Political and Military Affairs After 1865
The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme XXI

POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

1865 - 1912

1963

United States Department of the Interior
Stewart L. Udall, Secretary

National Park Service
Conrad L. Wirth, Director
FOREWORD

This study represents the work of the National Park Service field staff assigned to the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. In the process of evaluating the sites treated in this theme study, the Consulting Committee for the Survey and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments have screened the findings of the field staff. Some sites recommended by the field staff for classification of exceptional value have been placed in the category of Other Sites Considered. Further study was recommended, and action deferred, for several sites recommended by the field staff for exceptional value and several sites from the list of Other Sites Considered. The George Hunt Pendleton Home and the John Sherman Birthplace, both in Ohio, have been added to the list of sites recommended for classification of exceptional value.

The sites associated with this study, "Political and Military Affairs After 1865," recommended for classification of exceptional value by the Advisory Board, are as follows:

1. Pearl Harbor Naval Base, Hawaii
2. Benjamin Harrison Home, Indiana
5. Thomas Nast Home, "Villa Fontana," New Jersey
9. William Howard Taft Home, Ohio
10. U.S.S. Olympia, Pennsylvania
11. U.S. Naval War College, Rhode Island--site to honor Alfred Thayer Mahan
12. Robert M. LaFollette Home, Wisconsin
13. George Hunt Pendleton Home, Ohio
14. John Sherman Birthplace, Ohio
15. Temple Square, Utah
16. Brigham Young House, "Lion House," Utah

When this study is published for wider distribution, it will reflect these changes.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director
PREFACE

The purpose of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, 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 to this report.

Each theme study prepared in the course of the Survey consists of two parts: a brief analysis of the theme itself, and a discussion of the sites and buildings which were considered in connection with the study.

This study is the result of a joint effort by the Survey Historians in the Regional Offices of the National Park Service, with the assistance of the Branch of History in the Washington Office. The Northeast Regional Office was responsible for coordinating and assembling this report.

The study as here presented is regarded as being in draft form, and will first be submitted to the Consulting Committee of the National Survey, which reviews and makes recommendations accordingly to the Director of the National Park Service. After recommended revisions have been made, the study will be presented to the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments for final evaluations and recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The work of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings profits from the experience and cooperation of a considerable number of persons and organizations. Every effort is made to gain the help of as many qualified persons as possible in obtaining information on the sites and buildings considered in a theme. Assistance in the preparation of this study from the following is gratefully acknowledged:

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Assistant to Regional Director (Public Affairs)
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PART

I

A SUMMARY OF THE THEME
INTRODUCTION

Americans have increasingly turned to their past in these times, convinced that history is more than a "register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind." We have gained inspiration from the courage of the colonists, an insight into the agony of fratricidal war from the Civil War and a deeper appreciation of modern America from a renewed interest in the political and military history of the Country between 1865-1912. The era following the Civil War especially attracts us, for it was then that the modern United States emerged. It contrasted in two basic respects with the America of the 1870's and 1880's. First, the Federal Government had emerged as a positive force in behalf of all the Nation's citizens; second, the Country had become a world power.

Several political and military developments between 1865-1912 led to the rise of Federal regulatory activity and the emergence of America as a world power. Of signal importance was the rapid recovery of the Country after the Civil War. Especially did the return of the former Confederate States to the Union recreate the Nation in all of its inherent strength.

A primary cause for the extension of the Federal Government's influence in internal affairs lay in the economic and social changes fathered by the industrialization of America. Although industrial-capitalism benefited the people tremendously, a concurrent concentration of economic power created many problems,
which produced increased protest as the 1890's approached. Numerous politicians continued to believe in *laissez faire* (the idea that the Government should not interfere in economic matters), however, and opposed demands for Federal regulation of business and industry. Opposition to reform stimulated the rise of a political revolt, which came to a climax between 1892-1896. It was then that the Nation awoke to the changes effected by industrialization, finally realizing the need for some Federal regulatory activity in economic affairs.

Throughout the years following 1865, America retained an interest in foreign affairs. As the decades passed, the Country paid greater attention to its position in the world, a development that culminated in the crisis over Cuba in 1898. War with Spain, Cuba's master, came when the U.S.S. *Maine* was destroyed by a mysterious blast during the night of February 15, 1898. Total victory in the Spanish-American War made America a world power, to the satisfaction of most Americans.

Between 1901-1912, Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft supported the new role of the National Government in internal and external affairs. America responded favorably to their leadership, gaining a new confidence in itself as it faced grave problems within and without the Country's borders. Thus when Woodrow Wilson became President in 1912, he led a Nation whose political and military experiences between 1865-1912 materially contributed to its
ability to surmount the crises of the following eight years.

NOTE: The history of the Indian wars between 1865-1898 is in the Sub-theme, Military and Indian Affairs, of Theme XV, Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries, 1830-1898.
RECONSTRUCTION, 1865-1877

General Robert E. Lee's acceptance of General Ulysses S. Grant's terms at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865, ended the Civil War. The Union had been saved, but the Country needed to be restored after four years of fratricidal war. Recovery from the war involved all aspects of life in the United States, but the gravest problem concerned the return of the South to the Union. How was reconstruction to be accomplished? Who was to lead the Nation in reconstituting its prewar political form, the President or Congress? Both the Chief Executive and the Congress sought to dominate reconstruction, and the subsequent struggle between them provided a dramatic aftermath to the conflict.

Abraham Lincoln initiated reconstruction before the war had ended, his proclamation of December 8, 1863, creating the basis for "Presidential Reconstruction." Lincoln's plan for restoring the South rested on the theory that the Southern States had never left the Union, that only individual Southerners had and that they could be absolved of rebellion through the President's use of his pardoning power. His proclamation provided for a restoration of political and property rights when individuals took an oath of loyalty; it also stated that new State Governments could be formed when ten per cent of those who had voted in 1860 had taken the oath. Until his death, Lincoln, "With malice toward none, with charity for all," applied this simple policy.
The assassination of Lincoln on April 15, 1865, elevated Andrew Johnson to the presidency. An intelligent, self-educated and courageous man, Johnson made up in determination what he lacked in political finesse. The new Chief Executive followed Lincoln's plan for restoring the former Confederacy, and new State Governments rose rapidly in the South, all of which in their constitutions abolished slavery and repudiated war debts. By the fall of 1865, every former Confederate State but Texas possessed a new civil government. Pleased at this accomplishment, Johnson proclaimed in his first annual message to Congress that the Union had been restored.

Congress manifested dismay at the speed with which Lincoln and Johnson restored Southern States. The Republican Party controlled Congress, with so-called "Radical" Republicans leading the opposition against presidential reconstruction. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania guided the Radicals in the House of Representatives, his zeal for Congressional control of reconstruction being fired by a belief, as he expressed it in September, 1865, that it was the Government's duty "to inflict condign punishment on the rebel belligerents . . . ."¹ Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was Stevens' counterpart in the Senate; he also disliked Presidential reconstruction and derided leniency toward the South.

Reasons other than just resentment at continued Presidential

leadership and hostility toward the South motivated the Radicals in their dispute with the White House. During the war the Republican Party had enacted tariff, railroad and banking legislation that gratified burgeoning business and industrial interests. Now that military victory had been won, the Republicans feared a return of Southern Congressmen, who would be largely Democratic, and the possibility that a Democratically controlled Congress might undo Republican legislation. This threat helped to father the Radicals' campaign to retain political control of the Country, so that Republicans, not Democrats, would represent the South in Congress.

Many Republicans also believed that greater protection had to be provided for the Negro in the South. Slavery was to be abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment in December, 1865, but even so the Radicals continued to fear discrimination against the former slaves, particularly politically.

As the war had approached an end, the Radicals had not hesitated to attempt to assume control of reconstruction. Congress had passed the Wade-Davis Bill on July 4, 1864, which proclaimed that Congress should direct policy concerning the South. Lincoln never signed the bill. With apparently general Radical approval, Senator Benjamin F. Wade and Representative Henry Winter Davis then issued the so-called Wade-Davis Manifesto on August 5, 1864. This document denounced Lincoln's reconstruction policy as leading "headlong toward anarchy,"
as an "outrage on the legislative authority of the people,"
and as a "dictatorial usurpation." The manifesto also asserted
"that the authority of Congress is paramount and must be re-
spected, . . . ."\(^2\) So intense were the desires of the Radicals,
that they met within a few hours after Lincoln's death and re-
affirmed the need for a sterner Southern policy. They also
assumed that the new President would accede to their wishes.

Johnson ignored the Radical point-of-view, restoring
every State but Texas by the fall of 1865. Congress, highly
displeased, created a Joint Committee of Fifteen when it re-
convened late in December, 1865. The Committee reflected the
will of Stevens, under whose leadership it created "Congressional
reconstruction." Congressional reconstruction incorporated
Stevens' idea that the Southern States formed conquered terri-
tory, plus Sumner's theory that those States had committed
political suicide and possessed no rights. Neither theory
countenanced any idea that forgiveness is "nobility's true
badge," which the Committee made clear when it announced that
the Southern States were "disorganized communities," lacked any
political or civil rights and that only Congress could restore
them.

Johnson stood his ground before Stevens and Sumner. All
America grasped the depth of the conflict in February, 1866,
when Johnson vetoed an important Congressional reconstruction

\(^2\) From the Wade-Davis Manifesto, in Henry S. Commager
bill and on Washington's birthday excoriated the Radicals. The President denounced Stevens and Sumner as forming an "irresponsible central directory," specifically naming his two arch foes as "being opposed to the fundamental principles of this Government, and . . . now laboring to destroy them." The indignant Radicals failed to override Johnson's veto, but in April passed a Civil Rights Bill and overrode the President's veto of it. This bill sought to protect the rights of the Negro, but as even many Radicals doubted its constitutionality, they produced the Fourteenth Amendment. The amendment was also intended to safeguard the rights of the Negro, providing for the punishment of a State if it discriminated against any person, or group of persons.

With their position strengthened by success in the Congressional elections of 1866, Stevens and his followers brushed aside the work of Lincoln and Johnson with the passage of the First Reconstruction Act, March 2, 1867. Vetoed by Johnson, the act was repassed by Congress and formed the keystone of Congressional reconstruction. It divided the South into five military districts, each to be ruled by a major-general, and stipulated that new constitutional conventions would have to be held in all States, except Tennessee. To be elected by Negroes and whites, these conventions were to create new State Governments, which would have to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. So-called "Black Reconstruction" followed.

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3Quoted in Edward McPherson, The Political History of the United States of America During the Period of Reconstruction (Washington, 1871), 60-61.
Thomas Nast mocks Andrew Johnson and his reconstruction policy.

From Harper's Weekly, X (Sept. 1, 1866), pp. 552-553.
Because of their continuing displeasure with Johnson, the Republicans sought to restrict the power of the President. Early in 1867 they passed over Johnson's veto two bills that severely curbed the power of the Chief Executive. The first deprived Johnson of control over the army, the second inhibited the President's right to remove officials. The latter, the Tenure of Office Act, represented the most serious threat; but Johnson, certain of the act's unconstitutionality, dismissed the Secretary of War. Edward M. Stanton, a faithful cohort of the Radicals, refused to vacate his office, even arresting Johnson's appointee (who was most upset about being carted off to jail before breakfast!). Johnson's defiance of the Tenure of Office Act was legal ground for impeachment, and Stevens and his friends quickly seized the opportunity.

Stevens, now near death, organized the proceedings against "this ungrateful, despicable, besotted, traitorous man," and the House of Representatives impeached Johnson on February 24, 1868, on the basis of eleven charges. Nine of them concerned Johnson's removal of Stanton, the tenth involved the President's speeches against the Radicals and the eleventh was a catch-all. The last charge was devised by Stevens, who said: "If my article is inserted, what chance has Andrew Johnson to escape? . . . Unfortunate man, thus surrounded, hampered, tangled in the meshes of his own wickedness—unfortunate, unhappy man, behold your doom."  

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5 Ibid., 178.
Ticket for the trial of President Andrew Johnson.
But Johnson escaped Stevens' snare. Tried by the Senate, Johnson's defense exposed the groundlessness of the charges. The Radicals exerted tremendous pressure on Senators to convict the President, but when the Senate voted on May 16, 1868, conviction failed by one vote. Seven Republican Senators had defied their colleagues, thus committing political suicide while saving the Presidential Office from a serious attack. Stevens, as he was carried away after the vote, muttered in his disappointment, "The country is going to the devil." 6

Although the Radicals had failed to capture the presidency through impeachment, their influence at the White House increased greatly when Grant became President. After his election in 1868, he became increasingly friendly with the Radicals and finally expressed no opposition to the continuance of Radical reconstruction.

Reconstruction existed until 1876, with Southern States ruled by Republican governments, essentially composed of Negroes and white "carpet baggers" or "scalawags." Southerners reacted against those governments, organizing the Ku Klux Klan and other groups to obstruct their work and terrorize the Negro. The Republicans, no longer led by Stevens, who had died in August, 1868, answered Southern terror with the Force Act of 1870 and the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871. Intended to protect the Negro, the acts authorized the President to use soldiers to

6 Ibid., 196.
preserve order and to suspend habeas corpus. Grant enforced the acts. By the time of the election of 1876, however, only two States, Louisiana and South Carolina, had troops within their borders. The new Republican President, elected as a result of a bargain with Southern Democratic Congressmen, removed the soldiers in April, 1877.

The results of reconstruction were mixed. On the positive side, the Union had been restored within a relatively short time, a truly major accomplishment. Second, Radical reconstruction governments physically rehabilitated the South and enacted a great deal of progressive legislation. Free public schools, for example, came into existence in South Carolina for the first time. On the other hand, Radical reconstruction exacerbated the relations between the races. Southern whites never forgot those years. This contributed to reconstruction's most abysmal failure, that of failing to establish full freedom for the Negro.

POLITICS, 1868-1876

Grant's election in 1868 had been a surprisingly close affair. Horatio Seymour of New York had been nominated by the Democratic Party, and he waged a strenuous campaign. Grant had remained largely inactive, letting his adroit party lieutenants carry on the fight. Despite their efforts, Grant won a popular majority of only 309,584 out of 5,716,082 votes.

Aside from the restoration of the South after 1865, the Nation had to contend with many other problems. Of primary
President Grant in 1876, near the end of his second term.

From Hamlin Garland, 
_Ulysses S. Grant_ (New York, 1898), facing page 446.
importance were two economic issues: the kind of money the
Government should use and the tariff problem. The money ques-
tion immediately demanded Grant's attention because of the con-
flict over the payment of bonds issued during the Civil War.
Farmers and many others insisted that the holders of the bonds,
who had paid for them in "greenbacks," paper money issued by
the Government during the war, be paid off in greenbacks. The
holders of the securities, realizing that the value of the
paper money had fallen, resisted that plan, and Grant supported
their bid to be paid in gold. Victory fell to the bond holders
early in 1869 when Congress obligated the Government to pay in
gold, much to the disgust of those who felt the bond holders
would reap an undeserved profit.

Settlement of the bond question failed to quiet the con-
troversy over greenbacks. The Republican Party and its business
friends favored the contraction of greenbacks, or their main-
tenance at par with gold, as they opposed money based on the
credit of the National Government, strongly believing in the
sanctity of the gold system. Conversely, farmers and workers
enthusiastically endorsed greenbacks because they felt that the
more money there was the better off they would be. Grant, sur-
prisingly enough, supported the retention of the greenbacks in
circulation. When the Supreme Court in 1871 indicated in a
decision that greenbacks were invalid, Grant gained a rehear-
ing of the case. Moreover, he filled two vacancies in the
court with men whose views on paper money agreed with his;
subsequently, the court reversed itself, upholding the legality of greenbacks. The President also almost signed a bill in 1874 intended to increase the number of greenbacks from $356,000,000 to $400,000,000, but Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, one of Grant's chief supporters in the Senate and an implacable foe of paper money, induced Grant to veto the bill.

The monetary problem was not solved during Grant's presidency, nor was the tariff question. The Nation's high tariff walls formed another legacy of the Civil War, for during the conflict the Republican Party had increased tariffs, greatly benefiting industry, and after 1865 Republicans and businessmen rejected any idea of lowering duties. Liberal eastern interests and farmers denounced the Republican point-of-view, pleading for tariff reform. Grant did not believe that the tariff adversely influenced the price structure in the Country, and he forced his Secretary of the Treasury to resign because he favored study of the tariff question. With the approach of the election of 1872, the Republicans enacted a ten per cent slash of many duties, but after victory at the polls they immediately restored the cuts.

The campaign for civil service reform also engendered little enthusiasm during Grant's two administrations. The reforming element, led by Carl Schurz, Lyman Trumbull and Charles Summer, thoroughly irked Grant, as it did such Republican stalwarts as Conkling and Senator Oliver Morton of Indiana. The President agreed to the establishment of a Civil Service Com-
Now that the good Ship Union has safely passed through the Sea of Trouble into peaceful Waters, shall the Helmsman be thrown overboard?

Thomas Nast attacks those who sought to defeat Ulysses S. Grant in 1872. Horace Greeley sits before the President and Carl Schurz stands on Grant's left.

mission in 1871, but its recommendations fell upon deaf ears, with Grant writing that "there is a good deal of cant about civil service reform which throws doubt upon the sincerity of the whole movement." The commission expired in 1876.

During the presidential campaign of 1868, many citizens had lustily shouted,

Oh! God was kind and heaven was true
When it gave us a man like U­lysses Grant
When it gave us a man like you! But Grant disenchanted some Americans during his first administration, even angering men in his own party, which led to the meeting of the Liberal Republican Convention in Cincinnati in May, 1872. The convention had been organized by Republicans who could not accept the administration's aversion to Civil Service reform and its defense of the high tariff. Schurz, Trumbull and J. D. Cox led the movement to displace Grant and seize control of the Republican Party, but their revolt attracted more than just liberals and reformers. Disgruntled politicians of all colors flocked to the reformers' standard in hopes of gaining personal advantage. Confusion and indecision soon became apparent in the convention, resulting in the

7 Quoted in Bruce Catton, U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition (Boston, 1954), 179.

8 Quoted in William B. Hesseltine, Ulysses S. Grant, Politician (New York, 1935), 127.
surprising nomination of Horace Greeley, the famous abolitionist and editor, as the party's presidential candidate. Greeley's nomination exposed the dilemma of the convention in trying to please all its factions, as he, by his own admission, was "ferociously protectionist." Moreover, the platform contained an innocuous plank on the tariff, saying that it, of all things, was a local issue!

The Republican Party renominated Grant and a tempestuous campaign ensued. Greeley proved to be a surprisingly effective campaigner. He was bitterly attacked by the Republicans, one of whom sarcastically said that Greeley had been "flattered by many, and most of all by himself."9 Despite his strenuous efforts, Greeley lost the election by about 700,000 votes.

Scandal and depression overshadowed Grant's second term. Corruption of an unparalleled nature appeared throughout the United States. "Boss" William Marcy Tweed and his cohorts in New York City epitomized the dishonesty that was widespread. He and his ring stealing millions from the metropolis. The new city courthouse represented their masterpiece, for they had charged New York $1,149,875.50 for the repair of the building's fixtures, $360,747.61 for a single month's work by a carpenter and $2,870,464.06 for nine months work by a plasterer. The New York Times aptly labelled the latter individual "the Prince of Plasterers." Thomas Nast's trenchant cartoons about

the Tweed ring's activities helped to arouse the public and to destroy the plunderer's hold on the city. Nast also attacked those who violated the national trust, and his work remains a powerful indictment of a general collapse of political morality.

The Federal Government had not escaped corruption, and one expose after another shocked the Nation during Grant's second term. Even during the campaign of 1872 rumors claimed that the Union Pacific Railroad and its construction company, the Credit Mobilier, had bribed Congressmen. Rumor soon turned into fact. Early in 1868 Representative Oakes Ames of Massachusetts, in league with the Union Pacific, had felt that Credit Mobilier stock should be placed in Congress "where . . . (it) will do most good to us" because "We want more friends in this Congress . . . "

Accordingly, Ames had sold at par to various Representatives and Senators differing amounts of stock that in 1868 paid astoundingly rich dividends. When a dissatisfied colleague of Ames' exposed the bribery in the fall of 1872, the recipients of the stock suddenly realized the impropriety of the business and many hastened to rid themselves of their shares.

One of the disturbing outgrowths of the Credit Mobilier scandal was Grant's reaction to it. Schuyler Colfax, the outgoing Vice-President, had denied any role in the affair, but even when it was proved otherwise Grant wrote Colfax, saying

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Thomas Nast's most famous cartoon. Note "Boss" William Marcy Tweed and his cohorts in the emperor's box. The "Tammany Tiger" made his first appearance in this cartoon.

From Harper's Weekly XV (Nov. 11, 1871), pp. 1056-1057
"I am satisfied now (as I have ever been) of your integrity, patriotism, and freedom from the charges imputed, as if I knew of my own knowledge your innocence."\(^{11}\)

Other bad news followed the exposure of Ames' bribery. Congress in March, 1873, handsomely rewarded itself by enacting a law that increased the salaries of Representatives and Senators, even making the act retroactive. Known as the "Salary Grab Act," its repeal in January, 1874, resulted from public wrath at Congress. Additional dismay arose when it was revealed that the Navy Department had sold contracts, the Department of the Interior had cooperated with land speculators and the Treasury Department had farmed out uncollected taxes. Grant could hate a man who parted his hair down the middle, but his wrath remained dormant when it became clear that a friend in high position, General Orville E. Babcock, had participated in a "Whiskey Ring" that had defrauded the Government of vast sums. When it was discovered that Grant's Secretary of War had dealt in post-traderships on Indian lands, the President accepted the culprit's resignation "with great regret."

Depression accompanied scandal during Grant's last administration. Farming had expanded greatly after the Civil War as thousands of new acres in the West came under cultivation, and by 1873 agriculture had become over-extended. Even more significantly, industry had boomed, bringing many benefits and many problems, most of the latter being ignored. Too

great a growth in both farming and industry, plus economic failure in Europe, laid the basis for a depression, and in 1873 a panic swept the Country, with the New York Stock Exchange closing its doors for the first time in history on September 20, 1873. The resulting economic disaster was the Country's first great industrial depression, also a harbinger of a changing America. Some nine thousand firms had failed by 1876, with bread lines becoming commonplace. The Government made almost no move to combat the economic setback as it waited for the economy to revive on its own accord, and economic hardship beset the Nation as Grant's presidency neared an end.

A tarnished hero sat in the White House as 1876 ended, and he evidently felt something of the public's bewilderment and sadness about his leadership. In his last annual message to Congress, on December 5, 1876, Grant said that he had become President without "previous political training," and that during his presidency "errors of judgment must have occurred," but that those "Failures have been errors of judgment, not of intent . . . ."12 It was an unusual statement for a President, as well as the admission of an unusually courageous man.

12 From Grant's Eighth Annual Message to Congress, December 5, 1876, in Commager, Documents, 95.
Rutherford B. Hayes succeeded Grant. The Republicans nominated him at their convention in Cincinnati, causing Henry Adams, scornful of politicians after his disillusionment with Grant, to describe the candidate as "a third rate nonentity whose only recommendation is that he is obnoxious to no one." A harsh indictment, for Hayes, a Harvard man and a lawyer, had become a general in the Civil War, had been twice elected to Congress, had served three terms as an exemplary governor of Ohio and he was honest.

Samuel J. Tilden bore the colors for the Democrats. Tall and lean, the New York lawyer was a highly capable individual, whose cry was "reform" during the heated campaign. On election day, early returns indicated a victory for Tilden, who did win a popular majority of 250,000, but he did not become President.

The people vote, but the electoral college elects Presidents. Alert Republican campaign leaders realized as the returns arrived that the electoral votes of four States would be in question and that without them Tilden would be shy one vote of a necessary 16½ electoral votes for election. Congress would then choose the President. South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Oregon each sent in two sets of electoral votes and, as the Republican leaders had foreseen, Congress had to choose which of those ballots were valid and then count the electoral vote. The Constitution said that the President of

the Senate should open the States' electoral returns, but failed to specify who should count the votes. That heightened the crisis, for if the President of the Senate counted the ballots, Hayes would win, if the Speaker of the House did, Tilden would become President.

Tilden's supporters became incensed over the wrangling in Washington, their candidate having won a popular victory. Unperturbed, Congress finally created an Electoral Commission of fifteen to count the ballots, five from the Senate, five from the House and five from the Supreme Court. Southern Democrats agreed to this procedure after Republican leaders had promised to remove the remaining soldiers in the South if Hayes should be elected. The commission gave the votes of all four of the questionable States to Hayes. On March 2, 1877, almost four months after election day, the Senate announced the election of Hayes by an electoral majority of one vote. Many denounced "the foul work in Washington,"¹⁴ but there was no riot or revolt, and Hayes served a single term.

True to the election bargain, Hayes recalled the troops stationed in South Carolina and Louisiana, ending reconstruction. The President also appointed David M. Key, who had served as a colonel in the Confederate Army, as his Postmaster General, to the ire of Union veterans. Ironically, the President remained obdurate about the Force Acts that were still in effect, rejecting attempts to repeal them. Southern Congressmen continually

President Rutherford B. Hayes as he appeared in 1880.
From W. P. Marchman, The Rutherford B. Hayes State Memorial (Columbus, Ohio, 1962), p. 6
attached riders to bills to nullify those acts, which Hayes con-
stantly threw back. In June, 1878, however, the harassed Presi-
dent was forced to accept a rider on an appropriations bill,
forbidding the use of troops to enforce election laws.

In an era when many politicians looked upon the spoils
system as a natural aspect of politics, Hayes angered them
when he attacked the system. Blaine and Conkling, leading
Republican members of the House and Senate respectively, watched
with astonishment and distaste as Hayes dismissed some of his
predecessor's worst appointees and installed Schurz as the head
of the Department of Interior and appointed William M. Evarts
Secretary of State, both men being zealous reformers. When
Hayes struck at the Custom House Ring in New York by removing
Chester A. Arthur, a future President, from it, Conkling, who
had benefited from the patronage stemming from the Customs House,
exploded in fury. Speaking to a Republican State Convention in
New York, he denounced reformers, saying:

Their vocation and ministry is to lament the sins of other
people. Their stock in trade is rancid, canting self-
righteousness. They are wolves in sheep's clothing.
Their real object is office and plunder. When Dr. Johnson
defined patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, he
was unconscious of the then undeveloped capabilities and
uses of the word reform.\textsuperscript{15}

The Empire State's political colossus then induced the Senate
to reject Hayes' nominee for the Custom House, but the President
refused to surrender. He finally gained approval of his candi-
date when some Democratic Senators threw their support to the

\textsuperscript{15}Quoted in Chidsey, \textit{Conkling}, 247.
White House. This struggle between the executive branch and the Congress, with victory going to the former, helped to restore some of the tattered prestige of the presidency.

Hayes cuffed the ears of the spoilsmeon, but he ignored ominous developments in the economic sphere. Depression still scourged the Nation. Disgruntled farmers and other debtors protested against their poverty and pleaded for cheap money to help alleviate their distress, but the President vetoed the Bland Allison Act of 1878, concerning the coinage of silver. Hayes said the act would lead to cheap money, which would hurt all citizens, but "none more surely than those who are dependent on their daily labor for their daily bread." Congress realizing the farmer believed just the opposite, plus reacting to pressure from the silver producing States, repassed the bill over the President's veto. Hayes' answer to the crippling railroad strike of 1877 was to send soldiers to protect railroad property; short shrift was given to the workers' side of the dispute. This strike, incidentally, led to a revival of State militias so that States could deal effectively with similar labor upheavals in the future, a move that vividly illustrates the conservative's attitude toward the working man. Hayes, while opposing relief for the farmers and breaking a strike with soldiers, did nothing to curb the questionable practices of railroads, industrial combinations or land speculators.

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The battle for the White House in 1880 could be labelled the "Campaign of the Three Generals." The Republicans nominated General James A. Garfield of Ohio as their presidential candidate, after defeating a movement in behalf of a third term for Grant. Incidentally, Garfield had not only fought in the Civil War, but he also possessed the added advantage of having been born in a log cabin. Chester A. Arthur became the Vice-Presidential candidate, out of courtesy to Conkling, who had backed Grant. The Democrats, finally recognizing the political worth of generals, nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania. Not to be eclipsed, the Greenback Party, a relatively new party favoring cheap money which had won over a million votes in the Congressional elections in 1878, selected General James B. Weaver of Iowa. The three candidates fought a strenuous campaign, out of which Garfield emerged the victor, but with a plurality of less than 10,000 out of more than 9,000,000 votes.

Garfield had little chance to accomplish anything because on July 2, 1881, a crazed and disappointed office seeker shot him. He died on September 19, 1881.

The Nation could not have been more astounded than it was when Chester A. Arthur, a machine politician, became President. To his great credit, Arthur threw off his questionable background and achieved a startling independence in the White House. Moreover, he flabbergasted his former cronies by vigorously supporting reform. Beginning his presidency by prosecuting corrupt officials in the Post Office Department, Arthur capped his crusade by vigorously advocating reform in
the Civil Service.

Politicians had long regarded the right to fill Federal offices as one of the sweeter results of victory at the polls. Presidents, although accepting the spoils system, had complained about it because office seekers consumed hours of their time and because the system led to corruption. Nevertheless, rotation of jobs remained commonplace, even scrubwomen losing their jobs when the party in power was defeated. Federal workers were also forced to contribute to their parties. Reformers had made many attempts to end the spoils system, only to be rebuffed by the politicians, and a Civil Service Commission under Grant had accomplished nothing. The assassination of Garfield startled the Nation into action, however, and Arthur placed himself squarely behind civil service reform in his first annual message.

Senator George H. Pendleton of Ohio sponsored the bill affecting the civil service that became law on January 16, 1883. The Nation, an important magazine of the period, looked in awe upon the Pendleton Civil Service Act, terming it "one of the most remarkable phenomena of recent times." The act established the Civil Service Commission and stipulated that future appointments were to be made on the basis of competitive examinations. The law also forbade political assessments. One half of the Federal positions, about 14,000, were covered by the act in 1883, but successive extensions by later presidents had

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17 Quoted in Ellis P. Oberholtzer, A History of The United States Since the Civil War (5 vols.; 1931, New York), IV, 154.
Chester A. Arthur, a surprisingly urbane and dedicated President.

From Harper's Weekly,

XXIX (Feb. 28, 1885), following page 144.
covered 200,000 positions by the end of Theodore Roosevelt’s presidency.

Arthur hoped for his party’s nomination in 1884, but too many politicians disliked his support of reform. The party’s leaders turned to one who had been a Republican Luminary for years, James G. Blaine. Blaine, a handsome and shrewd man, bore the sobriquet of "Plumed Knight," a holdover from a speech in his behalf during the Republican convention of 1876, when an enthusiastic advocate of his had said that Blaine, "Like an armed warrior, like a plumèd knight, . . . marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation."18 This laudatory sentiment referred to Blaine’s denial of complicity in a railroad scandal, which had failed to convince everyone. Reformers in the Republican Party blanched at Blaine’s nomination, and Schurz, George William Curtis and their followers, known as the "Mugwumps," bolted the party, leaving it firmly controlled by the regulars, or "Stalwarts."

The bolters from the Republican Party approved of the nominee of the Democratic Party, Grover Cleveland. He had been an excellent mayor of Buffalo and was a splendid governor of New York.

Once the two candidates appeared in the field, a bitter

18 Quoted in David S. Muzzey, James G. Blaine (New York, 1934), 110.
campaign ensued, with each side accusing the other of one
heinous affair after another. The "Plumed Knight," referred
to by his enemies as "the Continental liar from the State of
Maine," approached election day confidently, however, as his
supporters made much of an illegitimate child of Cleveland's
by shouting, "Ma! Ma! Where's my pa? Gone to the White
House, Ha! Ha! Ha!"  

But fate dealt a final blow to Blaine's
presidential aspirations. Visiting New York City shortly be­
fore the election, he met with some clergymen and, amazingly
for an astute politician, failed to rebuke an opinionated
minister who remarked that the Democratic Party was one "whose
antecedents have been Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." Democrats,

once they heard the phrase, plastered the city with it and those
words moved the Irish to vote for Cleveland, which gave him the
State and the election.

The Newly-elected President's size and integrity were both
impressive, as were his courage and determination. Far from a
liberal, Cleveland at least recognized something of America's
transformation into an industrial nation and he tried in his
first term to cope with some of the resulting social and econo­
ic problems. He was the only President between Lincoln and
Theodore Roosevelt who made that attempt.

Cleveland realized the vast power of industry and business.

19 Quoted in Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland, A Study in
Courage (New York, 1934), 177.
Their puissance did not dismay him, however, and he showed that more than just nameplates had been changed at the White House. Numerous railroads, for example, had forgotten that they owed payment to the United States for loans they had received from the Government, but Cleveland reminded them of their debts and forced many of them to pay. The President also observed the waste of our timber resources by the lumber companies, and he attempted to stem their careless destruction of forests. He also regained around 81,000,000 acres of public lands for the Country, taking them back from large cattle companies and other groups.

Cleveland also exhibited courage concerning the tariff. Since the Civil War, the Republican Party had changed the tariff by only revising it upward, with many Democrats approving of that. It was a blow to the supporters of high duties, therefore, when Cleveland devoted his annual message in 1887 to a denunciation of excessive protection. The "free trade lecture," as Republicans referred to the message, condemned the extremes of the tariff, exposed the claim that "infant industry" needed protection and recommended a general reduction of rates. Cleveland had presented the tariff issue to the country, but the irate Republicans blocked tariff reform, so the President's bravery apparently went for nought.

The Grand Army of the Republic also discovered that Cleveland felt a greater regard for his conscience than for votes. Organized by the Union veterans of the Civil War, the Grand
A STRONG COMBINATION.

Jonathan: "If all this is gin-swine, I reckon the Chicago circus will have to be a right smart show to beat it."

Uncle Sam muses about the Republican Convention of 1888 after learning of the Democrats' renomination of Grover Cleveland.

From Harper's Weekly, XXXII (June 16, 1888), p. 425
Army waged an unceasing campaign after 1865 for a disability pension bill that would reward any disabled veteran, no matter what the cause of the disability. Success seemed near in 1887, when a Dependent Pension Bill appeared on the President's desk for his signature. But Cleveland vetoed it. This veto created consternation, but the President's order to return Confederate battle flags to the South infuriated the old soldiers. General Lucius Fairchild of Wisconsin intoned a curse that must have pleased many a former Union veteran, saying "May God palsy the hand that wrote the order, may God palsy the brain that conceived it, and may God palsy the tongue that dictated it." Additional abuse and insult finally forced the President to withdraw the order. On election day in 1888 numerous outraged veterans remembered the pension veto and the flag order as they marked their ballots.

Republicans rejoiced as the presidential election of 1888 drew near, especially because Cleveland's tariff policy and his antagonism of the Grand Army had benefitted them greatly. They nominated a grandson of William Henry Harrison, Benjamin Harrison, to occupy the White House and raised a campaign fund of some $4,000,000. A hard-fought campaign ensued, and near its end a thoughtless statement by the British minister that he, if he could vote, would support Cleveland, turned many an Irish vote to Harrison. Cleveland hurriedly expelled the foolish diplomat, but the damage had been done, and Harrison

20 Quoted in Oberholtzer, History of U. S., IV, 466.
carried New York, which gave him victory in the electoral college. Cleveland won a popular majority of 100,000, but not an electoral majority.

Harrison's administration was unexceptional. He had spoken in favor of civil service reform, but in establishing his cabinet the President appointed John Wanamaker, the merchant, Postmaster General. Within a year 30,000 postmasters had been replaced. Other Democratic officeholders also found themselves expelled from their jobs. Harrison did give Theodore Roosevelt his first Federal job, as head of the Civil Service Commission, but Roosevelt found it impossible to accomplish much in that position.

Cleveland's successor had also taken a stand against too liberal a pension scheme during the presidential campaign, but he became more sympathetic with the thinking of the Grand Army of the Republic when ensconced in the White House. Harrison's new perception led to the approval in 1890 of a Disability Pension Act that authorized a pension for all veterans of ninety days' service who could not do manual labor, regardless of the cause of the disability.

Harrison's actions concerning the Civil Service and the demands of the Grand Army of the Republic stood in sharp contrast to Cleveland's points of view on those matters. Harrison's course concerning the tariff also bespoke a different attitude. The President in 1890 signed the McKinley Tariff Act, which created the highest tariff walls
the Country had ever known. William McKinley of Ohio, whose most recent biographer says that "He (had) learned the subtle art of preparing a bill that raised rates while giving a conciliatory appearance of reducing them,"\textsuperscript{21} had shepherded the new tariff through the House of Representatives. Even though the new tariff placed duties upon farm products, farmers expressed no love for the new law. The McKinley tariff also angered many others as they felt it was but another sign of the great influence of business in the National Government.

It is important to note that during Harrison's administration four new States were admitted to the Union. The Omnibus Bill of February 22, 1889, ushered in the States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington. America's historic and unique policy of allowing territories to become equal partners with the older States thus continued to benefit the Nation. The admission of New Mexico and Arizona in 1912 completed this process within the continental United States, excepting Alaska.

Harrison left the presidency in 1893. When he did, the politicians who had largely led the Nation since 1865 seemed to be secure in their leadership, but during the next four years a determined attack almost unseated them.

\textsuperscript{21} Margaret Leech, \textit{In The Days of McKinley} (New York, 1959), 38.
REVOLT, 1892-1896

The farmer, the most politically conscious of the critics of industrial-capitalism, led a political revolt in the early 1890's because he felt frustrated by the economic and political consequences of America's industrialization. His sense of frustration is underscored by his relationship to the railroad companies. He absolutely depended upon them without exercising any control over them whatsoever, and thus had to endure their arbitrary conduct.

The expansion of farming after 1865 had been aided by the development of railroads following the Civil War, which grew from about 35,000 miles of track in 1865 to almost 200,000 miles by 1920. Shrewd and vigorous men constructed a gigantic railway net, but not without massive aid from the Federal Government, as well as from State and local governments. As railroad promoters built their lines, Washington granted them a total of 158,293,377 acres, almost equal in area to Texas. Railroad corporations, with their lines built, generally acted as if the people possessed no right of regulation, in spite of their large gifts of land. Highhanded practices abounded, especially as far as rates were concerned. Sometimes the farmer burned his corn rather than pay the excessive transportation charges. Other shippers also suffered, agents of lines often favoring one customer over another and allowing the preferred customer lower rates. Railroad corporations also controlled warehouses and grain towers.
Aggrieved farmers and others protested against the cavalier attitude of railroad executives, but to little avail. What else could be done? The Panic of 1873 produced the answer: public regulation. Severely hurt by the panic and the subsequent depression, the farmers, sometimes with the help of others, applied pressure upon their State Governments, which produced laws that regulated rates, curbed financial aid to railroads and regained some land from the companies. The Grange, a farmers' organization of the 1870's, was responsible for much of that legislation, and when the railroad companies contested those laws, the "Granger Cases" resulted. One of the Granger cases, Munn v Illinois, terminated in a decision in 1876 that laid the basis for public regulation of industry in general, not just railroads. Chief Justice Morrison Remick Waite, in presenting the opinion of the Supreme Court, said that "Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large." This principle, which some thought socialistic, meant that States could regulate railroads. But by 1886 subsequent rulings of the court had all but nullified the broad canon laid down in Munn v Illinois. Many of these decisions rested on the Fourteenth Amendment. Originally intended to protect the Negro, the amendment's famous phrase,

no State shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law" benefited corporations, legal "persons," for decades, not the former slave. The Court subsequently reversed itself, however, and the decision underlies today's regulation of industry.

Widespread exasperation with railroad corporations finally compelled Congress to take action, which led to the passage on February 4, 1887, of the Interstate Commerce Act. This act, in great part, was due to the dedicated efforts of John H. Reagan of Texas, while a member of the House of Representatives. The law prohibited rate discrimination, required the posting of all rates and said that they were to be "reasonable and just," without defining just what that meant. Most important, the law established the Interstate Commerce Commission, the first Federal administrative agency, to enforce the act's provisions. Obstructionist tactics of railroad companies restricted the effectiveness of the act for years, however. Moreover, Supreme Court decisions also contributed to the ineffectiveness of the act and the Interstate Commerce Commission. Between 1887 and 1905, for example, the Court acted adversely upon fifteen of sixteen cases brought before it by the Commission. Nevertheless, the Interstate Commerce Act is a landmark piece of legislation, and it remains the cornerstone of the Federal Government's present regulation of interstate carriers.

If the farmer felt helpless before the railroads, he
An anti-trust cartoon. Note the puny cannon atop "Fort Legislation."

From Harper's Weekly,
XXXII (Feb. 25, 1888), pp. 132-133
felt equally powerless before industry and Wall Street. The swift industrialization of the Country after the Civil War produced a trend toward concentration in business, and by the 1870's "pools" existed everywhere in the United States. A pool consisted of several companies that had agreed to control prices, markets and profits, to their benefit, but not to that of the consumer. Although a popular device to control competition, if not eliminate it, a pool proved difficult to maintain because bad faith among its members was common. The "trust" succeeded the pool, a device formed when companies of joint interests placed their stock under the control of a single board of trustees. America beheld its first trust in 1882, when John D. Rockefeller created the Standard Oil Company. By 1900, over 5,000 companies had been merged into three hundred trusts.

Trusted introduced a new efficiency in the business and industrial world. At the same time, they abused their immense power, and appeals for their regulation quickly arose. States began to regulate trusts, but the Supreme Court, for several constitutional reasons, nullified those laws, thereby intensifying the ire of those who felt themselves victims of the trusts' destruction of competition. Popular agitation against trusts finally induced Congress to pass the Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890, which law declared that trusts and any action restricting trade were illegal.

Victory over gigantic economic organizations was short-
lived. In 1895 the Supreme Court declared in a case involving the sugar monopoly that control of ninety-eight per cent of the Nation's sugar business did not constitute a trust. High judicial pronouncements frequently bewildered the Country, but this decision also vexed, as many persons knew of the sugar monopoly's control of the industry and its disregard of the public's welfare.

America's industrialization created a vast urban laboring class and it also felt oppressed during the decades prior to 1900. Working men generally shunned direct political action to express their demands, however, favoring instead the formation of unions. But union activity during this period was generally scorned and feared by the public, and State and Federal troops were frequently used to break up strikes. As a result, laborers also felt little sympathy for their plight either in government or industry.

The ability of business and industry to defeat or render innocuous most attempts to protect the public welfare angered numerous Americans, but the tenacious opposition of conservatives and the business community to cheap money inflamed discontent. The controversy over money raged after the Civil War, with especially the farmers demanding a currency based on the credit of the Government, while conservative interests derided cheap money and championed a sound currency backed by gold, or silver tied to gold's market value. Although the conservatives had succeeded in limiting the number of green-
backs, they had not destroyed their antagonists. Abandoning paper money, the cheap money camp by 1875 had adopted "Free Silver" as its rallying cry. Silver, and its unlimited coinage, regardless of its value in relation to gold, had supplanted paper money because it seemed more acceptable than the credit of the Government, because bi-metallism (use of gold and silver) gave silver a sound aspect and because silver producers in the United States wanted to sell a vastly increased silver production to the Government. Sound money men detested silver almost as much as paper money, and they were largely successful in thwarting the aspirations of the silver people during the 1870's. Nevertheless, because of hard times the demands for free silver increased in the next decade. Mounting an increasingly strident campaign against the sound-money men, the free silverites began to charge their adversaries with the "Crime of '73."

Silverites seized upon an act of February 12, 1873, that had discontinued the coinage of silver dollars as the "Crime of '73" in their appeal for public support. They, in so doing, ignored the fact that in 1873 silver dollars had been out of general circulation for about twenty-five years and that it had taken three years to enact the crime. Nevertheless, the slogan impressed the farmers. They became even more impressed when they read this passage about the act of 1873 in a highly popular pamphlet, Coin's Financial School:

> It is commonly known as the crime of 1873. A crime, because it has confiscated millions of dollars worth of property. A crime, because it has made thousands

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of paupers. A crime, because it has made tens of thousands of tramps. A crime, because it has made thousands of suicides. A crime, because it has brought tears to strong men's eyes, and hunger and pinching want to widows and orphans. A crime, because it is destroying the honest yeomanry of the land, the bulwark of the nation. A crime, because it has brought this once great republic to the verge of ruin, where it is now in imminent danger of tottering to its fall.23

In 1890 Congress responded to increasing pressure from the silverites by passing the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which provided for the Government's purchase and coinage of 4,500,000 ounces of silver every month. Victory for silver at last! But a hollow one, for farm prices continued to fall and the price for silver failed to rise. Farmers and their supporters soon renewed their demands, now calling for the completely free coinage of silver.

Farmers, in truth, had benefited from industrialization, but felt that their complaints outweighed their gains. The invention and mass manufacture of agricultural machinery, the contributions of scientific discoveries and the growth of railroads had helped to increase the number of farms from 2,033,000 in 1860 to 6,361,000 in 1910. As a result, the production of wheat, corn, and other crops, plus livestock, increased in phenomenal fashion. But prices for farm products fell as costs for what farmers bought rose between 1865-1895. Whereas wheat had sold for $1.45 a bushel in 1866, it went for forty-nine cents in 1894; corn that had

23W. H. Harvey, Coin's Financial School (Chicago, 1894), 112.
sold for seventy-five cents a bushel in 1869, brought only twenty-eight cents in 1889. Is it any wonder, then, that by the early 1890's the farmer was angry and rebellious? He suffered from low prices and from the ineffectiveness of most of the acts intended to protect the public's welfare. Only the McKinley Tariff of 1890, the highest tariff in the Country's history, was a success—and it profited industry!

Severe economic distress also stimulated intense political activity by the farmer in the 1890's. Crops had failed in 1887. That, combined with general overexpansion, created almost universal hardship in the West and South; over 11,000 farm mortgages were foreclosed in Kansas alone between 1889-1893. A band of fluent and eloquent prophets rose out of the debacle. Ben Tillman aroused the farmers in South Carolina, even threatening at one time to tickle Cleveland's ribs with a pitchfork; Tom Watson galvanized the distraught farmers in Georgia; and David H. Waite, Governor of Colorado, known as "Bloody Bridles," and Ignatius Donnelly, the "Sage of Nininger," aroused farmers in the West against railroads and Wall Street. Kansas also produced notable protestants, especially in Mary Lease. She entranced her spirited audiences with her beautiful voice as she bade men to "raise less corn and more hell." Jerry Simpson, the "sockless Socrates," another Kansan, also incited the farmer. Aroused and inspired by these and other leaders, two outstanding regional farmers' organizations, the Southern Alliance and the National Farmers'
Alliance of the Northwest, engaged in increased political activity. Thus in the Congressional election of 1890, farmers in the West and South elected four Senators and over fifty Representatives, also capturing partial or complete control of twelve State legislatures.

Success in the election of 1890 led to a formal organization. In 1892 the People's Party of the United States of America, better known as the Populist Party, met in convention on July 4 in Omaha. The enthusiastic delegates adopted a very strong platform. After the document asserted that both the Republican and Democratic Parties would not only "drown the outcries of a plundered people," but also "sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of Mammon," the platform listed these planks: free silver; an income tax; public ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone; the eight-hour day for workers; popular election of Senators (still elected by State legislatures) and the secret ballot. The party nominated General James B. Weaver, who had previously run on the Greenback ticket, as its presidential candidate.

Weaver, a colorless individual, ran against the Republicans' Benjamin Harrison and the Democrats' Grover Cleveland, with Cleveland winning the election. But in losing, the Populists won over a million votes in the high plains of the West. Would Cleveland take note of that vote?

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24 Quoted in Oberholtzer, History, V, 205.
Cleveland heeded none of the warnings from the West. It is true that eight weeks after his inauguration the Panic of 1893 swept over the Country, causing some 15,000 business failures in 1893 and creating an unemployed total of over 4,000,000 within a year, but he took no action to alleviate the near universal distress. Indeed, the victims of the panic felt that he moved in the other direction because he forced the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, thinking it to be a prime cause of the panic. Moreover, Cleveland allowed a new and still high tariff, the Wilson-Gorman Tariff, to become law without signing it. During a violent strike against the Pullman Company in Chicago in 1894, the President sent troops to the city, ignoring Governor John Peter Altgeld's protests against that unwarranted action. The Supreme Court also failed to add to the Government's popularity when it nullified a provision for an income tax in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. Thus, in the Congressional elections of 1894 the Populist vote rose to 1,500,000.

The climax of the political revolt came with the presidential campaign of 1896. Populist success had not been ignored by silverites in the Democratic Party, as it had become increasingly evident that those in the Democratic Party who favored silver and the farmer would either have to adopt the program of the Populists or abandon their own party. Senator Richard P. Bland of Missouri, known as "Silver Dick," acted as one of the leaders of the movement to convert the
Democratic Party to silver. He was ably aided by the "Boy Orator of the Platte," William Jennings Bryan. In March, 1895, Bryan and Bland issued an "Appeal of the Silver Democrats," which implored support for the campaign to make the Democratic Party a silver party. Cleveland, who scorned silver, fought the "traitors" in his own party, but to no avail. When the Democrats met in Chicago in the summer of 1896, the Silver Democrats controlled the convention.

The capture of the Democratic Party by the silverites placed one of the Nation's two historic political parties under the control of those who clearly desired to assault Wall Street. Bryan loomed as one of the most magnetic and articulate leaders of the party's new leaders. Only thirty-six, he was from the plains of Nebraska, had a rural background and possessed a tremendous sympathy for the farmer and his devotion to cheap money. He also possessed a magnificent voice, and on July 9 he galvanized the Democratic convention with one of America's transcendent political speeches. He reviewed the long battle between silver and gold, explained how the pleas of the farmer had been rejected and proclaimed that the working people would refuse to be docile in the face of injustice. Before his spellbound audience, Bryan then intoned the ringing words that created pandemonium: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."25

The convention nominated Bryan. Adopting a liberal plat-
form, which completely repudiated Cleveland and his policies,
the Democrats backed the free coinage of silver, supported an
income tax, denounced Cleveland's use of troops in Chicago and
called for the effective regulation of railroads. The Popu-
lists, when they convened, found their program stolen, so they
also nominated Bryan.

William McKinley, an able and conservative gentleman,
received the nomination of the Republican Party. The nominee
wholeheartedly supported his party's unwavering loyalty to
gold, as well as the other sound planks in the Republican
platform.

For the first time since the election of 1860 a single,
arresting issue divided the country. Gold versus silver!
Republicans finally realized the bitterness of the situation.
Alarmed and apprehensive, they saw in their opponents the
"rise of bankruptcy, nihilism and anarchy. This was red
revolution."26 Mark Hanna, a rich Cleveland industrialist
and McKinley's Warwick, who clearly realized the signi-
ficance of the election, made certain that other industrialists,
bankers and financiers also understood the danger. While Hanna
enlightened the business world, McKinley, a good speaker but no
match for Bryan's golden performances, sat on his front porch
and stressed the serious nature of the campaign to group after
group that travelled to Canton, Ohio, to hear him. Because

26 Leech, McKinley, 85.
IT'S ALL OVER NOW.

McKINLEY: "I wish I'd gone out to do my speaking like Bryan."

—Cincinnati Post.

During the campaign of 1896 William McKinley conducted a front-porch campaign.

From The Literary Digest, XIV (Nov. 14, 1896), p. 36
of the unending crowds that journeyed to his home, the front porch by the end of the campaign was in a ruinous state. Bryan, on the other hand, sped to voters everywhere, sometimes speaking from ten to twenty times a day, causing one of his critics to label him "an incarnation of demagogy, the apotheosis of riot, destruction, and carnage." But when the balloting was over it was found that the expenditure by the Republicans of over $15,000,000, warnings to industrial workers about their jobs and a widespread uneasiness over the so-called radicalism of the Democratic Party had won the day for McKinley.

The revolt had failed. Perspicacious politicians grasped the significance of the campaign, however, so in succeeding years the complaints of the farmer and working man found a much more attentive ear in both major parties, with beneficial effect for the entire nation.

To Senator Shelby M. Cullom in 1895 it was "time that someone woke up and realized the necessity of annexing some property." The Illinois Senator spoke for many. Within four years the United States had crushed Spain in battle, annexing most of the remainder of Spain's once vast empire. This development seemed an abrupt abandonment of the Country's disinterest in the rest of the world, but the Nation had not completely forsworn an interest in foreign affairs in the decades following 1865, especially where her own vital interests were concerned.

America certainly exerted pressure on England after 1865 over the Alabama claims. During the Civil War Confederate raiders, of which the Alabama was the most notorious, had been built in Great Britain and had frequently used British ports, visiting disaster upon American shipping in their forays on the high seas. Powerless to do more than protest during the conflict, the United States presented claims for damages after Appomattox.

Senator Sumner spoke on the Alabama claims on April 13, 1869, in the Senate, declaring that England owed not only for direct damages but also for indirect damages. He held the war had been lengthened by two years because of the raiders

and calculated that the total bill amounted to over $1,000,000,000. The noted English reserve disappeared when Sumner's speech crossed the Atlantic. Happily, Secretary of State Hamilton Fish, the most able man in Grant's cabinet, retained control of the situation in America. With Grant's complete support, he concluded the Treaty of Washington on May 8, 1871, which called for the arbitration of the claims. The pact provided for a remarkably sane solution to a vexing question between two powerful nations, the crowning achievement of Grant's presidency.

The Pacific had long attracted America, and William H. Seward, President Johnson's able Secretary of State, considerably augmented America's role in that vast area. His surpassing achievement was the purchase of Alaska.

Seward instantly comprehended the advantages of American ownership of Alaska when he heard that Russia desired to sell the vast area. He promptly entered into negotiations with the Russian minister, concluded a treaty for Alaska's purchase for $7,200,000 early in the morning of March 30, 1867 and sped it to the Senate. An incredulous Nation first scoffed at what it termed "Seward's folly," or "Seward's Ice Box," but Seward strenuously defended the treaty. He also conducted an intensive campaign to inform America of the area's value. Sumner, convinced of Seward's case, spoke for three hours in the Senate about Alaska, stressing the area's natural resources and commercial possibilities. His speech led the Senate to approve
the Alaskan Treaty on April 9, 1867.

The Country's desire to strengthen its position in the Pacific also led to the acquisition of Midway Island in 1867. Furthermore, the development of American influence in the Samoan Islands and Hawaii resulted in the annexation of Tutuila and some additional Samoan islands in 1898, as well as of Hawaii in the same year.

Despite her growing Pacific interests, America lost none of her concern about Latin America after 1865. Napoleon III of France, who had established a puppet government in Mexico during the Civil War, had been informed of our regret at that during the conflict. Once the war ended, the Nation's real attitude about the Mexican adventure revealed itself when Seward hurried strongly worded notes to Paris in the latter part of 1865. Seward re-emphasized our displeasure in the following year. France, realizing the might of our battle-tested army, agreed to withdraw her forces by the spring of 1867, which she did. The Mexicans then shot Maximilian, Napoleon's toy emperor in Mexico. As for the United States, she had unequivocally underscored the purport of the Monroe Doctrine: Europe, keep out of the New World.

During the post-Civil War decades, the United States remained alert for any possible violation of the Monroe Doctrine. When a long simmering dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over the latter country's border with British Guiana exploded in 1895, America sent to London on July 20,
"Signing the Alaska Treaty," by Emanuel Leutze, 1867

Courtesy Foundation Historical Association, Auburn, New York.
1895, what Cleveland himself labelled a "twenty-inch gun" note. The document bluntly stated that the Monroe Doctrine was involved and suggested that Britain agree to arbitration of the dispute. England considered the note for four months, finally rejecting it, which moved Cleveland to send a message to Congress on December 17, 1895, recommending that America draw a line between the two areas and send soldiers to enforce it. Congress readily appropriated $100,000 for a border commission, and the public seemed to fancy that another war with England would be a splendid thing. Annoyed, but calm, Britain, already involved in the Boer War, eventually agreed to arbitration. A settlement was made in 1899, the border remaining largely as Britain had claimed it should be.

Latin America's economic importance to the United States marched hand-in-hand with her political significance. James G. Blaine, who became Secretary of State in 1881, clearly recognized this, viewing the lands to the south as forming a vast market. In order to stimulate the market's growth, he sent out invitations in 1881 for the first Pan-American Conference. Unfortunately, Garfield's assassination forced Blaine's resignation, and Pan-Americanism apparently died stillborn. But when Benjamin Harrison became President in 1888 he appointed Blaine Secretary of State, just in time for Blaine to preside over the first Pan-American Conference, which had been called by the previous administration. Eighteen nations met in Washington in October, 1889. Blaine hoped the meeting
would lead to a customs union, but the wary conferees rejected that idea, and the conference's most important result was a lessening of Latin American suspicion of American motives and policies. Blaine's Pan-Americanism fell short of its goals, but not without stimulating a growing interest in imperialism, especially in its commercial aspects.

Senator Cullom's call in 1895 for the country to annex some territory reflected the rise of an imperialistic group in the United States. Aided and abetted by Blaine's Pan-Americanism, disputes concerning the Samoan and Hawaiian Islands, the Venezuelan affair in 1895, a dimming memory of the Civil War and a European race for colonies, imperially-minded Americans questioned more and more insistently their Country's failure to expand. Many clergymen and scholars also favored imperialism, believing that the Anglo-Saxon had a duty to help his less fortunate brethren. Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The White Man's Burden," gave popular expression to that point-of-view. Numerous Americans also noted how European nations carved markets for themselves throughout the world while enlightening backward peoples, and they wondered if the United States should not do likewise.

The Navy had long been looking beyond the horizon of the continental waters. Progressive officers had brought about the establishment of the Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1884 and six years later played a role in winning Congressional authorization for the construction of three
battleships. Alfred Thayer Mahan served as one of the first instructors at the Naval War College and he helped to bring about the "battleship bill" of 1890, but he made his greatest contribution to advanced naval thinking and imperialism in May, 1890, when he published his highly significant work, *The Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660-1783*. The book's message, in its essentials, was that the Navy had to have far flung bases in order to give adequate protection to mainland America, and that the colonies in which the bases were located would be of commercial value in peacetime. "The whole (of Mahan's book)," as one student of American military history has written, "wrapped up amazingly into one glorious package of power, protection and profits."²⁹ And the book's message, in one form or another, spread throughout the country.

The Cuban revolt of 1895 occurred just as imperialistic thinking in America was gaining new strength. The rebellion, as had earlier uprisings, soon involved Americans, especially as a Cuban junta operated in New York City and as filibustering expeditions sailed from the United States. The insurrectos, moreover, in many instances deliberately attacked American property, refraining from doing so only when bought off by the owners. President Cleveland, who referred to the rebels as

those "rascally Cubans," proclaimed the neutrality of the United States, ignoring a concurrent Congressional resolution of April, 1896, that called for the recognition of Cuban belligerency. Spain, paying no attention to the mood of Congress, sent General Valerino Weyler to the unhappy island in February, 1896. He instituted an extremely harsh policy in hopes of crushing the revolt. Cubans retaliated in kind.

By the end of 1896, Cleveland had warned Spain that the United States and Spain might become involved in a war over Cuba.

William McKinley became President on March 4, 1897, and he made no reference to the Cuban situation in his inaugural address. He had told the retiring Chief Executive that he did not want war. Wall Street and business in general also opposed talk of war, but neither McKinley nor the financial community realized the explosiveness of the worsening situation.

A sensational and irresponsible press played on the emotional and patriotic strings of the American public in reckless fashion. William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal and Joseph Pulitzer's New York World, engaged in a circulation race, daily sought to top each other in the sensationalism of their Cuban stories. Hearst in particular displayed a genius for exaggeration. An unending crescendo of lurid, incredible and bloody stories appeared in the Journal. One day a headline cried, "Does Our Flag Protect Women?"; another day the paper told how it had smuggled a girl out of Cuba and had thus
A cartoon in William R. Hearst's Journal contrasting the plight of a Cuban mother and child with the Spanish Queen and her child.
From The Literary Digest, XVI (March 5, 1898), p. 278
saved her from a fate worse than death; and later an article described General Weyler as a

brute, the devastator of haciendas, the destroyer of families, and the outrager of women . . . . .

Pitiless, cold, an exterminator of men . . . There is nothing to prevent his carnal, animal brain from running riot with itself in inventing tortures and infamies of bloody debauchery.30

Yellow journalism, compounded of patriotism, sex and murder, pushed the sales of both papers to over 800,000 a day, while a host of imitators spring up over the country. Every new sunrise heralded a fresh crop of horrifying tales about Cuba.

Three major events also helped to heighten America's wrath against Spain. Dupuy de Lôme, Spain's minister in Washington, wrote to a friend that the American President was "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd," and then he had the unsettling experience to see his frank letter printed in Hearst's Journal on February 8, 1898, after it had been stolen and sold to the paper. Seven days later the U.S.S. Maine, peacefully riding at anchor in Havana, blew up and 260 Americans perished. Hearst's paper immediately shouted that "THE MAINE WAS DESTROYED BY TREACHERY."31 And on March 17 Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont, a widely respected man, reported to the Senate after a private trip to Cuba, his stark comments on the concentration camps further horrifying the Nation.


31 Baily, Diplomatic History, 501.
The U. S. S. Maine entering Havanna Harbor.

Courtesy National Archives
The poor President! "Why is McKinley's mind like a bed?", began a current quip about the Chief Executive, "Because it has to be made up for him every time he wants to use it." was the answer. Not in favor of war, the President nevertheless capitulated to the demands of the people and Congress. Congressional Republicans in particular demanded action on Cuba, fearing political disaster if the administration failed to take decisive steps. Reacting to public and political pressure, on Marcy 28 McKinley demanded that Spain proclaim an armistice until October 1. Spain hesitated, then accepted the American ultimatum on April 9, but McKinley simply noted her action at the end of a war message sent to Congress on April 11. Not heeding Spain's submission, Congress declared war.

We had our war. But what were we to fight with? It is true that the War Department employed twice as many clerks as it had during the Civil War; in other respects, however, the army was woefully unprepared. Fortunately, the navy was in a better state of readiness, and it played a decisive role in the conflict.

When war came, Commodore George Dewey's squadron had been at Hong Kong for some time. Warned to keep his vessels prepared for battle, he was ready to sail when ordered to seek

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out and destroy the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. Led by the **Olympia** as its band played the rousing march, "El Captain," the trim, battle-ready ships steamed from China on April 27. Early in the morning of May 1 the American fleet sailed into Manila Bay, with coffee and hardtack being served to the men around 4:00 A.M.

The American ships formed a vastly superior force to the motley collection of decrepit, slow and poorly armed hulks that formed the Spanish fleet. As a recent author notes, the problem facing the Spanish Admiral "was not how to win, for that was patently impossible, but how to appear gallant and resourceful in defeat."\(^{33}\)

The Spanish had been sighted by 5:00 A.M. Tension grew as the Americans approached the enemy. Just before 5:41 A.M. the men on the **Olympia** cried "Remember the Maine," and at 5:41 Dewey, wearing a golfer's cap, gave his famous order, "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley."\(^{34}\)

Sailing at six knots, the American ships passed back and forth, pouring shot and shell into the enemy vessels. Terrific smoke and heat enveloped both fleets, with the temperature soaring past a 100° in engine rooms. It was later said of the


\(^{34}\)Quoted in *Ibid.*, 57.
BATTLE of MANILA BAY, MAY 1, 1898
attacking fleet that

the whole thing looked like a performance that had been very carefully rehearsed. The ships went slowly and regularly, seldom or never getting out of their relative positions, and only ceased firing at intervals when the smoke became too thick. 35

A temporary quiet settled over the bay when Dewey broke off action at 7:35 because of a reported shortage of ammunition. Even though the report was incorrect, the battle was not immediately resumed. It was not until 11:16 A.M. that American shells tore into the faltering enemy again, with the Spanish finally surrendering at 12:20 P.M. An utterly crushed fleet lay before the Americans, with all of its vessels sunk and 381 men killed or wounded. In contrast, no American ship had suffered major damage and heatstroke had felled the only American to die during the battle. An incredible victory, with America going wild with joy when she learned of Dewey's triumph on May 7.

Similar good news was slower in coming from operations in the Caribbean. The Army, after weeks of confusion, finally landed near Santiago on June 16. The Navy, after much searching for the enemy's fleet, finally found it in Santiago Harbor. When the Spanish attempted to run from the harbor on July 3, the American fleet, whose Admiral had chosen that morning to visit the Army Commander and thus missed the supreme moment of a military career in spite of his strenuous efforts to re-

35 Bradley A. Fiske, From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral (New York, 1919, 247-248.)
Commodore George Dewey on the U. S. S. Olympia after the first attack on the Spanish fleet. Captain C. V. Gridley, Commander of the Olympia, is in the center.

Photo by Joseph L. Stickney,
May 1, 1898. Courtesy Cruiser Olympia Committee
join the fleet, completely destroyed the enemy. Ashore, Theodore Roosevelt and his Rough Riders won fame at San Juan. Defeated on sea and land, and with no hope of succor, the Spanish surrendered on July 16.

Seldom has a supposedly great nation been so humbled. Spain was now helpless. On August 12, she agreed to a preliminary peace treaty in Washington, as a summer storm drenched the Capitol of a new empire.

America's crushing of Spain created a controversy over whether or not we should take the remnants of the Spanish Empire for ourselves. We had at the beginning of the conflict proclaimed to the world that we would not annex Cuba, but what about Puerto Rico, perhaps Guam and most of all, the Philippine Islands? McKinley had not known where Manila was before the war, now he had to decide if we should annex the Philippines. After intensive thought, plus constant prayer, which he said was answered one night and that "then I went to bed and went to sleep and slept soundly,"36 he decided to annex the Philippines. The Spanish did not want to give up the islands, and desperately sought to avoid losing them during the negotiations for a peace treaty. But to little avail, although the United States agreed to give Spain $20,000,000 to help compensate her for the loss of the Philippines. In addition, the treaty of December 10, 1898, stipulated that Cuba should be free and that Puerto Rico and Guam should be ceded to America.

36Quoted in Leech, McKinley, 345.
Perhaps the President recalled after the signing of the treaty of peace that in December, 1896, he had said that "forcible annexations, . . . cannot be thought of. That by our code of morality would be criminal aggression." Many in the United States agreed with that condemnation of imperialism. Mark Twain, William James, former Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed, ex-President Cleveland, would-be President William Jennings Bryan and Senator George Frisbie Hoar, as well as many others, all opposed the annexation of the Philippines. Senator Hoar's opposition was especially noteworthy, for he was a dedicated Republican and a warm friend of McKinley's, yet he spared no effort to defeat ratification of the peace treaty. Opponents of the treaty based their position on a number of points, but their most effective argument was the moral one. Having won our own freedom, and having liberated the Cubans, how could the Country in good conscience answer Hoar when he said, "I claim that under the Declaration of Independence you cannot govern a foreign territory, a foreign people, . . . ; that you cannot subjugate and govern them against their will, . . . . You have no right at the cannon's mouth to impose on an unwilling people your Declaration of Independence, . . . ."?

Numerous Filipinos agreed with Hoar. On February 4, 1899, a revolt erupted, which took over three years to quell, costing

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37 Quoted in Wolff, Little Brown Brother, 40.

38 Quoted in Frederick H. Gillett, George Frisbie Hoar (Boston, 1934), 251.
America 4,234 men and $600,000,000. To many Americans the revolt was all the more reason why the islands should be annexed. Henry Cabot Lodge, who had favored the war and supported annexation, led the fight in the Senate for ratifying the treaty, claiming annexation was constitutional, and that the islands would bring commercial and military benefits.

Debate over the treaty was widespread. In Washington, McKinley worked closely with the Senatorial defenders of the treaty, exerting great pressure on reluctant Senators, which apparently caused two Southern Senators to swallow their opposition and vote in favor of the treaty. Bryan, who thought it necessary to end the war and then give up the Philippines, advised Democrats to vote for the treaty. On February 6, 1899 the Senate ratified the document, confirming America's emergence as a world power.

Thrust onto the international stage by the Spanish-American War, the United States was quickly immersed in some of the troubles that beset world powers. An immediate problem concerned the governing of the Philippines. McKinley selected William Howard Taft, a future President, for that job, sending him to the islands in 1900. On July 4, 1901, Taft became Governor General, the supreme power in the colony. Taft instituted a remarkably enlightened program in the Philippines, one that contrasted greatly with the sterner imperialism of other major powers. An essential idea of Taft's program was that the islands should be governed with an eye toward their
future independence, so a liberal policy was followed. Self-government and education were stressed, both of which did help prepare the Philippines for independence after World War II.

Now that a territorial possession was relatively close to China, America became alarmed at how other great powers were continuing to carve out areas for themselves in that disorganized nation. In an attempt to slow that process and to buttress our commercial interests, Secretary of State John Hay proclaimed the Open Door Policy in 1899. Hay sought to preserve China's integrity in order to safeguard American economic opportunity in that Country, even though France, Germany, Japan and Russia little appreciated America's presumptuous action in forcing them to at least pay lip-service to the Open Door. Hay's action was an unprecedented step in American diplomatic history concerning an area outside of the New World; it was a sign of our coming of age in the world of power politics.
Earlier wars had catapulted men into the presidency. When Admiral Dewey returned to a thunderous welcome, received a $10,000, jewel-encrusted sword from Congress and accepted a house in Washington as a gift of the people, canny politicians immediately converted the victor of Manila Bay into a strong presidential possibility. McKinley harbored a fear that Dewey might oppose the annexation of the Philippines and become too friendly with the Democrats, but his forebodings proved groundless. Dewey displayed no political acumen. He forfeited much of his popularity when he married a rich woman and gave her the house he had accepted from the Nation's citizens. Under prodding from his spouse, he attempted to present himself as a presidential candidate in 1900. Calling a reporter to his New York residence on April 4, Dewey said he would be willing to run for the White House, stating that he had studied the job and was "convinced that the office of the Presidency . . . (was) not such a very difficult one to fill." Popular reaction to that statement ended Dewey's presidential hopes.

The Republicans, with Dewey posing no threat, jubilantly renominated McKinley for the presidency in 1900. Theodore Roosevelt, the hero of the Rough Riders, grudgingly accepted the Vice-Presidential nomination, perhaps realizing his candi-

39 Quoted in Wolff, Little Brown Brother, 325.
dacy had been sponsored by politicians who wished to be rid of his enthusiasm for reform. Bryan, McKinley's 1896 opponent, led the Democrats again. They campaigned largely on a basis of anti-imperialism, while the Republicans cried, "Don't haul down the flag." Voters preferred imperialism to anti-imperialism. Moreover, the country was prosperous and farm prices had risen, so McKinley won a 900,000 majority.

The President began his second term with hope for the future, as well as with pride in the accomplishment of his first four years. But on September 6, 1901, an assassin shot McKinley. Death claimed him within eight days.

Theodore Roosevelt, only forty-three, became the country's youngest President. Naturalist, soldier, author and politician, "Teddy" carried a wealth of experience into the White House, as well as a vigorous outlook on life. Roosevelt's strong, dynamic personality supported a concept of the presidency that had last been seen in Abraham Lincoln, i.e., that a President should lead. Roosevelt's presidential leadership elicited a warm response from the people, for in 1904 he won a popular majority of over 2,500,000 in the presidential election. Today, that "wild man" and "damned cowboy"\(^4\) as Mark Hanna once referred to Roosevelt before they became friends, ranks as one of the Nation's great Presidents.

Perhaps McKinley, if he had lived, would have been re-

\(^4\)Quoted in H. H. Kohlsaat, From McKinley to Harding (New York, 1923), 101.
Courtesy of Theodore Roosevelt Association
responsive to the pleas of "progressivism," but Roosevelt's sympathy with the progressives was unmistakable. He had sat on the Civil Service Commission under Harrison, acted as a reforming police commissioner in New York City and served as a liberal governor of New York before becoming President, which experiences made him aware of the defects in the American society. He was also aware that the progressives had maintained the protest against economic injustice, social discrimination and political corruption that had animated the Populists.

One of the outstanding progressives was Robert M. LaFollette, who, when he became governor of Wisconsin in 1900, accomplished much in the social and political fields. The "Wisconsin idea," as the State's reform program was labelled, produced the direct primary, effective regulation of railroads and a civil service program, plus much other liberal legislation. Inspired by LaFollette's crusade, Hazen Pingree in Michigan, Albert Cummins in Iowa and Hiram Johnson in California used the governorships of their respective States to curb the power of railroads, corporations and spoilsmen.

Roosevelt soon had opportunity to implement his views on internal matters. The anthracite coal miners in Pennsylvania struck in 1902, causing a Nation still heavily dependent on coal to be faced with a fuel shortage. Obdurate, the mine owners refused any concessions, probably endorsing the state-
ment of the president of a large coal carrying railroad that "The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for--not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom, has given control of the property interests of the country . . . ."\[41\] Roosevelt disagreed with that point of view. He threatened to send troops, not to break the strike, but to operate the mines. A new wind indeed blew from the White House! The owners slowly and grudgingly gave way before Roosevelt, finally agreeing to arbitration.

Trusts also continued to act as if only their own interests had importance as far as the Nation was concerned. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law of 1890, practically nullified by the Supreme Court as far as business was concerned, had hardly impeded their monopolistic practices. Roosevelt, in his first annual message, recommended a stronger attack on the great corporations. In 1902, following his own advice, he instituted a suit against the Northern Securities Corporation, a gigantic railroad combination. Wall Street gasped! J. P. Morgan and others protested! But Roosevelt persisted, and the Supreme Court eventually ruled that the holding company violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Roosevelt’s victory over the Northern Securities Corporation represented his greatest trust-busting triumph. Congress refused additional trust legislation, so

\[41\] Quoted in Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt (New York, 1931), 267.
the President had to rely on the Sherman Law, and he did secure some additional dissolutions of trusts. By the end of his presidency, however, he was drawing a distinction between "good" and "bad" trusts; some of his earlier crusading spirit against corporate power had been toned down.

Railroad corporations also continued to arouse many of the complaints of the 1880's and 1890's. Moreover, concentration of ownership of railroads had proceeded unchecked, so much so that by 1904 six major railway systems controlled almost three-fourths of the Country's trackage. Those companies had a capitalization of over $9,000,000,000, an amazing sum. Roosevelt's desire to curb the power of the railroads produced in 1903 the Elkins Act, aimed at killing rebating. This law stipulated that the published rates were the legal ones, and that users of railroads would be liable for rebates as well as the lines themselves. Seeking further regulation, Roosevelt pushed Congress into passing the Hepburn Act of 1906, which gave the Interstate Commerce Commission greater powers over the railroads. The President failed to establish completely effective railroad regulations, but he accomplished more than any other Chief Executive had, and he firmly established a course that led to more effective regulation in the future.

*Laissez-faire* also received checks in two fields of great importance to the people: the food packing industry and the exploitation of natural resources. Upton Sinclair presented a stupifying account of the meat packing industry in 1906 in his
book, *The Jungle*. Who wouldn't have turned green when he read that:

There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was moldy and white—it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption."42

Stunned, the Nation demanded Federal regulation. Over the strong protests of the industry, Congress passed in 1906 a meat inspection law. Roosevelt also backed the enactment of a Pure Food and Drug Act in the same year in order to give additional protection against harmful foods and drugs.

Roosevelt had fallen in love with nature when a young boy. As President, he ardently encouraged the movement to preserve our natural resources. Gifford Pinchot, already in the Department of Agriculture and a friend of Roosevelt's, effectively pled the case of conservation, and the President made it possible for Pinchot to apply scientific forestry practices in Federal forests. He also strongly supported Pinchot's other conservation suggestions, and the conservation movement realized a tremendous triumph in 1907 when Roosevelt convened a governors' conference on conservation at the White House. Roosevelt, through Federal action and through his vigorous personal support, made the Nation conservation conscious, giving the movement a momentum that it still has not lost.

If most Americans applauded Roosevelt's attempts to curb

the excesses of business and industry, they cheered even more resoundingly his strongly nationalistic foreign policy. Roosevelt's belief in the West African maxim, "Speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far," was echoed by the people. They puffed with pride as the President applied the proverb in Europe, the New World and Asia.

America had long dreamed of a canal through Central America, joining the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and her interest in the project intensified after the Spanish-American War. One obstacle to overcome was an old treaty with Great Britain that limited America's control over a canal, but that irritant disappeared in November, 1901, when Secretary of State Hay induced England to agree that the United States could build and exercise complete control over a canal across the isthmus. When Roosevelt became President, he exhibited terrific enthusiasm for the waterway and threw all of his energy behind the undertaking. Negotiations between Columbia, who owned the area that now forms the country of Panama, were begun, resulting in a treaty granting this Country the right to build a canal through Colombia's isthmian province. Much to Roosevelt's amazement, the Columbian legislature rejected the treaty, thinking America should pay a higher price for the privilege. The Colombians also felt that the treaty infringed on their country's sovereignty.

Colombia's rejection of the pact led to a revolt in Panama.

\[^{43}\text{Quoted in Pringle, Roosevelt, 214.}\]
"GO AWAY, LITTLE MAN, AND DON'T BOTHER," read the caption for this cartoon in the New York World.
on November 3, 1903. A bloodless affair, the revolt's nominal leader announced to his followers that "The world is astounded at our heroism! Yesterday we were but the slaves of Colombia; today we are free . . . " The United States recognized the independence of Panama on November 6 and on November 18 the new nation granted America the right to build the now well-known Panama Canal. Roosevelt's hopes for a canal thus bore fruit.

The construction of the Panama Canal proved to be a difficult task, not only because of the terrain, but also because of disputes among those in charge of the project. Gratifying progress was made only when Roosevelt brought Taft back from Manila, made him Secretary of War and instructed him to expedite work on the Canal. During a visit to the "ditch," Taft became very impressed with the abilities of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington Goethals, subsequently recommending that he be appointed chief engineer for the canal. Roosevelt made the appointment in 1907. Under Goethal's supervision a new efficiency was introduced, and within seven years the Canal was open to traffic.

Taft had succeeded Elihu Root as Secretary of War. With the Spanish-American War in mind, Root had successfully fought for the creation of an army war college, one of the most important army reforms produced by the war. The establishment of the college in 1900 led to the formation of a general staff

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Quoted in Pringle, Roosevelt, 327.
corps in 1903, which proved to be of great value in World War I.

Roosevelt enjoyed his position as head of the new giant in world affairs and he delighted in upholding America's world-power status. As a result, Germany and Great Britain moved very gingerly in their dispute with Venezuela in 1902-03, showing a surprising respect for the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, Britain gave ground before Roosevelt in a dispute over the Alaskan-Canadian boundary and agreed to the American plan for settling the disagreement. Roosevelt sent troops into the Dominican Republic and Cuba to maintain order, both of which countries became virtual protectorates for a while. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out and Japan soundly thrashed Russia, Roosevelt successfully mediated the quarrel in 1905. In 1906 he helped to lessen tension between France and Germany by sending an able representative to an international conference in Morocco.

The voyage of the White Fleet around the world between December, 1907 and February, 1909 symbolized America's might, latent and existing. Returning to the Country just before Roosevelt left office, the fleet was proudly toasted by the President, who said that "Not until some American fleet returns victorious from a great sea battle, will there be another such homecoming,..."

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45 Quoted in Pringle, Roosevelt, 493.
Taft, warmly supported by the outgoing Chief Executive, had been elected to the presidency in 1908, defeating Bryan's third and final bid for the White House. Shortly after Taft's inauguration, Roosevelt journeyed to Africa, confident that his successor would continue the policies of the previous eight years.

While Roosevelt was abroad, several significant developments occurred within the United States. During the presidential campaign, Taft had advocated a downward revision of the tariff, realizing that that is what the Nation desired. But when the Senate received a tariff bill from the House, most Senators ignored the House's general reduction of rates; indeed, members of the upper house generally raised duties. A hot debate evolved when Progressive Republicans in the Senate attacked the Payne-Aldrich tariff, and although unsuccessful in gaining changes in the bill, the liberal Republicans exposed the machinations behind the creation of the new tariff. When the bill was presented to the President, he, after some delay, signed it, angering many within and without the Republican Party.

Another fateful action occurred with regard to conservation, which Roosevelt had done so much to promote while in the White House. Taft also favored conservation, and he was the first President, for example, to remove oil lands from public sale, but when a controversy rose because of certain actions of the Secretary of Interior, Taft gave him his full support. The
William Howard Taft, Secretary of War, speaking during the Congressional Campaign of 1906.

Courtesy W. H. Taft Memorial Assoc.
President even dismissed Gifford Pinchot, the founder of the conservation movement and a friend of Roosevelt's, from his post as the Nation's head forester. Those suspicious of Taft immediately interpreted this act as a deliberate attack on conservation, even though that was not the case. Pinchot himself was so alarmed that he rushed off to Africa to warn Roosevelt of the supposed danger to the Country's natural resources.

Despite the unfortunate tariff and conservation imbroglios, a remarkable amount of beneficial legislation was produced by the Taft administration. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 received strengthening; a postal savings bank and a parcel post were created; the civil service program was improved; and many other acts provided for generally helpful laws in behalf of all the Nation's citizens.

In foreign affairs, Taft pursued a nationalistic course. Although not as aggressive as his predecessor, he followed a positive course concerning Asiatic and Latin American questions. Perhaps most important was Taft's attempt to promote tariff reciprocity between Canada and the United States, hoping to induce even friendlier relations. Unfortunately, the attempt fell prey to politics in the United States, with Canada becoming very offended at remarks indicating possible American rule of Canada in the future, and the negotiations collapsed. New acromony, not deeper friendship, was the net result of the attempt.
Roosevelt, when he returned to the United States in June, 1910, lost little time in resuming his political pursuits. Angered by Taft's apparent turn from his policies, Roosevelt, by 1911, had promulgated the "New Nationalism," which included very liberal tenets, and he drew further and further away from the President. Their old, intimate friendship now disappeared, especially as Roosevelt's ambitions for another term in the White House became obvious.

As the time for the Republican convention of 1912 approached, the Republican Party found itself with three aspirants for the nomination—Taft, Roosevelt, and LaFollette. The last named stood little chance between Taft and Roosevelt, and when the convention met the contest was really between the President and his predecessor. When Taft won the nomination, Roosevelt bolted and formed a third party, the Progressive Party. Nominated by the new party, Roosevelt little realized, as did Taft, that a neophyte in politics, Woodrow Wilson, would defeat both of them.

The Democratic Party had, of course, been pleased by the turmoil within the ranks of the Republicans. Meeting in Baltimore, the Democrats nominated the reform governor of New Jersey, Wilson, who received invaluable support from Bryan in winning the nomination.

Wilson was the winner of the presidential election of 1912. He became the President of a Nation that had recovered from the disaster of civil war and had a new confidence and a
new strength. And on March 4, 1913, the President spoke eloquently, ending his inaugural speech with these words:

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the force of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, . . . .

Thus did a remarkable man call upon his fellow citizens to face the future.

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The New America, 1900-1908


PART II

SURVEY OF SITES AND BUILDINGS

General Discussion

The heaviest concentration of sites for this theme lies in the northeastern area of the United States. At the same time, the distribution of sites in the South and West reminds us of the impact of those areas on national policy between 1865-1912. Of the utmost significance, moreover, are those sites associated with American overseas expansion, which commemorate a vastly important development in the Nation's history.

Many of the sites relative to this theme are preserved by State and local governments. Some are also administered by private groups or individuals. The National Park Service owns three areas that are pertinent to this study and they are noted elsewhere.
SITES OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

BENICIA ARSENAL, CALIFORNIA

Location: Benicia, Solano County

Ownership: U. S. Army. (In process of being deactivated and becoming surplus property)

Significance

Benicia Arsenal, started in 1851, was the first Ordnance Supply Depot to be established in the West. In 1852 it was officially designated an Arsenal. Subsequently it served as a staging area for western troops going into service during the Civil War; it was also the ordnance supply base for all U. S. Army posts in the Far West and for the troops involved in the military campaigns conducted against the Indians. During the Spanish-American War, Benicia Arsenal equipped more than 20,000 National Guardsmen mustered into the Regular Army on the West Coast for service in the Philippines.

The site contains 24 structures erected between 1854 and 1911; these form what is probably a unique example of late 19th century military architecture.

Condition of the Site

The historic structures are situated on 252 acres of the total of 2,200 acres now comprising the military reservation. The present Arsenal includes what were once two separate installations: Benicia Barracks and Benicia Arsenal.
Benicia Barracks was established as an infantry post in 1849 - one of the first U. S. military posts in California. In March, 1851, U. S. Army Headquarters for the Department of the Pacific was established at Benicia Barracks and here it remained until 1857, when headquarters were returned to the Presidio at San Francisco. The Barracks, however, remained a garrisoned infantry post until 1898, when the last of the troops moved out for duty in the Philippine Islands. In 1908 Benicia Barracks was placed under the control of the Arsenal and the Ordnance Department still administers the Barracks site today.

The most important surviving historic structures are as follows:

**Benicia Barracks:**

The Post Hospital is the only extant structure of the Benicia Barracks Post. This one and one-half story, T-shaped building of sandstone was built in 1856. It is believed to be the first United States military hospital on the Pacific Coast. The building has hardly been altered and is in excellent condition.

**Benicia Arsenal:**

1. **The original Arsenal.** Completed in 1859 as a three-story stone fort and arsenal, with two crenelated towers and cannon ports, the building was gutted by an explosion and fire in 1912. The arsenal was then restored as a two-story structure with only one of its towers retained at its original height. The second tower was reduced to two stories in height.
The massive stone walls are original, but the interior and roof date from 1912.

2. **Arsenal Headquarters Building, built in 1870.** This two-story brick structure is still used as offices, but is now completely surrounded by frame, temporary buildings, that were erected during World War II. The 1870 structure, however, is intact and little altered beneath the modern facade.

3. **Three Arsenal Shops erected in 1876, 1877, and 1884.** Three large two-story brick shops built in the form of an E formed an impressive group. Little altered on the exterior, they are still being utilized for the repair of weapons.

4. **Arsenal Shop.** A large two-story brick shop erected in 1880. This building is little altered and is in excellent condition.

5. **Commanding Officer's Quarters.** A two-story brick residence built in 1860 and equipped with exquisite parquet floors, paneling, stair rails and balustrades.

6. **Four Frame Officers' Quarters.** The one-family quarters are one-story in height and were built in 1870. Exterior trim has been removed but they are otherwise unaltered on the exterior.

7. **A Duplex and Single Officers' Quarters.** These two two-story brick residences were built in 1871 and are little altered.

8. **Arsenal Barracks.** A large two-story brick building erected in 1872. Unaltered on the exterior and in excellent condition.
9. Two original powder magazines built in 1857. These are magnificent one-story structures, with sandstone walls about four feet thick, and original slate roofs. On the interior there are fine, patterned and vaulted ceilings supported by modified Corinthian pillars of the finest French workmanship.

10. Two "Camel" Barns and Shop, built in 1854-1855. The two large two-story warehouses, built of sandstone, with arched doorways on the first floor, were erected in 1854 and 1855. The small shop is one-story and also constructed of sandstone. These buildings were used in 1863-64 to stable the last of the camels that had been sent West by the War Department as an experiment in transportation in arid country.

Other structures include an 1872 guardhouse, two shop buildings erected in 1900 and 1911 respectively, and a brick stable built in 1909.

The Arsenal is being deactivated and will be declared surplus property in the near future. The State of California has expressed interest in developing this property as a State Historical Park. These sites are marked as California Registered State Historical Landmarks No. 176 and 177.

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1857 Powder Magazine Benicia Arsenal, California

1854-55 "Camel Barns" and Shop Benicia Arsenal, California

1856 Military Hospital Benicia Arsenal, California N. P. S. photo, 1962.
Three Arsenal Shops, 1876-1884
Benicia Arsenal, California.

N. P. S. Photo, 1962.
1872 Arsenal Barracks, Benicia Arsenal, California

PEARL HARBOR NAVAL BASE
(NAVAL BASE, PEARL HARBOR: U.S.S. "ARIZONA" MEMORIAL)

Location: The main base is on the southeastern shore of Pearl Harbor, on the south coast of Oahu about 6 miles west of Honolulu; but the base and related installations nearly surround Pearl Harbor.

Ownership: United States Government, Department of the Navy

Significance

The splendid, landlocked anchorage at Pearl Harbor was one of the principal reasons for early United States interest in Hawaii, and undoubtedly the strategic importance of this bay was a factor leading to annexation. The possession of the harbor and the development of a naval base and headquarters there after 1898 were important factors in the rise of United States naval power in the Pacific. The disputing of this power by Japan, in turn, eventually contributed to the precipitation of war between the United States and Japan, the significant opening shots of which occurred at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. The site, then, appears intimately associated with the rise of the United States as a world power.

Pearl Harbor is a double estuary formed by the "drowning" of the valley of the Pearl River, so named because pearl oysters once abounded there. The ancient Hawaiians believed it was the home of the shark goddess, Kaahupahua. This fine harbor was known to early traders, but almost no use was made of it because a coral reef across the entrance blocked access by vessels drawing more than 10 feet of water. Yet its potential value was early recognized. Members of the Wilkes expedition
examined it; and in 1845 Lieut. I. W. Curtis, "an American marine officer," pointed out the importance of the harbor for defense of the islands.

As early as 1864 American Minister James McBride suggested that the cession to the United States of land at Honolulu for naval depot purposes should be made a condition of granting Hawaii a reciprocity treaty, a recommendation considered by historians as "one of the early antecedents of the Pearl Harbor Question." The real beginning of American governmental interest came in 1873 when Maj. Gen. John M. Schofield and Bvt. Brig. Gen. B. S. Alexander were sent to Hawaii to examine defensive and commercial capabilities of various ports. Their report emphasized the value of Pearl Harbor. At that time Hawaii was anxious to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with the United States, and it was suggested that Pearl Harbor be leased to the United States as an inducement to sign the treaty. The Hawaiian government actually made such an offer in 1873 but later withdrew it, and such a measure was not included in the treaty which went into effect in 1876.

When that treaty was renewed in 1887, however, it did give the United States the exclusive right to maintain a coaling and repair station at Pearl Harbor. But the United States did not exercise this right until after annexation in 1898, although surveys were made earlier during the 1890's. The need for an island base during the Spanish American War had been one of the arguments used by annexationists.
Funds for improving the harbor entrance were voted by Congress in 1900, and that same year negotiations were started for the acquisition of adjoining land for a naval station. The bar at the entrance was dredged to a depth of 35 feet in 1902 after interesting ceremonies to placate Hawaiian gods for the destruction of a fishpond and fish god shrine. Not until 1908, however, did Congress authorize and vote funds for the development of a major base. A huge drydock was started in 1909 but it collapsed and was not completed until 1919. The Hawaiians attributed the failure to the construction of the drydock over the traditional home of the shark queen's son. Shops, docks, and other structures were started with the 1908 appropriation, and in 1911 the U.S.S. California entered the harbor, officially opening the base and being the first large ship to enter the bay. An administration building was completed in 1915, and the next year Pearl Harbor became the headquarters of a Naval District; and it was well on its way to becoming the command center for naval operations in the Pacific.

In order to knock out of action the Pacific Fleet based there, the Japanese staged a surprise air attack on Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7, 1941, sinking or damaging 18 ships out of the 97 in Pearl Harbor. This action precipitated United States participation in World War II. The U.S.S. Arizona, with more than 1,100 men entombed within, still rests where she settled during the attack and, spanned by an enclosed memorial bridge, has been dedicated as a shrine to those killed on December 7, 1941.
Condition of the Site

Pearl Harbor is still an active naval base, and general public visitation, except to the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial as part of boat cruises of the harbor, is not permitted. However, public visits to the U.S.S. Arizona Memorial as part of privately sponsored boat tours or of Government-sponsored boat tours would permit the viewing of a plaque recognizing the significance of the entire base.

Artist's sketch of U.S.S. Arizona Memorial, Pearl Harbor Naval Base, Honolulu.

Navy Department Photograph, 1962.
Benjamin Harrison, a successful Indianapolis lawyer, built his large, spacious home in 1874-75. He probably little realized then that on July 4, 1888, he would accept the Republican Party's nomination for the presidency in the house's back parlor. Or that he and his lieutenants would plan the campaign that put him in the White House in the house's library. Fame did not diminish his love for his home, however, and upon leaving the presidency he returned to his Indianapolis house.

Born near Cincinnati on August 20, 1833, Harrison subsequently moved to Indianapolis. By the time of his settling in Indiana in 1854, he had been graduated from college and had married a college friend, Caroline Lavinia Scott. His new home town had less than 16,000 people in 1854, still Harrison foresaw opportunity in the law and he soon hung out his shingle. Over the years he built up a very respectable practice, grossing over $12,000 in 1873.

Like numerous lawyers, Harrison showed little hesitancy in entering politics. Soon after establishing residence in Indianapolis, he joined the newly-founded Republican Party. An increasingly important role in Indiana politics fell a temporary victim to the Civil War. When Harrison emerged from
that war, with a brigadier-general's rank, he resumed politi-
cal activity. Supporting Radical Reconstruction, he attempted
to gain his party's nomination for governor in 1872, but the
Republican convention rebuffed him. Four years later, however,
he became the Republican candidate for the gubernatorial office.
He waged a strenuous campaign, advocating sound money and re-
form in the State. A veteran himself, he did not forget to
wave the "bloody shirt," reminding a veteran-filled audience in
August, 1876, that he

would rather march by your side on the dusty road under
the dear flag of our Union, and wear the old army shirt
stained with drops of blood, than to do service under
the black banner of treason.¹

Such appeals to old hatreds had lost some effectiveness, for
Harrison lost the election by around 5,000 votes.

Perhaps a bit discouraged, Harrison still remained a hard-
working, faithful Republican. He campaigned vigorously for the
party's presidential banner bearers in 1876 and 1880. Reward
came in 1881, when the Indiana legislature elected him to the
United States Senate. He served but a single term, during
which he stoutly supported his party's position on all major
questions. The one-time general also remained a faithful
friend of the veteran, in whose behalf he advocated a more
liberal pension law. Much to his credit, Harrison, alarmed
at the waste of our resources, introduced bills to create a
public park out of the Grand Canyon in the Arizona territory.

¹Quoted in Harry J. Sievers, *Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier
Statesman* (New York, 1959), 117.
Needless to say, others lacked his far-sightedness on this matter, and his bills got nowhere. With his term drawing to a close, Harrison sought re-election, but his State Legislature chose another.

With his retirement from the Senate in 1887, one could have thought that Harrison's political career had ended. But no, greater office still beckoned. Harrison had displayed interest in the presidency in 1884, but his party had turned to James G. Blaine. For almost a year after leaving the Senate, Harrison apparently remained inactive. A speech on February 22, 1888, in Detroit showed, however, that the fire of ambition had not been extinguished, for he announced his willingness to run for the White House in the fall's presidential campaign. His party responded, nominating him at its convention that summer. On election night he and some friends waited for the returns in his library, until about one a.m., when Harrison went to bed. The final count showed that Harrison had not won a popular majority, but had topped his opponent, Grover Cleveland, in electoral votes.

Harrison carried an unexceptional political career and a cold personality into the White House. Apropos of the President's lack of cordiality, one Senator remarked after visiting the White House that talking to Harrison was "like talking to a hitching post." Harrison's administration, like his conversation, lacked zest. The Sherman Silver Purchase Act,

\[\text{2Quoted in Ellis P. Oberholtzer, A History of the United States Since the Civil War (5 vols.; New York, 1917), V, 176.}\]
the McKinley Tariff and a Dependent Pension Bill were some of the important laws passed during his term. Perhaps the outstanding aspect of Harrison's presidency was his support of James G. Blaine's Pan-Americanism. Blaine, the Secretary of State, worked for closer relations between Latin America and this Country, with some beneficial result.

As the election of 1892 approached, Harrison hoped for renomination by his party. With less than rousing enthusiasm, the Republicans did choose Harrison for another term. The people, showing even less rapture for the President, voted for Cleveland; and for the second time since 1865 a Democrat won the White House.

Harrison returned to his home in Indianapolis. He died there on March 13, 1901.

**Condition of the Site**

President Harrison's house is in excellent condition and is beautifully maintained. As one approaches the brick building, he can still see many of the original oak, maple and walnut trees that stood on the two lots Harrison purchased in 1867. At that time, the ground lay on the outskirts of Indianapolis. Workmen began the house in 1874, completing it in 1875. Harrison paid a total of $24,818.67 for the ground, house, stables, brick drive and landscaping. Originally a sixteen-room house, a butler's pantry and an additional bathroom were subsequently added. A front porch was built in 1895.
Today, ten rooms have been restored. Moreover, the house contains much of the original furniture. In the front and back parlors, for example, hang the cut crystal chandeliers that graced those rooms when Harrison was alive. The President especially enjoyed the library, which is today as it was during Harrison's lifetime. Upstairs, a particularly interesting room is the expansive south room, which was Harrison's bedroom. All of the furniture in it is original, including the exercising equipment that is attached to the wall. How often, one wonders, did the President use it?

Benjamin Harrison's Home, built in 1874-1875. When erected, the house stood on the outskirts of Indianapolis.

Sideview of Harrison's house. Many of the trees on the grounds antedate the house.

Harrison's library, where he and his aides planned the campaign of 1888.

Courtesy Arthur Jordan Foundation.
In this back parlor Harrison accepted the Republican Party's nomination for the Presidency in 1888. Courtesy Arthur Jordan Foundation.
JAMES G. BLAINE HOME, "BLAINE HOUSE," MAINE

Location: Northwest corner Capitol and
State Streets, Augusta

Ownership: Governor John H. Reed, Augusta

Significance

James G. Blaine occupied a dominant position on the American political stage for many years after 1865. "Politics, . . . . , was the very breath of life . . . .,"¹ for him, and with his handsome face, commanding presence and quick mind he served as a prominent leader of the Republican Party for decades, profoundly influencing the course of politics in the Nation. Somewhat ironically, however, we now remember him most for his creation of Pan-Americanism, for his effort to draw Latin America and the United States closer together.

Although a Pennsylvanian by birth, Blaine moved to Maine at an early age. Born in West Brownsville on January 30, 1830, he entered Washington and Jefferson College in 1843, when only thirteen. Following his graduation, he married Harriet Stanwood on June 30, 1850, while teaching in Kentucky. Four years later he moved to Maine, to become editor of the Kennebec Journal, a leading Whig paper in the State.

Joining the Republican Party soon after settling in Maine, Blaine quickly assumed an active role in politics. He carried with him into the unceasing frays of the political

world two transcendent qualities: a coruscating speaking ability and an excellent memory. Apropos of his speaking ability, James A. Garfield, when still in the House of Representatives, noted that Blaine "... (was) the completest gladiator in debate I know of."\(^2\) As far as his memory was concerned, Blaine never forgot a face, and he could recall upon meeting someone the date of an earlier meeting, if such had occurred. This ability assured him the vote of many a humble person, impressed by and appreciative of the great man's remembrance.

Between 1858 and 1875 Blaine's political career flowered in dazzling fashion. Elected to the lower house of the Maine legislature in September, 1858, he became its Speaker in 1861. Vigorously supporting the election of Abraham Lincoln, Blaine wholeheartedly backed the Union with the outbreak of civil war in April, 1861. Blaine was elected to the House of Representatives in 1863, so at thirty-three he moved onto the national scene. Upon the conclusion of the Civil War, Maine's representative loyally supported Radical Reconstruction, although he later admitted he had made a mistake in voting for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, the President. Blaine's rapid rise in the Republican Party is attested to by the fact that his colleagues elected him Speaker of the House in March, 1869. As Speaker, Blaine probably spent his most enjoyable

years as a politician. Even today he is recognized as one of the outstanding Speakers, as he ruled the House in a courteous, firm and fair fashion. Forced to resign from the Speakership in March, 1875, as the Democrats had won control of the House, Blaine was at the peak of his career.

Admired, popular and able, Blaine could not help but think of the White House as a fitting end to his career. He endeavored to gain his party's nomination in 1876, but failed. Disappointed, he could gain some satisfaction out of his election to the Senate in 1877. But his presidential ambitions remained strong. Blaine gained the Republican Party's nomination in 1884, and as election day approached it appeared that victory would be his. Fate worked against Blaine, however, and his opponent, Grover Cleveland, won the election. We must note here that Blaine's never completely satisfactory denial of complicity in certain railroad matters while in the House of Representatives dogged his subsequent career, probably helping to defeat his presidential ambitions.

Denied the presidency, Blaine was able to cap his career as Secretary of State. President Garfield appointed him head of the State Department in 1881, and the new secretary undertook his job with gusto. Blaine not only sought to expand American influence in the Pacific, but he also wanted to create a stronger bond between Latin America and ourselves. Garfield stoutly backed Blaine's Latin-American policy, with the result that the United States issued an invitation to
Latin American nations to meet in Washington on November 22, 1882, to discuss common problems. Unfortunately, Garfield's assassination forced Blaine's departure from the State Department, plus causing the abandonment of the conference. A tremendous blow to Blaine, oddly enough he returned to his old job in 1889, just as the first Pan-American Conference was about to meet. The previous administration had revived Blaine's idea, issuing invitations for a conference before going out of office.

President Benjamin Harrison, elected in 1888, had appointed Blaine Secretary of State in 1889. When the conference met in Washington in October, 1889, it elected Blaine its president. The delegates did not end their work until April 19, 1890, failing to accomplish all that Blaine had hoped for. Although the conference fell short of his hopes, it led to the creation of the Pan-American Union, established a precedent for later meetings and eased Latin American suspicions of America. As a result, "the outstanding public service of James G. Blaine" was his Latin American policy.

Blaine's long, active and fascinating career ended on January 27, 1893, the day of his death.

Condition of the Site

Blaine purchased "Blaine House," an early nineteenth-

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3Muzzey, Blaine, 426.
century structure, in 1862. He made quite a number of changes in the house, one of the most prominent of them being the addition of a wing on the west. In that wing were the billiard room and Blaine's study. The State of Maine was given the house in 1919 and in 1920 another wing was added on the west. Now the governor's mansion, the house was restored and re-decorated in 1962.

One of the most interesting rooms in the house in Blaine's study. Completely restored, the study's wallpaper is a reproduction of the original paper and the room contains Blaine's books. The latter consists of biographies, histories, a Bible and well-used set of Niles' Register.

"Blaine House," Augusta, Maine. The original section of the building faces the street.

Courtesy Maine Department of Economic Development.
Blaine's study. With the exception of Blaine's bust, the room appears much as it did when Blaine used it.

Courtesy Maine Department of Economic Development
COMPLETE IN 1902, Fairview was the residence of William Jennings Bryan, Congressman, three times Democratic nominee for President, and Secretary of State for the period from 1913 to 1915. Although a highly controversial figure, Bryan was one of the major leaders of the late 19th and early 20th Century and had a great impact on the political history of that time.

William Jennings Bryan was born in Salem, Illinois, March 19, 1860. After being graduated from Illinois College in 1881, he read law for two years at the Union College of Law in Chicago. From 1883 to 1887, he practiced law in Jacksonville, Illinois. In 1887, he moved to Lincoln, Nebraska.

In 1890, Bryan launched his long political career when he became a Democratic candidate for Congress. Re-elected two years later, he in 1894 became an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate. By this time, Bryan had become quite popular as a lecturer and was employed in that capacity by the Chautauquas. During his four years in Congress, he became a strong advocate of the free coinage of silver.

Following the repeal of the silver purchase law of 1890, the free-silver Democrats set out to gain control of the
Democratic National Convention and conducted a vigorous campaign with that objective. Succeeding, they nominated Bryan as their Presidential candidate. Defeated by William McKinley, he retained his party's affection and was again nominated by the Convention in 1900. Again he was defeated by McKinley.

After the Conservatives gained control of the party, the Democrats in 1904 nominated Alton B. Parker as their candidate for President. After Parker lost his race for the Presidency to Theodore Roosevelt, Bryan gained control of the party machinery and received its nomination for the Presidency in 1908. In the subsequent election, he was defeated by William Howard Taft.

Bryan played an important part in the Democratic Convention of 1912. After a long fight in the Convention, the party, with Bryan's support, nominated Woodrow Wilson for President. As a result of a split in the Republican party, Wilson was elected to the Presidency. When he assumed the Presidency in 1913, Wilson made Bryan Secretary of State. Bryan served as the head of the State Department until June, 1915, when he resigned.

Bryan's last political fight was in the Democratic Convention of 1924, when he supported William G. McAdoo for the Presidential nomination. Despite Bryan's support, McAdoo did not secure his party's endorsement.

Bryan's chief strength lay in his great ability as a public speaker and as a champion of popular causes. For
thirty years, Bryan was probably the most popular lecturer on the Chautauqua platform. Allen Johnson, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, summarizes Bryan's ability in this sphere:

> It was this insight into the minds of his (Bryan's) auditors that made him seem a leader when he was often only a follower. He could think their thoughts, divine their aspirations, and give simple and cogent expression to their half-formed convictions. It was thus he became the champion of many causes which he did not originate . . . .

Bryan was long an advocate of national prohibition. Later, he launched a fight on the teaching of the theory of evolution. In 1925, he became involved as prosecutor of the famous "Monkey Trial" in Tennessee, when a teacher was indicted for violation of a statute in that State which prohibited the teaching of the theory of evolution in the public schools. On July 25, five days after the conclusion of this trial, Bryan died.

**Condition of the Site**

In 1922, Bryan donated the building to the Lincoln Methodist Hospital. Bryan Memorial Hospital, built adjacent to the house, operated Fairview as a dormitory for student nurses until 1961. In 1962, the Junior League of Lincoln, the Nebraska State Historical Society, and the Bryan Hospital Board restored the first floor of Fairview as a historical house. A number of the original pieces have been provided by the Bryan family.

"Fairview," home of William Jennings Bryan at Lincoln, Nebraska, from 1902 to 1916.

N. P. S. photo, 1953.
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY MONUMENT NO. 1, NEW MEXICO

Location: Just north of El Paso on the west side of the Rio Grande

Ownership: United States and Mexico

Significance

This monument marks the initial point where the boundary established under the Gadsden Treaty of 1853 leaves the Rio Grande to run westward. The monument was first erected in 1855 by the Emory-Salazar Commission and was repaired and remounted by the Barlow-Blanco Commission in 1892. The monument is symbolic of the entire survey and boundary remarking of the Barlow-Blanco Commission. In a more comprehensive sense, the monument commemorates the history of the various special and permanent boundary commissions created by the United States and Mexico.

Numerous international boundary commissions, of which the present International Boundary and Water Commission, United States and Mexico, is the direct successor, stemmed from treaties of 1848, 1853, and 1882 for the surveying and marking of all or parts of the land and water boundary between the United States and Mexico. After the Emory-Salazar Commission had completed its survey in 1855, there was no boundary commission between the United States and Mexico until several decades later. Owing to difficulties which had arisen concerning the exact location of the boundary west of El Paso, the two governments agreed by a convention of 1882 to survey and remark this western boundary line. The provisions of the
1882 convention were not carried into effect before the date of its expiration, but under the provisions of another convention dated February 18, 1889, the Barlow-Blanco Commission was appointed and the boundary remarking was completed by 1896.

While the Barlo-Blanco Commission was primarily concerned with remarking the land boundary and went out of existence after this work had been completed, the immediate predecessor of the present commission was established by the Treaty of March 1, 1889. Col. Anson Mills became the first United States Commissioner, a position he held until 1914. Most of the commission's activities during the Mills period were concerned with the river boundary, including the elimination of bancos (cutoffs created by the shifting Rio Grande). Commissioner Mills summed up the work of the commission during his tenure as follows: "During the sixteen years of our active service (the revolution in Mexico in 1911 having put an end to our activities), the Commission tried over one hundred cases of all kinds, disagreeing only in the Chamizal case, and preserved the peace and quiet of the entire Rio Grande border for these long years to the satisfaction of both governments and the people of the two nations."¹

In addition to vexing problems of boundary control created by the erratic Rio Grande, the United States section of the commission has been the prime mover and instrument for execution

¹Present Commissioner J. F. Friedkin reports that the Chamizal case is now on its way to solution. This involves the Cordova Island (Mexican) enclave in El Paso.
of great public works, such as flood control and river rectification projects requiring cooperative efforts of the two governments.

Professor of Government Charles A. Timm, the historian of the commission, states that the International Boundary Commission, United States and Mexico, has occupied "a unique place among boundary commissions, not merely because of its permanence but even more because of its character, its functions, and the peculiar legal problems arising from its position and operations." Its powers are ministerial or discretionary. Its functions are quasi-judicial, executive, administrative, investigative, and advisory. The present commission and its predecessors have held the key to peaceful solutions of difficult problems involving an important phase of international relations. Its activities have spanned political, economic, and cultural considerations along "one of the most intractable river systems in the western hemisphere—the meandering, vagrant Rio Grande." Professor Timm concludes with this summary of the difficulties and the successes of the commission:

The Commission has been measurably successful in its work, and . . . the future seems certain to assure even greater success. Its difficulties have been far greater than have been those of the commission on the northern boundary of the United States. In the first place, relations between the United States and Mexico have been, during much of their history, notably unhappy. Even yet (1941) it would be short of the truth to say that their relations are as cordial as are the relations of the United States with Canada. Differences in culture, background, legal systems, and economic
development have operated to make difficult a good understanding between the peoples of the United States and Mexico. Furthermore, there were the long, tragic years of the Mexican revolution. It may be noted, too, that the boundary streams, with their shifting channels, and their dearth of water for vast areas trying desperately to get water for arid wastes, have not conduced to an easy solution of the boundary problems. In spite of these and related difficulties the Commission has labored during most of the time to find solutions satisfactory to both peoples and has, by and large, succeeded in its undertaking.

Condition of the Site

The quiet but effective work of past and present international boundary commissions could be commemorated at hundreds of points along the United States-Mexican border. Most of these sites, however, are little known except to the ranchers, fruit growers, truck gardeners, power companies, and local and state governments that have benefited from the commissions' work. By contrast, International Boundary Monument No. 1 both marks the beginning of the story and symbolizes the continuing history of the various commissions' activities.

The monument was built in 1855 of cut stone, 12 feet high, 5 feet square at the base, and 2½ feet square at the top. The inscriptions on the north side read as follows:

U. S.
Boundary according
to the treaty
of December 30
1853
William Helmsley Emory
American Commissioner

Repaired by the
Boundary Commission
Created by treaties of
1882-1889.

Similar inscriptions in Spanish adorn the south side of the monument.

The repairs noted in the inscription were completed in 1892 and comprised the addition of a jacket of cement mortar, four feet high above the base to protect the foundation stones from the eroding action of Rio Grande floodwaters; repointing the joints with cement; and cutting the number "1" into one of the original stones on the east side.

Today the fenced monument stands squarely on the international boundary between New Mexico and Chihuahua, just north of El Paso. Public access from El Paso to the monument is by a bridge crossing the Rio Grande to the New Mexican side of the river. After the bridge has been crossed, a road leads south about 1,000 feet across private property to the monument enclosure. United States Commissioner J. F. Friedkin suggests that any commemorative plaque might be placed on the north side of the monument itself. Since the monument is international, the Mexican Government would have to concur, something Commissioner Friedkin would happily arrange.

References: Charles A. Timm, The International Boundary
Commission, United States and Mexico, University of Texas
Publication No. 4134 (Austin, 1941); Report of the Boundary
Commission upon the Survey and Re-marking of the Boundary
between the United States and Mexico . . . 1891 to 1896
(Washington, 1898); United States and Mexican Boundary
34th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, 1857).
GRoVER CLEVELAND HOME, "WESTLAND," NEW JERSEY

Location: 58 Bayard Lane, Princeton

Ownership: Mr. John Taylor Woodward, 15 Hodge Road, Princeton

Significance

"Personal character, sir," says an older man to a young rebel in Ivan Turgenev's Fathers and Sons, "... is the chief thing; a man's personal character must be firm as a rock, since everything is built on it." Grover Cleveland, twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States, would certainly have endorsed that thought, because we know that his courage, honesty and dignity highlighted his career, making it possible for him to pursue his chosen course, in spite of honest or malevolent opposition. How else would it have been possible for such a political veteran as Senator John Sherman of Ohio, who had seen many men in the White House, to say...

... I don't believe that a more honest, braver, truer man ever filled the Presidential chair of the United States.¹

Born on March 18, 1837, in Caldwell, New Jersey, Cleveland early accepted the responsibilities of life. His father was a minister, and after the family's removal to Fayetteville, New York, the young Cleveland went to work in order to help support his family. After his father's death, Cleveland moved

to Buffalo, studied law, became a partner in a law firm and entered politics. He was elected sheriff of Erie County in 1870, and his honesty in that office played a role in his becoming Buffalo's major in 1881.

Buffalo, plagued by corruption, soon found it had a Galahad at its head. Cleveland fought dishonesty and graft wherever he encountered those twin dragons. He soon earned the sobriquet of "Veto Mayor" because of his vetoing of innumerable questionable bills passed by the city council. Reform in Buffalo attracted State-wide attention, which materially contributed to Cleveland's winning the governor's chair in 1882. In Albany, as in Buffalo, reform was his creed, and the State benefited from changes backed by Cleveland.

Cleveland's honesty and courage shone in a Nation that had wallowed in corruption for years. He thus became a national political figure, and he won the Presidency in 1884, the first Democrat to occupy the White House for twenty-four years. The new President was not a liberal, even in his own time, but he did believe that the political and economic system of his era should operate honestly and fairly. To this end he unhesitatingly applied his shrewdness, common sense and judgment. It was in this spirit that he remarked after his election, "Henceforth I must have no friends."2

Cleveland's first term was marked by several astoundingly

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2Quoted in McElroy, Cleveland, I, 100.
brave actions, but none startled the Nation more than his attack on the tariff. Like the Father of Our Country, a high tariff had almost become sacrosanct. Republicans especially supported high duties, but many Democrats also favored excessive protection. Cleveland, after studying the tariff, decided that inordinate duties hurt the Nation and that tariff reform was imperative. A president is not a hermit, and politicians gasped when they learned that Cleveland was going to strike at the tariff. Undeterred by references to "political suicide," the President devoted his entire Annual Message of 1887 to an attack on the high tariff. Moderate in tone, the message emphasized the need to reduce duties and that the current rates only benefited industry. Although Cleveland's attack failed to bring early results and helped to defeat his bid for re-election in 1888, he made the tariff a basic issue, destroying the hypocrisy that had clothed it for years.

The people re-elected Cleveland in 1892. His second term was beset by economic woes, and although very popular when elected, Cleveland left office in 1896 "practically by unanimous consent." The President's inability to cope with new and puzzling social and economic problems helped to eradicate his popularity, but so did his brave stand concerning Hawaii. When the backers of a coup d'état in Hawaii sought American annexation, many in the United

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3 Chauncey M. Depew, "Leaves from My Autobiography," Scribner's, (December, 1921), 674.
States quickly voiced support of the idea. But Cleveland, convinced of foul play in Honolulu, took an uncompromising stand against annexation. Hooted at and slandered by his opponents, the President stood firm, insisting "that the United States should meet the loftiest obligations of honesty and unselfishness; . . . ." He prevented annexation during his administration, but at the expense of personal popularity.

A man still at ease with his conscience retired from the presidency in 1896. We may differ about the effectiveness of Cleveland's policies, but we cannot doubt his courage, which "is the very rarest element in the political life of modern democracies." Twelve years after leaving Washington, Cleveland died on June 24, 1908.

**Condition of the Site**

Cleveland's wife chose the house that became their home after 1896. Built in 1854, the building is a three-story brick structure, painted yellow. Its rooms are large and comfortable ones, with high ceilings. Shortly after moving to Westland, Cleveland added a billiard room, as he derived great pleasure from playing billiards. The house is presently in excellent condition.

\[^{1}\text{Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage (New York, 1934), 561.}\]

\[^{5}\text{Nevins, Cleveland, 561.}\]
An early photograph of "Westland," the Princeton home of Grover Cleveland.  

Courtesy Princeton University.
THOMAS NAST HOME, "VILLA FONTANA," NEW JERSEY

Location: Macculloch Avenue and Miller Road, Morristown
Ownership: Dr. Franklin W. Rice—not open to the public

Significance

Somewhere in the United States there are probably a few people who are not familiar with three of our most popular political symbols, the Republican "elephant," the Democratic "donkey," and the Timmany "tiger." But how many of us have realized that those striking symbols came from one fertile, artful mind? Thomas Nast, one of America's greatest cartoonists, created them. Nast's political cartoons spoke boldly and decisively, leaving no doubt in the viewer's mind just what their point was. "Boss" William March Tweed's cry of anguish as Nast exposed his dishonesty is eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of the cartoonist's drawings:

Let's stop them d--d pictures. I don't care so much what the papers write about me—my constituents can't read; but d--n it, they can see pictures!

Nast's artistic talent early determined the course of his life. Born in Landua, Germany, on September 27, 1840, the young boy emigrated to America in 1846 with his mother; his father joined them in 1850. Both parents deprecated their son's ability to draw. They desired him to adopt a trade, but despite their objections, he took drawing lessons and at

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1 Quoted in Albert B. Paine, Th. Nast, His Period and His Pictures (New York, 1904), 179.
fifteen was employed by a leading magazine of the time, Leslie's Weekly. First hired at $100 a week, Nast threw himself into his work, learning much as he drew for the magazine. In 1860 he sailed to Europe, drawing wherever he went. Still of great interest are his sketches done while he marched with Garibaldi, whom he greatly admired. Nast returned in early 1861, and in September of the same year he married.

The great turning point in Nast's career came in the summer of 1862. At that time he joined Harper's Weekly, the Country's most popular picture magazine. Nast remained with Harper's for about twenty-five years, showering the Nation from his enviable spot with one telling cartoon after another. His vastly popular and patriotic drawings during the Civil War brought him quick fame, causing Abraham Lincoln to say that Nast had "been our best recruiting sergeant."² During reconstruction he vigorously upheld "Radical Reconstruction," violently attacking President Andrew Johnson. A staunch admirer of Ulysses S. Grant, Nast's trenchant cartoons caused the general to say that Nast's pen had helped put him in the White House. Even during Grant's second term, when scandal filled the air like an evil-smelling smog, Nast could bring himself to draw only a single anti-Grant cartoon.

Of all of his work, Nast's devastating and searing cartoons directed against the Tweed Ring in New York City remain his most

²Quoted in Paine, Nast, 149.
excellent. "Big Bill" (Tweed), "Brains" (Peter B. Sweeny), "Slippery Dick" (Richard B. Connolly) and "O.K. Hall" (A. Oakly Hall) had looted the city of millions after the Civil War, while most of the city's press ignored their brazen plundering. Only Harper's Weekly attacked the robbers, with Nast's pen serving as a most effective lance. Nast's first anti-Tweed cartoon appeared on September 11, 1869. By March, 1870, Nast had so angered the plunderers that Tweed sought State legislative action against the artist. Also, some of Tweed's friendly press referred to the cartoonist as the "Nast-y artist of Harper's Hell Weekly."³

Becoming more frightened than irked, especially after the New York Times joined Harper's in its crusade, the Ring sought to buy off its attackers. But the two papers only redoubled their efforts, with Nast infuriating Tweed. When a member of the Ring exposed the misdeeds of his cronies, Nast's cartoons hammered even more strongly against Tweed. Shortly after having been threatened by the Ring, as well as having been offered a fat bribe, Nast in November, 1871, published his most famous cartoon. It appeared on a double page, showing a packed Roman amphitheater, with a bloated, bearded Tweed in "Caesar's" seat. Dominating the center of the drawing is a furious, snarling tiger, with paws holding down a prostrate figure, the "Republic." Beneath the cartoon was the caption:

³Quoted in Paine, Nast, 149.
"The Tammany Tiger Loose—'What are you going to do about it?'

Thus did the Tammany tiger make its never to be forgotten initial appearance, and as Nast's biographer says:

In all the cartoons the world has ever seen none has been so startling in its conception, so splendidly picturesque, so enduring in its motive of reform..."4

When Tweed's grasp on the city was finally broken, it was Nast who had done more than anyone else in felling him.

Although his pen remained as acute and penetrating as ever, Nast's work was never as effective in later years as it had been against Tweed. For one thing, Nast devoutly believed in Republicanism, so his political bias did not encourage general approval. He continued to draw for Harper's until 1887, but in that year he broke his long association with that publication. Ill-fortune followed, with demand for his work practically disappearing. Financial hardship overtook him, and it was because of that that he accepted a consularship in Guayaquil, Ecuador, in March, 1902. Shortly after arriving there, he died on November 30, 1902.

Fortune may be fickle, but the fame of Nast is enduring. The boldness, directness and meaning of his cartoons remain overwhelming. This is all the more apparent when one turns to Harper's and looks at Nast's work, especially the double-page cartoons. It then becomes obvious that his work remains practically unparalleled in the history of American political cartooning.

4 Quoted in Paine, Nast, 196.
Condition of the Site

Nast's Morristown home, a handsome three-story, clapboard building with a mansard roof, was built about 1860-61. The structure is largely the same as when the cartoonist lived in it. The porch of Nast's day has disappeared, a paladian window has evidently been added on the south side on the second floor and the building is now painted white, but those are the most notable changes that have occurred. Inside there has been little change. The woodwork of the 1880's, for example, remains, although it has been painted. As Nast frequently incorporated something of his surroundings in his drawings, one can leaf through his book, *Christmas Drawings for the Human Race*, and recognize fireplaces and other features of the house that are extant.

Nast, who lived and worked in "Villa Fontana" between 1873 and 1902, loved and enjoyed his home immensely. Friend of numerous prominent people, Nast welcomed, among others, Ulysses S. Grant and Mark Twain. Those distinguished guests left indelible impressions upon their host: Grant because of his powerful cigars and Twain because he stopped all the clocks in the house in order to be able to sleep. It was a bitter blow to the artist when adverse financial circumstances forced him to accept a consularship in Ecuador in 1902 and he had to leave his beloved home. He never saw Villa Fontana again, as he died shortly after arriving in South America.

"Villa Fontana," home of Thomas Nast, Morristown, New Jersey. Nast is seated on the porch step. C. 1895-1900

Courtesy of Cyril Nast.
Nast at work in his studio in "Villa Fontana." c.1896

Courtesy Cyril Nast.
A corner of Nast's studio. The skeleton served as the model for the skeleton that appeared in many of Nast's cartoons. 

Courtesy of Cyril Nast.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD HOUSE, NEW YORK

Location: Auburn

Ownership: William Emerson,
Foundation Historical Association,
96 Genesee Street, Auburn

Significance

When one steps into the William Henry Seward House in Auburn, New York, he feels as if he will meet the eminent politician and Secretary of State of almost a hundred years ago. That is especially true when you enter his library, which is very much as it was when Seward read and worked there. Even though only Seward's spirit lingers, the visitor to his handsome home is stimulated to learn more about this shrewd, able and far-seeing statesman.

Seward's father, a farmer and doctor, lived in Florida, New York, at the time of his son's birth on May 16, 1801. As young William grew up, he first attended the village school, then the academy at Goshen and finally Union College in Schenectady. Soon after he was graduated from Union, Seward was admitted to the bar in October, 1822. Just about two years later, on October 20, 1824, he married the daughter of Judge Elijah Miller, Frances Miller. They moved into the Judge's relatively new house, which was Seward's home for the rest of his life.

The young lawyer possessed no outstanding physical qualities. He was short, had a shrill voice and did not possess a commanding presence. But he had great courage, a
demanding conscience and a fine brain, all of which carried him down the path of public service honorably and successfully.

Public office welcomed Seward for the first time in 1830, when at twenty-nine he was elected to the New York Senate. Eight years later he moved into the governor's chair, the first non-Democrat to be installed in that office in forty years. Seward had already developed strong anti-slavery views, and a public quarrel between himself and the Governor of Virginia over fugitive slaves placed him in the forefront of the anti-slavery camp.

Almost six years after leaving the governor's office, Seward in 1843 assumed a seat in the United States Senate. Here his voice grew increasingly stern in its criticism of slavery. Although he admitted slavery had a Constitutional basis in the Old South, he still denounced the institution as a moral wrong and fought its expansion westward. When the Republican Party was organized in 1855, he quickly joined it, vigorously supporting the party's candidate in 1856. In 1858 Seward's reference to "the Irrepressible Conflict between Freedom and Slavery" swept the Nation, being praised in the North and denounced in the South. Booed as a candidate for the Republican Party's choice for the presidency in 1860, Seward lost to Abraham Lincoln, whom he was to serve with distinction as Secretary of State.

When Lincoln first offered to put Seward at the head of the State Department, the New Yorker refused the job. He soon
changed his mind, however, and in 1861 accepted the office, which he held until 1869. The position was in no way a sinecure. A tightrope had to be walked during the Civil War. Differences with other nations, especially with England and France, had to be handled in a deft, sure manner, for we were powerless to do more than protest against their irritating actions. Seward succeeded in this trying task. He "... became one of the most discreet of diplomats, conducting the delicate diplomacy of wartime in a manner almost above criticism."¹

After Lincoln's death, Seward remained in office. Reviled and scorned by fellow Republicans, who hated the new President, Seward now accomplished his greatest work. One of America's most far-sighted and expansionist-minded Secretaries of State, he wasted no time when he heard the Russians desired to sell what was then known as "Russian America." Senator Charles Sumner acquired Seward's zeal for the territory, and made an extremely effective speech in the Senate in favor of ratifying the Alaskan treaty. Sumner, by the way, is responsible for the vast area's present name, "Alaska," which he stated was a native word meaning "great land." In purchasing Alaska, America moved boldly into the Pacific. Moreover, for the initial time we placed territory under our flag that was "not legally destined for statehood."²

²Ibid., 327.

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Other expansionist hopes of Seward achieved less success. But his Alaskan triumph shone as a grand accomplishment, and after his resignation from the State Department, he visited what many had called his "icebox."

Seward died on October 10, 1872. His vision and courage have decisively affected the destiny of the United States, to the Nation's great benefit.

Condition of the Site

Seward's house, which is in excellent condition and is beautifully maintained, was built in 1816-17. One of the men who helped to erect it was Brigham Young, the great Mormon leader, who was then only sixteen and a journeyman carver and painter. After Seward's marriage to Judge Miller's daughter in 1824, he used the residence as his home. In 1847 Seward added a tower on the north and a rear wing to the original building, which consisted of only the northwest section of today's building. Twenty-three years later, he added the drawing room, dining room and bedrooms that are on the south side of the house.

Today, the house is very much as when the Secretary of State died. Seward especially liked the North Library. The room still contains the secretary's chair he used as governor and senator, much of his library and the couch on which he died. A lovely spiral staircase, the gift of Californians grateful for Seward's efforts to grant California statehood,
leads to the second floor. Of outstanding interest on the second floor is the "Diplomatic Gallery," which contains an array of portraits of the world's rulers when Seward sat in the State Department. Most noteworthy is Emanuel Leutze's painting, "Signing the Alaska Treaty," commemorating the purchase of our present fiftieth State.

The Seward House—an early print

Courtesy Foundation Historical Association, Auburn, New York
The Seward house as it appears today.  

The Parlor . . . the fireplace woodwork carved by Brigham Young

Courtesy Foundation Historical Association, Auburn, New York
The North Library, as it appeared in Seward's day. It is still largely unchanged.

Courtesy Foundation Historical Association,
Auburn, New York
The Diplomatic Gallery . . . portraits presented by the world's rulers

Courtesy Foundation Historical Association, Auburn, New York
James Abram Garfield, twentieth President of the United States, was born in a log cabin on November 19, 1831, in Orange Township, Ohio. Reared in poverty, the young Garfield attended nearby schools, at one of which he met his future wife, Lucretia Rudolph, whom he married on November 11, 1858. By the time of his marriage, Garfield had taught school, had exhibited a strong interest in religion and had spent two years at Williams College, Amherst, Massachusetts. He had also become the head of the Western Reserve Eclectic Institute, now Western Reserve University, which school he had attended between 1851-1854. He served as the institution's president until 1861.

Although exceedingly interested in religion, Garfield chose politics rather than preaching as a career. As early as 1856 he had engaged in some political activity, and late in 1859 he won a seat in the Ohio Senate. Defeat of his bid for re-election in 1861 probably affected him less than it would have normally because of the final break between the North and South. Garfield's patriotism led him to offer his services to the Nation, and in the summer of 1861 he became a lieutenant-colonel. With absolutely no military experience,
Garfield still served with merit, winning a brigadier-general's rank in March, 1862. Back in his Congressional district he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1863. Reluctant to leave the army, Garfield finally decided to at the President's request, and he took his seat in December, 1863.

Urged by Abraham Lincoln to leave the army for the House of Representatives, Garfield soon lost faith in the President. The ex-general, too recently from the battlefield, felt that Lincoln’s leadership lacked vigor. Especially did Garfield and others resent the chief executive’s plan for bringing the wayward Southern sisters back into the Union. After Lincoln’s death, Garfield fully supported Congress’ drive to assume control of reconstruction. The intensity of the feeling of Garfield is underscored by the fact that he voted for the impeachment of Lincoln’s successor, Andrew Johnson. Moreover, he was highly piqued at those who did not vote for impeachment.

What Garfield lacked in originality, he made up for in hard work. Aside from adopting a stern attitude toward the prostrate South, Garfield concentrated on financial matters while in Congress. He did this deliberately, for he hoped that by becoming master of fiscal facts, figures and balances he could win the chairmanship of the Committee on Ways and Means, one of the House’s most powerful committees. Genius is not in most of us, but ambition always is, and Garfield sought to win power by siege tactics, not by dash and brilliance.
He only met with partial success. In 1871 he assumed leadership of the Committee on Appropriations, not the one on Ways and Means. For four years he chairmanned the committee in a competent fashion, impressing all by his ever-ready statistics. When the Democrats won control of the House in 1876, he surrendered his chairmanship and became the minority leader of the Republicans. He supported the President, Rutherford B. Hayes, but not with overwhelming enthusiasm when Hayes made some gestures in behalf of Civil Service reform. The Ohio legislature elected Garfield to the Senate in 1880, ending his long, dutiful years in the House.

But the Senate was to be denied the benefit of Garfield's talents. He became President.

When the Republican convention met in 1880, there were three leading candidates for the presidential nomination: Ulysses S. Grant, James G. Blaine and John Sherman. Garfield acted as Sherman's spokesman, albeit in "a sickly manner" according to some, but a deadlock developed between the Grant and Blaine forces. The convention could only end the impass by turning to a dark horse, which it did on the thirty-sixth ballot, choosing Garfield.

The nominee ran his campaign from his home, "Lawnfield." Instead of going to the people, they came to him. The fight was a rough one, however, with Garfield's opponents loudly reminding the country of Garfield's never fully explained role in the Credit Mobilier affair. Seemingly unperturbed, Garfield
on election day calmly turned his attention to the cultivation of a garden. And after the votes had been cast and counted, Garfield could concentrate on agricultural matters with even greater calmness, for he had won.

We do not know how successful a President Garfield would have been, even though he gave an uninspired inaugural address, because at 9:20 A.M. on July 2, 1881, an assassin shot him. Two bullets struck Garfield, one of which lodged near his spine. This wound proved mortal. The President fought for life, but on September 19 death overtook him.

Condition of the Site

Garfield purchased Lawnfield in 1876. When he acquired it, the farm consisted of a one and one-half story main house, built in 1832, some outbuildings and 152 acres of land. Garfield paid $115.00 per acre. Remodelling of the main house began in 1877 and was completed in 1879. The house then had two and a half stories, twenty-six rooms and a wide front porch.

The first two floors have been restored. In the President's bedroom on the first floor one can see many of the original furnishings, as well as in the dining room. Garfield's study on the second floor is very intriguing because it contains his desk and favorite chair. The chair was especially made for Garfield, with one of its sides lower than the other so that the occupant could dangle his legs over it. It was in this room that Garfield composed most of his campaign speeches in 1880.
Near the main house is a small, frame structure. This building served as a telegraph center during Garfield's presidential campaign. In addition, behind the residence are two rows of trees. During Garfield's day a path ran between the trees, and it was up that path that many came to see Garfield in 1880.

The house erected by James Dickey in 1832, which James A. Garfield bought in 1876.

Courtesy Lake County Historical Society, Mentor, Ohio.
The little clapboard building at "Lawnfield" that served as Garfield's telegraphic office during the campaign of 1880.

Desk and favorite reading chair in President's study at Lawnfield.

Garfield's bedroom, "Lawnfield."
Courtesy Lake County Historical Society, Mentor, Ohio.
The parents of the nineteenth President of the United States Rutherford B. Hayes, migrated from Vermont to Ohio in 1817. On October 4, 1822, two months and two weeks after his father's death, the future President was born. Young Hayes enjoyed a normal, active adolescence, as well as receiving a fairly good secondary education. He entered Kenyon College in 1838, and won his degree four years later. In bidding farewell to his happy college days, Hayes had already decided to practice law, thus he moved to Columbus. But several years of unrewarding legal life convinced the young lawyer that he needed additional training, so in 1843 he journeyed to Harvard. He left that institution with his Bachelor of Laws degree early in 1845.

Upon his return to Ohio, Hayes' career really began. Only twenty-three, he already espoused the fairly conservative political and economic views that guided him through most of his life. He soon became a Republican and generally adhered to the moderate Republican point-of-view, believing that sound money, a protective tariff and some civil service reform worked for the Nation's greatest benefit. Not a brilliant or too-personable individual, Hayes was honest and courageous.

The Harvard-trained lawyer first established himself in Lower Sandusky. His transcendent accomplishment in that little
community was to suggest that it rename itself "Fremont" in 1849, to honor the exploits of Colonel John C. Fremont during the Mexican War. In the latter part of 1849 Hayes moved from Fremont to Cincinnati, where the tempo of his life suddenly quickened. He became much more successful in his practice, in 1852 he married Lucy Webb and by 1854 he was militantly anti-slavery. Moreover, an early member of the new Republican Party he played an increasingly important role in city politics.

When the Civil War exploded, Hayes marched to battle as a major. He emerged as a major-general, after having seen much action. During his soldiering he was hit by lightning and a Minie ball without harm, but at the Battle of South Mountain, near Antietam, Maryland, he suffered a severe wound in an arm. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that this future President had on his staff at one time the future twenty-fourth President, William McKinley. Politics recalled Hayes from military service in late 1864, when he was elected to the House of Representatives. Hayes served two terms. Although no longer on the battlefield, Hayes continued the war against the South, as he joined the Radical Republicans and heartily backing their reconstruction policy.

Much to Hayes' delight, he became Governor of Ohio in 1867. The power of the gubernatorial office attracted him greatly, although it cannot be said that he used his position to accomplish startling deeds during his three terms, 1867-1869, 1869-1871, and 1875-1876. He gave Ohio honest and competent
leadership, realizing his most significant accomplishment in
the creation of the Ohio Agricultural and Medical College, which
subsequently became Ohio State University.

Hayes' winning of the governorship for the third time in
1875 placed him in a strong position for a try at the presi­
dency in 1876. Taking full advantage of his strength, Hayes
sought and won the Republican nomination. He also emerged the
victor from the disputed election of 1876 and went on to serve
a single term.

Even Hayes' most recent biographer admits that Hayes had
no desire to be a "President of heroic mold." And who can
deny that he was not? Yet in all, the well-intentioned and
sincere President accomplished two major feats: he ended re­
construction and he restored the honor of the presidency.
Apropos of reconstruction, Hayes withdrew the last of the
Federal troops from the South. Moreover, Hayes' brave and
correct assertion of presidential authority in a battle over
civil service reform with Congress regained for the White
House much of the lustre and honor lost during Ulysses S.
Grant's two administrations. As a result of the President's
leadership, "his administration bears well a comparison with
that of some men much more able than he was."2

1Harry Barnard, Rutherford B. Hayes and His America
(Indianapolis, 1954), 407.

2Edward Stanwood, A History of the Presidency from 1788
to 1897 (2 vols.; Boston), I, 401.
When he returned to his home, "Spiegel Grove," in 1881, Hayes exhibited little interest in politics. A fascinating change occurred in his political and economic thinking between that time and his death in 1893, however, for by the latter date he classified himself as a "nihilist." If widely known, his new views would have jolted the Nation, because he now condemned the concentration of wealth in America and believed that it tended "to debauch society" and that you had to "Abolish plutocracy if you would abolish poverty."^3

Hayes loved the peace and beauty of his home, and it was at Spiegel Grove that he died at 11:00 P.M., January 17, 1893.

**Condition of the Site**

Sardis Birchard, a wealthy uncle of Hayes', built the original house at Spiegel Grove. Work on the building began in August, 1859, and the structure was fully completed by April, 1863. Although erected for Hayes, the house only welcomed him and his family in May, 1873. In 1880 Hayes built an addition to the north, which duplicated the original building. Later, in 1889, he redid the interior, adding the dining room, kitchen and some bedrooms on the second floor. Of all the house's rooms, only two, the great parlor on the first floor and the bedroom above it, remained untouched during the changes in 1880 and 1889.

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^3 Quoted in Barnard, *Hayes*, 513-514.
The estate consists of twenty-five acres. On it are many large trees, which are partly responsible for the name of the residence. Hayes' uncle noticed the reflection of the trees in pools after rains, and thinking of the German word for mirror, "spiegel," he named the estate Spiegel Grove. Hayes planted numerous trees during his residence there, as well as naming the existing oaks and other trees after famous Americans. This "naming" continued after his death. When William Howard Taft, of ample girth, visited Spiegel Grove, he chose a great oak to bear his name, saying "This is about my size."4

The Memorial Library at Spiegel Grove contains museum items relating to Hayes and his personal papers.


President Rutherford B. Hayes and his wife give a reception, September 14, 1877. This photograph also shows the original section of the house, built between 1859-1863.

Courtesy Rutherford B. Hayes State Memorial
An early photograph of "Spiegel Grove," showing the addition built to the north (on the left) by Hayes in 1880.

Courtesy Rutherford B. Hayes State Memorial.
The great parlor. Only this room and the bedroom above have remained unchanged since 1863.

Courtesy Rutherford B. Hayes State Memorial.
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT HOME, OHIO

Location: 2038 Auburn Avenue, Cincinnati

Ownership: Charles P. Taft, President, The William Howard Taft Memorial Assn., 712 Broadway, Cincinnati 2

Significance

America has produced few men who have led such a varied and successful life as William Howard Taft. Who else has been the Solicitor General of the United States, a Federal judge, an eminently successful proconsul in the American Empire, a vigorous Secretary of War, a good President and an excellent Chief Justice of the Supreme Court? And a Yale man?

Taft, from the moment of his birth on September 15, 1857, in Cincinnati, appeared destined for a life devoted to the law. Shortly after he was graduated from Yale in 1878, he entered a law school in his home town and in 1884 he became judge of Cincinnati's Superior Court. Married two years later to Helen Herron, he became Solicitor General of the United States on February 4, 1890. In 1892 President Benjamin Harrison appointed him to the Federal Circuit Court. Seemingly, Taft's career was now set for life, especially as he cherished the legal life and his seat on the court. But the Spanish-American War produced a revolution in his career, just as it did for the Nation.

America, in addition to defeating the Spanish in 1898, gained an empire. Not all Americans approved of our imperialism, especially the retention of the Philippine Islands. Taft him-
self opposed keeping those islands, peopled with an alien race and thousands of miles from North America. President William McKinley thus astounded Taft when he requested in February, 1900, that the judge head American rule in the Philippines. It was like asking a non-church member to take over a church's pulpit. McKinley's urging and a sense of duty finally triumphed over Taft's protests and his reluctance to leave his court. His acceptance not only boded well for the Philippines, but also presaged a career of increasing national significance.

Taft arrived in Manila in 1901 and departed in December, 1903. Taft's farewell to this possession left a void in the hearts of most of the Filipinos, for he had established the supremacy of civil rule and he had laid the basis for self-government. Displaying a confidence in the islanders that others lacked, especially the military, Taft, with McKinley's backing, had inaugurated an American Policy that could only end in independence. This is not to say that we made no mistakes, nor displayed quite a bit of self-interest in our rule of those islands. Even so, Taft and the Nation went about governing the Philippines in a manner that contrasted sharply with the less generous imperialism of England, France and Holland.

Because of McKinley's assassination in 1901, Taft gained a new boss, Theodore Roosevelt. The President recalled Taft early in 1903 to become the Secretary of War and by 1908 Taft had become Roosevelt's heir apparent. The two had become
fast friends as Taft had ably performed many tasks, expediting progress on the Panama Canal for one thing and establishing temporary American rule in Cuba in 1906 for another. As Roosevelt's second term ended, the President supported the nomination of Taft by the Republican Party for the presidency. With that blessing, Taft easily won the nomination. The voters also agreed with "Teddy," sending Taft to the White House.

To some, Taft's succession after Roosevelt was like the substitution of a single piccolo player for a blaring brass band. Even now, many do not realize the accomplishments of the Taft administration. Desiring to further reform and to end the abuse of economic power, Taft's program produced much in the way of beneficial legislation. The Congressional session that began in December, 1909, approved so many acts that up until that time "...., it is quite true, as was remarked at the end of the session, that more constructive legislation was enacted than by any previous Congress since Reconstruction."¹ Taft also prosecuted trusts with vigor, much more so than Roosevelt had. Two notable triumphs in this respect were the dissolutions of the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company.

It was inevitable that conflict should break out between Taft and Roosevelt. Retaining a proprietary interest in the presidency, Roosevelt was angered by the President's independence and by some of his policies. By 1912, the break was

¹Edward Stanwood, A History of the Presidency from 1788 to 1897 (2 vols.; Boston, 1898), II, 222.
complete. So complete, as a matter of fact, that Roosevelt ran as a third candidate for the White House in 1912, thus ensuring his own and Taft's defeat. In later years the old friendship was renewed, but the earlier ardor was dead.

Even when elected President, Taft had indicated that he would have been happier if he had entered the Supreme Court. For years he had longed to sit on our highest court, and he had almost accepted an appointment to it in October, 1902. Only a feeling that he should stay in the Philippines had kept him from accepting the offer. Returning to Yale as a professor of law after leaving the White House, Taft never lost sight of what he termed the "sacred shrine."² Could he have been happier then, when on June 30, 1921, the President appointed him chief justice? As head of the court, Taft capped his long career. He carried to it dignity, learning and experience, to both its and the Nation's benefit.

Taft died on March 8, 1930.

Condition of the Site

Taft was born and lived in the Auburn Avenue residence until he was twenty-five. Now obscured by the trees in front of it, the house's handsome front is hidden from view. Moreover, time has not been kind to the building, for it is quite rundown, and the house has been divided into a number of apart-

ments. Constructed of brick and painted grey, the house, however, appears to be of generally sound condition.

The William Howard Taft Memorial Association possess a perpetual lease on the building. The Association hopes to restore it in the future.

The William Howard Taft Home, about 1868. Taft stands behind the fence, while his brother, Henry, sits on the post.

Courtesy W. H. Taft Memorial Assoc.
The Taft residence as it appears today. The W. H. Taft Memorial Association plans to restore the building.

Courtesy W. H. Taft Memorial Assoc.
U. S. S. OLYMPIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Location: Pier 4, South Foot of Chestnut Street, Philadelphia

Ownership: Captain Edmund A. Crenshaw, Jr., Cruiser Olympia Association, Pier 4 South, Foot of Chestnut Street

Significance

The U. S. S. Olympia is one of the most historic naval vessels in America. This trim ship led Commodore George Dewey's fleet to a victory in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, that made the United States a world power, changing the course of American History. On that immortal day, the Olympia also led Dewey's squadron to the most decisive naval victory of all time. Is it not true, then, that the Olympia is to the United States what H.M.S. Victory is to Great Britain?

Congress authorized the construction of the Olympia, plus four additional cruisers, on September 7, 1888. The bid for the building of Dewey's future flagship was won by the Union Iron Works of San Francisco early in 1890, which firm completed the ship near the end of 1893. When launched, she was a striking vessel. She measured 340 feet long at the water line, had a fifty-three foot beam and a displacement of between 5,500 and 5,600 tons. During her trials, Olympia's triple-expansion, 13,500 horsepower engines gave her a top speed of over twenty knots. Was it mere coincidence that the Olympia's speed equalled or bettered that of a Spanish
warship, the Reina Regente?

The Olympia was a well-armed ship. Her main battery consisted of four eight-inch guns, two forward in a four-inch thick steel barbette and two aft in a similar barbette. Then five-inch cannon, fourteen six-pounder rapid fire guns, six one-pounders, four Gatling guns and six torpedo tubes completed her armament. She carried a crew of 1,266 men, and as a flagship, she had quarters for an admiral.

Even as Dewey's commodore's pennant fluttered from the Olympia for the first time on January 3, 1898, tension grew between America and Spain over Cuba. Naval officers had been thinking about the Philippine Islands for some time, but when Dewey became the commander of the Asiatic Station he found the islands "were to us a terra incognita." Our latest report about the Philippines was dated "1876"! Paucity of information or no, Washington ordered Dewey to Hong Kong on February 25, where he was to prepare for battle. Once in Hong Kong, the commodore drydocked his ships, had them scraped and painted gray. Every effort was also made to rid the vessels of woodwork, stores and personal belongings, indeed anything that could interfere in battle. On the Olympia, extra protection was placed around ammunition hoists and exposed guns. Prophetically, Dewey wrote his sister on April 18 that his fleet was ready, and that "I believe we

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will make short work of Spanish reign in the Philippines.\textsuperscript{2}

By April 21, war between America and Spain was inevitable. Three days later the Navy Department cabled Dewey that war existed, and that "You must capture (the Spanish) vessels or destroy (them)."\textsuperscript{3} Forced to leave Hong Kong within twenty-four hours because of neutrality laws, Dewey took his ships to Mîrs Bay, thirty miles from Britain's colony, where for two days they practiced with their guns. At 2:00 P.M. on April 27 the Olympia led the seven-ship fleet from the China coast, with her band lustily playing "El Capitán." Sailing at only eight knots, in order to save coal, America's bold but lonely fleet headed toward the Philippines.

Manila learned of Dewey's departure by a cable from the Spanish consul at Hong Kong. Instead of rousing the Spanish to action, the news seems to have simply deepened a defeatist attitude. Even when the admiral of the Spanish fleet learned on April 30 that the Americans had been seen off the islands, he did not cancel a party. When some of the Spanish officers returned to their vessels following the gay affair, they re-boarded after Dewey had opened fire on their ships.

While the Spanish enjoyed the party, Dewey's fleet, in battle order, entered Manila Bay. At 9:42 P.M., April 30, the call to general quarters rang out on the Olympia. The

\textsuperscript{2}Quoted in Richard S. West, Jr., Admirals of American Empire (Indianapolis, 1948), 199.

\textsuperscript{3}Quoted in Murat Halstead, Full Official History of the War With Spain (Chicago 1899), 283.
ship was cleared for action and the men stood at their guns as the ship sailed past Corregidor. Only a few shots flew from that rock, aimed at the vessels behind Dewey's flagship. Hunting the enemy, the Americans finally spied the Spanish at Cavite, some distance below Manila. At 5:15 A.M., May 1, a shore battery opened fire, without effect.

A bright sun rose behind Dewey, presaging a hot day, in all respects. Turning parallel to the enemy fleet, Dewey gave the order to fire at 5:41 A.M. Charles V. Gridley, captain of the Olympia, instantly signalled to a bugler, who blew the call to action, and the vessel's signal officer hoisted to the foretruck the flag signal, "Engage." A blossom of smoke mushroomed from Olympia's forward turret as an eight-inch gun sent the first shell toward the enemy. With that, the whole squadron opened fire.

Sailing at six knots, with the range varying from 2,000 to 5,600 yards, the American fleet poured shot at the enemy. Five times the Olympia led the column past the confused Spanish. Hot outside, it was a furnace below decks. The heat was so awful in the Olympia's fire and engine rooms that men's hair was singed. Being the lead ship, the Olympia was an excellent target. Near 7:00 A.M. the Reina Christina attempted a sortie, but accurate, intense fire from the Olympia forced her to retreat. Because of a report that ammunition was running low, Dewey withdrew at 7:35 A.M.

Although the report on ammunition proved erroneous,
Dewey did not resume action until 11:16 A.M. Forty-four minutes later, at 12:30 P.M., the enemy surrendered.

It was an amazing triumph! The Spanish fleet had been utterly destroyed, the American fleet hardly damaged. Gridley's report of damage to the Olympia reads more as if he were reporting on storm damage than battle wounds. Personnel-wise, one American had died from heatstroke while over 300 Spanish had been killed or wounded.

After Manila, the Olympia continued to serve honorably. Following service in World War I, she had the proud but tragic task of carrying the body of the Unknown Soldier to America in the fall of 1921. She then made a few brief cruises, finally lowering her anchor in the Philadelphia Navy Yard on September 1, 1922.

**Condition of the Site**

The Olympia is in excellent condition. Turned over to the Society of Founders and Patriots by the Navy in 1955, the historic vessel has been completely restored. Outside of the forward and aft turrets, plus her fairly modern five-inch guns, the Olympia is very much as when she engaged the Reina Christina in Manila Bay.

In addition to all of her other honors, the Olympia is the oldest steel-hulled American naval ship afloat. Also, in her hold are the original engines; on the berth deck are Dewey's cabin and crew's sleeping area; and on the main deck
is the spot where the casket of the Unknown Soldier lay as it was carried to America. In brief, the Olympia is "history."

The U.S.S. Olympia around 1897, somewhat before her immortal role at Manila Bay.

Courtesy Cruiser Olympia Assoc.
The U.S.S. Olympia entering New York harbor after returning from the Philippines in 1899. Note Admiral George Dewey's flag atop the rear mast.

Courtesy Cruiser Olympia Assoc.
Out of use since 1922, the Olympia as she was when the Navy turned her over to the Cruiser Olympia Association. Note the absence of the forward turret and all guns.

Courtesy Cruiser Olympia Assoc.
The **U.S.S. Olympia** as she appears today.  

Deck diagrams of the U.S.S. Olympia.

Courtesy Cruiser Olympia Association
On October 6, 1884, the Secretary of the Navy issued General Order No. 325. The initial sentence of the order said that "A College is hereby established for an advanced course of Professional study for naval officers, to be known as the Naval War College."\(^1\) Thus was born the first military service training facility to be called a "War College."

Much more significantly, General Order No. 325 ranks as one of the most momentous steps ever taken by the navy.

It cannot be said that the whole of the navy cheered the creation of a war college; indeed, most old-line officers expressed as much enthusiasm for it as the Irish did for Queen Victoria. The man most responsible for the ire of those officers was Commodore Stephen Bleecker Luce.

An exceptionally gifted educator, Luce served as the commanding officer at Annapolis for four terms. During those years he evolved the idea that the navy should have a postgraduate school where officers "could profit by a philosophic

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\(^1\) Quoted in U. S., Department of the Navy, History of the United States Naval War College, 1884-1958 (Washington, D. C., ?), 69.
study of naval history." Perhaps such study could enable commanders to avoid the mistakes of others. In a talk before the Newport Branch of the Naval Institute on April 4, 1883, Luce specifically suggested that the navy establish post-graduate study of military science. This idea only irked the chiefs of the various naval bureaus, but it stimulated the Secretary of the Navy, William Eaton Chandler, to his great credit, appointed a group to consider Luce's plan. This board subsequently reported favorably, which led to the issuance of General Order No. 325.

Luce became the first head of the Naval War College. The institution was put under the Bureau of Navigation and the old Poor House on Coaster's harbor Island became its first home. It must have been a proud and happy moment for Luce when the college's initial term began on September 3, 1883. Eight officers formed the student body. Even though the first term was short, ending on September 30, the school had gotten underway, in spite of its numerous enemies. But their enmity lived for years to come!!

If Luce fathered the Naval War College, Alfred Thayer Mahan gave the college a sound philosophic basis, as well as great prestige. Mahan, "the great evangelist of modern sea power," succeeded Luce as president in 1886. Under his leadership, the school grew in stature between 1885 and

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3 U. S., History, 43.
1888, in spite of the lively opposition of the college's foes. They were responsible for Congress' failure to appropriate funds for the institution in 1886, forcing Mahan to resort to ingenious tactics to prevent the collapse of the college. Oil lamps had to be used in the Poor House, for example, even though a power line to the adjacent Torpedo Station ran within a few yards of the school. Making its hostility all the more obvious, the Bureau of Ordnance built a barricade around the Torpedo Station's property, to keep the college's students off its grounds.

Beyond keeping the college alive, Mahan presented a remarkable and vastly influential series of lectures on the role of sea power in history. Convinced that not only there should be a war college, the new president also believed that the institution should combat the tendency for officers to become little more than human machines as technical advances worked a revolution in ships. As he put it, the Naval War College, through the study of history, should enable an officer to become "the artist in war . . . (acquiring) intuition, sagacity, judgment, daring, inspiration which place great captains among creators, and war itself among the fine arts." After studying for a year in the New York Public Library, Mahan presented a series of lectures to a class of twenty officers in the fall of 1886. The naval historian

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"Quoted in Richard S. West, Admirals of American Empire (Indianapolis, 1948), 95."
began his discussion with the early Dutch navy, then carried the story of naval history to the end of the American Revolution. He intrigued the students, some of whom had arrived with great scepticism about the course. Eventually, further study and lecturing led to the publication of Mahan's classic work in 1890, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783*.

Mahan may have impressed his students, but his brilliant work did not still his critics. Opponents in 1887 persuaded Congress not to appropriate funds for the school. One Congressman in the hostile camp reminded his colleagues that the college was "not far from the Newport casino."\(^5\) Mahan continued to fight in behalf of the school, but in 1889 it was consolidated with the Torpedo Station. Fortune soon turned, however, and in 1890 Congress voted money for a war college building on Coaster's harbor Island, which was completed in 1892. A new threat appeared in 1893 when the Secretary of the Navy sought to abolish the institution. But while en route to Newport, he read Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, which book made him a supporter of the school. Saved by Mahan's volume, the college continued to grow in stature after 1893, even though many in the service remained suspicious and hostile.

Today, the Naval War College is of supreme importance. Admiral William Snowden Sims led the college to new heights.

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\(^{5}\) Quoted in West, *Admirals*, 95.
between 1919 and 1922, expanding and improving its courses. Moreover, the navy fully recognized the school's value after World War I by adopting a policy of conferring the higher commands on graduates of the college. Since that time, the Naval War College has continued to benefit the Nation.

Condition of the Site

The original building of the Naval War College was built in 1819. Made of stone, the handsome structure has a four-story central section and a large three-story wing on either side of it. In its earliest days, the building served as a deaf and dumb asylum, as well as a poor house. The navy acquired the building in 1881, and between 1884 and 1892 the structure housed the fledgling Naval War College. The college moved into a new building in 1892, and today the old poor house is used by the commander of the Newport naval base.

A mid-nineteenth century view of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Coaster's Harbor Island, Newport, Rhode Island. The building subsequently became Newport's Poor House and then first home of the Naval War College between 1884-1892.

Courtesy U. S. Navy
A pre-World War I photograph, showing the original home of the Naval War College on the right and its present building, erected in 1891-1892, on the left.

Courtesy U. S. Navy
A contemporary picture of the Naval War College's original building. The Commander of the Newport Naval Bases currently uses the old Poor House as his headquarters.

Courtesy U. S. Navy
SOUTH CAROLINA STATE HOUSE

Location: Columbia, South Carolina

Ownership: State of South Carolina

Significance

South Carolina was one of the last three states of the former Confederacy to regain home rule with the withdrawal of Federal military forces. The State House in Columbia with its role in the events of the disputed election of 1876, the subsequent compromise, and the restoration of home rule well illustrates the end of military reconstruction and the effective return to the basic principle of selfgovernment following the Civil War.

With the surrender at Appomattox, the country faced the problem of restoring the unity of its national life. There were no precedents in American political experience to offer guidance. Following a policy of conciliation, President Andrew Johnson effectively managed the transition to normal political life when progress was violently interrupted by the Radicals. For the next twelve years, Radical Republican leadership built a policy of reconstruction based on force. The South in its resistance rejected good and bad indiscriminately. The sectional division was thus prolonged and intensified.

The futility of expecting peace through this Radical policy of pacification became increasingly evident during Ulysses S. Grant's second term. Gradually in most of the South self-rule was recovered in spite of the efforts of the national admin-
Istratlon. By the election of 1876 only South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana remained under Radical Republican rule backed by military support. Southern conservative leadership, fiercely resentful after their experiences under the enforcement laws and hopeful of Northern sympathy, now planned a supreme effort to regain self-rule. In their campaign, the Conservatives openly made use of every method of influencing the result that could possibly come within the Radical law and even employed many methods that lay outside the law.

The experience of South Carolina well illustrates the vital importance of, as well as the conduct of the election of 1876. General Wade Hampton won the Conservative nomination for governor because he was a reform man who was eminently conservative, and who would be able to unite the two races better than anyone else in the state. In his acceptance speech, Hampton promised that he would be "Governor of the whole people, knowing no party, making no vindictive discriminations, holding the scales of justice with firm and impartial hand."¹ When the votes were counted, it appeared that Hampton had won the governorship by a small margin, while Hayes had narrowly carried the presidential vote of the state. Hampton's energetic county-to-county canvas, his appeals to the freedmen for their votes, and his immense

popularity were important factors in the campaign, but his
election was probably secured in the end by the success of
his followers in preventing large numbers of Republican
Negroes from voting. However, each party claimed victory
in both state and national races. For tense weeks the
state had two rival governments, and its electoral vote
was in dispute. Unquestionably Hampton's greatest con-
tribution toward the restoration of home rule in South
Carolina was his influence in avoiding a general armed con-
flict during this troubled period.

On the larger national scene, the result of the cam-
paign between Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden hung
in the balance. Tilden had won a clear popular majority and
184 undisputed electoral votes; 185 were necessary for elec-
tion. Hayes had 165 undisputed electoral votes and thus need-
ed all 19 of the disputed votes from South Carolina, Florida,
and Louisiana and also the one vote in dispute from Oregon.
At a time of grave crisis the Country lacked a way of deter-
mining the presidential count. To some, renewed civil war
seemed a real possibility. Finally, an Electoral Commission
of 15 members was created to which was referred all disputes
about the counting of votes, and the decision was to be final
unless both houses concurred in rejecting it. All questions
were decided by a straight party vote of the commission mem-
ers, so that every contested vote was given to Hayes. He
was declared elected on March 2, 1877.
In order to secure the unopposed succession of Hayes, to defeat filibustering which might endanger the decision of the Electoral Commission, politicians who could speak with authority for Hayes assured influential Southern politicians, who wanted no more civil war but who did want home rule, that an arrangement might be made which could be satisfactory to both sides.²

So the contest was ended. Hayes was to be President; the South regained self-rule; there would be no further military help to carpet-bag governments. "President Hayes broke this deadlock (of rival state governments) on 10 April 1877 by withdrawing federal troops from Columbia, when the Democrats peaceably took possession. Two weeks later when troops evacuated New Orleans, white rule was completely restored to the South. The principle of self-government was vindicated and the world given another striking proof that government without consent is impossible to maintain in English speaking countries."³

The divisive influence of politics with a sectional appeal was not to be ended for some years yet. But the last of the three great political factors that had torn the nation apart—the debate over slavery, the Civil War,

²Walter L. Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox (New Haven, Conn., 1921), 301.

and the trials of Reconstruction—no longer existed. While sectional politics, and especially the question of the franchise for the recently-freed Negro, were to remain a problem, the proportions of that problem never again reached the degree where they would overwhelm the good sense of the country. The fact that the country did not achieve an ideal political settlement in 1877, does not destroy the importance of what was achieved.

Condition of the Site

The State House is still the capitol of South Carolina. The General Assembly authorized the present structure, the third capitol to be built in Columbia, at a location which Governor Jno. L. Manning had recommended in 1854. Work was suspended when General William T. Sherman's army destroyed Columbia on February 17, 1865. The structure was roofed and first used in 1869. Not until 1907 was the State House brought to its present, but still not fully completed state.

The style of the building is Roman Corinthian, "with considerable freedom and distinguished originality in much of the detail." It follows the design of Major John R. Niernsee, but with departures in several vital particulars from his original plan. The building has undergone considerable restoration work in recent years and has been extensively redecorated in its interior. Its condition is excellent.
The South Carolina State House, Columbia, South Carolina. N. P. S. Photo, 1963.
TEMPLE SQUARE, BRIGHAM YOUNG HOUSE, UTAH

Location: Salt Lake City

Ownership: Mormon Church

Significance

The genius of the American Territorial system was its repudiation of the doctrine that colonies should be commercially, socially, and politically subordinate to the mother country. This repudiation was one of the great contributions of the Founding Fathers, for it solved the cankerous relationship between colony and metropolis that has darkened many pages of history. In Utah this old relationship for a time reasserted itself. On the one hand was "Federal Authority," on the other "Polygamic Theocracy." The heart of the struggle between the country at large and the Mormons was indeed polygamy. Resolution of the contest was a victory for honorable compromise on both sides. As such it is an illuminating chapter in the political history of the United States.

The story is well known: How the Mormons early acknowledged the imperative of statehood, but only on the condition that their religious apartness and peculiar institution of polygamy could be maintained; how the Federal Government, through legislation and the courts, pounded away at polygamy; how the Mormons finally relented, in recognition that their way of life could be preserved only if the one institution that endangered survival was aband-
oned. Bitterness and provocation punctuated the period of Mormon transition. But in the end the imperative of survival prevailed over adherence to a religious and cultural practice that could not be accepted by the rest of the Nation. Out of compromise the Mormons fashioned a unique society "both American and not American."

Of the many historic sites and buildings in Salt Lake City, Temple Square best captures the essence of the Mormon achievement in building a kingdom on the Utah desert. While the walled square is a symbol of the still strong religious and cultural apartness of the Mormons, it was in this citadel and the nearby home and office of Brigham Young that the Saints evolved the attitudes and revised practices that allowed their peaceful incorporation into the American Commonwealth as the 45th State in 1896. The transition from isolation and enmity to full participation in national affairs was an exercise in political maturity that does credit both to the men involved and to the territorial system under which they worked. Guiding the Mormons throughout this period were the precepts of their great leader, Brigham Young—long since a figure of national stature. Utah, in its Mormon distinction, is a testimonial to the flexibility of our political institutions.

**Condition of the Site**

Today Temple Square not only dominates the architecture
but also the daily life of Salt Lake City. Such was Brigham Young's intent when in 1847 he approved the plan of the city. Punching his cane into the ground, he said, "Here will be the Temple of our God." Temple Square began to take shape in the early 1850's. By 1855 a 15-foot abode and sandstone wall surrounded the square. In 1853 groundbreaking ceremonies launched construction of Brigham Young's "Temple of our God." The general plan was Young's, conceived before the exodus from Missouri, and the details were worked out by Church architect Truman O. Angell. The walls rose slowly as great granite blocks, quarried in Little Cottonwood Canyon, were hauled by ox-team 20 miles to the building site. A railroad later hastened the process, but not until April 6, 1892, did thousands gather to watch the capstone placed on the towering edifice. Less slow of completion was the Tabernacle, then as now an architectural and engineering marvel. Conceived by Young as meeting place for the General Conference of the Church, it was begun in 1862 and finished in 1867. By 1870 the great Tabernacle organ had been installed. The third historic building, completed in 1882, was the Assembly Hall, designed as a non-sectarian place of worship. Other buildings and monuments added in later years filled in the present pattern of Temple Square. Just a block away, on South Temple Street, is the well preserved home and office of Brigham Young.
Temple Square, Salt Lake City, Utah. The Latter-Day Saints Temple, on the right, was completed in 1893.

Courtesy Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce.
The Assembly Hall, southwest corner of Temple Square, Salt Lake City. Unlike the Latter-Day Saints Temple, this many-spired building is open to the public.

Courtesy Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce
WOODROW WILSON BIRTHPLACE, VIRGINIA

Location: 24 N. Coalter Street, Staunton
Ownership: The Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation, Inc.

Significance

Thomas Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth President of the United States, was born in Staunton, Virginia. An academic career of distinction brought Wilson national attention when he became president of Princeton University. At Princeton, he championed educational reforms that made the university an influential leader. Eventually this reform leadership, particularly as to the role of the graduate school on the campus, resulted in destructive controversy. At this juncture, Wilson entered active public life with his successful campaign for the governorship of New Jersey.

Wilson was not one of the pioneers of reform; he had moved gradually from an early conservatism to emerge now as a dramatically effective political reform leader. Within a brief ten months energetic executive leadership produced reforms that made the State a practical example of the possibilities of reform. This success was all the more spectacular because New Jersey was widely regarded as one of the last strongholds of the boss-corporation system. Wilson's accomplishments also provided a powerful impetus to the movement that had already gotten under way to make him the Democratic presidential nominee in 1912.

Largely through the influence of William Jennings
Bryan, a more or less clear-cut alignment of conservative and progressive groups appeared at the Baltimore Democratic Convention of 1912. Lengthy balloting seemed to be leading the convention into deadlock when the threat was broken in favor of Wilson's nomination. With the split in the Republican party favoring him, Wilson was elected by an overwhelming electoral majority, though with a minority of the popular vote.

Wilson entered the White House in 1912 as the heir of the populist-Bryan tradition, which, in turn, could be traced to a deep-rooted tradition of faith in democracy and humanitarian reform. He promptly embarked on the course of the "New Freedom." Extraordinary legislative triumphs soon resulted; the most important of these were the Underwood Tariff and the Federal Reserve Act. In the early autumn of 1914 the third aspect of his domestic program, creation of the Federal Trade Commission and passage of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act was realized.

The impact that Wilson had on the office of the President in achieving this legislative program is of great significance. A leading Wilson biographer, Arthur S. Link, has given an evaluation of this result:

Few men have come to the presidency with bolder schemes of leadership or made greater contributions to the development of effective national government in the United States than Woodrow Wilson. Unusual circumstances for a time enabled him to demonstrate conclusively that the President has it within his power not only to be the chief spokesman for the American people, but also to destroy the wall between the executive
and legislative branches in the formulation and adoption of legislative programs. He accomplished this feat, not accidentally, but because he willed to be a strong leader and used his opportunities wisely; and historians a century hence will probably rate his expansion and perfection of the powers of the presidency as his most lasting contribution. . . . Wilson made his most significant contribution to the development of the presidency, not through exploitation of national leadership--for in this regard he merely perfected a method already highly developed by Theodore Roosevelt--but rather in the way in which he asserted and established leadership in Congress, achieved an absolute mastery of the Democratic party, and in the end fused the powers of the executive and legislative branches in his own person.  

In the closing days of the first administration and from the outset of Wilson's second term, international affairs gradually demanded the major attention. Though he was determined to follow a course of neutrality and not be forced into war by any material interest or emotional wave, events gradually deepened American involvement. Finally, on March 27, following the sinking of four American ships, he made the decision. On April 2, 1917, Wilson appeared before Congress to ask a declaration that a state of war existed with Germany. On April 6, the resolution was voted by overwhelming majorities. Once in the war, Wilson was determined that the full strength of the Nation should be concentrated on victory. As a war leader he created "a national consciousness of common effort," and having selected men for the vital military and administrative posts, he never

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interfered with them and supported them unreservedly. These
two aspects of Wilson's leadership made it possible for the
Nation to accept emergency measures, very distasteful to
American instincts but essential to victory.

Wilson's greatest contribution to victory lay in his elo­
quent voicing of Allied war aims. With the armistice came the
height of his influence. He began then his long fight for a
lasting and liberal peace. The difficulties of capitalizing
on victory proved to be far greater than those involved in
winning it. Wilson was not able to transform his dream of
international security into fact. Still, Wilson remains
"historically the eminent prophet of that better world."

Condition of the Site

The Woodrow Wilson Birthplace is a fine, two-story Greek
Revival mansion which was built in 1846 as the manse of the
First Presbyterian Church in Staunton, Virginia. The Reverend
Joseph R. Wilson moved to Virginia in the early 1850's to teach
at Hampden-Sydney College. In 1855 he became minister of the
First Presbyterian Church in Staunton, and it was in the manse
that, on December 28, 1856, Wilson was born.

The home was acquired in 1933 by the Woodrow Wilson
Birthplace Foundation at the successful conclusion of a cam­
paign dating back to 1922. The Foundation has furnished the
house in the period of its occupancy by the Wilsons; some of
the furniture belonged to the family.
A two-story, columned portico, which was originally the entrance, faces a beautiful garden at the rear of the house. The garden was landscaped to conform to the old pattern and was restored by the Garden Club of Virginia.

The home is well-maintained and kept open to the public. Hostesses offer a tour of the two lower floors; the visitor is invited to browse through the upper level with the help of a self-guiding leaflet.

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE HOME, WISCONSIN

Location: 733 Lakewood Boulevard, Maple Bluff
Ownership: Bronson C. LaFollette

Significance

A solidly built, intense and vigorous Robert Marion LaFollette spoke at the University of Chicago on February 22, 1897. One brief sentence from his speech succinctly summarizes this remarkable man's political philosophy. "Go back to the first principles of democracy;" he said, "go back to the people."\textsuperscript{1} Democracy, LaFollette believed with his heart and soul, had to rest on the people, not on special interest groups or cliques. This idea guided him when he became governor of Wisconsin and returned the State's government to its citizens. Then at the peak of his career, LaFollette's crusading leadership in Wisconsin inspired many Americans, making a vast and highly significant contribution to the strengthening of American democracy.

LaFollette was born on a farm in Primrose Township, Wisconsin, on June 14, 1855. He attended the University of Wisconsin and was graduated in 1879, after which he studied law. Soon a member of the bar, LaFollette in 1880 determined to run for the office of District Attorney in Dane County.

\textsuperscript{1} Quoted in Robert M. LaFollette, \textit{LaFollette's Autobiography} (Madison, Wisconsin, 1960), 85-86. Italics mine.
The job's salary, $800 a year, more than anything else, caused him to seek the office. But, unused to self-announced candidates, the Republican boss opposed LaFollette's plans, saying another man had been chosen to run. Incensed, LaFollette bucked against the attempt to hobble him. He set out on a campaign that characterized the whole of his political career, he went to the people. And not in vain, for the voters elected him.

LaFollette's political career had begun. After his marriage to a university classmate in December, 1881, Belle Case, LaFollette won a seat in Congress in 1885. He served three terms. While in Washington, he became aware of the power of wealth and the concentration of economic interests. But his opposition to acts befriending special interests aroused little enthusiasm, especially among the political leaders of Wisconsin. Neither did LaFollette's support of the Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, directed against railroads and trusts respectively, bring huzzaznas of praise from the political hierarchy in his home State.

Defeated in the election of 1890, LaFollette returned to Wisconsin. A complete break with those who, in conjunction with railroad and timber interests, ran the State soon occurred. A crusade followed. Until 1900, LaFollette and an increasingly dedicated band waged an unrelenting campaign to break the power of the vested interests. Known in Wisconsin as the years of the "holy war," the struggle against those in power made LaFollette and his followers the best known Progressives in the
Country. Sick and weary of the rule of the bosses, Progressives throughout the Nation wanted to revitalize democracy in America. And everywhere they were inspired as LaFollette, dauntless and strong, labored for ten years to win the governorship. Finally, in 1890, the untiring warrior won his prize.

LaFollette served not one, but three terms as governor. In a political sense, his leadership created a Periclean Age in Wisconsin. A brief review such as this cannot do justice to his accomplishments. The scope of LaFollette's achievements is clearly indicated, however, if we simply glance at the entry, "LaFollette, Robert Marion, . . . As Governor of Wisconsin, from 1901 to 1905," in the index to his autobiography. We find the following legislation listed:

Primary Election Law
Railroad Taxation
Railroad Regulation
Income Tax Law
Inheritance Tax Law
Anti-Lobby Law

Conservation Measures
Insurance Laws
Civil Service Law
Regulation of State Banks

Considering the powerful forces arrayed against him, the foregoing list causes the building of the Great Pyramid to seem to have been but child's play when compared with LaFollette's accomplishments as governor.

\[2\text{Ibid.}, 345.\]
LaFollette made the people supreme in his State. The revolution in Wisconsin became known as the "Wisconsin Idea," which served as a beacon for Progressives in every State. We ourselves continue to benefit from the triumph of much of the Wisconsin Idea throughout the land.

In January, 1906, LaFollette took his seat in the United States Senate, after his election in 1905. Once again, the adversary of privilege carried on his fight. But perhaps his most dramatic, not popular, moment came when he opposed America's declaration of war against Germany in 1917. Conscience took him down that lonely path. Abused, cursed and damned, LaFollette had voted in the belief that the people were misled, that in the long run war would stifle progress.

LaFollette died on June 18, 1925. In his career, LaFollette had exhibited an overpowering drive that had sometimes irritated both friends and enemies,

But in general how just he was, how fearless, how tireless in his crusades, how great and noble a fighter for democracy; and how much he did to promote a movement not only purgative, but constructive.

Condition of the Site

LaFollette moved from a house on Broom Street in Madison to a sixty-acre farm in Maple Bluff, a suburb of Madison, in 1905. On the farm was a two-story brick house, now about one hundred years old, which he used as his residence. The build-

\[3\] From the preface by Allen Nevins in LaFollette, Autobiography, VIII.
Ing's exterior has been little changed since LaFollette's death. Inside, some changes have occurred, the living and dining rooms having been made into a single room, for example. Of the original plot of ground, only three acres remain.

The Robert M. LaFollette Home, Maple Bluff, Wisconsin.

N. P. S. Photo, 1963.
Sites and Buildings Classified as Having Exceptional Value in Other Themes that are Related to this Theme

1. American Flag Raising Site, overlooking the harbor at the southeast edge of Sitka, Baranof Island, Alaska (classified in Theme XXI, Special Study, Alaska History). The American flag was raised here on October 18, 1867, consummating the Nation's purchase of Alaska.


3. Iolani Palace, 364 South King Street, Honolulu, Hawaii (classified in Theme XXI, Special Study, Hawaii History). The royal residence of the last two rulers of the Hawaiian Kingdom, King Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani.

4. The Lincoln State Memorial, 8th and Jackson Streets, Springfield, Illinois (classified in Theme XIV, The Civil War, 1861-1865). The only house Abraham Lincoln ever owned; he lived here between 1844-1861, except while in Congress, 1847-1849.


6. Fort Brown, Brownsville, Texas (classified in Theme XV, Westward Expansion). Headquarters of General Philip H. Sheridan and his army of 50,000 during America's post-Civil War negotiations with France to end the French occupation of Mexico.

7. American and English Camps, San Juan Island, Washington (classified in Theme XIII, Political and Military Affairs, 1830-1860). This site commemorates the long series of boundary disputes between England and the United States concerning the San Juan Islands. Arbitration by the German Emperor in 1872 upheld the American claims.
Sites and Buildings in the National Park System Related to this Theme

   General Ulysses S. Grant's massive mausoleum reflects a Nation's appreciation of the deeds of one of its outstanding warriors. Completed in 1897, the tomb holds the sarcophagi of both Grant and his wife, Julia Dent Grant, in an open crypt. Allegorical figures between the arches of the rotunda, symbolizing Grant's youth, military career, Presidency and death, help us to recall the man's full life.

2. Theodore Roosevelt Birthplace and Sagamore Hill National Historic Sites, New York
   Theodore Roosevelt's role as President is most pertinent to this study. Brought to the presidency by the assassination of William McKinley, he gave the Nation guidance that it had not known since the death of Abraham Lincoln. In general, Roosevelt vastly extended the role of the Federal Government in behalf of all the Nation's citizens and he vigorously applied American power and influence in international affairs. His two administrations between 1901-1909 thus mark a turning point in American History. A visit to Roosevelt's birthplace and Sagamore Hill heighten one's impressions of the remarkable man. Especially is that true of Sagamore Hill. The house and its contents strongly reflect Roosevelt's diverse and intriguing personality. Just as only a trip to the Grand Canyon can bring home its immensity and color, in like fashion only a tour of Roosevelt's homes can fully illuminate this uncommon man's life.

   Andrew Johnson National Monument preserves important sites associated with the 17th President of the United States; the tailor shop in which he worked at the beginning of his career, his name, and his grave.
OTHER SITES CONSIDERED

ARIZONA

1. Governor's Mansion (Pioneer Square)

Located in Prescott. The Governor's Mansion in Prescott's Pioneer Square symbolizes the climax of one of the great political experiments of all time—the territorial system of the United States. Arizona's achievement of statehood in 1912 completed the organization of the contiguous continental United States. Thus was fulfilled the dream of Manifest Destiny—a unified Country stretching from ocean to ocean.

Arizona Territory was created by an act signed by President Lincoln on February 24, 1863. At that time Arizona's only settlement of note was Tucson. Selection of Prescott as the capital was influenced by the recent discovery of rich placer gold deposits in surrounding hills and streams and by fear that Confederate sympathizers in Tucson would not welcome the territorial government.

The Governor's Mansion was built in 1864 for John N. Goodwin, the territorial governor. During construction, workers were protected by armed guards who kept marauding Apaches at bay. In September the First Territorial Legislature met in the mansion, inaugurating strong government in Arizona. In what came to be known as the mansion's Legislative Hall, the first territorial laws were formulated, and a 48-year march toward statehood commenced for the 48th State.

In 1867 Tucson was designated the official seat of government and the executive and legislative bodies moved there. However, in 1877, Prescott regained its status as capital. So it remained until Phoenix became the permanent site in 1889.

For many years the Governor's Mansion was neglected until brought back to life by Sharlot Hall, Prescott poet and historian. In 1927 she moved into the sturdy 2-story, 11-room log structure and began its restoration and refurbishing. Today the mansion reflects the pioneer period, both as to its essentially unaltered exterior structure and the period furnishings within.
The Governor's Mansion, Prescott, Arizona, in 1885.
Adjacent to the Governor's Mansion is a museum building which houses material displays, historical documents, newspaper files, and an Indian collection. Nearby is a reconstruction of an early schoolhouse, a log cabin typical of pioneer construction, and an original log hut that was moved to this site some years ago. The hut is known in Prescott tradition as Fort Misery, the misery relating to the hardship of life in the early village. It was not a military building, but was used as a restaurant, a residence, and a Justice of the Peace office. Thus both the Governor's Mansion and Fort Misery date from the establishment of the town in 1864; the other buildings in the complex being of relatively modern construction.

CALIFORNIA

2. Alcatraz Island

Located in San Francisco Bay. In 1851 plans were prepared for fortifying San Francisco Bay. This project called for the construction of two new forts, one at the entrance to the Bay, on the site occupied by the ruined Castillo de San Joaquin (at Fort Point in the Presidio of San Francisco), and the second on Alcatraz Island. Work was started on the two forts in 1853, when Congress appropriated $500,000 for this purpose. The fort at Alcatraz, completed first, was finished in 1860 at a cost of $600,000. The Alcatraz post, garrisoned by 120 men and 85 cannon in 1861, had a belt of encircling batteries, a massive brick guardhouse, and a barracks three stories high, with accommodations for 600 men. There were also three bombproof magazines, which each held 10,000 pounds of powder. Other buildings included a large furnace for heating cannon balls, and a 50,000-gallon cistern for fresh water, the water being transported to the island from the nearby mainland.

Also situated on the island was the first lighthouse to be put into use for the Pacific Coast by the United States Government. First placed into use in 1854, the Fresnel lantern was visible for 12 miles and in foul weather an automatic fog-bell struck every 15 seconds. Until Fort Point was completed in 1861, Alcatraz was the prime fortress guarding San Francisco Harbor.
Alcatraz continued to serve as the most important post of the secondary harbor defenses during the Civil War, but had no opportunity to fire a shot in anger. In 1868 it became a military prison and a disciplinary barracks. In the early 70's the government also sent troublesome Indians from the territories of Arizona and Alaska to the island for confinement. Prisoners from the Philippines were also held here in 1900.

In 1933 the island was turned over to the Department of Justice, and Alcatraz became a Federal prison for the confinement of particularly dangerous types of organized criminals. The early military fortifications have been obliterated by later prison uses.

3. Angel Island

Located in San Francisco Bay, Angel Island formed a portion of the secondary Civil War defenses of San Francisco Harbor. Camp Reynolds was established on the island in September 1863 and in 1864 four batteries mounting 26 guns, two barracks, a bakery, and a small hospital were erected on the island. After being temporarily abandoned in 1866, the post was then continuously occupied until 1946. It served as a general depot for receiving and distributing recruits from the East who were destined for stations in the West. In 1900 the military reservation was renamed Fort McDowell. From 1899 to 1901 it served as a detention camp to accommodate troops that had been exposed to contagious diseases and then as a discharge camp for troops returning from the Philippines.

In addition to its military functions, it also served as a Public Health Service Quarantine Station from 1888 to 1949 and as an Immigration Station from 1909 to 1941.

Three batteries, erected in the late 90's still survive and are in excellent condition. There are also about 235 buildings ranging in age from 1875 to 1946 also standing. This island has been declared surplus property and is now in the process of being transferred to the State of California for development as a State Historical Park.
4. Mare Island, Naval Yard

The United States Navy Yard is located on Mare Island in San Pablo Bay of San Francisco Bay, Solano County, just across from the city of Vallejo. Mare Island was the first U. S. Naval Yard and depot to be established by the U. S. Government on the Pacific Coast.

In 1851 and 1852 Congress made appropriations for the establishment of a naval dock, yard, and depot on the West coast and Mare Island was selected as the site for these installations. The post was declared operational on October 3, 1851; its first commandant was Captain David G. Farragut, who served in this capacity from 1851 to 1858.

Mare Island covers 3,000 acres of ground and is ten miles in circumference. The deep waters surrounding it contain sufficient anchorage for the fleets of the world. Here are great shipyards and drydocks and also many relics of naval warfare, such as cannon and figureheads from famous ships. The oldest surviving buildings are the Marine Barracks, which were erected in 1862.

5. Fort Rosecrans

Located on Point Loma, at the entrance to San Diego Bay. In 1852 a military reservation was set aside on the tip of Point Loma by executive order. Formal possession of the land, however, was not taken by the Army until February 28, 1870. In 1889 the post was named Fort Rosecrans in honor of General William S. Rosecrans, a U. S. Civil War leader.

In 1897-1899 major coastal fortifications were erected on Point Loma and four 10-inch rifles were placed in position. Fort Rosecrans became a mobilizing unit and training station in World War I and the defenses were completely modernized and considerably enlarged during World War II.

The abandoned emplacements of the 1898 batteries are still to be seen; the land has been transferred to other federal agencies.
6. **Presidio (U.S.) of Monterey**

Located on the foot of Pacific Street, on the southwest edge of Monterey, overlooking the Pacific Ocean, this 360-acre site should not be confused with the Spanish Presidio of Monterey. This latter site, founded in 1770 and in ruins by 1818, is located about a mile northeast of the U.S. Presidio in Monterey at Webster, Fremont, and Abrego Streets and Camino El Estero.

First military use of the future site of the U.S. Presidio of Monterey occurred in 1818, when the French pirate Hippolyte de Bouchard attacked Monterey and sacked the town. With the Spanish Presidio in ruins, the citizens hurriedly threw up an earthwork battery, thereafter known as El Castillo (The Fort), on the hill to the southwest of the town and unsuccessfully endeavored to defend their town.

Soon after Commodore John D. Sloat and American forces captured Monterey, on July 7, 1846, a blockhouse, earthworks, two large two-story log barracks, and a stone magazine were erected about 20 yards south of El Castillo and 24 guns were mounted in new redoubt. First named Fort Stockton, the post was subsequently known as Fort Mervine, and from 1847 to 1902 as Fort Halleck. It was renamed as the Presidio of Monterey in 1902.

Fort Halleck was dismantled in 1852 but the post was reoccupied during the Civil War by two companies of infantry, who were quartered in two log huts. The fort, however, was not rebuilt and after 1865 the post was again abandoned and almost forgotten.

The U.S. Presidio of Monterey was developed in 1902, when barracks were erected as a cantonment for troops returning from the Philippine Campaigns. The U.S. Presidio had been an important military post since August 15, 1940, when it became the U.S. Army headquarters for Fort Ord (Clayton), and Camp Ord, large military reservations utilized for the training of troops.

There are no remains of either the El Castillo or Fort Halleck but the former sites have both been marked.
Hearst's San Simeon

Hearst's San Simeon Castle, or La Casa Grande, is located in San Luis Obispo County, approximately five miles east of California State Highway 1.

William Randolph Hearst, the son of a multimillionaire, was born in a fine mansion on Taylor Street in the Nob Hill section of San Francisco on April 29, 1863. In 1882 he entered Harvard and attended that institution until 1885, when he was expelled because of a sophomoric prank. Returning to California in 1887, he asked for and was given the San Francisco Examiner, by his father George Hearst, the newly elected U. S. Senator from California. This was the beginning of William Randolph Hearst's 64-year career in the newspaper industry.

At the age of 24, Hearst poured about half a million dollars into his new venture, assembled a fine staff of editors and writers, and modeling his paper after Joseph Pulitzer's New York World, brought yellow journalism to the Pacific Coast. The Examiner specialized in sensationalism, stressing crime, sex, and human interest stories. When news did not occur, the resourceful staff invented the required stories. The paper was designed for consumption by the barely literate mass audience. By such methods Hearst was able to increase the circulation of the Examiner from 30,000 in 1887 to 62,000 by 1889.

The death of his father in 1891 made available to William R. Hearst an estate worth between 30 and 40 million dollars, comprised of rich copper, gold, and silver mines located in California, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Chile, Mexico, and Peru, and also vast cattle ranches situated in New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Mexico.

Determined to make himself master of the newspaper world, Hearst went east in 1895, equipped with the finest writers of his San Francisco staff and some seven and a half million dollars to finance his next move. In September, 1895, Hearst acquired the New York Journal, a paper with a circulation of 100,000 for $180,000, and launched a campaign to dethrone Joseph Pulitzer as king of the journalism. Hearst's method was simply to endeavor to out-sensationalize the master himself. When his San Francisco staff proved unequal to this task, young Hearst stole Pulitzer's finest editors and re-
porters in 1896 by offering them higher salaries. This improvement increased the Journal's circulation to 400,000 by the end of 1896, as compared to the World's 600,000. In the battle Hearst removed all restraints from his writers and yellow journalism reached the logical extreme in its development in New York City.

Hearst, like Pulitzer, assumed the role of the tribune of the people. In the campaign of 1896, Hearst was the only New York editor to support Bryan. He exploited the Cuban revolution to whip up a popular demand for war with Spain, also boosting the circulation of his paper in the process. Following the destruction of the U.S.S. Maine, both the World and Journal bent every energy to involve the United States in the conflict with Spain. Undeterred by truth, the Journal exceeded its competitors in creating vivid but false news. At the height of the war, the World and Journal each had a daily circulation of more than one million copies.

In 1900, Hearst expanded his journalistic efforts to Chicago, establishing the Chicago American, and soon thereafter developed political ambitions. In 1902 he had himself elected Representative from the 11th Congressional District of New York City, which was controlled by Tammany Hall. Although he rarely attended a meeting of the House of Representatives and seldom voted, he was re-elected in 1904.

Posing as a muckraker and radical reformer, Hearst attempted to obtain the Democratic nomination for president in 1904; he secured 263 votes in the national convention, but lost out to Judge Alton B. Parker. In 1905 Hearst came within 3,472 votes of being elected mayor of New York City, and in 1906 he was defeated for the governorship of New York State by Charles Evans Hughes by less than 60,000 votes. In the presidential campaign of 1908, Hearst created an independent third party to place his own man in the White House, but was nationally repudiated when his candidate collected only 83,628 votes in the entire country. These unsuccessful political efforts are estimated to have cost Hearst some 2 million dollars.

In 1912 Hearst supported Woodrow Wilson for President, but soon after the election turned against him. From
1914 to 1917 Hearst was an ardent pacifist; and until the entry of the United States into World War I, his extreme Anglophobia made his chain of 9 newspapers pro-German in their accounts of the European War. Hearst supported Al Smith for the governorship of New York in 1918, but broke with the victorious candidate in 1919. He supported Harding for President in 1920 and also opposed the United States entry into the League of Nations. In 1925, however, Hearst ended his long pose as a political liberal. By 1934 he had become an ardent admirer of Adolph Hitler and was also promoting "Un-American" investigations through his empire of 32 newspapers. His personal motto was "I am an American." Hearst died in 1951.

In addition to his other interests, Hearst experimented in the making of motion pictures as early as 1913. But, it was not until 1918 that he entered the motion picture industry in a large way. That year he established the Cosmopolitan Corporation with Marion Davies as its star. Hearst now established close contacts with the Hollywood moving picture colony and between 1918 and 1926 turned out series of pictures starring Miss Davies.

Hearst's San Simeon is located on the Piedra Blanca (white rock) Rancho, which had been bought by his father, George Hearst, in 1865 for $30,000. Large scale cattle operations were at once started on this 40,000 acre ranch. Here William Randolph Hearst, as a boy, spent many happy hours, learning to ride, fish and hunt. Here also the Hearsts and their friends "roughed it" in deluxe camping trips. The large frame ranch house of Senator Hearst still stands and is located at the foot of the grade leading up to La Case Grande on La Cuesta Endantada (the Enchanted Hill).

Development of the Rancho into an elaborate estate was started by William Randolph Hearst in 1919 and its construction was supervised by the architect Julia Morgan. The project has been described by one of W. R. Hearst's biographers as "a carefully planned deliberate attempt ... to create a shrine of beauty." Another biographer, however, has characterized it as "a fabulously extravagant moving-picture realm, a magical but ultra-modern Venusberg."

First to be erected were three palatial guesthouses.
The main structure, La Casa Grande, was started in 1922. A small army of workers hauled materials, which came from all over the world, up the hill and erected a castle with twin Spanish towers and transformed the landscape into Italian gardens with fountains, statues, and broad terraces. Because of its builder's desire to improve his home and to make available to him and his guests thousands of collected items, some of which are still in storage, construction never ceased. Today the north and east postions of the building still stand uncompleted, with bare concrete walls.

The castle contains 100 rooms, including 38 bedrooms, 31 bathrooms and 14 sitting rooms. It has been estimated that Hearst spent $1,000,000 a year for 50 years in his collecting enterprises, and a great portion of this vast expenditure can be viewed in the castle and on the grounds.

123 acres of the Piedra Blanca Rancho, including La Casa Grande and the magnificent gardens, pools, fountains, walks and statuary, have been deeded to the State of California. The site is now administered by the California Division of Beaches and Parks as Hearst San Simeon State Historical Monument and is open to the public.

8. **Fort Mason**

This 67-acre reservation is located at Van Ness Avenue and Bay Streets in San Francisco. First fortified by the Spanish in 1797, Fort Mason served as an infantry and artillery post in the secondary defenses of San Francisco harbor from 1863 to 1909. Fort Mason emerged into prominence in 1909-10, when it became the western headquarters of the U. S. Army Transport Service, thereby becoming the starting-off place for all soldiers and supplies moving across the Pacific.

Fort Mason was originally a part of a 1,564-acre military reservation established by the Spanish in 1776 and known as the Presidio of San Francisco. In 1797, a battery was erected at Point San Jose (or Yerba Buena, later Black Point, and now Fort Mason) as a part of the harbor defenses. The new battery was constructed of brushwood fascines and earthworks hastily put together and mounted five eight-pounders. No permanent garrisons were kept at the post; only a sentinel paid it a daily visit.
By 1806 this battery was in ruins and had been abandoned.

The United States took possession of California in 1846 and on November 6, 1850, the Presidio of San Francisco and Point San Jose (Fort Mason) were reserved by President Millard Fillmore by Executive Order for public use as a military reservation. In 1851 Fort Mason was formally reserved as a separate installation from the Presidio reservation by a Presidential Proclamation amending the original order of 1850.

The Point San Jose site was not immediately occupied by the Army. With the gold rush, settlers swarmed into California and many squatters pitched their tents on Point San Jose; these temporary installations were soon followed by the erection of houses, stables, fences and gardens. In 1859 John Charles Fremont, the "Pathmarker," bought a 12-acre tract and a house on Point San Jose and made it his home until 1861.

In 1859 the Army announced plans to complete the fortifications of San Francisco harbor, and these included the placing of 50 guns on Point San Jose. Nothing, however, was done about the subject until after the Civil War had commenced. In October 1863 the Army reoccupied Point San Jose and constructed a battery. The private residents were removed and their buildings converted into quarters. The Fremont house was razed to make room for the gun emplacement.

The removed residents contested this action in the courts, but the U. S. Supreme Court, in 1867-68, held that the United States had valid title to the land. In 1882 the post was named Fort Mason in honor of Colonel Howard Barnes Mason, military governor of California from 1847-1849. The reservation served as an artillery and infantry post from 1863 to 1909.

With the Spanish-American War in 1898, Fort Mason began to emerge into prominence. In 1898 the Army Transport Service was established to support U. S. military efforts in the Philippine Islands. Four ships sailed from
San Francisco docks at the foot of Folsom Street that April. By 1909 it was apparent that with the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, the maintenance of a military force in China following the Boxer Rebellion, and the steps necessary to stabilize the newly-acquired Philippine Islands, a permanent Army Transport Service base was needed to provide these services.

Fort Mason was selected as the site. Three piers, one 500 feet long, and the others 650 feet, were built and the first sailings from the new facility began in 1910. The San Francisco General Depot, burned out of its Montgomery Street headquarters and warehouses in 1906, was moved to Fort Mason.

From 1910 Fort Mason became the starting-off place for the constant stream of soldiers and supplies moving into the Pacific area. In World War I its principal function was the support of the Siberian Expedition. In World War II it was the headquarters of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation which provided the principal support of the Army forces in the war in the Pacific, directing the movement of 26 million tons of cargo and over one million soldiers. It was the home-coming center for the victorious American forces in 1945-46, for the repatriation of liberated prisoners of war, war dead, and for war brides. It performed similar functions in the Korean War. Today it is the headquarters of three major logistical commands concerned with the movement of personnel and material to our Pacific bases and to such allied areas as South Vietnam and Thailand.

The three great Army transport docks, built in 1909-10, are in excellent condition and still used for their original purpose.

There are no remains of the 1797 Spanish battery, but the site, located in the small park north of the loop at the north end of Sheridan Road, is marked by an Army historical marker. The former site of the Fremont Cottage, situated in the rear of quarters No. 4 and 5, near the loop at the north end of Sheridan Road, is also marked.
Two groups of buildings, one erected by private citizens in the 1850s, and the other by the U. S. Army in 1864, still stand.

The 1850 structures include:

1. McDowell Hall (Brooks House No. 1), erected in 1855 and split into two houses by the Army in 1864. This is a large two-story frame house, and was used as the residence of 38 Commanding Generals of the Army's Western Headquarters from 1865 to 1943. It is now utilized as a transient and officers' Mess. The building is located on the north side of MacArthur Avenue.

2. Quarters No. 2 (Brooks House No. 2).

3. Quarters No. 3 (Haskell House). This was the house in which U. S. Senator David Broderick died after his 1859 duel with State Supreme Court Judge David S. Terry.

4. Quarters No. 4 (Palmer House), originally the home of an early San Francisco banker.

These last three buildings, little altered and in excellent condition, are now being utilized as officers' quarters.

GEORGIA

9. Home of Thomas E. Watson, Hickory Hall

Thomas E. Watson was born September 5, 1856 in Columbia County near Thomson, Georgia. In both his political and his private life, Watson assumed the role of "agrarian avenger." Spokesmen of the post-Civil War "New South" movement urged industrialization and allied themselves with the industrial North. Watson's distrust of this drive toward industrialization crystallized as he saw the farmer declining in wealth and prestige during the period. The Farmer's Alliance offered a vehicle for these convictions, and in 1890 Watson was elected to Congress on an Alliance platform. Making a choice that was especially
difficult in the post-Civil War South, he determined that fidelity to his reform principles was more important than loyalty to the Democratic party and declared himself a Populist. Watson won a fanatical following and became almost the "incarnation of the new agrarian revolt in the South."

As Populist spokesman in the Georgia Legislature, Watson introduced many Alliance reform bills. In 1891, he founded the People's Party Paper. Violent cross currents and fraudulent tactics defeated him in the state elections of 1892 and '94, but Watson emerged in 1896 as the Populist candidate for Vice-President. Populism in the South was demoralized in that important election by fusion with the Democrats. Defeat in 1896 left Watson in a particularly humiliating position.

Embittered by defeat and what he felt was a betrayal, Watson retired from public life for eight years to devote himself to writing. He emerged briefly in 1904 as the unsuccessful Populist candidate for President. For the next several years he found a public platform in a succession of magazines: Tom Watson's Magazine; Watson's Magazine; and the Weekly Jeffersonian Magazine.

New Issues came to overshadow the agrarian-industrial conflict, and Watson's political career entered a troubled period of bitter racial and religious issues. Then with a sudden resurgence of his old spirit, Watson rose to denounce American entry into World War I and entered a brief career in the Senate in 1920 which ended with his death two years later.

Tom Watson was a stormy spokesman of agrarian protest and reform both in Georgia and on the national scene. The special political situation that prevailed in the post-war South with its one-party tradition worked to defeat him at the state level. This same situation contributed to the humiliating position in which he was placed in the national election of 1896. Watson was never able to establish himself as an effective national political leader.
10. **Woodrow Wilson Boyhood Home**

Located in Augusta. In November 1857 the Reverend Dr. Joseph Wilson moved from Staunton, Virginia to Augusta, Georgia to accept a call as minister of that city's First Presbyterian Church. The family followed shortly after, and the manse in Augusta was the Wilson home from 1858 until 1870. So it was in Augusta that Woodrow first became aware of his environment. Wilson spent his boyhood in the Southern cities of Augusta and Columbia, South Carolina during the years of post-Civil War demoralization and Reconstruction. But the immediate family environment was a well-ordered and stable one.

The house is a two-story, red brick building that is now a private residence and no longer the Presbyterian manse.

11. **Lyman Trumbull Home**

Located at 1105 Henry Street, Alton. Lyman Trumbull, who lived in his Alton home for several years after 1849, is best remembered for two acts: he introduced the resolution that served as the basis for the Thirteenth Amendment and he voted against the conviction of President Andrew Johnson. Both of those actions reflect the courage and conviction of this unassuming, studious individual.

Born on October 12, 1813, Trumbull studied law, became successful as a lawyer and entered politics early in life. Between 1840 and 1855 he held several political offices in Illinois, elective and appointive, including the chief justiceship of the State. Trumbull had been a Democrat in these years, but when elected to the United States Senate in 1855 he abandoned the party of Jefferson for the newly organized Republican Party.

Trumbull's ability and strong Republicanism
Senator Lyman Trumbull's home, Alton, Illinois.

Courtesy Mrs. Catherine Dittmann
hoisted him to a powerful position in the Senate. When Southern rebellion flared, Trumbull stoutly supported the President and his policies. Always opposed to slavery, the Illinois Senator in 1864, as the chairman of the judiciary committee, proposed the resolution that became the basis of the Thirteenth Amendment. This amendment abolished slavery.

After the death of Lincoln, Trumbull's latent dread of Presidential leadership burst forth. He feared the loss of Congressional power if the President continued to dominate the Federal Government, thus he attacked Andrew Johnson's attempt to control reconstruction. But Trumbull's opposition rested on constitutional principle, much more so than did Thaddeus Stevens' or Charles Sumner's opposition to the Chief Executive. That is borne out by the fact that Trumbull disagreed with the impeachment of the President and voted against his conviction. His vote against the conviction of Johnson stands as an extremely brave act, for it brought down upon him the wrath and contempt of most of his fellow Republicans in Congress. Moreover, his vote cost him his influential position in the Senate.

Trumbull departed from the Senate in 1873. By 1880 he had returned to the Democratic Party, but failed to win the governorship of Illinois in that year. He then moved to Chicago, where he practiced law until June 25, 1896, when he died.

Despite some minor changes in the interior, Trumbull's Alton home is essentially the same as when he lived there. A story and a half brick cottage, the house includes several rooms in the cellar. None of the Trumbull furnishings are in the house at present.

IOWA

12. Herbert Hoover Birthplace

Located in West Branch is the restored birth-
place of Herbert Hoover (1874- ), President of the United States from 1929 to 1933. Recently, the Hoover Library was built near the birthplace, which library contains the correspondence and papers of Hoover during his presidency. Both the birthplace and Library are administered by a foundation.

13. **James Harlan Home, "Mount Pleasant"**

Now owned and preserved by Iowa Wesleyan College, "Mount Pleasant," the two-story home of James Harlan (1829-1899), is maintained as a museum. Harlan was United States Senator from Iowa; Secretary of the Department of the Interior, 1865-1866; and the father-in-law of Robert Todd Lincoln.

**KANSAS**

14. **Eisenhower Memorial**

Located in Abilene. The memorial consists of the boyhood home of Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States 1953-1961, Commander of United States Forces in Europe during World War II. In addition to the boyhood home is the Memorial building, which contains souvenirs and mementoes assembled during Eisenhower's long military career.

The two buildings are administered by a foundation.

15. **Frederick Funston Home**

Located near Ida. The boyhood home of Frederick Funston (1865-1917), hero of the Philippine Insurrection of 1901. It was Funston who was primarily responsible for the capture of the Philippine rebel, Aquinaldo.

The Frederick Funston Home is in State ownership.
16. Charles Sumner House

Located at 120 Hancock Street, Boston. Brilliant military costumes appeared throughout the happy crowd that had gathered to celebrate Boston's Independence Day celebration in 1845. Many officers sat near the speaker's stand. A relatively unknown, six-foot, four-inch tall, handsome and strong-voiced man shortly began to deliver the main address. Suddenly the soldiers began to sputter in rage, for the speaker had calmly posed the question, "Can there be in our age any peace that is not honorable, any war that is not dishonorable?". It was not the last time that Charles Sumner's courage electrified his audience.

Sumner, who had been born on January 6, 1811, and had taken up law, was heard from more and more frequently after that fateful July 4. His outspoken views on slavery soon gained him greater prominence, leading to his election to the Federal Senate in 1851. There he continued to denounce the enslavement of human beings, ignoring the protests of his Southern colleagues. Sumner exercised little restraint in his attacks on the institution. One powerful speech especially incited those from the slave States, inducing a member of the House of Representatives to defend Southern honor by attacking Sumner while he sat at his desk in the Senate. As a result of the blows inflicted by a stout walking stick, Sumner could not attend the Senate for about three and a half years.

As the Civil War neared its end, Sumner joined Thaddeus Stevens in attacking Presidential domination of reconstruction, as well as leniency toward the South. His ferocious attitude backfired, however. The impeachment of Andrew Johnson did not bring conviction and the harsh Congressional policy toward the South disastrously influenced Negro-White relations.

Sumner, since 1861, had also served as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. After the Civil War, he continued to hold that position, contributing materially to the effectiveness of American foreign policy. But when President Ulysses S. Grant became infatuated with the idea of annexing the island of
Santo Domingo, Sumner became involved in a fatal conflict. Grant urged Sumner to back the annexation treaty, but Sumner, courageous and adamant, fought the President. He led the Senate to reject the treaty. In retaliation, Grant forced Sumner's removal from the leadership of the committee.

Sumner, though shorn of his power, remained in the Senate. He died there on March 11, 1874.

**MINNESOTA**

17. **Alexander Ramsey House**

Located at 265 Exchange Street, St. Paul. Alexander Ramsey, Mayor of St. Paul, Governor of the State, United States Senator, and Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Rutherford B. Hayes, built this house in 1870. Still owned by members of the family, it is not open to the public.

**MISSISSIPPI**

18. **Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar Home**

Located in Oxford. Although he was born in Georgia, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar settled permanently in Mississippi early in his career. His home in Oxford is a simple frame cottage built before 1860. In the immediate pre-Civil War years, he represented Mississippi in Congress where he spoke for the conservative point-of-view—determined to preserve Southern rights, but anxious to maintain the Union. With Lincoln's election, he became convinced that only the dissolution of the Union could preserve the rights and liberties of the slaveholding states.

Lamar served the Confederacy both in the army and as a diplomatic representative. In the first years after the war, he returned to the practice of law and teaching at the University of Mississippi. His political activity seemed to be at an end.
In 1872, Lamar was elected to Congress as the first Democrat from Mississippi since the beginning of Congressional Reconstruction. During these deeply troubled post-war years when national politics continued to excite sectional animosities, Lamar pleaded for sectional reconciliation and good will. In the Senate, he was recognized at once as an orator and a statesman.

Lamar was made Secretary of the Interior in Cleveland's Cabinet and was confirmed as a Justice of the Supreme Court in 1888.

In a career that spanned the sectional crisis of the years both before and after the Civil War, Lamar represented the best of the old and the new South. In the aftermath of the Civil War, Southern political representatives were understandably not in the forefront of national leadership. Lamar, as a spokesman for moderation and reconciliation, did, however, make a significant contribution in the long uphill struggle toward genuine national reunion.

MISSOURI

19. Gates-Wallace-Truman Home

Located in Independence. Built in the Civil War period, this large, three-story frame structure served from 1919 as the residence of Harry S. Truman, (1884--), 32nd President of the United States. While living here, he was elected United States Senator and Vice-President. During the period while he was President (1945-1953), it served as the "Summer White House." It is still the home of Mr. Truman.

20. Harry S. Truman Birthplace

Located in Lamar. In this one and one-half story frame structure, Harry S. Truman, 32nd President of the United States, was born on May 8, 1884.

The house is now in State ownership.
21. General John J. Pershing Boyhood Home

Located in LaClede. Born near LaClede in 1860, John J. Pershing, who later became Commander-in-Chief of American Expeditionary Forces in World War I, moved into this two-story frame house. It was while at LaClede that young Pershing received his appointment to West Point. His subsequent Army career in the Spanish-American War of 1898 and World War I made him one of America's foremost military heroes.

The home is in State ownership. The site fails to meet Criterion No. 7 of the Survey.

22. Senator George G. Vest House

Located at 745 Moss Street, Boonville, Vest (1830-1904) was a Representative and Senator in the Confederate Congress, 1862-1865, and served as a member of the United States Senate from 1879-1903.

Vest's home has undergone considerable alteration.

MONTANA

23. Senator W. A. Clark House

Located at West Granite and North Idaho Streets, Butte. This three-story red brick mansion was occupied by W. A. Clark, Democratic leader and President of the Montana State Conventions of 1884 and 1889. Opposed by Marcus Daly, he was twice refused a seat in the United States Senate, to which he claimed election; after a third election, in 1901, he was finally seated. He served only one term and then retired.

The W. A. Clark House is in private ownership.
NEBRASKA

24. J. Sterling Morton Home, "Arbor Lodge"

Arbor Lodge, near Nebraska City, was the home of J. Sterling Morton, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture in President Cleveland's second Cabinet. His 52-room mansion, built over a period of 47 years, and 65 acres of the original land, are now a State Park.

25. Senator George W. Norris Home

Located in McCook. Purchased in 1899, the structure was for many years the home of George W. Norris, Congressman (1903-1913) and later United States Senator (1913-1943) from Nebraska. Senator Norris was the author of much significant national legislation in the 1930's, which included the Norris-LaGuardia Act, Tennessee Valley Authority, and Rural Electrification Administration. He was also the "father" of the Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution which ended the "Lame Duck" Congresses, and of the Nebraska Unicameral legislature.

In evaluating this structure, we find it does not meet Criterion No. 7 established by the Advisory Board, which states that "Structures or sites of recent historical importance relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration."

NEW MEXICO

26. Pancho Villa-General Pershing Site

Pancho Villa's Raid on Columbus, New Mexico, was incident to the revolutionary developments in Mexico following the overthrow of Porfirio Diaz in 1910. President Woodrow Wilson's recognition of the de facto government of President Carranza aroused the latter's rival, Francisco "Pancho" Villa. The "Dictator of the North" sought revenge by reprisals, and one of these was the raid upon the border town of Columbus on March 9, 1916.
The Villistas killed 7 American soldiers and wounded 5. Civilian casualties were 8 dead and 2 wounded. The troops at Camp Furlong, regimental headquarters of the 13th Cavalry, quickly rallied, though surprised in the dead of night, and drove the 500-1,000 Villistas away, inflicting at least 200 casualties. Official reports credit the 266 American combat troops with a "gallant and plucky fight."

Within days, General John J. Pershing had made Columbus the headquarters for his Punitive Expedition against the Villistas. This exasperating affair was conducted in the face of active hostility from the Carranza government and the Mexican people, across mountain and desert terrain of the most difficult sort. Despite these obstacles, the Punitive Expedition soon killed or dispersed the Villistas in a number of hard-fought engagements, putting a stop to major border incidents. Pershing executed his orders with imagination and dispatch, and it was not coincidence that a year later he was chosen to command the American Expeditionary Force.

The town of Columbus retains some historic atmosphere in a number of abode and frame buildings dating from 1916, notably the Hoover Hotel and the original Southern Pacific Railroad Station. Nearby Pancho Villa State Park is on vacant ground once occupied by Camp Furlong.

**NEW YORK**

27. Chester A. Arthur Home

Located at 123 Lexington Avenue, New York. Chester A. Arthur fooled everyone. An alarmed Nation viewed his accession to the presidency after the assassination of James A. Garfield in 1881 with fear and foreboding. After all, the Country knew him only as a machine politician, the one-time head of the leading site for boodle in New York City, the Federal Custom House. Would the Nation now be looted? No, for the new President, personally honest and upright, accepted fate's decree with courage and responsibility. As Harper's Weekly said on March 7, 1885, when Arthur
left the White House, "It is, indeed, his honor and his praise that he leaves the Presidency with a higher political consideration than when he entered it..."

Arthur was born on October 5, 1830, the son of a Baptist minister. After he was graduated from Union College in 1858, he moved to New York and practiced law. He also became involved in politics, and many years later President Ulysses S. Grant appointed him collector for the Port of New York. Arthur, although he supervised the Custom House honestly, became an ally of Roscoe Conkling, the State's leading political light, and as was the practice of the day, politics dictated the filling of jobs at the Custom House. The future chief executive retained this job until dismissed by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1878.

Two years later the Republican Party made Arthur its Vice-Presidential candidate. This was not done out of love for Arthur, but to soothe the wounded feelings of Conkling, who had spearheaded a drive to nominate Grant for a third time. Even at the convention many showed dismay at Arthur's nomination because of his questionable past. Dismay turned to horror when James A. Garfield, the party's victorious presidential candidate, was shot shortly after entering the White House.

Unbeknownst to most citizens, Arthur carried courage and dignity into the White House. A handsome man, the tall, impressive President exuded courtesy and good manners. One who knew many occupants of the executive mansion has even gone so far as to say that "Arthur was the only gentleman I ever saw in the White House." Gentlemen can be weak, however, and to the Nation's amazement, Arthur was anything but weak.

The President's past became a closed book. His former New York cronies must have had more than great expectations when their pal became the Chief Executive. But they couldn't even come to the White House! Even worse, Arthur ignored them as he formed a group of advisors, choosing able and dedicated individuals. Arthur brought many young men of ability to Washington, an outstanding representative of whom was Elihu Root. Hurt feelings and wounded pride are one thing, but it was another matter when the President vigorously supported the passage of a bill for civil service reform.
America had been grieved and stunned at the killing of Garfield. And it had been especially horrified because a disappointed office seeker, even if unbalanced, had committed the crime. As a result, a former casual interest in civil service reform suddenly exploded, with reform becoming a paramount issue. Arthur, in spite of the fact that he had been as closely involved with "spoils" as anyone, unhesitatingly spoke out in behalf of reform. He used the presidential office to lead the Nation on that issue, and his unrelenting support contributed much to the passage of the Pendleton Act in 1883. This act not only removed many Federal jobs from the spoils list, but also created a precedent of incalculable importance for continuing reform. Subsequently, Arthur appointed a Civil Service Commission, again infuriating those who felt that patronage to politicians was what milk was to babies.

The President impressed Americans in other ways also. So-called "pork-barrel" bills, usually for river and harbor improvements, were beloved of Congress. In 1882 the National Legislature passed a bill authorizing the expenditure of $18,743,875 on local projects. Arthur vetoed the act. Irked, Congress repassed the bill. Among other positive, beneficial moves, Arthur pled for the better treatment of the Indians. For one thing, he sought more money for schools for the original Americans, but Congress ignored the President's recommendations in behalf of the Indian.

Arthur hoped to be nominated for the Presidency in 1884. The Republican Party had had enough reform, however, and it turned to James G. Blaine. Two years after Blaine's defeat, on November 18, 1886, Arthur died.

Arthur's home is a four story house on Lexington Avenue. The building has undergone some exterior change, but not of too drastic a nature. Unfortunately, however, the first floor is occupied by a food store and the second contains a beauty shop, and the other floors contain apartments.

1Harper's Weekly, XXIX (March 7, 1885), 146
2Chauncey M. Depew, "Leaves from My Autobiography," Scribner's (December, 1921), 672.
28. Hamilton Fish Home

Located at 21 Stuyvesant Street, New York. The
urbane, impeccable lawyer contrasted sharply
with the rough, reticent soldier. An odd pair,
yet Hamilton Fish served President Ulysses S.
Grant longer and with greater loyalty than any
other member of the cabinet between 1869-1877.
Moreover, Grant allowed Fish to guide our
foreign policy, for the most part, with little
interference, to the great benefit of the Nation.

Born on August 3, 1808, Fish attended Columbia
College and was graduated with honors in 1821.
He entered the law, with becoming success. He
also took to politics, joining, as befiting his
background, the Whig Party. In 1848 the voters
elected him governor and he vigorously supported
the establishment of free schools and the ex-
tension of New York's canal system. Elected to
the United States Senate in 1851, Fish spent
six interesting, but not too noteworthy years
in Washington.

Following the Civil War and the election of
1868, Fish suddenly found himself thrust in
the very center of the political world when
Grant offered him the job of Secretary of State.
He first rejected the offer. Then, changing
his mind, he accepted the job. By all odds,
Fish became the outstanding man in Grant's
cabinet, in both administrations. Cautious,
patient, respectable and honest, Fish was to
President Grant what William T. Sherman had
been to General Grant. Fish's character was
unlike Sherman's, just as was his job, but
Grant got the best out of both men.

Fish lent moderation and reasonableness to the
administration. His surpassing accomplishment,
as well as that of Grant's presidency, was the
conclusion of the Treaty of Washington in 1871.
By this pact a peaceful means was established
for settling the vexing Alabama claims dispute
between America and Great Britain.

When Fish left Washington in 1877, he abandoned
politics. He led a busy life, as he was active
in social and cultural matters, until his death
on September 6, 1893.
The house with the dormer windows was the New York residence of Hamilton Fish.

Fish's residence is now a rooming house. Once in a distinguished area, the house is now but one of a series of such buildings. The three story brick building, with its two dormer windows, still retains something of its earlier charm, however, and is a very tangible link with a happier day in that area.

NORTH CAROLINA

29. Leonidas L. Polk Home

Located at 565 North Pearson Street, Raleigh. Before and during the Civil War, Leonidas L. Polk had been active in North Carolina politics and served in the State legislature. Polk's primary interest was agriculture; as early as 1870 he began urging the establishment of a State department of agriculture. These efforts were successful in 1877, and he became the department's commissioner.

In 1886, Polk established the Progressive Farmer as a vehicle for teaching better agricultural methods; increasingly he used it to organize North Carolina farmers politically and to urge various reforms. When the expanding Southern Alliance reached the State, Polk allied himself with the new movement and made his paper an official Alliance publication. In 1887, he became national vice-president of the Alliance; two years later he became president. Alliance membership was in the millions, and its constitution centered a great deal of authority in its president. Polk became at once a powerful figure in national politics.

At first Polk worked to have the older political parties adopt Alliance reforms. When this effort met with little success, he turned reluctantly to the new People's Party, which promised the Alliance all it asked for. In February, 1892, he presided over the convention of the Confederation of Industrial Organizations which met in St. Louis. Many national farmer and labor organizations sent delegations, but the largest delegations were from the Southern Alliances. The twenty-two reform
organizations represented expected to agree on joint political aims. Third-party sympathizers carried the day in a mass meeting after formal adjournment with a resolution calling for a national Populist ticket in 1892. Polk expected to attend the Populist convention in July, 1892 and his supporters expected that he would be given either the presidential or vice-presidential nomination. Death suddenly terminated his career, less than a month before the convention met, and the cause of Populism in the South suffered a heavy blow. Leonidas Polk had just begun to exercise important national leadership and seemed on the threshold of an even more significant role when he died.

30. **Governor Charles B. Aycock Birthplace**

Located south of Fremont, Charles B. Aycock was elected Governor of North Carolina in 1900 after having held some minor posts in the State. A major issue urged by the Democrats during the campaign was passage of a suffrage amendment to the State constitution which made literacy a requirement for suffrage and also contained a "grandfather clause" to enable illiterate whites to register. When it appeared that the amendment might be endangered by the fear of disfranchisement of illiterate whites, Aycock shifted the emphasis of the campaign. By pledging his administration to the development of public schools for whites and negroes, Aycock made the campaign a crusade for universal popular education.

With Aycock's successful campaign, a new group, vitally interested in the development of the State's resources and the advancement of education, took office. Aycock and other leaders travelled all over the State, urging the people to vote for school taxes and to provide better schoolhouses, better teachers, and longer terms. Hundreds of school districts followed this advice, and the State Government itself began to help build schools. While Aycock was governor, more than 1200 new schoolhouses were built. Teachers' salaries were raised, the teachers were better trained, the number of students was increased, the school term was lengthened, libraries were started in rural communities, and better texts obtained. Though Aycock did not originate the idea of educational rehabili-
The Governor Charles B. Aycock Birthplace, Fremont, North Carolina.
tation, education in the State was greatly advanced by his efforts. His crusade earned for him the title, the "Educational Governor."

The Governor Aycock Birthplace has been restored as a State Historical Site. A one-room, frame school of the 1870's has been moved to the site, as an interpretive exhibit and tour feature. There is also an excellent new visitor center which provides a series of exhibits and other visitor services.

31. Andrew Johnson Birthplace

Located in Pullen Park, Raleigh. The birthplace of Andrew Johnson, 17th President of the United States, is a small gambrel-roofed structure. The house was originally built in the yard of Casso's Inn at the head of Fayetteville Street. In 1904 it was purchased by the Wake County Committee of the Colonial Dames of America and moved to a site near its present location. In the 1930's, it was moved to Pullen Park and the Andrew Johnson House Commission was set up by the city to maintain it. These successive moves have destroyed its integrity as an historic site. The house itself, however, is of considerable historical interest, and it is open to the public.

OHIO

32. William McKinley Memorial

Located in Canton. William McKinley, the twenty-fifth President of the United States, was born on January 29, 1843. His political career began shortly after his return from four years' service with the Union army during the Civil War. The ex-major later won a seat in the House of Representatives in 1876, which he retained until 1890, excelling in matters pertaining to the tariff. Between 1890 and 1895 he served as Governor of Ohio, gaining nationwide praise because of his admirable leadership in the Buckeye State. Success in Ohio led to his nomination for the presidency by the Republican Party in 1896.
President Theodore Roosevelt dedicating the William McKinley Memorial, Canton, Ohio, September 30, 1907.

Courtesy Ohio Historical Society
McKinley won the election of 1896 and soon faced the gravest crisis of his career because of the Cuban revolt against Spain. In spite of America's efforts to restrain Spain's reaction to the revolt, events, almost inevitably, carried the two countries to war in 1898. The President led America to a resounding triumph over her adversary, and in so doing gained for the United States the Philippine Islands, Guam and Puerto Rico. McKinley thus guided the United States into a new era, one in which America achieved rank as a world power.

Re-nominated by his party in 1900, McKinley easily won re-election. Before he had the opportunity to lend his talents to the further development of the Country, an anarchist shot him on September 6, 1901, and the President died within a week.

A saddened Country determined to honor the man who had led it at a critical moment in its history. Public contributions raised $558,452.91 for a memorial and on September 30, 1907, the striking McKinley Memorial was dedicated. The mausoleum stands at the top of a majestic flight of steps, impressing one with its simplicity and dignity. Twin sarcophagi in the building contain the bodies of McKinley and his wife.

33. George Hunt Pendleton Home

Located at 559 East Liberty Street, Cincinnati. It might be said that what St. George is to the English or St. Patrick is to the Irish, George H. Pendleton is to the civil service employee. Just fifty years ago Congress passed the Pendleton Act, which laid the basis for civil service reform in both Federal and State Governments. The civil service worker thus possesses good cause to regard Pendleton, known as "Gentleman George", as his patron saint.

Pendleton, who was born on July 29, 1825, first entered the Federal Senate in 1857. A Democrat, he was a spokesman for the peace group in the Democratic Party during the Civil War; moreover, he opposed Abraham Lincoln's assumption of power during the rebellion. He was nominated for the vice-presidency in 1864 by the Democrats. After
losing to the Republican presidential ticket, Pendleton retired from Congress in 1865.

Pendleton did not return to Washington until 1879, after his re-election to the Senate. As Chairman of the Committee on Civil Service, he suddenly became a key figure when the demand for civil service reform zoomed to new heights after the assassination of President James A. Garfield in 1881. Pendleton favored reform, but soon learned that many of his fellow Democrats had become less enthused over killing the spoils system now that it seemed their party's chances for capturing the presidency were increasing. Nevertheless, public pressure became too insistent for reform. Pendleton was thus able to secure the passage of a reform bill, which had been written by Senator Dorman B. Eaton.

The Pendleton Law covered only a certain number of Federal employees when passed. But successive extensions by Presidents have given general coverage to Federal employees, as well as stimulating States to adopt similar measures. Today's Federal Civil Service Commission, competitive examinations for jobs and prohibitions against forced contributions to political parties all stem from the act of 1883.

Ironically, Pendleton was defeated in his bid for re-election in 1884. But in the following year Grover Cleveland appointed him minister to Germany. On November 24, 1889, he died in Brussels.

Pendleton's house in Cincinnati is now a tenement. The handsome brick, three-story structure, with its Mansard roof, is in very poor condition, with its woodwork rotting, paint flaking and many windows broken. Ironically, the building occupies a splendid site overlooking Cincinnati.

34. John Sherman Birthplace

Located at 137 East Main Street, Lancaster. The birthplace of John Sherman commemorates the career of a man who wrote a most unusual book, John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet. Is it not unusual for a man to be able to write about four decades of important
The John Sherman Birthplace, Lancaster, Ohio.

service in Washington, of a career covering decades of influence in the House of Representatives and Senate, plus leadership of the Treasury and State Departments?

Sherman's carefree youth did not presage his subsequent remarkable career. Born in Lancaster on May 10, 1823, the young Sherman ignored elderly admonitions about study, preferring physical activity to mental. But when about sixteen he suddenly gave up manual labor and turned to law. He was admitted to the bar in 1844. Even more remarkable, the young lawyer now became restrained, holding in check a hot temper. He also began to pay attention to politics in Ohio, especially seeking out the feelings of the people on important matters. This was a practice he never forsook, and his basically conservative instincts did not prevent him from accommodating himself to popular demands. Moreover, he became a Republican.

Sherman's quick success in law and politics led to his election to the House of Representatives in 1851. Seven years later, in 1861, he moved to the upper house, the Senate. When Rutherford B. Hayes won the presidency in 1876, he appointed Sherman as Secretary of the Treasury. In his four years as head of the Treasury, Sherman reached the apogee of his career, steering a deft, successful course between the extreme liberal and conservative views on economic matters. He hoped for his party's presidential nomination in 1880, but was not chosen.

Long years in the Senate followed. Between 1881 and 1897 Sherman influenced the course of much legislation, notably the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1890. The Supreme Court effectively hamstrung the effectiveness of the anti-trust law for years, but the act remains the Government's basic law against the centralization of business and industry.

At the very end of his career, Sherman became Secretary of State. Appointed by William McKinley in 1897, Sherman resigned in 1898. He opposed the imperialistic tendencies of the McKinley administration. About two years later, on October 22, 1900, Sherman died.

The Sherman house consists of two sections, a
brick section in front and a frame section behind it. Apparently, the front of the house was erected after Sherman's birth. The house is quite deep, but rather narrow. It is open to the public.

OKLAHOMA

35. Fort Sill

The Spanish-American War catapulted the United States into the great power class, and at the same time revealed its inadequacy to maintain such a position without drastic military reforms. Confusion and near fiasco had plagued the military establishment throughout the war. Disaster was avoided only because of Spain's military decadence, and the initiative, courage and endurance of the American soldier. The first flush of triumph had scarcely waned when a sober assessment of needed reforms began.

Reorganization and staff changes were designed to rectify planning and mobilization deficiencies. To improve the combat capabilities of line officers and troops, existing Army schools were improved and a number of new ones started. Among these latter was the Field Artillery School established at Fort Sill in 1911. Its objective was to provide a centralized artillery school in which to develop new and uniform methods of fire and in which to properly train artillery officers. The influence of the school at Fort Sill was great, for by 1915 the artillery arm had been modernized to a degree that permitted it to compete with the European artilleries. And it provided the educational cadre that made possible the great expansion of the artillery arm in the World War.

Today Fort Sill continues its training mission as the Army Artillery and Missile Center.
36. Fort Stevens

Located at Point Adams, at the mouth of the Columbia River, Clatsop County. Soon after the close of the Mexican War, the United States took measures to provide for the defense of the immense new territory it had acquired in the West as a result of that conflict and by the Oregon Treaty of 1846. Boards of engineers were sent to the Pacific Coast to determine upon suitable sites for fortification. As a result of such investigations, an executive order of 1852 set aside for military purposes lands on Point Adams and Cape Disappointment, Washington, at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The actual construction of defensive works, however, proved to be quite a different matter. The lack of appropriations caused delay after delay. Finally, on February 20, 1862, with the Civil War already in progress, Congress passed a fortification bill which appropriated $100,000 for the commencement of permanent defensive works at the mouth of the Columbia. Construction began at Cape Disappointment in August 1863 and shortly thereafter at Point Adams. In April 1865, the fortifications at Point Adams, named Fort Stevens, in honor of General I. J. Stevens, were completed and occupied by line troops. The original fort was a strong earthwork, nonagon in shape, and surrounded by a ditch 30 feet in width, with outlying redoubts.

From 1865 to 1898, Fort Stevens and Fort Canby on Cape Disappointment constituted the sole means of protection for the Columbia River. Finally, between 1896 and 1905, after a long period of neglect during which the armaments and forts had become obsolete, the Army was able to carry out an intensive construction program and both forts were completely rebuilt and modernized. Fort Stevens was further enlarged and modernized during World War II. Since 1947 Fort Stevens has been largely deactivated and placed on a housekeeping basis. The Civil War fortifications are completely gone and surviving fortifications date from after 1896.
Thaddeus Stevens' Ironworks, "Caledonia Furnace"

Thaddeus Stevens was born on April 4, 1792, in Danville, Vermont. Raised in poverty, he never forgot his humble background. Ambition goaded him, however, and by 1816 he had moved to Pennsylvania, establishing a law practice in Gettysburg. He rapidly built up a profitable practice. In 1826 he expanded his activities, entering the iron business. Eleven years later, he and a partner built Caledonia Furnace, but it failed to be very profitable. During the Civil War it was burned by the Confederates, when they invaded Pennsylvania in 1863.

Politics, not money, became the real passion of Stevens. He became a member of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1833. It was not too long before his brilliance, rapier-like tongue and courage, plus his monstrous intolerance, made an impression. In 1834 he stoutly backed the establishment of free schools throughout Pennsylvania. When in the next year conservative interests unleashed a strong attack on the schools, Stevens, all too familiar with the plight of the poor, reacted furiously. Just as Anthony turned Rome against Caesar's assassins, so did Stevens turn the legislature against those who opposed free education. In his overwhelming speech, however, his intolerance against the rich made itself all too clear.

Stevens carried his virtues and defects to Washington when elected to the House of Representatives in 1848. There he ferociously attacked slavery and the slave owners, his hatred for the latter making him venomous. He resigned in 1853, but was re-elected in 1858. Stevens' abomination of slavery had not lessened, and when Civil War erupted he vigorously supported the President. But by 1864 he had become a foe of Abraham Lincoln.

As Lincoln had inaugurated steps to provide for the return of Southern States to the Union, Stevens had been angered by the President's initiative and by his lenient attitude toward the South. Although Stevens had a real sympathy for the Negro, his
fanatical opposition to Presidential leadership of reconstruction and his passion to punish the South were to negate his efforts in behalf of the former slaves. Mesmerized by his own opinions, he brought about the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson and the establishment of Federal military rule in the South. Neither succeeded, however, and the tragedy of Stevens is that his passionate, intemperate nature usually transformed sound ideas into vicious, destructive policies. He died on August 11, 1868.

The blacksmith shop at Caledonia was reconstructed during the 1930's. Caledonia Furnace itself is still a ruin.

SOUTH CAROLINA

38. Woodrow Wilson Memorial Home

Located at 1705 Hampton Street, Columbia. In 1870, Woodrow Wilson's father, Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, accepted a call to the Columbia Theological Seminary and moved the family to the South Carolina Capital for the next four years. Woodrow was fourteen years of age.

When Wilson was elected President, Columbia citizens bought the home and planned to restore it for Wilson's use as a winter home. Wilson recalled pleasant memories in an interview with the delegation from South Carolina: "When I was a half grown boy, my father built a house in Columbia, which my mother altogether planned. . . . In that little Southern home I had perhaps the largest number of my boyhood associations. Of course I expect to have the same old room when I return to the old homestead."1

The house was bought by the State in 1929; the museum was placed under the custody of the South Carolina Historical Commission and the American Legion. The first floor rooms have been furnished in the period and with some family furniture. These rooms are kept open to the public; American Legion headquarters occupy the second floor. Garden clubs of the city have planted the grounds attractively, and maintain them.
The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Home, Columbia, South Carolina.

Although the Wilsons lived but a short time in Columbia, their ties through friends and relatives of Mrs. Wilson seem to have been strong. Their daughter married a local physician, Dr. George Howe. Dr. and Mrs. Joseph Wilson, with their daughter, are buried in the churchyard of the First Presbyterian Church.

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1 Quoted in Arthur S. Link, Wilson, The New Freedom (Princeton, 1947), 2

TENNESSEE

39. Judge T. M. Jones Law Office

Located at 207 W. Madison Street, Pulaski. The building containing the Jones Law Office is occupied today by a radio and television repair service, but its earlier historical role is identified by a bronze marker.

The Ku Klux Klan was begun in Pulaski, Tennessee by Judge T. M. Jones and his son Calvin as a social club to revive normal fellowship after the Civil War was over. The nucleus of the organization was a small group of friends who met in the Jones Law Office. When the political possibilities of the society were recognized, other groups were formed which in 1867 organized as the Invisible Empire of the South. The advent of military reconstruction gave an impetus to their growth, and the idea spread rapidly through the South.

General Nathan Bedford Forrest was the first Grand Wizard. The aim of the order was to destroy Radical political power and establish white supremacy. During the next three years, the Klan and other secret societies, notably the Knights of the White Camelia, policed Negroes in the country districts and delivered warnings against the use of the ballot, thus striking at the source of Radical power. However, the Klan failed to achieve a general restoration of white political control.
As its strength grew and because of the secrecy surrounding it, the Klan became a cloak for lawlessness and oppression directed against whites as well as blacks. Soon the excesses of the Klan were as serious as those they had sought to remedy and many men who had first sponsored the organization—including the Pulaski members and Nathan Bedford Forrest—forced it to disband officially in 1869.

Whatever credit the Klan may have had as an agency of social control and a force working toward ending corruption in government, was marred by the irresponsible and unscrupulous methods which it used.

40. Cordell Hull Birthplace

Located in Pickett County, Cordell Hull was born on a small farm in 1871. After serving as a captain in the Spanish-American War, Hull entered the national political scene in 1907 as a delegate from the 4th Tennessee District to the House of Representatives. He served this district from 1907-1931, except for the years 1921-23. Hull was elected to the Senate in 1931, but resigned in 1933 to enter President Franklin D. Roosevelt's first cabinet.

As Secretary of State in the Roosevelt cabinet, Hull took the lead in negotiating a series of significant reciprocal trade agreements. He remained to render distinguished service in Roosevelt's war-time cabinet.

Although his long career of public service began just before the turn of the century, Cordell Hull's most significant contributions have been made within the last thirty years. Established Survey criteria recognize the advisability of making a critical determination as to the eligibility of a site for classification only from the perspective of at least fifty years.
41. Governor James S. Hogg Home

Located in the Hogg Memorial Shrine State Park, Quitman. James S. Hogg first made his mark as a reformer while serving as Texas attorney general in the late 1880's. In this office he waged effective war against corporate malpractices and lobbies that were corrupting the State legislature and fleecing the people. He raised both himself and the issue of corporate regulation to the center of the political stage, and, in a campaign which awakened Texans to the abuses of big business, was elected governor in 1890. As governor he continued his reform program, aided by his attorney general Charles A. Culberson, who later became governor to carry on the Hogg tradition. The "Hogg Laws" brought Texas into the main current of reform sweeping the country during the decade of the nineties, and the governor's influence was instrumental in determining the moral tone of Texas politics for more than a decade. Though not anti-business, Hogg forced through legislation that regulated the railroads and corporations in the interest of the people.

Returning to private law and business after his term as governor expired in 1895, Hogg continued to exert great moral influence in Texas politics until his death in 1906.

The house was moved from its original location to the park in the mid-1940's.

42. Roosevelt Park, San Antonio, Texas

The impact of the Rough Riders (First Regiment of the United States Volunteer Cavalry), recruited mainly in the Southwest and trained in San Antonio, was greater politically than militarily. This regiment became the vehicle that unleashed on the national scene Theodore Roosevelt—a man whose indefatigable energies could be harnessed only in the Nation's most strenuous job. As the symbol of the "splendid little war" with Spain, the Rough Riders captured and have held to this day the Nation's attention.
The rendezvous of the Rough Riders in San Antonio provided one of the most colorful episodes in the long military history of that city. The first contingents arrived in early May 1898 and marched from the train station to Riverside Park and Fairgrounds south of the city. It was renamed Camp Wood during the Rough Riders' stay, in honor of Col. Leonard Wood, commanding the regiment. From the beginning, the Arizona cowboys and miners with their mountain lion mascot, the rugged frontiersmen of New Mexico and Oklahoma, and the "millionaire recruits" that Roosevelt brought along from Harvard, Yale and Princeton entranced the city. Their month-long stay in San Antonio was punctuated by incident and excitement, Roosevelt himself providing not a little of the color. Daily training maneuvers were like full-dress reviews, for the entire town turned out to watch the recruits transformed into soldiers.

Finally, on May 30, the Rough Riders entrained for Tampa, Florida, and eventually Cuba, where they acquitted themselves well. With them rode the well wishes and huzzahs of hundreds of San Antonians who had gathered to send them off.

In honor of the Rough Riders and Theodore Roosevelt, Riverside Park has been renamed Roosevelt Park. Markers and monuments in the park recall Rough Rider days there.

VERMONT

43. Admiral George Dewey Birthplace

Located at 11/4 State Street, Montpelier. The small white clapboard house that stands on State Street, Montpelier, is the birthplace of the Hero of Manila Bay, Admiral George Dewey. Born on December 26, 1837, Dewey was graduated from the naval academy in June, 1858. Soon swallowed up by the Civil War, the young officer served with distinction under Admiral David Farragut in operations on the lower Mississippi River. Dewey never forgot Farragut and those exciting days. Moreover, he gained invaluable experience in battle, having the good fortune to serve under a bold, vigorous commander.
Admiral George Dewey's Birthplace, Montpelier, Vermont.

Routine service followed the end of the Civil War. Sailing over a good part of the globe, Dewey visited many fabled lands and cities as thirty-three peaceful years slipped by.

When the Spanish-American War exploded in April, 1898, Dewey was the commander of the Asiatic Squadron. Instructed to find and destroy the Spanish fleet, Dewey confidently led his small fleet from the China coast on April 27, headed toward the Philippines. When we realize Dewey's lonely position in a far away area, unknown to most Americans, we cannot help but admire the lack of temerity on his part. On May 1 he entered Manila Bay.

Dewey's total triumph over the Spanish on May Day in 1898 is well known. The consequences of his victory are immediately remembered when we ask ourselves the question: What would have happened if he had been defeated?

His victory in the Far East climaxed his career. Dewey returned to America in 1899 and received a hero's welcome. But heroes slip from view. In 1900 he became the President of the General Board of the Navy Department, which position he filled in a useful manner for seventeen years. He was still head of the board when he died on March 11, 1917, after sixty-two years of service in the navy.

The Gothic cottage in which Dewey was born now houses an antique shop. In great need of repair, the building has also been moved from its original site.

WASHINGTON

44. Fort Canby

Located at Cape Disappointment, at the mouth of the Columbia River, near Ilwaco, in Pacific County.

Soon after the close of the Mexican War, the United States took measures to provide for the defense of the immense new territory it had acquired in the
West as a result of that conflict and by the Oregon Treaty of 1846. Boards of Engineers were sent to the Pacific Coast to determine upon suitable sites for fortifications. As a result of such investigations, an executive order of 1852 set aside for military purposes lands on Cape Disappointment and Point Adams, Oregon, at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The actual construction of defensive works, however, proved to be quite a different matter. The lack of appropriations caused delay after delay. Finally, on February 20, 1862, with the Civil War already in progress, Congress passed a fortification bill which appropriated $100,000 for the commencement of permanent defensive works at the mouth of the Columbia. Construction began at Cape Disappointment in August 1863 and shortly thereafter at Point Adams. In April 1864 the fortifications at Cape Disappointment, then called Fort Cape Disappointment, were completed and occupied by line troops. Those at Point Adams, named Fort Stevens, were finished and occupied in April 1865.

The defenses at Cape Disappointment, all located on the southernmost tip of the point, consisted of three earthwork batteries. They were intended to be temporary in nature, to serve until a permanent system of forts could be built at the mouth of the Columbia. A number of frame garrison buildings were also erected in 1864 and 1865 to shelter the troops. In 1875 the post was renamed Fort Canby in honor of General Edward R. S. Canby, who had been killed by the Modoc Indians in 1873.

From 1864 to 1898, Fort Canby and Fort Stevens on Point Adams constituted the sole means of protection for the Columbia River. Finally, between 1896 and 1906, after a long period of neglect during which the armaments and forts had become obsolete, the Army was able to carry out an intensive construction program and both forts were completely rebuilt and modernized, and Fort Columbia on Chinook Point, Washington, was also added to the defensive system.

At Fort Canby two batteries with five 6-inch rifles in concrete emplacements were erected in 1904-06. In 1907-08 new barracks and other
buildings were constructed. In 1917 a new mortar battery of four guns was added. A further modernization program was carried out in 1943-1945, during World War II.

In 1947 Fort Canby was deactivated and declared excess to the needs of the War Department. All surviving structures at Fort Canby date from the period of World War II. A portion of the site is now owned and administered by the State of Washington as Fort Canby Historical State Park.

45. Fort Columbia

Located adjacent to U. S. Highway 101, at Chinook, near the mouth of the Columbia River, Pacific County. This military reservation was acquired by the United States in 1864 for the purpose of erecting fortifications that were intended to complete the coast defenses already built at Fort Stevens on Point Adams in Oregon, and on Cape Disappointment in Washington. The Civil War ended, however, before any construction at Chinook Point could be started and this reservation remained neglected and practically abandoned until 1895, when the War Department again determined to strengthen and modernize the defenses at the mouth of the Columbia. Between 1896 and 1904 an intensive construction program was carried out at Fort Stevens, at Fort Canby (on Cape Disappointment), and Fort Columbia on Chinook Point was also erected.

In 1897-98 three batteries of 8-inch rifles set in concrete emplacements were constructed at Chinook Point. In 1899, the post was officially named Fort Columbia.

Two additional batteries with five guns and one barracks, officers' quarters and other buildings were then built. The post was first occupied by a regular garrison on June 23, 1903. From 1919 to 1939, Fort Columbia was reduced to a caretaker status, but was reactivated in 1941 and its armaments modernized. In 1947 Fort Columbia was declared surplus. Surviving historic remains include three batteries comprised of emplacements built of heavy concrete and steel, erected 1897-1900, and 13 frame structures erected in 1902.
The site is now owned by the State of Washington and is administered as Fort Columbia Historical State Park.

46. **Fort Flagler**

Located 10 miles northeast of Chimacum on Marrowstone Island, Jefferson County.

Fort Flagler was one of the coast artillery posts established during the late 1890's for the defense of Puget Sound. Together with the heavy batteries of Fort Worden and Fort Casey, its guns guarded the entrance to Admiralty Inlet, the key point in the fortification system designed to prevent a hostile fleet from reaching such prime targets as the Puget Sound Navy Yard and the cities of Seattle, Tacoma, Olympia, and Everett.

The great rifles of Fort Flagler were never fired in hostile action.

A military reservation was established on Marrowstone Point by the United States in 1866, but the land remained undeveloped until 1896. On June 6, 1896, Congress authorized the Secretary of War to expend funds for the construction of the first coastal defenses for Puget Sound. Emplacements were authorized for Point Wilson (future site of Fort Worden), Marrowstone Point (site of Fort Flagler) and Admiralty Head of Whidbey Island (site of Fort Casey).

Construction on Fort Flagler began in July, 1897. Concrete emplacements for two 12-inch rifles and four 10-inch rifles were completed in March 1899. The post was officially named Fort Flagler in honor of General Daniel W. Flagler in July 1899 and activated as a military post on September 6, 1899. Frame barracks, officers' quarters, storehouses, and a hospital, and other buildings were erected 1899-1903. The number of batteries was also increased until they numbered nine by 1908. Fort Flagler served as the headquarters of the Puget Sound Artillery District from 1899 to 1903, when it was transferred to Fort Worden near Port Townsend. From 1921 to 1939 Fort Flagler was reduced to caretaker status. Rebuilding began in 1940 and 23 new structures were added. Following World War II and the Korean Crisis, Fort Flagler...
was again deactivated in June 1953. The post was declared surplus property in 1954.

The State of Washington owns the site and administers it as Fort Flagler Historical State Park. The site includes six of the nine heavy concrete and metal batteries and 20 auxiliary buildings.

47. Fort Casey

Located three miles south of Coupeville, on Whidbey Island, Island County.

On June 6, 1896 Congress authorized the Secretary of War to expend funds for the construction of the first coastal defenses for Puget Sound.

Construction on the Admiralty Head post began in 1897 and concrete emplacements for four 10-inch guns, and four similar emplacements for sixteen 12-inch mortars were completed by 1899. The new reservation and batteries were officially named Fort Casey in 1899, in honor of General Thomas L. Casey. A frame barracks and a single set of officers' quarters were completed in 1900.

At the time of its establishment as an active military installation, Fort Casey was a subordinate post of Fort Flagler on Marrowstone Point, which was headquarters of the Puget Sound Artillery District. Between 1900 and 1910 additional buildings and batteries were added to Fort Casey. From 1921 to 1939, the fort was reduced to caretaker status, but was reactivated, enlarged and modernized in 1941. The fort was again reduced to caretaker status in 1950 and in 1954 was declared by the Department of Defense to be surplus property. Nine batteries of the 1897-1905 period, built of very heavy concrete and steel, survive. The State of Washington owns the site and administers it as Fort Casey Historical State Park.

WYOMING

48. Senator John B. Kendrick Home, "Trail's End"

Located in Sheridan. Built in 1914, this palatial
stone residence was the home of John B. Kendrick (1857-1933), Governor of Wyoming and for years a member of the United States Senate. Owned by members of the family, it is not open to the public.
OTHER SITES NOTED

ILLINOIS

1. William Jennings Bryan Birthplace, Salem
2. Adlai Stevenson Home, Bloomington

INDIANA

3. Eugene V. Debs Home, Terre Haute
4. Oliver P. Morton Home, Centerville

NEW JERSEY

5. Grover Cleveland Birthplace, Caldwell

NEW YORK

6. Roscoe Conkling Home, Utica
7. Horatio Seymour Home, Utica
8. Samuel J. Tilden Home, Yonkers
9. Watervliet Arsenal, Watervliet

OKLAHOMA

10. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray Memorial, Tishomingo
11. Simon Cameron Home, Harrisburg
12. Matthew R. Quay Home, Beaver
13. The United States Army War College, Carlisle

TEXAS

14. Fort Bliss, El Paso
15. Fort Clark, Brackettville
16. Fort Duncan, Eagle Pass
17. Fort McIntosh, Laredo
18. Fort Ringgold, Rio Grande City

WASHINGTON

20. Fort Lawton, Seattle
21. Fort Ward, six and a half miles south of Winslow, Bainbridge Island
22. Fort Worden, Point Wilson
23. Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, Bremerton
CRITERIA FOR THE EVALUATION OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

1. Structures or sites at which events occurred that have made an outstanding contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or which best represent, the board 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 that best represents some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures that 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 structure representing the work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

5. Archeological sites that 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 affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

6. Every historic and archeological 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 represents original materials and workmanship. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites which are primarily of significance in the field of religion or to religious bodies but are not of national importance in other fields of the history of the United States, such as, political, military, or architectural history, will not be eligible for consideration.

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