

THE CAPITOL DOME



West front of the U.S. Capitol at Washington D.C. as it appeared the moment the statue was completed, and placed in position by Charles S. Thomas Dec. 2nd 1863.

Sakakawea Statue

Clark Mills and Philip Reed

Churchill Speaks to Congress

Library of Congress Artwork

Henry Clay Portrait



From the Editor's Desk

Faced with looming deadlines and a larger than usual offering of contents, the editorial team decided to hold on to the Fall/Winter 2019 issue and combine it with the Spring/Summer 2020 issue to create this special double issue. The enhanced size has also allowed us to experiment with a new look. Whether we continue with it, or try yet others in the future—keeping what worked, and tweaking what didn't—depends on your feedback. In the meanwhile, enjoy this issue of *The Capitol Dome*.

In "Sakakawea's Long Trek to the U.S. Capitol," **Sierra Rooney** recounts the complex commemoration of the Shoshone and Hidatsa interpreter and guide to the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1803–05). Sakakawea's statue attracts a never-failing fan base in the Capitol Visitor Center. But during this centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment, it is especially appropriate to focus attention on this iconic American hero—whose Americanness was never more evident than in the questions raised by her representation in the National Statuary Hall Collection.

John Colletta brings his genealogist's eye for detail and the "human element" to his story about the collaboration between two men, Clark Mills and Philip Reed—one free and white, one enslaved and African-American—to create the Capitol's *Statue of Freedom*. As I write this letter (16 April), many of its readers are celebrating Emancipation Day in D.C., commemorating the signing of the Compensated Emancipation Act in 1862. That piece of legislation rendered Mills and Reed's collaboration into an achievement of free men, and its emblem remains the literal capstone of the U.S. Capitol Dome.

With **David Freeman's** article, "Churchill on the Hill," the USCHS concludes a year-long look at one of the United States's most important allies of the 20th Century. The series included a lunchtime lecture co-hosted by The George Washington University and a recently-posted "Capitol Stories" website feature. In their totality, Winston Churchill's addresses to Congress represent a highwater mark in the multilateralism that has distinguished international affairs in the post-WWII era.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the mecca of Gilded Age exuberance overflowed the shores of Lake Michigan to reach the banks of the Potomac. With compelling prose and lavish imagery, **Lynda Cooper's** "Chicago's White City and the Nation's Capital" makes the case for the unmistakable impact of artistic cross-pollination in the design of the Library of Congress's Thomas Jefferson Building. While visitors marvel at the uniqueness of certain design elements within the Capitol complex, it is important to note also what artistic inspiration Washington borrows from the rest of the country, to help celebrate the union of all the states.

Finally, *The Capitol Dome* is always fortunate to share the latest research by House, Senate, and Capitol Architect curatorial staffs. **Amy Elizabeth Burton's** "A Victory in Any Contest of Art" is the story behind one of the newest additions to the Capitol's collection of monumental portraiture, written by a former Senate curatorial staff member who knows the climax of the story first-hand. Her treatment of Phineas Staunton's portrait of Henry Clay is, like much of art history, part biography and part detective novel.

William diGiacomantonio

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email: uschs@uschs.org
on the web: uschs.org

Editor and Chief Historian:
William diGiacomantonio
Managing Editor: Lauren Borchard
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Table of Contents

Sakakawea's Long Trek to the United States Capitol: Representation and Diversity in the National Statuary Hall by Sierra Rooney.....	2
Clark Mills and His Enslaved Assistant, Philip Reed: The Collaboration that Culminated in Freedom by John Philip Colletta, Ph.D.....	15
Churchill on the Hill: Winston Churchill and the United States Congress by David Freeman.....	32
Chicago's White City in the Nation's Capital: The Relationship between the World's Columbian Exposition and the Library of Congress by Lynda Cooper, Ph.D.....	43
A Victory in Any Contest of Art by A.E. Burton.....	60
Capitol Bookshelf.....	73
Society News.....	75
Tribute to Congressman John Lewis.....	84
Marketplace.....	87
Cover: Work on hoisting the five pieces of Statue of Freedom to the Capitol Dome was interrupted on Thursday, 26 Nov. 1863 to observe Pres. Abraham Lincoln's call for "a day of thanksgiving and prayer." The statue was completed and dedicated on 2 December amid the roar of cheering spectators and a 35-gun artillery salute. This photograph from the dedication day shows the statue and the Capitol from the west. To learn more about some of the men who worked on the statue, see page 15. (Image courtesy Architect of the Capitol)	

Sakakawea's Long Trek to the United States Capitol: Representation and Diversity in the National Statuary Hall

BY SIERRA ROONEY



Fig. 1. This 2006 photograph provides an overall sense of National Statuary Hall and the statues it holds.

In July 1864, as the Civil War raged, Pres. Abraham Lincoln signed into law a bill for the creation of the National Statuary Hall Collection (NSHC), thus inaugurating the first collection of public sculpture in the country (fig. 1). The concept originated in 1857 when the House of Representatives moved from the Old Hall, a semi-circular room designed by Henry Latrobe and made famous by painter Samuel F.B. Morse (fig. 2), to their present chambers in the House wing. Vacated by

Congress, the Old Hall became, according to Vermont Rep. Justin Morrill, “draped in cobwebs and carpeted with dust [and] tobacco.”¹ Morrill introduced the bill to turn the dusty, neglected space into a grand display for statuary, calling for the president to:

[I]nvite each and all the States to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of



Fig. 2. House of Representatives, oil on canvas (1822) by Samuel F.B. Morse (1791–1872)

deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services such as each State may deem to be worthy of this national commemoration....

An initial draft of the bill specified “men” but was amended in committee to “persons,” suggesting the lawmakers had anticipated the nomination of both men and women honorees. The NSHC would complement the building’s sculptural program, which already featured artworks on the East Front by Horatio Greenough and Luigi Persico. These sculptures visualized the unfolding history of the Republic and reinforced its founding principles. The Capitol arts program was developed and closely supervised by federal authorities throughout the early to mid-nineteenth century. Unlike previous artistic projects, the NSHC would afford the states, rather than the federal government, the opportunity to contribute to a national collection of art. Morrill, hoping to

create a hall that resonated with the aspirational virtues of the country at large, called upon the deeply heterogeneous states to send the Capitol a new pantheon of American heroes to embody the nation’s democratic ideals.

The first statue entered the NSHC in 1871, honoring Rhode Island’s Nathanael Greene, a Revolutionary War hero, but it was not until 2005, with the dedication of New Mexico’s statue of Po’pay, the Pueblo religious leader, that every state filled its two-statue quota. The figures span nearly 500 years of American history, with subjects donning everything from early Colonial garb (as on John Winthrop, donated by Massachusetts in 1876) to spacesuits (John Swigert Jr., Colorado, 1997). The majority of figures honor political and military leaders (such as George Clinton, donated in 1873 by New York; and James Garfield, Ohio, 1886), but the NSHC also includes religious figures (Father Damien, Hawaii, 1969), inventors (Philo T. Farnsworth, Utah, 1969), artists (Charles Marion Russell, Montana, 1959),



Fig. 3. Sakakawea, bronze (2003) by Leonard Crunelle (1872–1944), given by North Dakota, National Statuary Hall Collection (NSHC), United States Capitol, Washington D.C.

and performers (Will Rogers, Oklahoma, 1939).

This space, formally dedicated to presenting the best the country had to offer, long mirrored national commemorative trends at large, and so for most of its history was dominated by white men. States were slow to nominate women and people of color to the NSHC, just as they were reluctant to honor them within the public spaces of their own cities and towns. It was not until 1905 that a woman entered the NSHC, and to date, there are only nine statues of women out of one hundred in the collection, or less than one-tenth of all the figures it contains.

Sakakawea was the first woman of color, and only the seventh women overall, to enter the NSHC, when in 2003 North Dakota donated a statue in her honor (fig. 3). She filled the state's second and last allotted berth in the collection, accompanying the statue of Governor, United States Treasurer, and North Dakota Supreme Court Justice John Burke (donated in 1963). Sakakawea, an American Indian, reflected the NSHC's slow evolution toward a more egalitarian reflection of its public. Over the past few decades, historians of all stripes have begun to democratize the American story with every available tool, largely by re-integrating the voices and actions of women and people of color who had been simply ignored in previous historical narratives. North Dakota's dedication to Sakakawea, insofar as statue-making is a historical endeavor, contributes to that trend.

The state unveiled the statue in 2003, at which time it was reflective of contemporary interest in multicultural history, but the statue is actually a replica of a sculpture first dedicated nearly one hundred years earlier in 1910 (fig. 4). Sakakawea's physical and symbolic journey to the Capitol was a long one, beginning in the uncharted western territory at the beginning of the nineteenth century, through to the state capitol grounds in Bismarck at the beginning of the twentieth, and finally arriving on the national stage in Washington, D.C., at the dawn of the twenty-first.

THE STORY OF "SAKAKAWEA"

Sakakawea (b.1788, death unknown), the Shoshone-Hidatsa woman who, with her infant son, accompanied the Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery military expedition (1804–1806) (fig. 5), is the single most-commemorated historic American woman. Over 40 statues in her honor are exhibited publicly throughout the

United States. Though Sakakawea is one of the most celebrated women in the U.S., very little is known about her as a lived historical figure. The only record of her life exists through a handful of written descriptions by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in their trail journals. The woman known as Sakakawea was born into the Shoshone tribe, who lived in the Lemhi River Valley near what is now Salmon, Idaho. The Shoshone spent the summer in the Three Forks region of Montana, and it was there that Sakakawea was captured at about the age of 11 by the Hidatsa Indians and taken to their home in present-day Bismarck, North Dakota. She lived as part of their tribe for several years before being sold as a wife to French-Canadian trader Toussaint Charbonneau. In 1804, when Sakakawea was just 16, Lewis and Clark hired Charbonneau as a guide to assist their westward expedition. Lewis and Clark's journals do not explain why the captains decided to take Sakakawea, but most likely she was brought along primarily as an interpreter for the native Shoshone people whom they anticipated meeting on their journey. Her perceived value to the trek must have been considerable, because they continued to accommodate her even as she complicated the logistics of the military expedition by giving birth in 1805 to her first child, Jean Baptiste—nicknamed “Pomp”—who accompanied them on the long trek to the Pacific coast and back.

The Corps of Discovery has long since been



Fig. 4. Sakakawea, bronze (1910) by Leonard Crunelle, on the State Capitol grounds, Bismarck, N.D., 1937 photograph



Fig. 5. “A map of Lewis and Clark’s track, across the western portion of North America from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean: by order of the executive of the United States in 1804, 5 & 6,” published in 1814 in Philadelphia by Bradford and Inskeep



Fig. 6. The Patriotic Foundation of Chicago commissioned sculptor Lorado Taft to create Chicago's Herald Square Monument. Taft began the work; it was completed in 1941 by his associates Leonard Crunelle, Nellie Verne Walker, and Mary H. Webster. Among those pictured with this maquette of the monument are Crunelle (right) and members of the foundation, including attorney Barnet Hodes (left), Nathan Goldblatt (third from left), and an unidentified man (second from left).

mythologized as the auspicious beginning of America's expansion into the great, wild west. While Sakakawea has figured into the story of Lewis and Clark since the beginning of the twentieth century, her cultural status as a national hero only grew during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial (2003–2006), which renewed interest in the expedition and placed Sakakawea at the forefront of its narrative. During this time, more than 20 different monuments were erected in her honor—an unprecedented number for any historic woman—in the western states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, and Missouri.

The commission of a Sakakawea statue for the NSHC coincided with the Bicentennial, with Rep. Earl Pomeroy (ND) acting as a major force designating her as the state's second honoree in the collection. Pomeroy first proposed Sakakawea's nomination to North Dakota Gov. Ed Schafer in 1999, appealing to her essential North Dakota-ness. He proclaimed, "Sakakawea's

prominent traits—strength, courage, a generous heart and pioneering spirit—are ones that apply to all North Dakotans."² North Dakota's nomination of Sakakawea was also part of the jockeying among western states during the Bicentennial to claim her as a citizen, and thus stake ownership of her legacy. Because Sakakawea lived in both the Shoshone and Hidatsa nations, there is contention surrounding which tribe is her true heritage. Deeming Sakakawea a "North Dakotan" required a retelling of Sakakawea's story that cast her captors, the now North Dakota-based Hidatsa, in a more sympathetic light for contemporary audiences. Amy Mossett, then director of tourism for the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara nation—known as the Three Affiliated Tribes—disputed the common story that the Hidatsa enslaved the Shoshone-born Sakakawea. She described to the press at the time of Sakakawea's induction to the collection that the tribe treated their captives very differently than in white cultures: "War captives were absorbed into a tribe. They would become brothers and sisters and treated with equality."³ In this conception, Sakakawea was not a slave to the Hidatsa, but a full member of their tribe. Thus, she should more accurately be described as a product of the cultural blend between Shoshone and Hidatsa.

Even Sakakawea's name became a tool in the tussle over her legacy. Lewis and Clark were frustratingly inconsistent in their journals with the spelling of her name, and so tribal nations have each advocated for their own culturally-specific spellings and meanings. States have, in turn, adopted these preferences. Although Sakakawea was born and raised Shoshone, she appears to have taken a Hidatsa name by the time she met Lewis and Clark. Lewis recorded her name as "Sah-ca-gar-me-ah," on 20 May 1805, and indicated that it meant "Bird Woman." Despite variation throughout the expedition journals, he was consistent in the use of the "g" in the third syllable. "Sacagawea" is now widely accepted by scholars and historians (including the U.S. Geographic Board and National Parks Service) as the most accurate spelling. Idaho and Montana, home to the Shoshone tribe, however, officially recognize the spelling of her name as "Sacajawea," the Shoshone word for "Boat Launcher." North Dakota state agencies align with the Three Affiliated Tribes, who use "Sakakawea," drawn from a U.S. government ethnographic report on the Hidatsa published in 1877 (long after her death). North Dakota's decision to use this highly politicized, locally-derived spelling represented a coup for the Three

Affiliated Tribes and their Hidatsa view of her provenance. The most prominent American tribute to Sakakawea, with the national imprimatur of the U.S. Capitol, concretized this spelling—and, by extension her perceived heritage—with the plaque at its base.

A WOMEN'S HERO IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Following Sakakawea's official nomination to the NSHC by the North Dakota state legislature in 1999, a committee assembled to determine the statue's design; it was comprised of representatives from the Lewis and Clark Foundation, the State Historical Society, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs of North Dakota. Rather than commissioning a new work specifically designed for the collection, the committee decided to replicate a well-known statue of Sakakawea with her baby strapped to her back, erected on the state capitol's grounds in Bismarck in 1910.

The original statue was the commission of the General Federation of Women's Clubs of North Dakota, then called the North Dakota Federation of Women's Clubs, who selected French-born, Chicago-based artist Leonard Crunelle (1872–1944) to sculpt the statue. Crunelle's was a rags-to-riches story that the art press of the time relished as a novel curiosity. Born to a poor, working class family in Pas de Calais, Crunelle immigrated to Brazil, Indiana as a young boy in 1883, and soon began working alongside his father in the coal mines. When his family moved to Decatur, Illinois, Crunelle found work mixing plaster and mounting armatures for the sculptors at Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. After the Fair, he studied at the Chicago Art Institute, where he became the pupil and apprentice of renowned sculptor Lorado Taft (fig. 6). Crunelle soon made a name for himself as the “sculptor of children,” specializing in angelic models of youths, particularly those of infants. He also received numerous prominent commissions for public monuments, including fountains for Grant Park and Oglesby Memorial in Lincoln Park, both in Chicago; the Logan Monument in Vicksburg, Mississippi; and a portion of Lincoln's tomb in Springfield, Illinois.

The idea for the Sakakawea statue first began in September 1905 with the Federation of Women's Clubs. Though public statues of historic women were virtually unprecedented in the United States, theirs would not be unique. Earlier that summer, the Oregon Equal

Suffrage Association dedicated a bronze statue of Sakakawea sculpted by Alice Cooper—also a pupil of Taft—for the 1905 Lewis and Clark Expedition Centennial Exposition in Portland, making it not only the first permanent public statue dedicated to Sakakawea, but the first statue of a historic woman in the entire U.S. (fig. 7). For the statue, Cooper created a dramatic rendering of Sakakawea atop a rocky ledge; her slim figure steps forward, arm raised westward, with her infant son, Pomp, strapped to her back.

Cooper's visuals drew upon author Eva Emory Dye's popular 1902 novel *The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark* and her description of Sakakawea as a beautiful Indian princess.⁴ Though Dye based her book on the journals and other archival materials of Lewis and Clark, to describe it as a “true story” is a reach; historians have long questioned the historical accuracy of Dye's highly fictionalized re-telling. Despite its supposed veracity, Dye's text was one of the first texts to position Sakakawea as a central figure in the Corps whose contribution was crucial to the success of the



Fig. 7. Alice Cooper (1875–1937) made this bronze Sakajawea statue in 1905 for the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon.

expedition. The Federation of Women's Clubs, most likely inspired by the sight of the monumental bronze American Indian woman in Portland (the State of North Dakota had an extensive presence at the Exposition), resolved to erect one of their own.⁵ Built within five years of each other, these first two permanent statues of Sakakawea marked the two ends of the trail: Crunelle's statue at the beginning of her journey and Cooper's statue in Oregon, at its end.

Cooper's monument for the Centennial was part of a larger initiative of the National American Suffrage Association, who adopted Sakakawea at the turn of the century as a symbol of women's independence and their important contributions to history. Dye, not coincidentally, chaired the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association, and her written description of Sakakawea became the basis for Cooper's sculptural form, with Dye herself suggesting the exact pose of the figure.⁶ Using Sakakawea's story to provide evidence of the important role women played throughout American history, Dye and Cooper positioned Sakakawea as a pioneer for the burgeoning women's movement. Susan B. Anthony, who gave a speech at the unveiling of the monument, similarly characterized Sakakawea as an ambassador for woman suffrage:

This recognition of the assistance rendered by a woman in the discovery of this great section of the country is but the beginning of what is due. . . . Let men remember the part women have played in its settlement and progress and vote to give them these rights which belong to every citizen.⁷

Adopting the figure of Sakakawea as a sister in the fight for voting rights is sadly ironic to contemporary eyes, given that American Indians were not even considered American citizens until four years after the passage of the woman suffrage amendment, when the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 conferred full citizenship to the indigenous people of the United States.

Despite being created within a few years of one another, Crunelle and Cooper's formal choices diverged sharply. Throughout his oeuvre, Crunelle demonstrated an attuned attention to detail and a commitment to authenticity, qualities he brought to his sculpture of Sakakawea. In an effort to create an accurate likeness of a woman whose features had been lost to time—neither Lewis nor Clark recorded a physical description of



Fig. 8. This photograph of Crunelle and the Nagel family was taken at John Nagel's House in Fort Berthold, North Dakota in 1905.

her—he traveled to the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota to study and sketch Hidatsa figures and costumes (fig. 8). Crunelle based the visage of the statue on Sakakawea's granddaughter, Hannah Levings Grant, also known as Mink Woman (photographs of whom are now in the collection of the State Historical Society of North Dakota) (fig. 9). Crunelle also sought out the advice of the noted Mandan chief Spotted Weasel, and James Holding Eagle, a Mandan-Hidatsa, both of whom visited Chicago to inspect the statue while in progress and made suggestions for improvements (fig. 10).⁸

The finished, eight-foot-tall bronze statue depicts a standing and heavily robed Sakakawea as she gazes westward. The figure is dressed in a long-fringed tunic, with a large blanket draped over her. Over her shoulder passes a strap, which she grasps with her right hand, that secures the papoose holding her baby on her back. Crunelle's skill in sculpting children is apparent in his



Fig. 9. *Mink Woman, or Hannah Levings* (c. 1904), was a Hidatsa model for Crunelle's Sakakawea statue.



Fig. 10. *Leonard Crunelle and Spotted Weasel* look at the Sakakawea statue, c.1910.

detailed treatment of Jean Baptiste as a cherubic-cheeked sleeping infant. The effect of Crunelle's Sakakawea is one of solemnity rather than romance; as a contemporary newspaper review asserted, "She cannot be called beautiful, but she is certainly a woman of character and intelligence." Not all critics were so kind; some faulted Crunelle for his over-literalism and fussy attention to realistic detail, which was thought to "rob [the sculpture] of its dignity."⁹

Compared to Cooper's monumental bronze, which helped establish the popular iconography of Sakakawea as an energetic beauty standing astride a rocky outcrop with her arm stretched forth, Crunelle's statue—the one destined for the Capitol—was more sedate. Rather than showing a lithe body in motion, as Cooper did, Crunelle depicted a sturdier Sakakawea, standing at rest with her hair clubbed in the fashion of a married woman. However, photos of Crunelle's early

clay models show that his original design hewed much more closely to Cooper's portrayal. The early model featured Sakakawea in long braids with her right arm raised high, much like Cooper's monument. Crunelle's decision to change the body from a more active posture to one that was more contemplative with her right hand holding her son, showcases his commitment to a naturalistic, rather than heroic, portrayal of the human subject. The change was ultimately precipitated by suggestions from Spotted Weasel and James Holding Eagle, who inspected the earlier version of the statue. According to Bertha R. Palmer, the Chairman of the Art Division of the Federation of Women's Clubs, "the suggestions and criticisms of these men caused the artist to change his design from the figure of the woman with Indian features and in Indian garb, but expressing emotion in the uncontrolled physical action of the white person's nature, to the controlled, repressed but forward



Fig. 11. A crowd attended the 1910 Sakakawea State Dedication Ceremony on the state capitol grounds in Bismarck, North Dakota.

look of the Indian nature.”¹⁰

The coalition of women’s groups sponsoring the statue fell prey to some of the same interpretive divisions that distinguish realism from romanticism. The Federation of Women’s Clubs, founded in 1890 as part of the Progressive Movement’s drive for civic improvement, was a more socially moderate women’s group than the National American Suffrage Association, which was devoted to winning the right to vote. The North Dakota Federation of Women’s Clubs used “the traditional constructions of womanhood, which imagined all women as mothers and homemakers to justify their entrance into community affairs: as ‘municipal housekeepers,’” and largely stayed away from divisive issues of the time, like voting. Though many of its regional chapters were later concerned with uplifting the status of American Indians (they actively opposed assimilation policies, supported the return of Indian lands, and promoted more religious and economic independence), the North Dakota chapter’s sponsorship of the Sakakawea statue in Bismarck was not primarily motivated by concern for the conditions of living indigenous peoples.¹¹ Just as the suffrage movement used Sakakawea as a symbol for women’s emancipation during a time when women were becoming more active in public life, the North Dakota Federation of Women’s Clubs employed her

image to highlight the important contributions that women—specifically North Dakotan women—have made to its state history.

To assist with their fundraising campaign, the North Dakota Federation of Women’s Clubs distributed 20,000 copies of a small brochure touting Sakakawea’s historical importance.¹² The circular enumerated the many reasons why a statue should be erected in her honor, ranging from the surprisingly modern (her lack of pecuniary compensation for the expedition) to the decidedly less so (her role in converting the western Indians to Christianity). The brochure helped the Women’s Clubs raise a total of \$3,500 for the statue, \$500 of which was contributed by their solicitation of pennies from school children.¹³

Crunelle’s portrayal of Sakakawea was a humanist one—in part, due to the suggestions of Spotted Weasel and James Holding Eagle—and its sponsors more progressive than most, but it ultimately embodied the prevailing ethos of turn-of-the-century Sakakawea commemorations, which readily adopted historical images of American Indians to serve the varying needs of white audiences. Frank McVey, president of the University of North Dakota, made this quite clear as he unveiled the statue amidst a great crowd in 1910 on the state capitol grounds in Bismarck (fig. 11): the memorial

was not to Sakakawea “as Indian,” he said, but rather to Sakakawea as “a type of woman universal who, regardless of race or condition, or of fettering circumstances, rose to her opportunity and accomplished a noble service.”¹⁴

REPLICATING THE STATUE

Almost a century later, North Dakota elected to make a second casting of Crunelle’s statue, this time destined for the NSHC. The reasoning was twofold: the state would honor a favorite daughter, but also place a historic North Dakota artwork on a national stage in the NSHC. The appointment hit a legal snag, however. The NSHC commission offers space for each state to honor two figures. Crunelle’s is a dual portrait, of Sakakawea and her baby, Jean Baptiste. Given that North Dakota had already placed one figure in the collection, its addition would make a total of three. Pomeroy appealed to the Joint Committee on the Library, and was granted an exemption on the basis that Jean Baptiste would not be named on the plaque at the statue’s base. North Dakota remains the only state to place three figures in the collection.

The Arizona Bronze Fine Arts Atelier of Tempe was selected to create the replica statue. Arizona Bronze owner Tom Bollinger was a Bismarck native who grew up on Lakota Sioux reservations in the Dakotas and remembered visiting the original statue as a boy in the 1950s. Because the Sakakawea sculpture had sustained some corrosion in her 89 years of exposure to the elements, the original also needed to be conserved in anticipation of the molding process.

The North Dakota Federation of Women’s Clubs, since re-named the General Federation of Women’s Clubs of North Dakota, were called on once again to run the fundraising project to replicate Crunelle’s statue, and just as they had done in 1905, the Women’s Clubs inaugurated a penny fundraising drive in schools. This time, however, the fundraiser included the voices of the Three Affiliated Tribes and American Indian educators to emphasize contemporary native cultures. Frankee Hall, a 13-year-old girl from the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara Nation, joined Pomeroy in hosting a series of events in the spring of 2001 aimed at educating grade school students. Clad in her full native dress, the young woman gave a presentation to her contemporaries on Sakakawea’s life and Hidatsa culture. The Three Affiliated Tribes played a prominent role in the

statue’s patronage and ceremonial events, both in North Dakota and in Washington, D.C. The Nation contributed \$50,000 to the total cost (almost \$200,000) of the statue. Other donors included former Gov. Arthur Link and his wife Grace, local business owners, and the Federation of Women’s Clubs, which raised \$17,000 from school children.

Between 2001 and 2003, the original statue underwent a lengthy conservation and casting process (fig. 12). By June of 2003, the bronze replica of Sakakawea was installed temporarily in front of the capitol in Bismarck, just a short distance away from its sister statue. The replica weighs 875 pounds and stands almost eight feet tall on its own, and nearly eleven feet when placed on its 4,600-pound granite base. After an official sendoff from its state residents, the statue was sent to its final destination in the NSHC.



Fig. 12. An artisan works on a rubber mold of the Sakakawea statue in Bismarck, North Dakota.



Fig. 13. The 2003 dedication of the Sakakawea statue took place in the Rotunda; the statue is currently located in Emancipation Hall in the Capitol Visitor Center.

The dedication at the U.S. Capitol was held on 16 October of that same year (fig. 13). For the ceremony, members of the Three Affiliated Tribes worked with the National Indian Gaming Association to erect tipis alongside the reflecting pool on the Mall to represent the tribes and Sakakawea, and they hosted a series of educational performances. Tex Hall, chairman of the Three Affiliated Tribes and president of the National Congress of American Indians, led a formal procession of over 100 tribal members on horseback from the camp to the steps of the Capitol for the statue's unveiling.¹⁵ Pomeroy provided the introduction to the ceremony, which began with the presentation of the Mandan, Hidatsa,

and Arikara Nation Flag and Eagle Staff and a performance of the Flag Song by Mandaree singers and dancers. Local and federal politicians provided remarks, including Hall, who deftly acknowledged the three identities of Sakakawea: as a Hidatsa, a North Dakotan, and an American, explaining that the induction of the statue into the NSHC meant “not only that our people, the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people, know of her contribution, that our state of North Dakota knows of her contribution, all America can now visit Statuary Hall and know of her contributions for time immemorial.”¹⁶

The participation of the Three Affiliated Tribes in the NSHC commission was instrumental in positioning Sakakawea as a Hidatsa, thereby retroactively making her a citizen of North Dakota. The plaque on the statue's base went further in eliding her tribal identity; it did not mention her tribe (neither Hidatsa nor Shoshone), but included the state's name and her name, followed by the descriptor: “a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.” The essential qualities of “strength, courage, and adventure,” which Pomeroy had imputed to her, were credited to North Dakota, not the Hidatsa, despite the tribe's existence long before the incorporation of the state.

DIVERSIFYING THE HALL

At the time of her statue's dedication in 2003, Sakakawea was the only minority woman represented in the collection. The statue did not position her historical role as secondary to white men, as did many of the Capitol's representations of American Indians from the nineteenth century, like John Vanderlyn's mural *The Landing of Columbus* (1847) or Enrico Causici's *Conflict of Daniel Boone and the Indians* (1826–27), which conveyed the artistic and symbolic conventions of the time. Sakakawea's inclusion in the nation's pantheon signaled to the nation at large that Native American women were worthy of commemoration among the country's most illustrious historical figures in their own right. Sakakawea took her place among statues of Sequoya (donated by Oklahoma in 1917), Will Rogers (Oklahoma, 1939), King Kamehameha I (Hawaii, 1969), and Chief Washakie (Wyoming, 2000) and was soon joined by Po'pay (New Mexico, 2005) (fig. 14) and Sarah Winnemucca (Nevada, 2005) (fig. 15). Together these statues offer a fuller picture of American Indian life, one that recognizes the diversity of indigenous



Fig. 14. Po'Pay, marble (2005) by Cliff Fragua, given by New Mexico, NSHC, United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 15. Sarah Winnemucca, bronze (2005) by Benjamin Victor, given by Nevada, NSHC, United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.

people and proclaims the value of their stories and perspectives to this nation.

Our historical perspective, and the way that we visualize that narrative, continues to evolve, and that process is an active one. It relies on the vociferous advocacy of public and private groups who recover detail in the shadows of previous histories. The recent tumult over Confederate monuments, catalyzed by the violence in Charleston in 2015 and the protests in Charlottesville in 2017, has prompted the nation to reconsider who is and is not represented in our public landscapes. One way that states have responded is by availing themselves of legislation, passed in 2000, allowing them to swap previously donated NSHC statues for new replacements. The number of women, in particular, in the NSHC will grow greatly in the next few years, with the announcement of new statues of aviator Amelia Earhart (nominated by Kansas); educator and activist Mary McLeod Bethune (Florida); author Willa Cather (Nebraska); civil rights leader Daisy Gatson Bates (Arkansas); and suffragist Martha Hughes Cannon (Utah). With the inclusion of these figures, the NSHC will continue to expand and diversify, as it has done since its inception in 1864. The statue of Sakakawea may have presaged this new wave of representation of women in the Hall, yet the sculpture's story, which spans nearly a century, is representative of the slow and uneven diversification of our public history. Her journey to the Capitol was a protracted one, but she stands today as a symbol of the monumental contributions that American Indian women have made to this country.



DR. SIERRA ROONEY is assistant professor of art history at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, specializing in American visual culture and public commemoration. She is currently working on two book projects: an edited anthology, *Teachable Moments: Using Public Art to Spark Dialogue and Confront Controversies*, with Jennifer Wingate and Harriet F. Senie (Bloomsbury, forthcoming), and a book examining contemporary public monuments to historic women in the U.S. She was the recipient of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society Fellowship in 2017, which provided the research support for this essay. She would like to express her sincere appreciation to the USCHS and the Office of the Curator's staff, especially Dr. Michele Cohen, curator of the Architect of the Capitol, whose guidance and generosity extended well beyond the tenure of the fellowship. She would also like to thank Sarah M. Walker, Head of Reference Services at the North Dakota State Archives.

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IMAGE CREDITS:

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 Fig. 2. Corcoran Collection (Museum Purchase, Gallery Fund), National Gallery of Art
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 Fig. 10. State Historical Society of North Dakota, #A0190-00001
 Fig. 11. State Historical Society of North Dakota, #0151-0030
 Fig. 12. Courtesy of Bollinger Atelier
 Fig. 13. Architect of the Capitol
 Fig. 14. Architect of the Capitol
 Fig. 15. Architect of the Capitol

CLARK MILLS AND HIS ENSLAVED ASSISTANT, PHILIP REED:

The Collaboration that Culminated in *Freedom*

by John Philip Colletta, Ph.D.

Clark Mills bought Philip Reed in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1839. The two men then spent 23 years in close collaboration on numerous endeavors, culminating in one of the most iconic statues in America: *Freedom*, which crowns the Dome of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C (fig.1). Neither Mills nor Reed, however, left any account of what he thought of the other. In terms of the law and custom of the day, their relationship is easy to define. How they “felt” about each other,

on the other hand, is nearly impossible to fathom.

Moreover, the national import of Clark Mills’s career raises the question: did Philip Reed also help the sculptor create two other landmarks of Washington? Pertinent evidence invites speculation about the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Square—the first monumental bronze ever cast in America (1853)—and the equestrian of George Washington in Washington Circle (1860).



Fig. 1. Statue of Freedom by Thomas Crawford, cast in bronze by Clark Mills, stood on the east grounds of the U.S. Capitol from June 1862 to December 1863, awaiting completion of the Dome. Mills supervised the assembly and mounting of the statue on his temporary pedestal. Cpt. Charles F. Thomas, chief engineer of the new dome, provided the workmen. By this time, Philip Reed was a free man and no longer employed by Mills. Titian Ramsay Peale made this stereograph in January 1863.

On both levels, personal “feelings” and historical fact, the life that Clark Mills and Philip Reed shared for almost a quarter of a century warrants a thoughtful examination.¹

The Beginning: Charleston, South Carolina

When Clark Mills married Eliza Ballentine in Charleston on 2 July 1837, he was a 21-year-old house plasterer; she was the 17-year-old daughter of a harness maker.² They resided just north of the city, members of the amazingly diverse population of the Northern Neck. A majority of their neighbors owned slaves: most, just one or two; others, as many as fourteen. Some tradesmen trained their slaves as apprentices, then worked with them, side by side, in their shops. Free families of color also lived on every block of the Northern Neck.³

Prior to the wedding, the bride, groom, and father of the bride all agreed to a “marriage settlement.”⁴ Alexander Ballentine would provide a dowry of \$700 for his daughter; however, it “Should be retained and Kept in the hands and Custody of the Said Alexr. Ballentine untill Such time as a reasonable and Judicious investment thereof Could be Effected in such property as the Said Clark Mills might Elect.” Furthermore, the property purchased with the dowry was “Subject nevertheless in no manner or form to the Engagements, liabilities or Contracts of the Said Clark Mills.”

Clark Mills was in debt.⁵

The young plasterer had just arrived in Charleston a few months earlier. Prior to that, he had spent a year in New Orleans. Prior to that, he had tried his hand at a variety of jobs around Syracuse, New York, the countryside of his birth. Clark Mills had been orphaned and placed with an uncle, whose mistreatment he fled at the age of 14. Beneath the runaway farm boy’s good looks and easy charm roiled a creative drive fueled by curiosity, an analytical mind, and desperate ambition.⁶

Alexander Ballentine was looking out for the welfare of his daughter.

Eighteen months later, amid several legal suits pending against him and financial embarrassment resulting from a purchase of real estate, Clark Mills decided on “a reasonable and Judicious investment” for Eliza’s dowry: “a certain Mulatto boy named Phillip, agreed to be sold to him by James Davidson of Charleston.” However, the “marriage settlement” contained a telling proviso: Alexander Ballentine would hold “the

boy Phillip” (as well as certain household and kitchen furniture) “In Trust, to and for the Sole And Exclusive use, benefit, and behalf of the Said Eliza Mills for and during the term of her natural life and after her Death then in trust to and for the use, maintenance, benefit and behalf of the lawful issue of the Said Eliza, to be and remain clear and free now and forever of All and Singular the Debts, Contracts, liabilities and demands whatsoever of or from the Said Clark Mills....”⁷

Alexander Ballentine’s confidence in his restive son-in-law had not improved.

The “Mulatto boy named Phillip” was Philip Reed. Years later Mills would swear that “Philip Reid he purchased in Charleston, S.C., many years ago when he was quite a youth. He bought him because of his evident talent for the business in which he [Mills] was engaged.”⁸ Philip Reed was “a first rate plasterer by trade.”⁹

Clark Mills had made an astute choice. He acquired a helper proficient in making plasters, stucco, and Roman cement, applying and sculpting the compounds in situ, and using molds to cast plaster forms in a workshop. No costly apprenticeship was necessary. It may be that Philip Reed had been “hired out” to Mills by his former owner for some time before Mills bought him. Seven hundred dollars was a high price, even for a tradesman. The youth, Mills would later say, was “mulatto color, short in stature, in good health, not prepossessing in appearance, but smart in mind.”¹⁰ Philip Reed was about 18 years old, not five years his new master’s junior.¹¹

How Philip Reed acquired his surname is not known. Nor has the identity of the seller, James Davidson, been established. Remarkably, though, a record of the young man’s birth family does exist. When Patsey Whiteman opened an account in the Freedmen’s Bank in Charleston in 1870, she named three sisters and four brothers, including “Phillip Reed live at Washington, D.C.” She reported her father as “Caleb” and her mother as “Fanny Reed.”¹² “Phillip Reed,” therefore, would have shared these parents (or at least one of them).

Now Clark Mills could solicit more work and bid on more contracts. On the other hand, he had to feed, clothe and shelter the black youth—as well as the baby boys that Eliza delivered every two years. Financial woes continued to discomfit Mills’s days.

Later that year, 1839, one creditor, George W. Olney, tired of being put off by Mills, appealed to the Court of Common Pleas.¹³ To satisfy Mills’s overdue



Fig. 2. This 1850s map by A. Boschke shows Clark Mills's compound, Meadow Bank Spa Spring. His house and octagonal studio are on "the Bladensburgh Pike," east of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad line. His rectangular foundry is west of the tracks.

debt, the court instructed the sheriff of Charleston County to seize and auction off property belonging to the debtor. In spite of the stipulation of the pre-nuptial agreement—that "the Mulatto boy Phillip" would "remain clear and free now and forever" of Clark Mills's financial entanglements—the property seized upon by Sheriff Brown was...the young black plasterer.

The "Sheriff's Sale" notice ran in the *Courier*: "A Negro Boy, named Philip, about 20 years old," would be auctioned off at the Charleston County Courthouse on Monday, 4 May 1840.¹⁴ Yet the auction never took place. Mills—or more likely his father-in-law—evidently negotiated a last-minute settlement with George W. Olney. Clark Mills had come perilously close to

losing his “first-rate plasterer.”

The following year, the City Council of Charleston accepted Mills’s bid for “covering the west and south sides of the Guard House with Roman Cement, and coloring the building.” The monumental Greek Revival “Guard House” had just been built to serve the municipal police. It was constructed of brick, but stuccoed and scored to simulate stone. The City Council paid Clark Mills \$450 for the job. Arguably, though, it was Philip Reed who performed much, if not all, of the work, because by this time Clark Mills’s “business was such as to enable him to hire his jobs done, and devote his talent to something of a higher nature.”¹⁵

So begins the story of the Mills-Reed collaboration. Equally documented in historical sources is the end of their relationship. It is that gap of two decades in between that will be harder to discern.

The End: Washington, D.C.

In 1860 Clark Mills secured from the federal government the contract to cast in bronze the *Statue of Freedom* for the new Dome of the U.S. Capitol.¹⁶ By this time, aided largely by powerful South Carolinians in Congress, Mills was a famous sculptor and bronze founder. He reigned over a 115-acre farm located in northeast D.C., about three miles north of Washington City, which he dubbed Meadow Bank Spa Spring (fig. 2). There stood his studio, his foundry, the stable for his seven thoroughbreds, and his large country house.¹⁷ The compound was maintained by Mills’s enslaved people of African descent: one man, three women, and four children (more little ones would arrive later). Philip Reed, though, worked at his master’s side. Mills would call him a “highly-skilled plasterer and foundry worker.”¹⁸

Clark Mills’s family, meanwhile, was not at Meadow Bank Spa Spring. He had left his wife and four sons in Charleston for five years. Then Eliza—after suing Mills for divorce on the grounds of abandonment—died; two sons were on their way to Germany to study art; two sons were boarding at school.¹⁹ Family was not the focus of Clark Mills’s attention.

Thomas Crawford’s 19½-foot plaster model of *Freedom* had been broken down into its five constituent sections, shipped from his studio in Rome to Washington, and hauled up Capitol Hill in 1859. After an Italian craftsman assembled the parts, bolted them together, repaired unsightly damage, and hid all the seams with fresh plaster, the colossal statue was put on exhibit in

the old House of Representatives chamber.²⁰

Now, to cast *Freedom*, Mills’s first task was to disassemble the model and remove it to his foundry. How this unfolded would become a well-known story, published first in the *New-York Tribune* in 1863. However, that account does not identify Mills’s “intelligent and ingenious servant” by name.²¹ In 1869, though, S. D. Wyeth recounted the incident in his book, *The Rotunda and Dome of the U.S. Capitol*, and Wyeth names Philip Reed, as well as a credible source:

The following interesting incident connected with this model is narrated by Mr. Fisk Mills, a son of the artist and founder Clark Mills. The story has been variously told and published, but the true narrative is as now given.

Before the statue was cast, the several large sections of the plaster model were put together so nicely by an adroit Italian employed about the Capitol, that no crevices were perceptible at the places of joining—the bolts were all firmly riveted inside, and where they were placed concealed by coverings of plaster. In this condition the model was for some time on exhibition.

At length the time arrived when the figure was desired to be cast, and the Italian was ordered to take the model apart. This he positively refused to do, unless he was given a large increase of wages, and secured employment for a number of years. He said, he alone “knew how to separate it,” and would do so only upon such conditions.

Mr. Mills at that time owned a highly intelligent mulatto slave named Philip Reed, who had long been employed about his foundry as an expert and admirable workman.

Philip undertook to take the model apart without injury, despite the Italian’s assertion, and proceeded to accomplish his purpose. His plan of working was this: a pulley and tackle was brought into use, and its hook inserted into an iron eye affixed to the head of the figure—the rope was then gently strained repeatedly until the uppermost joining of the top section of the model began to make a faint appearance. This gave some indication as to the whereabouts of its bolts inside, and



Fig. 3. Pvt. R. Holland, 9th Mass. Battery, sketched this view of Clark Mills's studio in October 1862 while stationed in the area. Mills built this large octagonal building of brick after a violent storm of 27 August 1854, destroyed his frame studio.

lead to their discovery; and thus, finally, one, after another of the sections, was discovered, their bolts unloosed, and the model, uninjured, made ready for the foundry....²²

This incident, and not one thing else—except that he was an enslaved African American—has constituted the entire memory of Philip Reed in the pages of American history.

For the casting of *Freedom*, Clark Mills supervised a team of eleven tradesmen and laborers, in addition to Philip Reed (fig. 3). The men worked six days a week, Monday through Saturday, and the monthly reports that Mills submitted to the government for their pay contain a troubling element. He always listed “Philip Reid” as “Laborer” receiving a daily wage of \$1.25. By this time, though, Reed’s many skills warranted compensation far exceeding that of a laborer. The work reports gainsay declarations made by Clark Mills himself with regard to his esteem for Philip Reed’s abilities.²³

More than that, listing Reed as “Laborer” countered Mills’s own interests. As Reed’s owner, he enjoyed

the prerogative of pocketing the enslaved man’s wages. Whether Mills did this or not is not recorded. Nonetheless, it would have been more accurate, and could have boosted Mills’s income, if he had recorded Philip Reed as a tradesman with a corresponding salary of \$2.00 a day.

However, of the dozen men who toiled with Clark Mills on *Freedom*, Philip Reed was the only one paid by the U.S. Government “For Services (on Sundays) between July 1, 1860, and May 16, 1861, 33 days (Sundays) @ \$1.25 per day for Keeping up fires under the moulds. Cost: \$41.25.” This undervalued remuneration, at least, the black servant was likely allowed to keep. Every month, meanwhile, Clark Mills received \$400 from the government “For his services, and for the rent of his foundry and necessary premises.”²⁴

From June 1860 through February 1862, Clark Mills led his team in the delicate and arduous choreography they executed many times. First, working in Mills’s studio, they created a negative mold for each of *Freedom*’s five parts and many smaller ornaments. Then the workmen wheeled the mold across the railroad



Fig. 4. Pvt. Holland's drawing of Clark Mills's house shows the colossal bronze horse that stood near it. Created in 1860 for Nashville, this copy of Mills's Jackson equestrian in Lafayette Square was not completed and delivered until 1880, when Tennesseans had recovered sufficiently from the Civil War to pay for it. For 20 years, this outsized sculpture was a landmark for passengers riding by on "the Bladensburgh Pike" and the "Washington Branch" of the B&O Railroad.

tracks that bisected Meadow Bank Spa Spring and into Mills's foundry to fill it with molten bronze. Piece by piece, *Freedom* was cast.²⁵

By 1862, Clark Mills had brought home (figs. 4, 5) from Baltimore a new bride, the wealthy widow Susan Howell, with her daughter and their bondswoman, Ann Ross.²⁶ The Civil War had dragged into a second year and the ring of defenses erected around Washington City consumed 50 acres of Meadow Bank Spa Spring.²⁷ Union soldiers by the thousands were encamped along the hills that surrounded the estate, concocting antics to relieve their boredom.²⁸ Life there became untenable. So Mills locked the colossus *Freedom* in his studio (he had assembled all the parts) and moved his new family to the safety of the city. The heyday of the self-styled country squire was over. He and Susan would separate within a few years.²⁹

Many years later, the U.S. Government would remunerate Clark Mills for the use of his property during the war. He received \$2,635 for back rent and depredations.

In April of 1862, Congress passed "An Act for the Release of certain Persons held to Service or Labor in the District of Columbia."³⁰ Pres. Abraham Lincoln signed it into law on the 16th, immediately emancipating the slaves in D.C. The statute's provisions included a procedure by which former slaveholders who were "loyal to the United States" could be remunerated for the loss of their now-emancipated property. Residing now in the fashionable neighborhood of Judiciary Square, Clark Mills had only to walk a few steps to City Hall to fulfill the law's requirements.³¹



Fig. 5. Mathew Brady's studio photographed Clark Mills c. 1860-65, when the sculptor was in his mid-forties and at the peak of his fame.

First, he filed a statement with the Clerk of the Circuit Court and paid fifty cents for its recordation (fig. 6). The document included a schedule of the 11 “persons of African descent made free or manumitted by the aforementioned act of Congress & owned by me.” Second, Mills returned to City Hall to present to the three Emancipation Commissioners a completed “Petition.” It gave the names of Mills’s slaves, their descriptions and ages, explained when and how he acquired each one, and stated the amounts he sought to be recompensed. For Philip Reed, Mills claimed to have paid, not the \$700 dowry, but rather \$1,200. “His papers having been burnt some years ago,” however, Mills had “no evidence of his title.” Mills sought \$1,500 for Philip Reed.³²

The next step required Clark Mills to return with his former slaves, as well as witnesses to corrob-

To John A. Smith,
Clerk of Circuit Court
of the District of Columbia.

In pursuance of the
Act of Congress, entitled an act for the re-
lease of certain persons held to service in
this District of Columbia, passed
April 16th 1862, and in accordance with
the 9th section thereof, we file a schedule
of the following persons of African descent
made free or manumitted by the afore-
said act of Congress & owned by me.

viz.

Levi Thomas	49 years of age	Black.
Rachel Thomas	49	Mulatto.
Ann Ross	48
Philip Reed	42
Lettie Howard	33	Black.
Will her daughter	10
Expiry...	3 months	..
Wm .. son	8 years of age	..
Alexander ..	6 1/2
Jackson ..	5
George	3

May 2^d 1862 Clark Mills

Fig. 6. Clark Mills’s schedule of his eleven “persons of African descent,” filed with the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Washington, D.C., May 2, 1862, was the first step of the procedure mandated by the “compensated emancipation act” for Mills to claim remuneration for his freed slaves.

orate his claim to them and his loyalty to the United States. On Saturday, 21 June 1862, Clark Mills conducted up the grand staircase, across the Doric portico, and into the airy foyer of City Hall Levi and Rachel Thomas, Philip Reed, Ann Ross, and Lettie Howard and her two daughters and four sons. (The children’s father, Henry Howard, a teamster, was not with them, because he did not belong to Mills.³³) But 16-year-old Clark Mills, Jr., was there, as well as a family acquaintance named J. W. Ridenour, to vouch for Mills’s claim and loyalty.³⁴

To ascertain the monetary value of each slave, the Emancipation Commissioners had hired a slave dealer of Baltimore, Bernard M. Campbell. One by one, Mills presented the eleven “persons of African descent” for Campbell’s inspection and assessment. All of the dealer’s figures fell short of the amounts sought in Mills’s petition.³⁵ Clark Mills may have inflated the prices he paid for all of his slaves, not just Philip Reed. Campbell assessed the “highly-skilled plasterer and foundry worker” at \$600.

Mills was livid. He petitioned the Commissioners to reexamine Philip Reed and they acquiesced.³⁶ On 30 June 1862, Philip Reed returned to City Hall and stood a second time before Bernard M. Campbell. The dealer increased the tradesman’s value by \$200—still far less than what Mills wanted.

None of Clark Mills’s sons challenged his claim of title to Philip Reed. None of them had been born when their father bought “the Mulatto boy named Philip” and signed the “marriage settlement.” They probably had no idea that, by the terms of that trust agreement, at the death of their mother, they, “the lawful issue of the Said Eliza”—not Clark Mills—became the beneficiaries of Philip Reed.³⁷ Evidently, their father never mentioned this to them.

Mills’s “Petition” was settled at \$1,916.25, three-fifths less than what he claimed.³⁸ The law capped at one million dollars the amount the Emancipation Commissioners could pay out, forcing them to reduce the values assessed by Campbell by close to half. The former slaveholders of the District of Columbia fumed. For Philip Reed, Mills got \$350.48.

Clark Mills’s investment in slavery turned out to be a poor one. True, for eight years he had had the servitude of Levi and Rachel Thomas and Lettie Howard. However, during those eight years he had borne the expenses of their lodging, food, and clothing. Not only that, Lettie’s children—the means by which slavery traditionally augmented the master’s wealth—were freed



Fig. 7. This photograph from December 1863 or January 1864 shows the recently-installed Statue of Freedom, along with the Senate Chamber under construction.

before they were old enough to perform any service at all. And Ann Ross, Susan's bondswoman, had been a member of Mills's household for less than two years. Mills had gotten in the "slave business" too late.

Except for Philip Reed. Over 23 years of bondage, the plasterer and foundryman had profited Mills greatly.

Here ends the story of the Mills-Reed relationship. No evidence has come to light suggesting that Mills had anything further to do with any of the people he once owned as chattel property.

Clark Mills delivered *Statue of Freedom* to the U.S. Government in June of 1862. He supervised its transportation from his studio to the grounds of the Capitol and its erection there. Sixteen months later, he

oversaw the cleaning and patinating of the statue. Then *Statue of Freedom* was hoisted piece-by-piece to the pinnacle of the dome and dedicated on 2 December 1863 (fig. 7).³⁹

Clark Mills solicited one more government contract for public sculpture, but in vain.⁴⁰ His two ground-breaking equestrian statues came under brutal criticism as a new generation of American-born sculptors advanced bronze casting in this country. Art connoisseurs agreed: Mills was a clever technician; artist, however, he was not.⁴¹ Moreover, after the Civil War, South Carolina's delegation to Congress could not be the powerful patron to Mills that it once had been. His most influential and generous backer, former Sen. William Campbell Preston, had died in 1860.



Fig. 8. This monument was erected on “Emancipation Day,” 16 April 2016, at National Harmony Memorial Park in Hyattsville, Md. It commemorates two formerly enslaved District of Columbia residents who are interred there in an unmarked mass grave: Philip Reed, “the slave who built the statue of Freedom,” and Solomon Northup, author of *Twelve Years a Slave*.

He socialized with the Lincolns in the White House, took the president’s life mask, and designed a huge, elaborate bronze memorial to “The Great Emancipator.”⁴² Planning a larger-than-life commemorative statue of Ulysses S. Grant, Mills took his life mask, too—though he did likewise with Robert E. Lee.⁴³ None of these projects, however—though Mills worked on them for years at his own expense—was ever achieved.

Clark Mills’s career shambled along on plaster busts of famous people and life masks of American Indians for the Smithsonian Institution.⁴⁴ He died in January 1883, renowned for the one achievement commemorated on his tombstone: “Creator of the first self-balanced rampant equestrian Statue in the World.”⁴⁵

Philip Reed married six weeks after gaining his freedom, had a son, and later married a second time. He lived in obscurity, supporting his family by plying

the trade of his boyhood, plastering.⁴⁶ “Mr. Reed, the former slave,” wrote S. D. Wyeth in 1869, “is now in business for himself, and highly esteemed by all who know him.”⁴⁷ Philip Reed died in 1892, known only to a handful of individuals who had heard or read the story of “the slave who saved the statue of *Freedom* (figs. 8, 9).”⁴⁸

The Twenty Years of Mills-Reed Collaboration In Between

Only one historical essay of limited distribution associates the name of Philip Reed with the Jackson statue in Lafayette Square.⁴⁹ Between Philip Reed and the Washington statue in Washington Circle, no link at all has ever been made. However, substantial evidence suggests that the enslaved man worked with Clark Mills on both of these looming landmarks of the nation’s capital.

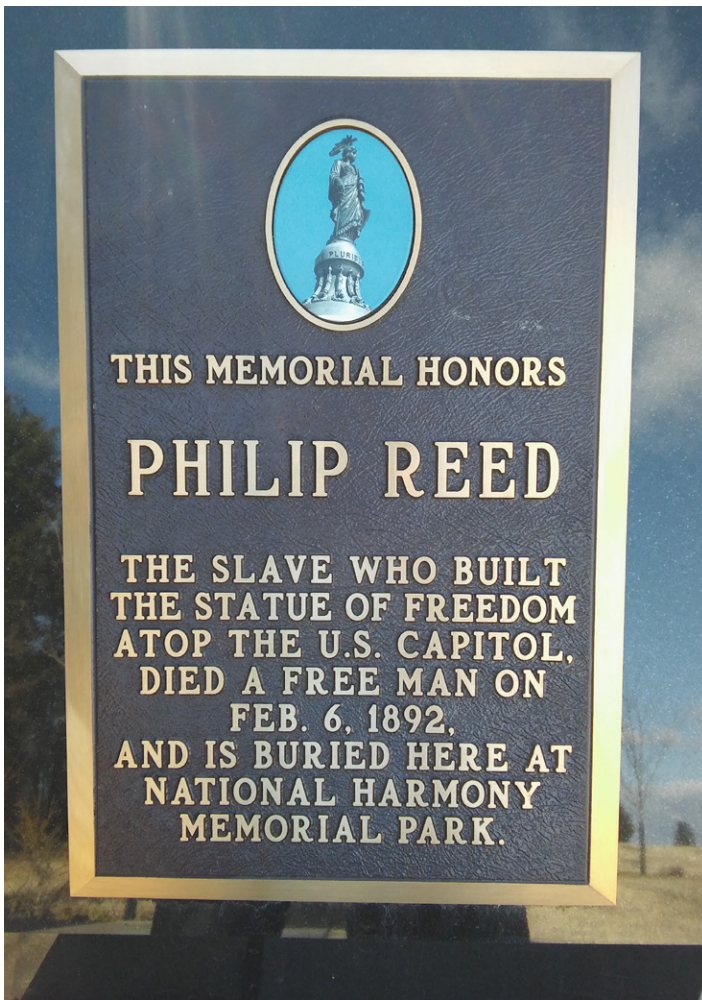


Fig. 9. Reed was originally buried in Graceland Cemetery in northeast D.C. in 1892; his remains were removed to Columbian Harmony Cemetery, also in northeast, when Graceland closed in 1895. In 1959, Columbian Harmony was moved and Reed's bones were buried in a common grave at National Harmony Memorial Park, where this plaque was unveiled in 2016.

Plaster Busts

After Mills acquired Philip Reed in 1839, he was able “to devote himself to something of a higher nature.” He learned from an Italian sculptor how to take a plaster cast of a subject’s face, called a “life mask,” make a negative mold from it, then use that mold to cast the subject’s bust in plaster.⁵⁰ Taking a life mask, though, was an uncomfortable and dangerous ordeal for the sitter. Mills invented a less stressful method using a quick-drying plaster paste of his own concoction.⁵¹ By the spring of 1844 he had set up shop in the heart of Charleston.⁵²

As proud owners vaunted their effigies by Clark Mills, which were far less expensive than marble busts

and required much less time of the sitter, his reputation as a “sculptor” spread among the landed elite of the Palmetto State.⁵³ His first attempt at carving marble—a bust of South Carolina’s favorite son, John C. Calhoun, then at the peak of national power and fame—catapulted Mills to celebrity and success (fig. 10).⁵⁴

Three wealthy Charlestonians raised one thousand dollars to send the budding local artist to Italy for a year of formal study. En route, however, while stopping in Washington to examine the sculpture there, Mills was invited by the Jackson Monument Committee to submit a design for a memorial to the Hero of New Orleans. Rather than going abroad, Clark Mills returned to Charleston and spent a year on intensive self-education. Then he tendered his proposal for a monumental equestrian of Jackson in bronze. He got the commission.⁵⁵

The Jackson Equestrian

Clark Mills moved to Washington in April of 1848 to execute his design.⁵⁶ He established a studio on a parcel of U.S. Government land at the junction of 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., within view of the President’s House. To fashion a full-scale plaster model of a statue 9 feet tall and 12 feet long, a sculptor needed as many assistants as he could afford to hire. Did Clark Mills bring his helper, Philip Reed, with him in 1848?

One historian, William C. Allen, writes: “Master and slave moved to Washington in the late 1840s when Mills won the competition for an equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson that was commissioned for Lafayette Park. . . . Mills, Reid, and other workmen produced the first bronze statue ever cast in America.”⁵⁷ Although Allen cites no source for these two statements, there is one document that—considered in light of Mills’s ever-precarious finances—supports them both.

In May of 1849, Henry Kirke Brown visited Clark Mills in his studio. Afterwards, the eminent American sculptor wrote to his wife: “...There I saw the boots of the old Hero Jackson. These were partly chopped out in plaster, but the hewing out he [Mills] informed me was the rough part, that he kept a nigger for that.”⁵⁸ That was probably Philip Reed. It would have made sense for Mills “to keep” the plasterer he had already been working with for nine years . . . whom he did not have to pay.

The visionary sculptor was determined to cast his statue in the United States, where no monumental bronze had ever been cast. The country lacked the

requisite expertise and foundry. Undeterred, in December of 1849, in the Ordnance Department at the Washington Navy Yard, Mills found Carl Ludwig Richter. The immigrant had trained at the Royal Prussian Foundry in Berlin. He knew how to cast not only cannon but statues too. Mills asked Richter to build a foundry. Richter said yes. He constructed one of his own unorthodox design beside Mills's studio. There, through the fall of 1850, Richter cast several small works sculpted by Clark Mills—four bells, a bust of George Washington and a statuette of Apollo—to test the furnace. Speaking with a German accent, the Prussian instructed Clark Mills in the myriad intricacies of casting heavy metals.

If Philip Reed was indeed in Washington working with Mills at this time, it was from the Prussian that he learned, alongside his master, the operations of a foundry and how to cast bronze. Reed would have helped prepare the plaster models and molds for those first works that Mills sculpted and Richter cast to test the furnace.

The “Jackson Foundry” proved a success. Richter, though, convinced that Mills had dealt badly with him, quit. It would take the sculptor another two years of experimentation, failed attempts, disasters with equipment, mental and physical exhaustion, and deepening debt to achieve the colossal equestrian statue of Jackson.

Unveiled in Lafayette Square on 8 January 1853, amidst tumultuous fanfare, the Jackson statue thrust Clark Mills into international fame.⁵⁹ Not only had it been cast in America, it was the world's first monumental bronze horse ever constructed in a rampant pose with no external support (fig. 11). The U.S. Congress, delighted, immediately allocated \$20,000 to reimburse “the native-born genius” for his expenditures and commissioned him to create a monumental equestrian of George Washington.⁶⁰

Vindicated, energized, and flush with cash, Clark Mills in the spring of 1854 purchased Meadow Bank Spa Spring about three miles north of Washington City and set about building his empire. He erected a permanent studio and foundry and bought Levi Thomas, Levi's wife, Rachel, Lettie Howard and her daughter, Tilly, and race horses.⁶¹ As a permanent resident of Washington County (not the city), he paid taxes on all of this real and personal property.

One source contradicts the proposition that Philip Reed assisted Clark Mills in creating the Jackson equestrian, but it is easily discounted. Reed's death



Fig. 10. Mills made this plaster bust of Sen. William Campbell Preston (SC) in 1846. A connoisseur of art, the senator belonged to one of Columbia's wealthiest and most prestigious families. His early and enthusiastic patronage of Clark Mills opened many doors of Washington, D.C. to the aspiring sculptor.

certificate (fig. 12) indicates that he died on 6 February 1892, and that he had resided in the District of Columbia for “35 yrs.”⁶² This would date his arrival in Washington to four years *after* the Jackson had been dedicated. However, “35 yrs” is the word of an informant who, evidently, was mistaken, because it is trumped by a more reliable source: Washington County tax records.

When Clark Mills built his studio at Pennsylvania Ave. and 15th St., the District of Columbia comprised the City of Georgetown, Washington City, and Washington County; tax records for the three entities were maintained separately. From 1848 to 1853, while



Fig. 11. Mills's famous Jackson equestrian is in Lafayette Square. Note the statue of Thomas Jefferson by French artist Pierre-Jean David d'Angers in the background. Donated to Congress in 1834, it was placed in the Rotunda, but removed the following year to the North Lawn of the White House. It stood there until 1874, when it was returned to the Capitol. It stood in Statuary Hall until its final relocation to the Rotunda in 1900, where it remains today.

Mills worked on the Jackson statue—likely with Philip Reed, who constituted taxable property—Mills's name does not appear in Washington City tax records. It seems that he was not considered a permanent resident at that time, because the 1850 federal census enumerates him, not in Washington, but with his wife and sons in Charleston.⁶³ It may be that he (or Eliza, or Alexander Ballentine, the trustee) paid a tax on Philip Reed in Charleston from 1848 to 1853. Unfortunately, the earliest tax records extant for Charleston date from 1882. Clark Mills is not listed as a taxpayer in Washing-

Fig. 12 (right). Philip Reed died on 6 Feb. 1892. His death certificate lists his age (75) and number of years resident in D.C. (35)—estimates of the anonymous informer and likely inaccurate. Although historical sources vary, evidence points to about 1820 as Reed's birth year and 1848 for when Clark Mills brought him to D.C.

(ALWAYS WRITE WITH INK.)

FORM No. 8.

No. 8228

The Special Attention of Physicians is respectfully invited to the Remarks below, and to the List of Diseases on the back of this Certificate.

CERTIFICATE OF DEATH.

TO THE HEALTH OFFICER, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Permit No. 8228

Date of Death Feb 6 1892

Full Name of Decedent Philip Reed

Sex Male

Age 75 Years 6 Months 13 Days.

Color Caucasian

Married, Single, Widow, or Widower Widower

Occupation Plasterer

Birthplace D.C.

Duration of Residence in the District of Columbia 35 yrs

Nativity of Father English Nativity of Mother English

Place of Death, (Give Street and Number) Washington Begum Hospital

Cause of Death, (First, (Primary); Duration. Erysipelas of Face
Second, (Immediate). 1 week

Duration of Last Sickness 1 week

All of the above information should be furnished by the Physician.

Place of Burial Greenwood Cemetery

Date of Burial Feb 8 1892

Underwriter John E. Walsh M. D.

Place of Business 438 2nd St Address W. A. Hospital

Extract from Regulations to secure a Full and Correct Record of Vital Statistics in the District of Columbia.

Section 4. That whenever any person shall die within the District of Columbia it shall be the duty of the Physician attending such person during the last sickness, or of the Coroner or the Undertaker, when the same occurs under the official sanction to furnish and deliver to the undertaker, or other person superintending the burial of said deceased person, a certificate, duly signed, setting forth, so far as the same may be ascertained, the name, age, color, sex, last place of residence, date and cause of death, and duration of last sickness of such deceased person. And it shall be the duty of the undertaker or other person in charge of the burial to such deceased person, to make in said certificate the true and correct place of burial, and having signed the same, to forward it to the Registrar-General of said District. Provided, That in case of death from any infectious or contagious disease, said certificate shall be so made and forwarded within eight hours thereafter. (Form.)

ton City until he moved into town permanently from Washington County in 1862.⁶⁴

The Washington County tax assessment records show that Clark Mills started to pay a tax on his servants—including “Philip”—in January/February 1855 (fig. 13).⁶⁵ Although this record post-dates the Jackson statue by a couple of years, it does prove that Philip Reed was living at Meadow Bank Spa Spring when Mills was creating his Washington statue.

The Washington Equestrian

Clark Mills worked on the Washington equestrian (amid distractions and postponements) from February 1856 through February 1860.⁶⁶ It is unthinkable that his “highly-skilled plasterer and foundry worker” was residing at Meadow Bank Spa Spring during those years—as the tax records attest—and not employed by Mills in the foundry. Even the hearsay evidence of Philip Reed’s death certificate—albeit inaccurate—corroborates that he was resident in the District of Columbia by this time.

This account of the life that Clark Mills and Philip Reed shared for almost a quarter of a century offers replies to the two questions of historical fact: 1) It is probable, though not proven, that the enslaved man came to Washington with Clark Mills in 1848 to

help create the statue of Jackson; and 2) Washington County tax records prove that Philip Reed was residing at Meadow Bank Spa Spring during the years when Mills was fashioning the Washington equestrian in his foundry there.

On the other hand, an answer to the personal question—how the two men “felt” about each other—remains elusive.

How Did Clark Mills and Philip Reed “Feel” about Each Other?

Chances are good that Clark Mills had a distinct relationship with each one of his slaves. They were individuals with different personalities and temperaments. However, with Philip Reed alone did the sculptor work side-by-side in his studio and in his foundry on the artistic undertakings that held such deep personal importance for him. Mills spent more time in the company of Philip Reed than he did with either of his two wives or any of his four sons. Clearly, among his slaves, Mills’s bond with Reed was unique.

The words of Clark Mills himself—“smart in mind;” “his evident talent for the business in which he [Mills] was engaged;” “highly skilled plasterer and foundry worker”—reveal the sculptor’s respect for Philip Reed’s intelligence and acquired expertise. Furthermore, the price that Mills paid for the young Charlestonian,

The image shows a handwritten tax record entry for Clark Mills. The entry is written in cursive and lists various items and their assessed values. The items are listed on the left, and the values are listed on the right. The total assessed value is 2500.

Item	Assessed Value
Clark Mills.	
500 a. Haddocks hills	50 \$
25 do. Cedar Hill. Improv ^s	5000
13 ac of Neitch	30 \$
Furnit	500. Lotty 35 years old
2 children	200. Rachel 50. 200.
Philip	30. 600. 5 horses
4 cows	50. 2 Carriages
1 Wagon	2 carts
	50.
	2500

Fig. 13. The “Clark Mills” entry in the 1855 Washington County tax records includes “Philip 30. 600.” The notation means “Philip Reed, 30 years old, assessed value \$600.”

and the considerable recompense he sought from the government after the tradesman's emancipation, attest to Mills's appreciation for the black man's exceptional worth. Telling, too, is the fact that, of all of his workers, Mills entrusted to Philip Reed the sensitive task of keeping up the fires in the furnace during the casting of *Statue of Freedom*.

And yet, on monthly work reports, Clark Mills listed Philip Reed as an unskilled laborer. For all the black man's worth, in the mind of his owner, he was still, after all, a slave.

From Philip Reed, on the other hand, we have no words at all. He served Clark Mills for 23 years, perhaps considering himself fortunate among his brothers and sisters in bondage to live and work with an artist-genius of national renown. Nevertheless, it may be that, for all Clark Mills's social prominence, to Philip Reed he was still, after all, a master.

However the two men felt about each other, this inquiry into their long and close collaboration suggests that Clark Mills's enslaved assistant, Philip Reed, merits recognition for more personal accomplishment and greater public contribution than the *Statue of Freedom* alone.



John Philip Colletta, Ph.D., addresses audiences from coast to coast on topics of family history research and writing. For 20 years he worked at the Library of Congress and taught programs at the National Archives. He is the senior faculty member of the Institute of Genealogy and Historical Research (University of Georgia) and Salt Lake Institute of Genealogy (Salt Lake City) and conducts programs for the Smithsonian Institution. Colletta's publications include numerous articles, both scholarly and popular, two manuals—*Finding Italian Roots* and *They Came in Ships*—a murder mystery/family history, *Only a Few Bones*, and a Great Course available from The Teaching Company, "Discovering Your Roots," which includes instruction on how to write narrative family history. Recipient of many professional awards and honors, Colletta resides in Washington, D.C., where he earned his doctorate at the Catholic University of America. His interest in Clark Mills and Philip Reed grew out of his love of the monumental sculpture of the nation's capital.

NOTES

1. This article is drawn from the author's in-depth biography of Clark Mills now in progress.

2. "Marriages," [S.C.] *Charleston Observer*, 8 July 1837, 3. Also "Ballantine [sic], A.," entry, *Dowling's Charleston Directory and Annual Register for 1837 and 1838...* (Charleston, SC, 1837), as transcribed in: James W. Hagy, ed., *Directories for the City of Charleston, South Carolina* (Baltimore, MD, 1977), 73.

3. Alexander Ballantine [sic] entry, 1830 U.S. census, Ward 4, Charleston, SC, p. 75; NARA M19, roll 170, and Alexander Ballentine entry, 1840 U.S. census, Charleston Neck, Charleston, SC, 112; NARA M704, roll 509; both viewed at www.ancestry.com. Description of the Northern Neck population is derived from: (1) 1840 U.S. census of Charleston; and (2) *Dowling's Charleston Directory and Annual Register for 1840 and 1841*.

4. Trustee Bill of Sale in Trust, Mills Clark and Eliza his wife to Ballantine [sic] Alexander, 18 Feb. 1839, recorded 14 May 1839; Secretary of State, Miscellaneous Records, Vol. 5–V, 282–84; South Carolina Archives, Columbia. The document states in quotation marks the terms that were "mutually understood and agreed upon by and between the Said Parties Prior to the intermarriage of the Said Eliza, and the Said Clark Mills." The original pre-marriage agreement has not been found. The author thanks his colleague, Brent Howard Holcomb, for his assistance in locating this document.

5. See, for example: (1) C. & J. Gibbes vs. Clark Mills, Charleston County Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, L10018 (1839), no. 281A; (2) Clark Mills vs. R. R. Hunt, Charleston County Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, L10018 (1839), no. 257A; and (3) Conveyance in Fee, Poyas James to Mills Clarke [sic], 1 Sept. 1838, recorded 8 Sept. 1838; RMC Book W10, 239–40, and Mortgage, Mills Clarke [sic] to Poyas James, 1 Sept. 1838, recorded 4 Sept. 1838; RMC Book W10, 234–36; all three sources located in the South Carolina Archives, Columbia, SC.

6. For biographical facts and physical and personality traits, see, among others: (1) "A Commencement of a New Era in the Arts. Jackson Statue," *The Washington and Georgetown Directory* (Washington, DC, 1853), 91; (2) "Clark Mills, The Sculptor," *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, vol. 6, 23(10 June 1854): 356; (3) "Clark Mills, The Sculptor," Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper*, 3 Mar. 1860, 12; (4) "Mr. Clark Mills, The Sculptor," *The Round Table*, 14 May 1864, 340; (5) "Clark Mills at Home," *The Washington*

Post, 7 Feb. 1880, 2; (6) “Death of Clark Mills,” [Washington, D.C.] *Evening Star*, 12 Jan. 1883, 4; and (7) Letter, T[heophilus] F[isk] Mills to Elliott Woods, Superintendent, U.S. Capitol and Grounds, 29 Jul. 1910, containing a biographical sketch of Clark Mills; Archives, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, DC.

7. Trustee Bill of Sale in Trust, Mills Clark and Eliza his wife to Ballantine [sic] Alexander, 18 Feb. 1839, see note 4.

8. Petition, Clark Mills, 18 Jun. 1862, filed as Claim 741, 20 June 1862; Petitions Filed Under The Act of April 16, 1862, Records of the Board of Commissioners for the Emancipation of Slaves in the District of Columbia, 1862-63; NARA M520; viewed at www.Fold3.com. Philip’s surname is recorded variously as Reid and Reed. For clarity, Reed will be used consistently in this article, unless spelled otherwise in a quoted document.

9. “Sheriff’s Sale,” [Charleston, SC] *Courier*, 20, 30 Apr. and 1, 4 May 1840, 3.

10. Petition, Clark Mills, 18 Jun. 1862, see note 8.

11. Seven sources provide various birthyears for Philip Reed ranging from 1817 to 1830: (1) Notice of Sheriff’s Sale, 20 Apr.–14 May 1840: “about 20;” (2) District of Columbia tax assessment for Jan./Feb. 1855: “30;” (3) 1860 U.S. census slave schedule, taken in July: “30;” (4) Petition for Compensation for Slaves, 18 Jun. 1862: “42;” (5) 1870 U.S. census, taken in July: “50;” (6) 1880 U.S. census, taken in June: “55;” and (7) Washington, DC, death certificate: died “Feb. 6, 1892, age 75.” One source, the 1850 U.S. census slave schedule, gives an age of nine; however, this is obviously a gross error, probably for 29. Considering the relative reliability of these sources, a birthyear of 1820 appears most probable.

12. Patsey Whiteman entry, Ledger of Depositors, 3 Feb. 1870, Freedmen’s Bank, Charleston, SC; viewed at www.familysearch.org.

13. George W. Olney vs. Clark Mills, Charleston County Court of Common Pleas, Judgment Rolls, L10018 (1839), no. 287; South Carolina Archives, Columbia, SC.

14. “Sheriff’s Sale,” [Charleston, SC] *Courier*, 20, 30 Apr. 20 and 1, 4 May 1840, 3.

15. “Proceedings of the Council, Monday, August 9, 1841,” [Charleston, SC] *Southern Patriot*, 11 Aug. 1841, 2. Preservation Society of Charleston: <http://www.halseymap.com/flash/window.asp?HMID=25>. “Clark Mills and His Statue,” *Camden [SC] Journal*, reprinted in “Clark Mills,” [Charleston, SC] *Courier*, 8 May 1850, 2.

16. Letter, John B. Floyd to William B. Franklin, 3

Apr. 1860; photocopy of original; Archives, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, DC.

17. Deed, “Reah Frazer et uxor and Robert W. Burrows et uxor to Clark Mills,” 4 May 1854; D.C. Land Records, Liber JAS, no. 76: 121-126; NARA. Also A. Boschke, “Topographical Map of the District of Columbia, surveyed in the years 1856, ’57, ’58, & ’59,” published by D. McClelland, Blanchard & Mohun, Washington, DC, 1861; Library of Congress; accessed online at www.loc.gov.

18. Petition, Clark Mills, 18 June 1862, see note 8.

19. Divorce packet, Eliza S. Mills vs. Clark Mills; Court of Common Pleas, County of Lancaster, Pa., filed 20 Jun. 1855; Lancaster History, Lancaster, PA. Also “Deaths,” *The Lancaster Intelligencer*, 28 Aug. 1855, 3: “Mrs. Eliza S. Mills, wife of Clark Mills, Esq., of Washington city.” Documentation for the sons includes: (1) Clark Mills household, 1860 U.S. census, Washington County, District of Columbia, 95; NARA M653, roll 103; viewed at www.ancestry.com; (2) “Personal,” [Washington, D.C.] *Evening Star*, 26 Mar. 1862, 2; and (3) Columbian College rosters of pupils, 1864, 1865 and 1866, viewed at www.ancestry.com (originals are with the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA).

20. “The Goddess of Liberty,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 29 Aug. 1859, 3. Also “Crawford’s plaster cast of the Genius of Liberty,” *Alexandria [VA] Gazette*, 7 Sept. 1859, 2.

21. “The Statue of Freedom,” *New-York Tribune*, 10 Dec. 1863, 5. I have found no earlier publication of this story. Reprinted in the *Chicago Tribune*, 14 Dec. 1863, 1, and the *Liberator*, vol. 34, 1(1 Jan. 1864): 4.

22. S.D. Wyeth, *The Rotunda and Dome of the U.S. Capitol* (Washington, DC, 1869), 194–95.

23. “Daily Report of the Application of Materials used and Services rendered on the Figure of Freedom,” completed monthly in Mills’s hand, signed by Mills and submitted to Z. W. Denham; they cover 1 Jun. 1860 through 18 May 1861; photocopies of originals; Archives, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, DC.

24. Photocopies of original monthly pay records; Archives, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, DC.

25. “Apropos to the Day,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 22 Feb. 1862, 3. For a description of Clark Mills’s use of the sand casting method (not the lost wax method, as some scholars have erroneously assumed), see: John Philip Colletta, “‘The Workman of C. Mills’: Carl Ludwig Richter and the Statue of Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Park,” *Washington*

History, v. 23 (2011): 3–35.

26. Marriage License, 12 Jan. 1861, Clark Mills and Susan E. Howell; Baltimore City Court of Common Pleas, Book 1851–1865 (MSA CM204-1), 438; and Baltimore County Marriage Index, 1851–1885 (MSA CM205), 2 Feb. 1861, Clark Mills and Susan E. Howell; both sources at the Maryland State Archives, Annapolis. Also, regarding Ann Ross: Petition, Clark Mills, 18 June 1862, see note 8.

27. “Mills, Clark,” Claim G-2112, Registers of Claims Received Relating to Rent, etc., vol. 1873 (G), 142; Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, RG 92; NARA, Washington, DC.

28. Ernest B. Furgurson, *Freedom Rising: Washington in the Civil War* (New York, 2008), 74.

29. “Clark Mills’ Estate. A Contest to the Will to be Made by the Sons of the Sculptor,” *Washington [DC] Post*, 21 Jan. 1883, 8.

30. Ch. LIV, U.S. Statutes-at-Large 12(1862): 376–78.

31. “Mills Clark,” entry, Boyd’s *Washington and Georgetown Directory* (Washington, DC, 1862), 131.

32. Statement, Clark Mills to John A. Smith, Clerk of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, 2 May 1862; Records of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia Relating to Slaves, 1851–1863, RG 21; NARA M433, roll 2. Also Petition, Clark Mills, 18 Jun. 1862, see note 8; both viewed at www.Fold3.com.

33. Henry Howard household, 1870 U.S. Census, Washington, DC, 335; NARA M593, roll 124; viewed at www.ancestry.com.

34. Case 741, 21 Jun. 1862, Docket Book, Board of Commissioners; Records of the Board of Commissioners for the Emancipation of Slaves in the District of Columbia, 1862–63; RG 217; NARA M520; viewed at www.Fold3.com.

35. Record of Petitions Filed, 29 Apr.–15 Jul. 1862; Records of the Board of Commissioners for the Emancipation of Slaves in the District of Columbia, 1862–63; RG 217; NARA M520; viewed at www.Fold3.com.

36. Minutes of Meetings, 28 Apr. 1862–14 Jan. 1862, p. 68; Records of the Board of Commissioners for the Emancipation of Slaves in the District of Columbia, 1862–63; RG 217; NARA M520; viewed at www.Fold3.com.

37. The author thanks his colleague, Judy Russell, J.D., for her legal explication of the “marriage settlement.”

38. Summary List of Awards, 22; Records of the Board of Commissioners for the Emancipation of Slaves in the District of Columbia, 1862–63; RG 217; NARA M520; viewed at www.Fold3.com.

39. William C. Allen, *History of the United States Capitol: A Chronicle of Design, Construction and*

Politics (Washington, DC, 2001), 322. Also Letter, Tho. U. Walter to Clark Mills, Esq., 24 Oct. 1863; Purchase Order, 28 Oct. 1863; Pay order, 24 Feb. 1864, authorized by Thomas U. Walter and signed by Clark Mills; all three sources are photocopies; Archives, Office of the Architect, Washington, DC. Also “The Crowning of the Statue of Freedom,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 2 Dec. 1863, 2.

40. “Congressional. XXXVIIIth Congress,—First Session. Tuesday, April 19. Senate,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 19 April 1864, 2. Clark Mills’s memorial, “praying that he may be employed to design and make marble groups of statuary” for the pediment over the main entrance to the House of Representatives, died in committee.

41. See, for examples of criticism: (1) “Monuments,” [Philadelphia] *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 6 Jul. 1865, 4; (2) “The Fine Arts,” *New-York Tribune*, 28 Jul. 1866, 6; and (3) “Personals,” *Detroit Free Press*, 21 Jul. 1867, 4. For summaries of Mills’s legacy, see: (1) Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture* (New York City, 1930), 126; (2) Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America*, rev. ed. (Newark, DE, 1984), 174; and (3) Michael Edward Shapiro, *Bronze Casting and American Sculpture, 1850–1900* (Newark, DE, 1985), 44. Treatment of Mills in these three classic works is cursory and error-ridden.

42. “The Entertainment at the White House Last Night,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 6 Feb. 1862, 2. Also “An Hour with Clark Mills,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 24 Dec. 1870, 1. Also, among others: “Local News,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 8 April 1865, 2; and “Letters from Washington,” [Baltimore, MD] *Sun*, 13 Feb. 1868, 4.

43. “[no title],” [Philadelphia] *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 18 Jul. 1867, 4; and “General Grant’s Account of Lee’s Surrender,” [Augusta] *Maine Farmer*, 39 (14 Jan. 1871): 6. Also “Proposed Equestrian Statue of General Lee,” [Washington, DC] *Evening Star*, 9 Jul. 1867, 1.

44. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1877* (Washington, DC, 1878), 38–39, 83; and *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1879* (Washington, DC, 1880), 42–43. Also correspondence between Clark Mills and Joseph Henry and Clark Mills and Spencer F. Baird, 1874–79; Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

45. Certificate of Death, Clark Mills, died 12 Jan. 1883; Vital Records Division, District of Columbia, Department of Health. Also tombstone, Clark Mills, Glenwood Cemetery, Washington, DC.

46. Wesley E. Pippenger, comp., *District of Columbia Marriage Licenses, Register 2, 1858–1870* (Leesburg, VA, 1996), 158; and “Reed, Philip” entry, 1870

U.S. census, Ward 7, Washington City, DC; NARA M593, roll 126, 314 (handwritten), 434B (stamped); and “Reed, Phillip [sic]” entry, 1880 U.S. census, Washington City, DC; NARA T9, roll 124, Enumeration District 701, 28; all three records viewed at www.ancestry.com.

47. Wyeth, *The Rotunda and Dome of the U.S. Capitol*, 195.

48. Certificate of Death, Phillip [sic] Reed, died 6 Feb. 1892; Vital Records Division, District of Columbia, Department of Health.

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Fig. 7. Architect of the Capitol

Fig. 8. Author

Fig. 9. Author

Fig. 10. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Transfer from the National Institute

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CHURCHILL ON THE HILL: Winston Churchill and the United States Congress

by David Freeman



Fig. 1. This c. 1900 photograph (© J.E. Purdy) provides a sense of Winston Churchill's appearance during his youthful visits to the United States.

*"I come to the conclusion that the first class men of America are in the counting houses and the less brilliant ones in the government."*¹

So wrote Winston Churchill in 1895 at the age of 20 during his first visit to the United States. To be fair to American politicians, however, young Winston (fig. 1) had not as yet met many. More than 45 years later, the demands of the Second World War gave Prime Minister Churchill good reason to be most appreciative of the United States Congress. And he made sure to say so in person.

During the war, Churchill made two speeches on Capitol Hill, the first in December 1941 and the second in May 1943. He spoke for a third time to a joint meeting of Congress in early 1952 soon after beginning his second appointment as prime minister. In addition to these formal sessions, Churchill met with various senators and representatives during his many visits to Washington over the course of a lengthy career. The three great speeches, however, stand out as the most important moments when Churchill was on the Hill.

EARLY ENCOUNTERS

The first congressman that Churchill came to know was Bourke Cockran (fig. 2), whom he met in New York City in 1895. Cockran was a friend of Churchill's American-born mother, and he became a major influence in young Winston's life. Cockran had immigrated to the United States from Ireland and was a maverick Democrat who placed principle over party. Although he remained a Democrat, he endorsed Republican William

McKinley for president in 1896 and Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. It was Cockran's innate honesty, however, that frequently put him at odds with Tammany Hall. As a result, he was in and out of the House of Representatives over a period of 30 years.

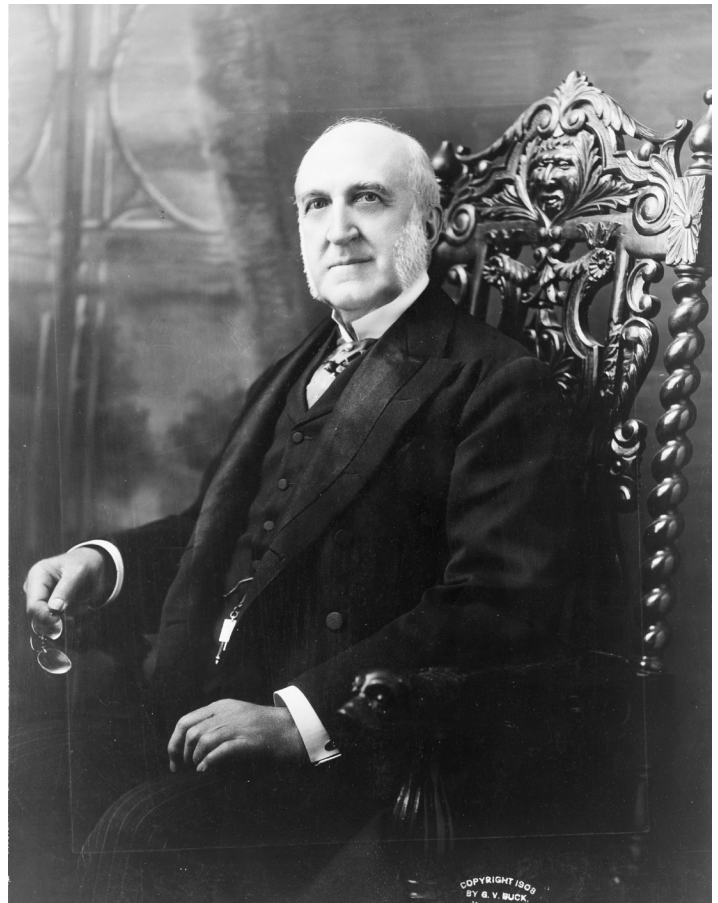
Cockran was acclaimed by many, including Theodore Roosevelt and Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge (MA), as America's greatest orator, though others saw him simply as an Irishman with the gift of the gab. Either way, he greatly impressed Churchill, who went some way towards imitating Cockran's speaking style and was always proud to admit it: "He was my model—I learned from him how to hold thousands in thrall."² Thus when Churchill himself came to speak before Congress decades later, he displayed the influence that a former Member of the House had upon him at an early age.

In December 1900, Churchill visited the United States for the second time. He had just been elected to Parliament but came to North America to make money on a speaking tour before taking his seat in Westmin-

ster. In New York City he spoke at the Waldorf Astoria where he was introduced by Mark Twain. In Albany, Churchill met Gov. Theodore Roosevelt, who had just become the vice president-elect. Two such egotistical politicians, however, could never get along—and they never did.

Churchill traveled to Washington for the first time during this visit and stayed as the guest of Sen. Chauncey Depew (fig. 3), a freshman Republican from New York. "He was very civil," Churchill wrote his mother about his host. He "showed me the Capitol, introduced me to a great many Senators of note and also presented me to the President."³ The president, of course, was William McKinley, but Churchill left no record identifying any of the "Senators of note" nor did he return to Washington for 29 years.

By 1929, Churchill was a veteran cabinet minister completing five years' service as Chancellor of the Exchequer, a position that involved him intimately with the debt repayment schemes established after the First



Figs. 2 and 3. During his first visit to the United States, Churchill met New York politician William Bourke Cockran (left). Churchill later noted that he modeled his speaking style on Cockran's. Sen. Chauncey Depew (right) hosted Churchill during his first trip to Washington, D.C. G.V. Buck copyrighted this photo of the lawyer and politician in 1908.

World War. On this matter, Churchill had strong disagreements with the policies of Pres. Calvin Coolidge. After his party was defeated at the polls in the spring, Churchill made a grand tour of North America. This lasted several weeks and included a brief stop in Washington where he paid a formal call on Coolidge's successor Pres. Herbert Hoover on October 19. There was no visit to Congress on this occasion, but one week later Churchill was in New York City when the stock market crashed. Under his window, Churchill wrote, "a gentleman cast himself down fifteen stories and was dashed to pieces."⁴

On Churchill's next visit to the United States, two years later in December 1931, it was he that was nearly dashed to pieces. Crossing Fifth Avenue in New York City on the evening of the 13th, Churchill forgot the difference between British and American traffic rules, looked the wrong way, and was run down by a car. After recuperating for several weeks with the aid of medicinal alcohol thoughtfully prescribed for him by an American physician, prohibition still being in force, Churchill embarked on another lecture tour.

He reached Washington on 12 February 1932—Lincoln's birthday—stayed at the British embassy, and spoke to a gathering at Constitution Hall. The next day he met briefly once again with Hoover and then, according to his official biographer, "visited the House of Representatives, where the session was briefly suspended so that the Congressmen present could greet him."⁵ A record in the Hoover Presidential Library confirms the meeting with the president; however, there is no evidence in the *Congressional Record* of any appearance by Churchill on the 13th.

"WHAT KIND OF A PEOPLE DO THEY THINK WE ARE?"—26 DECEMBER 1941

All of Churchill's visits to Washington prior to 1941 had been in a private capacity. Everything changed with the Second World War. Churchill became prime minister on 10 May 1940, the same day that German armies began to invade Western Europe. Dark as the situation looked, Churchill believed from the day he took office that Britain could win the war, provided aid was forthcoming from the United States. To this end, he did everything within his power to persuade Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt that the need was desperate but the situation not hopeless.

Roosevelt sympathized and was impressed both

by Churchill's resolution and Britain's show of strength in the summer of 1940. Yet FDR knew that he would not have sufficient political strength to take action until after he was safely re-elected that November. Once settled into his third term in office in 1941, the president began the initiative that resulted in the Lend-Lease Act. Congress allocated the funds necessary to provide substantive material aid to Britain even before the Soviet Union and the United States entered the war.

Churchill focused intensely on cultivating his relationship with Roosevelt. They maintained a frank and lengthy correspondence and finally met face-to-face at a clandestine rendezvous off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941. Nothing, however, would induce Congress to declare war on any of the Axis powers until the events of December 7.

As soon as he learned of the Japanese attacks on American and British territories in the Pacific, Churchill began to plan for an official visit to Washington. This became more urgent when Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, and the prime minister believed it essential to persuade the administration to adopt a Europe-first policy. In fact, U.S. Army strategists had already concluded months before that in just such a situation the European theater should have priority over the Pacific. Roosevelt concurred with this view, but not all Members of Congress agreed.

So it came to pass that in traveling to Washington in late December 1941, Churchill understood that he needed to talk up the British position to Members of Congress in addition to coordinating war policy with the White House. The timing of the Pearl Harbor attack, however, created problems for Congress. Many members had already committed themselves to returning to their states during the holidays. Urgent new government business, though, meant that Congress would have to meet over Christmastime despite many leading Members not being present.

Churchill arrived in Washington on December 22. Congress continued to meet through the 23rd and then took two days off for Christmas Eve and Christmas Day before resuming business on the 26th—known as Boxing Day in Britain—with a speech by Churchill on the agenda. So many Members of Congress were away, however, that it was decided to hold the meeting in the smaller Senate chamber. This would create a crowded room, ideal for generating dramatic visual images for the newsreel cameras recording the speech but also meaning that not all Members of the House could attend.



Fig. 4. Churchill addressed Congress in the Senate chamber on 26 December 1941.

Nevertheless, this was deemed preferable to accommodating everyone on the Hill that day in a House chamber that would obviously appear far from full.

Churchill addressed not so much a joint session of Congress on 26 December 1941 as he did a meeting of the Senate at which some House Members were present. Vice Pres. Henry Wallace presided in his capacity as president of the Senate, but House Speaker Sam Rayburn (TX) was among those away from Washington. In place of “Mr. Sam,” the Speaker *pro tempore*, Rep. William P. Cole (MD), sat next to Wallace on the platform behind Churchill (fig. 4).

Churchill had been staying in the White House since his arrival. After dinner on Christmas night, while the First Family settled in to watch the film *Oliver Twist*, Churchill excused himself by saying, “I must go and do some homework.”⁶ By this he meant putting the finishing touches on his speech to Congress. Churchill’s approach to a major speech was to spend several days composing the text and rehearsing the presentation. He never used a speechwriter, much to Roosevelt’s

astonishment. Churchill endlessly practiced not only the delivery of the words but the gestures. His speeches were true theater.

When the Senate took up business on the 26th, Sen. Elmer Thomas (OK) had a tribute to Churchill, published the day before by journalist Walter Lippman, entered into the *Congressional Record*. A number of items of business were then transacted before it was time for Churchill’s speech. Cole led as many House Members as could fit into the Senate chamber and took up his seat next to Wallace. There followed members of the Supreme Court and the diplomatic corps before Churchill himself entered at 12:30 pm escorted by three Members each from the House and Senate. Wallace then rose and announced, “Members of the Senate and guests of the Senate, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill.” Prolonged applause followed before Churchill began his remarks.⁷

After the preliminaries of thanking Congress for the invitation, Churchill made a joke: “I cannot help reflecting that if my father had been American and my

mother British, instead of the other way round, I might have got here on my own.” This received a great deal of laughter and applause and has since entered into the standard repertoire of famous Churchillian quips. There followed a good deal of praise for representative democracy—which was at stake, after all—and the spirit of “Olympian fortitude” that Churchill had thus far found around him in Washington.⁸ The old pro knew how to flatter an audience.

But the hour was indeed serious, and Churchill pulled no punches in describing the ordeal that lay before the British and American people. According to the *New York Times*, “he warned bluntly that ‘many disappointments and unpleasant surprises await us,’ but added that we were today ‘masters of our fate...’”⁹ In this last expression, Churchill, who loved and remembered much poetry from his Victorian youth, paraphrased *Invictus* by William Ernest Henley, the same poem that later inspired Nelson Mandela during his long imprisonment and which was quoted at Mandela’s funeral by Pres. Barack Obama in 2013.

Having made clear the gravity of the situation, Churchill then emphasized what was going well for the Allies. He referred to the “mighty strokes of war...dealt against the enemy” by the Russian armies, and stated that Italy’s Mussolini had become but “a lackey and serf, the merest utensil of his master’s will.” All this received much laughter and applause—first give them the bad news, then the good—but Churchill was also using this moment to pivot towards the most delicate subject.¹⁰

Continuing his list of Allied accomplishments, Churchill stated, “There are good tidings also from blue water.” Here he described in dramatic terms “the life-line of supplies which joins our two nations across the ocean, without which all might fail.”¹¹ Thus the British prime minister acknowledged the crucial success of Lend-Lease, which his audience had authorized. By emphasizing this and inter alia the stake which Congress already had in the continuation of a Europe-first policy, Churchill broached the subject of the Pacific War.

“If the United States has been found at a disadvantage at various points in the Pacific Ocean,” Churchill continued, “we know well that it is to no small extent because of the aid you have been giving us in munitions for the defense of the British Isles....”¹² By then pointing out that the Japanese had attacked both British and American territories in the Pacific, Churchill made it clear that his country was also determined to defeat Japan and that a Europe-first policy would not ipso

facto mean the neglect of the Pacific theater. This led on to Churchill’s boldest statement.

“What kind of a people do they think we are?” Churchill exclaimed. “Is it possible they [the Japanese] do not realize that we shall never cease to persevere against them until they have been taught a lesson which they and the world will never forget?” “Here the Prime Minister received a great burst of applause,” the *New York Times* reporter observed, “the crowded floor and galleries rising as one man to cheer him.”¹³ Churchill had closed the deal. Enough Members of Congress would support Europe-first to maintain the policy for the moment, given the reassurance that Japan would be thoroughly dealt with when the time came.

Churchill (fig. 5) had little time to savor his success. Alone in his bedroom at the White House that same evening, he exerted himself trying to open a window, bringing on severe pain and shortness of breath. His doctor decided to keep the matter quiet, and Churchill seemed to recover well enough. But after this trip to North America—Canada was also on the itinerary—it was noted by those close to the 67-year-old prime minister that he never quite returned to the same level of energy he had possessed before.



Fig. 5. Churchill c. 1941, original copyright by J. Russell & Sons



Fig. 6. Churchill addressed Congress again on 19 May 1943.

"HEAVIER WORK LIES AHEAD"— 19 MAY 1943

Churchill had won the battle with his first speech to Congress, but the war had a long way to run. He later described 1942 as the most anxious year of the conflict. Yes, the Allies had the resources to defeat the Axis, but it would take much time to bring those resources to bear. Churchill feared his own people might lose patience with him before the victories began to arrive and that the United States in the interim would change to a Pacific-first policy.

The success of operation Torch, in which US troops landed in North Africa in November 1942, coupled with the pivotal battles of El Alamein and Stalingrad about the same time—what Churchill termed “the hinge of fate”—appeared to turn the war decisively against Germany and Italy. But there were still those in Washington, most notably Chief of Naval Operations Adm. Ernest J. King, agitating for a Pacific-first policy,

and they had some loud backing in Congress. When, therefore, Churchill made his third wartime visit to Washington in May 1943, he eagerly accepted another invitation to speak before a joint meeting of Congress on the 19th. Once again he needed to rally support for the Europe-first strategy.

This time Congress was fully prepared to welcome Churchill (fig. 6). Speaker Rayburn joined Vice Pres. Wallace in the seats behind Churchill in a packed House chamber. All the leaders of Congress were there including future Speakers Joseph W. Martin, Jr. and John W. McCormack, both of Massachusetts and both part of the escort committee that brought Churchill into the Chamber at 12:30 pm. There followed a 90-second standing ovation.

Among the guests was W. L. Mackenzie-King, the prime minister of Canada. Of special note was the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Windsor seated in the gallery. Churchill had expended much political capital trying to persuade the former King Edward VIII

not to abdicate in 1936. The ex-king and his new wife initially settled in France until the war started. The duke, as he had become, created much unneeded distraction for Churchill in 1940 until the Windsors were finally extricated from Europe and safely deposited in Nassau, where the duke could be kept out of the way as governor of the Bahamas. Even then, the duke alarmed Churchill by speaking in defeatist terms at a meeting with Roosevelt. This earned the duke a sharp dressing down from the prime minister. By 1943, however, the duke had been straightened out and could be relied upon to support the Allied cause without reservation during his frequent visits to the United States.

This time Rayburn got to do the honors in introducing Churchill. Not given to hyperbole, Mr. Sam began by saying, "Today is a high mark in the history of the Capital of our country...because today we receive as our guest one of the outstanding figures of all the earth."¹⁴ Following more applause, Churchill began his remarks, which he had spent more than nine-and-a-half hours of the previous twenty-four preparing, and which was broadcast throughout the United States and transmitted to Britain.

Unlike his 1941 speech, Churchill did not slowly approach the subject of the Pacific War after carefully preparing the ground. This time he got right to it: "let no one suggest that we British have not at least as great an interest as the United States in the unflinching and relentless waging of war against Japan." As evidence Churchill had brought with him to Washington Field Marshal Archibald Wavell and two other military leaders in the India theater of operations. "Now, they have not travelled all this way," Churchill continued, "simply to concern themselves about improving the health and happiness of the Mikado of Japan." As if this were not enough, Churchill declared that "it is the duty of those who are charged with the direction of the war" to bring about "laying the cities and other munitions centers of Japan in ashes, for in ashes they must surely lie before peace comes back to the world." All this bellicosity engendered enthusiastic applause from the audience.¹⁵ Churchill saved his most pointed attack, however, not for the Axis but for a United States senator.

Interestingly, the target of Churchill's remarks was future commissioner of Major League Baseball, Sen. Albert B. "Happy" Chandler (KY). Chandler had been calling loudly for a switch to a Pacific-first policy, telling the press that he was "unable to agree" with Churchill's view that "with the defeat of Germany the

defeat of Japan would be inevitable." In response, Churchill told the Congress: "Lots of people can make good plans for winning the war if they have not got to carry them out. I dare say if I had not been in a responsible position I should have made a lot of excellent plans, and very likely should have brought them in one way or another to the notice of the executive authorities." With this, "heads turned" in Chandler's direction. Chandler, nevertheless, insisted afterwards that British forces in India were not doing enough to open the Burma Road so as to provide assistance to the "brave and noble Chinese people."¹⁶

Having dealt with the war against Japan, Churchill went on to survey the success of the campaign in North Africa and praise the leadership of Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower. He noted that the war still had a long way to run. "Heavier work lies ahead," he said and reminded his audience that, although the Battle of Gettysburg had been pivotal in the American Civil War, "more blood had been shed after the Union victory... than in all the fighting before."¹⁷ Churchill finished his speech and left the chamber at 1:25 pm, just under an hour after his arrival.

Following the address, Churchill was given a lunch hosted by the chairmen of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. After this lunch the full membership of the two committees were "invited in, and for an hour the Prime Minister underwent informal but persistent questioning in a closed session at which all present were sworn to secrecy." It was reported, however, that Churchill's "replies went little beyond the scope of the address itself."¹⁸

Reflecting on Churchill's performance a few days later, Harold Callender of the *New York Times* said that it was a "striking demonstration of the vitality of democracy," with the British prime minister "virtually taking part in a Congressional debate...." Callender called it "one of Mr. Churchill's greatest parliamentary efforts" and "one of his greatest successes." "He did not silence the critics or put an end to the debate," Callender concluded, "but he made out a skillful case for the strategy he defended."¹⁹ Once again, Churchill had successfully persuaded enough Members of Congress to stay the course on Europe-first.

"I HAVE NOT COME HERE TO ASK YOU FOR MONEY"—17 JANUARY 1952

Much took place between Churchill's speech to Congress



Fig. 7. Churchill (left, in this Associated Press Wirephoto) addressed Congress for the last time on 17 January 1952.

in the spring of 1943 and his next address at the start of 1952. Roosevelt died and was succeeded by Harry Truman. The war was won. Churchill was voted out of office and returned to the United States to warn that an “Iron Curtain has fallen across the continent of Europe.” Atomic weapons, the United Nations, and NATO were all born, as was the Marshall Plan, of which Britain became the greatest beneficiary. In 1950 war erupted in Korea, and British and American troops were once again working together in combat. Finally, Churchill returned to office as prime minister in October 1951. As he had a decade earlier, he was anxious to continue cultivating good relations with the American government and soon set off for Washington to resume the relationship he had started with Harry Truman in 1945.

The invitation to speak to a joint meeting of Congress for a third time was not merely a courtesy. As before, there were knotty matters in Anglo-American relations to be addressed. In 1946, the British government had taken out a large loan from the United States. The Suez Canal had become a potential flashpoint in the

Middle East. Some in the United States felt that Britain should “throw herself more into the continental European community.”²⁰ On this matter Churchill himself had been advocating what he called “a kind of United States of Europe” but stopped short of stipulating that Britain should be a member.

As in 1943, the 1952 visit was well planned (fig. 7). Once again the speech would take place in the House chamber with Rayburn presiding. Alongside Mr. Sam this time was Vice Pres. Alben W. Barkley, who as Senate majority leader had sat right next to Churchill during both the 1941 and 1943 speeches. “I had a reasonably good seat just behind the berobed Justices of the Supreme Court and a few rows of Senators,” a young Rep. Gerald R. Ford (MI) later told his constituents.²¹ In 1952 Members of Congress also included Senators Lyndon B. Johnson (TX) and Richard M. Nixon (CA) and Rep. John F. Kennedy (MA). In the gallery, Churchill’s daughter Sarah joined First Lady Bess Truman and Margaret Truman. The scheduled start for Churchill’s arrival, 12:30, was the same as the two previous occa-

sions, but this time he was almost late.

Churchill had worked hard on his speech during his voyage across the Atlantic on the *Queen Mary*, and continued his efforts during a short trip to Ottawa. His staff read the drafts as they came and emphasized points to include, such as Britain's contribution to the Korean War. On the big day, however, Churchill was still in bed at the British Embassy in Washington arguing about the final text with one of his private secretaries barely an hour before he was due to start his speech. Finally, "the PM got up, was quickly dressed, and with the assistance of a motor cycle escort, reached the Capitol on time."²²

Churchill entered the House chamber once more to thunderous applause. After his introduction by the Speaker, further applause, and attending to formalities at the start of his speech, Churchill led with the statement: "I have not come here to ask you for money." Taken aback, a slight pause ensued before Congress erupted with laughter and applause. Barkley especially enjoyed the joke, and even stoic Mr. Sam cracked a smile. Churchill turned all this into a loaded pause before continuing with the words, "to ask you for money to make life more comfortable or easier for us in Britain." More laughter. He was off to a good start, and the press afterwards reported "Congress gave to Prime Minister Churchill today a more affectionate reception than ever it has given in late years to the President of the United States himself."²³

After emphasizing that Britain was repaying the 1946 loan amid a steadily improving economy,

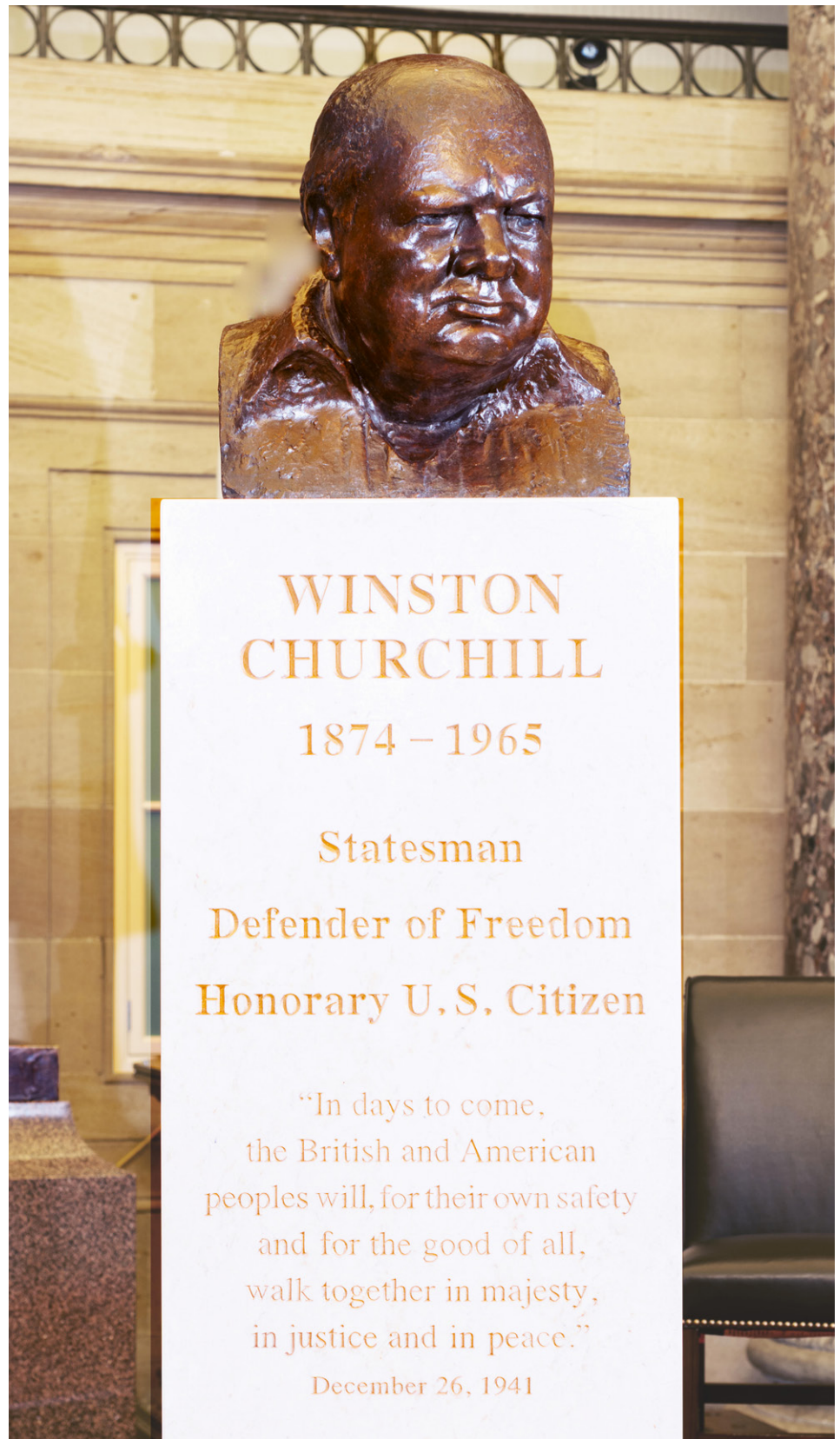


Fig. 8. The Churchill Centre donated this bronze bust of Churchill, a cast of a plaster version by Oscar Nemon (1906–1985), to the House in 2013. Nemon had sculpted more than 50 likenesses of Churchill, who was a close friend. This pedestal includes a quotation from Churchill's 1941 speech to Congress.

Churchill indicated that his country required further American aid if Britain was to join the United States fully in providing for international security. "That is why I have come here to ask, not for gold, but for steel," Churchill announced; "not for favors but equipment, and that is why so many of our requests have been so well and generously met."²⁴

Churchill then launched into a survey of the world scene, noting that Russia had "cast away the admiration" it had earned during the war through "unceasing works and acts of hostility" and that this was through no "fault of the Western Powers." The prime minister went over the global hot spots in China, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and the Middle East. After praising the founders of Israel, Churchill spoke of the Suez Canal, where Britain maintained "over fifty thousand troops." He welcomed the proposed "Four-Power approach...in which Britain, the United States, France and Turkey may share with Egypt in the protection of the world interests involved." Congress applauded, but the *New York Times* afterwards reported that the proposal met "no greater than cautious reserve."²⁵ It never did happen.

Churchill moved on to speak about Europe and his support for greater integration on the continent. He specifically stated, however, that Britain was "not prepared to become a State or a group of States in any Continental federal system on either side of the Atlantic." This got no reaction, but what came next received "the greatest demonstration of approval for any part of the speech." Churchill cautioned Congress to "be careful above all things...not to let go of the atomic weapon until you are sure, and more than sure, that other means of preserving peace are in your hands."²⁶

Churchill wound up his speech by returning to the same theme he repeatedly emphasized before the Second World War: "It is my belief that by accumulating deterrents of all kinds against aggression we shall, in fact, ward off the fearful catastrophe." He spoke of Britain following American leadership in the "cold war" and speculated that in this association "and the new unity growing up in Europe" in response to Communist aggression, "the architects of the Kremlin may be found to have built a different and a far better world than what they planned." That got applause as did his final statement that Britain and the United States should continue to "tread the same path."²⁷ To a standing ovation Churchill left the chamber at 1:08, his speech deemed another

success.

THE FREEDOM FOYER

Churchill would continue to meet with individual Members of Congress on subsequent visits to Washington in 1954 and 1959, when Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson was a guest at a White House dinner for Churchill hosted by Eisenhower, but Churchill would never again speak before the full legislature. Congress, though, was not yet done with Winston Churchill. In 1963 Congress voted to grant honorary American citizenship to the 88-year-old Churchill, the first person to receive this rare distinction. Churchill could no longer travel to Washington, but the last official speech of his life was read for him by his son Randolph during the presentation ceremony held in the White House Rose Garden presided over by Kennedy.

One final act remained. In October 2013 the International Churchill Society donated a bust of Churchill (fig. 8) to the United States Congress for permanent inclusion in the Capitol collection. At a ceremony in Statuary Hall, the four leaders of Congress and Secretary of State John Kerry each spoke of their admiration for Churchill. The bust has now been placed in the Freedom Foyer outside the House chamber where Churchill twice spoke.²⁸ Churchill is now on the Hill for good.



DAVID FREEMAN is lecturer in history at California State University, Fullerton and editor of *Finest Hour*, the journal of the International Churchill Society.

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8. *Ibid.*
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14. 78th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* 89, 4:4619.
15. *Ibid.*
16. “Congress Pleased by Churchill Talk,” *New York Times*, 20 May 1943; *Congressional Record* 89, 4:4620. The further direction of the war did not serve Chandler well. In the summer of 1944, following the success of D-Day, he lost out at the Democratic National Convention in his bid to replace Henry Wallace as Roosevelt’s running mate when his own state’s delegation refused to support him. The nomination went to Harry Truman instead.
17. *Congressional Record* 89, 4:4622.
18. “Congress Pleased by Churchill Talk.”
19. “Churchill Takes Part in a Congress Debate,” *New York Times*, 23 May 1943.
20. “Congress Is Cool to Churchill’s Aims,” *New York Times*, 18 Jan. 1952.
21. Gerald R. Ford, Jr., “Your Washington Review,” 24 Jan. 1952, box D1, Gerald R. Ford Congressional Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library (www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0054/4525435.pdf, viewed 6 January 2020). My thanks to Stacy Davis at the Ford Presidential Library for her assistance in finding Ford’s account.

22. Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill, Volume VIII, Never Despair, 1945–1965* (Boston, 1988), 687.

23. 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record* 98, 1:276; “Congress Is Cool to Churchill’s Aims.”

24. *Congressional Record* 98, 1:277.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 278; “Congress Is Cool to Churchill’s Aims.”

26. *Congressional Record* 98, 1:278; “Congress Is Cool to Churchill’s Aims.”

27. *Congressional Record* 98, 1:278–79.

28. The bronze bust of Churchill, one of several sculpted by Oscar Nemon (1906–85), and its polished Crema Marfil limestone pedestal were donated pursuant to a House Resolution passed in December 2011 in recognition of the 70th anniversary of Churchill’s first address to Congress. The first floor of the small House rotunda was designated the “Freedom Foyer” in 2015 and, besides Churchill, currently displays statue busts of the nineteenth-century Hungarian liberator Lajos Kossuth and former Czech president and author Václav Havel.

IMAGE CREDITS

Fig. 1. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-USZ62-65636]

Fig. 2. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-DIG-ggbain-07746]

Fig. 3. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-USZ62-105023]

Fig. 4. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-DIG-ppmsca-05359]

Fig. 5. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-USZ62-49656]

Fig. 6. Library of Congress, Connally Collection, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-DIG-ppmsca-51128]

Fig. 7. Collection of the US House of Representatives

Fig. 8. Architect of the Capitol



Fig. 1. H.D. Nichols captured the spatial breadth and aesthetic scope of the “Court of Honor” in his 1893 chromolithograph, Chicago World’s Fair.

CHICAGO’S WHITE CITY IN THE NATION’S CAPITAL: The Relationship between the World’s Columbian Exposition and the Library of Congress

by Lynda Cooper, Ph.D.

Among the greatest world’s fairs of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the World’s Columbian Exposition introduced a public union of all the arts on a grand scale in the United States. Held in Chicago, Illinois from 1 May to 30 October 1893, this fair featured countless works of architecture, sculpture, and mural painting designed by a legion of major artists. Almost immediately after this exposition, several of the same

painters and sculptors who had recently finished their Chicago commissions became engaged to create works for the Thomas Jefferson Building (1889–1897) of the Library of Congress, one of the earliest structures in Washington, D.C. to be inspired by the fair. This article briefly discusses the influence of the exposition’s architecture on the library, then focuses on three of the many artists who designed works at both locations: Gari



Fig. 2. Drawing for the Library of Congress (*ink on paper, 1873*), by architects John L. Smithmeyer and Paul J. Pelz, shows their vision for the Library of Congress as initially approved—before changes influenced by the Columbian Exposition 20 years later.

Melchers, William de Leftwich Dodge, and Elihu Vedder.

The World's Columbian Exposition was originally meant to be a commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the Italian explorer Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in the Americas in 1492. As the fair's size grew, however, its actual purpose became to celebrate American advances in technology and to promote a union of nations and, above all, a union of the arts. This celebration of American ingenuity was boldly displayed through the innovative design of civil engineer George Washington Gale Ferris Jr. (1859–1896) for his Ferris Wheel, while historic sites from various countries, including Egypt and Ireland, were recreated for visitors to explore. More significantly, though, the seeds for a unification of the arts had already been planted during the fair's planning stages. During one of the preliminary discussions, Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907), the foremost American sculptor of the late nineteenth century, acknowledged this union when he exclaimed, "This is the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century!"¹

This idea of uniting the arts was particularly evident in the exposition's centerpiece: a court of honor (fig. 1). Surrounded by a peristyle designed by Charles Bowler Atwood (1849–1895), the fair's architect in chief,

the court of honor contained its most iconic Beaux-Arts buildings, while two colossal sculptures, *The Republic* by Daniel Chester French (1850–1931) and *The Columbia Fountain* by Frederick William MacMonnies (1863–1937), two acclaimed artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anchored either end. The inclusion of Atwood's transparent colonnade with a triumphal arch in the center created a brilliant transformation. Approaching the exposition from a boat on Lake Michigan must have been a thrilling experience for the public, who would have looked through this monumental screen wall and seen the fair appear to grow larger as their vessel drew closer. These visitors undoubtedly saw the glint of sunlight bouncing off the water and through the gleaming white peristyle. This device was not meant to mindlessly revive dead forms, but rather to stimulate the act of looking. This is the kind of artistry for which Beaux-Arts architects no longer receive credit.

The court of honor's light-colored, symmetrical, predominantly plaster façades simulating monumental masonry led to the World's Columbian Exposition being dubbed the White City. These structures caused the idea of the White City to instantly become an urban planning phenomenon known as the City Beautiful Movement, in which major American cities