POLITICAL and MILITARY AFFAIRS, 1830-1860

THE NATIONAL SURVEY
OF HISTORIC SITES
AND BUILDINGS

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
"Our fathers intended that our institutions should differ. They knew that the North and the South having different climates, productions and interests, required different institutions. This doctrine of Mr. Lincoln's of uniformity among the institutions of the different States is a new doctrine, never dreamed of by Washington, Madison, or the framers of this Government. . . . I believe that this new doctrine preached by Mr. Lincoln and his party will dissolve the Union if it succeeds."

Douglas at Ottawa, Illinois
August 21, 1858

"I was glad to express my gratitude at Quincy, and I re-express it here to Judge Douglas--that he looks to no end of the institution of slavery. That will help the people to see where the struggle really is. It will hereafter place with us all men who really do wish the wrong may have an end. And whenever we can get rid of the fog which obscures the real question -- when we can get Judge Douglas and his friends to avow a policy looking to its perpetuation--we can get out from among them that class of men and bring them to the side of those who treat it as a wrong. Then there will soon be an end of it, and that end will be its 'ultimate extinction.'"

Lincoln at Alton, Illinois
October 15, 1858
The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme XIII

Political and Military Affairs, 1830-1860

1960

United States Department of the Interior
Fred A. Seaton, Secretary

National Park Service
Conrad L. Wirth, Director
CONTENTS

Preface ........................................... i
Acknowledgments ................................... iv

A SUMMARY OF THE THEME

Introduction ....................................... 1
Old Hickory at the Helm ........................... 3
Trail of Tears ...................................... 7
Jackson Stays on Top .............................. 10
The Troubled Reign of Little Van ................. 13
"An Agreement With Hell" .......................... 15
Whigs in the Saddle ............................... 20
Decade of Expansion ............................... 21
"It will become all one thing, or all the other" ....... 28
The Doughfaces ..................................... 32
Bleeding Kansas .................................... 34
Revolt of the Saints ............................... 41
Lincoln v. Douglas .................................. 43
John Brown Lights the Fuse ......................... 45
Point of No Return ................................ 46
From Jackson to Secession ......................... 50

Suggested Readings ............................... 52

SURVEY OF SITES AND BUILDINGS

General Discussion ............................... 54

Sites of Exceptional Value

Political Affairs

Lindenwald, Van Buren Home, Kinderhook, New York . 57
Sherwood Forest, Tyler Home, Charles City County, Virginia .......................... 61
James K. Polk Home, Columbia, Tennessee ........... 63
Springfield, Taylor House, Jefferson County, Kentucky ................................ 65
Franklin Pierce Homestead, Hillsboro, New Hampshire 67
Wheatland, Buchanan Home, Lancaster, Pennsylvania 71
Old Main, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois .......... 76
Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, New York 80
Cooper Union, New York City, New York .............. 84
Reverend Samuel L. Adair Cabin, Osawatomie, Kansas 90
Marlbourne, Ruffin Home, Hanover County, Virginia 92
Military Affairs

Okeechobee Battlefield, Okeechobee County, Florida 95
Fort Jesup State Monument, Sabine Parish, Louisiana 98
U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland 102

Areas in the National Park System Related to the Theme 105
Recommendations for Additional Study 106
Criteria for Classification 108
Other Sites Evaluated 109
Other Sites Noted 117

ILLUSTRATIONS

Lindenwald following page 57
Sherwood Forest 61
Springfield 65
Franklin Pierce Homestead 67
Wheatland 71
Old Main 76
Plymouth Church (two views) 80
Cooper Union 84
Marlbourne 92
Okeechobee Battlefield 95
Fort Jesup 98
Naval Academy 102
Webster Birthplace 113

MAP

Sites of Exceptional Value 56
PREFACE

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey begun in 1937, under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II, and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed as part of the National Park Service MISSION 66 Program.

The purpose of the Survey, as outlined in the Historic Sites Act, is to "make a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." In carrying out this basic directive, each site and building considered in the Survey is evaluated in terms of the Criteria for Classification, which are listed in the appendix of this report.

When completed, the Survey will make recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of "exceptional value." This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological representation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by state and local agencies.

Each theme study prepared in the course of the Survey will consist of two parts: a brief summary of the theme itself, and a discussion of the sites and buildings which were considered in con-
The historians who prepared this report made personal visits to the more important sites in 1959-60.

This study is the result of a joint effort by four historians of the National Park Service: Frank B. Sarles, Jr., Region One Office; Ray H. Mattison, Region Two Office; Robert M. Utley, Region Three Office; and Charles E. Shedd, Jr., Region Five Office, in consultation with the Branch of History in the Washington Office of the National Park Service. The historical summary of the theme was written by Mr. Shedd, who coordinated and assembled the report.

After completion, the study was presented to the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee consists of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies; Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Dr. Louis B. Wright, Folger-Shakespearean Library; Mr. Earl H. Reed, American Institute of Architects; Dr. Richard H. Howland, Head Curator, Civil History, Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Eric Gugler, American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society; Dr. J. O. Brew, Committee for the Recovery of Archeological Remains; Mr. Frederick Johnson, Robert S. Peabody Foundation for American Archeology; and Robert Garvey, Jr., Executive Director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

The over-all Survey, as well as the theme study which follows, is under the general direction of John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, who works under
the general supervision of Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian, Branch of History, and Daniel B. Beard, Chief, Division of Interpretation, of the National Park Service.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director
The work of the National Survey profits from the experience and knowledge of a considerable number of persons and organizations. Every effort is made to solicit the considered opinions of as many qualified persons as possible in reaching final selection of the most significant sites. Assistance in the preparation of this study from the following is gratefully acknowledged:

Mrs. Knud Baagoe, James K. Polk Memorial Auxiliary, Columbia, Tennessee; Mr. Cyrus W. Beale, 1004 Park Avenue, Richmond, Virginia; Miss Helen P. Bolman, Librarian, Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York; Mr. A. Woodford Broaddus, Tunstall, Virginia; Mr. Frank Culver, Office of Public Relations, Cooper Union, New York City, N. Y.; Mr. Albert DeVane, Lake Placid, Florida; Mr. Russell W. Fridley, Director, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota; Lieut. Jack A. Garrow, U. S. N., Public Information Officer, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland; Mr. M. M. Goodsill, Director of Public Relations, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois; Mr. Malcolm Jamieson, Charles City, Virginia; Maj. Edward T. Keenan, Keenan Library of Seminole War Facts, Frostproof, Florida; Miss Beatrice M. Loennecke, Executive Secretary and Registrar, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims (Congregational), Brooklyn, New York; Mr. Nyle K. Miller, Secretary, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; Dr. A. R. Mortensen, Director, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mrs. Roy V. Ott, Oklawaha, Florida; Mrs. Gordon Parker, Curator, The James Buchanan Foundation for the Preservation
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In dealing with military affairs in the period 1830-1860, the historical summary which follows is confined for the most part to military activity east of the Mississippi, although major events such as the Texas Revolution and the War with Mexico, and the Mormon uprising are noted briefly. The Texas Revolution and Mexican War are treated in detail in a subtheme of Theme XV, Westward Expansion and the Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific, 1830-1898 (1959). Other military affairs west of the Mississippi are covered in the subtheme Military and Indian Affairs (1959).
The American years between 1830 and 1860 were years of unprecedented growth; not only in physical domain and national wealth, but in the national temper and outlook as well. The frontier of settlement had leaped the Mississippi, and mid-way in the era the Nation's smug confidence in its role of empire builder would find expression in "Manifest Destiny." As the age of Jackson dawned, canals, railroads, and turnpikes had begun to lace the region east of the great river. Along them moved agricultural products and raw materials to the mushrooming industrial centers of the North. In the opposite direction flowed goods and settlers to the booming Midwest. Although most Americans still lived on farms, great cities no longer clung to the seaboard; the urban frontier had crossed the mountains.

This was the picture of progress that seemed to hold so much of present good and future promise for Americans of the mid-19th century. "The day for the multitude has now dawned," said the contemporary historian George Bancroft of the era which opened with the exuberant inauguration of Andrew Jackson as seventh president of the United States. In America, as in Europe, the winds of popular rule were blowing high. If it was a chill wind to some conservatives, to others it seemed warm and laden with promise of a new day; when every man's opportunity would equal his neighbors; when
he could climb as high as his wits and talents would take him. This, at least, was the way egalitarian Americans liked to think of themselves. Yet, historians disagree as to what precisely was Jacksonian Democracy. Was it simply political opportunism and a blatant extension of the spoils system? Was it the "Common Man's" statement of faith in his intrinsic worth, his equality of opportunity, and his right and ability to govern? Was it a class struggle; an unconscious coalition of farmers and wage earners attempting to resist and control by political means the power of the business community? Or, was it, essentially, the struggle of the small capitalist to overcome the limitations on economic opportunity imposed by a commercial and industrial aristocracy? There is substantial evidence to support each of these interpretations; all of them are reflected in the rise of 19th century democracy.

Expanding on the social conflict theory, modern historians have tended to interpret the period in terms of class rivalry; this in contrast to their predecessors who saw in 19th-century America the full-flowering of democracy bred by the advancing frontier. The conflicts of the period, earlier historians explained, were a manifestation of rivalry between the geographical sections, North, West, and South. For an interpretation of the age in all its aspects, an analysis of the social struggle is fundamental. But, in the restricted perspective of the historical summary which follows, it was, as earlier historians asserted, the contest between sections, not classes, that dominated National political affairs in the genera-
tion prior to the Civil War. When war came in 1861, it was North and West against South; not poor against rich; not the workingman and farmer against the businessman.

The agrarian South, proud, jealous, and increasingly fearful, guarded the domain of King Cotton. Dixie saw in the burgeoning wealth and population of the North and West a deadly threat to traditional Southern leadership, and to the economic and social institutions which that leadership had struggled to preserve.

The North and West, in turn, were increasingly drawn together by economic interdependence and a common heritage. These sections now rejected Negro slavery and looked with growing abhorrence upon the South's "peculiar institution."

This was the background against which the ante-bellum drama was played. While political and military affairs tell only part of the story, they reflect in great measure the national growth, social change, and sectional conflict which are the period's central themes.

OLD HICKORY AT THE HELM

"I do precisely what I think just and right"

The mass of citizens, many only recently enfranchised, who cast their votes for Andrew Jackson were soon aware that their leader meant to assume his executive responsibilities to the fullest. And they delighted in him. Seldom had the temper of the American people and their chief executive been so closely attuned, even though Old Hickory was attracting a growing number of prominent
The victorious Democrats went for the scalps of their political foes, proclaiming that "to the victor belongs the spoils." In truth, while Jackson indulged in party patronage on a wider scale than had his predecessors, the number of jobholders thrown out to make room for deserving Democrats was not large. The new president was confronted with problems which far outweighed the satisfying of importunate politicians. In considering and dealing with the Nation's affairs in his first two years in office, Jackson relied on the "Kitchen Cabinet," a group of cronies holding minor posts in the government or with no official status whatever.

The new administration got off to a good start in matters of both foreign and domestic policy. Long-standing commercial controversies with England and France were resolved, and, although this did not end diplomatic wrangling between the United States and Europe, it presaged the generally peaceful, if not always amicable, negotiations that were thenceforth to mark the Nation's affairs with Europe in the 19th century.

The real danger to the country was closer to home, and it early centered around the person of Jackson's vice-president, the implacable spokesmen for states' rights, John C. Calhoun. The South Carolinian had, in 1828, anonymously expounded the explosive doctrine of nullification in support of the stand taken by his state's legislature condemning the "Tariff of Abominations." Nullification meant that a state could pick and choose among Federal
laws as to which it would obey and which it would not. Those laws which the state did not like could be nullified by the state as a free and sovereign political unit.

Although the matter was not pressed at the time, nullification was shortly to present to Jackson - and the Nation - the specter of disunion. Early in January, 1830, the Senate debated a temporary cessation of public land sales, a move espoused by the Northeast but bitterly opposed in the South and West. Taking up the fight, Senator Hayne of South Carolina echoed the state supremacy doctrine of Calhoun, claiming the prerogative of nullification while taking some vicious pot-shots at New England and her role in the last war with Britain. The counterblast came from none other than Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster, a preeminent orator in an age of great speakers. Cutting through the economic questions, Webster went to the heart of the controversy - the Union vs. the individual state. What Webster said in asserting the primacy of the Union was not new, but no man had ever said it better. More than eloquence, there was logic and the weight of law in Webster's words. But what struck home at last was "Black Dan'l's" peroration to the Union, ending with the ringing phrase "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" His rumbling eloquence would be quoted long after the issue which called it forth had passed into history.

Jackson, himself, entered the lists a few months later when at a Jefferson Day dinner in Washington he proposed, in Calhoun's
presence, the toast, "Our Union: It must be preserved." Calhoun tried to retrieve his position with a response opening with "The Union, next to our liberty, most dear," but Old Hickory had put the nullifiers on notice in unmistakable terms. Further complicating the relationship between the president and vice-president was Jackson's discovery that, in 1818, Calhoun, then Secretary of War, had lent his support to those who opposed the General's actions in the first Seminole War.

The strain between these two headstrong and ambitious men was not eased by the machinations of the wily Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, Calhoun's major rival as successor to Jackson. A spicy social scandal involving the new wife of Secretary of War Eaton gave "Little Van" his opportunity to scuttle Calhoun's strength in the cabinet. Jackson staunchly defended the socially-rejected Mrs. Eaton and, Van Buren, a bachelor, won Old Hickory's gratitude by treating the lady with his usual urbane charm. To rid the administration of an embarrassing millstone and ease the tension within the cabinet, Van Buren offered to resign; to be followed out by Eaton. Jackson then asked for the resignation of the rest of the cabinet and carefully excluded Calhoun's adherents in refilling the posts.

Although his influence in the administration was steadily draining away, Calhoun kept the pistol of nullification pointed at Jackson's head. The tariff of 1832 was more moderate than that of 1828, but it retained the principle of protection and hence was
anathema to the South. With the endorsement of Calhoun, a state convention in South Carolina passed an ordinance nullifying both the Tariff of Abominations and the 1832 version, calling them unconstitutional. The ordinance closed the state to Federal customs officials and warned that application of Federal force would mean secession. But Old Hickory never lost command of the situation. While encouraging Union sentiment in the state, he issued to rebellious South Carolina a stern denial of the right of nullification. Then, to put teeth in his proclamation, he secured the passage of the "Force Bill" in 1833, which meant just what the name suggested - authorization to use Federal troops to enforce the law. Southerners as well as Northerners were alarmed by South Carolina's reckless defiance and it was clear that the Palmetto State would stand alone. In this impasse, Henry Clay of Kentucky proposed a compromise tariff and South Carolina nullified her nullification. Clay had again damped the flames of disunion, but for many fire-eating Southerners the banner of nullification had been hauled down only temporarily.

**TRAIL OF TEARS**

If the nullification controversy was the most dangerous threat to domestic security, there were other issues scarcely less important to the Nation suffering growing pains in the 1830's. Seeking a final solution to the Indian problem, Congress adopted a policy that was, as far as the whites were concerned, the one sure way to end friction with the Indians. That plainly and simply was to herd the redmen westward beyond the Mississippi and appropriate
their lands. Whatever the morality of the removal policy, it was no more callous than what had gone before in the Nation's treatment of its red wards. By the middle of the 1830's, the forced migration policy had done its work and, with a few troublesome exceptions, the eastern nations were transplanted to land the white man believed was worthless.

When the Indians refused to submit meekly to their expulsion there was bitter, hopeless resistance. In the Old Northwest, a band of Sac and Fox Indians led by Chief Black Hawk attempted, in 1831, to evict white squatters who occupied land taken from the Indians near present Rock Island, Illinois. When regular troops and raw militia moved against him, Black Hawk crossed to the west side of the Mississippi. Early in the following year he recrossed the river, bent on finding allies and raising a corn crop in Illinois. Again the undisciplined militia marched, only to fall into an ambush from which they were glad enough to flee with their lives. Temporarily successful, Black Hawk's braves scourged the area between the Illinois River and Wisconsin. After suffering a defeat, they fled to Wisconsin. The vengeful militia followed and on the Bad Axe River, in July, Black Hawk, his warriors, and their families were brought to bay. The Chief attempted to surrender but his bid was ignored and most of the band was murdered. Black Hawk escaped and later surrendered. After a brief imprisonment he was permitted to return to the survivors of his ill-fated band. In September, 1832, at Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, Winfield Scott
punished the recalcitrant tribes by forcing them to give up their lands in Wisconsin and eastern Iowa. The "war" had been a brutal affair, all too typical of the long and bloody frontier story, but it played a major role in opening northern Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa to white settlement. Of incidental interest was the presence in the white forces of militia captain Abraham Lincoln and regular officers Jefferson Davis, Winfield Scott, Zachary Taylor and Albert Sidney Johnston.

Far more costly than Black Hawk's uprising, in terms of time, treasure and lives, was the second war with the Seminoles of Florida whom Jackson had punished earlier in the campaign of 1817-1818. Now as the Nation's chief executive he was to enforce the removal of the Florida Indians under the terms of a treaty of 1832.

Chief Osceola and large numbers of his people refused to move west and in 1835 hostilities broke out, to drag on for more than seven years. The Federal Government was willing to make the removal as painless for the Indians as a violent wrenching from their homeland could be, but insisted that the tribes make ready to move west. Osceola, bitterly resentful over the treatment of his people, bided his time, posing at first as a friend to the whites and their government. Then, in November, 1835, he openly assumed leadership of the rebellious Seminoles and launched a savage guerrilla warfare, from the sanctuary of the Everglades. The Seminoles, and fugitive slaves who made common cause with them, fought a hit-and-run war of stealth and ambush, inflicting heavy losses on the forces sent
against them and on the defenseless settlements which lay in their path. Militia from South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama were sent forward to augment the regular forces campaigning against Osceola without much energy or success.

Treachery and atrocities were practiced by both sides, and the dread fevers of the swamp proved as deadly an enemy to the white soldiers as the lurking Seminoles. In the course of a parley, Osceola and a number of his followers were lured into captivity and taken to Charleston where, early in 1838, the great Seminole warrior died. The capture and death of Osceola did not end the nightmare war in the swamps, but by the summer of 1842 the Seminoles were subdued. Save for those who found refuge in the fastness of the Everglades, the Indians were moved west, to join those who had already followed "The Trail of Tears." The subjugation of the Florida Indians was hardly a triumph. Some 1,500 Americans had perished in the swamps and the struggle had cost twenty million dollars.

JACKSON STAYS ON TOP

That the majority of voters were solidly behind Jackson was demonstrated in Old Hickory's overwhelming re-election in 1832, with his old favorite, Van Buren, as vice-president. The opposing candidate, Henry Clay, despite his renown as compromiser, did not catch the public fancy. He came to the election smarting under Jackson's veto of the proposed Maysville Turnpike in Clay's home state of Kentucky. The Maysville veto speech, thanks largely to the fine hand of Van Buren, was politically inspired as a blow against
Clay and his party, but it was also a masterful presentation of Jackson's policy of reducing Federal expenditures. A large part of these went into projects which at best might benefit a single Congressional district or state. To Jackson, his re-election was a clear-cut sanction to continue his domestic policies. The next major target on which he fixed his sights was the Second Bank of the United States.

The Second Bank had been incorporated in 1816, and from 1823 onward, under the able direction of Nicholas Biddle, had handled government funds on a sound and efficient basis; stabilizing the currency and providing the expanding business community with a dependable medium of finance. Nevertheless, to Jackson and his followers the powerful and autocratic bank was an instrument of monopoly and a tool of the financial "nobility." The Bank's charter was due to expire in four years when, in 1832, Biddle took the initiative by applying for a renewal of the charter. The bill to recharter the Bank was vetoed by Jackson in a message challenging the constitutionality of the institution and placing the administration in firm opposition to conservative businessmen. These, in turn, hurled back the charge that Jackson was encouraging conflict between the economic classes. But, the veto was upheld and, in 1833, Jackson, sustained by his popular victory at the polls, withdrew Federal funds from the Bank and deposited them in selected local banks. The Second Bank's charter expired in 1836. Jackson's victory over Biddle was a complete, but, as events proved, a hol-
low one. The Bank's stabilizing influence would be sorely missed when the Panic of 1837 plunged the Nation into a long period of depression. On the other hand, critics of the Bank could point out that the financial countermeasures instituted by Biddle in his struggle with Jackson contributed to the economic collapse. For the present Jackson had his triumph, and Biddle and his fellow conservatives had a hard lesson in the power of a chief executive who could count on massive popular support.

Political opposition to Jackson's economic policies, and indeed to his entire administration, centered in a loose coalition of Clay's National Republicans, Calhoun's states righters, and Webster's New England conservatives. Each of these factions had its own ambitions and goals, but their common bond was antipathy to Jackson and his Democrats. In 1834 the alliance took the name of "Whig" and for almost two decades it was the rallying ground for those interests which saw, or professed to see, anarchy and economic doom in Jacksonian democracy.

Jackson's popular support from the middle and laboring classes did not present a united front. In this era of reform and social experiment there were groups who trusted neither side, although the "workingmen's" parties and similar pressure groups frequently tended to identify their interests with Jackson. Most radical of the groups which made up Jacksonian democracy was the so-called Loco-Foco party in New York which split with the regular party organization to press its reform program against the financial
interests. The new party derived its name from the friction matches or loco-focos its members struck to light a hall darkened by their political foes. While never numerically strong, the Loco-Focos did much to sharpen the issue of reform in both major parties. As the regular Democratic organization increasingly adopted the reforms demanded by the Loco-Focos the splinter party was reabsorbed into the Jacksonian fold. Their curious name persisted as an epithet applied to the whole of the Democratic party by its Whig opponents.

THE TROUBLED REIGN OF LITTLE VAN

Despite the bitter opposition of the Whigs, and the unrest of the more radical elements of his own party, Jackson retained his immense popularity. Some of his policies eventually would have a distressing effect on the Nation's growth and stability, but happily for Old Hickory these troubles were a legacy to his successor. Jackson retired to his beloved Hermitage, still firmly fixed in the role of champion of the "common man." His hand-picked successor, Van Buren, "The Red Fox of Kinderhook" rode to victory in 1836 on the wave of Jackson's popularity. Clever as he was, Van Buren, who, his critics said, "rowed to his objective with muffled oars," could not master the stormy seas which Jackson had navigated so successfully for eight years.

When Van Buren moved into the White House in March, 1837, the Nation's economy was sliding toward panic and prolonged depression, induced by rampant speculation, an unfavorable trade balance, crop failures and the counterblows struck against Jackson
by the expiring Second Bank. Unemployment and inflation sent restive mobs into the streets, and in May New York banks suspended specie payments, to be followed by financial institutions in other urban centers. The South, too, was hard hit when the price of cotton broke. The economic skies brightened momentarily in 1838, but in the following year turned darker than ever. For a decade more the economy would feel the pinch, although after 1844 a gradual upturn was evident. Recovery was accelerated by the influx of foreign investment and by the blood-tingling discovery that lured thousands of hopeful men west - gold in California! In the end, industrial capitalism would triumph, to take its place with territorial expansion as the twin achievements of Manifest Destiny.

The economic slump had troublesome repercussions in foreign as well as domestic affairs. The Canadian boundary question had long been smouldering, and the lightest breeze could fan it into flame. Now, with American business interests and state governments defaulting on debts to British creditors, the precarious peace along the border was dangerously threatened. Canadians, embroiled in civil unrest, were in no mood to tolerate hostile actions on the disputed boundary. Beginning at the end of 1837 there was a succession of border incidents. These ranged from the burning by Canadian militia of a Yankee vessel on the American side of the Niagara River to the seizure of a Canadian law officer in New York. In the heat of national indignation, U. S. militiamen were dispatched
to the border by President Van Buren. But, cautious as always, "the Flying Dutchman" issued two proclamations of neutrality in the contest between the Canadian authorities and the rebels who sought to overthrow them. Matters came to a head in the winter of 1838-39 when Canadian lumberjacks began operations in the Aroostook region on the controversial border between Maine and New Brunswick. War fever ran high for a few months until the American commander on the spot, Winfield Scott, wrung a truce from authorities on both sides of the line. Happily, the issue was submitted to a boundary commission and subsequently resolved by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. By this negotiation, the United States got more than 7,000 square miles of disputed territory, including the Aroostook Valley. The St. Johns River was opened to free navigation by both parties, the border along the Great Lakes was established, mutual supression of the slave trade was agreed upon, and extradition of criminals provided for. There would be later boundary disputes, but the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was a happy omen.

"AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL"

Deeply disturbing as they were, the economic depression and the uneasy relation with Britain did not have the potential for ultimate disaster inherent in an issue which in the 1830's emerged full blown, to dominate the American political scene thereafter until it brought the country to the cataclysm of civil war. This was abolition.
The United States Constitution was "An agreement with hell" said William Lloyd Garrison, because it sanctioned slavery. The framers of the Constitution had consciously omitted specific provisions regarding slavery except to declare that Congress could take no action to prohibit the slave trade prior to 1808, although a tax not to exceed ten dollars per slave could be levied at any time. In 1807, when the twenty-year period permitted to the trade was about to expire, an act was passed prohibiting the importation of slaves as of January 1, 1808. Domestic slave trade was not prohibited although it was required that vessels engaging in the traffic be at least 40 tons, to facilitate surveillance. Illicit slaves should, when found, be disposed of according to the law of the state in which the illegal slaver was taken.

Although the Constitution did not forbid slavery, Congress passed several measures restricting the institution. First, the Ordinance of 1787 barred slavery from the Old Northwest. Next, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had attempted to settle the question of extension of slavery into the territories by excluding it from the Louisiana Purchase north of the line 36 degrees, 30 minutes. Specifically excepted was Missouri, whose southern boundary lay on the latitude dividing slave territory from free soil.

The advent of the cotton gin in 1793 made the slave system of paramount importance to the Southern economy. That region, despite early protests by native antislave groups, grew increasingly resentful of any effort to abolish the "peculiar institution" by which it
prospered. In the North slavery had proved unprofitable and by the early 19th century had disappeared. Concurrently, antislavery sentiment rose to the proportions of a militant crusade by the 1830's. Inevitably, the cause fell under the sway of radical, frequently eccentric, agitators and reformers who declared personal war on the South and its odious institution. Zealots of the Garrison stamp wanted no part of the drawn-out legal processes by which slavery could be erased, and would settle for nothing less than immediate and total emancipation. Their uncompromising, incendiary stand was as offensive to the moderate antislavery wing in the North as it was to the defenders of slavery in the South. As the abolition movement matured it attracted men of a more reasonable turn of mind. These were fully as opposed to slavery as were the radicals, but were more rational in their approach to the Nation's dominant social and economic problem. Unfortunately, the passions of the time did not admit of moderation and it was the fire-eaters on both sides who set the belligerent tone of the controversy.

As the attacks of Northern abolitionists mounted in fury, Southerners reacted with equal vehemence. At one point, the Georgia legislature posted a reward for the arrest and conviction of Garrison, whose paper, the Liberator, spewed its venom at the South for 35 years. Southerners such as Thomas R. Dew defended slavery not only as an economic necessity but as a positive social and humanitarian good which brought civilization, happiness, and security to the Negro rescued from his wretched life in barbaric Africa. Certainly,
ran the Southern theme, the slave cared for by a white master who valued him was better off than the northern laborer living in a slum, exploited in a grimy factory to the limit of his endurance, and cast aside to die in squalor. While this argument omitted the salient point that the Northern worker was free to better his lot, it did paint a picture that was all too true of thousands of laborers who had the freedom but not the will, skill and luck to rise above the mean level to which industry assigned them. There was much more than economics involved in Southern abhorrence of the abolition doctrine. Lurking below the surface of every argument for slavery was the terror of slave revolt which hung over the South. Such fears were not without foundation. Even as the abolitionists ranted, the terror came in 1831, when a band of rebellious Negroes led by one Nat Turner slaughtered more than 50 whites around Southampton, Virginia. Lasting for ten frenzied days, the revolt cost the lives of more than 100 Negroes, 20 of whom, including Turner, were executed. Thereafter, the slave codes of the Southern states were tightened and the life of the slave and the freedman more circumscribed than ever.

Violence was not confined to the South. At the North, even in the abolition stronghold of Boston, antislavery crusaders were beaten and sometimes murdered by the mob. But, intimidation and assault could not stifle the voices of the reformers. As the turbulent 'thirties passed the mid-mark, abolitionists in growing numbers were making themselves heard as members of state
Beginning in the 1830's, the House of Representatives was the target for thousands of petitions calling for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. To squelch discussion of these provocative submissions, northern and southern Democrats, in 1836, secured passage of the so-called "gag rules" by which no petitions, memorials, or other form of communication to Congress regarding slavery or abolition would be acted upon in any way whatever. Handily passed were other resolutions affirming that Congress had no power to interfere with slavery in the states and that interference with the institution in the Federal District was inexpedient. Principal opponent of the gag rules was the unbending old Federalist John Quincy Adams, himself no abolitionist although firmly opposed to slavery. Adams simply and properly saw the gag rule as a denial of right of petition, and he finally carried the point when, on his motion, the resolution was rescinded in 1844.

That the forces opposed to slavery meant to do more than print diatribes against the South and bombard Congress with petitions was made clear in the fall of 1839 when the Liberty Party held its founding convention and nominated candidates for the presidential election of 1840. Members of the new party were not as radical as Garrison and his fellow agitators, nor did they share the radicals' contempt for a political solution to the slave problem. In the next decade the Liberty Party would have an influence beyond its numbers, holding the balance of power between the major factions.
WHIGS IN THE SADDLE

Time was running out for the Jacksonians as the 1830's ended. The Nation was gripped by depression and the Democratic party was split over the President's handling of patronage and his fiscal policies - notably the creation of an "Independent Treasury" with its center in Washington and with sub-treasuries around the country. The Whigs, taking a leaf from the Democrats' book of practical politics, stressed personalities, not policies, and for their standard bearer in 1840 they picked the aging General William Henry Harrison. "Old Tippecanoe" was a military hero and had the western stamp, although he was Virginia-born. Unlike Henry Clay, the most eligible and deserving of the Whigs, Harrison was associated with few issues which could cost him votes. Van Buren, trading on Jackson's popularity, had easily defeated Harrison in the election of 1836, but four years of "Little Van" was enough for a fickle electorate in a period when party loyalties could shift with startling speed. In a rough and tumble campaign distinguished chiefly by its absurdities the Whigs whooped it up for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," inundating their opposition with torchlight parades, catchy songs and slogans, and freely-flowing kegs of cider for thirsty Harrison men. The Democratic organ that bemoaned "We have taught them how to beat us" was correct. The Jacksonian succession had ended and Van Buren was, as the Whigs jibed, "a used-up man."

With Tippecanoe and Tyler too, the Whigs also won a Congressional majority. Even his most ardent admirers could see that
Harrison's election meant that leadership had passed to the legislators. Although the Democrats would bounce back, the exciting challenge of Jacksonian liberalism would no longer set the tone of the party. The spirit of Jackson would endure in the eastern cities and on western farms, but much of the party's strength and doctrine would come from the embattled South, fighting for the old order in a world which would not stand still even if it could.

DECADE OF EXPANSION

The greatest problem of the generation before the Civil War was abolition; the greatest achievement of that generation was national growth. By any measure, that growth was spectacular; in population, national wealth, and territory. Falling between the rise of militant abolitionism in the thirties and the repeated sectional crises of the 'fifties, the 1840's stand out as an era of accomplishment of national purpose. That purpose was Manifest Destiny - the destiny of America to dominate the continent.

One American who would not see Manifest Destiny in action was President Harrison. One month, to the day, after his inauguration the old General, weakened by the election campaign and harassed by office-seekers, died of pneumonia. In his place was the states' rightist John Tyler of Virginia, who had little sympathy with Whig policies. He had associated himself with the party mainly because it shared his antipathy to Jackson. Tyler's middle of the road politics antagonized Whigs and Democrats alike, and in trying to steer a middle course the new President found himself a man without
a party. The Whigs tried to get their fiscal program rolling with the incorporation in Washington of the Fiscal Bank of the United States; in effect a resurrection of the Second Bank of the United States. Tyler, even as his old adversary Jackson had done, vetoed the bill and a subsequent one which the Whigs hoped might be more to his liking. The vetoes were upheld but all of the Cabinet quit, except for Secretary of State Webster. Thereafter, there were frequent Cabinet shakeups, including the replacement of two officers killed by the explosion of a gun on the warship Princeton. Tyler himself was aboard the vessel when the gun blew up, but was not injured. A curious outcome of the tragedy was the President's subsequent marriage to a young woman whose father died in the accident. Tyler was speaking with her when the fatal blast rocked the vessel.

Despite the frequent shifts in his Cabinet, Tyler was fortunate in having, for most of his term, the services of Webster in the State Department. When Webster resigned in May 1843, he was succeeded by another Cabinet officer who lived only a short time. In the spring of 1844, Calhoun took the post. The South Carolinian was back in the Democratic fold and determined to lead the party.

The Whigs had seen their dreams of glory vanish with Harrison's death. The Democratic tide, stemmed in 1840, was, by 1844, again flowing full. Founding their platform and campaign on the expansionist themes of annexation of Texas and the "re-occupation" of Oregon Territory, the Democrats carried their dark-horse candidate, James K. Polk of Tennessee, into the White House. The
Whigs, falling back on the always-available Henry Clay, carefully avoided specifics in their platform. The contest was a close one, but losing New York cost the Great Compromiser his last chance at the presidency.

With a mandate from the voters to get on with Manifest Destiny - although expansion had not yet been dignified by that term - Polk took up the questions of Texas and Oregon. In the spring of 1836, Texas had won its independence from Mexico with the help of volunteers who flocked into the territory from the United States.*

In the following summer, the House and Senate passed resolutions recognizing the Republic of Texas. Jackson, in the closing hours of his administration, and with some misgivings, formally recognized the infant nation by appointing a United States charge d'affaires. A few months later, Texas petitioned unsuccessfully for annexation. Antislavery forces in the United States saw the admission of Texas as an extension of slave territory which would be particularly dangerous if, as they feared, the Lone Star Republic was carved into several states, each of which would add political weight to the Cotton Kingdom. Texas, once rejected, determined to make herself a republic in fact as well as name. She concluded a number of treaties with Europe and secured favorable loans to further her development. Britain, especially, was pleased to see a sovereign

* The Texas Revolution and sites relating thereto are covered in detail in The Texas Revolution and Mexican War, 1820-1853, Sub-theme of Theme XV, Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries, 1830-1898, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, 1959.
nation arising on the southern flank of the United States to block Yankee expansion in that quarter. Texas, both as cotton producer and goods consumer, could become an important American contribution to the British economy.

Despite the overtures which passed between Texas and Europe, the Republic was well aware that its security lay with the United States. Mexico had never relinquished her design to repossess the late colony, and in 1842 Mexican forces again moved into Texas. War was averted by the intervention of Britain and France, but this intrusion into Texas' affairs alarmed the United States. Plainly, annexation was the only sure way to thwart European meddling in Texas. President Sam Houston was encouraged to renew the bid for admission. A treaty of annexation was drawn up by Secretary of State Calhoun, but rejected by the Senate despite the strong endorsement of President Tyler. Tyler persisted in the struggle for Texas and won his point in his last month in office. By joint resolution Congress, in February 1845, invited Texas to join the Federal Union. The Republic, not yet 10 years old, was admitted to the Union on December 29, 1845.

A few days after the joint resolution for annexation had passed, Polk, a protege of Andy Jackson and an avowed expansionist, entered the White House. In his inaugural address, "Young Hickory" declared his intention to win recognition of the United States' title to Oregon, and he served notice on Europe and Mexico that the annexation of Texas was "exclusively" a matter for the United States and Texas to settle for themselves. Mexico answered Polk
a few weeks later by breaking off diplomatic relations and readying her forces for the war that Mexican President Santa Anna had promised, two years earlier, would follow annexation. In November, Polk sent John Slidell to negotiate Mexican recognition of the American boundary on the Rio Grande and to discuss the purchase New Mexico and California. Slidell was rebuffed and in January 1846, Polk ordered "Old Rough and Ready" Zachary Taylor to take his army to the Rio Grande. When fighting broke out along the river, Congress heeded Polk's urging and declared war on May 13.*

Popular in the South and Midwest, "Little Jimmy" Polk's war was bitterly opposed by anti-slave elements in the North. First fruit of the conflict was the fall of California and New Mexico to American forces, but in Mexico, itself, there was hard marching, hard fighting and hard dying for the regulars and volunteers who advanced slowly on the Halls of Montezuma. Marching from the north, Zach Taylor's column won tough actions at Monterey and Buena Vista. Among the heroes of the latter fight was a popular colonel of Mississippi volunteers, Jefferson Davis.

When Taylor's advance bogged down in the north, a second force, commanded by America's ranking soldier, Winfield Scott, took ship to Vera Cruz, seized the town and tramped westward toward the City of Mexico. Hard-hit by disease, worn-out by rugged terrain, and slowed occasionally by a surprisingly resolute Mexican defense,

Scott's troops, numbering less than 6,000 effectives, doggedly tramped inland from the fever-ridden coast, finally to take Mexico City on September 14, 1847. Mexico had enough of the war with the Gringos and on February 2, 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo formally ended the conflict.

For once, the United States came out of a war with a clear-cut peace settlement which more than fulfilled her military, political, and diplomatic objectives. Mexico recognized the independence of Texas and accepted the Rio Grande boundary. New Mexico, which included most of present Arizona, and California were ceded to the United States. In turn the American Government agreed to pay Mexican debts owed to American creditors, and gave the late enemy an additional 15 million dollars. Acquisition of the Southwest was completed in 1853 when, by the Gadsden purchase, a small strip of southern Arizona was secured for 10 million dollars. As always, it was the man in uniform who paid the highest price for victory. 13,000 Americans lost their lives in Mexico, most of them victims of disease which riddled the armies. Despite this loss, the war had been a useful proving ground for the men who, little more than a decade later, would command the armies of North and South. Among these were Grant, Lee, Jackson, McClellan, Bragg, Beauregard and Thomas.

The addition of 1,200,000 square miles to the National territory was a mixed blessing. Militant abolitionists were determined the new region should be free; Southerners were equally determined there would be no prohibition of slavery there. Early in the war with Mexico, Representative David Wilmot moved that an
appropriations bill under consideration should be amended to include a ban on slavery in any territory won from Mexico. Calhoun led the Southern counter-attack, with resolutions denying Congress's power to restrict slavery in the territories. This, of course, Congress had done as early as the Ordinance of 1787. Calhoun went even further, declaring that as Congress had no authority to limit slavery, the Missouri Compromise, barring the institution north of latitude 36 degrees, 30 minutes, was unconstitutional. Between the rigid positions taken by the abolitionists on the one hand and the slave holders on the other, were the supporters of popular sovereignty. They would leave the issue of slavery to the settlers in each territory. Polk and other moderates doubted that slavery would prosper in the new territories where climate and soil did not favor a cotton economy, but their logic had little effect on the extremists of either side. Manifest Destiny in the 1840's reopened the Pandora's Box that Clay had tried to lock forever with the Missouri Compromise.

With the winning of the Southwest and California, Polk fulfilled one of his administration's major objectives. The other main goal - settlement of the Oregon question - had been resolved, even as the War with Mexico went on.

Since 1818, the disputed Oregon territory had been occupied jointly by the United States and Britain. As American settlers poured westward over the Oregon Trail, pressure mounted for "reoccupation" of Oregon with the line 54 degrees 40 minutes as its northern boundary. Although the slogan "fifty-four forty or fight", and, indeed, the Oregon issue itself, did not play as important a role in the election of Polk as tradition has claimed, the Democratic leadership took up the problem of Oregon in earnest when the annex-
nation of Texas was accomplished. Polk sparked the move in his first annual message to Congress when he called for the termination of the joint occupation agreement with Britain.

Despite the bellicose talk, neither side really wanted to fight. To cries of betrayal from Oregon's boosters, the Senate on June 18, 1846, approved a treaty extending the international boundary along the 49th parallel westward to the Pacific. This line, not "54-40," became Oregon's northern limit. Anglo-American diplomacy once again achieved a rapprochement in a situation where a misstep could have had grave consequences. In the following August, Congress passed a bill organizing the Oregon Territory and prohibiting slavery there. The Territory law well north of the Missouri Compromise line and Polk considered as reasonable the exclusion of slavery from Oregon, although the House earlier had rejected a Senate move to extend the Compromise line to the Pacific.

"IT WILL BECOME ALL ONE THING, OR ALL THE OTHER"

The Nation, said Abraham Lincoln in his memorable "House Divided" speech at Springfield, June 17, 1858, could not remain permanently half slave and half free. The Republican Senatorial nominee went on, "I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

Although Lincoln was speaking 10 years after the end of the War with Mexico, his words keynote the years of mounting
crisis between the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the coming of secession. Politically, that period was dominated and distracted by the slavery issue which overwhelmed men's minds and fanned their emotions into white heat.

Despite the success of Polk's administration, the Whigs came back strong in 1848. Polk had made it clear that he would serve only one term, and for their presidential candidate the Democrats named Lewis Cass, a long-time party wheelhorse whose advocacy of popular Sovereignty anticipated the position later elaborated by Stephen A. Douglas. The Whigs had the late war's two greatest heroes to choose between, and picked "Old Rough and Ready," Zachary Taylor. If Taylor's military achievements had been something less than those of his rival, Winfield Scott, he was more popular and colorful than "Old Fuss and Feathers." The Democrats were divided and, in the crucial state of New York, the dissident faction threw its strength to Van Buren, the Free-Soil party's candidate, putting the State's vote in the Whig column and ensuring Taylor's victory. Although neither major party took a firm stand on the basic issue of extension of slavery into the territories, the election was clear evidence of the widening breach between the sections. Each side was firmly convinced that its interests were threatened by the other; the narrow middle ground of compromise was dwindling to the vanishing point.

Once in power, the Whigs found their own ranks torn by sectionalism. When the new Congress organized in December, 1849,
it took three weeks of acrimonious debate among Whig leaders of North and South to settle on the Speaker, Howell Cobb of Georgia. The intransigent mood of the Southerners was hardened by the collapse of cotton prices in the South, and the advocates of disunion went so far as to plan a convention at Nashville to explore the question of secession. There was ferment, too, in the West. California, buzzing with gold fever, and her population soaring, wanted to skip territorial status and come directly into statehood as Texas had done. There was also the matter of territorial organization for New Mexico and Utah; were they to be slave or free? Obviously, a comprehensive settlement of sectional differences was needed if the Union was to survive. As he had done before in times of crisis, Henry Clay, now 72, came forward with a compromise. Let California enter the Union as a free state; organize the territories of New Mexico and Utah without specific provisions regarding slavery; pay the public debt of Texas - which was to have been met by the State under the annexation agreement; bar the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and enact a new and workable fugitive slave law.

Calhoun, only weeks away from death, was still the South's chief spokesman, and he rejected outright Clay's proposals for regulating slavery in the territories. Calhoun clung tenaciously to his oft-stated position that all territories were constitutionally open to slavery. Further, he called for a constitutional redressment of an alleged imbalance of power between the sections, and told the North to stop meddling in the slave issue. If the North was
unwilling to accede to these demands, then Calhoun was for secession; peacefully if possible, by arms if necessary.

It was fitting that in this last contest of the giants, Webster should break the deadlock. In one of his greatest speeches, "Black Dan'l," on March 7, 1850, spoke "not as a Massachusetts man, not as a Northern man, but as an American . . . for the preservation of the Union." Webster supported Clay's compromise in the main, asserting that nature, herself, excluded slavery from the disputed territories and made Congressional action unnecessary. Sharing Webster's view was Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, now emerging as the dynamic leader of the Young American wing of the Democratic party. William H. Seward, Senator from New York, speaking for the anti-slavery elements, granted the right of Congress to regulate slavery but declared there was a "higher law" which forbade slavery, no matter what Constitutional protection was given the institution.

Even as the oratorical guns thundered, the cause of compromise received an unexpected reinforcement when President Taylor died suddenly on July 9, 1850. Old Zach had opposed the territorial organization of New Mexico and Utah. His successor, bland Millard Fillmore of New York, was for the compromise, and in September Congress passed a series of five laws embodying the measures proposed by Clay. While the Compromise admitted a free California, its most significant effect was the recognition of the principle of "popular sovereignty" in New Mexico and Utah. This meant that
when a territory gained statehood its people should decide whether or not to sanction slavery.

Moderates on both sides hoped that the Compromise had achieved a permanent settlement, but they failed to comprehend how intense were the passions of the abolitionists and secessionists. Even northern moderates were repelled by the thought of assisting in rigid enforcement of the fugitive slave law, while temperate Southerners were convinced that the success of the Compromise depended on such enforcement. With even the moderates of both sides still poles apart on the central issues of the Compromise, there is little wonder that Clay's last effort as peacemaker could hold off the storm for only a few years more.

THE DOUGHFACES

At the time of the Missouri Compromise, John Randolph referred to as "Doughfaces" those Northern politicians who followed the Southern line regarding slavery. The Nation now was to have a succession of doughface presidents, beginning with the pliant Fillmore. Taking the 1850 Compromise on its own terms, Fillmore made an honest effort to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, at the cost of much of his popularity and support in the North. But even a strong chief executive would have had his hands full trying to cope with the rising tide of indignation against slavery in general, and the Slave Act in particular. Attempts to recapture runaway slaves in the North frequently met with violence, and it was obvious from the first that more than the moral force of law would be necessary to
make the Slave Act work. When Harriet Beecher Stowe's travesty on Southern life and slavery first appeared, in 1851, it confirmed the distorted views of many Northerners. Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly was prime fuel for the abolition fires. Northern politicians hailed it as a true picture of the "slaveocracy," while Southerners frothed at the wicked Mrs. Stowe and her "criminal" book. Whatever its worth as literature, in the tensions of the 1850's the novel played an inflammatory role out of all proportion to its artistic merits.

It was a dangerous sea that beat about the ship of state in the decade of the 'fifties, as one ineffectual captain after another took the helm. In 1852, Fillmore gave place to New Hampshire's Franklin Pierce, in an election which spelled the doom of the divided Whig Party. The party's great leaders, Clay and Webster, died before the November elections, and the Whig nominee, Winfield Scott, carried only four states. Pierce, an amiable doughface, was dominated by the South, largely through the influence of Jefferson Davis, his able Secretary of War. The iron-willed Davis had assumed Calhoun's mantle of leadership in the South, but despite his intense devotion to his native section he served the Nation well as War Secretary. Politics aside, Davis was genuinely attached to Pierce and stood by him through the personal and official trials that darkened his administration.

If the presidential succession was weak in the 1850's, there were strong men eager to assume the leadership abrogated by
the doughfaces. At the top of the heap was stocky, cunning Stephen A. Douglas, Vermont-born Senator from Illinois. The "Little Giant" had fought his way up to the summit of the party hierarchy through the rough and tumble of Illinois politics. He was an ardent expansionist, but not at the price of war between the sections over slavery. As early as 1850 he had played a vigorous role in drafting the "popular sovereignty" governments for New Mexico and Utah Territories. With the passing of the giants - Clay, Webster and Calhoun, Douglas's star seemed to glitter above the White House.

BLEEDING KANSAS - FRUIT OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

At the dawn of 1854, Douglas had another opportunity to enlarge on his pet theme of popular sovereignty. The Illinois Senator and his supporters in the Northwest were pushing for a northern railroad to the Pacific, to be constructed with the aid of Federal land grants. To stretch a line to the ocean meant territorial organization of the Nebraska region, and the appropriation of thousands of acres of Indian land. To win the necessary Southern votes for the project, Douglas held out the plum of popular sovereignty, although the area in question lay north of the Missouri Compromise line. Douglas and his backers envisioned that the southern part of the territory would be organized as the separate Territory of Kansas. They believed that proslavery immigrants would be content to settle there, leaving Nebraska free. Repeal of the Missouri Compromise was, at first, only implied. But, at Southern insistence, repeal was specified in the final version of Douglas's Kansas-
Nebraska Bill.

What appears to have been a shallow political move to satisfy all factions of the Democratic party, pave the way for the Pacific railroad, and smooth Douglas's path to the White House may also have been a genuine statement of the Little Giant's belief in the right of the people of a territory to chart their own course. Whatever his motives, Douglas's bill stirred up the abolition hornets' nest. Douglas had accurately predicted that any proposal to repeal the Compromise would "raise the hell of a storm," but even its author was shocked by the vehemence of the Northern reaction to the bill. The controversy touched off by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill kept Congress in an uproar well into Spring. The Senate passed the measure on March 3, but it was held in the House until May 22. This time there was no Clay to propose a compromise; no Webster to move men's hearts with appeals for the Union. The Compromise which had provided a means of coexistence between the sections was now swept away. Congress no longer had a say in matters of slavery in the territories. Popular sovereignty meant that each territory was an arena where slave-owner and free-soiler could battle for supremacy. Even the most fatuous advocate of popular sovereignty must have doubted that the battle could be confined to words.

The bitter fruit of popular sovereignty sprouted quickly in the new soil which was neither slave nor free. Kansas, on the western border of Missouri, was particularly vulnerable to pressure from both factions. Into the new territory flocked slaveowners,
free-soilers, speculators, and outlaws whose only stake in the tragedy was lust for the spoils to be taken in Kansas. There were many factors other than slavery which complicated the orderly settlement of Kansas, but the ideological struggle was a convenient justification for action, however violent. The bulk of permanent settlers in Kansas were Northerners opposed to slavery, but there was nothing to stop the proslave faction in Missouri from pouring across the line into Kansas to vote in the election of a territorial legislature. Each side claimed to represent the majority of the electorate, and the proslavers elected a legislature which was shortly repudiated by the free-soilers. Argument gave way to pil­lage and murder by both sides, and no man could say which was the more guilty. Isolated lynchings led to mass raids on Kansas settle­ment and terror swept the territory like a prairie fire. In May, a band of proslavery "border ruffians" raided Lawrence. In retali­ation, a few days later, five proslavery settlers on Pottawattomie Creek were murdered by a band of marauders under the leadership of one John Brown. The incident sparked a four-month ordeal for Kansas, before a short, uneasy truce was imposed. Although his band was defeated and dispersed, the Nation had not heard the last of John Brown.

The Nebraska Act, like a glacier plunging into the sea, sent dangerous waves spreading outward. Bleeding Kansas was one wave; another, not so violent but more far reaching, was the shift­ing of political alignments and the creation of new political forces. Already strong in 1854 was the Know-Nothing, or American,
Party, standing principally on an anti-Catholic, anti-immigration program. More important was the banding together of the "anti-Nebraska men," free-soil Democrats and Whigs of the North and West, bound by common indignation at the Kansas-Nebraska Act. At Jackson, Michigan, on July 6, 1854, this coalition officially adopted the name "Republican." The new party burst on the national scene in the next Congress. There it formed the largest single power bloc and succeeded in getting one of its own men, Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, elected Speaker. In the Senate, a leader of the new Republicans was the vitriolic abolitionist Charles Sumner, also from the Bay State. In May, 1856, in the course of an inflammatory speech on the bloody struggle in Kansas, Sumner lashed out at his senatorial enemies, including the absent Senator Butler of South Carolina. A day or so later, Representative Preston Brooks, Butler's nephew, attacked Sumner in the Senate chamber and clubbed him to the floor. There were those who claimed, probably unjustly, that Sumner made more political hay of his injuries than they warranted, but three years passed before he returned to the Senate. Brooks was condemned and applauded on purely sectional lines, and was unanimously reelected after he resigned his House seat. If further proof was needed of the blind passions which gripped the Nation in the cold war of the 1850's, this ugly episode coming at the height of the struggle in Bleeding Kansas was evidence enough. The time for argument and persuasion was fast slipping away; violence had erupted at the Nation's heart, where lay the only hope for peace.

As the election of 1856 approached, the Democrats, well
aware of their vulnerability through Douglas, turned to the pro-
Southern James Buchanan. "Old Buck," a Pennsylvanian, was minister
to England and had escaped popular identification with the Kansas-
Nebraska quarrel. The Republicans, filled with the zeal of their
free-soil crusade, counted their power in the North and West — none
at all in the South. For their first presidential candidate they
ominated the explorer John C. Fremont, "Pathfinder of the West,"
a glamorous personality with important eastern connections. His
attractive and ambitious wife was the daughter of former Senator
Tom Benton of Missouri, now stripped of his once great power because
of his stand against the slave interests in 1850. The bigoted
Know-Nothing party nominated former president Millard Fillmore,
robbing Fremont of votes that might have spelled victory. The
Republicans, their organization new and relatively untried, lost
the election but carried 11 free states. The Democrats succeeded
in taking five free states on a promise of moderation in domestic
policy; these plus the solid South were enough to win. Nevertheless,
the swing of the political weather vane was unmistakable. If the
Republicans continued to gain, as they gave every evidence of
doing, they would sew up the North and take the presidency in 1860.
That, both sides clearly saw, would be the year of decision.

Buchanan was a bachelor, wealthy and comfortable in the
society of his Southern friends in Washington. A tried and true
doughface, he abhorred the rude fanaticism of the abolitionists.
He was content with the doctrine of popular sovereignty which put
responsibility on the territories and did not make unpleasant
demands on his leadership. He deplored, in fact, anything which might rock the boat he was supposed to steer for the next four years. Too late would Buchanan perceive that the boat not only was rocking but was sinking beneath his feet.

Buchanan had been in office two days when his frail craft took its first jolt. On March 6, 1857, the United States Supreme Court handed down a split decision in the case of Dred Scott v. Sandford (Sanford). Scott, slave born on a Virginia plantation, was taken to Missouri some years later and sold to an army surgeon. Dred followed his master to army posts in Illinois and Wisconsin, both of which were free soil. Back in Missouri after the death of his owner, the slave was persuaded to sue for his freedom on the grounds that residence on free soil had made him free. A favorable verdict in a lower court was overruled by the Missouri Supreme Court, and the case was fought to the High Court. The majority opinion, handed down by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney of Maryland, held that Scott was neither a United States nor a Missouri citizen, and hence could not sue in Federal court. He was living in a slave state when he brought suit and was, under the laws of that state, a slave, regardless of residence in free territory. Most importantly, the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional because it violated the Fifth Amendment which prohibited Congress from depriving persons of property without due process of law. If the Compromise was unconstitutional, slavery should not have been barred in Wisconsin, and Dred's residence there had not
affected his status as a slave.

The decision came like a thunderclap, shaking the Nation to its roots. The Kansas-Nebraska Act had repealed the Missouri Compromise, which was bad enough in the eyes of the free-soilers. Now the Nation's highest tribunal was saying that any effort to bar the spread of slavery was unconstitutional. The abolitionists were wild, and the moderates grew more fearful when Southerners went the Court one better. Now the "Slaveocracy" was saying that not only was slavery lawful everywhere, but it was the duty of the Federal Government to actively defend it in the territories. The Republicans were quick to seize on the Dred Scott decision as a major Democratic blunder in the struggle for men's minds. Scott, himself, greatly enjoyed his prominence. Manumitted a few months after the decision, he died the next year.

The Dred Scott case gave both sides food for thought in the summer of 1857, along with the financial panic which hit in August. But it was strife-torn Kansas which showed how hollow had been the South's victory in the Scott decision. Proslavery elements, meeting at Lecompton, Kansas, had succeeded in drawing up a constitution favorable to the institution and this they sent to Congress with their petition for statehood. The so-called Lecompton Constitution had not been fairly presented to the qualified voters of Kansas, the majority of whom were certain to reject it. Despite Buchanan's urging, Congress refused to approve the admission of Kansas under the proslavery constitution. Stephen Douglas set
aside practical politics for once and broke with the strong proslave faction of his Democratic party, insisting that all of the people of Kansas have the opportunity to vote on the constitution. The Little Giant won his point, in part at least, and a compromise decision submitted the constitution to a popular vote - with the inducement, or more plainly, the bribe, that if the proslave document was approved Kansas would receive a generous grant of Federal land. The bribe was rejected by an overwhelming vote against the Lecompton Constitution in August, 1858. Three years later, Kansas would come into the Union a free state. In the meantime, the big loser was the Democratic party, split in the bitter fight between Douglas and Buchanan.

REVOLT OF THE SAINTS

Kansas was not the only distraction for Buchanan. Farther west, in Utah Territory, trouble was brewing with the Mormons who had first settled in the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847. The Latter Day Saints had been denied statehood because of their determination to retain polygamy and their insistence on the supreme authority of the church in territorial matters. Brigham Young, patriarch of the Saints, had been named governor of the Territory after its organization in 1850 and he ruled with an iron hand, unrestrained by Federal law. In 1857, most of the Federal officials in Utah left in fear of their lives and with them the Government's authority vanished.

Buchanan, shortly after his inauguration, had appointed a new set of officials, including a governor to replace Young. These
were sent forward toward Utah under escort of 1,500 Federal troops led by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. When apprised of the approaching "invasion," Young prepared to resist, calling upon the Nauvoo Legion which mustered every able-bodied male between 18 and 45. Young and his Elders warned an emissary from Johnston's army that if the troops forced their way into Salt Lake Valley they would find it laid waste. The leader of the Saints was not bluffing. When Johnston's column pushed on, in the fall of 1857, Young opened a guerrilla campaign to harass the advance by destroying its supplies and transport.

In March, 1858, on Young's orders, the Mormons in the northern settlements abandoned their homes and moved south, leaving Salt Lake City a virtual ghost town. Buchanan, meanwhile, had issued a proclamation which sternly warned the Mormons of the Government's intention to reassert its authority in Utah. At the same time, the President offered pardon on the condition that the Saints submit to Federal control. Young realized that he could not defy indefinitely the Federal power, and agreed to let Johnston's army establish a post in Utah, on condition that it would not occupy Salt Lake City. On June 26, 1858, the troops marched through the City, signaling the end of the uprising. In July the Saints obeyed Young's order to return to their homes.

The brief revolt left deep scars; the most ugly of which was the Mountain Meadow Massacre in September, 1857. There in southern Utah, a party of immigrants enroute to California from Arkansas was massacred by a band of Indians and Mormons - or so
the enemies of the Saints believed, with some justification. More than 100 persons were murdered. Whether or not Mormons had a hand in the atrocity, the story of their participation was widely believed and earned for the Saints much ill will throughout the Nation.

Back east in the summer of 1858, Stephen A. Douglas had more on his mind than the troubles in Utah and Kansas. The Illinois Senator was up for reelection and his opponent, a struggling lawyer from Springfield, was giving him a stiff race. Abraham Lincoln already enjoyed a considerable following in Illinois when he joined the new Republican party in 1856. He had served as a Whig state legislator from 1834 to 1842, and had served one term in the U. S. Congress, 1847-1849. On the circuit in Illinois Lincoln was a respected - and feared - jury lawyer. In a speech at Peoria in 1854, opposing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and in another, at Springfield in 1857, attacking the Dred Scott decision, he had shown himself a man to watch and listen to. When he accepted the Republican nomination for senator, the Kentucky-born Lincoln expounded on a Biblical theme used before in the slavery debate: "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Born in the border state of Kentucky, Lincoln had an uncommon understanding of the grave problem that confronted both sections of the Nation, and he knew there was no easy solution.

Lincoln and Douglas had agreed on a series of seven debates in various parts of the state. The Little Giant went into the con-
test well aware that in the lanky lawyer from Springfield he had a most dangerous adversary. In their meetings from August to October, Lincoln and Douglas talked to Illinois and to the Nation through the widespread newspaper coverage given the face-to-face encounters. Central theme of the debates was, inevitably, the slavery issue. Both men were skilled and impressive speakers, but Douglas was burdened with the chore of reconciling the hated Dred Scott decision with popular sovereignty; the two, obviously, were incompatable. In the debate at Freeport on August 27, Lincoln put just that problem to his opponent, asking if there was any lawful means by which a territory could bar slavery. Douglas, refusing to rise to the bait, replied that slavery could not exist without police regulations established by local legislatures. If the legislature did not choose to support slavery with police regulations the Congress could not force it to pass such regulations. In point of fact, Douglas's contention was sound enough, but it did not come to grips with the moral issues at question. Lincoln hammered away at the moral wrong of slavery while Douglas clung to the hopeful, but obviously outworn, thesis that slavery and freedom could continue to coexist.

Douglas narrowly won the election. Only Illinois and Indiana escaped the 1858 Republican landslide in the North. Lincoln lost the chance to be senator but he won widespread admiration for his skill and moderation in defining the critical issues which faced the Nation. In winning re-election to the Senate, Douglas, by his "Freeport Doctrine" lost the Southern support without which
he could never enter the White House.

JOHN BROWN LIGHTS THE FUSE

The election of 1858 hurt many Democrats, but none more than Doughface Buchanan. His administration was tottering amid the wreckage wrought by the President’s losing battle for the proslavery Lecompton Constitution in Kansas, and by Douglas’s advocacy of popular sovereignty which embittered the South. The moderates on both sides of the slave question outnumbered the fire-eaters, but shrill demands for action, violent and immediate, drowned out appeals for calm and compromise. The radicals in both camps had laid a powder train. It needed only a spark to blow apart the fading hope of reasonable men that the Nation might yet be spared the "Irrepressible Conflict" proclaimed by New York’s Senator William H. Seward.

Then, with torch in hand and with the connivance of prominent Northern abolitionists, came John Brown, late of Bleeding Kansas. On the night of October 16, 1859, Brown and a small band of followers descended on the little Virginia town of Harpers Ferry, at the confluence of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers. They meant to rally the slaves to strike for freedom in an insurrection which Brown would direct from the fastness of the southern Appalachians. Harpers Ferry contained a Federal arsenal and armory. With the weapons stored there Brown planned to arm the slaves who, he was confident, would flock to his cause. The "invasion" only bewildered those it was meant to liberate, and brought down on the deluded Brown the wrath of an alarmed Virginia and Maryland. Militia flocked
to Harpers Ferry, cut off Brown's escape - if indeed he meant to escape - and trapped the raiders in a small fire-engine house. On orders from Washington, Colonel Robert E. Lee arrived with a company of U. S. Marines who forced Brown's stronghold, seizing the abolitionist and the survivors of his band. A speedy trial in a Virginia court convicted Brown of treason and criminal conspiracy against the State. The sentence was death by hanging. With pathetic dignity Brown went to the scaffold on December 2, 1859. As was his expressed hope, Brown, in dying at the hands of the South, did more to stir the slave issue than he could have achieved by terror, had his plan even partially succeeded. Abolitionists hailed a new martyr; drowning out the protests of those moderate Northerners who saw the mad act for what it was. The South saw the raid as conclusive proof that the North would settle for nothing less than the destruction of the slave states and the enforced amalgamation of white men and former slaves. The deeply-rooted Southern fear of a servile insurrection asserted itself in immediate repressive measures against slaves and freedmen to insure that they would not join in the bloody schemes of other Yankee firebrands.

POINT OF NO RETURN

When the year 1860 opened, the stage was set for the last act of the anti-bellum drama. The Ohio and Potomac Rivers which physically divided North from South were as nothing compared to the iron curtain of suspicion, fear and outright hatred which separated the sections. Clearly now, a solution was imperative if the Union was to stand. Tragically, no man or party could com-
mand the support from both sections necessary to avert disaster. In the face of the hopeless split between the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party, only a political miracle could avert the election of the Republican nominee. If the Republican president tried to carry out his party's antislavery pledges the South would almost certainly attempt to leave the Union. The Republicans had gone on record opposing the extension of slavery and had denounced the inept "Ostend Manifesto" of 1854 wherein the Democrats, through administration ministers abroad, had recommended acquisition of Cuba as a safeguard to Southern slavery. If Spain would not sell the colony, then Cuba should be taken by force. Although the Manifesto was renounced by the American Secretary of State, it provided ammunition for Northern antislavery guns. The Republican platform added up to a direct assault on everything the South had contended for in the generation of sectional controversy after 1830. The slave issue aside, election of a Republican president would cement the union of industrial North and agrarian West in economic and political bonds which would, Southerners said, squeeze the life out of the South. The only hope of peace appeared to rest on Douglas winning back the support of the Buchanan faction and the Southern wing of the Democratic party. This time the Little Giant and his backers would not pay the price demanded by the South-Federal protection of slavery in the territories.

With the Democrats apparently bent on their own destruction, the increasingly confident Republicans had only one major problem;
who would lead the party to triumph in 1860? Front runner as con-
vention time approached was Senator Seward of New York, a shrewd,
ambitious politician, backed by a powerful machine. Still, there
were many who did not trust him. Out west, Douglas's late foe in
the Illinois senatorial race was putting his own machine together.
Early in 1860 Easterners had a chance to hear the man who had argued
the 'antislavery case so well in the debates with Douglas. At New
York's Cooper Union on February 27, Abraham Lincoln addressed a
large and distinguished audience which could, by a favorable recep-
tion, enhance his chances for leadership in the growing Republican
party. Lincoln spoke strongly against Douglas's popular sovereignty
doctrine, citing the attitudes of the "Founding Fathers" in support
of the Republican opposition to the spread of slavery. At the
same time, he called for reason and moderation in the sectional
dispute, but held out little comfort to the South in voicing his un-
wavering opposition to the spread of slavery. Lincoln's easy dignity
and his good sense won the admiration of the Cooper Union audience;
now he was squarely in the race with Seward for the nomination.

The Democrats went into nominating convention at Charles-
ton in April, and there they doomed their last chance to present
a united front in the crucial November election. Determined to
stop Douglas's bid for the nomination, seven states of the lower
South pledged themselves to walk out unless the party platform
clearly espoused Federal protection of slavery in the territories.
Douglas and his Northern supporters maintained the party's stand
of 1856, which, among other provisions distasteful to Southerners,
rejected Congressional intervention in the territories and disavowed
expansion into Cuba. When the Douglas men outvoted the Southerners
the cotton states made good their threat and walked out. Unable to agree on a nominee, the remaining delegates voted to reconvene at Baltimore in June. This time Douglas was securely in the saddle and took the nomination without trouble. The Southerners, fully committed to a separate course, nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, on a platform dedicated to the protection of slavery. A third party, made up mainly of the tired remnants of the Whigs, named John Bell of Tennessee, on a platitudinous program of compromise and Union.

By the time the Democrats had completed the destruction of their party, the surging Republicans had named their standard bearer. In May, on the third ballot in Chicago's "Wigwam," Lincoln's machine ran over the cocksure Seward and "The Rail-splitter's" nomination touched off a wild celebration. The Republican platform included planks calling for a free homestead law for the West, internal improvements, a protective tariff, and a denial of Congressional or territorial authority to sanction slavery in the territories. There was something for everyone, and it was plain that the divided Democrats were doomed in the fall elections. It was increasingly evident, too, that the Southerners were not merely making a gesture when they threatened to secede. They fully intended to do so, and Douglas courageously stumped the South in a last-ditch effort to head off the fatal move.

True to expectations Lincoln was elected, and, on December 20, South Carolina voted an ordinance of secession. Four months would pass before Confederate guns fired on Fort Sumter, but the march
toward separation had reached the point of no return. In 1830, Webster had said to the Senate, "I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind . . . . God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise." Webster had his wish, dying while still the Union lived. Now, as 1860 ended, the curtain was rising. With scarcely a backward glance, the dividing Nation marched into the dark recess.

From Jackson to Secession

As the Nation entered the 1860's, it was the tragedy of the times that the antagonisms dividing the sections blinded men to the constructive forces and institutions that bound them together. In the narrow perspective of political and military affairs, the forces of disunion overshadow the positive achievements of the ante-bellum era.

In 1860, the American of moderate persuasion who could look back without passion and rancor to the generation just ending could see much that was good. He could see the phenomenal growth of the commercial and industrial community, spurred by creative technology. His shoes and clothes, his watch and farm machinery, his railroads and steamboats, all were made in U. S. A. A map of the Nation showed full-fledged states bordering the Pacific, and rapidly filling territories inland. The center of population had crossed the mountains into Ohio. Once remote sections of the Nation were now as close as the click of the telegraph. In 1860 freight moved by rail from Cincinnati to New York in less than a week, compared
with three weeks in 1840. More than 30,000 miles of railroad track was in operation, 10 times the mileage of 1840. Universal male white suffrage was law in most states, and political, if not economic and social equality, belonged to most men. Public school education had made strong gains after 1830. Books, newspapers, and magazines poured from new rotary presses. The work of American authors and artists was winning a large and growing audience -- even sophisticated Europe was taking note. Slavery aside, there were abuses of labor in all sections, and flagrant corruption in the tangled web of business and politics, but in the long view the ante-bellum generation had seen a remarkable manifestation of the fundamental vitality and strength of the democratic experiment.

The Nation was not yet modern, but it stood on the threshold of a new age. The four-year war about to break would, despite its tragic cost, unlock the door to national growth and power undreamed of. The foundations for that growth and power had been laid in the three decades from Jackson to secession.
Suggested Readings

The scope of the present report is limited specifically to political and military affairs between 1830 and 1860. The titles listed below are representative of the many valuable general histories and special works dealing with the period. The volumes cited offer a cross-section of scholarly research and interpretation, adequate to a synthesis of America's political and military history in the generation which ended with secession and civil war.


Binkley, W. E., American Political Parties: Their Natural History (New York, 1943).


Craven, Avery, The Coming of the Civil War (New York, 1942).

________, The Growth of Southern Nationalism 1848-1861 (Baton Rouge, 1953).


In terms of national significance, most of the major political events of the period between 1830 and 1860 occurred in the Nation's capital. The halls of Congress echoed the voices of abolition, states' rights, nullification, banking and tariff controversy, Manifest Destiny, and, finally, secession. Outside of Washington, the number of political sites of national importance is not large. Several surviving sites and buildings are associated with prominent individuals - presidents of the period, and other figures who, for good or ill, shaped the destiny of the Nation. Other sites commemorate the major issues of the ante-bellum generation. Brooklyn's Plymouth Church was a foremost center of abolition activity; The Lincoln - Douglas debate at Knox College's "Old Main" was one of the series of joint meetings that brought the sectional controversy to a focus a few years before the outbreak of Civil War. At Cooper Union, in New York City, Lincoln emphasized his stand on the Republican platform and won invaluable support for his party's nomination in the crucial election of 1860. In the cabin of Samuel Adair, now standing on the Osawatomie Battlefield, Kansas, fanatical John Brown made his headquarters during the bloody struggle for the territory. Harpers Ferry National Monument, West Virginia, tells the story of Brown's abortive attempt to instigate a slave rebellion - a stroke that, in 1859, carried the Nation closer to civil war. The Second Bank of the U. S., a unit of Independence National Historical Park,
Philadelphia, preserves the story of the ideological conflict between Jacksonian Democracy and the rising business community.

Although the number of important political sites and buildings is small, those that survive relate to many aspects of the period. Happily, all of the sites and buildings recommended in this report for classification of exceptional value are presently well-protected by responsible public and private agencies, or by the individuals who own them.

Most of the important military sites of the period already have been treated in the National Survey under the several subthemes of Theme XV, Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific, 1830-1898. Specifically devoted to military sites west of the Mississippi were the subthemes The Texas Revolution and Mexican War, 1820-1853, and Military and Indian Affairs. Military sites east of the Mississippi are, understandably, few in number for the period under review. The major military operations east of the river were those against the Indians in Illinois and Wisconsin, and in Florida. The war with the Seminoles of Florida is preserved by Okeechobee Battlefield, while Louisiana's Fort Jesup was the staging area for Zachary Taylor's march into Texas, to launch the opening campaign of the war of expansion against Mexico. In the north, the major military episode of the period was the 1832 "war" which ended in the defeat of Chief Black Hawk and his Sac and Fox warriors. Two major sites associated with this conflict require further study to determine their integrity as historical survivors. These are Fort Armstrong, Rock Island,
Illinois, and the Bad Axe Battlefield in western Wisconsin. The so-called Aroostook War in northern Maine, 1838-39, between American and Canadian lumber interests, was a potential threat to international peace. However, the Survey did not disclose any site or structure which could be justified as possessing exceptional value in illustrating or commemorating that story.

The individual sites and buildings described in the following section are recommended as having exceptional value in the theme Political and Military Affairs, 1830-1860.
SITES RECOMMENDED FOR CLASSIFICATION OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

SAMUEL ADAIR CABIN, Osawatomie, Kan.

"OLD MAIN," Galesburg, Ill.

"LINDENWALD," VAN BUREN HOME, Kinderhook, N. Y.

FRANKLIN PIERCE HOMESTEAD, Hillsboro, N. H.

COOPER UNION, New York City

PLYMOUTH CHURCH, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"WHEATLAND," BUCHANAN HOME, Lancaster, Pa.

U. S. NAVAL ACADEMY, Annapolis, Md.

"MARLBORNE," RUFFIN HOME, Hanover County, Va.

"SHERWOOD FOREST," TYLER HOME, Charles City County, Va.

"SPRINGFIELD," TAYLOR HOUSE, Jefferson County, Ky.

POLK HOME, Columbia, Tenn.

OKEECHOBEE BATTLEFIELD, Okeechobee County, Fla.

FORT JESUP, Sabine Parish, La.
"Lindenwald," Home of Martin Van Buren

**Location:** Columbia County, east of Kinderhook on State Route 9H.

**Ownership-Administration:** Private Ownership.

**Significance:** "Lindenwald" was the home of Martin Van Buren, 8th president of the United States, from 1841 until his death in 1862. No other structure is so intimately associated with the man chosen by Andrew Jackson to be his successor. Van Buren played a leading role in the emergence of Jacksonian Democracy in the 1830's, and remained a prominent figure on the American political scene until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Van Buren was born in Kinderhook, a few miles below Albany, New York, on December 5, 1782. Both his mother and father were descended from early Dutch settlers in the Hudson Valley, and Martin grew to manhood on his father's Kinderhook farm. With a rudimentary education in local schools, Van Buren read for the law and, in 1803, was admitted to the bar. He held a variety of county and state offices, and from 1821 to 1828 was a member of the U. S. Senate. Marked early as a shrewd and talented political leader, Van Buren served briefly as Governor of New York before resigning, in 1829, to accept the post of Secretary of State under Andrew Jackson.

Van Buren's support of Jackson in the Peggy Eaton affair won him Old Hickory's lasting gratitude, and in 1832, he was elected
"LINDENWALD," Kinderhook, New York. This mansion was the home of Martin Van Buren from the end of his presidential term in 1841 until his death in 1862. The white-columned portico is a modern addition.

February, 1959

National Park Service Photo
vice-president for Jackson's second term. With Jackson's support, Van Buren was elected president in 1836, but was unable to hold the ex-president's immense popularity. The panic of 1837 and the prolonged depression which followed hurt Van Buren politically and he was defeated for re-election by William Henry Harrison in the "hard-cider" campaign of 1840. Thereafter, Van Buren's radical antislavery stand cost him the support of the Democratic party, although he remained a strong voice in national politics. Upon his retirement from the presidency, Van Buren moved into the home which he had purchased and named "Lindenwald."

In 1848, Van Buren ran for president on the Free-soil ticket, drawing enough votes from the Democratic candidate, Lewis Cass, to insure the election of Whig candidate, Zachary Taylor. Subsequently, Van Buren supported the Democratic "Doughface" presidents in the turbulent 'fifties, but backed Lincoln in the critical campaign of 1860. During the last years of his life, "the Red Fox of Kinderhook" lived the life of a country squire at "Lindenwald," where he died on July 24, 1862.

"Lindenwald"

The history of "Lindenwald" antedates by many years its purchase by Van Buren. The house was built in 1797 by Peter Van Ness, a public figure of some local significance. Van Ness erected his home several hundred feet back from the old Albany post road; approximate site of State Route 9H, today. The house was constructed of brick, with white woodwork. Through the main portion of the house ran a wide central hall, at the back of which, at one side, was an
archway leading to the staircase. The open hall, in addition to the spacious rooms on either side, afforded ample space for dances, receptions, and other social gatherings. The interior woodwork was, and is, elaborate and exceptionally handsome in detail. The builder's son, William, inherited the property upon his father's death in 1804, and lived there until he died in 1826. During this period, Washington Irving was a frequent guest, and acted for a time as tutor to the children of William Van Ness. It has been claimed that Irving wrote some of his charming works at the Van Ness home. A brother of William Van Ness inherited the property and sold it to Van Buren, who moved in following his retirement from the presidency in 1841.

Eight years later, Van Buren hired Richard Upjohn to enlarge and renovate "Lindenwald." Upjohn made numerous exterior alterations on the house, which did little to enhance what had been a fine example of Georgian Colonial. Two additional kitchens were built at the rear of the house and dormers were cut into the top floor to make room for servants. Further, an Italianesque tower of four stories and an incongruous front porch were added. Happily, the charming interior was not substantially modified. Since Van Buren's death in 1862, the property has passed through several hands. Modern plumbing and heating facilities have been added, but otherwise the house has not suffered any major alterations from the Van Buren period. The only significant change to the exterior was the addition, around 1958, of a white-columned portico along the entire front. For many years, the house contained numerous
items of Van Buren furniture. Unfortunately, these were sold in 1944.

**Features and Condition:** The present owners of "Lindenwald" have made extensive repairs to the property and it is, today, in good condition. The house and grounds are open to the public for a fee.

VIRGINIA

Sherwood Forest

Location: Charles City County, four miles east of Charles City on State Highway 5.

Ownership-Administration: Privately owned.

Significance: Sherwood Forest, whimsically named by the tenth President, who considered himself as much a political outlaw as Robin Hood, was John Tyler's home during the last 20 years of his life. His dream of a quiet family life at Sherwood Forest, which attained momentary reality when he left the White House in 1845, was shattered within the next decade and a half. The disruption of the Union called him into public life again, and he died in the service of his State early in 1862.

Tyler purchased the estate, originally called Creek Plantation, from Collier Minge in 1842. It comprised some 1,200 acres of land and was located only a short distance from his birthplace, Greenway. Improvements included a 2 1/2-story frame dwelling, built in 1780, with various outbuildings. Tyler built a covered colonnade to connect the main house with the kitchen and laundry to the east, adding a corresponding west wing to serve as a ballroom and a private office. Sherwood Forest thus became unusual architecturally in that, though only one room in thickness, it was some 300 feet long.

Features and Condition: The house, still owned by members of the Tyler family, is little changed from the time of the President's occupancy. The 1,000-acre estate includes a 12-acre yard surrounding the house, with a great variety of ancient trees and the
SHERWOOD FOREST, Virginia - Home of John Tyler, tenth President of the United States, from 1842 until his death in 1862.

October 17, 1960

National Park Service photograph
remains of formal gardens. The house is furnished with original pieces and a number of family mementos. It is open to visitors on weekdays.

References: Lyon G. Tyler, The Letters and Times of the Tylers (3 vols., Richmond, 1884-1896); Elizabeth V. Huntley, Peninsula Pilgrimage (Richmond, 1941).
TENNESSEE

James K. Polk Home

Location: U. S. Highways 31 and 43, Columbia.

Ownership-Administration: State of Tennessee; James K. Polk Memorial Association of Nashville and James K. Polk Memorial Auxiliary of Columbia.

Significance: Built in 1816 by Samuel Polk, father of James Knox Polk, this was the home of the future President for several years during his young manhood.

James was born in North Carolina and came to middle Tennessee with his family in 1806, at the age of eleven. Ten years later, his father bought a lot in Columbia and constructed this modest brick home. There James remained until 1819, when he began the study of law in Nashville under the noted Felix Grundy. After completing his law study, Polk opened a practice in Columbia and had immediate success. Elected to the Tennessee Legislature in 1823, he went on to the United States House of Representatives two years later, becoming Speaker in 1835 and remaining in the House until he was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1839. After the death of Felix Grundy in 1840, Polk bought his former house in Nashville and made his home there until his election to the Presidency in 1844, returning for the brief remainder of his life in 1849. That house has since been razed.

Features and Condition: Samuel Polk's house remained in the family for many years, then changed owners several times before being purchased by the State and the Memorial Association in 1929.
It was opened to visitors in 1930. Seven years later, the purchase of an additional portion of the original Polk lot permitted reconstruction of the dining room and kitchen on their original foundations. In 1941, the adjoining house, which was built by Samuel Polk's son-in-law, was acquired also.

The house is furnished with Polk and period furniture and a number of family portraits. Restoration of the garden was begun in 1949.

KENTUCKY

Springfield (Zachary Taylor House)

Location: 5608 Apache Road, Jefferson County.

Ownership-Administration: Privately owned.

Significance: Springfield was Zachary Taylor's home for more than 20 years prior to the beginning of his military career in 1808, the scene of his marriage two years later, and the birthplace of five of his six children, including the son, Richard, who later became a lieutenant general in the Confederate Army.

Zachary was born in Orange County, Virginia, but was only eight months old when his father, Richard Taylor, brought the family to the 400-acre farm on Beargrass Creek, just east of the tiny village of Louisville, in the spring of 1785. The family took up residence in a small log house, but within five years construction of the present brick house began. Richard Taylor prospered and became a leading citizen of Louisville, and by 1800 had increased his farm to about 700 acres.

Zachary assisted his father on the farm until 1808, when he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 7th United States Infantry. Stationed in Louisiana, he became ill and returned to Springfield on sick leave in April, 1810. While there, he was married to Margaret Mackall Smith.

After attaining a splendid reputation for gallantry in the War of 1812, Taylor was discharged on June 15, 1815, at which time he already was in Kentucky making a corn crop. As a wedding
SPRINGFIELD (ZACHARY TAYLOR HOUSE), Louisville, Kentucky - The brick house, begun about 1790, was the future President's home until after the death of his father in 1829.

Courtesy Louisville Courier-Journal
present, Zachary had received 324 acres of land at the mouth of Beargrass Creek, but he made his residence at Springfield. Within a year, he returned to the Army and thenceforth returned to Springfield only on occasional leave. When Richard Taylor died in 1829, he specified in his will that Springfield should be sold to settle debts against the estate, though Zachary subsequently expressed regret that the farm could not have remained in the family.

When Taylor died in the White House in 1850, his body was brought back to rest in the family burying ground at Springfield. It later served as the nucleus of the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery.

Features and Condition: Since passing out of the Taylor family, Springfield has been in the hands of several private owners. About three years ago the farm was subdivided and the house, surrounded by a housing development, now occupies less than an acre of land. Constructed of brick, the three-story house of eight rooms apparently has not undergone any extensive alteration since the time of Zachary Taylor's residence. Most of the glass and hardware are original, and the walnut paneling and doors in the entrance hallway have been restored to their original finish by the present owners. Aside from utilities and modern conveniences, the major change apparently has been the addition of porches on three sides of the house during the 19th century.

References: Holman Hamilton, Zachary Taylor, Soldier of the Republic (2 vols., Indianapolis and New York, c. 1941); Rexford Newcomb, Old Kentucky Architecture (New York, 1940); Elizabeth P. Thomas, Old Kentucky Homes and Gardens (Louisville, c. 1939).
NEW HAMPSHIRE

Franklin Pierce Homestead

Location: Hillsboro, Hillsboro County, approximately 100 yards off State Route 9 on State Route 31.

Ownership-Administration: State of New Hampshire, Forestry and Recreation Department, Recreation Division, Concord, New Hampshire.

Significance: This dwelling, built in 1804, was the home of Franklin Pierce, 14th President of the United States, from his infancy in 1804 until his marriage in 1834. Although there are extant other houses occupied by Pierce at briefer intervals later in his career, the family home at Hillsboro is the structure most intimately related to the man, and is the dwelling most typical of his time and background.

Franklin Pierce was born at Hillsboro, New Hampshire, on November 24, 1804. A few months later, the family moved to the present homestead built by Benjamin Pierce, Franklin's father. The boy attended local schools and academies in nearby Hancock and Francestown. In September, 1820, he entered Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. After graduation, in 1824, Pierce studied law under Levi Woodbury at Portsmouth and attended law school at Northampton, Massachusetts. He was admitted to the bar in 1827 and opened an office in a small building erected by his father across the road from the family home in Hillsboro. The young lawyer gained some prominence in local affairs, and, in 1829, was elected to the New Hampshire General Court. In that same year,
FRANKLIN PIERCE HOMESTEAD, Franklin, New Hampshire. The boyhood home of the fourteenth President is a State Memorial.
his father was elected to a second term as governor of the state.

Young Pierce served four years in the New Hampshire legislature and, in 1833, entered the U. S. House of Representatives. He served without particular distinction for two terms, and, in 1837, entered the Senate, serving in that body until 1842. Pierce shared the intense nationalism and military interests of his father. Throughout his Washington career, he was a staunch, if uninspired, Jacksonian Democrat. He despised the abolition movement as a threat to the Union, and upheld the rights and traditions of the slave-holding South.

In 1842, his wife's poor health, coupled with financial necessity, compelled Pierce to retire from the Senate and he took up a successful law practice in Concord, capital of his native state. His amiable disposition earned him local popularity and enabled him to head the local Democratic organization until the eve of the War with Mexico. During that conflict he served in Mexico and rose to the rank of brigadier general, although his military career was not a distinguished one.

In 1852, the Democratic party had an embarrassment of riches in its choice of a presidential candidate. Pierce, who had strongly endorsed the Compromise of 1850, and had some following in the South, was the dark horse nominee when the convention became hopelessly deadlocked. Pierce defeated his Whig opponent, the aging military hero Winfield Scott, but his victory was marred two months before the inauguration by the tragic death of his only surviving son in a railroad accident. Neither parent ever fully re-
covered from the crushing blow.

Franklin Pierce's four years in the White House were distinguished only by the mounting sectional crisis and the drift toward disunion. He was persuaded by his Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, and other Democratic leaders, to accept the Kansas-Nebraska bill in return for passage of his legislative program in Congress. As events proved, the vehement controversy over the bill so distracted the legislators that few of the president's measures were acted upon. Pierce was well-meaning in his attempts to compromise the sectional issues, develop the Nation's economy, and defend American interests against European encroachment. Unhappily, his efforts were wrecked by the mounting antagonism between North and South. In 1856, Pierce's party rejected his bid for a second term, turning to James Buchanan, who, as minister to England, had escaped political involvement in the sectional dispute.

Pierce returned to Concord, where his opposition to the Republican administration's conduct of the war against the South cost him his once great popularity and political influence. He died in obscurity on October 8, 1869.

As 14th president of the United States, Pierce is entitled to recognition as a figure of national significance. He held the Nation's highest office in one of the most critical periods of the ante-bellum generation, and despite his lack of success, was at the center of the political tug-of-war which might well have frustrated the efforts of an abler man.
Features and Condition: The Pierce Homestead is a handsome example of New Hampshire village architecture. The house is of frame construction, with a hipped roof. The structure consists of two stories and contains eight rooms. Architectural investigation has disclosed the nature of the interior at the time of Pierce's occupancy. Plans are underway for furnishing the house with items appropriate to its first 50 years. Included in the property are 25 acres of fields and woodland surrounding the house. The original barn is preserved and has been restored to its original size. The house is open each year from June through September, and attracts some 3,000 visitors annually.

"Wheatland" - James Buchanan Home

Location: Lancaster County, western outskirts of Lancaster, on Marietta Avenue (State Route 340).

Ownership-Administration: The James Buchanan Foundation for the Preservation of Wheatland, Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Significance: "Wheatland" was the home of James Buchanan from 1849, when he retired as Secretary of State, until his death in 1868. During this period, Buchanan served as 15th president of the United States, from 1857 to 1861. On Buchanan, during these crucial years, fell the grave responsibility of presiding over a Nation moving inexorably toward disunion and civil war. Whether another and more able leader could have averted the final catastrophe can never be known. In his own right, as Chief Executive during four of the Nation's most critical years, Buchanan stands as a figure of national significance. His comfortable estate at "Wheatland" is the site most intimately associated with Buchanan, at the period of his greatest significance as a national figure.

James Buchanan was born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, on April 23, 1791. After graduating from Dickinson College, Carlisle, he read law at Lancaster and practiced there for a few years. In 1814 he entered the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and six years later entered national politics as a Federalist congressman. Characteristically, throughout his life he was a moderate in political outlook, steering a conservative middle course regardless of party labels. Unlike most of his Federalist colleagues, who became
"WHEATLAND," Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was the home of James Buchanan from 1849 until his death in 1868. During this period he served as fifteenth President of the United States on the eve of the Civil War.

October, 1960

National Park Service Photo
Whigs after the break-up of the Federalist party following the election of 1824, Buchanan cast his lot with the Jacksonians. Thereafter he enjoyed a successful career as a conservative wheel horse for the burgeoning Democratic party. He gained some knowledge of foreign affairs as Minister to Russia from 1832 to 1834, and served in the Senate from 1834 to 1845. In the latter year, he resigned his seat to accept the post of Secretary of State in the cabinet of James K. Polk.

In this capacity, Buchanan ably supported his strong-willed chief in the peaceful settlement of the Oregon controversy with Britain, in the expansionist war with Mexico, and in the forceful restatement by Polk of the Monroe Doctrine, warning against British expansion into the Americas.

Upon his retirement from office, at the end of Polk's term in 1849, Buchanan bought "Wheatland," a country estate near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. A bachelor, he rejoiced in the care of his charming and attractive niece, Harriet Lane, an orphan. For his stalwart service in the presidential election of Franklin Pierce, Buchanan was rewarded with the post of minister to Great Britain. In this capacity, he joined with other American ministers abroad in drafting the notorious Ostend Manifesto in 1854. This truculent document declared that if Spain would not sell her Cuban colony, the United States was justified in taking it by force. The Manifesto was repudiated by the Federal Government, but it gave Buchanan the support of expansion-minded Democrats, partic-
Buchanan's absence in Europe spared him from embarrassing involvement in the Kansas-Nebraska controversy. Consequently, in 1856, he was named Democratic candidate for president. Although he was personally convinced of the moral wrong of slavery, Buchanan believed that constitutionally the institution could not be barred from the territories. In this regard, he agreed with Stephen Douglas's doctrine of popular sovereignty, whereby the people of a territory could by local regulations sanction or reject slavery. Buchanan supported the proslave element in Kansas and renewed the bid for purchase of Cuba, both moves costing him support in the North. As the Nation moved toward disunion, Buchanan denied the right of secession, but considered himself powerless to force the Southern states to remain in the Union.

In the closing months of his administration, Buchanan awoke to the desperate state of the Union and, to his credit, worked feverishly to head off the ultimate calamity. The eleventh hour attempt failed. Little more than a month after Buchanan left office, Confederate guns opened hostilities at Fort Sumter. His troubled administration having run its course, Buchanan retired to his beloved "Wheatland," where he lived quietly removed from the tragedy of the 'sixties. On June 1, 1868, he died at "Wheatland," at the age of 78.
"Wheatland"

"Wheatland" was built in 1828 on the order of one William Jenkins, and it was Jenkins who gave the mansion its name. Jenkins occupied the house for about 10 years, and was followed by two other owners before Buchanan purchased the estate in 1849. After Buchanan's death, the house passed through several hands before its acquisition by the James Buchanan Foundation for the Preservation of Wheatland.

Features and Condition: Despite its age and numerous changes in ownership, "Wheatland" has been spared remodeling and major alteration. The only interior changes were those made necessary by the installation of modern heating and lighting systems. The house is two-and-a-half stories high and of brick construction. It contains 17 rooms, five of which are on the unrestored third floor. On the first floor are the "warming" kitchen, breakfast room, dining room, parlor and library. From the attractive main hall, the staircase ascends to the second floor which is given over to bedrooms, dressing rooms, and an exhibit room containing pictures, letters, and other Buchanan memorabilia. The ex-president died in a plainly-furnished back room on the second floor. The house's furnishings are all appropriate to the Buchanan period, and include many fine pieces which belonged to "Wheatland's" most distinguished owner. The library is furnished almost entirely with Buchanan items. Surrounding the house are approximately four and a half acres landscaped with old trees, shrubs, and attractive flower gardens. Outbuildings include the old smokehouse and privy.
The house and grounds are maintained in excellent condition, and are open to visitors.

ILLINOIS

"Old Main"

Location: Knox County, City of Galesburg, Campus of Knox College, facing South Street.

Ownership-Administration: Knox College.

Significance: "Old Main," central building of the Knox College campus, and the grounds adjoining it, constitute the best-preserved physical remains relating to the historic Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. The seven debates between Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas, up for re-election, and the Republican challenger, Abraham Lincoln, keynoted the momentous issues of the sectional controversy which was carrying the Nation toward disunion and civil war. Although Lincoln lost the election, his logic, moderation, and skill in debate brought him nationwide attention and new strength in the Republican party. In arguing that the people of a territory could accept or reject slavery Douglas lost the support of Southern Democrats who demanded Federal protection of slavery in the territories. In the debates, Douglas permanently associated himself with the doctrine over which the Northern and Southern wings of the Democratic party would finally split in 1860. The breakup of the old Democratic alliance would insure the election of the Republican candidate, which in turn meant secession and civil war.

By 1858, the long-standing political, economic, and ideological struggle between North and South was approaching the point of no return. While the whole institution of slavery was a major area of disagreement, the most distracting and dangerous ques-
"OLD MAIN," on the campus of Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, was the scene of the fifth Lincoln-Douglas debate, October 7, 1858. The speakers platform was placed against the east side of the building, shown above.

April, 1959

National Park Service Photo
tion centered on the extension of slavery into newly-opened territories. North and West opposed such extension, while the South demanded Federal protection of slavery wherever it might spread. Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois and leader of the Democratic party, tried to take a middle course by advocating "popular sovereignty," which left to the settlers of a territory the decision to sanction or reject slavery.

Abraham Lincoln, successful jury lawyer from Springfield, Illinois, had joined the new Republican party in 1856. Two years later he was named that party's candidate for senator to oppose the resourceful and more experienced Douglas. As a major feature of their campaign, Lincoln and Douglas agreed on a series of seven debates running from August into October. In the course of these face-to-face encounters, the rivals hammered out the issue of extension of slavery. This, inevitably, excluded discussion of other matters in which the public was less interested. In the second debate, at Freeport, Illinois, Lincoln tried to trap his opponent by asking him how he could reconcile the Dred Scott decision, barring interference with slavery in the territories, with the doctrine of popular sovereignty which permitted settlers to accept slavery or reject it at will. Douglas replied, accurately enough, that, regardless of the Dred Scott decision, territorial settlers could accept or reject slavery by the use of local police regulations. If they did not apply such regulations to formulate laws regulating slavery, then the Federal Government could not force them to do so, and slavery would be effectively banned. This ingenious argument
would hurt Douglas deeply in the South.

The fifth debate was held in Galesburg on October 7, on the campus of Knox College, an institution which had first opened its doors in 1841. Scene of the debate originally was to have been on the south side of "Old Main," the college's chief building. A sharp wind made a change necessary, and the temporary speakers platform was moved to the east side of the building. Lincoln and Douglas entered "Old Main" by its front door and walked through the building in order to step onto the platform through a window. With characteristic humor, Lincoln commented that he had now "gone through" Knox College.

The debate at Galesburg was not the most significant of the series in terms of the arguments presented or the points scored by either speaker. Nevertheless, it was marked by some of the best oratory of the campaign. As one historian has written, "At Galesburg both men disclosed for the first time a gleam of eloquence."*

Of all the seven debate sites, only "Old Main" preserves the contemporary scene to an appreciable extent. The other sites are marked in varying degree and can be considered only memorial in character. None have the potential for interpretation of the event possessed by "Old Main," and none have physical landmarks at all comparable to the actual building which was the backdrop against which Lincoln and Douglas spoke on a blustery fall day in 1858.

Features and Condition: "Old Main" was erected in 1856-57, and was the third building at Knox College. The two earlier structures have long since disappeared. Architect, con-

tractor, and builder of "Old Main" was Charles Ulricson of Peoria, Illinois. Brick for the building was manufactured in Galesburg and it was trimmed with limestone quarried near Aurora. "Old Main" originally contained a library, laboratory, elocution rooms, classrooms, and the college chapel. Extensive restoration of the interior in 1937, including the erection of a steel inner shell, increased the facilities for class rooms and for college administrative offices. Although the interior has undergone some change, the exterior of the building, carefully restored in the 1930's, has retained its original appearance to a remarkable degree. Commemorative bronze tablets on either side of the building's east door bear bas relief portraits of Lincoln and Douglas. The speaker's platform was situated in front of the east door, and the ground where the crowd assembled is open campus, shaded by handsome trees.

NEW YORK

Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims

Location: 75 Hicks Street, at Orange Street, Brooklyn, New York City.

Ownership-Administration: Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims (Congregational), 75 Hicks Street, Brooklyn 1, New York.

Significance: Brooklyn's Plymouth Church was a foremost center of anti-slavery sentiment between 1847 and the outbreak of the Civil War. Its minister during this crucial period was the famed Henry Ward Beecher, and from its pulpit spoke the most notable opponents of slavery, including William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner and John Greenleaf Whittier. No surviving structure or site commemorates so well the abolition movement, and the men who inspired and led it.

The most significant aspect of the Nation's history in the decade before 1860 was the sectional controversy which culminated in secession and civil war. While enmity between North and South was the result of the interplay of many forces in the 19th century, the ideological heart of the conflict was the institution of slavery. The cause of abolition became the rallying point for militant opposition to slavery in the North, and was the chief target of proslavery resentment in the South. The roots of the war which came in 1861 can be traced to the bitterness and destructive passions unleashed by the political and social struggle over slavery; a struggle in which the voices of the radicals on both sides drowned
PLYMOUTH CHURCH, Brooklyn, New York, was a foremost center of the anti-slavery movement in the decade prior to the Civil War.
From the pulpit of Plymouth Church, Henry Ward Beecher, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and other opponents of slavery spoke for the cause of Abolition in the 1850's.
out the numerous but less articulate voices of moderation. In the cold war of the 1850's Plymouth Church was a major forum for the spokesmen of abolition.

In 1847, Brooklyn's second Congregational church was established and given the corporate name of Plymouth Church. By unanimous vote of its 21 members, 34-year-old Henry Ward Beecher was called from Indianapolis to head the new congregation. On Sunday, October 10, Beecher preached his first sermon as pastor of the church. For 40 years thereafter he ministered to Plymouth Church, during which time it gained national prominence through its support and encouragement of the social and cultural movements which distinguished the latter half of the 19th century.

In the slavery controversy, Beecher was not an abolitionist in the extremist league of Garrison and his adherents. The leader of Plymouth Church saw slavery doomed by the working of the natural laws of God, and urged that it be left alone to die in the soil where it already existed. But, despite his comparatively moderate views, Beecher actively aided the resistance to the extension of slavery into new territory. He collected arms and money to support the free-soil settlers in Kansas. "Beecher's Bibles" was the name given to the Sharps rifles smuggled to the antislavery forces in Kansas. In addition to his personal efforts, Beecher made his pulpit available to more vehement and radical opponents of slavery. On several occasions, to dramatize the grimmest aspect of slavery, he auctioned off slaves from the pulpit to secure their freedom.

In October, 1859, a rising Republican leader in the West,
Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, was invited to give an address "in Mr. Beecher's church in Brooklyn." When Lincoln arrived in New York for his speaking engagement, he discovered that the place for his talk had been changed to the newly-completed Cooper Union. The Cooper Union address was a major landmark in Lincoln's career, introducing him to a distinguished Eastern audience and placing him squarely in the race for the Republican presidential nomination a few months later. On Sunday, February 26, the day before his speech at Cooper Union, Lincoln attended service at Plymouth Church, sitting in pew 81, four rows from Beecher's pulpit.

When the cause against slavery was won, Beecher's eloquence continued to sound from Plymouth's pulpit, making his church a receptive forum tuned to new ideas and changing times. Plymouth Church, consolidated in 1934 with the earlier Brooklyn Church of the Pilgrims, remains a notable commemoration of the great humanitarian and intellectual movements of the 19th century; most notably the abolitionist slavery cause in the decade prior to the Civil War.

Features and Condition

The present Plymouth Church was erected in 1849 and opened for service on the first Sunday in January, 1850. Sherman Day, chairman of the building committee, drew up a rough design which was finished by J. C. Wells, an English architect. The new building was actually two adjoining structures - the church proper, and a two-story lecture room and Sunday School building. The main church building was plain in design, without steeple, tower or other adornment, inside or out. The auditorium was nearly square, with galleries on three
sides and a second gallery or loft at the rear. Walls and woodwork were plain and painted white. The platform and pulpit were in the front center of the auditorium, with the organ and choir gallery behind the pulpit. On the ground floor, curving pews converged around the pulpit, a plain semi-circular platform. For many years, the windows were of plain, clear glass.

The original church building has changed little in the 110 years since it first opened its doors; the major change being the installation of stained glass windows between 1907 and 1920. These are historical in character rather than ecclesiastical. Paneling has been added to the wall space between the windows and the organ moved back about 12 feet to enlarge the choir space. The organ, originally completed in 1866, has been rebuilt several times. The church interior was renovated in 1858, with new rugs, pew cushions, and better lighting. The pew occupied by Lincoln on the day before his Cooper Union address is marked by a silver plate.

Subsequent additions to the church plant include an arcade leading to Plymouth Church House, built in 1913, and the more recent Hillis Hall, providing dining and lecture facilities. In the arcade is a portrait of Beecher and "Pinky", the slave girl auctioned at Plymouth Church for her freedom in 1860.

References: Warren B. Cochran, ed., A Church in History: The Story of Plymouth's First Hundred Years . . . (Brooklyn, 1949); Paxton Hibben, Henry Ward Beecher, an American Portrait (New York, 1927); Historic American Buildings Survey (12 sheets, 4 photographs, 1934); Miss Beatrice M. Loennecke, Executive Secretary and Registrar, Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims, to National Park Service, Region Five Office, Philadelphia, letter of November 10, 1960; "Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims; Some Notes for Visitors," pamphlet distributed by the church.
NEW YORK

Cooper Union

Location: Cooper Square, Seventh Street and Fourth Avenue.

Ownership-Administration: Cooper Union, Cooper Square, New York 3, New York.

Significance: Here, on February 27, 1860, Abraham Lincoln spoke to a large and influential audience concerning the mounting crisis which divided North and South and threatened to destroy the Union. The Illinois lawyer's logic, moderation, and simple dignity moved his sophisticated audience to a tremendous demonstration at the end of the address, and the speech was widely reprinted. In the East, which had barely known him, Lincoln now was recognized as a serious and capable rival to New York's Senator William H. Seward for the Republican presidential nomination in the upcoming election. The Cooper Union address thus had great significance, not only in Lincoln's political career, but in the history of the Nation about to plunge into the abyss of civil war.

In October, 1859, Lincoln had agreed to give, in the following February, a political lecture at Henry Ward Beecher's Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York. Arriving in New York after a wearing two-day journey, he learned that sponsorship of his address, set for February 27, had been assumed by the Young Men's Central Republican Union of New York City. He was informed, too, that the speech would be given at the recently-completed Cooper Union. Significantly, the leadership of the Young Men's Union was
COOPER UNION, New York City, N. Y. Here, on February 27, 1860, Abraham Lincoln delivered his first speech before an eastern audience, and won important support for the Republican presidential nomination.

Photograph Courtesy of Cooper Union
made up of Republican politicians determined to frustrate Senator Seward's drive for the party's presidential nomination.

Despite a swirling snowstorm on the night of the 27th, a crowd of 1,500 persons took their seats in Cooper Union. It was, said Horace Greeley's Tribune, the greatest gathering "of the intellect and culture" of New York City since the days of Clay and Webster. This possibly was true, although it may be noted that Greeley, once Seward's friend, was now his bitter enemy, and welcomed an opportunity to strike a blow at the Senator's prestige in New York. Greeley, himself, was present at Cooper Union. Presiding at the meeting was another famous editor and literary figure, William Cullen Bryant. "Lincoln knew that he was under inquest; the two great editors and others, remembering his house-divided speech and his skill in bringing Douglas into the Freeport net, regarded him as a Presidential spar, and were eager to measure his stature."*

Lincoln had worked hard at his speech during the winter of 1859-1860, wearing the patience of his law partner William Herndon with constant writing and re-writing. Obviously, he saw that much might come of a successful appearance before a New York audience. He researched diligently on the attitudes of the "Founding Fathers" toward the extension of slavery - which Lincoln was sure they had opposed. He and Douglas had argued the point, and Douglas had written an article for Harper's about it, but neither had proven his point.

After a slow, deliberate start, Lincoln quickly won his

audience's attention with a mass of quotations, documentary references, citations of roll calls and proposed amendments to the Constitution, to back up his contention that a clear majority of the "Fathers" would have agreed with the Republican party's opposition to the spread of slavery. The "Fathers" had understood, so ran Lincoln's argument, that there was nothing in the Constitution which forbade the Federal Government from controlling slavery in the territories.

Appealing to the South, the speaker countered Democratic accusations against the Republicans. He rejected violence of the John Brown type, and placed on the South responsibility for the continued agitation of the slave question. Turning to his fellow Republicans, Lincoln stressed the need for peace and the part the Party must play in preserving it; even to placating the South whenever possible. Placation, however, did not extend to yielding on the one vital point as Lincoln saw it; the moral wrong of slavery. Said Lincoln, "let us stand by our duty fearlessly and effectively . . . . Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

The crowd exploded into applause and cheers, throwing hats and handkerchiefs into the air, and storming to the speaker's platform to grasp Lincoln's hand. Wrote Noah Brooks for the Tribune, "No man ever before made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience." Four local papers ran the speech in full and editorial comment throughout the North made it obvious that Lincoln
had won a personal triumph. He remained in the East for a few days, going to New Hampshire to visit son Robert at Phillips Exeter Academy. The trip was a victory procession, marked by spontaneous greetings along the route. The large crowds that turned out plainly found something they liked in the gangling, homely man from Illinois. Returning to Springfield, Lincoln found his local supporters ready to press his candidacy for the Republican nomination. With the cheers of the Easterners still ringing in his ears, Lincoln agreed that he had a chance of wresting the prize from Seward. He set in motion the convention machine that was destined to overthrow the cocky Seward, giving the nomination and ultimately the presidency to "The Rail-splitter."

The speech at Cooper Union was a portentous turning-point. It made Lincoln known and hailed in the East, in the very heart of Seward's territory. At Cooper Union he stepped upon the path that would carry him to the presidency and to immortality.

Features and Condition: The fulfillment, in 1859, of Peter Cooper's dream of a free school to "improve and elevate the working classes of the City of New York," was the most significant and successful pioneer effort in private support of free public education. In addition to its role as an educational center for more than a century, Cooper Union has served as a forum for issues which have loomed large in the history of the last hundred years. The Foundation building itself is an architectural monument of the first order. All of these distinctions combine to make Cooper Union one of the Nation's supreme cultural landmarks.
Peter Cooper, born on February 12, 1791, was a self-made man in the best American tradition. With a year's formal schooling behind him he rose from coach builder's apprentice to become one of the Nation's foremost industrialists. As early as 1839 Cooper began buying land for the free school he was determined to build and on November 2, 1859, the Institution was opened. During the day it served as the School of Design for Females, and offered evening courses in mathematics, mechanical arts, science and music. The auditorium, or Great Hall, the largest in New York in the mid-1860's, was the scene of significant mass meetings and public addresses, including Abraham Lincoln's "Cooper Union Speech" of February 27, 1860, which proved to be a major influence in Lincoln's nomination for the presidency.

Over the years the hall has served not only as a place of assembly for free lectures sponsored by Cooper Union, but as a public hall for meetings of every description. The original endowment by Peter Cooper has been augmented by subsequent gifts from the Cooper family and from some of the Nation's outstanding philanthropists, among them Andrew Carnegie and H. H. Rogers.

The weight of the brownstone Foundation building is borne by wrought iron beams, used by Cooper on a scale never before attempted. On Cooper's order, beams 20 feet long and seven inches deep were produced in 1853. Others saw the value of using the great iron supports, and several buildings were constructed with the type of beams created in answer to Cooper's need, even before Cooper Union was completed.
The Union's objectives have been modified with the demands of the times and, today, it offers the best possible professional education without cost to a few selected scholars rather than modest courses of practical instruction on a mass basis. However, it has retained a number of its popular educational facilities including the museum, library and adult education program of lectures and short evening courses. From 60,000 to 75,000 persons attend the adult education courses and lectures annually. The library was New York's first public reading room and, with more than 100,000 volumes, remains a popular public facility. Other buildings have been or will be constructed to meet expanding need but the familiar Foundation building remains the heart of Cooper Union.

KANSAS

Rev. Samuel L. Adair Cabin

Location: Osawatomie.

Ownership-Administration: Owned by the State and administered by a local park board.

Significance: The Rev. Samuel L. Adair Cabin at Osawatomie, Kansas was the headquarters for the noted abolitionist leader, John Brown, who figured prominently in the struggle for "Bloody Kansas." Coming from New York in response to the call of one of his five sons in the Territory to assist in the fight for freedom during 1855, he soon became the militant leader of the radical elements of the Free-Staters. After the sack of Lawrence in May, 1856, Brown led a retributive attack on five Proslavers on Pottawatomie Creek, killing them without warning. This massacre marked the beginning of a border war that was to continue for several years. From this incident, he became known as "Old Osawatomie Brown" and became a terror to Proslavery settlers.

In answer to the Pottawatomie event, Capt. Henry Pate tried to capture Brown but was in turn taken prisoner by Brown and his men at the "Battle of Black Jack." In August of 1856 occurred the "Battle of Osawatomie" in which David R. Atchinson, with his "Grand Army of Missourians," engaged in a skirmish with Brown and a small band. During the fall of 1856 he returned to the East to enlist assistance for the struggle for freedom in Kansas. When he came back to Kansas in 1857, he found both sides willing to have recourse to ballots instead of bullets. Brown then turned his atten-
tion to a scheme for forcibly liberating slaves in the southern states. In 1858 Brown returned to Kansas. His greatest exploit was his descent upon several Missouri plantations in which he liberated a number of slaves and led them into Canada. He then went east to Virginia and endeavored to seize the arms at the Harpers Ferry armory for equipping the slaves he hoped to lead in revolt against their masters. He was captured and after a fair trial was hanged.

Brown's activities in Kansas in the 1850's did much to ignite the fires which resulted in the Civil War in the 1860's. His death in 1859 aroused passions still further. To the abolitionists in the north he became a martyr. The song "John Brown's Body," sung by the Union forces in the Civil War, made Brown a legendary figure.

The Adair Cabin, which was originally owned by Brown's brother-in-law, was a point on the underground railroad. Here, Brown, in 1858, concealed eleven slaves and started them on their journey to Canada.

**Features and Condition:** The cabin, now under a protective cover, was removed from its original location and placed on the Osawatomie Battlefield.

VIRGINIA

Marlbourne

Location: Hanover County, three miles west of Pamunkey River on U. S. Highway 360.

Ownership-Administration: Privately owned.

Significance: Marlbourne is a fitting memorial to the life of Edmund Ruffin, noted alike for his valuable agricultural reforms and for his rabid Southern nationalism. There he concretely demonstrated the agricultural theories he had propounded for three decades, and there he lived during the period of his deepest involvement in secession politics.

Born in Prince Edward County, Virginia, in 1794, Ruffin early gave his attention to the exhausted condition of Virginia's agricultural lands, resulting from generations of poor farming practices. Experimenting with the use of calcareous earths (marl), fertilizer, crop rotation, improved drainage, and good plowing, Ruffin soon discovered the most effective methods of restoring fertility to the soil. He began publication of the Farmer's Register in 1833 and within a decade had spread his gospel of scientific farming all through the South.

Moving to Hanover County late in 1843, Ruffin settled on a 1,000-acre plantation which he appropriately named "Marlbourne." The "large and valuable" mansion house, located on the brow of a hill overlooking the Pamunkey River bottom lands, was surrounded by a kitchen, dairy, meat house, ice houses, laundry, stables, carriage house, overseer's house, and slave quarters.
MARLBORNE, Virginia - A view of the mansion house which served as Edmund Ruffin's home from 1843 until the Civil War. Marlbourne was an agricultural showplace during the late ante bellum period.

October 17, 1960

National Park Service photograph
There, during the next few years, Ruffin continued his agricultural experiments. Owing to his established reputation, Marlbourne became a model farm to which farmers all over the South looked for guidance. Using marl obtained from the adjoining plantation of Carter Braxton, Ruffin experimented also with the use of greensands, barnyard manure, and cowpeas. He developed a well-planned drainage system, utilizing covered drains.

Always interested in politics, Ruffin became more and more deeply involved in the turbulent political currents of the decade and a half before the Civil War. An ardent defender of slavery and an early secessionist, he wrote extensively on those subjects for Southern newspapers and periodicals. He took an active part in various Southern commercial conventions and is generally credited with originating the idea of a League of United Southerners in 1858.

With the outbreak of hostilities, though nearly 70 years old, Ruffin took an active part. He was a participant in the firing on Fort Sumter, helped serve a Confederate gun at First Manassas, and spent a good deal of time in Charleston during the Union siege of that city in 1863-64. Between his martial adventures he spent as much time as possible at Marlbourne, though he had to flee before the advance of McClellan's army in 1862 and, finally, before Grant's advance in 1864. The final collapse of the Confederacy destroyed Ruffin's will to live, and he took his own life on June 18, 1865, in Amelia County. He was buried in the family cemetery at Marlbourne.

**Features and Condition:** The original Marlbourne has been
divided into two farms, both owned by descendants of Edmund Ruffin. The northerly of the two, known as Upper Marlbourne, contains the family cemetery. The other, retaining the original name, includes the mansion house and such of the original outbuildings as remain: smokehouse, dairy, and overseer's cottage. The house has been altered to some extent. A large brick barn, also believed to date from Edmund Ruffin's occupancy, is to be torn down in connection with the widening of U. S. Highway 360. The present owner of Marlbourne has added to his holdings the former Carter Braxton farm, New Castle, which lies between Marlbourne and the Pamunkey.

FLORIDA

Okeechobee Battlefield

Location: Okeechobee County, four miles southeast of Okeechobee on U. S. Hwy. 441.

Ownership-Administration: Privately owned.

Significance: On the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee, on Christmas Day of 1837, American forces under Zachary Taylor won a decisive victory over a small band of Seminole and Mikasuki warriors. One of the most spectacular battles of the Second Seminole War, it was a turning point in the struggle. Never again during the war did the Indians engage in a pitched battle, and their desultory hit-and-run attacks gradually died away.

When Taylor arrived in Florida in November, 1837, the war had been going on for nearly two years and a new phase of hostilities was just beginning. After several months of fruitless negotiations with the Seminoles, General Jesup had had Osceola and several other chiefs seized under a flag of truce, thus inspiring the Indians to further resistance.

Taylor left Tampa Bay on November 27 with the 1st United States Infantry, marching east toward the Kissimmee River. With his force augmented by the 4th and 6th United States Infantry, the 4th United States Artillery, a regiment of mounted Missouri Volunteers under Col. Richard Gentry, and assorted small detachments, Taylor reached the Kissimmee on December 3 and constructed Fort Gardiner. There Taylor's force was held for two weeks by orders from Jesup, who anticipated an end to hostilities. Taylor resumed
OKEECHOBEE BATTLEFIELD, Florida - A view of the Monument, erected in 1939, which stands on the southwestern edge of the battlefield.

August 25, 1960

National Park Service photograph
the advance on December 19-20, moving down the west bank of the river.

By Monday morning, December 25, the Americans were nearing the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee, having been alerted by numerous Indian signs since leaving their advance base, Fort Basinger, two days before. Crossing a swamp onto a broad prairie, the troops captured a young Indian who told them an Indian force was awaiting battle in a dense hammock about a mile to their right, near the lake shore.

Taylor formed his line of battle, with the volunteers in front, the 4th and 6th Infantry behind them, and the 1st Infantry in reserve. About noon, the advance began.

In order to reach the Indian position the attackers had to cross a swamp about three-quarters of a mile wide. The Indians, numbering about 340, allowed them to advance within 20 yards, then fired a volley which mortally wounded Colonel Gentry and caused his regiment to break for the rear. The regulars advanced through a galling fire which fell most heavily on the 6th Infantry on the right. The regimental commander, Lt. Col. Alexander R. Thompson, was mortally wounded, and every other officer except one in the 6th was hit. The 4th Infantry, on the left, gained the hammock and, reinforced by the 1st Infantry, soon drove the Indians from their position. The battle, lasting less than three hours, resulted in American casualties of 26 killed and 112 wounded, and Taylor estimated the Indian losses to have been equally heavy.
Features and Condition: The battlefield location is well established, though no physical remains, other than the skeleton of a man, have been found. Due to drainage improvements during the past 80 years, the swamp through which the troops advanced is now dry land. The battle was fought within the high-water mark of the lake, which now lies to the south of the battlefield. The area is largely unimproved, except for the construction of a highway, and is devoted to agriculture. A large monument, erected in 1939 by descendants of Colonel Gentry and the Florida Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, stands at the southwestern edge of the battlefield.

Fort Jesup State Monument

Location: Sabine Parish, seven miles northeast of Many on State Highway 6.

Ownership-Administration: State of Louisiana.

Significance: From its establishment in 1822 until the Mexican War, Fort Jesup was the most southwesterly military outpost of the United States. From there, in 1845, Zachary Taylor's Army of Observation marched en route to launch the opening campaign of that war. With the annexation of Texas, which moved the United States boundary 600 miles to the southwest, the fort was abandoned.

As a result of the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819, the United States renounced her claims, stemming from the Louisiana Purchase, to territory beyond the Sabine River. The following year Fort Selden was established on Bayou Pierre near its junction with the Red River. With final ratification of the treaty in 1821, plans were formulated to set up another military post nearer the frontier.

On March 28, 1822, Lt. Col. Zachary Taylor was ordered to occupy Shields' Spring, 25 miles south-southwest of Fort Selden, on the watershed between the Sabine and Red Rivers. By November of 1823 the garrison at Cantonment Jesup, as it was known, was the largest of any post in Louisiana, comprising four companies of the 7th Infantry. In 1827-28, a military road was constructed to link Jesup with Cantonment Towson in Arkansas Territory, 262 miles northwest. On June 3, 1833, an order by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun formally established the Post of Fort Jesup. The Fort Jesup Military
FORT JESUP STATE MONUMENT, Louisiana - The reconstructed officer's quarters which serves as Park headquarters and visitor center.

Courtesy Louisiana State Parks & Recreation Commission
Reservation contained nearly 16,000 acres.

With the outbreak of the Texas Revolution in 1835, Maj. Gen. Edmund P. Gaines, commanding the Western Department, was ordered to take personal command of all troops in western Louisiana, and reinforcements were sent to Fort Jesup. Gaines reached that post in April, 1836. Being authorized by subsequent orders to advance if necessary, he marched thirteen companies of infantry to the Sabine River, where they established a temporary post designated as Camp Sabine.

Hostile Indian activity along the frontier caused Gaines to occupy Nacogdoches, beyond the Sabine, and begin preparations for an extensive campaign. With the independence of Texas assured, however, President Andrew Jackson adopted a policy of "watchful waiting" along the southwestern frontier. Gaines was removed from immediate command in that area, and in November, 1836, Nacogdoches was evacuated.

After several years of relative calm, international attention again was focussed on the Louisiana frontier by the question of the annexation of Texas, a major issue of the 1844 presidential election. When in March, 1845, President Tyler offered Texas admission to the Union as a state, orders were given to Bvt. Brig. Gen. Zachary Taylor, commanding the First Department of the Western Division at Fort Jesup, to hold his troops ready to march into Texas. Taylor's "Army of Observation" consisted of seven companies of the 2nd Dragoons, the 3rd Infantry, and eight companies of the 4th Infantry.
Among the junior officers were Bvt. 2nd Lt. Ulysses S. Grant and Capt. William J. Hardee.

On June 15, Taylor was informed that the Texas Convention probably would accept the United States offer on July 4, and that, in anticipation of that action, he should move his force to a point on or near the Gulf of Mexico. Upon favorable action by the Texans, he was told, he should move by water to western Texas. His mission was to be limited to the defense of that new state "unless Mexico should declare war against the United States."

Having selected New Orleans as the point of embarkation, Taylor sent the dragoons overland and embarked the infantry on steamers at Granc Ecore, the 4th Regiment on July 2 and the 3rd on July 7. No longer garrisoned, and with the frontier moved far to the west by the annexation of Texas, Fort Jesup was inactivated on November 29, 1845. The buildings and some 6,400 acres of the military reservation were offered at public auction on April 23, 1850, and most of the remaining lands were transferred to the Department of the Interior and disposed of by public sale between 1875 and 1884.

Features and Condition: At the time of its abandonment, Fort Jesup consisted of some fifty buildings, about one-third of which were rated as "old and worthless." Total value was estimated in 1849 at $3,500.

Fort Jesup State Monument was established in 1957, consisting of some 22 acres. The only remaining original building, one of the log kitchens, has been repaired and reroofed and refurnished.
with period reproductions and authentic pots, pans and utensils.

One of the officers' quarters has been reconstructed for use as a visitor center and park administrative office, with exhibits designed to tell the story of the fort. A small service area has been constructed and the area has been landscaped extensively.

U. S. NAVAL ACADEMY, ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND
(Also to be classified under Education Subtheme of Theme XX, Arts and Sciences)

Location: West side of Severn River, main entrance at Maryland Avenue Gate.


Significance: The Naval Academy at Annapolis has produced the top-ranking career officers who in peace and war have commanded the U. S. Navy for more than a century. At once a college, a technical, and a vocational school, Annapolis, like the senior service school at West Point, has played a significant role in American education and military affairs.

The Naval Academy was established in 1845 at the Army's former Fort Severn. Known first as the Naval School, the institution was created by Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, better known as an educator and historian. In 1850 the name was changed to the United States Naval Academy, and in the following year a four-year consecutive course of study was inaugurated, with summer cruises to give practical experience to young midshipmen. Previously, the course was five years, all but the first and last of which were spent aboard ship.

Its proximity to the scene of conflict in the Civil War necessitated the removal of the Academy in 1861. Equipment, records and personnel of the school were embarked on the schoolship Constitution and taken to Newport, Rhode Island, to remain there until
BANCROFT HALL, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, is the midshipmen's dormitory and center of activity at the Naval Academy.

Official U. S. Navy Photograph
the end of hostilities in 1865. During the war, the Academy served as a military hospital and encampment. After the war, with Admiral David D. Porter as Superintendent, the school embarked on the more advanced curriculum. From 1873 to 1912 the academic course was six years, the last two of which were spent at sea. In 1912 the four-year course was reinstated. After a generation of relative obscurity, the Navy and its Academy won new recognition following the war with Spain in 1898. Since that time, the value of the Academy has been proven in the success of American leadership on, above, and below the sea in two World Wars, the Korean action, and in intervals of uneasy peace.

Features and Condition: Most of the Academy's buildings, designed by the architect Ernest Flagg of New York, are in late French renaissance style. Beginning in 1899, the Naval Academy was almost completely rebuilt and only a few of its earlier structures survive. The two oldest buildings flank the Maryland Avenue gate and are the Waiting Room, 1876, and the Guard House, 1881. The center of activity at the Academy is Bancroft Hall, the tremendous dormitory which houses all of the nearly 4,000 midshipmen. The building also contains tailor, cobbler and barber shops, mess hall, store, post office, medical services, etc. In Bancroft's Memorial Hall is displayed Perry's flag at the Battle of Lake Erie on which appears the immortal command "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP." The Academy's Museum, a short distance inside Gate 3, contains a priceless collection of naval relics, and a number of memorials and monuments on the grounds
recall the Navy's traditions and achievements. In all, the Academy
grounds contain approximately 245 acres on which there are more than
200 major buildings. The grounds are open to the public daily from
9:00 a. m. to 7:00 p. m. although most buildings are closed to visitors
at 5:00 p. m.

References: "A Guide to the U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis,
Maryland"; W. E. Puleston, Annapolis; Gangway to the Quarterdeck (New
York, 1942).
Harpers Ferry National Monument, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Scene of the abortive raid by abolitionist John Brown and his followers, in October 1859. The town had held a Federal armory since 1796, and the weapons stored there were intended by Brown for the arming of the slaves he expected to lead in revolt. The raid ended in Brown's capture and subsequent execution by the State of Virginia. The raid and its aftermath inflamed passions in both sections of the Nation. Southerners saw in Brown's folly the determination of the abolitionists to turn the slaves against their masters, and bring upon the South the terror of a servile insurrection. By Brown's execution, the abolitionists were given a martyr, in whose name they could demand vengeance. In the face of popular passion aroused by the event, moderates on both sides were hard pressed to find a common ground for compromise and preservation of the Union. Before many months passed, armed men would be marching south to the tune of "John Brown's Body," and the once peaceful little river town of Harpers Ferry would find itself a no man's land in a long and tragic civil war.

In 1944 Congress authorized the establishment of Harpers Ferry National Monument. The present area comprises 515 acres in three tracts located on Bolivar Heights, Loudon Heights, and in Harpers Ferry. These tracts were purchased by the State of West Virginia and donated to the Federal Government. The State of Maryland is acquiring part of Maryland Heights for addition to the monument.

The monument is administered by the National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior. A superintendent, whose address is Harpers Ferry, W. Va., is in immediate charge.

The Second Bank of the United States, a unit of Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The Second Bank of the United States is on Chestnut Street, between Fifth and Fourth Streets. A splendid example of Greek Revival architecture, it was built between 1819 and 1824. The Second Bank of the United States played an important part in establishing the young nation on a sound financial basis. However, when it became involved in a bitter controversy between President Andrew Jackson and the Whigs over national banking policies, its charter was allowed to expire in 1836. From 1845 to 1934, it was the Philadelphia Custom House. The building is open to the public.
Recommendations for Additional Study

In the course of the survey of Political and Military Affairs, 1830-1860, several sites and buildings needing additional study were noted. The presumed site of the battle of Bad Axe, near Genoa, Wisconsin, should, if possible, be positively identified and delimited. The general location of this climactic action of the Black Hawk War has been established, and recent research has identified portions of the route of Black Hawk's retreat across Wisconsin to the vicinity of the Bad Axe fight. (William T. Hagan, Black Hawk's Route Through Wisconsin (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, 1949). It may be impossible to pinpoint the battle site, but, should further study reveal the precise location and extent of the field, the area might well be considered for classification of exceptional value in commemorating the struggle which opened northern Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa to white settlement.

Another site requiring further study is that of Fort Armstrong, an important frontier post, and scene of the treaty ending the Black Hawk War. The fort was located at Rock Island, Illinois, and a reconstruction of one of its blockhouses has been made on the "approximate" site of the original post. The fort was abandoned in 1836, and was destroyed by fire in 1855. In 1863, the ruins were razed. Further investigation, mainly archeological, might disclose remains which would reveal the nature and extent of the original fort.

A third need for additional study is in regard to the
several surviving Harriet Beecher Stowe houses. These commemorate
the famed authoress whose novel, Uncle Tom's Cabin, played so im-
portant a role in the rise of abolition sentiment in the 1850's.
Stowe houses are preserved today at Brunswick, Maine; Andover, Massa-
chusetts; Hartford, Connecticut, and Cincinnati, Ohio. In the time
available for the present survey it was not possible to compare and
evaluate the relative significance of these houses in the life and
career of their most famous occupant. Uncle Tom apparently first
saw the light of day while the Stowes lived in Brunswick, although
his creator has given conflicting accounts. Further study should be
made of all of the Stowe houses to establish their significance in
relation to the career of the woman whom Civil War President Lincoln
teasingly credited with "starting this great war."

Lastly, the home of Roger B. Taney in Frederick, Maryland,
needs further study to determine its integrity as commemorating the
man who, in 1836, succeeded John Marshall as Chief Justice of the
United States Supreme Court. Taney was a controversial figure, hated
by the antislavery forces for his stand on the constitutional ques-
tions of slavery, most notably in the Dred Scott decision. Never-
theless, his contributions to constitutional law have earned him his-
torical recognition as one of America's great jurists. Taney lived
in Frederick from 1801 until 1823, part of this time in a two-story
brick house built in 1799. The house is now preserved by the Histor-
ical Society of Frederick County. Additional study is needed to
ascertain the degree to which the house has retained its historical
character, and to determine if it is the surviving structure most
intimately related to Taney.
Criteria for Classification

In order to be designated as possessing "exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States," a site or building must meet at least one of the following criteria:

1. Structures or sites at which occurred events that have made an outstanding contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or which best represent the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

3. Structures or sites associated significantly with an important event which best represents some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

*5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced, or which may reasonably be expected to produce, data which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

*6. Every historic and archeologic site and structure should have integrity - that is, there should not be doubt as to whether it is the original site or structure, and in the case of a structure that it is on its original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may also be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance, relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.
OTHER SITES EVALUATED

ALABAMA

William Lowndes Yancey House, Montgomery County, Alabama, 3 miles north of Montgomery on U. S. Highway 231: Home of the rabid secessionist from 1846 until his death in 1863, the period of his greatest activity on behalf of Southern nationalism. Privately owned and not open to visitors.

ARKANSAS

Old State House, Markham and Center Streets, Little Rock, Arkansas: Designed by Gideon Shryock, the building was begun in 1833 and was nearly completed when Arkansas entered the Union in 1836. Altered by the addition of wings in the latter 19th century, it remained the State capitol until 1910. To be considered under Architecture subtheme.

FLORIDA

Dade Memorial Park, Sumter County, Florida, 2 miles south of Bushnell and one-half mile west of U. S. Highway 301: State park memorializing the battle of December 28, 1835, in which a small United States force under Maj. Francis L. Dade was massacred by Indians while en route from Fort Brooke to Fort King. Development includes a replica of the log stockade thrown up by the United States force, and a small visitor center.

Fort Barrancas, U. S. Naval Air Station, Pensacola, Florida: Brick fort on Pensacola Bay, erected by United States Government between 1839 and 1844, and seized by the Confederates in 1861. Fort Barrancas is adjacent to and connected with the Spanish Fort San Carlos, and the two forts have been classified of exceptional value under Theme IV, Spanish Exploration and Settlement.

Fort King Site, 3815 East Fort King Avenue, Ocala, Florida: Site of the Army post, established in 1827, which served as headquarters for central Florida during the Second Seminole War. On December 28, 1835, hostilities were precipitated when the Indians killed Wiley Thompson, the resident Indian agent at Fort King, simultaneously with the attack on the Dade force.

Florida State Capitol, South Monroe Street, Tallahassee: Begun in 1840 and completed in 1845, the year of Florida's admission to the Union. With wings added in the early part of the 20th century, the building still serves its original function.
GEORGIA

New Echota, Gordon County, four miles north of Calhoun on State Highway 225: Last capital of the Cherokee nation east of the Mississippi River, and birthplace of the Indian press, New Echota became a ghost town in 1838 with the removal of the Indians by United States troops. The historic community is being restored under the auspices of the State of Georgia. To be considered under Theme XVI, Indigenous Peoples and Cultures.

ILLINOIS

Black Hawk State Park, on State Route 2, at south edge of Rock Island: Includes land once occupied by Sac and Fox Indian tribes, and their chief, Black Hawk, leader of the bloody uprising of 1832. The park is identified as the oldest recreational area in the Midwest.

Stephen A. Douglas Tomb and Monument, in Chicago, just west of Lake Michigan, the Leif Eriksen Drive and Illinois Central railroad tracks at 35th Street: Memorial to the "Little Giant," a foremost political figure of the Ante-Bellum period.

Lincoln Court Houses: Two court houses where Lincoln practiced law on the eighth circuit are preserved in Illinois as State Memorials, at Metamora and Mt. Pulaski. The Postville Court House in Lincoln is a reconstruction.


Lincoln-Douglas Debate Sites, Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy, and Alton: Sites are marked by various memorials but none of them, excepting Galesburg, preserve the contemporary scene to any marked degree. "Old Main," in Galesburg, recommended in this report for classification of exceptional value, is the outstanding physical survivor of the great debate of 1858.

Sangamon County Court House, center of business district, Springfield: Started in 1837, this building is rich in association with Abraham Lincoln. Here, on June 16, 1858, Lincoln made his "house divided" speech.

Vandalia State House, Vandalia: Capital of the state from 1820 to 1839. The State House was erected in 1836, a year before the state capital was moved to Springfield.
INDIANA

Levi Coffin House, north Main Street, Fountain City: A two-story brick house used as a station on the "Underground Railroad" 1827 to 1847, when its owner Levi Coffin moved to Cincinnati to continue antislavery activity. Fountain City, then called Newport, was the focal point for three main routes on the Underground Railroad.

Lane Place, Pike and Water Streets, Crawfordsville: Home of Henry S. Lane, an influential backer of Lincoln's nomination at the Republican convention in 1860.

"Grouseland," William Henry Harrison Home, Scott and Park Streets, Vincennes: From 1804 until 1812, this was the frontier home of Harrison. The house has been approved for classification of exceptional value under Theme XII, Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1830.

IOWA

Old Capitol, Iowa City: Occupied in 1842, this structure served as Iowa's territorial capitol until 1857 when the capital was moved to Des Moines. It is a part of the State University of Iowa.

Robert Lucas Home, Iowa City: This was the home of the first governor of Iowa Territory. Built in 1844, it was occupied by Lucas, who was earlier governor of Ohio from 1832-1836, until his death in 1853. This structure is owned and administered by the State of Iowa.

KANSAS

First Capitol of Kansas, near Fort Riley: This building was the meeting place of the first territorial legislature in August 1855. Dominated by the proslavery elements, the governor dissolved the legislature after several days in session. The legislature met several weeks later at Shawnee Mission.

Shawnee Mission, Fairway: This building served as the second territorial capital of Kansas. At this place the "bogus statutes of 1855," which the Free-Staters refused to recognize, were adopted. The legislature established the capital at Lecompton.

Constitution Hall, Lecompton: It was at this place where the second and third territorial legislatures met in 1857 and an extra session convened in 1858. It was also in this two-story frame structure that the Proslavery Lecompton Constitution, rejected by the Free-Staters, was drafted.

Site of Marais Des Cygnes Massacre, near Trading Post: At this place, on May 19, 1858, a band of proslavery Missourians, after capturing
11 Free-State men, lined them up before a firing squad and killed five and wounded five while one escaped. This brutal incident in the struggle over slavery in Kansas greatly inflamed the north.

MAINE

Fort Knox, Near Prospect on State Route 174: Fort started in 1846, on a site selected several years earlier during the so-called Aroostook War, between American and Canadian lumber interests along the disputed international boundary. The fort was garrisoned during the Civil War and World War I. Its construction, reflecting the work of master masons, is in excellent condition. The fort is maintained as a state park.

Fort McClary, Kittery Point, on Kittery Point Road, three and one-half miles from intersection with U. S. Route I: Last of several forts on its site, Fort McClary, as it appears today, reflects construction in the 1840's and Civil War period. The granite and wood blockhouse is a notable feature. The fort is maintained as a state memorial.

MARYLAND

John Brown House (Kennedy Farm) near Sandy Hook, five miles northeast of Harpers Ferry: House and farm rented by John Brown in June, 1859, as base for the abortive raid on Harpers Ferry. Arms were stored here, to be issued to slaves.

Roger B. Taney House, 123 South Bentz Street, Frederick: A home of the man who, in 1836, succeeded John Marshall as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Taney lived in Frederick from 1801 to 1823. The two-story brick house in which he lived for part of this time was built in 1799. See "Recommendations for Additional Study" in this report.

MASSACHUSETTS

Daniel Webster House Site, Webster Street, Marshfield: Site of Webster's home which burned in 1890. Grave of the statesman is on a knoll a short distance away.

MICHIGAN

Fort Wayne, Detroit, one block east of intersection at West Jefferson and Livernois: One of several posts built in the 1840's to cover the northern and northeastern frontier of the United States. Construction of the fort started in 1843 at the bend of the Detroit River, and on January 31, 1849 the fort was officially named for General "Mad Anthony" Wayne, Revolutionary War hero, and victor over the Indians in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. The post was unoccupied until 1861, when it became a training center for
Civil War troops. A few guns were mounted at the fort after the Civil War but the major armaments for which it was designed were never installed. The fort underwent considerable alterations and enlargement over the years when it served as a Regular Army post. During World War I the fort was a center for engineer and transportation units, and in 1937 repairs were made to the fort by the WPA. In World War II the fort became the Fort Wayne Ordnance Depot, an important center for storage and distribution of automotive parts. After the war, portions of the fort were declared surplus property and in 1949 the historic fortifications were transferred to the City of Detroit for museum purposes. A program of restoration and interpretation of the old fort is now under way under administration of the Detroit Historical Museum.

Fort Wilkins, on U. S. Route 41, one and one-half miles from Copper Harbor: Post was established on Lake Fanny Hooe in 1844 but was abandoned two years later at outbreak of the War with Mexico. Reoccupied after the Civil War, and garrisoned until 1870, the fort was finally sold and turned over to the state in 1923 as a memorial-recreational park.

MINNESOTA

Henry Hastings Sibley Home, Mendota: Built in 1835, by Henry H. Sibley, this structure was occupied by him and his family until 1860. Sibley was elected the first governor of Minnesota in 1858 and was the commander of the state forces following the Sioux Uprising of 1862. The building is owned and administered by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Daniel Webster Birthplace, off State Route 127, between Franklin and Salisbury: Replica of the small dwelling traditionally identified as the birthplace of the great 19th century statesman. See "Recommendations for Additional Study" in this report.

NEW MEXICO

Mesilla Plaza, Mesilla: In the plaza of this southern New Mexico village, flag-raising ceremonies on July 4, 1854, marked the transfer of southern Arizona from Mexico to the United States under the Gadsden Purchase. The acquisition became part of Dona Ana County, New Mexico, with Mesilla as county seat. Thus until organization of the Territory of Arizona in 1864, this vast area was in theory governed from Mesilla, although in fact it was almost totally lawless. Still retaining much of its old appearance and flavor, the plaza of Mesilla has recently become a State Historical Monument.
DANIEL WEBSTER BIRTHPLACE, near Franklin, New Hampshire. A farm of approximately 150 acres, and a replica of a small dwelling believed to be the Webster birthplace, are maintained by the State.

Photograph Courtesy of New Hampshire State Recreation Division
NEW YORK

John Brown Farmhouse, North Elba, off Route 86A: Home and head­quarters, intermittently, of the controversial abolitionist. Brown came to the farm, deeded to him by the abolitionist leader Gerrit Smith, in 1849, 10 years before his execution following the abortive Harpers Ferry raid. Graves of Brown and 10 of his followers are nearby.

William H. Seward Mansion, 33 South Street, Auburn: Home of the antislavery New York Senator, later Secretary of State in the Lincoln administration. Home was built in 1816 by Elijah Miller, later Seward's father-in-law.

Webb-Fremont House, off U. S. Route 9, approximately one and a half miles north of North Tarrytown. A much-altered home occupied in the 1850's by the explorer John Charles Fremont and his wife. Fremont was the Republican party's first presidential candidate in 1856, losing the election to Democrat James Buchanan.

PENNSYLVANIA

John Brown Headquarters, 225 King Street, Chambersburg: House where Brown cached arms in the summer of 1859, in preparation for his abortive raid on Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

Buchanan House, 17 North Main Street, Mercersburg: Boyhood home of fifteenth president of the United States.

Christina: Small town where blood was first shed in resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law, in 1851. Two slave owners were killed here attempting to retake runaway slaves. The killers were ably defended by abolitionist Congressman Thaddeus Stevens, who won a "not guilty" verdict. A granite memorial commemorates this early violence in the bitter struggle over the Fugitive Slave Law.

The White Homestead, Jefferson Street, New Castle: An important Underground Railroad station in the region.

David Wilmot House, Bethany: Boyhood home of U. S. Representative and author of the Wilmot Proviso, an attempt to insure that all territory won in the War with Mexico would be barred to slavery.

TENNESSEE

The Hermitage, Davidson County, Tennessee, 3 miles north of U. S. Highway 70N on State Highway 45: Home of Andrew Jackson from 1804 until his death in 1845, maintained as a historic house museum. Classified of exceptional value under Theme XII, Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1830.
Camp Floyd, Fairfield: Col. Albert Sidney Johnson and the military expedition sent to quell the Mormon "insurrection" in 1857 established Camp Floyd at Fairfield, south of Salt Lake City, in 1858. The United States maintained 2500 soldiers there, and Fairfield, which the troops called Frogtown, grew to a community of 7,000 persons, half the population of Salt Lake City. Supplying the camp was the first steady source of income enjoyed by the Mormon colonists. Although re-named Fort Crittenden and designated a permanent post, Camp Floyd was abandoned at the outbreak of the Civil War. Fairfield was also a relay station for the Pony Express and, later, for the Overland Stage Lines.

There are no remains of Camp Floyd, the Pony Express Station, or the Overland Stage Station. The Carson Inn, a two-story adobe and frame building which served troops and overland travellers, is still standing at the village of Fairfield. It has been acquired by the Utah Park and Recreation Commission.

Lion House and Beehive House, Salt Lake City: In 1853, six years after the Mormons arrived in the Great Salt Lake Valley, President Brigham Young ordered the construction of a private residence for himself and an official residence for the church president. Lion House, completed in 1856, and Beehive House, finished the preceding year, have become architectural and historical showplaces in Salt Lake City. Both have remained substantially unchanged and are still used for church purposes.

Young's private home, Lion House, is a replica of a house he had seen in New England. It is a two-story adobe covered with plaster, with small-paned windows, green shutters, tall gray chimneys, and a gray tile roof. Twenty steep-roofed gables, ten on each exposure, stamp the structure with individuality and gave rise to the belief that each represented the apartment of one of Brigham's wives. It took its name from a carved stone couchant over the doorway. In Lion House Young and his enormous family lived from 1856 until his death in 1877.

Beehive House is ornately Victorian and patterned after architecture then in vogue throughout New England. Like Lion House, it was built of buff adobe. A two-story porch with a green roof, tall gray chimneys, and a railed "widow's watch" sets off the solid and severe lines of the building. The widow's watch, common on the New England coastline, was adapted to enclose a beehive, symbol of Mormon diligence. The beehive motif is repeated on the doorplate and doorknob and on interior handcarved scrollwork. Young occupied and worked in this house also until his death in 1877.

Brigham Young House, St. George: Brigham Young built a winter home at St. George, in the "Dixie" region of southern Utah, in 1873, and
used it until his death in 1877. A rectangular two-story adobe with a long front porch and separate office building, it is still standing at St. George. It has been acquired recently by the Utah Park and Recreation Commission.

**Jacob Hamblin House, Santa Clara:** Dynamic Mormon leader and one of Utah's foremost pioneers, Jacob Hamblin, between 1850 and his death in 1886, earned an outstanding reputation as an Indian missionary and peacemaker, colonizer, and explorer in southern Utah and northern Arizona. At Santa Clara in 1862 he built his home, a large red stone building with porches running its length on two levels. The Hamblin House has also been acquired by the Utah Park and Recreation Commission.

**Utah State House, Fillmore:** The first territorial assembly of Utah in 1851 chose Fillmore, in central Utah, as seat of the territorial government. Truman O. Angell, architect of the Mormon Temple, drew plans for a three-winged domed capitol building. The fifth session of the legislature met in the one finished wing on December 10, 1855 and two subsequent legislatures met there only to adjourn to Salt Lake City, which the following year became the capital of Utah by joint resolution. Only one wing of the Fillmore State House was ever completed. A two-story red sandstone structure standing in the Fillmore city park, it now houses a museum of pioneer artifacts.

**VERMONT**

**Stephen A. Douglas Cottage, 4 Grove Street, on Conant Square:** Simple cottage where Douglas was born in 1813. Now headquarters of Lake Dunmore Chapter, D. A. R.

**VIRGINIA**

**Berkeley, Charles City County, 7 miles west of Charles City on State Highway 5:** Birthplace of William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, on February 9, 1773, and ancestral seat of the prominent Harrison family, the house was built about 1726. It will be considered under the Architecture subtheme. Privately owned, but open to visitors.

**Greenway, Charles City County, Virginia, one-half mile west of Charles City on State Highway 5:** Birthplace of John Tyler, tenth President of the United States, and his boyhood home. Privately owned and not open to visitors.

**WISCONSIN**

**Little White School House, campus of Ripon College, Ripon:** One of several sites claimed as "Birthplace" of the Republican party. On March 20, 1854, as group of Free-soilers, antislavery Democrats and Whigs met here to discuss ideas later embodied in the Republican party.
OTHER SITES NOTED

ALABAMA

Fort Payne, De Kalb County, Alabama, in town of Fort Payne.

Will's Town, De Kalb County, Alabama, west of U. S. Highway 11 near Lebanon.

ARKANSAS

Albert Pike School House, Crawford County, 6 miles south of Winslow on U. S. Highway 71.

Archibald Yell House, South College Avenue, Fayetteville.

B. L. E. Bonneville House, 3215 North O Street, Fort Smith.

Old Arsenal Building, MacArthur Park, Little Rock.

Washington (Historic District), Hempstead County.

FLORIDA

Apalachicola Arsenal, Chattahoochee, Gadsden County.

Fort McRae, Escambia County, at entrance to Pensacola Bay.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Old Citadel, Marion Square, Charleston.

VIRGINIA

Sam Houston Birthplace, Rockbridge County, one mile south of Fairfield on U. S. Highway 11.

Virginia Military Institute, north edge of Lexington on U. S. Highway 11.
Lindenwald, Van Buren Home, Kinderhook, New York. "Lindenwald" was the home of Martin Van Buren, 8th president of the United States, from 1841 until his death in 1862. No other structure is so intimately associated with the man chosen by Andrew Jackson to be his successor. Van Buren played a leading role in the emergence of Jacksonian Democracy in the 1830's, and remained a prominent figure on the American political scene until the outbreak of the Civil War. Criterion 2. Previously disapproved by the Advisory Board.

Sherwood Forest, Tyler Home, Charles City County, Virginia. Sherwood Forest, whimsically named by the tenth President, who considered himself as much a political outlaw as Robin Hood, was John Tyler's home during the last 20 years of his life. His dream of a quiet family life at Sherwood Forest, which attained momentary reality when he left the White House in 1845, was shattered within the next decade and a half. The disruption of the Union called him into public life again, and he died in the service of his State early in 1862. Criterion 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

James K. Polk Home, Columbia, Tennessee. Built in 1816 by Samuel Polk, father of James Knox Polk, this was the home of the future President for several years during his young manhood.
Criterion 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

**Springfield**, Taylor House, Jefferson County, Kentucky. Springfield was Zachary Taylor's home for more than 20 years prior to the beginning of his military career in 1808, the scene of his marriage two years later, and the birthplace of five of his six children, including the son, Richard, who later became a lieutenant general in the Confederate Army. Criterion 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

**Franklin Pierce Homestead**, Hillsboro, New Hampshire. This dwelling, built in 1804, was the home of Franklin Pierce, 14th President of the United States, from his infancy in 1804 until his marriage in 1834. Although there are extant other houses occupied by Pierce at briefer intervals later in his career, the family home at Hillsboro is the structure most intimately related to the man, and is the dwelling most typical of his time and background. Criterion 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

**Wheatland**, Buchanan Home, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. "Wheatland" was the home of James Buchanan from 1849, when he retired as Secretary of State, until his death in 1868. During this period, Buchanan served as 15th president of the United States, from 1857 to 1861. His comfortable estate at "Wheatland" is the site most intimately associated with Buchanan, at the period of his greatest significance as a national figure. Criterion 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

**Old Main**, Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois. "Old Main," central building of the Knox College campus, and the grounds adjoin-
ing it, constitute the best-preserved physical remains relating to
the historic Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. The seven debates
between Democratic Senator Stephen A. Douglas, up for re-election,
and the Republican challenger, Abraham Lincoln, keynoted the momen-
tous issues of the sectional controversy which was carrying the
Nation toward disunion and civil war. Criteria 1 and 2. Pre-
viously approved by the Advisory Board.

**Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims**, Brooklyn, New York.
Brooklyn's Plymouth Church was a foremost center of anti-slavery
sentiment between 1847 and the outbreak of the Civil War. Its
minister during this crucial period was the famed Henry Ward
Beecher, and from its pulpit spoke the most notable opponents of
slavery, including William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips,
Charles Sumner and John Greenleaf Whittier. No surviving struc-
ture or site commemorates so well the abolition movement, and
the men who inspired and led it. Criteria 1 and 2. No record
of previous action by the Advisory Board.

**Cooper Union**, New York City, New York. Here, on Febru-
ary 27, 1860, Abraham Lincoln spoke to a large and influential
audience concerning the mounting crisis which divided North and
South and threatened to destroy the Union. The Illinois lawyer's
logic, moderation, and simple dignity moved his sophisticated
audience to a tremendous demonstration at the end of the address,
and the speech was widely reprinted. In the East, which had
barely known him, Lincoln now was recognized as a serious and
capable rival to New York's Senator William H. Seward for the
Republican presidential nomination in the upcoming election. The Cooper Union address thus had great significance, not only in Lincoln's political career, but in the history of the Nation about to plunge into the abyss of civil war. Criteria 1 and 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

Rev. Samuel L. Adair Cabin, Osawatomie, Kansas. The Rev. Samuel L. Adair Cabin at Osawatomie, Kansas was the headquarters for the noted abolitionist leader, John Brown, who figured prominently in the struggle for "Bloody Kansas." Criterion 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

Marlbourne, Ruffin Home, Hanover County, Virginia. Marlbourne is a fitting memorial to the life of Edmund Ruffin, noted alike for his valuable agricultural reforms and for his rabid Southern nationalism. There he concretely demonstrated the agricultural theories he had propounded for three decades, and there he lived during the period of his deepest involvement in secession politics. Criteria 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

Military Affairs

Okeechobee Battlefield, Okeechobee County, Florida. On the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee, on Christmas Day of 1837, American forces under Zachary Taylor won a decisive victory over a small band of Seminole and Mikasuki warriors. One of the most spectacular battles of the Second Seminole War, it was a turning point in the struggle. Never again during the war did the Indians engage in a pitched battle, and their desultory hit-and-
run attacks gradually died away. Criteria 1 and 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

**Fort Jesup State Monument**, Sabine Parish, Louisiana. From its establishment in 1822 until the Mexican War, Fort Jesup was the most southerly military outpost of the United States. From there, in 1845, Zachary Taylor's Army of Observation marched en route to launch the opening campaign of that war. With the annexation of Texas, which moved the United States boundary 600 miles to the southwest, the fort was abandoned. Criteria 1 and 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

**U. S. Naval Academy**, Annapolis, Maryland. The Naval Academy at Annapolis has produced the top-ranking career officers who in peace and war have commanded the U. S. Navy for more than a century. At once a college, a technical, and a vocational school, Annapolis, like the senior service school at West Point, has played a significant role in American education and military affairs. Criteria 1 and 2. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.