

**The History of
the Equestrian Statue
of General Andrew Jackson,
Lafayette Park,
Washington, D.C.**

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prepared for

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FACT SHEET

Title:	General Andrew Jackson*	
Location:	Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C.	
Date:	Dedicated January 8, 1853	
Sculptor:	Clark Mills	
Medium:	Bronze	
Dimensions:	Statue:	height—9 feet length—12 feet weight—15 tons
	Pedestal:	height—8 feet, 6 inches length—16 feet, 4 inches width—8 feet, 3 inches
Inscriptions:	West face:	JACKSON “OUR FEDERAL UNION— IT MUST BE PRESERVED.”
	South face:	CLARK MILLS SCULPTOR
Cannon:	Maker:	Josephus Barnola, Madrid, Spain
	Locations:	Northwest corner— <i>El Egica</i> (1748) Northeast corner— <i>El Witiza</i> (1748) Southeast corner— <i>El Apolo</i> (1773) Southwest corner— <i>El Aristeo</i> (1773)
	Dimensions:	<i>El Egica, El Witiza</i> —64 inches long, 3 ½-inch bores, 300 pounds (without carriages) <i>El Apolo, El Aristeo</i> —70 inches long, 3 ½-inch bores, 300 pounds (without carriages)

* James Goode's *Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), titles this work “Major General Andrew Jackson,” which was Jackson’s rank at the time of the Battle of New Orleans. A National Park Service “Classified Structure Field Inventory Report” dated December 2, 1975, also lists the title as “Major General Andrew Jackson.” Joint Resolution 25, however, the first legislation concerning the statue, which was passed on August 11, 1848, refers only to “General Andrew Jackson.” Subsequent legislation refers to the statue either by that title or uses the phrase “the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson” to describe the monument

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Part One: The Conception of the Statue

When the equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson (figure 1) was unveiled on January 8, 1853, twenty thousand people crowded Lafayette Square to witness and celebrate the event. Participants in the dedication ceremonies included President Millard Fillmore, his cabinet, members of Congress, officers of the United States Army and Navy, and the sculptor, Clark Mills.¹ A little known, self-taught, former house plasterer, Mills was too overcome with emotion to speak when he was introduced to the assembled throng. Instead, he pointed silently to his work: Nine feet high and twelve feet long, weighing fifteen tons, the statue depicts Jackson reviewing his troops on the morning of the Battle of New Orleans. His horse rears, anxious to move along the line, but Jackson calmly holds the reins and raises his hat to his soldiers, returning their salute.² The Battle of New Orleans secured Jackson's place in American history. From that day forward, he would be known as "The Hero of New Orleans," the man whose leadership and gallantry preserved the Union against the invading British. And Clark Mills would become known for creating Jackson's likeness in Lafayette Park. His work was the first equestrian statue

¹ "The Celebration Yesterday," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

designed, cast, and erected in the United States, and he solved a problem—that of balancing the general's rearing horse entirely on its hind legs—that had thwarted even Leonardo da Vinci.³

The Subject: Andrew Jackson

Andrew Jackson (figure 2) was not unknown before his heroic defense of New Orleans. Born in 1767 in the Waxhaw settlement that straddled the border of North and South Carolina, he lost his entire immediate family by the time he was fourteen. His father died shortly before his birth, his mother and two brothers during the Revolutionary War. Jackson himself participated in the battle at Hanging Rock in 1780 and was taken prisoner by the British. After the Revolution, Jackson studied law in Salisbury, North Carolina, and moved to the frontier town of Nashville, then part of North Carolina, as a prosecuting attorney in 1788.⁴ He quickly established himself as a lawyer, becoming a member of the constitutional convention when Tennessee became a state in 1796, the state's first member of the United States House of Representatives the same year, and a senator the next.⁵ He married Rachel Donelson Robards of Nashville in 1790 or 1791.⁶

Jackson's first military appointment, as judge advocate of the Davidson County militia in 1791, was secured more on political connections and legal training than military skill. Those connections and Jackson's intense concern for his soldiers also helped him

² Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.*, 377.

³ Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968), 168-170.

⁴ Robert V. Remini, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 4-12.

⁵ Thomas P. Abernethy, "Jackson, Andrew," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961 ed., v. 5, 528.

⁶ The marriage is complicated by the fact that Rachel was separated from, but still married to, Lewis Robards when she and Jackson married. In addition, certain facts argue for the earlier date rather than the later one used by official biographers. The couple was married a second time, after Rachel's divorce, on January 17, 1794. See Remini, 22-27.

gain the post of major general of the Tennessee militia in 1802. (He was elected by its officers.) When President James Madison asked and received from Congress a declaration of war against Britain on June 18, 1812, Jackson immediately offered the services of his volunteers. He saw no action, however, for more than a year. He even earned the nickname “Old Hickory” without facing a military foe. The name resulted from the toughness he showed in leading the militia from Natchez to Nashville in March 1813 after a campaign that was never realized.⁷

When the opportunity presented itself, however, Jackson proved himself an able commander. He retaliated against an August 1813 massacre of settlers at Fort Mims by the Creek Indians, defeating the Creeks at Horseshoe Bend and in several other encounters in what is now Alabama during the winter of 1813-14. The victories in effect ended the danger of the Indian alliance with Britain and resulted in the Treaty of Fort Jackson, in which the United States gained sovereignty over 23 million acres in what is now Alabama and Georgia.⁸

Jackson moved his army to New Orleans at the beginning of December 1814 to defend the country against an expected invasion by the British from the Gulf of Mexico. By the morning of January 8, 1815, he had engaged the British twice and had approximately five thousand soldiers under his command. The British troops were of equal number. Unbeknownst to both parties, a treaty ending the war had already been signed. The Battle of New Orleans lasted nearly two hours and resulted in seventy-one American casualties as compared to 2,037 British killed and wounded. News of the

⁷ Ibid., 61-66.

⁸ Ibid., 71-85.

victory reached Washington February 4, with news of the Treaty of Ghent ending the war arriving nine days later.

The victory at New Orleans and the peace treaty kindled enthusiastic celebrations all over the country and ensured Jackson a popularity that would last the rest of his life and beyond. "The Eighth of January" was celebrated for decades as a defining moment in American history. The *Washington Daily Union* called the War of 1812 "the second war of independence,"⁹ and, before the Civil War, Jackson could be regarded as the American most responsible for maintaining the Union against both the internal and external forces that might have wrecked it.¹⁰

Jackson subsequently helped acquire Florida by defeating the Seminoles and the Spanish at Pensacola in 1818 and was made governor of the territory by President James Monroe in March 1821.¹¹ He was elected to the Senate from Tennessee for a second time in 1823 and ran unsuccessfully for the presidency against John Quincy Adams in 1824. He defeated Adams in the presidential election of 1828. As president, Jackson opposed re-chartering the Bank of the United States because he felt it was a tool of the privileged classes. Jackson withdrew federal deposits from the Bank during his administration, effectively killing it. In 1833, after winning reelection the previous year, he opposed the principle of nullification, by which individual states could nullify national laws they did not agree with, thereby strengthening the federal government. After two

⁹ *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

¹⁰ Comment: "Hands Off Andrew Jackson," *Washington Post*, January 7, 1996 [online version]; found in "Monuments and Memorials" file, Washingtoniana Division, Martin Luther King Jr. Library, Washington, D.C.

¹¹ Remini, 89-129.

terms as president, Jackson retired to his home near Nashville, the Hermitage, where he died June 8, 1845.¹²

Jackson had his detractors. Hot-tempered when occasion warranted it, he engaged in several duels, killing Charles Dickinson in one in 1806.¹³ Wounds received in a gunfight with Jesse and Thomas Hart Benton in 1813 nearly kept Jackson from participating in the campaigns against the Creeks, the first successful military campaigns of his career.¹⁴ He allowed Aaron Burr to involve him in a conspiracy to invade Spanish territories in southern North America¹⁵ and was accused of overstepping his authority in pursuing the Seminoles and the Spanish in Florida.¹⁶ His actions toward the native peoples of Florida and the southwestern frontier can only be called ruthless. And yet Jackson occupied the presidency during an important period of its history, and his actions, including the acquisition of territory before his election, strengthened the United States as a nation and the executive branch of its government.¹⁷

The Sculptor: Clark Mills

According to the *New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists*, Clark Mills (figure 3) was born on December 13, 1810, in Onondaga County, near Syracuse, New York. The United States Census of 1860, however, recorded his age at the time as forty-four, meaning he was born in 1815 or 1816, and 1815 is recorded on his tombstone in

¹² Abernethy, 526-534.

¹³ Remini, 52-54.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 68-72.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 56-60.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 118-126.

¹⁷ Abernethy, 530-534.

Glenwood Cemetery in Washington.¹⁸ A letter by Theophilus Mills, Clark's son, to the superintendent of the U.S. Capitol, dated July 29, 1910, notes the discrepancies in published stories of his father's birth date and says he was no more than sixty-six when he died on January 12 1883, meaning he was born in 1816.¹⁹

In whatever year he was born, Mills' father died when the boy was five, and Clark ran away from the uncle with whom he subsequently lived when he was thirteen, apparently due to ill treatment. An article in the *Round Table* of May 4, 1864, supposedly dictated by the sculptor himself, reported that as a young man, Mills found employment as a farm hand, driving a lumber wagon, working on canal locks, cutting cedar posts, as a cabinet maker and a millwright, and in a plaster and cement mill. This article also recorded the story that Mills became determined to rise above the ranks of common laborers when his feet were frozen while cutting cedar posts in a swamp.

Mills traveled to New Orleans around 1829, but was in Charleston, South Carolina, approximately a year later. He labored there throughout the decade as an ornamental house plasterer.²⁰ During this time, Mills also began a family. He married Eliza Ballentine in 1837, and the first of his four children, Theodore Augustus, was born in 1839.²¹ Mills was described as "a man about five feet ten inches in height, well and strongly made—not stout—with a quick and energetic step. He has a searching light gray eye."²²

¹⁸ Rosemary Hopkins, "Clark Mills: The First Native American Sculptor" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1966), 21-22. Henry Tuckerman, in *Book of the Artists* (1876; reprint, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Apollo, 1967, 583) lists Mills' birth date as December 1, 1815, Craven as September 1, 1815 (166).

¹⁹ Theophilus Fisk Mills to Elliott Woods (Superintendent of the U.S. Capitol and Grounds), July 29, 1910, photocopy in the Art and Reference Library, Office of Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D.C.

²⁰ *New York Round Table*, May 4, 1864; cited in Tuckerman, 583-584.

²¹ Mills to Woods.

²² *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

Mills' skills as a plasterer eventually became so much in demand that he was able to hire his jobs out.²³ The newly acquired free time allowed him to pursue other interests and resulted first in a new method of taking life masks that took less time and was more comfortable for the subject than previous methods and then in plaster busts created from the masks.²⁴ The *Charleston Courier*'s first story about Mills concerning the new method of casting and the busts that resulted from it was published on August 26, 1844, and thereafter the paper closely followed his career. The newspaper's comments on the busts focused mainly on the technical innovations involved and on their lifelikeness,²⁵ two attributes that would also be associated with Mills' statue of Jackson.

Mills earned "job after job" creating plaster busts for members of Charleston society,²⁶ but it was a stone likeness of South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun that gained him official recognition. Mills asked Calhoun to sit for a life mask in April 1845, and the sculptor subsequently bought a block of free stone with the help of subscriptions from patrons. On October 4, 1845, the *Charleston Evening News* reported that the bust was finished, and on April 13, 1846, the Charleston City Council accepted the portrait as a gift from Mills. In July, the council awarded him a gold medal for his efforts.²⁷ Like the plaster portrait busts, the Calhoun bust displayed what would become Mills' characteristic style: "It was the effort of a self-taught American sculptor in America, portraying an American subject in a realistic manner."²⁸

Mills' early success inspired patrons to offer him financial help. The *Charleston Evening News* reported on January 5, 1846, that three Charlestonians had pledged \$1,000

²³ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 1850.

²⁴ Tuckerman, 584.

²⁵ Hopkins, 27-30.

²⁶ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 1850.

to send Mills to study in Italy,²⁹ but Mills' work had also drawn the attention of John S. and William C. Preston of Columbia, South Carolina. John Preston had been patron of sculptor Hiram Powers. He invited Mills to Columbia, where the young sculptor executed ten plaster busts. William Preston suggested that Mills go to Washington to study the sculpture there and produce busts of his friends and offered to pay his expenses.³⁰ It is uncertain precisely when Mills left South Carolina for Washington, but it was undoubtedly sometime between April 1846, when the *Evening News* reported that he would leave for Italy, and March 1847, when four busts that Mills created at Preston's request were on display in the Capitol.³¹

On his way to Washington, Mills stopped in Richmond, where he saw Houdon's marble statue of George Washington in the Virginia State Capitol. He would later use a cast of Houdon's life mask of Washington to create his own equestrian bronze of the Revolutionary War hero. In the Nation's Capital, Mills saw Horatio Greenough's seated *Washington* (figure 4), dressed in a Roman toga, and this monument apparently fixed his devotion to realism. Mills later told the *Round Table* that after seeing Greenough's statue, he decided that if he ever had the opportunity to create such a work, "The world should find fault for his giving too much truth, and not for want of it."³²

²⁷ Hopkins, 35-37.

²⁸ Ibid., 40.

²⁹ Ibid., 43.

³⁰ Tuckerman, 584-585.

³¹ *Saturday Evening News* (Washington, D.C.), March 6, 1847, typescript, Art and Reference Library, Office of the Architect of the Capitol.

³² Quoted in Tuckerman, 585.

The Conception: An Equestrian Statue in Bronze

Calls for a monument to Jackson's memory and achievements followed almost immediately upon his death. The July-August issue of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* demanded "a glorious monument to the glorious old man" and had a specific type in mind: "A grand, colossal *Equestrian Statue in bronze*, at Washington, to be erected by a voluntary national subscription, is the proper monument for Jackson."³³ (italics in original)

The editor of the *United States Magazine* was John L. O'Sullivan of New York, and on September 10, 1845, he accompanied Secretary of State James Buchanan to the President's House to meet with President James Polk. O'Sullivan, according to Polk's diary, "read a paper, the object of which was to form a central committee at Washington, to raise by subscription a sum of \$100,000 or more for the erection of a monument to the memory of General Jackson."³⁴ This paper was, no doubt, very close to the editorial in the *United States Magazine* because several particulars occur in both: the location, the amount of money sought, and the idea of raising funds through private subscription, rather than government sponsorship. To Polk, however, O'Sullivan also proposed including the president, the vice president, and the members of the cabinet in the organizing committee, an idea that Polk agreed to until Attorney General John Y. Mason objected later on September 10. Mason felt the administration's involvement with the monument might be seen as a desire "to appropriate the great popularity of General Jackson for the benefit of the Administration and for party purposes." Polk, along with

³³ "Statue to Jackson," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17 (July and August 1845), 3.

³⁴ James K. Polk, *The Diary of a President, 1845-1849*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Capricorn Books, 1968), 7.

Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft and Secretary of War William L. Marcy, agreed with Mason.³⁵

O'Sullivan did not immediately give up on the idea of Polk's public participation in the project. In a letter to the president dated September 15, 1845, O'Sullivan asked whether or not Polk would "comply with the request to be at the head of the Jackson statue committee," and added that "Your name at its head will be of almost vital importance."³⁶ Polk responded succinctly: "It was determined that the President should not be a member of the committee, but that he should head the subscription list."³⁷

Although Polk agreed not to become personally involved with the monument committee, he was clearly in favor of its creation, as is indicated by his willingness to place his name at the top of the subscription list. Often looked on as Jackson's protégé, Polk had been the leader of Jackson's forces in the House of Representatives, and Jackson selected him as candidate for the presidency in 1844. The general's last letter, written two days before his death, was addressed to Polk. The two did not always agree, as when Polk wished to start his own newspaper with an editor he chose, rather than rely on Jackson's *Washington Daily Globe*, edited by Francis P. Blair.³⁸ However, Polk's paper, the *Washington Daily Union*, edited by Thomas Ritchie,³⁹ prominently displayed items relating to the first meetings of the Jackson Monument Committee and asked in its editorial for public participation in the project. After noting that "the recollection of [Jackson's] residence for eight years is still both fresh and warm," the paper made its

³⁵ Ibid., 7-8.

³⁶ John L. O'Sullivan to James K. Polk, September 15, 1845, *James K. Polk Papers*, series 2, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (Washington: Library of Congress), microfilm.

³⁷ James K. Polk to John L. O'Sullivan, September 15, 1845, *James K. Polk Papers*, series 2.

³⁸ Eugene I. McCormac, "Polk, James Knox," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961 ed., v.8, 35-37.

³⁹ C.C. Pearson, "Ritchie, Thomas," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961 ed., v. 8, 628.

feelings on the matter clear: "The proposed [monument] ... should be taken up by the people, of their own voluntary motion, now while the national heart is still bleeding from its recent loss."⁴⁰

The first meeting of the committee was held the same day as O'Sullivan's note to the president, September 15, 1845, at seven-thirty in the evening at Apollo Hall in Washington. John P. Van Ness was named president of the committee, Amos Kendall and John Boyle first and second vice-presidents, and James Hoban (son of the architect of the President's House) and John Walker Maury secretaries.⁴¹ Van Ness had represented New York in Congress before settling in the District and had been second vice president of the Washington National Monument Society in 1833.⁴² Jackson included Kendall in his "Kitchen Cabinet."⁴³ Hoban was a U.S. District Attorney and former alderman for the city,⁴⁴ and Maury at the time was a Washington alderman who later became the mayor.⁴⁵

After these officers were selected, Hoban read five resolutions to be voted on (appendix 1), which had been created by unnamed "gentlemen taking an interest in the subject, and handed to him for presentation." One of those gentlemen was O'Sullivan.⁴⁶ The presence of these resolutions at the initial meeting of the Jackson Monument Committee indicates that the outlines of the committee and its charge had been organized prior to the meeting itself. O'Sullivan's note to Polk gives further evidence for this

⁴⁰ "Statue to Jackson," *Daily Union*, September 12, 1845.

⁴¹ "Monument to Gen. Jackson," *Daily Union*, September 16, 1845.

⁴² "Van Ness, John Peter," *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1996* (Alexandria, Va.: CQ Staff Directories, 1997), 1984.

⁴³ Frank Maloy Anderson, "Kendall, Amos," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961 ed., v.5, 326.

⁴⁴ Allen C. Clark, "Colonel William Winston Seaton and His Mayoralty," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 30 (1928), 1-102.

⁴⁵ William A. Maury, "John Walker Maury, His Lineage and Life," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 19 (1916), 166.

⁴⁶ *Washington Daily Union*, September 16, 1845.

conclusion. To it, O'Sullivan appended a list of names proposed for the committee that included ten of the thirteen men finally chosen. (appendix 2)⁴⁷

Three of the resolutions read by Hoban followed the line of the paper O'Sullivan read to Polk and the *United States Magazine* editorial. The American people were called on to build a monument to Jackson's memory, that monument was to be a colossal, bronze equestrian statue, and money for the statue would be raised by subscription. The final two resolutions named other members of committee. Blair, called the "guardian of [Jackson's] fame," was named treasurer, and Cave Johnson, Thomas Ritchie, John C. Rives, William A. Harris, Jesse E. Dow, Benjamin B. French, Charles K. Gardner, and Charles P. Sengstack were added to the officers already chosen. (appendix 3. After a minor debate over the security of the money donated, the resolutions were passed unanimously.⁴⁸

Although the purpose of this meeting was to organize a committee to execute the monument to Jackson, politics were not left out. While introducing the resolution, Hoban alluded to "the doctrine of 'the extension of the area of freedom'" within the continent that Jackson had given voice to during his presidency. Hoban then related this doctrine to the annexation of Texas, which Jackson had desired⁴⁹ and which would take place later in Polk's presidency. The members of the committee for the most part were loyal Democrats, often overlapping the administrations of Jackson and Polk. Johnson, for instance, served four terms in the House of Representatives as a Jacksonian Democrat

⁴⁷ O'Sullivan to Polk, September 15, 1845.

⁴⁸ *Washington Daily Union*, September 16, 1845. Van Ness, Hoban, and Dow died before the completion of the statue, and Harris resigned. Their places were taken by John M. McCalla, George W. Hughes, Andrew J. Donelson, and George Parker. (*Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.)

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

and was Polk's postmaster general.⁵⁰ Rives first worked for Blair at the *Globe*, then became his partner.⁵¹ Gardner was senior assistant postmaster general during Jackson's administration, then postmaster of Washington while Polk occupied the President's House. Harris became Polk's minister to the Argentine Confederation after serving in Congress and edited the *Union* for a time. Polk might have shied away from being too obviously associated with Jackson, but the Jackson Monument Committee clearly hoped that perpetuating the general's image would help keep alive the goals of the Democratic party.

Elsewhere in the September 16 issue, the *Daily Union* announced that the committee elected on September 15 had already met informally and called its first regular session for September 19,⁵² but the paper did not follow up on the subsequent meetings. On the date of the Jackson Monument Committee's first scheduled session, however, the paper noted and partially reproduced a letter from Hiram Powers published in the *Nashville Union*. Responding to a request from "Mr. Harris of Tennessee"—probably Jeremiah G. Harris, the editor of the Nashville paper⁵³—Powers estimated that a bronze equestrian statue of the general would cost \$30,000 total, \$12,000 to \$15,000 for the casting alone. Since Powers was in Leghorn, Italy, at this time, Harris must have written to him long before the Jackson Monument Committee was organized. Harris also apparently requested a bust of Jackson from Powers, for the sculptor's letter said he had "not sent off my bust of Jackson. I must retouch the drapery of it. As soon as I am at liberty, it shall be done, and afterwards sent by the first vessel bound from Leghorn to the

⁵⁰ Samuel C. Williams, "Johnson, Cave," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961 ed., v. 5, 93.

⁵¹ William E. Smith, "Rives, John Cook," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961 ed., v. 8, 635.

⁵² *Washington Daily Union*, September 16, 1845.

United States.” Perhaps to the chagrin of treasurer Blair and those responsible for raising money for the monument, Powers also noted that he had been “offered more than the usual prices of similar works for my statues.”⁵⁴

Robert Mills, who designed the Treasury Building and the Old Patent Office (now the National Portrait Gallery) during Jackson’s presidency,⁵⁵ was also approached for a design for the Jackson monument. The designer of the Washington monuments in the Nation’s Capital and Baltimore, he was invited to submit a design “in conjunction” with Powers, according to a newspaper report of April 11, 1847. The architect’s notebook contains three drawings for the project, which would have consisted of a 130-foot high triumphal arch topped by a statue of a standing Jackson.⁵⁶

A month later, a new name appeared in relation to the monument: Clark Mills. A brief article in the May 12, 1847, issue of the *Charleston Courier* reported that “at the last meeting of the ‘Jackson Monument Committee’ at Washington, D.C., it was unanimously ordered ‘That the proposition of Mr. Clark Mills of Charleston, S.C., to make a model of the proposed monument to Andrew Jackson, to be submitted to this Committee, be agreed to.’” This information came from one of the secretaries of the committee.⁵⁷

The link between Mills and the Jackson Monument Committee was old Jackson hand Cave Johnson, although accounts differ as to whether the meeting took place by chance or if Johnson sought Mills out after learning of his arrival in Washington.⁵⁸

⁵³ Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 256.

⁵⁴ *Washington Daily Union*, September 19, 1845.

⁵⁵ Christopher Weeks, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Washington, D.C.*, 3d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 77-78, 132-133.

⁵⁶ Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, *Altogether American: Robert Mills, Architect and Engineer, 1781-1855* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 258.

⁵⁷ *Charleston Courier*, May 12, 1847.

⁵⁸ The *Washington Daily Union*’s “History of the Jackson Statue” (January 18, 1853) reported that Mills “became acquainted with some of the committee” “at the fortunate moment” when they were looking

Johnson invited Mills to submit a design for the project, which Mills first refused since he had never before seen an equestrian statue.⁵⁹ The young sculptor soon changed his mind, however, and by May 1847, as the *Courier* article reported, the Jackson Monument Committee had agreed to look at his model for the project.

Mills returned to Charleston to create the model, and by the beginning of July had fashioned the horse.⁶⁰ He left Charleston by steamer with the completed model on March 7, 1848. The *Courier*'s article of the following day praised the model for its close resemblance to Jackson and for the "life, vigor, and fire" in the horse. The charge to portray Jackson as realistically as possible came from the Jackson Monument Committee itself. The *Courier* article stated that Mills concluded that the tall, slender Jackson "was not a well-proportioned man" and wrote to the committee for instructions on how to proceed with the representation. Their reply was that "'they want Jackson and nothing but Jackson.'" ⁶¹ Circulars printed to aid in the subscription drive stated that the committee sought a statue "exhibiting the features, the person, the apparel, the attitude, and almost the action, which belonged to him [Jackson] at the moment of rendering the highest service to his country."⁶² Mills and the committee signed a contract to execute the statue on March 22, 1848, and the model was placed on exhibit at the post office in Washington.⁶³

for an artist. Tuckerman calls the meeting with Johnson "An accidental circumstance." (585) Hopkins, however, reports that Johnson, "knowing of Mills' visit," suggested he make a model. (45) It is not certain what evidence prompts this conclusion on Hopkins' part, but the display of Mills' busts in the Capitol, noted previously, would have brought his work to the public eye.

⁵⁹ *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

⁶⁰ *Charleston Courier*, July 2, 1947.

⁶¹ *Charleston Courier*, March 8, 1848.

⁶² James G. Barber, *Andrew Jackson: A Portrait Study* (Washington: National Portrait Gallery, 1991), 212.

⁶³ *Washington Daily Union*, March 23, 1848. A plaster statuette of Jackson on horseback, now in the possession of by the Maryland Historical Society, is claimed by its donors to be Mills' original model. (Barber, 216)

The *Washington Daily Union* story on this decision reported that the committee was pleased with both the model and with “the terms on which [Mills] proposes to cast the statue.” Both of these factors may indicate why neither Powers nor Robert Mills, both more established designers, got the commission. Powers, it will be recalled, had not sent his bust of Jackson because he needed to “retouch the drapery of it.” The depiction of “drapery,” rather than Jackson’s uniform, would indicate that Powers planned a classicized portrait of Jackson, similar perhaps to one he’d produced ten years before (figure 5), while the committee had emphasized to Mills its desire for a realistic portrayal. Money probably played an equally important role. The committee had raised \$12,000 for the completion of the statue—far short of its goal of \$100,000 and less than half of what Powers had estimated as the cost. Nor could Robert Mills’ elaborate triumphal arch have been built for \$12,000. The writer of “History of the Jackson Statue,” published in the *Daily Union* on January 18, 1853, reported that “it was seriously debated whether or not a pedestrian statue should be erected and the work given to Mr. Powers,” but that Mills’ model and his willingness to give security for the execution of the statue had won him the contract. No copy of the contract has been found, but the *Union* records the names of the men, all from South Carolina, who were willing to become Mills’ security: James Rose, James Gadsden, H. Gourdin, F.H. Elmore, D.B. Northrop, Charles D. Carr, Edward Frost, N.M. Porter, J. Schnierle, and George Kinlock.⁶⁴ Other aspects of the contract are revealed in Congressional documents associated with the monument: The statue was to be one-third larger than life, completed in two years from the date of the contract, and it “was to have a place on the public grounds of this city.”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

⁶⁵ *Congressional Globe* (Washington, D.C.), 30th Congress, 1st session, August 7, 1848, 1016.

Part Two: Design, Execution, and Dedication

Having won the commission, Mills faced the daunting task of designing and casting the statue itself, a goal made more challenging by the state of the fine arts and metalworking in the United States at the time and by his own inexperience. Powers and Greenough worked in Italy, and patrons urged Mills to go there, so that they could study the great masterworks of sculpture, seek training from established artists, and have access to materials out of which to create their works. Nearly all of the monumental sculpture Mills would have seen in Washington, such as the relief work on the Capitol, was created either by Europeans or by Americans residing in Europe.⁶⁶ The only other equestrian statue previously erected in the United States, of King George III in New York City, was made of lead and designed and cast in London by Joseph Wilton. Erected in 1770, it was melted down to make bullets during the Revolutionary War.⁶⁷ And although foundries existed in the capital, they were designed to forge building materials and weapons, not

⁶⁶ Goode, 19-21.

⁶⁷ Craven, 47-48.

statuary.⁶⁸ From the beginning, Mills sought a rearing horse balancing on its hind legs, with no support from its tail or other props.⁶⁹ Twice in the fifteenth century, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) prepared preliminary plans for an equestrian statue with the horse in such a stance, but in both cases finally determined to depict a walking horse.⁷⁰ Other European sculptors, such as the seventeenth-century Italian artist Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), had portrayed a rearing horse, but had always used props—the horse's tail, for instance, or a stone—to keep the horse upright.⁷¹

In view of these facts, one might wonder what influenced Mills to conceive of the statue as he did. Immensely popular as the “Hero of New Orleans” and as president, Jackson images abounded when Mills signed the contract with the Jackson Monument Committee, yet very few of these images portrayed Old Hickory on horseback.⁷² Of the nearly two hundred images of Jackson in James Barber’s *Andrew Jackson: A Portrait Study*, only eleven associate Jackson with a horse. It has been suggested that Mills was influenced by romantic paintings of men on horseback, such as *Officer of the Imperial Guard* by Theodore Gericault (1791-1824; figure 6), reproductions and sketches of which had been imported into America.⁷³ Since Mills had come under the influence of art enthusiasts such as the Prestons, this conclusion is conceivable, although no specific precedent from either of the Prestons’ collections has been discovered.

⁶⁸ Byron Sunderland, “Washington as I First Knew It,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 5 (1902), 199.

⁶⁹ *Washington Daily Union*, March 23, 1848.

⁷⁰ Dario Covi, “The Italian Renaissance and the Equestrian Monument,” in *Leonardo da Vinci’s Sforza Monument Horse* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1995), 49-54.

⁷¹ Craven, 169-170.

⁷² Barber, 26.

⁷³ Andrew Keck, “A Toast to the Union: Clark Mills’ Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Square,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 48 (1971-72), 303.

Mills might, however, have been influenced by a much more immediate source. Throughout the years that Mills was engaged first in sculpting busts and then in conceiving the Jackson statue, the *Charleston Courier* ran an advertisement announcing the monthly meetings of the Charleston Light Dragoons, one of the several local, volunteer militias in the area.⁷⁴ That announcement was accompanied by an illustration of a cavalry officer on horseback, his mount rearing on two legs. (figure 7) Horse and rider face in the same direction that Mills' statue faces, and the riders in each raise their right hands and hold the reins with their left. The figures in both works turn slightly toward the viewer. As we have seen, Mills cherished realism above all else. However, if he needed an inspiration for the pose of his Jackson statue, he might have found it in his adopted hometown.

After receiving the commission, Mills' first task was to create a full-size model from which to make the statue's molds. With no statuary to learn from, the young sculptor went straight to nature as his tutor. He built a small, wooden structure at the corner of 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue (where the statue of General William T. Sherman now stands) as residence and workshop, and brought there a live horse. The *Washington Daily Union* reported that the horse was called "Olympus," was a registered thoroughbred, and that Mills had trained it to stand on its hind legs so that he might study it.⁷⁵ Mills was also said to have dissected dead racehorses to study their musculature.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Between 1845 and 1847, the Charleston Light Dragoons announcement, with its illustration, ran at least 33 times. Since the April 7, 1845, ad announced the Dragoons' tenth anniversary, it might be that Mills had the opportunity to see the illustration for much of the time he lived in Charleston.

⁷⁵ *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

⁷⁶ "The Equestrian Statue," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

The model of the horse was completed by March 1849,⁷⁷ and Mills applied the same diligence in his study of its rider. He examined Jackson's uniform, held at the Patent Office, as well as the general's saddle, holsters, bridle, and boots. He is thought to have had access to at least one and possibly two busts created during Jackson's lifetime.⁷⁸ Mills completed his model of both horse and rider either by the end of 1849 or the beginning of 1850.⁷⁹ Jackson is portrayed returning the salute of his soldiers by raising his hat, in accordance with the military etiquette of that time. His horse, jittery, anxious, attempts to continue down the line, but "the bridle hand of the dauntless hero being turned under, shows that he is restraining the horse, whose open mouth and curved neck indicate that the animal is feeling the bit."⁸⁰ These details show how determined Mills was to create a realistic representation of Jackson at the moment selected for portrayal. The sculptor solved the problem of balancing the grouping on the horse's hind legs by placing the center of gravity of the statue directly over the horse's hind feet. The model was so well balanced that Mills hung his 156 pounds on its forelegs for a reporter, and still the statue didn't topple.⁸¹

Execution of the Statue

Once the model was finished, Mills began to build a furnace in which to cast the statue. He later wrote that since knowledge of bronze casting didn't exist in the United States, he was forced to learn from books and from his own experiments. These experiments did not always go smoothly. Although Mills hit on a new and ultimately

⁷⁷ *Charleston Courier*, March 16, 1849.

⁷⁸ Barber, 214.

⁷⁹ Hopkins, 57-58.

⁸⁰ W.O. Hart, "Clark Mills," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 24 (1922), 202.

successful idea to conserve heat by building the furnace partially underground, an early batch of bronze leaked through joints in the furnace's bricks when it melted, forcing Mills to call for bricklayers to rebuild the structure.⁸² The *Courier* reported on January 16, 1850, that the model was finished and that Mills was erecting his furnace.⁸³ Four months later, the same paper said Mills would be ready to begin casting the statue "in the course of a few weeks."⁸⁴

The Jackson Monument Committee hoped that the bronze for the statue would come from cannon captured during Jackson's military campaigns and petitioned Congress for those weapons. The first "memorial," or petition, was made early in 1847, before Mills' model had been accepted, and requested four brass cannon and two brass mortars, totaling 4,930 pounds, which were to be melted down and used for the statue. The memorial from the committee (appendix 4), introduced into the House of Representatives by John Alexander McClernand of Illinois on February 19, 1847, included confirmation from an army ordnance officer that the guns requested came from Jackson's victory over the Spanish at Pensacola in 1818 and that they were "unserviceable." The memorial stressed the appropriateness of using cannon captured during Jackson's campaigns from which to fabricate the monument and cited Napoleon's column in Paris and Wellington's equestrian statue in London as precedents.⁸⁵

⁸¹ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 1850.

⁸² Hopkins, 58-63.

⁸³ *Charleston Courier*, January 16, 1850.

⁸⁴ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 1850.

⁸⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, 2nd session, February 19, 1847, 461. Relief panels on the *Colonne de la Grand Armee* in the Place Vendome in Paris were made from cannon captured by Napoleon in his victory over the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz in 1805. The original statue of Napoleon on top of the column, however, was not made from these trophies. (Delia Gray-Durant and Ian Robertson, *Paris and Versailles*, Blue Guides, New York: W.W. Norton, 1998, 193.) An equestrian statue of Wellington was created in 1844 from cannon captured from the French and erected in front of London's Royal Exchange. (Arthur Byron, *London Statues*, London: Constable, 1981, 213-214.) Another equestrian statue of Wellington was unveiled at Hyde Park Corner in 1846. This monument, however, was not cast from

After the memorial was read to the House, McClelland introduced a joint resolution whereby the requested guns would be delivered to the Jackson Monument Committee for the purpose of “constructing a monument to the memory of General Andrew Jackson,” and this motion was passed. (appendix 5)⁸⁶ Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania introduced the resolution in the Senate on March 1, 1847, but Jacob Welsh Miller of New Jersey protested that “it was understood that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Benton] was opposed to this resolution.” Apparently desiring to give the absent Benton a chance to voice his opposition, the Senate tabled the motion.⁸⁷ The senator from Missouri was Thomas Hart Benton, with whom Jackson had feuded more than three decades before but who had afterwards become a staunch ally.⁸⁸

John Adams Dix of New York reintroduced the Jackson Monument Committee’s petition to the Senate on July 31, 1848, and it was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.⁸⁹ Whatever Benton’s reasons for opposing the resolution the previous session seem to have been overcome or forgotten because there was no debate prior to its passage on August 7.⁹⁰ The House committee also quickly passed the resolution the same day, but Congressman Alexander Evans of Maryland asked the House to reconsider its action. Evans’ recalcitrance and the subsequent debate revolved around the propriety of melting down cannon that might be considered national trophies. The resolution was amended to

cannon captured during battle. (Ben Weintraub and Christopher Hibbert, eds., *The London Encyclopaedia*, London: Papermac, 1993, 845-846.)

⁸⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, 2nd session, February 19, 1847, 461.

⁸⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, 2nd session, March 1, 1847, 540.

⁸⁸ Thomas Marshall Spaulding, “Benton, Thomas Hart,” in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 1961 ed., v. 1, 210-211.

⁸⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 30th Congress, 1st session, July 31, 1848, p. 1015-1016.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 7, 1848, p. 1025.

exclude national trophies and returned to committee in the Senate, which concurred on August 8.⁹¹ Both houses passed the resolution on August 11. (appendix 6)⁹²

The issue of which cannon, if any, would be used for the statue would not finally be resolved for another two years, however. On July 16, 1850, Isaac Edward Holmes of South Carolina told the House that “it had been found that these cannon [delivered to the Jackson Monument Committee for use in the statue] were beautiful works of art, well worthy of preservation, and which should never be destroyed.” A memorial, signed by a sub-committee consisting of Benjamin B. French, John C. Rives, and John Walker Maury, requested that the cannon be exchanged for other unserviceable cannon that were not national trophies. (appendix 7) The cannon that had been delivered, captured by Jackson at Pensacola, bore a Latin inscription—*Violati Regis Fulmina*, translated by Holmes as “the thunders of an invincible king”—and the petition asked that they be placed “at the feet” of the Jackson monument to show “how harmless are the thunderbolts of kings when hurled at the men of iron, whose armor is the patriotism inspired by the Republic.”⁹³ The resolution was passed by both houses on July 29, 1850. (appendix 8)⁹⁴

In the Senate, James Shields of Illinois had urged immediate passage of the resolution “on the ground that the preliminary preparations were complete, and that the men were ready to cast the statue.”⁹⁵ This must have been the case, but the casting does not seem to have gone well because two months later, Abraham Watkins Venable of North Carolina asked the House to consider a resolution that would exchange the second group of cannon delivered to Mills. The congressman announced that the cannon had too

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1045, 1051.

⁹² *Statutes at Large* 9, 340.

⁹³ *Congressional Globe*, 31st Congress, 1st session, July 16, 1850, p. 1372.

⁹⁴ *Statutes at Large* 9, 562.

much tin in them to be used for casting a statue and requested a quantity of copper or brass in exchange for them. Once again arrangements seem to have been made in advance because Venable stated that Commodore Lewis Warrington recommended the exchange and that the Secretary of War had agreed to it.⁹⁶ The resolution was passed on September 20, 1850, in both the House and the Senate. (appendix 9)⁹⁷

Rosemary Hopkins, in her thorough master's thesis on Mills, conjectures that Mills used the casting procedure known as the *cire-perdue*, or lost wax, method to cast Jackson's statue. In this method, a model of the statue is made in clay, then covered with wax. Clay is applied over the wax and the whole is heated, melting the wax, which escapes the clay through vents provided for that purpose. Liquid bronze is poured into space left by the melted wax to create the statue. Such a mold can also be made of plaster.⁹⁸ Newspaper reports differed in their accounts of whether Mills' model was made of clay or plaster,⁹⁹ and no papers have been found from the artist himself on the subject, so it is impossible to determine from which material he made his model or if he fashioned it first from plaster to achieve the likeness he desired and then from clay to create the molds.

Mills made several tests before casting the Jackson statue. The *Courier* reported on May 4, 1850, that he had cast a bronze bust of Apollo in his experiments,¹⁰⁰ and on June 4, the *Camden (South Carolina) Journal* reported that he had cast a bell.¹⁰¹ Mills

⁹⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 31st Congress, 1st session, July 16, 1850, 1389.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, September 14, 1850, p. 1811. Strictly speaking, bronze is an alloy of copper and tin, brass of copper and zinc. However, the composition of bronze often includes other metals. (Randolph Wardell Johnston, "The Practice of Direct Casting," *Technical Studies* 8, April 1940, 240-243.)

⁹⁷ *Statutes at Large* 9, p. 563.

⁹⁸ Hopkins, 60.

⁹⁹ *Charleston Courier*, March 16, 1849, and January 16, 1850.

¹⁰⁰ *Charleston Courier*, May 4, 1850.

¹⁰¹ *Camden (South Carolina) Journal*, June 4, 1850; cited in Hopkins, 61.

apparently began his failed attempt to cast the statue from the cannon appropriated for the purpose shortly after the legislation was passed on July 29 because by September, as we have seen, the Jackson Monument Committee was requesting copper and brass from the Secretary of War for the casting. Beginning, then, in late September or early October of 1850, Mills began casting the statue itself. It was during this time that Mills was forced to deal with unforeseen complications. At one point the crane used for raising and lowering the sculpture from the furnace broke. At another, the furnace itself exploded. Six attempts were made before the horse was cast¹⁰² in four pieces. Jackson was cast in six pieces. The entire statue was completed either late in December 1852 or very early in January 1853.¹⁰³

Congress appropriated \$5,000 for the erection of a pedestal for the Jackson statue on August 31, 1852, “on such plan as may be approved by the artist for that work.”¹⁰⁴ Mills, however, was not satisfied to simply approve the plan of another and wrote to Secretary of the Interior A.H.H. Stuart on September 22 asking for control of the entire work. The experimental nature of the statue itself spurred this request: “[I]n a work like mine, which is original in the balancing of the horse on his hind feet upon the nicest calculation of the centre of gravity, it is of the utmost importance that the foundation and whole pedestal be of the most solid character. ... Under these circumstances, I trust and believe, that you, in your kind consideration will find a way, consistent with public duty, to put the work entirely in my hands.”¹⁰⁵ Stuart agreed: “I have concluded, inasmuch as the success of your experiment will depend somewhat upon the proper erection of the

¹⁰² Tuckerman, 585.

¹⁰³ Hopkins, 64.

¹⁰⁴ *Statutes at Large* 10, 95.

pedestal, to place the whole matter under your exclusive direction and control.”¹⁰⁶ Payroll records show that Mills hired seven masons and nine laborers to construct the pedestal.¹⁰⁷ Thus, in the three months before the Jackson monument was to be unveiled, Mills busied himself both with casting the statue and in supervising the erection of the eight and a half-foot high pedestal on which it would stand.¹⁰⁸ By January 2, 1853, Mills’ statue of Jackson, covered in a protective frame, rested on the ground next to its pedestal in Lafayette Square.¹⁰⁹

Placing the Statue

Nothing has been said thus far about the placement of the Jackson statue in Lafayette Park. Evidence for the date this decision was made and for the individuals involved in making it has not yet been found. From the beginning, from O’Sullivan’s editorial in the *United States Magazine* through Mills’ contract with the Jackson Monument Committee and the legislation in Congress, the Nation’s Capital was recognized as the location of the monument, but the specific site was not named. According to Joint Resolution No. 25, passed August 11, 1848, the Jackson Monument Committee was “authorized to erect the said monument upon such portion of the public grounds in the city of Washington as may be designated for that purpose by the President of the United States.”¹¹⁰ No appropriate presidential proclamation or executive order exists from any of the three presidents (James Polk, Zachary Taylor, and Millard

¹⁰⁵ Clark Mills to Secretary A.H.H. Stuart, September 22, 1852, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, Record Group 48, entry 291, National Archives, College Park, Md.

¹⁰⁶ Stuart to Mills, September 30, 1852, RG 48, entry 291, National Archives.

¹⁰⁷ Hopkins, 70.

¹⁰⁸ *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

¹⁰⁹ *Charleston Courier*, January 7, 1853.

¹¹⁰ *Statutes at Large* 9, 340.

Fillmore) who occupied the President's House during the statue's creation. No letter from one of these presidents to either the Commissioner of Public Buildings or the Secretary of the Interior or from the Secretary to the Commissioner on the subject has yet been found among those preserved in the National Archives.¹¹¹

It might be thought, since the Jackson monument was conceived during Polk's administration and indeed was given early life in the president's office, that Jackson's protégé might have wished to see his mentor's likeness from his front door. The Polk administration also allowed Mills to build his studio and foundry on public land within President's Park, indicating its support for the project. Since it would not be unusual for a sculptor to erect his foundry near the planned site of a monumental work, the permission Mills' received to build his studio near the Executive Mansion might have foreshadowed the statue's placement nearby.¹¹²

Polk also removed the David d'Angers' statue of Thomas Jefferson from the Capitol to the north side of the President's House in 1847.¹¹³ The placement of the Jefferson and Jackson statues opposite each other might indicate Polk's desire to publicly honor his political forefathers. It is also true that three members of Polk's cabinet (Vice-President George Dallas, Secretary of War Marcy, and Secretary of the Navy Bancroft) and three members of the Jackson Monument Committee (John C. Rives, Francis P. Blair, and Thomas Ritchie) lived on the square during Polk's presidency.¹¹⁴ The

¹¹¹ As far as could be determined, all relevant records held at the National Archives were examined during the course of research for this report. The microfilmed edition of Polk's papers and the published version of his diary have been reviewed as much as time would allow. Due to time restrictions, the papers of presidents Taylor and Fillmore were not viewed.

¹¹² Thanks to David Krause, archivist for the White House Liaison Office, for this suggestion.

¹¹³ Goode, 521. The Jefferson statue was returned to the Capitol in 1874.

¹¹⁴ King, Mrs. Leland, "Historical Survey of Lafayette Square" (prepared for John Carl Warnecke and Associates, San Francisco, 1963), 15-82.

placement of Jackson's statue near the residences of so many prominent Jacksonian Democrats should, perhaps, not be surprising.

The first published reference that has been found regarding the placement of the Jackson statue dates from the last days of Polk's presidency. The *National Intelligencer* of December 11, 1848, reported that it was "to occupy the centre of Lafayette Square, in front of the President's House."¹¹⁵ A lithograph of Washington published by Casimir Bohn in 1849 (figure 8) depicts the Jackson statue with the North Portico of the President's House on one side and a statue that is probably Jefferson on the other,¹¹⁶ another indication that Jackson's statue was associated with Lafayette Square early in its history.

The placement of the Jackson statue is first mentioned by a government official during the administration of Millard Fillmore. In his annual report to Congress dated March 3, 1851, Commissioner of Public Buildings Ignatius Mudd requested funds for the improvement of Lafayette Square. "Its location," Mudd wrote, "*independently of the fact that it is set apart for the reception of the equestrian statue to General Jackson*, makes it particularly desirable that it should be promptly improved."¹¹⁷ (italics added) Congress recognized Lafayette Square as the site of Jackson's statue in its Appropriations Act of August 31, 1852: "For the purpose of erecting a pedestal in Lafayette Square for the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, on such plan as may be approved by the artist for that work, five thousand dollars."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), December 11, 1848.

¹¹⁶ John Reps, *Washington on View* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 111.

¹¹⁷ U.S. Congress, House, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, H.Exdoc. 47, 31st Congress, 2nd session, March 3, 1851, 11.

¹¹⁸ *Statutes at Large* 10, 95. That it might not have been considered unusual at the time to make such a decision informally can be seen with regard to Mills' statue of George Washington, which occupies Washington Circle on Pennsylvania Avenue. Mills received the commission for this statue shortly after his

Lafayette Square at this time was undergoing a transformation. Pierre Charles L'Enfant's plan included this area as part of President's Park, and during the building of the President's House, the area had been used to house construction workers. After Thomas Jefferson divided it from President's Park during his tenure as chief executive, it was used as a market and grazing area for cows and sheep until the War of 1812. Charles Bullfinch, when he was working on the Capitol, planted the square with cedars and elms around 1818.¹¹⁹ A bird's-eye view of the President's House and the surrounding area from the mid-1840s (figure 9) shows that an allee of trees divided the square along the 16th Street axis.¹²⁰ William W. Corcoran, a financier and resident of Lafayette Square, and Joseph Henry, first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, helped convince President Fillmore to hire Andrew Jackson Downing in 1851 to redesign the Mall and the grounds around the President's House,¹²¹ and Lafayette Square came under his jurisdiction. Downing, the foremost landscape architect in America at the time, designed Lafayette Square to reflect his own philosophy of natural beauty: In his scheme paths wound through dense plantings of trees and shrubs in picturesque curves quite different from the strict geometry of L'Enfant's Neo-classical plan for the city. (figure 10)

Downing died in 1852, ending the momentum of his designs for the public areas of Washington, and it is difficult to know exactly how much of his plan had been

Jackson was unveiled on January 8, 1853. Six years later, Commissioner of Public Buildings John B. Blake wrote to Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson to ask whether or not the statue of Washington would go in the circle on Pennsylvania Avenue that had been "speculated" to be its site. The statue would, in fact, be placed on that spot just a year later, but the information had not yet reached the commissioner, the government official responsible for such arrangements. (John B. Blake [Commissioner of Public Buildings] to Secretary Jacob Thompson, Feb. 16, 1859, RG 48, entry 291, National Archives.)

¹¹⁹ William Seale, "The Design of Lafayette Park," *White House History* 2 (June 1997), 6-12.

¹²⁰ "Isometrical View of the President's House," 1845/57, Library of Congress, Geography and Maps Division, Washington, D.C.

¹²¹ Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Vision of Life for the Mall," *ALA Journal* 47 (March 1967), 52.

executed by the time Jackson's statue was unveiled. George J. Olszewski, in his National Park Service publication, *Lafayette Park*, writes that Downing's plan was not carried out completely until 1872,¹²² and the 1993 Historic American Buildings Survey for Lafayette Square states that the allee of trees along the 16th Street axis, with only rectangles of grass on either side, remained in place until that time.¹²³ In his annual report of February 20, 1852, however, Commissioner of Public Buildings William Easby reported that an appropriation of \$3,000 for Lafayette Square had been spent under Downing's direction.¹²⁴ In addition, on August 11, 1852, Easby asked the secretary of the Interior for a warrant to be issued in his favor for \$2,000 "to make roads and walks and to plant Lafayette Square," presumably following Downing's design.¹²⁵ On October 8, he requested another warrant for \$3,500 "For defraying expenses incurred in the improvement of Lafayette Square."¹²⁶ These expenditures total a good deal more than would have been spent in routine maintenance, indicating that the character of the square was being changed.¹²⁷ John Sessford, a contemporary observer who annually reported on improvements to the city, wrote in December 1851 that Lafayette Square "has been laid off into walks." His report dated January 2, 1854, stated that the square was "beautifully laid out and enclosed by an iron fence, which, with the Jackson statue, is much admired."¹²⁸ Calvert Vaux, Downing's business partner, wrote Marshall P. Wilder on

¹²² George J. Olszewski, *Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C.* (Washington: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1964), 17.

¹²³ Elizabeth Barthold, "Lafayette Square [Reservation No. 10]," *Historic American Buildings Survey* (Washington: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1993), 5.

¹²⁴ U.S. Congress, House, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, H.exdoc. 79, 32nd Congress, 1st session, February 20, 1852. 14.

¹²⁵ William Easby (Commissioner of Public Buildings) to Secretary A.H.H. Stuart, August 11, 1852, RG 48, entry 151, National Archives.

¹²⁶ Easby to Stuart, October 8, 1852, RG 48, entry 151, National Archives.

¹²⁷ See Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Buildings for the years prior to 1852.

¹²⁸ John Sessford, "The Sessford Annals," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 11 (1908), 349-362.

August 18, 1852, that the “ground opposite the other front of the President’s House, called President’s Square was first laid out, planted and completed all but the railing.”¹²⁹ Finally, a contemporary photograph (figure 11) shows a broad walk around the green ellipse at the base of Jackson’s statue. Evergreens and taller deciduous trees mark the walk’s circumference. It would seem from this evidence that Downing’s design for Lafayette Square had been almost fully implemented by the time Jackson’s statue was unveiled, although its plantings remained immature.

The Dedication

Preparations for the inauguration of the statue began no later than December 29, 1852, the date of letters from the Jackson Monument Committee formally inviting both houses of Congress to the ceremonies. (appendix 10)¹³⁰ Information relating to the dedication filled the January 5, 1853, *Washington Daily Union*: a mention of the annual banquet held by the Jackson Democratic Association celebrating the victory at New Orleans, a “Narrative of the Battle of New Orleans” written by General Lewis Cass from Jackson’s personal communications, and an advertisement displaying the order of the procession during the inauguration ceremonies. The names of Benjamin B. French, John C. Rives, and John W. Maury, the same trio whose names were attached to documents sent to Congress, completed the ad.¹³¹ On January 8, that same ad, slightly lengthened, reappeared (appendix 11), along with six others relating to the day’s festivities.¹³²

¹²⁹ EDAW, Inc., et al, “President’s Park Cultural Landscape Report: Site History, Existing Conditions, Analysis and Evaluation” (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1995), 3-31.

¹³⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd session, December 30, 1852, p. 173, 178.

¹³¹ *Washington Daily Union*, January 5, 1853.

¹³² “Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson,” *Washington Daily Union*, January 8, 1853.

On January 8, 1853, the thirty-eighth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, Washington's sky was clear, the temperature more like Indian summer than winter.¹³³ The parade's chief marshal, George W. Hughes, who by that time was a member of the Jackson Monument Committee, wore a yellow scarf with white rosettes when he gathered the other marshals at the National Hotel. His ten aides wore white scarves with white rosettes, their fifty-two assistants cherry scarves with rosettes. All carried batons and wore ribbons matching their scarves.¹³⁴ Hughes and his marshals then moved to City Hall on Judiciary Square to organize and lead the participants in the procession, who were scheduled to begin assembling at ten o'clock. The marshals, followed by a military escort of nine different units, led by Colonel William Hickey and including military bands, headed the column that moved from City Hall to Pennsylvania Avenue and then west toward Lafayette Square.¹³⁵ Behind the marshals and the military escort came the Jackson Monument Committee and Mills, followed by Senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois, who would make the day's oration, the chaplains of the House of Representatives and the Senate, city officials, members of Congress, and General Winfield Scott, the Commander in Chief of the Army, and his staff.¹³⁶ The procession entered the grounds of the Executive Mansion on the northeast, following the semicircular drive to the North Portico to salute President Millard Fillmore and his cabinet, who then joined the cortege. The

¹³³ "The Celebration Yesterday," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

¹³⁴ "Inauguration of the Statue of General Andrew Jackson," *Washington Daily Union*, January 8, 1853.

¹³⁵ "The Celebration Yesterday," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853. It is uncertain precisely what route the procession took from City Hall to Pennsylvania Avenue. Stanley McClure, in his National Park Service manuscript history of the statue, reports that it moved south on 4 ½ Street to Pennsylvania Avenue, but does not specify a source for this information.

¹³⁶ "Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson," *Washington Daily Union*, January 8, 1853.

military units circled Lafayette Square to enter it through the H Street gate, while the civil procession crossed Pennsylvania Avenue to enter the square on the south side.¹³⁷

The *Courier* reported on January 7 that Douglas would speak from the base of the statue,¹³⁸ and the *Daily Union*'s coverage mentioned that the "speaker's stand was filled with eminent men—the President and his Cabinet, Gen. Scott and his staff, distinguished senators and representatives."¹³⁹ If both of these observations are accurate, it would seem that Douglas and the honored guests occupied a low platform on one side of the pedestal with the statue as a backdrop. None of the accounts of the ceremonies indicate which way the speaker's stand faced, although, given that the president was authorized to choose the site of the statue, it is tempting to speculate that the stand faced the President's House.

Douglas began his oration with remarks on the tradition of monumental statuary, citing Trajan's Column and the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome as examples, and ended with a long tribute to Jackson himself. In between, he spoke about Mills and his statue:

The statue before you is the work of a man exalted by his enthusiasm for the glorious deeds and wise acts of a hero and statesman. It is the work of a young, untaught American. I cannot call him an artist. He never studied nor copied. He never saw an equestrian statue, nor even a model. It is the work of inborn genius aroused to energy by the triumphant spirit of liberty which throbs in the great heart of our continent—which creates the power of great conceptions, the aspiration and the will, the mental faculty and the manual skill, to eternize the actors who ennoble the country, by giving their forms and expressions to imperishable materials.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ "The Celebration Yesterday," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

¹³⁸ *Charleston Courier*, January 7, 1853.

¹³⁹ "The Celebration Yesterday," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

After Douglas' speech, amid shouts by the assembled spectators, Mills was introduced. His hair had "turned gray during the period of his labor and anxiety over the great work he ha[d] accomplished,"¹⁴¹ and he could not respond to the cheers of the crowd, except by pointing to his covered statue. The frame was knocked away and Jackson unveiled. The bands saluted the statue and its creator with music and Taylor's Battery, one of the military units in the procession, answered the music with its guns. Cheers from spectators in the square and on rooftops of the houses surrounding it resounded once more. The ceremonies ended with a benediction from the chaplain of the House of Representatives and the withdrawal of the military units.¹⁴²

The banquet given that evening by the Jackson Democratic Association took place in Jackson Hall, the headquarters of Blair and Rives' *Congressional Globe* on Pennsylvania Avenue near 3rd Street.¹⁴³ The upstairs meeting rooms of the Greek Revival building had been decorated with numerous flags, as well as with an engraving of Thomas Sully's portrait of Jackson and George Healy's representation of President-elect Franklin Pierce. Clark Mills, Stephen Douglas, George W. Hughes, James Buchanan, Amos Kendall, and Thomas Ritchie were among those present. At nine-thirty, after dinner and association business, rounds of toasts, accompanied by music, were begun that lasted until midnight. Attendees praised, among others, Jackson, the president-elect, Douglas, the constitution, the army and navy, the American people, and Clark Mills. Among the more eloquent toasts to the sculptor was that of William H. Minnix:

Clark Mills: Like the rivulet whose source is hidden in the shadows of the mountain-side, and glides on silent and unseen until it expands into the broad and majestic river—

¹⁴¹ *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

¹⁴² "The Celebration Yesterday," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

¹⁴³ James Goode, *Capital Losses* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 250-251.

so the genius of Mills, nurtured in obscurity, has this day found vent in the execution of a work which for grandeur of conception and beauty of finish is unrivalled in the productions of art, and challenges the admiration of the world.¹⁴⁴

The Cannon and the Pedestal

Mentioned nowhere in the newspaper reports or the toasts are the cannon that now mark the four corners of the pedestal. Neither does the earliest lithograph of the erected statue show the pieces. (figure 12) However, since the 1849 print of the Jackson statue published by Casimir Bohn (figure 8) included cannon in the same position they now occupy and since the Jackson Monument Committee's July 15, 1850, memorial requested that the cannon be placed at the base of the statue, it would appear that they were intended for the monument from the beginning. In addition, the cannon tubes, without their carriages, can be seen in the 1853 photograph of the statue. (figure 11) That the cannon are the same ones mentioned in the memorial is attested to by the Latin inscriptions found on the two on the north side: *Violat Fulmina Regis*. These two cannon were named *El Witiza* and *El Egica* by the Spanish after Visigoth kings of Spain. They were fashioned at the royal foundry in Madrid by Josephus Barnola in 1748. The two cannon on the south side are called *El Apolo* and *El Aristeo* after Greek gods and were made by Barnola in 1773. *El Apolo* is inscribed near its mouth with details of the cannons' surrender to Jackson at Pensacola on May 28, 1818. (appendix 12)¹⁴⁵ It is not

¹⁴⁴ *Washington Daily Union*, January 14, 1853.

¹⁴⁵ Irving C. Root to Frederic A. Delano, April 28, 1942, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility. Root's memorandum shows the cannons' locations as follows: northwest corner—*El Egica*, northeast corner—*El Aristeo*, southeast corner—*El Witiza* (or *El VVitiza*), southwest corner—*El Apolo*. Locations on August 2, 1999, were: northwest corner—*El Egica*, northeast corner—*El Witiza*, southeast corner—*El Apolo*, southwest corner—*El Aristeo*. It is not known when the cannons were moved or what their original locations were.

known whether this inscription was placed on the cannon shortly after the battle at Pensacola or when they were chosen for use in the monument. Each cannon and its wooden carriage weigh a total of approximately 870 pounds.¹⁴⁶ The tubes themselves weigh approximately 300 pounds each. Research has shown that at the time of the battle at Pensacola the cannon carriages were probably the same pale, bluish-gray hue that they are painted today.¹⁴⁷ The two cannon made in 1748 are sixty-four inches long, and the 1773 cannon are seventy inches long.

On the west face of the monument today, just below Jackson's name, is an inscription, adapted from a toast Jackson made in 1830 at a banquet celebrating the birthday of Thomas Jefferson: "OUR FEDERAL UNION—IT MUST BE PRESERVED."¹⁴⁸ Neither newspaper accounts nor Douglas' speech nor the speakers at the banquet in Jackson Hall mention this inscription, and in 1909 Andrew D. White wrote to President Theodore Roosevelt to say that the inscription had been left off the pedestal because of the "preponderance in the Cabinet at that time of men either unfaithful to the Union, or faithful but weak."¹⁴⁹ Under Roosevelt's orders, the inscription was placed on the pedestal in its present position within two weeks of White's letter.¹⁵⁰

White, however, seems to have been in error in saying that the inscription never appeared on the monument. The pedestal did remain incomplete when the statue was

¹⁴⁶ Goode, 377.

¹⁴⁷ Lafayette Cannons notebook, National Park Service, White House Visitors Center, President's Park.

¹⁴⁸ Remini, 195-196. Remini reports that Jackson's original toast was "Our Union: It must be preserved," but that the president inadvertently omitted the word "federal," which was subsequently inserted.

¹⁴⁹ Andrew D. White to Theodore Roosevelt, February 25, 1909, Records of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, Record Group 42, entry 97, appendix 171, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹⁵⁰ Colonel Charles S. Bromwell (Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds) to Washington Granite Monumental Co., February 27, 1909, RG 42, entry 97, appendix 171, National Archives.

dedicated. That is clear from a March 3, 1853, appropriation of \$3,000 “For the purpose of completing the pedestal of the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, in Lafayette Square, and the erection of a suitable iron railing around the same.”¹⁵¹ But during debate on this appropriation on January 26, Edward Stanly of North Carolina mentioned the importance of Jackson’s toast and said, “I looked with a swelling heart at the motto emblazoned on its base.”¹⁵² What happened to the inscription between the time Stanly saw it and the time White reported it missing? During the same debate in which Stanly mentioned his pride at seeing the inscription, Thomas Florence of Pennsylvania stated that “The lettering on the pedestal is a disgrace to the nation, as everyone who has seen it will admit.”¹⁵³ It is perhaps on this evidence, although she does not cite Florence’s testimony specifically, that Hopkins concludes that the inscription had worn off by the time White wrote to Roosevelt.¹⁵⁴

Other possibilities exist. On May 16, 1853, Franklin Pierce’s Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, wrote to Mills to ask about the progress of work on the pedestal, the appropriation for which had been placed under Mills’ direction.¹⁵⁵ Mills responded the following day to say that “two large slabs of marble forming the sides of the pedestal are still wanting.”¹⁵⁶ The final stone did not arrive for another two months. The *Charleston Courier* reported on July 28, 1853, that “an immense stone,” seventeen

¹⁵¹ *Statutes at Large* 10, 185.

¹⁵² *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd session, January 26, 1853, 411.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 410.

¹⁵⁴ Hopkins, 73.

¹⁵⁵ Secretary Robert McClelland to Clark Mills, May 16, 1853, RG 48, entry 191, National Archives.

¹⁵⁶ Mills to McClelland, May 17, 1853, RG 48, entry 291, National Archives. This letter is included in a file with letters relating to Mills’ statue of George Washington. Since Mills did not submit a design for the Washington statue pedestal until May 13, 1858 (Mills to Thompson, RG 48, entry 291), this letter on the construction of a pedestal must refer to the Jackson statue. The letter also mentions Symington’s quarry, which, as the *Courier* article noted, provided the final stone for the base of Jackson’s statue.

feet long and seven feet across, was delivered by train from Symington's quarry in Baltimore Country, Maryland, to Washington the previous Saturday. Mills supervised the transportation of the stone, which was "intended as a side piece for the base of the monument."¹⁵⁷ It seems possible, then, that either 1) Jackson's quote was included on the core of the pedestal when the statue was unveiled in January, then covered up when Mills surfaced the base that summer, or 2) the quote was placed on the pedestal in some impermanent form, such as a banner, and then not inscribed on the completed pedestal.¹⁵⁸

If, as now, Jackson's toast was originally inscribed on the west face of the monument, a stone of the size reported by the *Courier* (seventeen by seven feet, varying from twenty-seven to thirteen and a quarter inches thick¹⁵⁹) could have been used to face both the east and west ends of the pedestal, covering up the original inscription. Those faces are each six feet, four inches wide and six feet, two inches high and vary from twenty inches thick at the base to two inches thick at the top. It is not absolutely certain, however, that Jackson's toast was originally inscribed on the west side. Bohn's 1849 lithograph of the monument (figure 8), published before the statue was completed, shows the inscription on the long south side of the base.¹⁶⁰ The first lithograph of the statue after it was erected, published by Bohn in 1853 (figure 12), also shows the inscription on the south face of the pedestal. An 1858 lithograph (figure 13) shows Jackson's toast on the north face. Facts, of course, could have been changed in these representations for artistic purposes, but if the lithographs do reflect reality, it is difficult to see how the stone

¹⁵⁷ Hopkins, 70.

¹⁵⁸ Thanks to David Krause, White House Liaison archivist, for suggesting the possibility of a banner displaying Jackson's toast.

¹⁵⁹ Hopkins, 70.

¹⁶⁰ It is possibly based on this print that Keck, in "A Toast to the Union" (307), writes that the inscription was first placed on the pedestal's "long side, facing south." Keck does not give specific evidence for this statement, however.

delivered in July 1853 could have been used to produce both the north and south faces of the pedestal. Since Mills' letter to McClelland mentioned two marble slabs, it is also possible that the July delivery represented the final stone for the pedestal, a previous delivery having taken care of the other side, thus allowing for the inscription to have been obscured whatever side it was on. It may not be possible to answer the questions about the original inscription unless the pedestal is dismantled. What appears certain, however, is that Jackson's toast was intended for the pedestal from its inception and was visible on January 8, 1853, but that it was subsequently lost, due either to weathering or from Mills' refinishing of the base, and replaced in 1909.

The base of the statue was still not finished after Mills and his crew fitted to it the stone delivered in late July. On May 31, 1854, Congress appropriated an additional \$500 for the completion of the pedestal and the iron fence surrounding it.¹⁶¹ It is not known what kind of work was done with this appropriation, but requisition ledgers show that the last payment was made from this money on May 14, 1856.¹⁶² The pedestal is eight feet, six inches high from the ground to the horse's hooves. It is sixteen feet, four inches long and nine feet, eight inches wide. A rectangular stone apron extending four feet in all directions surrounds the pedestal. These features have not changed since the pedestal was completed.

The *Courier* reported on May 8, 1850, that Mills intended to include "a Lady's bust" on each side of the pedestal,¹⁶³ and Bohn's 1849 lithograph (figure 8) shows a more elaborate pedestal than the simple one that exists today. No other evidence suggests that

¹⁶¹ *Statues at Large* 10, 293.

¹⁶² Requisition ledger 19, RG 42, entry 71, National Archives.

¹⁶³ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 1850.

Mills had a more complex pedestal in mind, but if he did, such a plan was obviously not executed, perhaps for economic reasons.

The Jackson statue was immediately popular. On April 18, 1853, the *Courier* reported that a copy of a lithograph of the statue, perhaps Bohn's, could be seen at the newspaper's office. Mills patented his design in 1855,¹⁶⁴ and statuettes were cast by the Philadelphia firm of Cornelius and Baker. Several are still in existence.¹⁶⁵ Perhaps as a result of this success, a move to pay Mills for his work on the Jackson statue began shortly after the work was unveiled. On January 17, 1853, William Hawkins Polk of Tennessee, brother of the former president, attempted to suspend House rules to introduce a resolution to pay Mills \$15,000 for his work (appendix 13), but the request was not allowed.¹⁶⁶ The next day, George Edmund Badger of North Carolina introduced a joint resolution in the Senate to pay Mills \$20,000 (appendix 14),¹⁶⁷ and that resolution was eventually made a part of the Appropriations Act of March 3 (appendix 15).¹⁶⁸

All told, Congress appropriated \$28,500 for the Jackson statue. Hopkins reports that expenditures exceeded appropriations by \$442.53.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ Hopkins, 70-73.

¹⁶⁵ Barber, 216.

¹⁶⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd session, January 17, 1853, 327.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, January 18, 1853, 329.

¹⁶⁸ *Statutes at Large* 10, 214.

¹⁶⁹ Hopkins, 75.

Part Three: Later History of the Statue and Its Artist

Mills' Later Career

On the day after the Jackson statue was unveiled, an anonymous letter to the editor of the *Daily Union* suggested that Mills be given the commission for a statue of George Washington that had first been contemplated in 1783.¹⁷⁰ On January 25, a joint resolution was passed that would provide \$50,000 for such a statue to be created by Mills. A contract was signed for that statue on July 28.¹⁷¹

Mills purchased property on Bladensburg Road in northeast Washington in the summer of 1853 on which he would construct a residence and a new foundry. His wife and children joined him there, finally moving to Washington seven years after Mills had left Charleston for the capital. Much of the money he received at this time, however, went to pay debts or was assigned to other obligations. The *Daily Union* reported that Mills' costs for the Jackson statue had exceeded his contract by \$7,000,¹⁷² and Treasury

¹⁷⁰ "The Equestrian Statue," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

¹⁷¹ Hopkins, 82.

¹⁷² *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

Department documents show that Mills asked for \$4,907.27 of the \$20,000 received for the Jackson statue to be paid to John Walker Maury, who loaned him that amount while he was creating the statue.¹⁷³ Blair, Rives, and French were also reported to have loaned him several hundred dollars.¹⁷⁴ In addition, the appropriation for the Jackson statue required Mills to invest \$10,000 for his family, and this provision was carried out, according to Treasury Department documents.¹⁷⁵ Mills received \$10,000 for the Washington statue upon signing the contract in July, much of which must have been spent on constructing the buildings on his new property and purchasing materials for the new commission.

While he was working on the Washington statue, Mills received a commission for \$35,000 from the city of New Orleans to cast a copy of the Jackson statue. It was unveiled on February 9, 1856. The equestrian statue of Washington was dedicated on February 22, 1860.¹⁷⁶ Both of these statues were cast at his new foundry, and Mills' demonstrated skill in bronze casting subsequently secured another commission: the statue of *Freedom* for the new Capitol dome. Designed by Thomas Crawford before his death in 1857, the statue was cast by Mills between June 1860 and July 1862. It rested on a temporary pedestal near the Capitol from August 1 until its pieces were hoisted to the dome that fall. Erection on the dome was completed on December 12.¹⁷⁷ A second copy of the Jackson statue was dedicated in Nashville in front of the state capitol on May 20, 1880. This copy may have been cast before the Civil War began, but the war and a lack

¹⁷³ Hopkins, 77.

¹⁷⁴ *Washington Daily Union*, January 18, 1853.

¹⁷⁵ Hopkins, 75-78.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 87-91.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 102-105.

of funds to purchase the statue by interested organizations in Tennessee delayed its installation for as long as twenty years.

Mills' wife Eliza died shortly after she moved with their children to Washington, leaving the sculptor with four boys between seven and fifteen years of age to look after. He adopted a daughter at this time, perhaps to help take care of the boys.¹⁷⁸ Mills was married to his second wife, Susan, by 1867.

Two months before the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Mills created a life mask of the president, and he also made life masks of Native Americans at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, and at St. Augustine, Florida, in the late 1870s. He embarked on a plan for a monument to Lincoln at approximately this same time. The memorial remained on paper, but it would have consisted of thirty-six figures on five levels. He last appeared publicly at the dedication of the Jackson statue in Nashville. Mills died of heart disease on January 12, 1883.¹⁷⁹

Critical Reception of the Statue

The *Charleston Courier*, in reporting on the full-scale model for the Jackson statue, wrote that "the excellency and originality of the work consists in its being self-balanced, in a rearing position."¹⁸⁰ Other early writers followed this line of praise and added to it a patriotic note. The January 9, 1853, letter to the editor of the *Washington Daily Union* called the statue "a monument of Jackson's virtues, as well as of the triumph of American art." The impetus for such a triumph came from "the genius of Liberty," wrote the author, who signed himself simply, "An American." This genius "sets free the

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 79-80.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 110-127.

human mind from the shackles of prejudice and the force of imitation. It teaches man to think for himself. ... It stimulates enterprise and animates invention." The writer compared Mills' accomplishment in balancing Jackson on his rearing horse to the invention of the steamboat and the telegraph.¹⁸¹

Mills' technical innovations did not appeal to some critics. "Who cares forsooth," wondered the writer of a letter published in the June 1853 issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, "whether Mr. Mills's horse stands firmly on two legs? who will care a hundred years hence?"¹⁸² A later correspondent of the *Crayon* agreed that those who praised the Jackson statue had confused mechanical skill and artistic ability:

You may depend upon it, mere shameless trickery in Art will be more or less attractive, and I have no doubt that if a wire and ball could be attached to the horse, like the balanced toys of the shops, and an attendant to keep it in motion, it would be pronounced a triumph of Art, and Mills held forth as the great American sculptor who had added a motive power to statuary.¹⁸³

It should be remembered that at this time American artists were struggling to discover a native art. If Mills' work was criticized for emphasizing the mechanical over the artistic, that of Horatio Greenough and Hiram Powers was criticized for being too European in its adherence to classical standards of beauty. Mills was also praised in the newspapers for his determination in overcoming long odds against his success, for learning the craft of bronze casting without instruction, and for building his own foundry with no help from others.¹⁸⁴ If Mills' work does not illustrate a strong aesthetic

¹⁸⁰ *Charleston Courier*, May 8, 1850.

¹⁸¹ "The Equestrian Statue," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

¹⁸² "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 7 (June 1853), 132.

¹⁸³ "To the Editors of the Crayon," *The Crayon* 1 (February 7, 1855), 88.

¹⁸⁴ "The Equestrian Statue," *Washington Daily Union*, January 9, 1853.

sensibility, it did help make naturalism the reigning style in American art and took part in the spirit of inventiveness then flourishing on the continent.¹⁸⁵

Continuity and Change

Mills requested equipment to lower the Jackson statue from its pedestal in March 1880, presumably to clean and perhaps repair it.¹⁸⁶ Except for brief removals for maintenance, the statue has occupied the center of Lafayette Square ever since its dedication. That does not mean, however, that the monument has pleased everyone. From time to time efforts have been made to move the statue. The reasons behind these requests break down into two categories: 1) criticism of the aesthetic value of the statue itself and 2) criticism of its placement in Lafayette Square. Frequently, aesthetic criticism served to supplement criticism of the presence of a monument to Jackson in a square named for Lafayette.

The logic of having Jackson's statue in Lafayette Square was first questioned when a statue of Lafayette was placed in the square. In 1885, Congress appropriated \$50,000 for such a statue and authorized a committee composed of the Secretary of War, the chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, and the Architect of the Capitol to determine its site.¹⁸⁷ This committee decided to place the statue in Lafayette Square at a spot midway along its Pennsylvania Avenue boundary—that is, between the Executive Mansion and the Jackson statue. Tennessee Senator William Brimmage Bate discovered the intended site in the spring of 1890, shortly before the statue, designed and executed in France, had arrived in Washington and at about the same time that the foundation for the

¹⁸⁵ Craven, 170-174.

¹⁸⁶ Hopkins, 73.

pedestal had been completed. On May 13, 1890, Bate introduced the first of four resolutions that ultimately moved Lafayette's statue to the southeast corner of the square named for him. One of Bate's chief complaints was that the Lafayette statue would obstruct the view of Jackson.¹⁸⁸

In his testimony before the Senate on the siting of the Lafayette statue, William Maxwell Evarts of New York, chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library, stated that while his committee was discussing the site of the Lafayette statue, the local papers suggested that Jackson be removed from the center of the square in favor of the French general. The committee, Evarts said, also felt that ideally Lafayette should occupy the center of the square named for him and that the northeastern or northwestern corners of the grounds of the Executive Mansion would be appropriate locations for the Jackson statue. Not having the authority to move a statue previously placed, however, the committee determined to site the statue of the Revolutionary War hero directly across from the Executive Mansion because of Lafayette's relationship to George Washington. Although he never lived in the President's House, Washington was the predecessor of every president who lived there and was therefore associated with it. Lafayette's close friendship with Washington therefore called for his likeness to be associated with the President's House.¹⁸⁹

Bate succeeded in convincing Congress to keep the view of Jackson from the Executive Mansion unobstructed, but the logic voiced by Evarts would be followed by others in the next century, especially when the statues of generals Thaddeus Kosciuszko,

¹⁸⁷ *Statutes at Large* 23, 508.

¹⁸⁸ *Congressional Record*, 51st Congress, 1st session, May 13, June 17, August 25-28, 1890, 4599, 6164, 9137, 9144-9145, 9197, 9241-9248, 9289; *Statutes at Large* 26, 684.

¹⁸⁹ *Congressional Record*, 51st Congress, 1st session, August 28, 1890, 9242.

Jean de Rochambeau, and Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben—all Revolutionary War heroes of foreign birth—were placed at the other corners of the square early in the twentieth century. District of Columbia resident J. Allen Boteler used a version of Evarts' argument in a letter to Charles Moore, chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts, on November 14, 1923, urging that the commission switch the positions of the Jackson and Washington statues, thus re-uniting Washington with the generals he commanded during the American Revolution. Boteler tried the same logic on the commission in 1939, as did Mrs. Frank B. Noyes in 1936, and F.S. Key-Smith in 1941. In general, the response of the Commission of Fine Arts, which had been created to deal with such issues in 1910, remained the same: It did not think Jackson should be moved because of its historical importance.¹⁹⁰

The Commission of Fine Arts also defended the placement of the Jackson statue on aesthetic grounds. This defense was first voiced in 1917. In the late winter of that year, Colonel William W. Harts, Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds for the Army's Corps of Engineers, received a request from Postmaster General A.S. Burleson to examine the possibility of moving Jackson's statue to a position near the Treasury Building. Burleson also asked about the possibility of moving a statue of Benjamin Franklin to the main entrance to the Post Office. Harts responded with cost estimates and two photographic studies showing Mills' statue on both the north and south sides of the Treasury Building (figure 14) on March 12, 1917. Harts told Burleson, and Treasury secretary W.G. McAdoo, that the Commission of Fine Arts opposed moving the Jackson statue on the grounds that "the character and type of construction of the

¹⁹⁰ "Removal of Jackson Statue," Project files, 1910-1952, Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, Record Group 66, box 78, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

monument and the Treasury Department building are of such different periods that the relocation of the monument anywhere so near that structure, or in conjunction with any other building, would detract from both.”¹⁹¹

If the Commission of Fine Arts opposed moving the Jackson statue, its members did not necessarily think of it as a masterpiece. Moore’s “defense” of the monument to Boteler included this statement: “It has been the feeling of the Commission of Fine Arts that the Jackson Statue ... is most amusing.”¹⁹² In correspondence with W.O. Hart in 1925 on the possibility of obtaining a copy of the Jackson statue for Jacksonville, Fla., Moore wrote that the people of Jacksonville wouldn’t be satisfied with a copy: “They are too proud and the statues too poor.”¹⁹³ Jacksonville did not get its copy of the Jackson statue until 1987.¹⁹⁴

It might be the attitude shown by Moore’s remarks that prodded congressmen to imagine that the Commission of Fine Arts wanted to move the Jackson statue even when it didn’t. On August 3, 1920, Moore wrote to correct James Beauchamp “Champ” Clark when the Missouri congressman remarked in a speech that “Every once in awhile the Fine Arts Commission takes a notion to remove the Andrew Jackson statue from the center of Lafayette Park.” Moore pointed out that the commission unanimously opposed the move in 1917, the only time it had officially been brought before the group.¹⁹⁵ Three years later, Moore wrote to Tennessee Senator Kenneth McKellar to convey the same

¹⁹¹ Colonel William W. Harts (Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds) to W.G. McAdoo (Secretary of the Treasury), March 10, 1917; Harts to A.S. Burleson (Postmaster-General), March 12, 1917 RG 42, entry 97, appendix 171, National Archives.

¹⁹² Charles Moore (Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts) to J. Allen Boteler, November 21, 1923, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

¹⁹³ Moore to W.O. Hart, June 13, 1925, RG 66, box. 78, National Archives.

¹⁹⁴ “Mills, Clark,” Art Inventories-Sculpture File, *Archives of American Art*, Smithsonian Institution, available from <http://www.siris.si.edu/webpac-bin/wgbroker?07011653481328>.

¹⁹⁵ Moore to Clark, August 3, 1920, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

message.¹⁹⁶ In 1940, McKellar and Champ Clark's son Joel Bennett Clark, a senator from Missouri, stood up to another imagined attempt to move Jackson,¹⁹⁷ while Illinois Congressman Kent Ellsworth Keller, did the same in the House. Gilmore Clarke, chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts at the time, asked for information from commission secretary H.P. Caemmerer to "put Congressman Keller straight on the matter."¹⁹⁸

Caemmerer's response to Clark recorded an attempt "about 1920" in which the "Superintendent of Public Buildings and Parks recommended informally" that the Jackson and Washington statues should be switched, but Caemmerer wrote that this recommendation was not recorded in the minutes.¹⁹⁹ The secretary might have been referring to the 1923 suggestion of Colonel Clarence O. Sherrill, Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Grounds, that the statues of Jackson and Washington be switched when the latter was returned from repairs. Protests from Tennesseans, including Senator McKellar, stopped the proposed move.²⁰⁰

Landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., a member of the Commission of Fine Arts when it was created in 1910, felt that Jackson's statue should be turned around to face 16th Street. Writing to Colonel Harts in May 1914, Olmsted expressed the opinion that the current position of the statue across the axis of 16th Street was "absurd." Sculptor

¹⁹⁶ Moore to Senator Kenneth McKellar, April 16, 1923, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

¹⁹⁷ *Congressional Record*, 76th Congress, 3rd session, May 31, 1940, 7291.

¹⁹⁸ Clarke to H.P. Caemmerer (Secretary of the Commission of Fine Arts), June 5, 1940, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

¹⁹⁹ Caemmerer to Clark, June 7, 1940, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

²⁰⁰ *Washington Evening Star* March 29, 1923, *Washington Post*, April 16, 1923, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

Daniel Chester French agreed with Olmsted's idea,²⁰¹ but nothing more came of the plan, perhaps due to the United States' participation in World War I.

Even Franklin Delano Roosevelt made an effort to remove Mills' Jackson from Lafayette Square when he was president. On January 18, 1934, Roosevelt sent a memorandum to Moore with two suggestions on the city's memorials. The second was "The erection of a more adequate memorial to Andrew Jackson ... than the present rather strange rearing horse."²⁰² Moore's response to the president contained his most complete argument against moving the statue. Moore pointed out that the statue, the first equestrian monument designed and erected in the United States, was an outstanding achievement in American art. He also said it would be difficult to find another place for the Jackson statue that would be satisfactory. Switching the places of Mills' Jackson and Washington statues would not be a solution, Moore wrote the president, "because the Washington statue probably is one of the worst in the United States," lacking "the element of naivete which the Jackson Statue possesses to an eminent degree." Moore concluded on a more positive note: "Both for historical reasons and because of the loving care with which it was designed, the statue should remain in its present position."²⁰³ Roosevelt himself subsequently became a defender of Washington statues' status quo.²⁰⁴

Others agreed with Roosevelt's assessment that Mills' statue was not a suitable monument to Jackson's memory. On January 11, 1937, Senator McKellar introduced a resolution "authorizing the erection of a memorial statue of Andrew Jackson." The site

²⁰¹ Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. to Colonel William W. Harts, May 12, 1914; Daniel Chester French to Olmsted, May 14, 1914, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

²⁰² President Franklin D. Roosevelt to Commission of Fine Arts, January 18, 1934, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

²⁰³ Charles Moore (Chairman, Commissioner of Fine Arts) to Franklin Roosevelt, January 23, 1934, RG 66, box 78, National Archives.

²⁰⁴ King, 3.

chosen for the statue was the north plaza of the Treasury Building, one of the sites investigated by Postmaster Burleson twenty years before for the relocation of Mills' statue.²⁰⁵ McKellar's proposal found at least one sympathizer within the National Park Service, which had become responsible for public grounds in 1933. On a memorandum to National Capital Parks Superintendent C. Marshall Finnan dated January 27, 1937, that suggests opposing McKellar's resolution on the grounds that a statue of Jackson already existed is a handwritten note, possibly from Finnan himself. The note says, "I don't think we should oppose. Perhaps Andrew should not have been placed in Lafayette Park in the first place & this may be one step in the right direction."²⁰⁶ McKellar's bill was referred to the Committee on the Library, where it died. Two years later, McKellar re-introduced the bill, which suffered the same fate.²⁰⁷ On March 8, 1937, Tennessee Congressman Walter Chandler introduced in the House a resolution "To create the Andrew Jackson Memorial Commission to consider and devise plans for the erection of a permanent memorial to Andrew Jackson" because the country's appreciation and gratitude for Jackson's services "have not been given adequate expression in the form of a permanent memorial."²⁰⁸ Neither was this resolution passed.

In 1944, the Federal Works Agency recommended that the Jackson statue be moved off the 16th Street axis to open the view of the White House from the street and

²⁰⁵ U.S. Congress, "A Bill authorizing the erection of a memorial statue of Andrew Jackson," S. 645, 75th Congress, 1st session, January 11, 1937, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²⁰⁶ M. McColligan to C. Marshall Finnan (Superintendent, National Capital Parks), January 27, 1937, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²⁰⁷ U.S. Congress, "A Bill authorizing the erection of a memorial statue of Andrew Jackson, S. 678, 76th Congress, 1st session, January 16, 1939, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²⁰⁸ U.S. Congress, "Joint Resolution to create the Andrew Jackson Memorial Commission," HJ Res. 268, 75th Congress, March 8, 1937, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison.

vice versa.²⁰⁹ Nothing resulted from that recommendation. The last attempt to move the Jackson statue for which this research discovered evidence came in 1961 at the behest of District resident Charles M. Merwin. Merwin wrote to President John F. Kennedy on July 22 of that year to suggest switching the locations of the Jackson and Washington statues. At the time, the Washington statue had been taken down while the K Street tunnel was being built, and Merwin thought it a convenient time to allow Washington to rejoin his Revolutionary War generals.²¹⁰ Cornelius W. Heine, Chief of the Division of Public Use and Interpretation for the National Capital Parks, responded on August 29, 1961: The Jackson statue's "present location is a matter of tradition and great significance."²¹¹

The Statue in Its Landscape

Andrew Jackson Downing's plan remained the guide for Lafayette Square until the early 1930s.²¹² The only significant change, as far as the Jackson statue was concerned, related to the original foundation for the Lafayette statue, which had been built in the spring of 1890. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1891, the Army Corps of Engineers removed the granite sub-base of the foundation, which was twenty feet, nine inches square, and covered this bare space with "a large and handsome group of palms and other foliage plants."²¹³ A variety of plantings (palms, tropical plants, yucca, evergreens, ivy, flowers) would be placed on this spot every summer into the next

²⁰⁹ EDAW, 6-43.

²¹⁰ Charles M. Merwin to President John F. Kennedy, July 22, 1961, file 1430, "Jackson Statue, National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²¹¹ Cornelius W. Heine (Chief, Division of Public Use and Interpretation, National Capital Parks) to Merwin, August 29, 1961, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²¹² William Seale, "The Design of Lafayette Park," *White House History* 2 (June 1997), 18.

century.²¹⁴ (figure 15) A planting plan for Lafayette Square dated March 14, 1925, submitted by landscape architect Irving W. Payne and approved by Colonel Clarence O. Sherrill, showed that this area was “to be put in grass Spring 1925.”²¹⁵ At around the same time, the plants and bushes on the south side of Lafayette Square were moved, “improving the general view of the statue from the White House and Pennsylvania Avenue.”²¹⁶

The 1925 planting plan calls the central section of Lafayette Square, which includes the Jackson statue, the “16th Street Mall,” and the idea of a mall or planted strip along the 16th Street axis—the same axis that defined the square before Jackson’s statue was placed there—would begin to take shape over the next few years. At the same time, the meandering curves of Downing’s mid-nineteenth-century plan would give way to simpler parabolas, and his elliptical secondary walks would disappear altogether. The simplification of Downing’s original plan began with a recommendation by the Commission of Fine Arts in 1921 and got a significant boost from the Works Progress Administration in 1936-37.²¹⁷ Low hedges were planted at this time to help define the squared off walk around the statue.²¹⁸ (figure 16) Fine tuning of the WPA adjustment to Downing’s original scheme continued when John Carl Warnecke was hired in 1962 to devise a plan to save the nineteenth-century townhouses on the square, a move inspired by First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy. Warnecke’s plans (figure 17) were carried out under

²¹³ Annual Report of the Officer in Charge of Public Buildings and Ground, July 10, 1890, July 10, 1891, Records of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, Records Group 42, entry 105, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 1892-1900.

²¹⁵ “Lafayette Park: Planting Plan for 16th Street Mall,” Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, 28-17, National Archives, College Park, Md.

²¹⁶ Gist Blair, “Lafayette Square,” *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 28 (1926), 173.

²¹⁷ EDAW, 6-39.

²¹⁸ Barthold, 27.

presidents Johnson and Nixon. In 1970, the two urns that had been installed in the square in 1872 were moved from their positions near the east and west entrances to the park to their present location at the south entrance. Flanking the central walks, they frame the view of the Jackson statue from Pennsylvania Avenue.²¹⁹ Warnecke's 1995 proposal for the redesign of the section of Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House—closed that year in the wake of the shooting incident there and the Oklahoma City bombing—replaced the street pavement with a plaza. In his plan, Warnecke continued the 16th Street axis across the plaza, which acted as a cross axis.²²⁰

Plans contained among National Park Service records show that four planting schemes were devised for the mound around the Jackson statue inside its iron railing in 1952.²²¹ The most elaborate of the 1952 plans included concentric rings of azaleas, geraniums, dusty miller, and petunias around the statue, with roses in front of each cannon, ilex on the north and south faces of the monument, junipers on the east and west.²²² The plan approved on April 18, 1952, has arcs of pink and white azaleas on the east and west ends of the oval surrounding Jackson that are punctuated by roses.²²³ It is difficult to determine whether or not this plan was ever carried out, or if it was for how long, because a document titled "Existing Planting Plan" and dated August 29, 1958, shows no plants of any kind around the statue.²²⁴ Photographs from 1984 and 1992 both

²¹⁹ EDAW, 7-29—7-31.

²²⁰ John Carl Warnecke, "History Completes the Vision of the White House" (December 1995), ms. held at White House Liaison Office, Executive Support Facility, section 1, 54-55.

²²¹ "Flower Display, Esplanade, Lafayette Park," RG 79, 28-55-1, 28-55-2, 28-55-3, National Archives.

²²² Scheme A, RG 79, 28-55-3, National Archives.

²²³ RG 79, 28-55-1, National Archives.

²²⁴ "Existing Planting Plan," August 29, 1958, RG 79, 28-60, National Archives.

show azaleas in the east and west curves of the ellipse.²²⁵ The azaleas were havens, however, for burrowing rodents, which tunneled through the ground around the statue. Since research had also determined that such plantings were not part of the ellipse's history, the azaleas were removed in 1994.²²⁶

Maintenance

Although the Jackson statue is made of “imperishable” bronze, maintenance of the statue and its cannon has always been required. Mills' himself seems to have made one of the earliest efforts when he lowered the statue in 1880. The cannons' carriages were replaced during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1877,²²⁷ perhaps the first time this procedure was necessary. Since the carriages are made of wood, this step would be required many times in the future. And, as military technology changed, rendering the French Gribeauval carriages²²⁸ obsolete, their replacement became more problematic and costly. In August 1901, the Ordnance Department of the Army replaced the carriages without charge. By 1914, however, when Colonel Harts wrote to E.B. Babbitt, Acting Chief of Ordnance, to ask if the wheels for the carriages could be replaced, Babbitt offered cost estimates. Harts chose the cheaper replacement alternative, “reconditioned” wheels, for \$150. The wheels were supplied by the Rock Island, Illinois, Arsenal and the

²²⁵ The 1984 photograph is part of John Carl Warnecke's 1995 proposal for redesigning Pennsylvania Avenue, called “History Completes the Vision of the White House,” which was examined at the White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility. The 1992 photo is part of the Historic American Buildings Survey of Lafayette Square by Elizabeth Barthold.

²²⁶ Memorandum from Darwina L. Neal (Chief, Design Services) to Robert DeFeo (Park Manager), April 5, 1994, “Plant Material Changes in Lafayette Park,” National Park Service, President's Park; Helen Matthews, Horticulturalist, President's Park, telephone conversation, August 20, 1999.

²²⁷ Annual Report, Chief of Engineers, 1877, 7.

²²⁸ Lafayette Park Cannons notebook.

bill paid on March 29, 1915.²²⁹ When the wheels were replaced, Harts also anchored them to concrete blocks.²³⁰

Placing the wheels on concrete blocks may have helped extend the life span of the wheels somewhat by raising them off the ground. Experience has shown that the wheels and tailpiece—those parts of the carriages in contact with the ground—are usually the first to deteriorate.²³¹ Still, the gun carriages have had to be replaced regularly. On September 9, 1945, the southeast cannon collapsed because the wooden carriage had rotted.²³² On July 13, 1987, William L. Brown, staff curator at the Division of Historic Furnishings of the Harpers Ferry Center in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, suggested replacing the wooden carriages with aluminum ones. The significant initial cost of the replacement—perhaps \$15,000-\$20,000 per cannon—would be balanced, Brown wrote, by a minimum of future maintenance. It was ultimately determined, however, that the pine carriages would be replaced by oak, a longer lasting hard wood. The work was done at the Harpers Ferry Center and at the Williamsport Preservation Training Center at a cost of \$29,325.27. Conservation of the cannon tubes themselves took place at this time, and cannon and carriages were delivered to Lafayette Square on June 25, 1990.²³³ A July 1999 inspection of the cannon revealed that the carriages had already begun to deteriorate, especially the wheels and tailpieces.

²²⁹ Correspondence between Colonel William W. Harts and E.B. Babbitt (Acting Chief of Ordnance, U.S. Army), August 27, 1914-March 29, 1915, RG 42, entry 97, appendix 171, National Archives.

²³⁰ Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, 1915, 3713.

²³¹ Conversation with Phil Walsh, July 15, 1999.

²³² Frank T. Gartside (Assistant Superintendent, National Capital Parks) to Harry T. Thompson (Associate Superintendent), September 10, 1945, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²³³ Lafayette Park Cannons notebook.

When Harts anchored the carriage wheels to concrete blocks he also helped secure them. On December 16, 1913, Washington resident Thomas B. O'Hagan wrote to a "Mr. Tumulty" at the Executive Mansion that the cannon surrounding the Jackson statue were unplugged and dangerous. "Some insane person," O'Hagan wrote, could place a charge in one of the cannon and point it at the White House, little more than 150 yards away.²³⁴ Harts responded to O'Hagan by saying that the cannons were not believed to be a danger, but that to make certain the "touch holes" were to be plugged with lead.²³⁵ The muzzles of the cannon are also plugged, but it is unknown whether or not this took place at the same time that the touch holes were plugged.

Visitors to Lafayette Park, especially local residents who frequent it, have always been a source of information about the condition of the statue. On October 24, 1929, Major Alex. C. Soper, Jr., of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States wrote to Lieutenant Colonel U.S. Grant III, U.S. Army, to report that Jackson's saber was hanging precariously by one of its two chains.²³⁶ The chains were promptly fixed, but Roper again wrote Grant on November 1 to report that the sword was not affixed to the statue "according to Regs." Soper's complaint was that the upper chain crossed Jackson's leg to his saddle holster and that the sword was further attached to the saddle cloth by a rivet. Both of these devices, if used at the Battle of New Orleans, would have prevented Jackson from dismounting. Soper also helpfully included a diagram.²³⁷ (figure 18) Experts in the Office of the Public Buildings and Grounds on the matter concluded

²³⁴ Thomas B. O'Hagan to Mr. Tumulty, December 16, 1913, RG 42, entry 97, appendix 171, National Archives.

²³⁵ Colonel William W. Harts to O'Hagan, December 22, 1913, RG 42, entry 97, appendix 171, National Archives.

²³⁶ Alex. C. Soper Jr. to Lieutenant Colonel U.S. Grant III, October 24, 1929, file 1430, "Jackson Statue," National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

that the sword was attached “as the sculptor placed it many years ago.”²³⁸ However, it was determined to attach the upper chain to Jackson’s waist belt, as Soper felt was proper, and to “tone down” the rivet head on Jackson’s saddle cloth.²³⁹ The upper chain remains attached to the general’s waist belt under his left arm, but the second chain, secured to the waist at Jackson’s back, is no longer attached to the sword.

The sword itself has often required maintenance. When, in 1961, former President Harry S. Truman wrote to Division of Public Use Chief Heine to express his concern over the Jackson statue, Heine told him that the statue would soon be cleaned and that the general’s sword had been stolen three times in the last twenty years. Heine also told Truman that the replacement swords were fabricated in the Park Service blacksmith shops.²⁴⁰ The earliest specific report discovered during this research that Jackson’s sword was missing came in a May 19, 1956, *Washington Evening Star* story.²⁴¹

A “Classified Structure Field Inventory Report” for the Jackson statue, dated December 2, 1975, stated that “interior corrosion of the steel is forcing the bronze outer covering to crack, exposing more steel and speeding the corrosion process.” The report recommended sealing the steel and restoring the bronze. In 1993, boroscopic tests were made on the interior of the statue’s cavity to determine the extent of deterioration of the statue. Concern had been expressed “that there is some structural damage in the rear legs

²³⁷ Roper to Grant, November 1, 1929, file 1430, “Jackson Statue,” National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²³⁸ A. W. Clime (Foreman Blacksmith) to S.J. Olivers (Chief, Supply Division), November 8, 1929, file 1430, “Jackson Statue,” National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²³⁹ Oliver to Director of the Park Service, November 13, 1929, file 1430, “Jackson Statue,” National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²⁴⁰ Cornelius W. Heine to Harry S. Truman, June 23, 1961, file 1430, “Jackson Statue,” National Park Service, White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.

²⁴¹ “2 Youths Held in Disarming of Jackson Statue,” *Washington Evening Star*, May 19, 1956; cited in Hopkins, 73.

of the statue.” The boroscopic tests, which involved placing a camera inside the statue, would determine the legitimacy of these concerns.²⁴²

There are currently three places where the corroded bronze has been removed from the statue, exposing the inner core. Two, on the right leg, are small: one inch by three inches and one inch by five inches. The other, on the left foreleg, is larger, more than a foot long and three inches wide. In addition, the stirrups of Jackson’s saddle are missing, and the ends of the straps holding them are bent. The pedestal also has several damaged areas. Many of these are cracked pieces along the base and edges of the pedestal that are held in place by the caulk used to seal the pedestal’s joints. Others are pits or depressions that have been filled with small stones and some kind of adhesive.²⁴³ On the north face of the pedestal, two sections of stone have been replaced on the western edge. The upper one is eighteen inches long, five inches wide, and two and a half inches thick. The lower piece measures twenty by five by two and a half inches. Another smaller piece of stone (nine by five by two and a half inches) has been inserted at the bottom of the same edge. The repaired portions appear to be holding up well. However, there are a few depressions and cracks that have not been repaired. Most significant, perhaps, is the “c” in “JACKSON” on the pedestal’s west face, just above the inscription, the lower curve of which is now much broader than the upper one.

Despite the changes around and inside the monument, despite the attempts to move it and the criticism of it, Mills’ equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson looks today much as it did when it was unveiled nearly one hundred and fifty years ago. It still serves as the focal point of the parabolic walks in Lafayette Park, remnants of Downing’s 1851

²⁴² Jackson Statue notebook, National Park Service, White House Visitors Center, President’s Park.

plan, and continues the axis, defined by L'Enfant more than two hundred years ago, extending from the White House along 16th Street. The Jackson statue conforms to the scale and character of the nineteenth-century houses around Lafayette Park, which were saved from oblivion by Jacqueline Kennedy during the administration of her husband. These characteristics moved John Carl Warnecke to use the statue to illustrate the familiar, welcoming aspect of Lafayette Park in his 1995 redesign proposal for Pennsylvania Avenue.²⁴⁴ The Jackson statue memorializes a man who defended his country from its last foreign invader and who, during his presidency, placed the continuance of Union above sectional concerns. It was the first equestrian statue designed, cast, and erected in the United States, and its sculptor, Clark Mills, accomplished a feat that European artists had been unable to achieve. In addition, his self-fashioned foundry showed American artists that they did not have to rely on Europe to cast their works. After more than a century and a half, Mills' equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson continues to help preserve the memory of the birth of the nation, its early struggles against internal and external dangers, and the inventive spirit that thrived during the mid-nineteenth century.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ John Carl Warnecke, "History Completes the Vision of the White House," ms., White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility, 14.



Figure 1. *Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson*, by Clark Mills (1853), bronze.
(From "A Toast to the Union," by Andrew Keck, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, v. 48, 1971-72, 291.)



Figure 2. *Andrew Jackson*, by John Wesley Jarvis (circa 1817), oil on panel. (From *Andrew Jackson: A Portrait Study*, by James G. Barber, 40.)



CLARK MILLS, THE SCULPTOR.

Figure 3. *Clark Mills.* (From Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

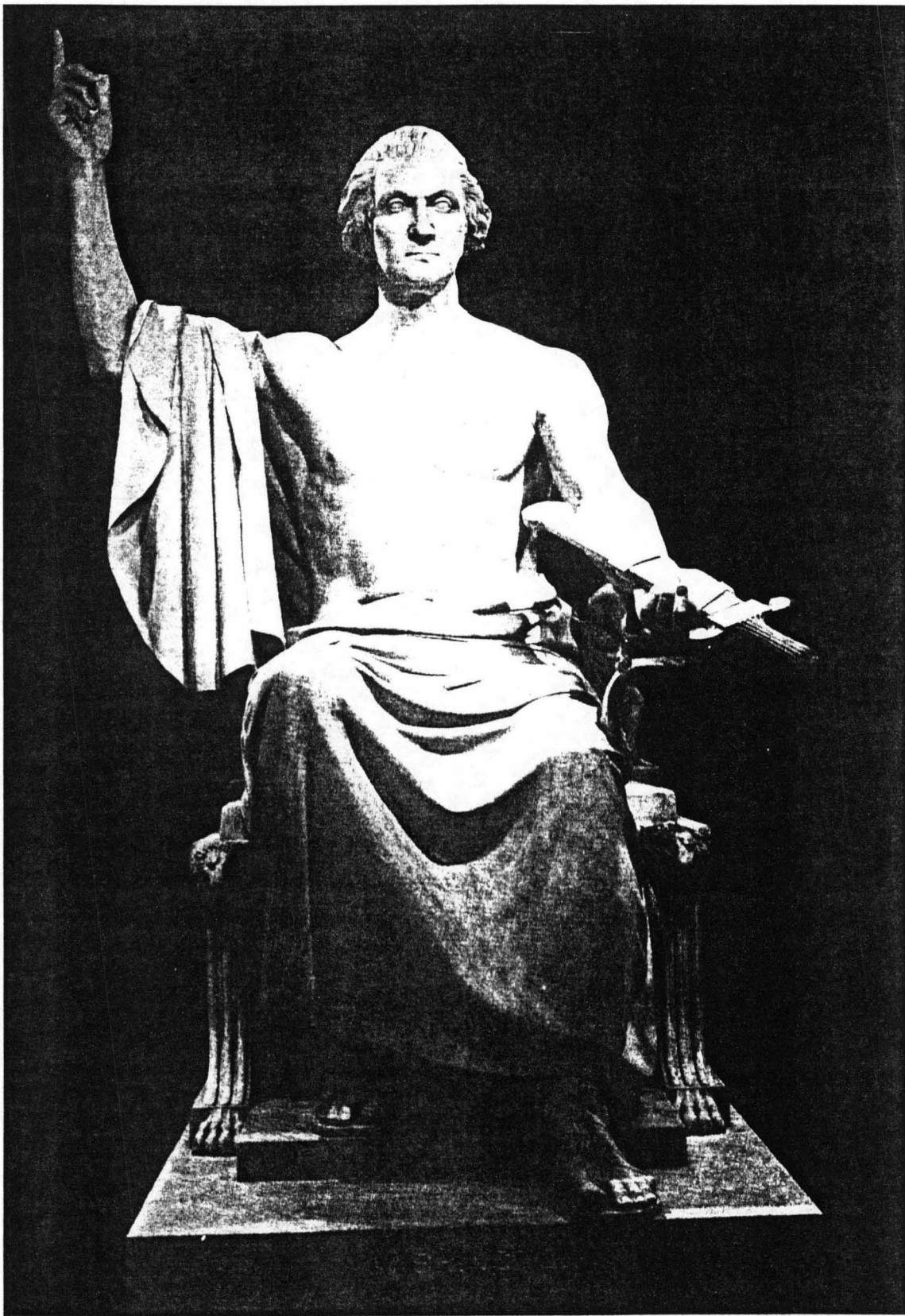


Figure 4. *George Washington*, by Horatio Greenough (1832-1841), marble. (From *Sculpture in America*, by Wayne Craven, 137.)

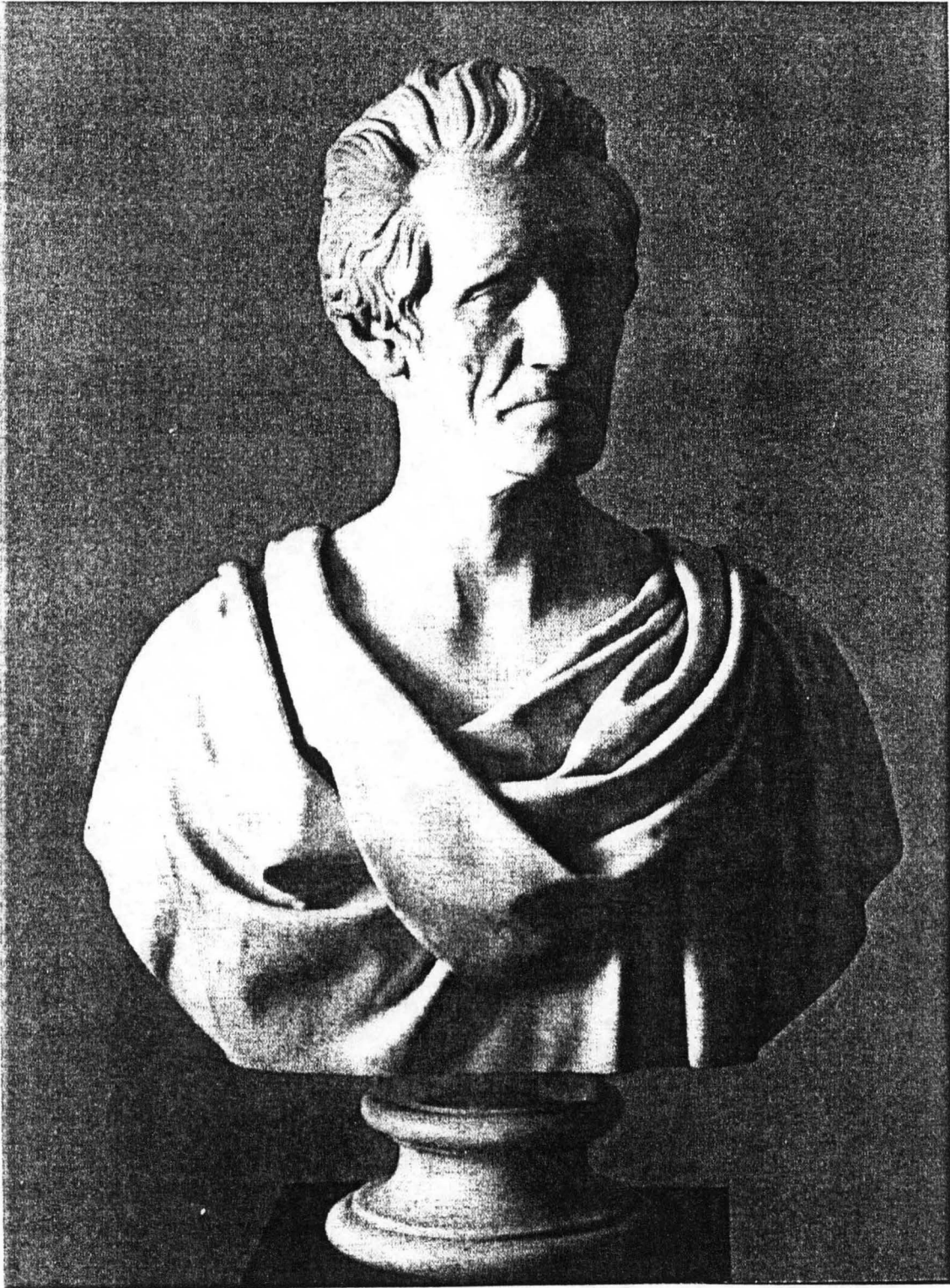


Figure 5. *Andrew Jackson*, by Hiram Powers (1835), marble. (From Craven, 138.)



Figure 6. *Officer of the Imperial Guard*, by Theodore Gericault. (From Keck, 304.)

CHARLESTON LIGHT DRAGOONS.



THE Regular Monthly Meeting of this Corps will be held at Lee's, Broad-street, *This Evening*, 8th inst., at 7 o'clock. JAS. H. MURRELL, Sec'ry.

F 8

CHANGED OR CORRECTED

Figure 7. Monthly announcement of the Charleston Light Dragoons. (From the *Charleston Courier*, February 8, 1847.)



Figure 8. *View of Washington City* (detail), published by Casimir Bohn (1849), lithograph. (From *Washington on View*, by John Reps, 111.)

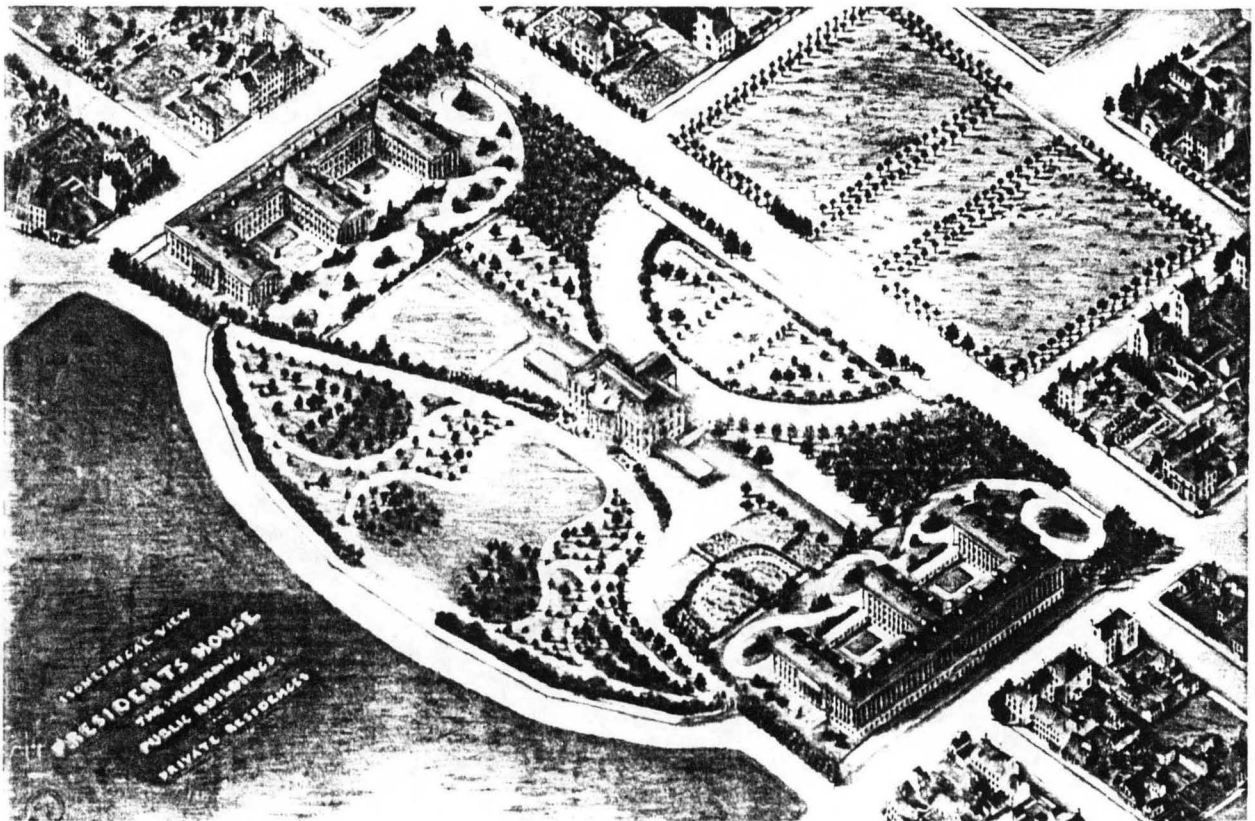


Figure 9. *Isometrical View of the President's House* (ca. 1845/1850). (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.)

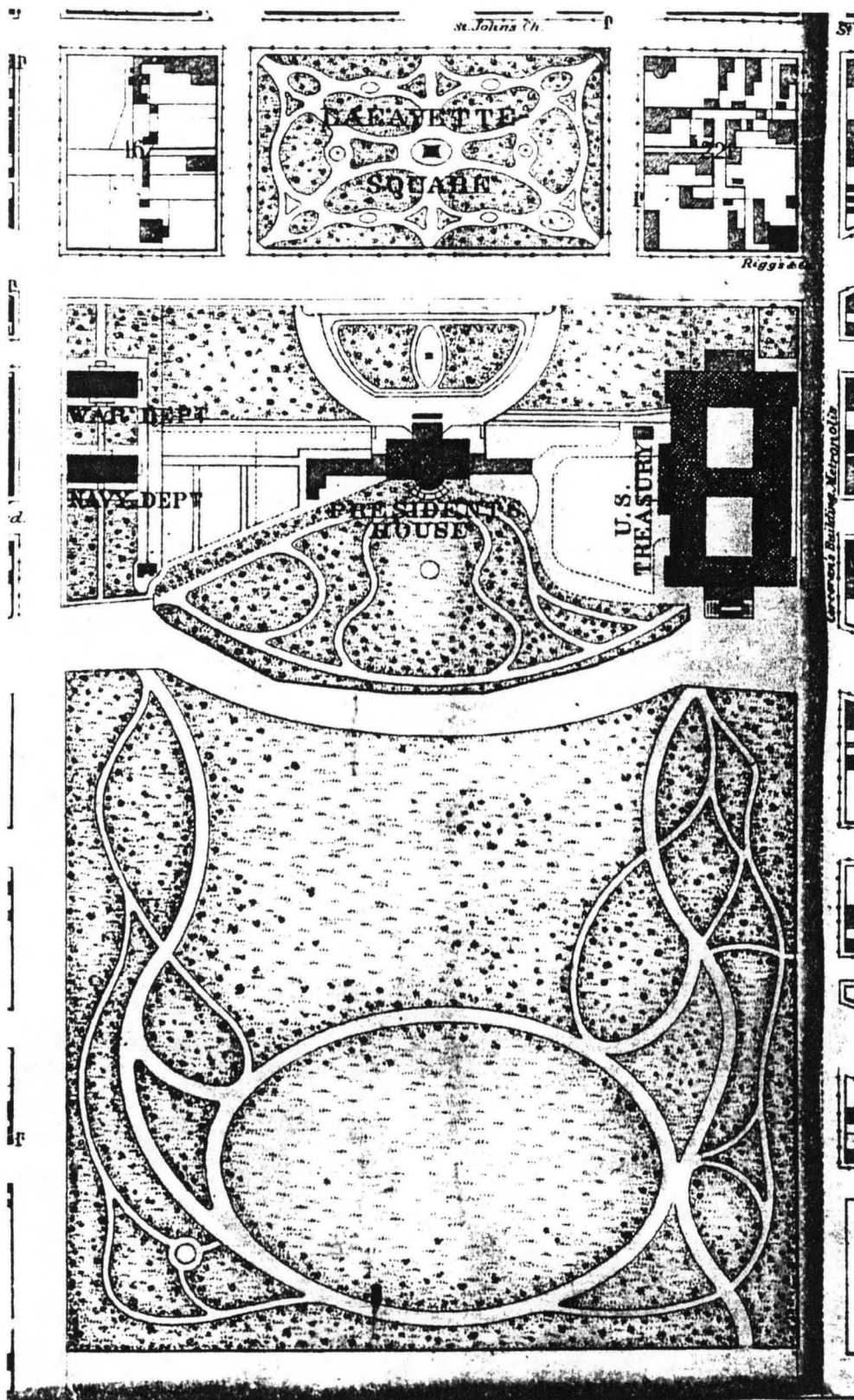


Figure 10. White House grounds (1857), detail from Albert Boschke's map of Washington. (Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.)

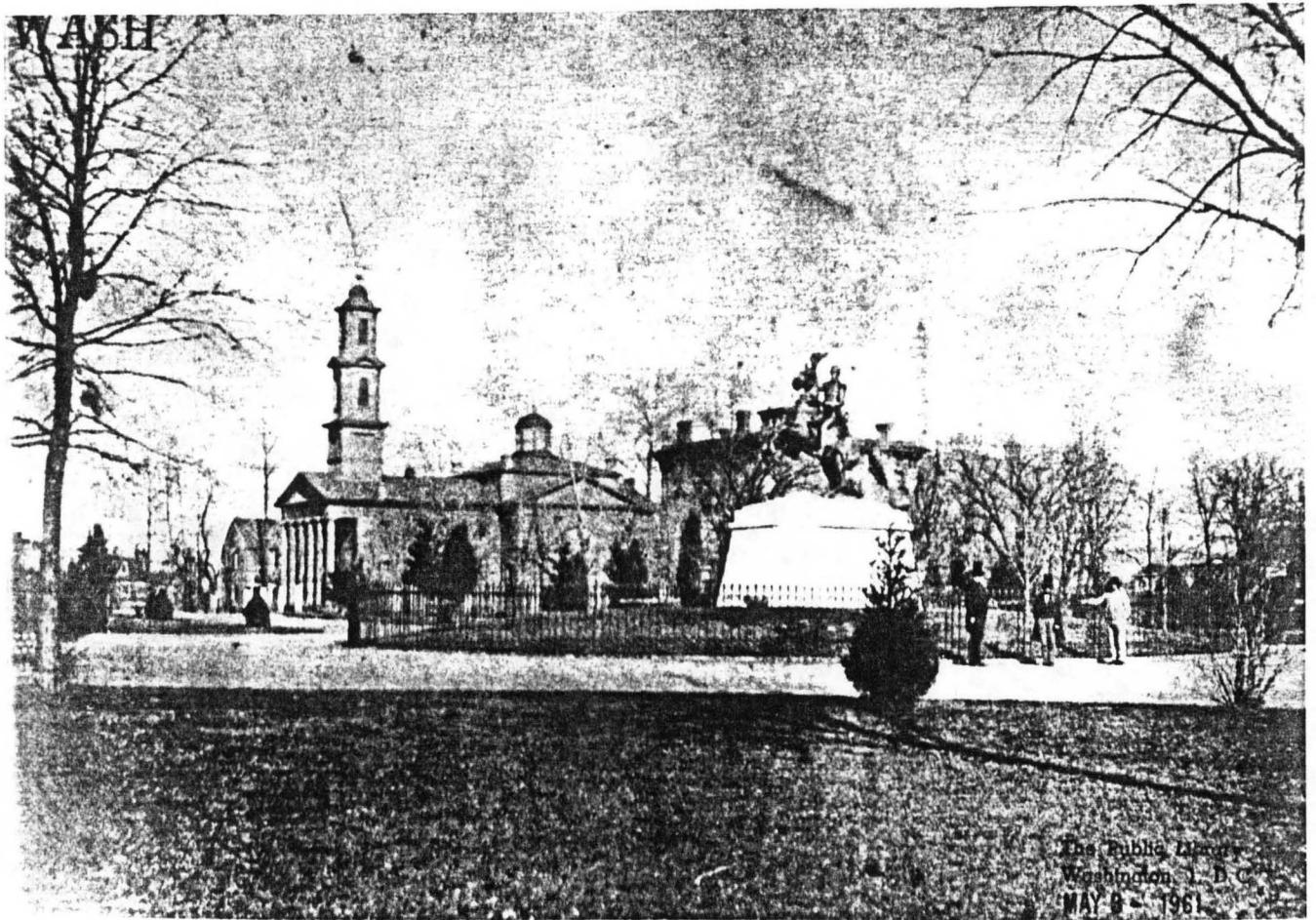


Figure 11. *Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson* (1853). (Martin Luther King Library, Washingtoniana Division.)



Figure 12. *Mill's Colossean Equestrian Statue of General Andrew Jackson*, published by Casimir Bohn (1853), lithograph. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

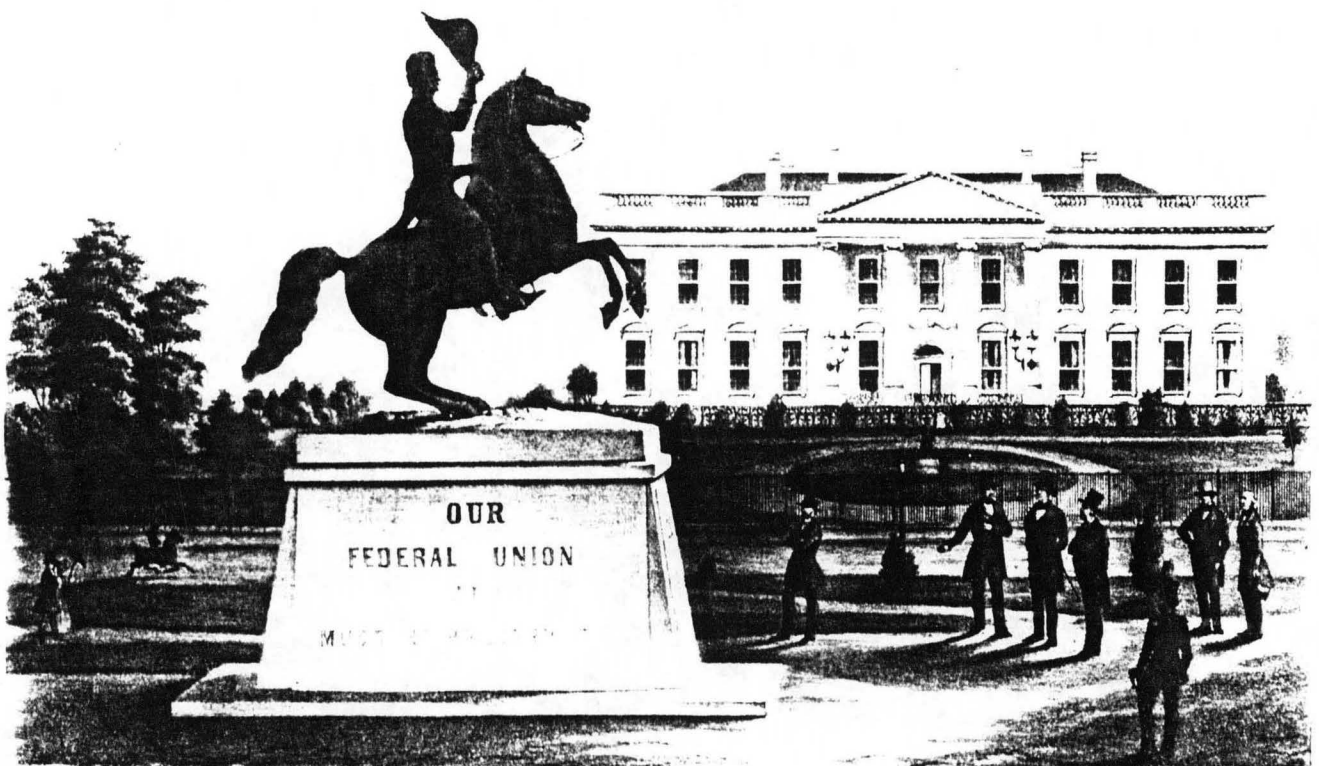


Figure 13. *Mill's Colossal Equestrian Statue of General Andrew Jackson*, published by Thomas Sinclair (1858), lithograph. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)



Figure 14. Photographic study showing the Jackson statue on the north side of the Treasury Building (1917). (National Archives, Records of the Commission of Fine Arts, Record Group 66, box 78.)

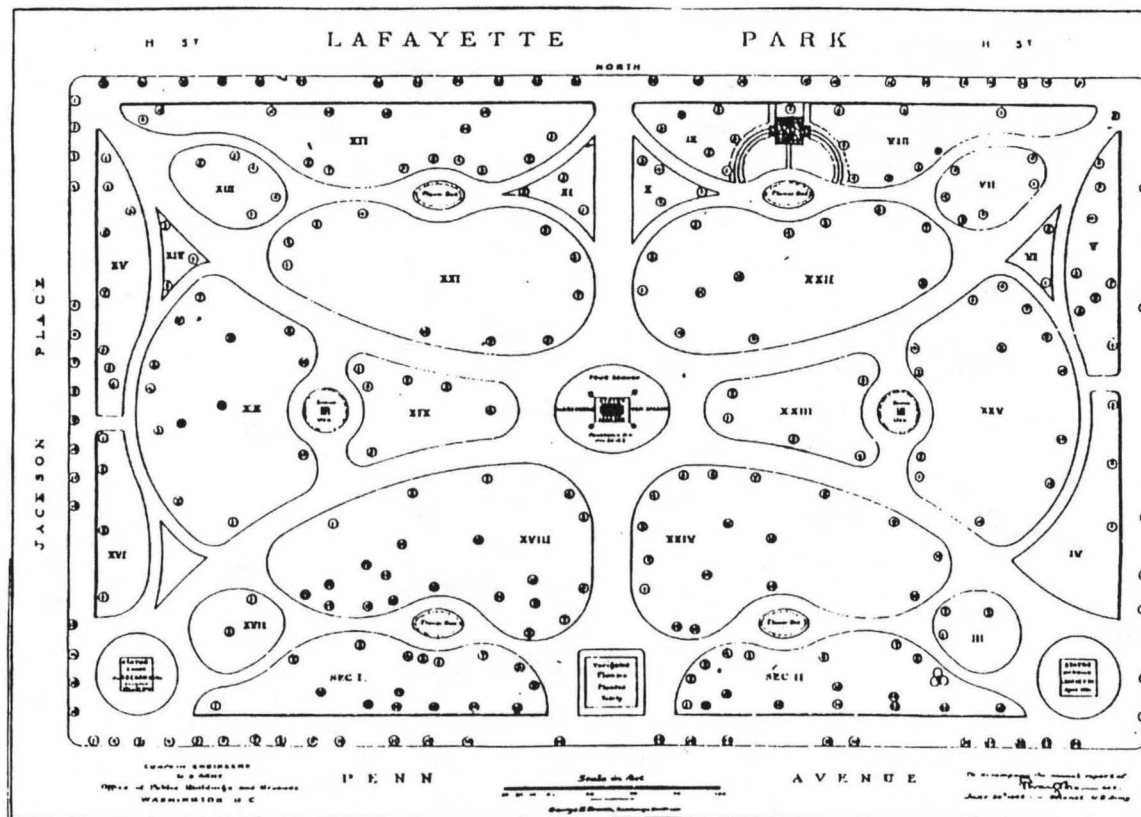


Figure 15. Plan of Lafayette Park, *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers* (1905). In the square at the center on the Pennsylvania Avenue side of the plan are these instructions: "Variegated Flowers Planted Yearly."

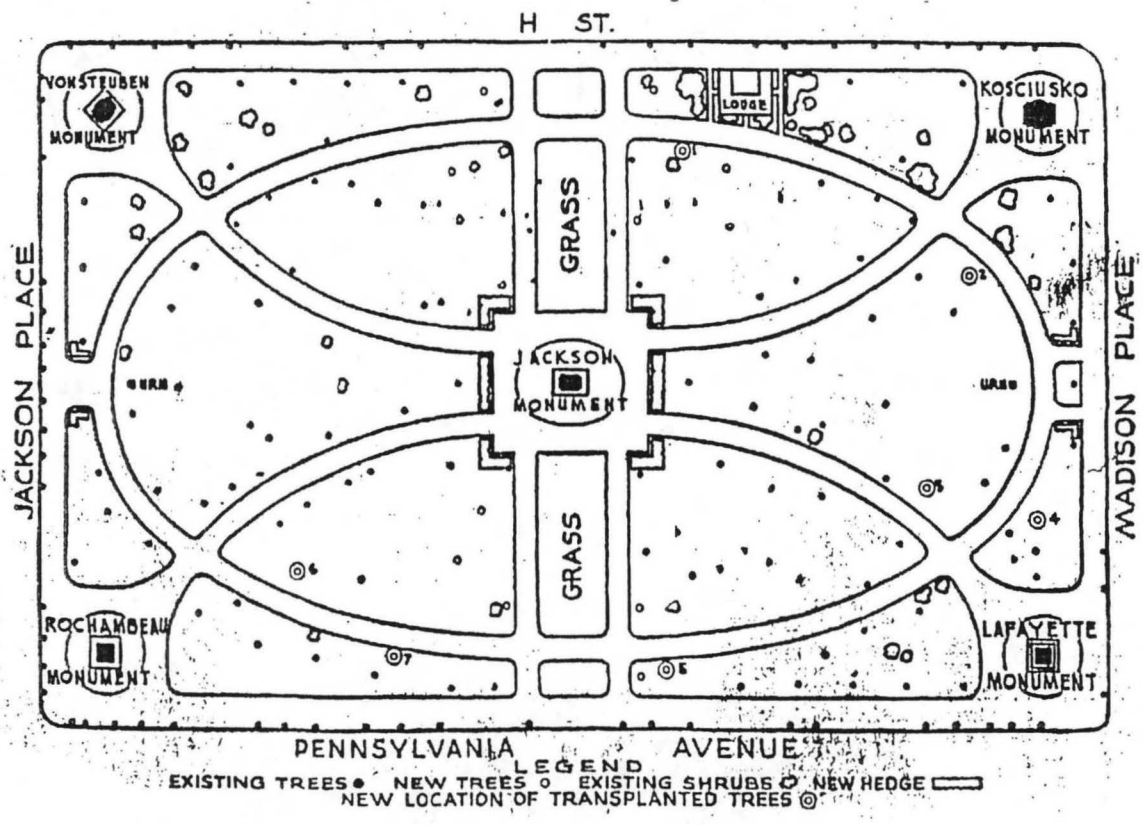


Figure 16. Diagram of Lafayette Park after reconditioning of 1936-37. (From "Lafayette Square [Reservation No. 10]," *Historic American Buildings Survey*, by Elizabeth Barthold, 27.)

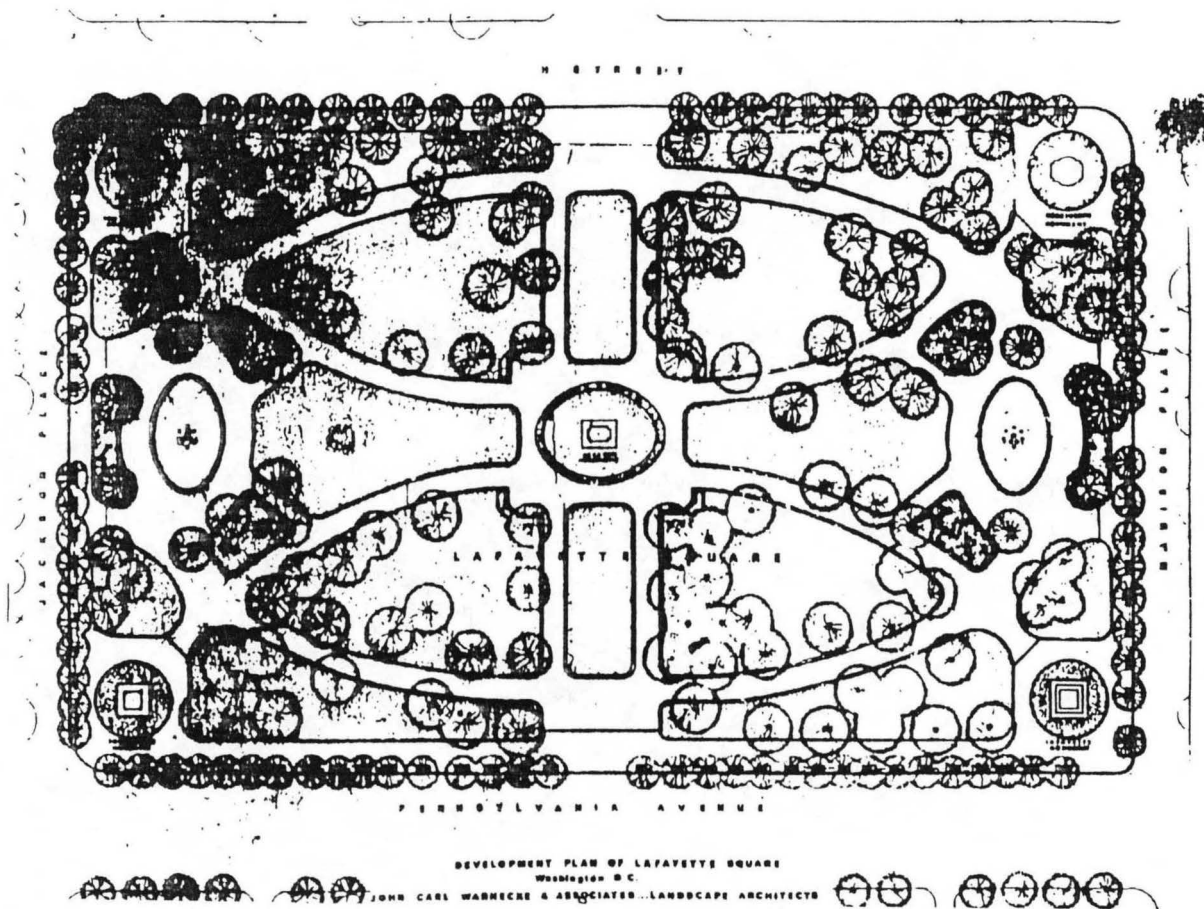


Figure 17. Redevelopment plan of Lafayette Square, John Carl Warnecke and Associates (1963). (From Barthold, 31.)

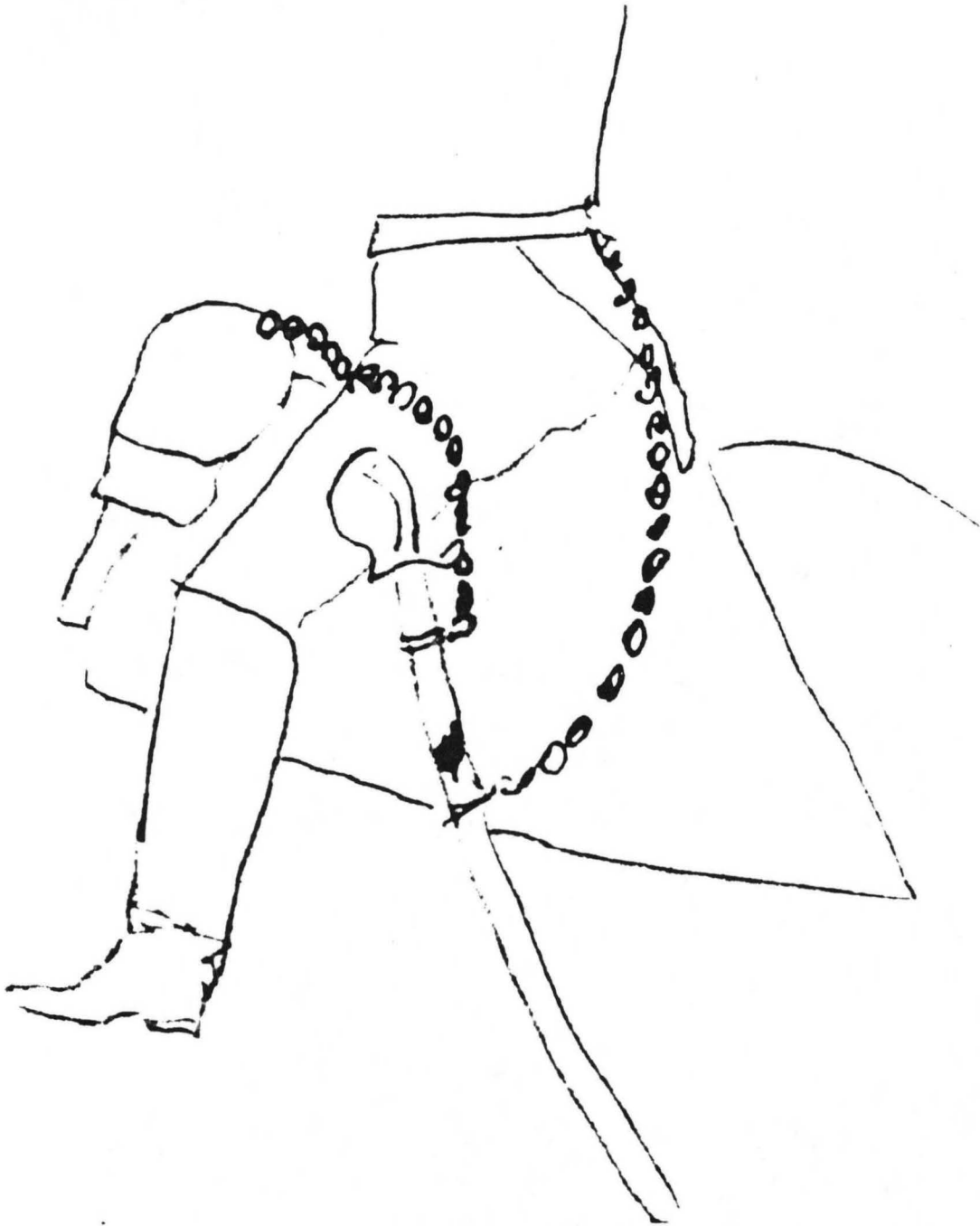


Figure 18. Drawing of chains attaching sword to Jackson statue, by Alex. C. Soper, Jr. (1929). (National Park Service, White House Liaison, "Jackson Statue" file.)

Appendix 1

Resolutions of the Jackson Monument Committee, Adopted September 15, 1845

Resolved, That the American people be called upon to unite in erecting, at the seat of the federal government, a suitable monument to the memory of the Hero, Patriot, and Sage, whose recent loss the nation still deplores, to go down to our most distant posterity, as a record of the great man's glory, and of his country's gratitude and grief.

Resolved, That a colossal equestrian statue, in imperishable bronze, is deemed the most suitable for the purpose, to transmit to future centuries the features and form on which the annals of the republic will teach each new succeeding generation to look with an ever-renewed love and reverence, and an ever-renewing ambition to emulate his noble deeds and nobler virtues.

Resolved, That, for the purpose of raising by voluntary subscription the requisite sum, a central committee of thirteen be appointed, which shall proceed forthwith to organize the necessary measures for the collection of such subscription, by whom a monthly publication of the same shall be made, and the money securely invested.

Resolved, That, as General Jackson's own most trusted and beloved friend, and the selected inheritor of his papers and guardian of his fame, Francis P. Blair be appointed treasurer.

Resolved, That the following citizens constitute said committee of thirteen, with power to supply vacancies in their own number; and, after the completion of the subscription, to direct and superintend the execution of the proposed work: Cave Johnson, Francis P. Blair, Thomas Ritchie, Amos Kendall, John P. Van Ness, John C. Rives, William A. Harris, Jesse E. Dow, Benjamin B. French, John W. Maury, Charles K. Gardner, James Hoban, and Charles P. Sengstack.

(Source: *Washington Daily Union*, September 16, 1845.)

Appendix 2

Members of the Jackson Monument Committee proposed to James K. Polk by John L. O'Sullivan

J.K. Polk
Cave Johnson
F.P. Blair
Th: Ritchie
Amos Kendall
J.C. Rives
Harris (of Constitution)
J.E. Dow (of U.S. Journal)
Jas. Hoban
J.W. Maury
B.B. French
Gen. Hunter

(Source, John L. O'Sullivan to James K. Polk, September 15, 1845, *James K. Polk Papers*, series 2.)

Appendix 3

Brief Biographies of Members of the Jackson Monument Committee

Original Members

Francis P. Blair (1791-1876)—Assisted Amos Kendall editing two papers in Frankfort, Ky. Kendall suggested to Andrew Jackson that Blair edit the Jackson administration's newspaper, the *Globe*, which he did from 1830-1845. (*Dictionary of American Biography*, 1961 ed., v. 2, 330-332.)

John Boyle (d. 1849)—Elected treasurer of the Washington Botanical Society at its formation in 1817 and was still a member five years later. (*Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, v. 5, 185-188.) He was also present at the organization of the Columbia Horticultural Society in 1833. (*RCHS*, v. 10, 57-58.) Ran unsuccessfully for mayor in 1848. (*RCHS*, v. 30, 14.)

Jesse E. Dow (dates unknown)—A "J.E. Dow" wrote to President James Polk on July 9, 1846, seeking employment. In his letter, Dow stated that he helped found and was an officer of the Democratic Association in Washington. He also wrote that he reported for various Democratic newspapers, including the *United States Journal* (noted after his name in O'Sullivan's list of proposed committee members) and the *Congressional Globe*. An April 8, 1848, letter shows that Dow was the secretary of the Democratic Association. (*James K. Polk Papers*, series 2, 11.)

Benjamin B. French (1800-70)—Clerk of the House of Representatives 1845-47. Active, with Kendall, in infant telegraph industry in United States. (*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, v. 2, 345.) Commissioner of Public Buildings twice, during administrations of Franklin Pierce and Abraham Lincoln.

Charles K. Gardner (1787-1869)—Served in U.S. Army 1808-18, journalist in New York City 1820-24. Senior assistant postmaster general during Jackson's administration, postmaster of Washington, D.C., during James Polk's administration. (*DAB*, v. 4, 141.)

William A. Harris (1805-64)—lawyer, member of Congress from Virginia. Served as minister to the Argentine Confederation during Polk's administration. Edited Polk's paper, the *Daily Union*. (*DAB*, 4, 326.) That this is the Harris mentioned in O'Sullivan's letter to Polk is clear from the editor's parenthetical "of Constitution." Harris served as editor of that Washington paper after leaving the Congress. (*Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1996*, 1169.)

James Hoban (d. 1846)—son of James Hoban, architect of the President's House. United States Attorney for the District of Columbia. (*DAB*, v. 5, 91-92.) Alderman for Washington from 1823 to 1826 and a city councilman in 1833. (*RCHS*, v. 30, 82.)

Cave Johnson (1793-1866)—father served in Tennessee constitutional convention and in war against the Creek Indians with Jackson. Cave Johnson was a Congressman from Tennessee 1829-1837, 1839-1845 and Polk's postmaster general. (*DAB*, v. 5, 93.)

Amos Kendall (1789-1869)—Lawyer, postmaster, newspaper editor in Kentucky. Supported Jackson in 1828 election and as a result served Jackson in the Treasury Department and as postmaster general. A member of Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet." (*DAB*, v. 5, 325-327.)

John Walker Maury (1809-55)—Alderman for the city of Washington. Mayor of the city when the Jackson statue was unveiled. Lent Mills money while he was creating the statue. Succeeded John P. Van Ness (see below) as president of the Bank of the Metropolis. (William A. Maury, "John Walker Maury: His Lineage and Life," v. 19, 1916, 160-171.)

Thomas Ritchie (1778-1854)—Edited the *Richmond Enquirer* from 1804 to 1845. Brought by Polk to Washington to edit his administration's newspaper, the *Daily Union*. (*DAB*, v. 8, 628-629.)

John C. Rives (1795-1864)—Worked in the office of the *United States Telegraph* for Duff Green, who introduced him to Jackson in 1829. Worked for Blair at the *Daily Globe*, then became partner and financial manager. Conceived of the idea of the *Congressional Globe*, in which legislative debates were reported impartially. (*DAB*, v. 8, 635.)

Charles P. Sengstack (dates unknown)—Correspondence with Sengstack in Polk's papers concerns alleged misdeeds by Commissioner of Public Buildings William Noland. A letter to Polk also mentions his acquaintance with Kendall and makes himself available for the office of Commissioner. (*James K. Polk Papers*, series 2.)

John P. Van Ness (1770-1846)—Congressman from New York, forfeited seat when Thomas Jefferson made him a major in the militia of the District of Columbia. Rose to the rank of major general. Alderman of Washington in 1829, mayor from 1830 to 1834. Served on several local commissions. Died March 7, 1846. (*Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1996*, 1984.)

Subsequent members

Andrew Jackson Donelson (1799-1871)—Andrew Jackson's nephew, reared by Jackson after Donelson's father died. Graduated from West Point, was Jackson's aide-de-camp in campaigns against the Seminoles and later his confidential secretary. Negotiated annexation of Texas during administrations of John Tyler and Polk. (*DAB*, v. 3, 363-364.)

George W. Hughes (1806-70)—made surveys of Washington, D.C., in 1837, was commissioned as captain in U.S. Army's topographical engineers the following year. Made maps for army in Mexico, served at Cerro Gordo. Reached rank of colonel. President of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad in 1854. (*DAB*, v. 5, 348-349.)

John M. McCalla (1793-1873)—Born near Lexington, Ky. Brigadier general during the War of 1812. Moved to Washington in 1845. (*RCHS*, v. 6, 115-116.) Second Auditor in the Treasury Department during Polk's administration. Letters from McCalla to Polk show that he kept candidate and then President Polk informed of Democratic business in Kentucky and that he felt comfortable suggesting to Polk who might be given federal jobs. (*James K. Polk Papers*, series 2.)

George Parker (d. 1876)—Probably the merchant, who, with his brother Thomas, ran a prosperous grocery on Pennsylvania Avenue in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the 1840s, Parker had a house built for himself at the corner of 4 ½ and C streets. (*RCHS*, v. 5, 163) Receipts from the Parkers' grocery appear in Polk's papers. (*James K. Polk Papers*, series 2.)

Proposed Members

General Hunter (d. 1849)—Probably Alexander Hunter, who was marshal of the city of Washington from 1834 to 1848. (*RCHS*, v. 5, 170-171.) No officer named Hunter had reached the rank of general in the U.S. Army by 1845 (*Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 557-558), but Hunter's rank could have come from service in the local militia, as Van Ness' did.

James Knox Polk (1795-1849)—Congressman from Tennessee 1825-39, governor of Tennessee 1839-41. President of the United States 1845-49. (*DAB*, v. 8, 34-38.)

Appendix 4

Memorial of the Jackson Monument Committee read to the House of Representatives February 19, 1847

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States

The memorial of the Jackson Monument Committee respectfully represents, that the committee have now the fullest assurance, in the amount of voluntary contributions already received, that adequate means are attainable to erect the monument to General Andrew Jackson contemplated by those who value his public services. In preparation for the work, and as a fit material for the statue, they ask Congress to put at their disposal a portion of the cannon taken by the General during his campaigns.

The trophies of victories have, in all time, been considered most beneficially appropriated when devoted to perpetuate the fame of their achievements, and the memory of the conduct and valor through which the country triumphed.

The column of Napoleon is made of the cannon taken at Austerlitz; and for the material of the equestrian statue to Wellington, recently erected in London, the British Government has dedicated the brass pieces captured at Waterloo.

General Jackson took at Pensacola some large mortars and cannon of the finest metal, which more than a hundred years have tested, and shown to be indestructible by time and the elements. These pieces are not of the caliber used in our service, and they are reported as "unserviceable" at the Ordnance Department.

The committee hope (*sic*) that Congress may deem that they can be devoted to no purpose so suitable as that of perpetuating for future ages the form who gave them to his country, and that by resolution such of them as are designated in the paper annexed, signed by the chief of the Ordnance Department, will be directed to be delivered to the Jackson Monument Committee, for the object they have in charge.

"Brass artillery captured at Pensacola by General Jackson:

<i>4 4-pounder brass guns, weight</i>	<i>..... 2,800 lbs.</i>
<i>2 9-inch brass mortars, weight</i>	<i>..... <u>2,130</u> "</i>
	<i>4,930 lbs.</i>

"These guns and mortars are now lodged at Waterlivet arsenal. They are not of the caliber used in service, and are reported unserviceable.

"G. Talcott, *Lieut. Col. Ordnance*

"Ordnance Office, *April 14, 1846.*"

(Source: *Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, 2nd Session, February 19, 1847, 461.)

Appendix 5

Resolution Introduced
in the House of Representatives
by John Alexander McClernand
to Secure Cannon for the Jackson Monument Committee

Whereas a number of enterprising and patriotic citizens, associated as the "Jackson Monument Committee," have respectfully memorialized Congress to put at their disposal four brass cannon and two brass mortars, of the total weight of 4,930 lbs., to be used as material in constructing a monument to the memory of the illustrious hero and statesman, Andrew Jackson:

And whereas it satisfactorily appears that the said guns are the same which were taken by General Jackson in the service of the United States at Pensacola, and that they are now certified by the chief of the Ordnance Office to be "unserviceable." Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the aforesaid guns be, and the same are hereby, put at the disposal of "the Jackson Monument Committee," for the purpose of being applied as material in constructing a monument to the memory of General Andrew Jackson, and the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to see that they are so faithfully applied.

(Source: *Congressional Globe*, 29th Congress, 2nd session, February 19 1847, 461.)

Appendix 6

Joint Resolution 25, Granting Cannon to the Jackson Monument Committee

[No. 25] – *A Resolution granting to the Jackson Monument Committee certain brass Guns and Mortars, captured by General Andrew Jackson, and for other Purposes.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to cause to be delivered to the Jackson Monument Committee, in the city of Washington, the brass guns and mortars captured by General Andrew Jackson at Pensacola, and referred to in a statement of the Chief of the Ordnance Office, dated fourteenth of April, eighteen hundred and forty-six, to be used by the said committee as material for the construction of the monument to that distinguished patriot; and the said committee is hereby authorized to erect the said monument upon such portion of the public grounds in the city of Washington as may be designated for that purpose by the President of the United States.

Approved, August 11, 1848.

(Source: *Statutes at Large* 9, 340.)

Appendix 7

Memorial of the Jackson Monument Committee Read to the House of Representatives July 16, 1850

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The Jackson Monument Committee beg leave to return its thanks to the Congress of the United States for the gift of the cannon and mortars taken by General Jackson at Pensacola. These pieces were given with a view to conversion into the bronze equestrian statue, which the people have contributed to erect in commemoration of General Jackson's achievements, but they have been found, on examination, to be themselves such beautiful works of art, and so well worthy of preservation as national trophies, that the Committee have concluded to apply to Congress for other old cannon, (condemned as unserviceable and not trophies,) enough of which are now lying useless in the arsenal at this city, to complete the construction of the statue.

This will save the fine antiquated pieces that bear the motto of the sovereigns under whose auspices this Continent was discovered. The engraving on the breeches bears the menace of "*The thunderbolt of a violated king*"—"Violati Regis Fulmina."

They should be laid at the feet of Jackson's statue to evidence to the world how harmless are the thunderbolts of kings when hurled at the men of iron, whose armor is the patriotism inspired by the Republic. These trophies should be preserved for the glory of our country, like those taken at Saratoga and Yorktown, and the batteries recently returned from Mexico, inscribed with the names of the heroes who directed them and by whom they were emblazoned with the victories of Palo Alto, Resaca, Monterey, Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and the city of Mexico.

The Jackson Monument Committee, therefore, respectfully solicit Congress to authorize the supply of brass (which it designed to furnish to make the equestrian statue of Jackson) of such other unserviceable pieces of brass cannon, not national trophies, as may be found in its arsenals.

By order of the Jackson Monument Committee.

Benj. B. French,
John C. Rives,
John W. Maury,

Sub-Committee of the Jackson Monument Committee.

Washington, July 15, 1850

(Source: *Congressional Globe*, 30th Congress, 1st session, July 16, 1850, 1372.)

Appendix 8

Joint Resolution No. 10,
Granting Guns
to the Jackson Monument Committee

[No. 10]—*Joint Resolution granting old Brass Guns to the Jackson Monument Committee.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to cause to be delivered to the Jackson monument committee, in the city of Washington, such old brass guns, condemned as unserviceable, and not being national trophies, as may be sufficient material for casting the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, now in the course of construction in said city under the direction of said committee.

Approved, July 29, 1850.

(Source: *Statutes at Large* 9, 562.)

Appendix 9

Joint Resolution No. 15,
Allowing Jackson Monument Committee
to Exchange Guns for Metals

[No. 15]—*Joint Resolution relating to the Equestrian Statue of General Andrew Jackson.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Navy be, and is, authorized to make such exchanges of the metal delivered to Clarke Mills for executing the equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson, for other brass or copper, in possession of the United States, as he may deem proper in order for the execution of said work.

Approved, September 20, 1850.

(Source: *Statutes at Large* 9, 563.)

Appendix 10

Text of Letter from
the Jackson Monument Committee
Inviting the Speaker of the House
to the Dedication
of the Andrew Jackson Statue

Washington, December 29, 1852

Sir: We have the honor to invite you, and through you the House of Representatives and the officers, to attend the ceremonies of the inauguration of the equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson on the 8th day of January. With great respect,

B.B. French,
John C. Rives,
John W. Maury,
Committee of Arrangements.

Hon. Linn Boyd,
Speaker of the Ho. of Reps. of the U.S.

(Source, *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd session, December 30, 1852, 178. A similar letter to the Senate is discussed on page 173.)

Appendix 11

Order of the Procession for the Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson

Military Escort
Officers and Soldiers who served under General Jackson
The Jackson Monument Committee
Clark Mills, Artist
Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Orator
Chaplains of Congress
The Reverend Clergy
President of the United States and Cabinet
Senate and House of Representatives of the United States,
with their officers
Governors of States
Judges of the Supreme Court
Judges of other Courts
Diplomatic Corps
Washington National Monument Association
Officers of the Smithsonian Institution
The Commander-in-Chief of the Army,
the oldest Commodore in the Navy,
and the Brigadier General commanding the Marine Corps of the United States
Officers of the Army and Navy and Marine Corps
Corporate Authorities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria
The Jackson Democratic Association
Other organized societies
Citizens of Washington and other places

(Source: "Inauguration of the Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson," *Washington Daily Union*, January 8, 1853.)

Appendix 12

Inscription on "El Apolo,"
the Cannon at the Southeast Corner
of the Andrew Jackson Monument

Surrendered
to
Gen'l Jackson
at the Fortress San Carlos de Barancas
Pensacola
May 28, 1818
Artillery Fire from the Forts Was Overcome in One Day by the Skill and Gallantry of
James Gadsden
and
Richard K. Call, aide
Col. Geo. Gibson, QR
Maj. George P. Peters
Capt. Young
Lieuts. Sands, Scallon, Spencer, & Minton
U.S. Artillery
Capt. McKeever
U.S. Navy
and the Brave Soldiers under their Command

(Source: Irving C. Root to Frederic A. Delano, April 28, 1942, National Park Service,
White House Liaison, file 1430, "Jackson Statue.")

Appendix 13

Resolution Introduced in the Senate
by William Hawkins Polk
to Pay Clark Mills
for the Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to pay to Clark Mills, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, _____ dollars, as a compensation for the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, recently erected in Lafayette Square in the city of Washington.

(Source: *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd session, January 17, 1853, 327.)

Appendix 14

Resolution Introduced in the Senate
by George Edmund Badger
to Pay Clark Mills
for the Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson

Whereas Clark Mills, the architect who executed the equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson, has, in the prosecution of that great work, inevitably become involved in debt to a large amount; and whereas the said statue has been dedicated to the public, and permanently placed upon a public square in the city of Washington, where it will remain a perpetual honor to American genius and art:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be paid to Clark Mills, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$20,000.

(Source: *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, 2nd session, January 18, 1853, p. 329.)

Appendix 15

Appropriation to Pay Clark Mills for the Equestrian Statue of Andrew Jackson

Sec. 18. *And be it further enacted*, That there be placed at the disposal of the President of the United States the sum of twenty thousand dollars to enable him to compensate Clark Mills for the execution of the equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson, recently placed upon the public square in the city of Washington, north of the Executive Mansion, and to make the same the property of the United States, and that said sum to be paid under the direction of the President out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, when a clear and satisfactory title to said statue shall be vested in the United States: *Provided*, That the sum of ten thousand dollars thereof be invested for the family of said Mills, and after his death to be given to such children of said Mills as may survive him.

Approved March 3, 1853.

(Source: *Statutes at Large*, 10, 214.)

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Craven, Wayne. *Sculpture in America*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968.

Goode, James M. *Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974.

Hopkins, Rosemary. "Clark Mills: The First Native American Sculptor." Master of Arts Thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, Md., 1966. (Depository: University of Maryland Library.)

Barber, Craven, and Goode each provide good brief overviews of the Jackson statue and its sculptor, but Hopkins' unpublished thesis is the only book-length treatment of Mills' life and art. The sculptor's life is broken down into phases, often centered around that period's most important work. Hopkins' thesis is thoroughly researched and has an extensive bibliography, which makes it a good place to start in an examination of the sculptor's career. As the thesis is concerned with Mills' life, it contains little information on the later history of the statue or on the history of Lafayette Park.

Textual Archives

National Archives. Washington, D.C. Records of the Office of the Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds. Record Group 42.

National Archives. College Park, Md. Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. Record Group 48. Records of the Patents and Miscellaneous Division.

National Archives. Washington, D.C. Records of the Commission of Fine Arts. Record Group 66. Project Files, 1910-52. Box 78. "Removal of Andrew Jackson Statue."

National Park Service. White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility. File 1430. "Andrew Jackson Statue."

Office of the Architect of the Capitol. Washington, D.C. Art and Reference Library. Files on Clark Mills, Thomas Crawford's *Freedom*.

Mills left no collection of his papers behind when he died. Since the federal government sponsored the two commissions that made his reputation—the Jackson and Washington statues—the branches of the National Archives are important sources of information. The records of the Commissioner of Public Buildings contain information on money spent on public works such as the Jackson statue and Lafayette Square—how the appropriations made by Congress were expended. Correspondence between Mills and the secretaries of the Interior while the statues were being created can be found in Record Group 48. The Commission of Fine Arts records are valuable chiefly for the light they throw on the dissatisfaction with Jackson’s statue during the twentieth century.

The last two resources contain information not found in other, larger repositories. In the Capitol’s Art and Reference Library, for instance, is the handwritten biography of Mills by his son. The White House Liaison file holds correspondence within the National Park Service on the Jackson statue.

Legislation and Congressional Debates

Statutes at Large of the United States of America. Washington: Government Printing Office. (Depositories: Law Library, Library of Congress; Alderman Library, University of Virginia.)

Congressional Globe. Washington, D.C.: Blair and Rives. (Depositories: Law Library, Library of Congress; Alderman Library, University of Virginia.)

Congressional Record. Washington: Government Printing Office. (Depositories: Law Library, Library of Congress; Alderman Library, University of Virginia.)

Three joint resolutions and four appropriations relating to the Jackson statue were passed by Congress. All can be found in *Statutes at Large*. (The appropriations are not separate acts but parts of larger appropriations bills.) During the creation of the Jackson statue, debates in Congress were published in the *Congressional Globe*, a private newspaper with which the government contracted. Much important information is contained in the *Globe*, such as the Jackson Monument Committee’s petitions and early versions of resolutions. Information regarding the Lafayette statue and its impact on the Jackson statue can be found in the *Congressional Record*.

Reports

Department of the Interior. National Park Service. *Lafayette Park, Washington, D.C.* Washington, 1964. Prepared by George J. Olszewski. (Depository: White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.)

Department of the Interior. National Park Service. "The Statue of General Andrew Jackson." Washington, date unknown. Prepared by Stanley W. McClure. (Depository: White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.)

Department of the Interior. National Park Service. "Lafayette Square [Reservation No. 10]." *Historic American Buildings Survey*, no. DC-676. Washington, 1993. Prepared by Elizabeth Barthold. (Depository: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

Department of the Interior. National Park Service. Denver Service Center. Draft Report, "President's Park Cultural Landscape Report." Prepared by EDAW, Inc.; Land and Community Associates; Cynthia Zaitsevsky and Associates; John Milner Associates. Denver, 1995. (Depository: White House Liaison, Executive Support Facility.)

McClure's report is one of the most accurate accounts of the Jackson statue. It contains no footnotes, but does have a bibliography. The HABS report on Lafayette Square contains accurate plans of the square at the time of the survey, a brief history, and photographs. The "Cultural Landscape Report" on President's Park contains the most complete history of Lafayette Square.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Charleston (South Carolina) Courier. 1845-53. Microfilm. (Depositories: Library of Congress, Newspaper and Current Periodical Division; Alderman Library, University of Virginia.)

Washington Daily Union. 1845-53. Microfilm. (Depositories: Library of Congress, Newspaper and Current Periodical Division; Alderman Library, University of Virginia.)

Records of the Columbia Historical Society. (Depository: Historical Society of Washington, D.C.)

Since Mills' papers have not been found, daily newspapers provide the best unofficial accounts of the sculptor's progress on his work. Neither of the two papers can be said to be completely unbiased—the *Union* was the Democratic party's organ during Polk's presidency, while the *Courier* showed much pride in the progress of a local favorite—but they are our only source for a great deal of information: the chronology of the statue, Mills' life in Washington, members of the Jackson Monument Committee and their goals.

The researcher can get a sense of what life was like in Washington in the middle of the nineteenth century from local observers. The Columbia Historical Society

published many of these accounts, such as John Sessford's annual reports on the improvements to the city ("The Sessford Annals," v. 11, 1908), Byron Sunderland's reminiscences ("Washington as I First Knew It," v. 5, 1902), and Blair Gist's recollection of life on Lafayette Square ("Lafayette Square," v. 28, 1926). While these articles may not pass scholarly muster, they often provide details not found in publications more concerned with the larger picture.

Photographs, Prints, and Maps

Library of Congress. Geography and Map Division. Washington, D.C.

Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division. Washington, D.C.

National Archives. College Park, Md. Records of the National Park Service. Record Group 79. Cartographic Records.

Plans, maps, and views of Washington, such as Albert Boschke's important map of the city from the late 1850s, are contained in the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress. Details of Boschke's plan can also be viewed. The Prints and Photographs Division has a wealth of historic views of the city and its monuments. Lithographs, cartoons, and portraits can also be viewed. Most can be searched online. The historical development of Lafayette Square can be seen in the plans contained in Record Group 79.

Avenues for Further Research

A central mystery involving the Jackson statue remains unsolved: Who authorized the placement of the monument in Lafayette Square and when? Since no official authorization exists for this decision, it might be assumed that arrangements were made informally. An edited version of James K. Polk's diary was examined for this report, as well as a group of letters containing correspondence with members of the Jackson Monument Committee. No evidence regarding the decision, however, was found in these papers. A great deal more correspondence remains to be examined, as well as the complete diaries, on microfilm in the Library of Congress.

Legislation regarding the Jackson statue authorized the president to determine the site of the statue, and Millard Fillmore signed the appropriations act of August 31, 1852, the first legislation naming Lafayette Square as the site of the statue. It might therefore be worthwhile to look at Fillmore's papers, especially those involving Secretary of the Interior A.H.H. Stuart. Fillmore's papers are also on microfilm at the Library of Congress.

Polk drew back from personal involvement with the project, so perhaps an examination of the papers of members of the Jackson Monument Committee would yield information relating to the decision. Cave Johnson, a member of both Polk's cabinet and the committee, would be a likely subject for research, as would Francis P. Blair, called the guardian of Jackson's fame in the committee's resolutions. The primary repository of Blair's papers is the Princeton University Library, but Johnson's papers remain scattered in several different collections. John Walker Maury, Benjamin B. French, John C. Rives constituted the sub-committee on arrangements for the Jackson Monument Committee and dealt extensively with Congress during the statue's creation. Their papers also might provide useful insights. French's papers reside in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, Rives' at Duke University Library. Maury's papers are not listed in the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*.

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