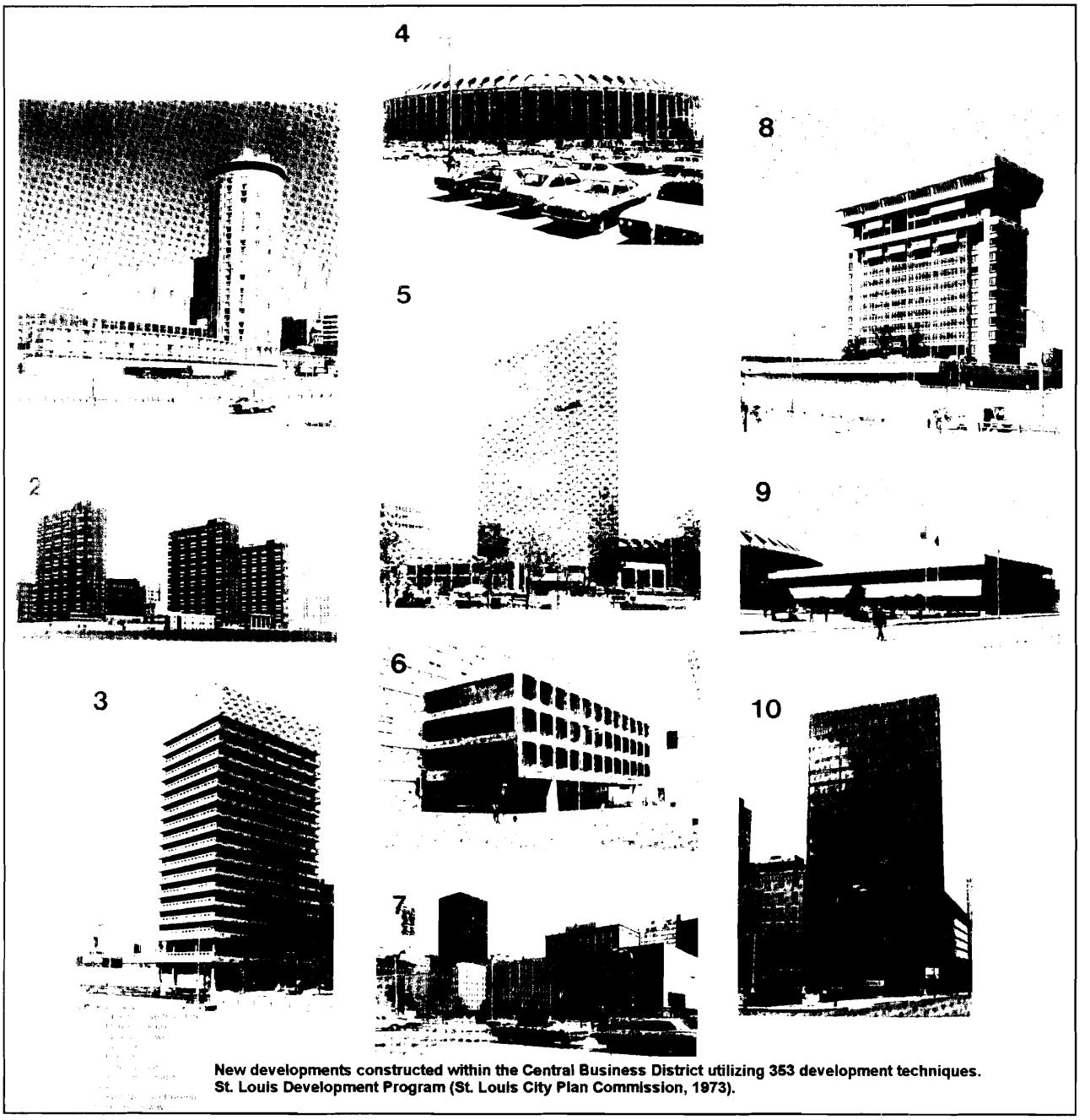


Figure 27: A Strong Central Business District.
Source: St. Louis Development Program (St. Louis City Plan Commission, 1973).



New developments constructed within the Central Business District utilizing 353 development techniques. St. Louis Development Program (St. Louis City Plan Commission, 1973).

Figure 28: "New developments constructed within the Central Business District utilizing 353 development techniques. Source: St. Louis Development Program (St. Louis City Plan Commission, 1973).

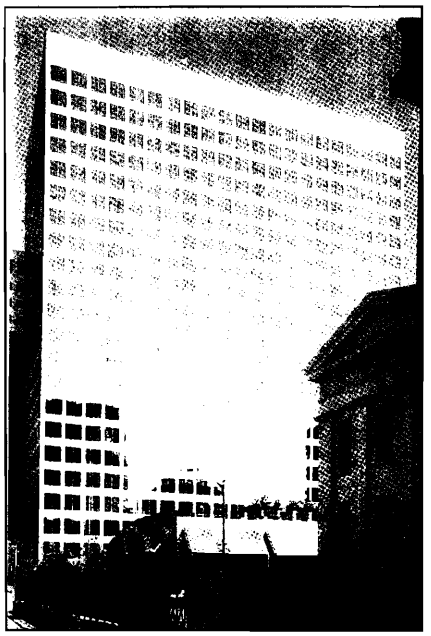


Figure 29: Hellmuth, Obata & Kassabaum, Boatman's Bank (1976).

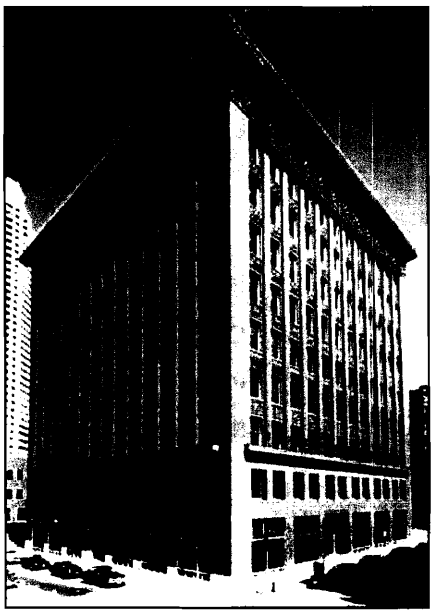


Figure 30: Louis Sullivan, Wainwright Building (1891; NHL 5/10/1968).

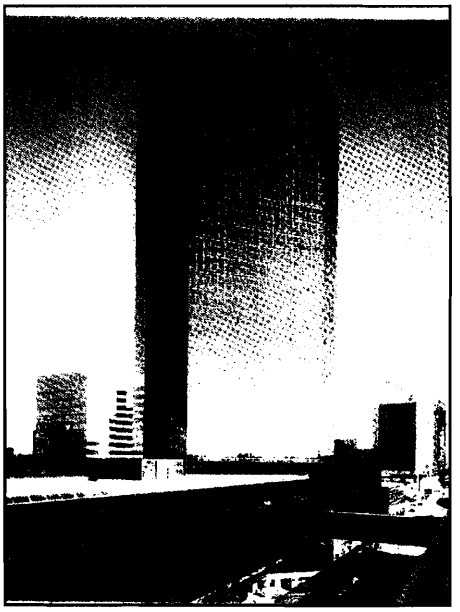


Figure 31: 3D/International Consultants, Centerre Bank Building (1981).

Figure 32: Edward Larrabee Barnes, 1010 Market Street (1981)

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Verbal Boundary Description:
All of City Block 185, bounded on the north by Market Street, the east by North Seventh Street, the west by South Eighth Street and the south by Walnut Street.

Boundary Justification:
The nominated property includes the entire parcel historically associated with General American Life Insurance Company Building located at 701 Market Street, St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri.

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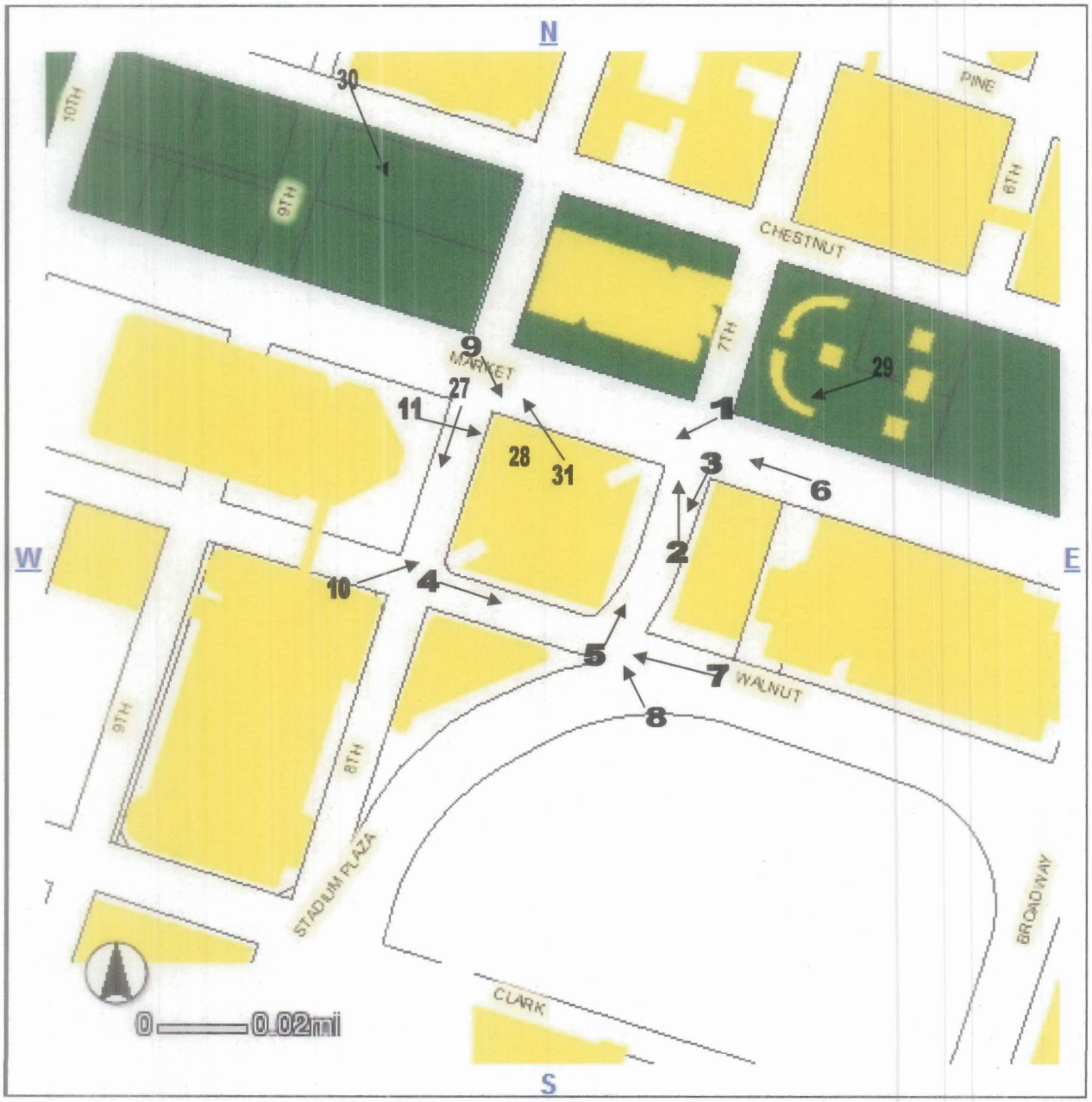
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Exterior Photo Key



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National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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General American Life Insurance Company Building
706 Market
St. Louis (IND. CITY), MISSOURI
Zone 15
Easting 744380
Northing 4278980

Produced by the United States Geological Survey

Topography compiled 1952. Planimetry derived from imagery taken 1993 and other sources. Photoinspected using imagery dated 1998; no major culture or drainage changes observed. PLSS and survey control current as of 1954. Boundaries, other than corporate, verified 1999

North American Datum of 1983 (NAD 83). Projection and 1000-meter grid: Universal Transverse Mercator, zone 15
10 000-foot ticks: Illinois (west zone) and Missouri (east zone) Coordinate Systems of 1983

North American Datum of 1927 (NAD 27) is shown by dashed corner ticks. The values of the shift between NAD 83 and NAD 27 for 7.5-minute intersections are obtainable from National Geodetic Survey NADCON software

Contours that conflict with revised planimetry are dashed

There may be private inholdings within the boundaries of the National or State reservations shown on this map

MN GN
½° 9 MILS
1°45' 31 MILS
UTM GRID AND 1999 MAGNETIC NORTH DECLINATION AT CENTER OF SHEET

20% TOTAL RECOVERED FIBER

SCALE 1

1 0.5 0 KILOM
1000 0 MET
1 0.5 0 MIL
1000 0 1000 2000 3000 4000 FE

CONTOUR INTI
SUPPLEMENTARY CONT
NATIONAL GEODETIC VE
TO CONVERT FROM FEET TO M
THIS MAP COMPLIES WITH NATION
FOR SALE BY U.S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, P
AND ILLINOIS GEOLOGICAL SURV
AND DIVISION OF GEOL
MISSOURI DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL
A FOLDER DESCRIBING TOPOGRAPHIC MAPS


7th


GATEWAY ONE
Market St


Cardinals
Cardinals
Walnut
BASEBALL
PARKING


at&t
ONE WAY
THROUGH TRUCKS PROHIBITED
GenAmerica


8th St
SEPTEMBER 17


8th St


700


8 9'06


8 9'06


8 9'06


8 9'06


EXIT
8 9'06


8 9'06


8 9'06


8 9'06


6th St
Cadillac
Cadillac
40


8 9'06