NPS Form 10-900 OMB No. 1024-0018

United States Department of the Interior

National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

1. Name of Property			
Historic Name: Ben Milam Statue Other name/site number: NA Name of related multiple property listing: Monuments and Buildings of the Texas Centennial			
2. Location			
Street & number: 500 W. Houston St. City or town: San Antonio State: Texas County: Not for publication: □ Vicinity: □			
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 at the following levels of significance: ☐ national ☑ statewide ☐ local			
Applicable National Register Criteria: ☑ A □ B ☑ C □ D			
Signature of certifying official / Title Texas Historical Commission State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government			
In my opinion, the property ☑ meets □ does not meet the National Register criteria.			
Signature of commenting or other official Date			
State or Federal agency / bureau or Tribal Government			
4. National Park Service Certification			
 hereby certify that the property is: entered in the National Register determined eligible for the National Register determined not eligible for the National Register. removed from the National Register other, explain: 			
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action			

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

	Private		
X	Public - Local		
	Public - State		
	Public - Federal		

Category of Property

	building(s)		
	district		
	site		
	structure		
X	object		

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
0	0	buildings
0	0	sites
0	0	structures
1	0	objects
1	0	total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: NA

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions: Recreation and Culture: work of art

Current Functions: Recreation and Culture: work of art

7. Description

Architectural Classification: Other: statue

Principal Exterior Materials: Stone/granite; Metal/bronze

Narrative Description (see continuation sheets 7-6 through 7-7)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

X	Α	Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of		
		our history.		
	В	Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.		
X	С	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: F (Commemorative Properties)

Areas of Significance: Social History, Art

Period of Significance: 1938

Significant Dates: 1938

Significant Person (only if criterion b is marked): NA

Cultural Affiliation (only if criterion d is marked): NA

Architect/Builder: MacLeary, Bonnie (sculptor); Nelson, Donald S. (architect)

Narrative Statement of Significance (see continuation sheets 8-8 through 8-18)

9. Major Bibliographic References

Bibliography (see continuation sheets 9-19 through 9-20)

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

 preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested. Part 1 approved on (date)
 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:

<u>x</u>	State historic	preservation office ((Texas Historicai	Commission,	Austin)

Other state agency

__ Federal agency

__ Local government

University

Other -- Specify Repository:

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): NA

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property: less than 1 acre

Coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: NA

1. Latitude: 29.426095° Longitude: -98.499705°

Verbal Boundary Description: The nomination encompasses only the statue and the ground upon which it stands as shown on MAP 2.

Boundary Justification: The nomination boundary is drawn to include only the statue itself. No other structures on the property have been evaluated for eligibility due to the specific focus of this theme (*Monuments and Buildings of the Texas Centennial*).

11. Form Prepared By

Name/title: Bonnie Tipton Wilson, THC National Register Historian with assistance from Sugar Glaspy,

Historian

Organization: Texas Historical Commission

Street & number: P.O. Box 12276

City or Town: Austin State: TX Zip Code: 78711-2276

Email: bonnie.wilson@thc.texas.gov

Telephone: (512) 463-6046 Date: January 1, 2020

Additional Documentation

Maps (see continuation sheets MAP-21 through MAP-22)

Additional items (see continuation sheets FIGURE-23 through FIGURE-26)

Photographs (see continuation sheets PHOTO-27 through PHOTO-31)

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.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 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 Office of Planning and Performance Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

Photograph Log

Name of Property: Ben Milam Statue

Location: San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas

Name of Photographer: Bonnie Tipton Wilson Date of Photographs: February 1, 2019

Photo 1: The Ben Milam statue faces east in Milam Park, camera facing west.

Photo 2: Detail *Ben Milam* showing bronze full-figure portrait statue, camera facing northwest.

Photo 3: Side (north) and rear (west) elevations, camera facing southeast.

Photo 4: Detail of inscription (north side of base) that was sandblasted into pink Texas granite, camera facing south.

Photo 5: *Ben Milam* north elevation, camera facing south. The nominated boundary encompasses only the statue and the ground upon which it stands.

Narrative Description

The *Ben Milam* statue is an approximately 13-foot-tall bronze full figure portraiture mounted atop a 16-foot-tall tapered octagonal pink granite shaft that is supported by two stacked granite blocks in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. Commissioned by the State of Texas, it is one of 20 statues erected to celebrate the anniversary of Texas independence and is identified as such in *Buildings and Monuments of the Texas Centennial* MPS. Bonnie MacLeary sculpted the statue to memorialize Ben Milam, widely considered a hero of the 1836 Texas Revolution, and architect Donald S. Nelson designed the granite base. Completed in 1938, the statue is in Milam [Square] Park, so named as it is the burial place of Ben Milam. It retains excellent integrity and is in good condition.

The *Ben Milam* statue is in Milam Park in downtown San Antonio, Texas. From 1840 to 1860, the park was a city cemetery. Following its closure, families disinterred remains of loved ones, and in 1883 the San Antonio City Council renamed it Milam Park to honor fallen Texas hero Coloney Benjamin Rush Milam whose remains stayed buried in the newly-named park. Since that time, the rectangular block has been used as city park. The State of Texas erected the nominated statue in 1938 at the west end of the park centered in a grassy triangle formed by sidewalks that criss-crossed the property. The park's walkways converged at a central circular sidewalk that surrounded Milam's gravesite. Renovation projects in the 1970s and 1990s resulted in the park's current appearance, which includes a central pavilion, walking trails, playscapes, game tables, benches, and new landscaping. Archeologists exhumed Milam in the 1990s, and the City re-buried his remains on the east side of the nominated statue in 1994. A rectangular pink granite slab marks the burial, but it is not evaluated for eligibility due to the specific focus of this theme (*Monuments and Buildings of the Texas Centennial*).

Ben Milam is at its original location, centered in the western quadrant of Milam Park with sidewalks that surround the statue base. It faces east. Sculpted by San Antonio-born artist Bonnie MacLeary and erected on September 7, 1938, Ben Milam is a 13-foot-tall full figure portraiture cast in bronze. In 1979, a descendent of the sculptor described the artistry of the statue:

The figure is posed high on a pedestal and looks down, as if in scorn of the enemy, his face reveals grim determination. His right arm is held upright, clutching a flintrock rifle, while his sleeve falls back below his elbow, revealing the tightness of his muscles. His left arm hangs at his side, with his hand clenched in a fist. A powder horn is cinched at his waist. From the matted hair about his brow to a chest thin but firm, to tightly clinging breeches and the worn and wrinkled boots, *Ben Milam* was all that "real" Texans wanted its heroes to be.²

The statue base is pink Texas granite quarried in Marble Falls, Burnet County. Architect Donald Nelson with structural engineer R.L. Rolfe designed the base. It is composed of three hone-finished granite blocks: a 12-foot-tall octagonal shaft that tapers to 3-feet in width at the top above a stepped base composed of a 3x6-foot rectangular granite slab on top of an approximately 1x8-foot granite slab. Bronze dowels connect each piece together, and the entire memorial is supported by a reinforced concrete foundation. Inscriptions (text on the following page) are sandblasted on each side of the second granite tier base.

¹ Following the exhumation, inspection, and temporary curation of Ben Milam skeletal remains in 1993–1994, he was reinterred at the base of the *Ben Milam* statue on December 11, 1994.

² Sugar Glaspy "Aspiration: Bonnie MacLeary, Sculptor & Feminist, 1886–1971" (paper originally presented at the Texas State Historical Association Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, March 9, 1979 and revised September 2019), copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission.

The *Ben Milam* statue retains exceptional integrity and is in good condition as stipulated by the registration requirements outlined in *Buildings and Monuments of the Texas Centennial* MPS.³ It retains integrity of materials, design, workmanship as there have been no changes or damage inflicted to the statue since its dedication. The workmanship of Bonnie MacLeary's artistry and Nelson's base plan is evident in its design. It retains integrity of location and setting at its original dedication site in Milam Park, a public park that memorializes Ben Milam. The statue conveys the feeling of a commemorative monument commissioned by the state for the centenary of Texas independence, and its association with the 1936 Texas Centennial is intact.

The statue base is inscribed as follows:

[FRONT]
BENJAMIN RUSH MILAM

[RIGHT]

PREEMINENT HERO OF TEXAS

A MAN OF RARE INITIATIVE

AND COURAGE — OF A MODEST

AND WILLING PERSONALITY

A DEVOTED FRIEND - - BORN IN

FRANKFORT KENTUCKY IN 1788

A SOLDIER IN THE WAR OF 1812

[BACK]
TRADER WITH THE TEXAS
COMANCHE INDIANS IN 1818
WAS A COLONEL IN THE LONG
TRESPALACIOS EXPEDITION IN
1820 — TEXAS COLONIZER 1826
TO 1835 — FIRST NAVIGATOR OF
THE UPPER RED RIVER IN 1831

[LEFT]
ASSISTED IN THE CAPTURE OF
GOLIAD OCTOBER NINTH 1835.
PLANNED THE ATTACK ON SAN
ANTONIO AND WAS KILLED ON
DECEMBER SEVENTH 1835 WHILE
COMMANDING THE TEXAS FORCES
WHICH LATER CAPTURED THE TOWN

[BACK]

ERECTED BY THE STATE OF TEXAS 1936 WITH FUNDS

APPROPRIATED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO COMMEMORATE

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF TEXAS INDEPENDENCE.

³ National Register of Historic Places, Monuments and Buildings of the Texas Centennial MPS, Statewide, Texas, 49.

Statement of Significance

The *Ben Milam* statue in San Antonio, Bexar County is one of 20 statues erected by the State of Texas between 1937 and 1939 to celebrate the statewide Centennial. San Antonio-born sculptor Bonnie MacLeary designed the figurative bronze statue to memorialize Colonel Benjamin Rush Milam, a highly regarded hero of the Texas Revolution, and architect Donald S. Nelson designed the octagonal granite base. Although a statue to Milam was proposed as early as 1836, the De Zavala Chapter of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas began a campaign in the late 1890s that eventually led to the Centennial appropriation for the nominated statue. Uniquely, two *Ben Milam* statues were commissioned for the centenary of Texas independence but were approved in separate processes. The Commission of Control for the Texas Centennial accepted the Advisory Board of Texas Historians' recommendation for a Milam statue, completed by artist Bryant Baker and erected on the Milam County Courthouse grounds in Cameron, Texas. San Antonio's Centennial commission, which organized to appropriate federal Centennial funds earmarked for that city, approved the MacLeary-designed *Ben Milam* statue and it was dedicated September 8, 1938.

The property is nominated to the National Register at the state level of significance under the multiple property submission *Monuments and Buildings of the Texas Centennial*. It is eligible under Criterion A in the area of Social History as a product of the concerted statewide effort to commemorate historic persons and events important to Texas history in the 1930s. The monument was commissioned as part of a major Depression-era public arts project and is significant under Criterion C in the area of Art as an important work by sculptor Bonnie MacLeary. MacLeary (1886–1971) was born in San Antonio but maintained her studio in New York City. Her professional sculpting career began in the 1920s when she first won acclaim for bronze portrait statues of women and children. *Ben Milam* is one of the few male figures MacLeary sculpted, and it is the only public work of the artist's in Texas. The property meets Criterion Consideration F (Commemorative Properties) because it is significant as a work of art that reflects early 20th century interest in recognizing historic subjects throughout Texas, which culminated in the publicly funded statewide Texas Centennial. The *Ben Milam* statue is located at its original site in Milam Park in downtown San Antonio and it retains excellent integrity. The period of significance is 1938, the year it was erected.

Benjamin Rush Milam in Texas Revolution History

And o'er thy tomb shall pilgrims weep, And pray to Heaven in murmurs low, That peaceful be the Hero's sleep Who conquered Saint Antonio...

For bravest of the Texian clime [sic], Who fought to make her children free, Was Milam! and his death sublime, Link'd with undying liberty.

—William H. Wharton, excerpt of elegy in New York Spirit of the Times (1836)

In October 1835, the Texian Army, under the command of Stephen F. Austin, laid siege to the General Martin Perfecto de Cos and the Mexican Army, which controlled San Antonio (then called San Antonio de Bexar). Cos' army numbered between 600–1500 and fortified the western portion of the town with defensive positions that included the Alamo. The opposing armies had periodic skirmishes, including an engagement called the Grass Fight, through November. By early December, the Texan Army prepared to retreat to Fort Goliad to secure that stronghold, obtain needed supplies, and rest for the approaching winter.

Opposition to retreat spread among some of the Texian rank-and-file, and the feeling increased following news that Cos' forces were weaker than previously reported. General Edward Burleson (who became the Commander-in-Chief for the Texian Army following Austin's assignment as a United States commissioner) moved forward with preparations to retreat. According to firsthand accounts, Colonel Benjamin Rush Milam and another officer approached Burleson for permission to organize volunteers to storm San Antonio. Upon Burleson's approval, Milam and Captain William Gordon Cooke mustered approximately 300 men and planned the attack for daybreak. It is often written that Milam exited Burleson's tent and rousingly exclaimed, "Who will follow Old Ben Milam into San Antonio?" to the cheer of hundreds of men.

On December 5, 1835, Milam led a division into San Antonio. For four days, the Texans advanced house-by-house to the Alamo under a barrage of artillery fire until General Cos signaled a ceasefire on December 9 that ended the 3-month-long siege. Although a sniper killed Milam Veramendi Palace (House) on the 2nd day of battle, General Burleson credited the "gallant leader of the storming party" for galvanizing the mission and implementing the plan that returned San Antonio to Texian control, saying, "His memory will be dear to Texas as long as there exists a grateful heart to feel, or a friend of liberty to lament his worth." At the battle's conclusion, Texan volunteers buried Milam near where he fell in the Veramendi courtyard.

Kentucky-born Colonel Benjamin Rush Milam (1788–1835) is one of the martyred heroes of the Texas Revolution memorialized by his contemporaries and succeeding generations of Texans in history books, popular culture, place names, and monuments. Between 1836 and 1936, three generations of historians effectively calcified a progressive interpretation of Texas history as a series of inevitable developments, like conquering the frontier and winning independence from Mexico, that they attributed to the moral firmness of its Anglo settlers. Milam's name—along with that of Travis, Crockett, Bowie, and Bonham—became synonymous with characteristics like self-sacrifice, grit, courage, and rugged-individualism—self-identified by later generations of Texans to be the moral bedrock of the state's historic and future success. The Texas Revolution thus became, and still is, a historical parable for "taller thinking and noble living," viewed by scholars and the public as "a source of positive values relevant to modern life." 5

As hero in Texas mythology, Ben Milam has been described in superlatives as one who had "unusual good sense and sound judgment which made him naturally fitted for the life he was destined to lead." Even onlookers to his exhumation in 1848 declared his bones so large they looked like that of a giant. The roots of this larger-than-life depiction originated in the months following his death, as his compatriots used Milam's story to persuade U.S. allies for material support in their rebellion against Mexico. William H. Wharton, a Republic of Texas Commissioner to the United States, described Milam as having "godlike resolve," compelled by oppressive Mexican governance to fight for Texan liberty just as American patriots did in 1776. "Texas," he said, "weeps for her Milam; Kentucky has cause to be proud of her son."

From 1836 to 1936, Texas Revolution historiography focused on Milam's brief but vital role in the December 1835 storming of San Antonio. These retelling contain is nothing inherently false or misleading. Rather, accounts vary in romantic pitch and often overstate Milam's call to arms. In those narratives, his famous challenge, "Who will follow

⁴ Edward Burleson, "Fall of Bexar and Surrender of General Cos!!," December 14, 1835, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin, https://www.cah.utexas.edu/db/dmr/image_lg.php?variable=BC_0273a.

⁵ Commemorating a Hundred Years of Texas History, 1; Buenger and Calvert, eds., Texas Through Time, xiv.

⁶ Garver, 35.

⁷ The Daily Delta (New Orleans, LA), September 1, 1848.

⁸ "Texas. Address of the Honorable Wm. H. Wharton, delivered in New York on Tuesday, April 26, 1836." https://archive.org/stream/texasaddress00wharrich/texasaddress00wharrich divu.txt.

Old Ben Milam to San Antonio," a quote unsupported by any definitive source, is the maxim that came to summarize Ben Milam's story and the courageous attitude of Texans who won the Republic's independence.

The earliest known reference to Milam's storied quote is in Henry Stuart Foote's 1841 sweeping history, *Texas and Texans*. Foote's book, like those of his contemporaries Mary Austin Holley, Chester Newell, and William Kennedy interpreted the Texas Revolution with an underlying moral tone. Moral (racial) superiority, not better soldiership or manpower, caused Texans' successful battle for independence, they argued. In demonstrating moral superiority, the historians romanticized the past to highlight the good character of individuals, like Milam, who led Texas on its inevitable path to liberty. Embellishment abounded, however, in Foote's theatrical retelling:

One morning [Milam] steps out from the ranks; (reader! this is no fiction;) and craves permission of the noble Burleson to beat up for volunteers to storm the Town. Permission is granted. He exclaims aloud, in a voice that will never be forgotten by those who hear it, "Who will join Old Ben Milam in storming the Alamo?" Three hundred, yes, three hundred brave warriors start to their feet as if they had been roused by the sound of a trumpet, and rally around the grey-haired veteran. 10

Firsthand accounts of Milam's muster appeared in Texas newspapers in the mid-1840s. One person, who claimed to be present, stated Milam merely "wished to know" how many in the observer's company would volunteer to storm San Antonio, and that it was Captain William Cooke who yelled, "All those in favor...will step one pace to the front." Five years later, however, another anonymous participant at San Antonio in 1835 stated that Milam *had* posed the famous question. Whether invented by Foote or actually spoken, "Who will follow Old Ben Milam into San Antonio?" has been restated in scholarly and popular history for more than a hundred years.

Although historians at the turn of the 20th century adopted a more objective tone, they nevertheless analyzed Texas history in the framework of unexampled progress led by great men. John Henry Brown's 1892 *History of Texas* adopted a similar tone to Foote:

The soul of Milam rose equal to the occasion; that he realized its transcendent importance to the salvation of Texas; that he regarded failure, under all existing surroundings, as an irretrievable disaster. He drew a line and in stentorian voice appealed to his countrymen then present to follow him in storming and taking the town, and exclaimed: "Who will follow old Ben Milam?" From that little halting-band sprang forth and into line, three hundred inspired patriots, avowing their resolve to follow him to victory or death. ¹²

Students of Texas history also learned of Milam's heroism in textbooks, like Anna Pennybacker's *A New History of Texas*, which appeared in revised editions through the first decades of the 20th century. Pennybacker, like many others, believed the value of history rested in its ability to instruct children to become "better and wiser citizens." Thus, her retelling included the stirring call to arms: "Ben Milam stepped to the center of the camp, waved his hat, gave a ringing

⁹ Stephen Stagner, "Epics, Science, and the Lost Frontier: Texas Historical Writing, 1836-1936," *Western Historical Quarterly* 12, No. 2 (April 1981): 167.

¹⁰ Henry Stuart Foote, *Texas and the Texans; or, Advance of the Anglo-Americans to the South-West; including a history of leading events in Mexico, from the conquest by Fernando Cortes to the termination of the Texan Revolution*, Vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Thomas Cowperthwait & Co., 1841), 165.

¹¹ Civilian and Galveston Gazette, August 24, 1844.

¹² John Henry Brown, *History of Texas, from 1685 to 1892*, Vol. 1 (St. Louis: L.E. Daniel, 1892) 416.

¹³ Anna Pennybacker, A New History of Texas, (Austin: Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, 1900): Preface.

'huzza,' and shouted: 'Who will go with old Ben Milam into San Antonio?' Cheer after cheer rose from the soldiers, and more than three hundred volunteered." ¹⁴

By 1936, a fixed interpretation of Texas' past dominated popular and scholarly history books and shaped the Centennial historical narrative. Texans readily embraced historical scholarship and folklore, like that championed by J. Frank Dobie, as evidence of their Texas exceptionalism. For the historians of the Centennial, there was no reason to deviate from the popular and academic interpretation of Texas history, and the historical narrative that developed fit neatly into the 1930s historiography, which continued to base interpretations on the framework adopted by 19th—century historians. When, in separate processes, two statues were recommended to memorialize the contribution Ben Milam made to Texas independence, both were accepted. Two different artists sculpted the nominated *Ben Milam* and *Ben Milam* in Cameron, Milam County, but both chose to portray the martyr mustering volunteers to storm San Antonio. Centennial commemorative properties were intended as permanent symbols of a century of Anglo progress in the making of modern Texas, and the Milam statues were imbued with a Texas-history narrative that communicated the state's desired identity more than the actual history the monuments memorialized.

Early Commemorative Efforts (1835-1933)

Let us seek out the graves of our heroes and having found them, let us care for them with grateful reverence. Be ours the duty to visit it and mark the spots where Texas won for us, Gonzales, the Alamo, Goliad, San Jacinto—milestones along the bloodstained path to freedom. ¹⁵

—Daughters of the Republic of Texas, 1893

On December 27, 1835, twenty days after Milam's death, the General Council of the Provisional Government of Texas officially recognized "the first great Martyr" of the Texas Revolution. The councilmen, wearing mourning crapes draped on their left arms, approved two resolutions: to rename Viesca, the town and municipality, for Milam; and the second, erect a monument to the fallen Texan in San Antonio. It is likely that financial hardships the provisional, and later Republic of Texas, government faced prevented the monument expenditure. Nevertheless, the gesture secured Milam's enduring significance to the cause for independence, and efforts to commemorate him continued until 1938 when the Texas Centennial statue to Milam was completed.

In 1848, Fayette County citizens organized a committee to retrieve the remains of men who died in the Texas Revolution and bury them in a common grave atop Monument Hill. ¹⁸ Colonel J.H. Moore travelled to San Antonio to disinter Ben Milam, Crockett, Travis, and Bowie and return them to the hilltop overlooking La Grange. When Moore and San Antonians found Milam at the Veramendi Palace:

His bones still clung together; his boots were almost entire and had to be pulled to pieces to get out the bones of the feet. Upon examination, a bullet hole was observed in the right

¹⁴ Ibid, 130.

¹⁵ Daughters of the Republic of Texas, "Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas held at Houston, Texas, April 20th and 21st, 1893)," (Dealy and Baker Stationers and Printers, 1893), 17, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History.

¹⁶ Foote, 165.

¹⁷ "Crape" was the traditional spelling for crepe fabric worn in mourning. The Provisional Government of Texas (1835), *Journal of the Proceedings of the General Council of the Republic of Texas* (Austin, 1898), 117; 154-156, HathiTrust.org, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081844411.

¹⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Mier Expedition and Dawson's Men Monument and Tomb, La Grange, Fayette County, Texas, National Register #100003486.

temple, and a small quantity of hair still adhered to the scalp....Those who went with [Col. Moore] declare they never saw such large bones in their lives—indeed they looked like the bones of a giant.¹⁹

Moore did not leave with Milam's remains, or any Alamo defender, because San Antonio citizens believed "the fame of Milam is indissolubly identified with the war-worn city of San Antonio, and at that place should his dust be permitted to remain." On December 7, 1848, Milam was buried in the city cemetery (now Milam Park) with full honors by San Antonio's masons. Although some citizens expressed interest in erecting a monument at the time, no marker was placed on his grave.

The 50-year anniversary of the Texas Revolution sparked renewed interest in Milam. In 1878, Valentine Overton King, superintendent of a state agency that eventually became the Texas State Library and Archives Commission, initiated a project to identify the location of the graves of Ben Milam and the Alamo defenders. San Antonio's city cemetery had long closed, and the only burial that remained belonged to Milam. King financed the cost of a "substantial stone" inscribed with Milam's name over the grave. ²¹ Public interest in King's work motivated local leaders to establish a park around the grave, and it was named Milam Square (now Park) on January 9, 1884. ²² Improvements to the park were completed by 1900 with sidewalks that crisscrossed the grounds and encircled Milam's grave.

The late 1880s also saw the establishment of local women's patriotic organizations who were instrumental in the preservation of the state's history and played a key role in the creation of Texas' collective historical identity. In 1889, Adina Emilia de Zavala (1861-1955) helped establish one of the first such societies in Texas, and in 1893 it became an affiliated chapter of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas (DRT). The De Zavala Chapter of the DRT prevented the Alamo from being razed, and De Zavala's Texas and Historical Landmarks Association erected the state's first historical markers in San Antonio. The DRT believed in the cultural power of monuments to bring about shared remembrance and offer lessons for future generations. In 1900, the group raised funds to erect a granite pedestal over Milam's grave and inscribed it, "Who Will Follow Old Ben Milam?" Although they intended to place a statue atop it, the group was unable to raise money for that purpose.

In 1930, a committee of the De Zavala Chapter of the DRT (in association with the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association) renewed their efforts to erect a statue to Milam's memory. They commissioned artist Bonnie MacLeary to design it but had not yet raised enough funds for the project. MacLeary's Texas roots likely gave her some advantage to winning the original 1929 *Ben Milam* commission: her maternal grandfather, Valentine Overton King, was responsible for marking Milam's grave in the 1870s. Described as a bonafide "daughter of Texas," despite not living there for decades, newspapers often recounted MacLeary's artistic development as being rooted in her childhood figurines made from the San Antonio River's adobe clay. Three years later, MacLeary produced a clay model of Milam that the DRT accepted, but by that time the woman's group abandoned their own fundraising efforts and instead looked to the Centennial as means for funding the protracted commemorative work.

¹⁹ The Daily Delta (New Orleans, LA) September 1, 1848.

²⁰ The Texas Democrat, 8/16/1848.

²¹ By the 1850s, San Antonio outgrew the cemetery and families removed loved ones' remains. "Milam Park History," City of San Antonio website, https://www.sanantonio.gov/CCDO/parksplazas/milampark/milamparkhistory (accessed July 10, 2020.)

²² San Antonio Express, March 17, 1935.

²³ The United Daugters of the Confederacy, a contemporaneous group, were also active in the erection monument. For more information see: Kelly McMichael, "Monuments Lengthen Remembrances," 97.

The Ben Milam Statue

Here in San Antonio is the place where a monument to Ben Milam should lift its towering proportions to remind those of this generation and the generations that are to come after us of his courage and patriotism.²⁴

—Senator Tom Connally

Unlike most monuments and statuary erected for the statewide Texas Centennial celebration, initial planning for the *Ben Milam* statue bypassed the Advisory Board of Texas Historians and was managed at the local level with oversight by the U.S. Texas Centennial Commission (USTCC), chaired by Vice President John Nance Garner. This commission approved all purchases, expenditures, and disbursement for the \$3-million federal Centennial appropriation, \$429,000 of which was allotted to San Antonio. The USTCC appointed a local advisory committee, the San Antonio Centennial Committee, to recommend commemorative projects for the historic Texas city. Debates over the commercial nature of the local committee's proposed projects, however, led to a "prolonged and agonizing ordeal" in San Antonio with various factions locked in an almost year-long verbal battle over distribution of the city's Centennial funds. The commission of the city's Centennial funds.

Like the Advisory Board of Texas Historians, the San Antonio Centennial Committee held public hearings for interested citizens to request commemorative projects for the 8-man advisory group to send to Washington for approval. Ideas with budgets totaling more than San Antonio's federal allotment were presented in December 1935 and January 1936, and included park beautification, historical pageant and plays, music programs, Centennial publications and marketing, community centers, funds for archival collections, purchasing historic properties, monuments and statues, historic preservation of the city's missions, and the construction of a sports stadium. The Daughters of the Republic of Texas and De Zavala's Landmarks Association applied for supplemental state funds for preserving the Alamo, restoration of other Spanish-era missions, and for permanent monuments to the Alamo defenders and Ben Milam. Newspaper records show they were persistent in their appeals to the local Centennial commission with representatives at most of the public meetings. As the unofficial custodians of the city's history and shrines, the two groups also publicly advocated for monuments and historic preservation. Local leaders even credited "what little [Centennial] support there is in San Antonio comes from the women." At an event marking the centennial of Milam's death, De Zavala reiterated their work to memorialize him:

The modest monument now there was erected by this association over 35 years ago, with the intention of later supplying a bronze statue. They have had this object constantly in mind—but other pressing matters and intensive campaigns have arisen which have prevented it up to this time. It now is embodied in the request of the Texas Historical and Landmark's Association of the De Zavala Daughters and Sons of the Heroes and Pioneers of the Republic of Texas for a portion of the Centennial funds.²⁹

²⁴ "Memory of Ben Milam," San Antonio Light, September 8, 1938.

²⁵ National Register of Historic Places, Monuments and Buildings of the Texas Centennial MPS, Statewide, Texas, National Register, 2018, 10.

²⁶ HB 11, the state Centennial allocation, awarded San Antonio \$250,000 for improvements to the Alamo.

²⁷ For a detailed account of the controversial Centennial planning process in San Antonio, see Chapter 11, "Message from San Antonio," in Kenneth B. Ragsdale, *The Year America Discovered Texas: Centennial '36* (College Station, TX: A&M University Press, 1987).

²⁸ Dallas Morning News, April 18, 1936.

²⁹ "Following the Trail of Old Ben Milam," San Antonio Express, December 7, 1935.

In April 1936, rumors emerged the local Centennial committee intended to recommend the USTCC spend \$305,000 of the city's \$400,000 allocation on the sports arena. When the public heard the news, groups like the Daughters of the Texas Revolution and the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association protested the stadium proposal, which they called a purely commercial expenditure that devalued the patriotic sacrifice of the men who died fighting for Texas independence.³⁰ Ultimately, the committee submitted two dissenting reports to the USTCC: one recommended the stadium, and the other recommended permanent memorials and preserving the city's historic shrines. Although the USTCC initially approved a federal Centennial budget that approved \$150,000 for the stadium, continued controversy ultimately caused that project idea to collapse.³¹ The final approved list for San Antonio, not completed until September 1936, favored historical, rather than commercial, commemorative projects: restoration of the Alamo and a museum; restoration of Mission San Jose; a memorial building to the Pioneers, Trails Drivers, and Rangers; the Alamo Cenotaph to memorialize heroes of the Texas Revolution; construction of the Sunken Garden amphitheater; a statue of Moses Austin; and the nominated statue of Ben Milam.

Federal approval of a Ben Milam statue in San Antonio happened a year after the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations confirmed state centenary funds for a bronze Milam statue on the courthouse grounds in Cameron, Milam County. Judge Jeff T. Kemp submitted the original statue request to the Advisory Board of Texas Historians, chaired by his brother Louis W. Kemp, in August 1936.³² The following October, the advisory board's reports recommended \$14,000 for a bronze sculpture of Ben Milam. J. Frank Dobie, arguing the artistic and historic value of some of Texas historical figures over others, considered Milam an exemplary Texan whose sculptural portrait would:

make visible for admiration and emulation the virtues and characteristics that made him notable...I can imagine a sculptor erecting the figure of Ben Milam – fittingly in Milam County – waving his hat and yearning with every muscle and nerve in his body to go forward, while on the pedestal beneath his feet ring out those words forever associated with the hero that stir even when repeated the thousandth time, "Who Will Go With Old Ben Milam Into San Antonio?"³³

Dobie's recommendation for the statue's placement, "fittingly in Milam County," reinforced Kemp's subtle reproach of San Antonians who, in his eyes, had yet failed to erect a fitting monument to Milam. Kemp's report quoted 19th century historian John Henry Brown, who in 1890 lamented the then fifty-year-long neglect of this work: "Some men have become millionaires in the town [San Antonio] he won to liberty and...still there is no monument to Milam! Will it forever be thus? God forbid!" Kemp also dismissed the Texas Historical and Landmarks Society's granite memorial as "suitable for his grave but it cannot by any means be classed as a monument." The Commission of Control wholly approved the advisory board's recommendation for a Milam statue. On August 18, 1938, more than 3,000 Milam County citizens attended the unveiling ceremony of artist Bryant Baker's bronze *Ben Milam* on the courthouse grounds. No evidence suggests that Centennial leadership at the local, state, or federal level questioned the duplicative memorials, and as a result two Ben Milam statues were erected for the 1936 anniversary of Texas independence.

³⁰ "Daughters of Republic Protest Allotment of Centennial Money for Building Memorial Stadium," San Antonio Express, April 2, 1936

³¹ "With the Federal Funds for the Centennial," San Antonio Express, September 8, 1936.

³² "Statue for Milam," Cameron Herald, October 10, 1935.

³³ Report of the Advisory Board of Texas Historians, Minority Report, October 1935, 8.

³⁴ Report of the Advisory Board of Texas Historians, Majority Report, October 1935, 11.

³⁵ The *Ben Milam* statue is not explicitly mentioned in National Register of Historic Places, Milam County Courthouse and Jail, Cameron, Milam County, National Register #77001460.

Following the finalized determination of Centennial projects in San Antonio, the USTCC tasked the Commission of Control for Texas Centennial Celebrations and the State Board of Control with carrying out contracts, disbursements, and other administrative tasks related to the construction of the itemized buildings and monuments. Despite having been selected by the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association to sculpt Milam, Bonnie MacLeary had to follow the same process as other artists who wished to win Centennial art bids. ³⁶ In October 1936, she submitted her model of Ben Milam to the State Board of Control. After review by the Commission of Control and the United States Commission of Fine Arts, MacLeary's rendering of Milam was approved. Donald S. Nelson, architect for most of the monuments and statues erected for the statewide Centennial, won the bid to design the pedestal base, and San Antonio-based Rodriguez Brothers were selected to build it. The State Board of Control coordinated placement of the statue with the constituent groups most interested in the memorial to Milam: the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association and the DRT. De Zavala, naturally, advised putting the statue on the west end of Milam Park, which she said "will give it a more suitable setting, a pleasing vista, and an opportunity for a more artistic treatment [because] a life-sized bronze cannot be placed on the present small Milam monument."

Dedication

On the evening of September 8, 1938, a crowd of hundreds gathered to dedicate the newly completed *Ben Milam* statue at the west end of Milam Park. San Antonio's WPA-funded Mexican Tipica orchestra entertained the large audience as the setting sun backlit the 29-foot-tall monument. When Adina de Zavala laid a wreath on Milam's grave, the U.S. Army Twenty-Third Infantry Bugle Corps played "Taps."

Bishop W.T. Capers of the West Texas Episcopal diocese opened the event with an invocation, and Birkhead was master of ceremonies. U.S. Senator Tom Connally, the principal speaker, addressed an audience comprised of the city's patriotic and veteran organizations, including the statue's sponsors the Historical and Landmarks Association and the Sons and Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Connally's speech verbalized the political and cultural message imbued in MacCleary's sculptural rendering and emphasized the didactic intention behind monument-building:

Here, almost in the hour of victory, [Milam] fell, fighting to the last for the liberty and independence of his fellow citizens. "Who will go with old Ben Milam into San Antonio?" These words were an invitation to risk one's life. They were a stirring challenge to high endeavor and lofty sacrifice. There will come moments to the people of Texas and to the nation and to generations of the future, perhaps not on the battlefield, but challenges to our civic character, to our willingness to sacrifice to the common good and to sublimest patriotism...Here in San Antonio is the place where a monument to Ben Milam should lift its towering proportions to remind those of this generation and the generations that are to come after us of his courage and patriotism [and to] follow the daring and chivalrous conduct of the men and women who laid the foundations of Texas.³⁸

Following a musical rendition of Rudyard Kipling's "Recessional," Milam's great-grandniece Harriet Privett (née Kinnaird) unveiled *Ben Milam* to the delight of onlookers.

³⁶ Centennial MPDF, 25-30.

³⁷ "Cenotaph Decision Due Within Week," San Antonio Express, May 16, 1936.

³⁸ Ibid.

Significance in the Area of Art

The statewide Centennial public art program produced 65 monuments and statues across Texas. Historian Light Cummins, Ph.D observed that Centennial statues "hark back to the artistic style of the Beaux Arts neo-classicism that centered in City Beautiful movement." Indeed, commissioned artists, like MacLeary, sculpted heroic portraits of historic Texans in a style designed to appeal to broader public. Stylistically, the *Ben Milam* statue recalls a classical aesthetic as a bronze figure poised to muster volunteer to storm San Antonio. Even without the famous quote inscribed on its base, it visually communicates "Who will follow Old Ben Milam?" The full-figure portraiture of Milam is atop a tapered pedestal, designed by Donald S. Nelson, that literally and figuratively elevates the statue. In 1936, the Centennial urged Texans to memorialize the self-sacrifice of their forbearers, and *Ben Milam* was a tangible and permanent product of that mission.

Bonnie King MacLeary (1886-1971)⁴⁰

Born in San Antonio to James Harvey and Mary King McLeary, Bonnie (who later adopted the spelling "MacLeary") was the youngest of four siblings in a family described as "Protestant, prominent, affluent, educated, talented, artistic, inquisitive, and driven" and who would have likely made a significant impact in Texas history had the family "stayed in one place for any length of time." Around 1895, her family moved from Soledad Street to Washington Street, in the King William District, to a house that backed up to the San Antonio River. Bonnie's acknowledged artistic talent was encouraged in drawing and painting, however, she preferred making "mud people, not mud pies" on the banks of the river.

MacLeary's formal art education began in 1900 when she and her mother moved to Manhattan where she divided her time between public school and studying at the well-known art school of William Merritt Chase. Shortly thereafter, she accompanied her maternal grandparents to Italy and France. In Paris, MacLeary attended the Académie Julian where she studied under Adolphe Bouguereau who introduced the young artist to life drawing, which had a profound influence in her later works. MacLeary became frequently discouraged, however, by her inability to fully express herself in painting and drawing. Back in New York, she enrolled at the Art Students League under James Earl Fraser, and she realized her talent for sculpture.

In 1906, MacLeary married Ernest W. Kramer in Waco. 42 Although married for approximately 20 years, MacLeary and Kramer were apart for much of that time. When Kramer went to Europe for the duration of World War I, she established a studio in New York and dedicated herself to becoming a full-time sculptor. In 1921, MacLeary submitted two statuettes to the National Academy of Design that both were accepted. Overnight, the 32-year-old artist (reported as 28 years old) achieved fame as the youngest exhibitor to ever have two works accepted. 43 MacLeary's charm and candor colored full-page stories in newspapers nationwide that enthusiastically published information about new works, her exhibits, and travel; everything pertaining to the life of the bohemian artist but her marriage. She attributed her success to her "willingness to sacrifice everything" for art and credited the new era of freedom for women. 44 When asked by a reporter why there were no "really great women artists," she responded:

³⁹ Light Townsend Cummins, Ph.D., "Statues of the State," *The Medallion* 48, no.7-8 (July/August 2011): 9.

⁴⁰ The section adapted by Sugar Glaspy from her self-published "Aspiration: Bonnie MacLeary, Sculptor & Feminist, 1886-1971" (paper originally presented at the Texas State Historical Association Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, March 9, 1979 and revised September 2019), copy on file at the Texas Historical Commission.

⁴¹ Glaspy, 7.

^{42 &}quot;Wedding at Waco," The Houston Post, March 30, 1906.

⁴³ "Young Woman Sculptor Wins High Honor," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 18, 1921.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

There may have been...be we may never have heard of her because for centuries women have been suppressed. If a great woman artist existed—and she must have existed—she has had to keep her art pent up. The dominating sex would not let her express it. But now we are in a new age. Woman can free herself from the shackles of home...and devote herself entirely to her art. It is only by absolute devotion that she can become great.⁴⁵

From 1921 to c. 1950, MacLeary produced approximately 63 known sculptural works, painting, and *objets d'art*. She was known primarily for playful bronzes of children that decorated gardens—like *Ouch* (1923), *Squawkie Birds* (1928), *Goosie Goosie* (1921)—and graceful nude figures of women, like *Aspiration* (1921) and *Moonflower* (1928). Indeed, MacLeary saw in the human body a certain spirituality, but she found it only in the female form. "If I were to chisel a hideous type," she once said, "I should no doubt choose a male figure;" and she did so in her work entitled *Hate*. MacLeary's artistic career slowed in the 1950s. She continued to work, but specialized in smaller pieces, such as ceramics, vases, lamps, and bookends. These endeavors, along with her travels and art lessons, occupied her time from the 1940s onward. She died in 1971.

Ben Milam belongs to a minor category of heroic monumental work MacLeary undertook in her career. It is a rare example of a male subject and is the only known public monument attributed to the artist in the United States. Research for the monument began in 1930 following her commission by the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association for Ben Milam. She told a reporter that she read 26 histories and biographies in order to better understand Milam's soul, and corresponded with Milam's descendants in order to sculpt an accurate physical likeness of the man. ⁴⁶ By 1933, she completed a clay version that later was cast in bronze for the Centennial in 1938. Whereas many of her works portraying the male figure were void of expression and depth, Ben Milam is imbued with characteristics, like bravery and self-sacrifice, that Texans attributed to the historic men who won its independence from Mexico. Her design showed him with a somber and serious expression, clenched fist at his side, and his right arm raised forcibly above his head strongly gripping a rifle. In creating the monument, MacLeary and Nelson designed a base to literally elevate Milam, who for the Centennial and Texas history, is an individual that exemplified the self-sacrifice that won Texas independence.

Donald S. Nelson (1907-1992)

Dallas architect Donald S. Nelson's architectural accomplishments typically overshadow his contribution to *Ben Milam* and the Centennial public art project. Nelson was born in Chicago, Illinois on February 10, 1907. His formal training began at age 19 at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Fontainebleau, France. Upon his return stateside, he earned a Bachelor of Architecture degree from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). After winning the prestigious Paris Prize, Nelson returned to France in 1927 to attend the Ecole Normal Superieur des Beaux Arts. The young architect began his professional career in 1930 working as a junior member of the Chicago firm Bennett, Parsons, and Frost.⁴⁷

Nelson's work for the 1933 Chicago Century of Progress Exposition earned him the attention of Dallas architect George Dahl who invited Nelson, among others, in 1935 to assist in the design of the Texas Centennial Exposition complex. When the project concluded in 1936, Nelson remained in Dallas and established a private practice. He responded to the Texas State Board of Control's open call for an architect to design bases for Centennial statues and

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "Puts Milam in Bronze for City of San Antonio," *El Paso Herald Post*, February 3, 1933.

⁴⁷ *Handbook of Texas Online*, Christopher Long, "Nelson, Donald Siegfried," accessed September 01, 2017, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fnejz.

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Ben Milam Statue, San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas

monuments. Nelson won the contract and, between 1936 and 1939, he collaborated with commissioned sculptors, monument makers, stone quarries, and local communities to plan and execute the foundations for 24 public art projects.

Following World War II, Nelson entered the height of his professional career when he formed an architectural firm with Thomas D. Broad (Broad and Nelson) in Dallas. Nelson became a regionally significant architect known for adding sculptural elements to his projects. No doubt his early career working with Centennial monuments introduced him to sculptors, like Raoul Josset, and influenced his architectural aesthetic. He designed many public and commercial buildings across the state and is recognized for several noteworthy buildings in Dallas and Waco. These projects include the Dallas Mercantile Bank Complex (1940–1947), a contributing building in the Downtown Dallas Historic District; the Texas Memorial Grand Lodge Temple in Waco (1950); the original passenger terminal at Love Field in Dallas (1957); and the Scottish Rite Library and Museum in Waco (1969).

Conclusion

The 1938 *Ben Milam* statue in San Antonio, Bexar County is one of 20 statues erected by the State of Texas to celebrate the Centennial. Designed by San Antonio-born sculptor Bonnie MacLeary and architect Donald S. Nelson, the statue memorializes Ben Milam, considered a hero of the Texas Revolution. It is eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion A in the area of Social History and Criterion C in the area of Art at the state level of significance under the multiple property submission *Monuments and Buildings of the Texas Centennial*. The Milam statue is an excellent example of the statewide public art program. It is significant in the area of Art as an important work by master sculptor Bonnie MacLeary. The property also meets Criterion Consideration F (Commemorative Properties) because it is significant as a work of art that reflects early 20th century interest in recognizing historic subjects throughout Texas, which culminated in the publicly funded statewide Texas Centennial. The period of significance is 1938, the year the statue was erected.

⁴⁸ *Handbook of Texas Online*, Christopher Long, "Nelson, Donald Siegfried," accessed September 01, 2017, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fnejz.

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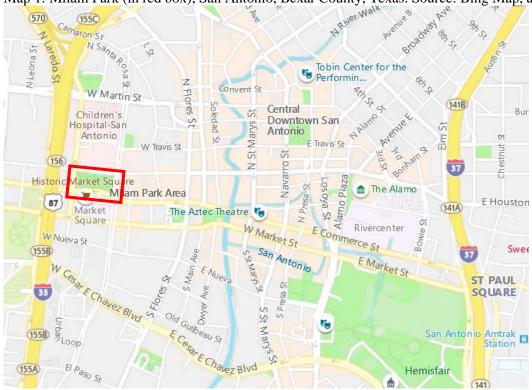
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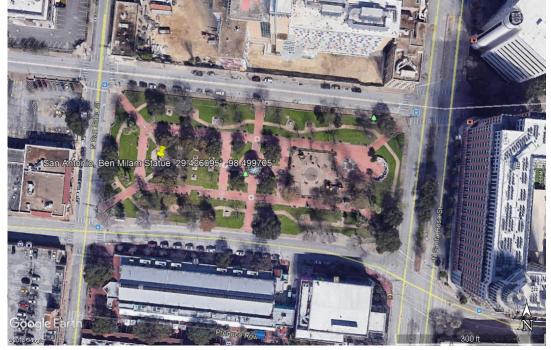
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Maps

Map 1: Milam Park (in red box), San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. Source: Bing Map, accessed December 5, 2019.



Map 2: San Antonio, Ben Milam Statue 29.426095° -98.499705°. Source: Google Earth, accessed December 5, 2019.



Map 3:Ben Milam statue, aerial view. Source: Google Earth, accessed December 5, 2019.

Figures

Figure 1: Finishing touches on the *Ben Milam* statue were completed several days prior to its dedication on September 7, 1938. Image originally published in *San Antonio Light* August 27, 1938.

Source: UTSA Special Collections, University of Texas at San Antonio.

Figure 2: Statue base blueprints by Donald Nelson. Source: "Memorial to Ben Milam at West End of Ben Milam Park, San Antonio, Bexar County, 1937," Centennial Memorials, Blueprints and Drawings Collection. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

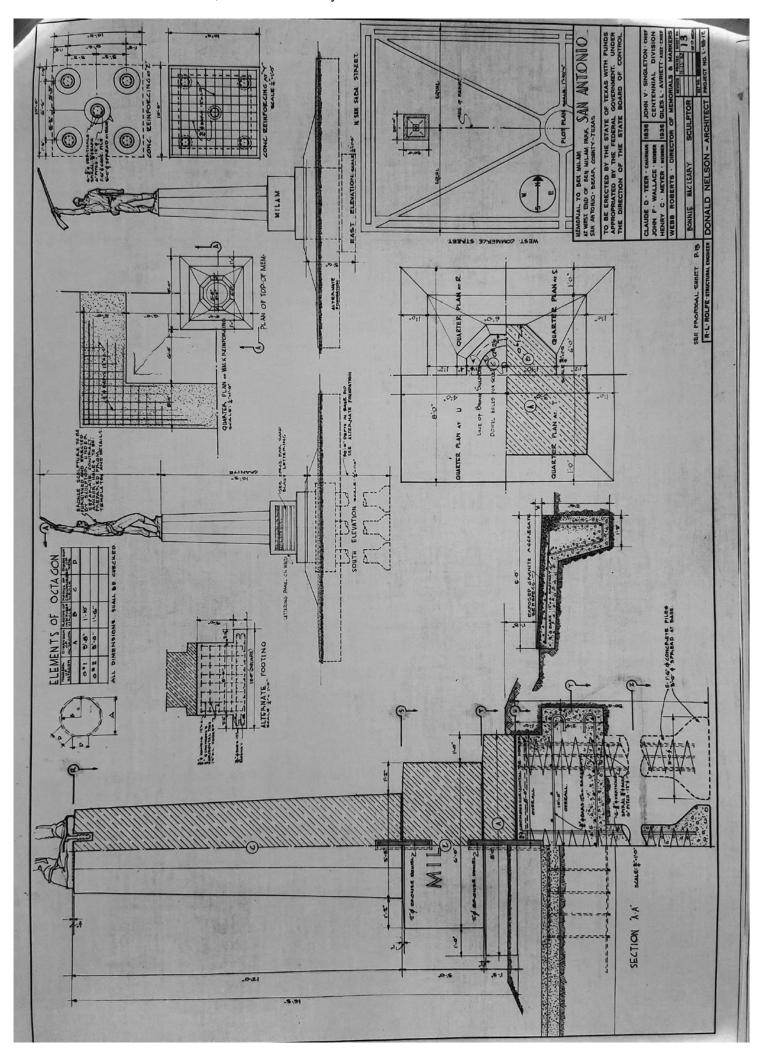


Figure 3: Sanborn Fire Insurance Map, San Antonio (1911). Source: University of Texas at Austin.

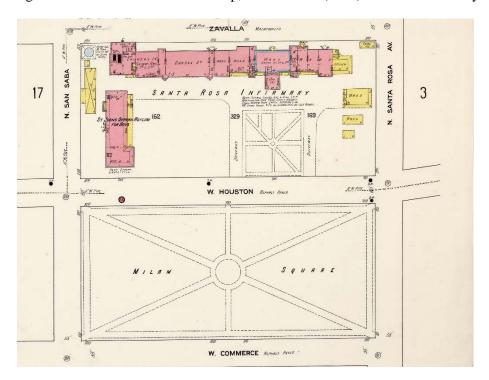


Figure 4: Milam Park, 1968. Source: Ray Howell Photograph Collection, UTSA Special Collections, University of Texas at San Antonio.

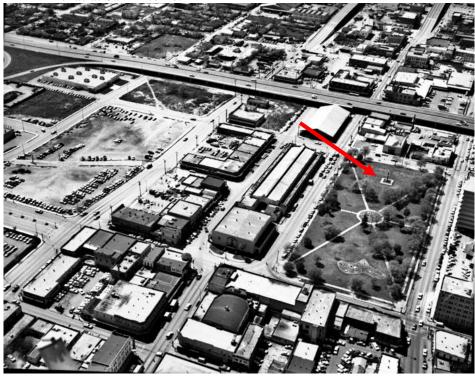


Figure 5: Bonnie MacLeary with "Fledglings," photographed by Peter A. Juley and Son, n.d. Source: Smithsonian American Art Museum, https://www.si.edu/object/siris_jul_99669. Accessed December 18, 2019.



Photographs

Name of Property: Ben Milam Statue

Location: San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas

Name of Photographer: Bonnie Tipton Wilson Date of Photographs: February 1, 2019

Photo 1: The Ben Milam statue faces east in Milam Park, camera facing west.

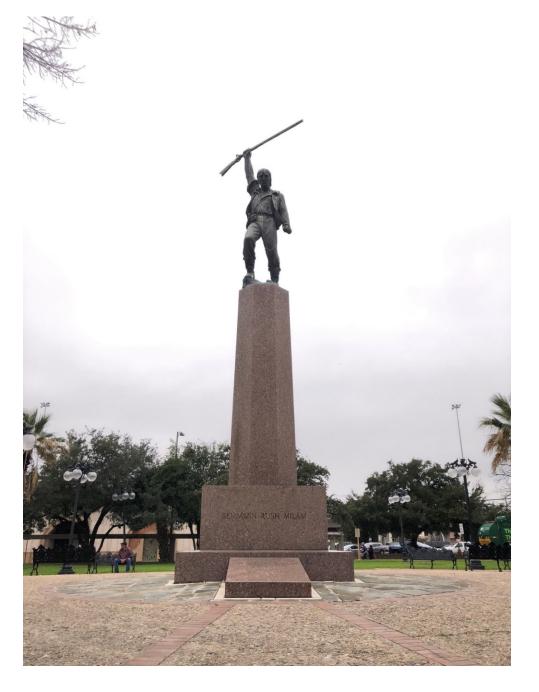


Photo 2: Detail Ben Milam showing bronze full-figure portrait statue, camera facing northwest.

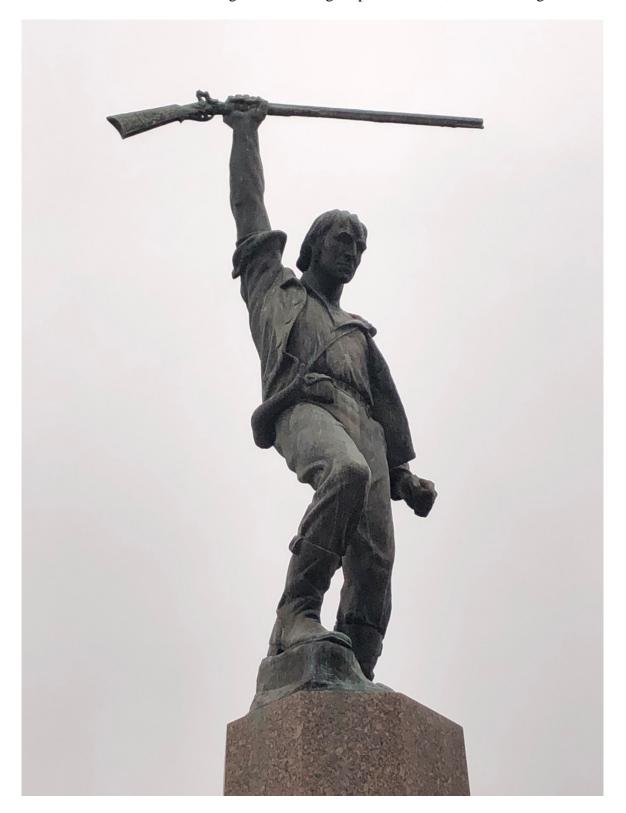


Photo 3: Side (north) and rear (west) elevations, camera facing southeast.



Photo 4: Detail of inscription (north side of base) that was sandblasted into pink Texas granite, camera facing south.



Photo 5: *Ben Milam* west elevation, camera facing east. The nominated boundary encompasses only the statue and the ground upon which it stands.

